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Community Corrections Officer Decision-Making: An Intersectional Analysis

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Community Corrections Officer Decision-Making:
An Intersectional Analysis

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my sweet family. To my best friend and partner, Joshua Wade: thank you for your love, your support, and your sacrifices. My accomplishments are yours. To Lauren, for a lifetime of love and companionship.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Dean and Ginger. Dad, thanks for being proud even though your oldest is *still* in college; Mom, thanks for telling me to pursue my dreams (as long as I can feed myself). To my grandfather and Mary Faye, thanks for being my biggest fans. To Grandma, yes, after this many years in school, I could have been a "real" doctor.

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Although corrections populations have been gradually declining for several years, an estimated 4.1 million adults are currently supervised in the community (Maruschak & Minton, 2020). While some states have depended on the use of community corrections as a means to reduce overcrowded correctional facilities, other states' approaches have resulted in probation and parole policies that only contribute to the incarcerated population, primarily through probation and parole revocations. In response to these trends, researchers have begun to focus on supervision outcomes, finding evidence to suggest that individual probation and parole officers may have an impact on offender outcomes. While some of this decision-making literature has included officers' race and gender, it has frequently done so only peripherally, which is especially problematic as women and people of Color comprise a significant portion of the community corrections labor force.

To fill this gap in the literature, this study uses an intersectional framework and an explanatory sequential mixed method research design to explore the associations between officers' sociodemographic characteristics, supervision approaches, and professional decision-making. The findings from this study suggest that officer gender, but not race, is associated with officer orientation, and that neither race nor gender are significant predictors of officers' willingness of pursue a revocation. However, interviews with officers suggest that their supervision approaches and professional experiences are

gendered and racialized. Female officers discussed feeling underestimated at work by the male offenders on their caseloads and their male peers in law enforcement. Although officers of Color expressed a desire to enter law enforcement to create positive change, they experienced ostracism from their peers in the Black community and anger from offenders of Color under their supervision. When asked to discuss their own decision-making, officers generally report considering the seriousness of a violation and the offender's comprehensive supervision history as influential factors in how they respond to noncompliance. Future research should include updated measures of officer orientation and should continue to apply an intersectional framework to officer decision-making, especially considering the current sociopolitical climate surrounding law enforcement and communities of Color. Policy recommendations are also discussed, specifically related to departmental trainings and hiring practices.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In recent decades, the American penal system has become increasingly strained, experiencing a 628% growth in incarcerated Americans between 1970 and 2000 (Byrne, 2013). Although the most recent trends reflect a gradual decline in corrections populations, 1 in 40 adults were under some form of correctional control at the end of 2018 (Maruschak & Minton, 2020). Notably, most of these men and women were being supervised in the community; for every 10 adults under some form of correctional control, 7 people were on probation or parole (Maruschak & Minton, 2020). In 2018, there were 4.3 million people supervised in the community, compared to 2.1 million Americans incarcerated in jails and prisons (Maruschak & Minton, 2020). Although parole populations tripled between 1980 and 2000 (Lawrence & Travis, 2002), most adults supervised in the community are serving probation sentences (80%; Kaeble & Alper, 2020), reflecting what some researchers have termed "mass probation" (Phelps, 2017).

As institutional and community corrections populations boomed, researchers began to identify probation and parole revocations as a significant contributor to rising incarceration rates (Caplan, 2006; Caplow & Simon, 1999; Phelps, 2013). In their review of policies that contributed to American mass incarceration, Caplow and Simon (1999) suggest that instead of alleviating prison overcrowding, probation and parole actually fed prison populations. Caplow and Simon (1999) explain that,

For those actually convicted and sentenced to prisons, a

powerful feedback loop has developed between prison and

correctional supervision in the community. The

correctional population on supervised release has grown

even faster than the prison population, but rather than

operating as alternatives to prison, parole and probation

increasingly return people to prison. (p. 73)

Building on this work, Phelps (2013) analyzed institutional and community corrections

data to determine whether community corrections served as an alternative to

incarceration or instead contributed to growing jail and prison populations. Her analysis

of state-level data revealed that increased use of community corrections both contributed

to and reduced incarcerated populations, suggesting that how states utilize community

corrections approaches directly affects the impact those measures have on incarceration

rates (Phelps, 2013).

Partly in response to the rapid growth of probationers and parolees supervised by

community corrections departments, probation and parole departments have begun to

emphasize both the surveillance and rehabilitation of probationers and parolees (Skeem

& Manchak, 2008). Historically, community corrections approaches were introduced

with a rehabilitative focus (Alarid, 2019; Caplan, 2006; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Hsieh

et al., 2015; Lutze, 2014; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Purkiss et al., 2003; Ruhland,

2020; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem & Manchak, 2008), wherein probation and parole

officers helped probationers and parolees be successful in the community and refrain

from continued criminal behavior. However, as criminal justice policies and practices

shifted to become more punitive during the "get tough on crime era," probation and parole agencies refocused their supervision efforts to include increased surveillance and emphasized exercising more control over offenders (Caplan, 2006; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Hsieh et al., 2015; Miller, 2015; Purkiss et al., 2003; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem & Manchak, 2008; West & Seiter, 2004). More recent research suggests that the community corrections pendulum has again begun to sway (Dean-Myrda & Cullen, 1998), with a renewed interest in treatment. These departmental shifts do not necessarily reflect an abandonment of punitive measures, but instead "represent a bridge between the treatment and the punitive models of the past" (Taxman, 2008, p. 278).

Corrections research has often centered on institutions with less consideration of community corrections, but with a greater number of people under state supervision, it has become increasingly important to focus research efforts on understanding the long-term impacts of community corrections supervision (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Lutze, 2014; West & Seiter, 2004). Research in this area has emphasized the important role that probation and parole officers play regarding offenders' supervision outcomes (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Blasko et al., 2015; Bonta et al., 2011; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Kennealy et al., 2012; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Skeem et al., 2007). Probation and parole officers generally enjoy broad discretion in their decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kennealy et al., 2012; Klockars, 1972; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Schaefer & Williamson, 2017; Skeem & Manchak, 2008). Klockars (1972) emphasizes the importance of understanding how officers engage in supervising offenders because "the rules, their applications, and their dismissal are

largely a matter of the discretion of the officer, who, with very little personal risk, may conceal or permit their violation" (p. 555).

While departments may have policies that guide decision-making, officers can determine whether or not to report offender violations and how to frame those violations when reporting. For less severe violations, officers may have the latitude to determine informal sanctions with minimal departmental oversight. In response to more serious offending, officers are often tasked with deciding to ask for an offender's supervision to be revoked and are subsequently asked to make recommendations in revocation cases. Because officers have such broad discretion, understanding how they approach decision-making may be important to understanding offender experiences and their supervision outcomes (Dembo, 1972; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Skeem & Manchak, 2008; Steiner et al., 2011).

Although they work at the "back-end" of the system, probation and parole officer discretion results in officers acting as gatekeepers within the system, like other criminal justice actors, including police officers and judges. These agents are often the first to detect offender noncompliance and must subsequently decide how to respond. Additionally, these officers regularly make recommendations to judges and hearing officers on how to respond to violations, and related research on presentence investigation recommendations suggests that officer recommendations are frequently followed (Freiburger & Hilinski, 2011; Leiber et al., 2018; Leifker & Sample, 2010; Rosecrance, 1988). Research that focuses on the decision-making of police officers and judges suggests that these actors' race and gender may impact their professional decision-making (Boyd, 2016; Boyd & Nelson, 2017; Brown & Frank, 2006; Chew & Kelley,

2012; Collins & Moyer, 2008; Coontz, 2000; Gilliard-Matthews et al., 2008; Hoffman &

Hickey, 2005; Johnson, 2014; McElvain & Kposowa, 2008; Nicholson-Crotty et al.,

2017; Peresie, 2005; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Songer & Crews-

Meyer, 2000; Steffensmeier & Britt, 2001; Sun & Payne, 2004; Tillyer et al., 2012;

Welch et al., 1988), and it is possible that community corrections officers' race and

gender may also frame the way they engage in their professional duties. These

implications may be even more significant in probation and parole, as women and racial

minorities generally comprise a larger proportion of employees in this sector compared to

other areas of the system (see Table 1.1. Gender and Race Representation of Criminal

Justice Practitioners). Although women experience greater representation in the judicial

sector, the percentage of female officers in community corrections is twice that of female

police officers (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Compared to both the judicial sector

and policing, racial minorities experience a greater representation in probation and parole

(Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019).

Notably, women and racial minorities have generally comprised a significant

portion of the community corrections work force (Figure 1.1. Women and Racial

Minorities Working in Community Corrections). Over the last decade, trends suggest that

women represent about half of the work force in probation and parole departments (see

Figure 1.2. Percentage of Women Working in Community Corrections; Bureau of Labor

Statistics, 2019). Additionally, racial minorities have comprised approximately 40% of

the community corrections labor force since 2011 (see Figure 1.3. Percentage of Racial

Minorities Working in Community Corrections; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019).

Understanding the ways that these gatekeepers engage in decision-making and how their

supervision approaches may be racialized or gendered is increasingly important as female and racial minority officers continue to supervise the 1 in 55 American adults under some form of community corrections control (Kaeble, 2018).

The current study contributes to the extant literature on probation and parole officer orientation, which includes the way in which an officer perceives and approaches his or her professional job tasks, and decision-making by applying a feminist intersectional lens. This study utilizes a mixed methods approach to improve what is understood about how officers' professional orientation and their sociodemographic characteristics may be associated with decision-making, specifically in the context of pursuing probation and parole revocations. The project addresses three primary research issues about community corrections officers. First the current study examines the relationship between officer gender, officer race, and officer orientation. Next, the current study considers if officer gender, officer race, or officer orientation is associated with an officer's decision to pursue a revocation. Finally, the current study explores the factors officers identify when making probation and parole revocation decisions.

Chapter two discusses the feminist theoretical framework through which this research is conducted. Feminist theorists have long contended that organizations themselves are gendered (Acker, 1990), or, at the minimum, are vulnerable to gendered policies (Kanter, 1975), but less work has focused on how workers' gender may frame their professional decision-making. This chapter explores how feminist theories have been applied to criminal justice agencies and workers, with a specific focus on the development and application of intersectionality as a relevant framework. Although intersectionality has roots from the Black feminist movement in the 1970s (Collins, 1986;

Daly, 1993; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Potter, 2013), this framework has been used only minimally to understand the professional decision-making of criminal justice actors.

Chapter three reviews the empirical literature addressing community corrections officers' decision-making. The review contains studies that have generally focused on officer orientation, officer-offender relationships, violation responses and revocations, and sentence recommendations. This chapter also includes a discussion of studies that have focused on, or at least included, probation and parole officers' race and gender. Since the research in this area is underdeveloped, a brief review of the policing literature is included to frame what other researchers have discovered regarding the racialized and gendered differences in police officers' professional decision-making. This literature is most comparable as police officers and community corrections officers are often certified peace officers whose agencies emphasize public safety (Ireland & Berg, 2008), and these officers are often armed with weapons and firearms when they interact with members of the community (Hawley, 2012; Teague, 2016). The third chapter concludes with a review of the theoretical, topical, and methodological gaps in the current empirical literature.

Chapter four discusses the project methodology and analytic plan used for the current project. This project utilized a mixed methods approach, wherein a quantitative survey was followed by a qualitative interview with a subset of participants. Probation and parole agents employed at the South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardons Services (SCDPPPS) were invited to participate in a web-based email survey. The survey focused on officers' orientation and included a series of vignettes that described scenarios of continued noncompliance to understand officer decision-making. In part two of the project, a subset of the agents was invited to participate in a semi-

structured interview to identify what factors the officers perceived as relevant to their own decision-making, particularly in the context of responding to violations and seeking probation and parole revocations.

The findings from the survey and interviews are presented in chapter five. The quantitative data are used to answer the first two research questions, which focus on associations between agent gender, race, officer orientation, and the decision to pursue a revocation. Ultimately, the quantitative findings suggest that agent gender, but not race, is significantly associated with a law enforcement officer orientation, but not a social work orientation, and neither race nor gender are significant predictors of agents' decision to pursue a revocation. Data from the interviews is used to explain and contextualize these findings. The third research question is answered entirely through the qualitative data. These findings suggest that agents generally consider the seriousness of a violation and an offender's supervision history when deciding whether or not to pursue a probation or parole revocation.

Chapter six provides an overview of the current study, a brief summary of the findings, and the limitations of the study. Additionally, extensive discussion of notable findings are included in this chapter, focusing specifically on the measurement of officer orientation in research, the intersectional findings from the study, and the organizational influences that emerged as relevant to officer orientation and decision-making. This chapter also briefly discusses the ways that the study contributes to and addresses the current gaps in the literature and provides directions for future research. Finally, policy implications are discussed.

Table 1.1. Sex and Race Representation of Criminal Justice Practitioners

	Percent of Total Employed[1]	Probation Officers	Lawyers	Judges	Police Officers	Corrections Officers
Sex						
Women	47%	44.6%	36.4%	52.5%	17.6%	30.1%
Race						
African American	12.3%	26.7%	5.9%	13.4%	12.6%	34.2%
Asian	6.5%	0.4%	5.7%	4.8%	1.5%	1.7%
Hispanic or Latino	17.6%	15.8%	5.8%	8.6%	17.0%	12.3%

[1] Includes individuals 16 years and older.

Note. Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics, employed persons by detailed occupation, sex, race, and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity dataset, 2019.
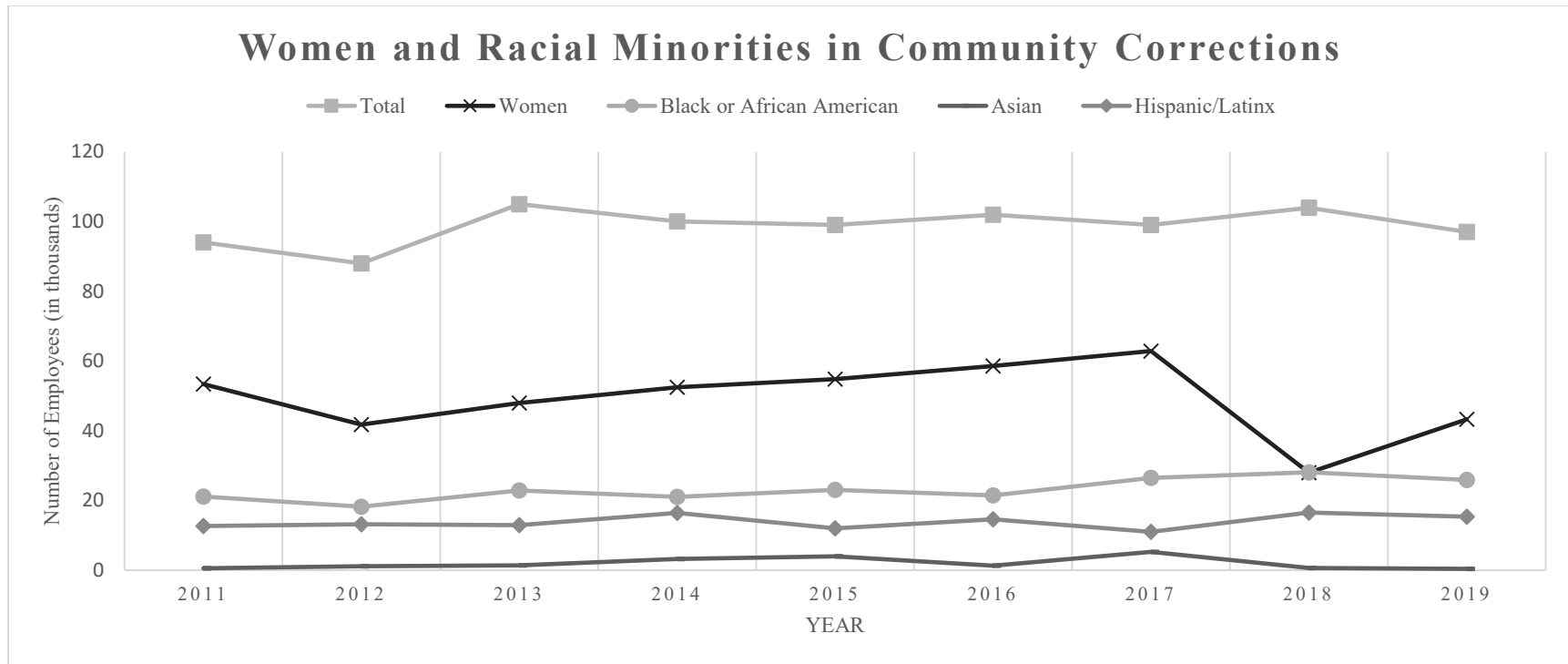
Women and Racial Minorities in Community Corrections

Legend: Total ■ — Women ✕ — Black or African American ● — Asian — Hispanic/Latinx ◆

Number of Employees (in thousands) / YEAR

Figure 1.1. Women and Racial Minorities Working in Community Corrections
Note. Data from Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics, employed persons by detailed occupation, sex, race, and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity dataset, 2011- 2019. Date range begins in 2011 due to changes in the Standard Occupational Classification System instituted in 2010. Prior to 2011, data for community corrections officers was reported with social workers.

Figure 1.2. Percentage of Women Working in Community Corrections

Note. Data from Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics, employed persons by detailed occupation, sex, race, and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity dataset, 2011- 2019. Date range begins in 2011 due to changes in the Standard Occupational Classification System instituted in 2010. Prior to 2011, data for community corrections officers was reported with social workers.

Figure 1.3. Percentage of Racial Minorities Working in Community Corrections

Note. Data from Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics, employed persons by detailed occupation, sex, race, and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity dataset, 2011- 2019. Date range begins in 2011 due to changes in the Standard Occupational Classification System instituted in 2010. Prior to 2011, data for community corrections officers was reported with social workers.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Historically most areas of the criminal justice system have been dominated by White men (Britton, 2000, 2011), and women and individuals of Color who have been employed in the system have primarily been relegated to feminized and racialized spaces and job duties (Belknap, 2007; Garcia, 2003; Martin, 1994; Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007). This division of labor and exclusion of women and racial minorities from these various sectors of the criminal justice system allowed these organizations to evolve without women and racial minorities, which has had serious implications on the structure and culture of departments (Acker, 1992). Consequently, these organizations have established White masculinity as the norm, promoted primarily White men within organizations (Kanter, 1975), and ensured that women and workers of Color would remain in subordinate positions within departments (Britton, 2011). Moreover, for decades, discriminatory hiring practices limited the number of women and racial minorities who entered these sectors, further ensuring the maintenance of White, male power structures within these organizations (Garcia, 2003; Martin & Jurik, 1996).

However, federal legislation in the 1960s and 1970s paved the way for more women and individuals of Color to seek integrated employment within the criminal justice system (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2011; Greene, 2000; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). As recently as 2019, women and racial minorities comprised almost

half of corrections and community corrections officers (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019).

Some scholars theorize that increased representation of groups who have generally been

excluded or underrepresented can cause cultural shifts within departments, although other

researchers disagree that these changes will occur (Belknap, 2007; Boyd & Nelson, 2017;

Britton, 2000; Davis, 1992; Gilliard-Matthews et al., 2008; Lundman, 2009; Menkel-

Meadow, 1985; Miller, 1998). Additionally, some research suggests that women may

engage in decision-making that differs from men, and racial minorities may approach

situations differently than their White counterparts (Belknap, 2007). Therefore, as women

and racial minorities have become more represented in the criminal justice system, it is

increasingly important to explore the experiences of these actors and understand how

they engage in professional decision-making. To study criminal justice actors and their

professional decision-making, it is useful to utilize feminist theories through an

intersectional framework.

Feminist Thought

Although a defining theme of feminism is the focus on gender inequality, there is

no one universally recognized feminism (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Morris &

Gelsthorpe, 1991; Simpson, 1989), but instead there are multiple feminist perspectives.

Five dominant perspectives are generally observed in the literature, including: liberal

feminism, Marxist feminism, socialist feminism, radical feminism, and postmodern

feminism (Belknap, 2007; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Simpson, 1989). Additionally, some

criminologists have worked to apply feminist theories to the study of criminology by

developing feminist criminology (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Daly &

Chesney-Lind, 1988; Simpson, 1989). These feminisms contribute different perspectives

of gender relations, identify different contributing factors to gender oppression, and

recommend varied approaches to ending gender oppression and inequality.

Feminist Perspectives

Liberal feminism contends that women experience gender oppression largely

because men and women are relegated to separate spheres (Belknap, 2007; Martin &

Jurik, 1996; Simpson, 1989). Liberal feminists explain that women are expected to

remain within the home, what is termed the private sphere, and attend to the domestic

needs of their husbands and children (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Martin & Jurik, 1996;

Simpson, 1989). Alternatively, men serve in the public sphere, primarily engaging in the

labor force and developing and maintaining social networks (Daly & Chesney-Lind,

1988; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Simpson, 1989). Liberal feminists explain that gender itself

is not divisive, but that men and women are socialized differently and subsequently

relegated to different spheres (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988;

Martin & Jurik, 1996).

Marxist feminism identifies capitalism as the primary obstacle for women's

rights and argues that class itself is more problematic than gender to women's oppression

(Belknap, 2007; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). Marxist feminists

argue that if all people had equal access to wealth, that issues of inequality would

diminish and women specifically would benefit from this access as they would be

financially independent (Belknap, 2007). Socialist feminists alternatively argue that

classism and the patriarchy are similarly problematic for women, and that issues of class

and gender oppression must both be addressed before women can experience gender equality (Belknap, 2007; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Martin & Jurik, 1996). While socialist feminists agree that more economic access would benefit women, they advocate that women have gender-specific needs when entering the labor force, including logistical concerns such as securing adequate childcare (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Martin & Jurik, 1996).

Unlike Marxist and socialist feminists, radical feminists argue that the patriarchy itself is the primary issue that women face (Belknap, 2007; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Garcia, 2003; Simpson, 1989). Radical feminists agree that structural inequality contributes to the subordination of women, but these feminists contend that individuals may also actively contribute to the continuation of patriarchy (Belknap, 2007), often through the attempted control of women's reproductive rights and engagement in violence against women (Belknap, 2007; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Simpson, 1989). While these feminisms are separated by many theoretical differences, one shared commonality is the assumption of gender essentialism, a theoretical constraint that postmodern feminism rejects.

Unlike many historical approaches to feminist thought, postmodern feminism contends that there is no one primary obstacle that women face (Belknap, 2007), and instead argues that classism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, and multicultural issues all contribute to the gender subordination that women experience (Belknap, 2007; Crenshaw, 1991; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). Moreover, postmodern feminists reject gender essentialism in which prior feminisms have been rooted. Although women of Color have historically contributed to the struggle for gender equality (Daly, 1993; Potter, 2013), the

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dominant feminist voice has reflected that of wealthy, educated, heterosexual White women, and it has been assumed that her experience represents the universal woman's experience (Crenshaw, 1989; Simpson, 1989), an idea known as gender essentialism (Belknap, 2007; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Martin & Jurik, 1996).

During the Civil Rights and Women's Rights Movements of the 1960s, women of Color often found themselves at odds with their Black male peers fighting for racial equality but neglecting issues of gender inequality and with White women who advocated for women's rights but failed to address concerns of racism in their agendas (Crenshaw, 1989; Daly, 1993). Women of Color recognized that they continued to experience gendered subordination even as Black men began to gain new rights and freedoms (Crenshaw, 1989), and as White feminists advocated for their own gender-based agendas, Black feminists witnessed their own perspectives and interests were missing from the dominant rhetoric (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Daly, 1993; Windsong, 2016). Instead, Black feminists argued that women of Color can introduce a different perspective to racialized and gendered issues, as they have historically suffered from both sexism and racism with neither racialized nor gendered protection from the White patriarchy. Collins (1986) explains,

> [Poor, Black women] therefore have a clearer view of oppression than other groups who occupy more contradictory positions vis-à-vis White male power—unlike White women, they have no illusions that their Whiteness will negate female subordination, and unlike Black men they cannot use a questionable appeal to manhood to neutralize the stigma of being Black. (p. S19)

Black women therefore can contribute in unique ways a better understanding of the power structures that subordinate women of Color through their own epistemological perspective largely because of how they have been positioned politically, socially, and economically (Collins, 1990).

Inspired by Black feminist leaders who emerged during Civil Rights and Women's Rights Movements (Daly, 1993; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Potter, 2013), Crenshaw (1989) explained in her seminal work that Black women often face layers of discrimination that result from both their race and their gender, as opposed to the singular discrimination experienced by Black men for their race and White women for their gender. As legislative protections were established near the end of the twentieth century, Crenshaw (1989) observed that legal protection extended to racial minorities generally served only Black men, whereas statutes written to advocate women's rights were often only applied to White women. Noticeably missing from the legal discourse was a protection of women of Color, who failed to be included with either male racial minorities or White women (Belknap, 2007; Crenshaw, 1989).

Crenshaw (1989) explains that women of Color, because of their social and political situation, often experience multiple forms of oppression that can originate from racism and sexism. Explaining her analogy wherein she compares Black women's experiences of subordination to having a car accident at an intersection, Crenshaw (1989) states,

> Black women sometimes experience discrimination in ways similar to White women's experiences; sometimes they share very similar experiences with Black men. Yet often they experience double-discrimination-the combined effects of

practices which discriminate on the basis of race, and on the basis of sex. And

sometimes, they experience discrimination as Black women-not the sum of race

and sex discrimination, but as Black women. (p. 149)

Intersectionality contends that multiple identities contribute to a person's experiences,

and an individual's subordination cannot be viewed exclusively through a racialized or

gendered lens (Belknap, 2007; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Collins, 1986; Daly, 1993; Martin

& Jurik, 1996). Importantly, when anti-racists and feminists fail to consider the

intersection of identities, they often perpetuate other forms of oppression, wherein anti-

racists may further gendered oppression by prioritizing racial justice for Black and Brown

bodies without the consideration of gendered differences and feminists may contribute to

additional racial subordination by focusing exclusively on combating the patriarchy in

ways that benefit only White women often at the detriment of women of Color

(Crenshaw, 1991). Therefore, an intersectional lens should be applied when exploring the

experiences of individuals, especially women of Color, to ensure that their experiences

are adequately considered and their interests sufficiently represented.

Intersectionality contends that multiple identities frame individual's experiences

(Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Collins, 1986; Martin & Jurik, 1996), and no one identity must

serve as a person's master status (Belknap, 2007). Instead, each of these identities

functions together to create "interlocking systems of oppression" that serve to reinforce

one's position of subordination (Collins, 1990, p. 221). Daly (1993) explains that race,

class, gender, sexual orientation, and other identities must be viewed as "interactive

terms—not as additive" (p. 56). Although demographic characteristics are often treated in

research as independent variables, these different identities are instead interconnected and

work together to contribute to an individual's lived experience (Collins, 1986, 1990; Daly, 1993; Simpson, 1989). Importantly, an intersectional lens can be applied to understand the lived experiences of persons who experience both marginal and privileged identities simultaneously (Levine-Rasky, 2011; Potter, 2013).

Echoing the sentiments of early Black feminists (Collins, 1986), Crenshaw (1989) contends that intersectionality as a theoretical framework does not ask theorists to simply apply current theories to women of Color as study subjects, but instead it requires researchers to deconstruct those frameworks and reframe them to include the experiences of women of Color. Intersectionality calls for the inclusion of women of Color in the development of the narrative, not in the paltry extension of current constructs to Black and Brown women (Collins, 1986; Crenshaw, 1989). Moreover, intersectionality emphasizes the importance of recognizing how multiple identities and the multiplicative nature of these intersecting identities frames the experiences of individuals and contributes to their positionality in the matrix of domination (Collins, 1986, 1990; Windsong, 2016).

Feminist Criminology

Although not a dominant feminist perspective in the context of gender studies, feminist criminology aims to incorporate gender as a central theme of criminological study. Developed in the 1970s with the introduction of second wave feminism (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988), feminist criminology has contributed a feminist perspective to criminology, both in theory and in the development and application of research methodology (Simpson, 1989). Early feminist

criminologists critiqued the historical advancement of criminology, wherein the field focused its theoretical and research applications primarily on male populations (Britton, 2000; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Morris & Gelsthorpe, 1991). Early efforts focused primarily on female victims of domestic violence and sexual assault (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988), but subsequent academic efforts expanded to include the study of women as both victims and perpetrators of crime (Britton, 2000; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Morris & Gelsthorpe, 1991).

In her systematic review of the feminist criminological scholarship over the last two decades, Kruttschnitt (2013) explains that three primary aspects of gendered studies have emerged, specifically gendered pathways, gendered crime, and gendered lives. Although the majority of this research has focused on gendered crime, which explores the similarities and differences in male and female offending behaviors, a substantial amount of research has been conducted on the gendered lives of female offenders (Kruttschnitt, 2013). While early feminist work often failed to incorporate race and class analyses (Morris & Gelsthorpe, 1991), more recent research on the gendered lives of women offenders has attempted to understand how race and gender intersect to impact individual behavior and experiences (Chesney-Lind, 2006; Kruttschnitt, 2013). Comparable to pioneer feminist criminologists who advocated that researchers and policy makers cannot simply "add women and stir" (Chesney-Lind, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Morris & Gelsthorpe, 1991), advocates of multicultural feminism and intersectionality explain that race, class, sexual orientation, and other important identities cannot simply be treated as independent or unrelated variables (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Crenshaw, 1989; Daly, 1993; Simpson, 1989). Moreover, as feminist criminology has

advanced, research efforts have expanded to include a focus on criminal justice actors and applied gender and race analyses to this population.

Criminal Justice Actors

Historically, the criminal justice field has been dominated by White men (Britton, 2000, 2011). Although women have had minimal involvement in various areas of the system in the past, it was not until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its subsequent Title VII Amendment passed in 1972 that women and individuals of Color were able to enter into the criminal justice field en masse (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2000, 2011; Greene, 2000; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996). Since their entrance into the criminal justice field, women have begun to comprise larger portions of the field, especially in community corrections, although their numbers remain smaller in certain areas of the legal field, law enforcement, and the corrections system (Garcia, 2003; Ireland & Berg, 2008), and individuals of Color have become more represented in community and institutional corrections, but are less present in the legal field and policing (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019).

As female officers and court actors entered the criminal justice system, research efforts focused largely on their ability to perform their jobs, primarily to determine if they were as capable as their male colleagues (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007). This approach assumes that male criminal justice actors are the standard for how work should be performed and that their female counterparts should perform their duties in ways comparable to men. The delayed admittance of

women and individuals of Color into different criminal justice positions allowed for the ongoing development of primarily White, masculine agencies wherein the primary workers, supervisors, and policymakers for departments for decades were White men. Subsequently, when focusing on the decision-making of criminal justice actors, feminist theorists have posited two primary reasons that gender and race may impact officers' attitudes and actions: (1) organizations, including various criminal justice departments and the system as a whole, are structured in gendered and racialized ways, which scholars have termed the "job model," or (2) individuals' gendered and racialized socialization experiences may influence how they respond to certain situations, called the "gender model" (see Table A.1. Feminist Theory Application; Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2000, 2011; Britton & Logan, 2008; Martin & Jurik, 1996).

Job Model

The job model, which focuses on organizational structure, assumes that organizations and agencies themselves are structured in ways that are gendered and racialized and further institutionalize gendered and racialized privilege and oppression (Acker, 1990, 2006; Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2000, 2011; Britton & Logan, 2008; Garcia, 2003; Martin & Jurik, 1996). Even organizations that claim to be gender-neutral are often impacted by gendered power structures (Kanter, 1975), and these gendered structures are reinforced through the organization and its members' actions (Acker, 1990; Garcia, 2003). Moreover, although early feminist critique of organizational theory was developed with a primary focus on gender inequality (Britton & Logan, 2008), scholars contend that the same theoretical underpinnings may apply to a racialized understanding of

organizations, wherein structural inequalities are perpetuated to ensure that racial minority groups are excluded from leadership positions and total integration within organizations (Acker, 2006; Martin, 1994).

Formal Culture

Organizational theory suggests that organizations have both a formal and informal culture, where formal culture is adopted and promoted by the agency and informal culture is created by workers or groups of workers (Kanter, 1975; Martin & Jurik, 1996). Formal organizational culture is associated with formal policies and procedures, including hiring, training, and promotional practices. Although Kanter (1975) asserts that organizations themselves are gender-neutral, she explains that formal policies that subscribe to the "masculine ethic" can perpetuate the oppression of female workers. Kanter (1975) explains that,

> This 'masculine ethic' elevates the traits assumed to belong to men with educational advantages to necessities for effective organizations: a tough-minded approach to problems; analytic abilities to abstract and plan; a capacity to set aside personal, emotional considerations in the interests of task accomplishment; and a cognitive superiority in problem-solving and decision-making. (p. 43)

Kanter (1975) theorizes that organizations are ultimately influenced by gendered norms through their adoption of the masculine ethic, wherein masculinized traits and gender performances are preferred to feminine actions or characteristics. For Kanter (1975), the overarching issue facing women entering into male-dominated organizations is that what is masculine is both normalized and perceived as superior. This trend may be especially true for criminal justice agencies, wherein women were generally excluded until the

1970s, which allowed for the development of traditionally male-dominated and masculine fields (Garcia, 2003; Martin & Jurik, 1996).

One way that organizations may use formal culture to impose the masculine ethic is through training and promotional standards which reflect a masculine standard (Britton, 2011; Martin & Jurik, 1996). Belknap (2007) provides an example of the training provided for correctional officers, wherein officers are taught how to search a male inmate's physical person. This training does not include how female officers should physically search an inmate, but assumes that the trainee is a male officer and that the inmate being searched is male (Belknap, 2007). Additionally, law enforcement officers' job performance reviews may include arrest rates as an indicator of a greater work ethic (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Britton, 2011; DeJong, 2005). However, research indicates that female officers may depend on alternative strategies when interacting with citizens and therefore may have lower arrest rates than male officers (Britton, 2011; DeJong, 2005). Promotional policies for police officers may also include preference for officers with past military experience (Archbold & Schulz, 2008), which may appear gender-neutral but have a disproportionate impact on female officers, who are less likely be veterans (Britton, 2011). While the formal training and promotional policies of the organization are gender-neutral in these examples, the implication of these procedures is that masculinity is normalized and ultimately preferential to femininity, thereby reinforcing the masculine ethic within the organization.

Theorists contend that additional organizational practices may contribute to the reinforcement of the masculine ethic, including what Kanter calls "homosocial reproduction" (Acker, 2006; Britton, 2011; Kanter, 1977a). Homosocial reproduction

refs to the practice where upper-level management or supervisory personnel tend to promote those workers who share their own perspectives and backgrounds (Kanter, 1977a), and scholars suggest that this practice contributes to institutionalized racism and sexism (Acker, 2006; Britton, 2011). Acker (2006) explains that since "top hierarchical class positions are almost always occupied by White men in the United States" (p. 445), homosocial reproduction enables organizations to maintain their gendered and racialized power structures. By continuing to place White men in leadership positions in organizations, women and racial minorities continue to be excluded and marginalized while the *White* masculine ethic is simultaneously reinforced.

Informal Culture

While formal policies can perpetuate gendered and racialized oppression, even under the guise of gender- and race-neutral approaches, informal organizational culture can also serve to reinforce gendered and racialized power structures. To maintain these gendered and racialized structures, Acker (1990, 2006) suggests that workers are often separated by race and gender within the organization, to include distinct job duties, differing levels of authority within the organization, and relegation to separate physical spaces while at work. Members of the organization reinforce these separations through symbols, language, and individual behavior or collective organizational actions (Acker, 1990). Acker (1990) contends that organizations are not gender neutral, and that even if formalized cultures tout gender-neutral policies, informal cultures serve to institute gendered norms within organizations. In her seminal work, Acker (1990) introduces five ways that organizations maintain their gendered nature, including: (1) maintaining

separation of space, job duties, authority, and money along gendered lines; (2) using symbols, such as work attire and language, to maintain gendered separations; (3) using actions and interactions between workers to support the divisions and gendered structures; (4) demanding that workers determine how they must act, dress, and speak based on the gendered expectation of the organization; and (5) allowing gender itself to underly the very foundation of the organization. While Acker's (1990) early work focuses on the gendered oppression experienced in organizational structures, she later discusses the importance of utilizing an intersectional approach to understand the gendered and racialized ways that workers continue to be subordinated in the workplace (Acker, 2006).

Britton (2011) builds on Acker's (1990) gendered organization work and applies these concepts to criminal justice organizations, specifically discussing how criminal justice agencies use gendered and racialized cultures, structures, and employee interactions to maintain gender and racialized oppression within the legal field, policing, and corrections. To maintain gendered and racialized cultures, workers may be separated at work based on sociodemographic characteristics (Acker, 1990, 2006; Britton, 2011; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Shelley et al., 2011). For example, women in law enforcement have historically been tasked with working with juveniles and female victims and offenders because it was assumed that women were more nurturing and subsequently better suited to work with these groups than male officers (Garcia, 2003; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Separations that are utilized to maintain gendered and racialized cultures often strengthen gendered and racialized systems (Acker, 1990, 2006; Britton, 2011; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Rabe-Hemp, 2009;

Shelley et al., 2011) and allow the organization itself to perpetuate its gendered and racialized structure. As female officers have been relegated to feminized spaces, they have been viewed as less capable of performing "real" police work, which includes "crime-fighting" and "catching criminals" (Shelley et al., 2011). As they continue to be assigned to feminized job duties, they continue to lack the professional experience to prove their capabilities and they are never able to challenge the perception that they cannot police in the traditional, masculine context (Britton, 2011; Martin & Jurik, 1996). Thus, these divisions hinder women's ability to advance within the organization and further maintain the masculine structure of the organization wherein male officers are promoted as opposed to female officers (Acker, 1990; Britton, 2011).

When these institutionalized measures fail to maintain the current gendered and racialized structures, individual actions may be taken against female workers or workers of Color to maintain separation between and subordinacy of workers (Acker, 2006, 2006). These interactions, termed agency by Britton (2011), may include aggressive actions against women and individuals of Color, including various forms of harassment (Acker, 2006; Britton, 2011; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Shelley et al., 2011). Feminists have long noted the use of threats and harassment by the dominant group as a means of maintaining power, and this approach has been extensively noted in the criminal justice literature (Hassell & Brandl, 2009). Sexual harassment has been used as a subversive attack on women's presence in the organization, signaling to women, not only their otherness and inferiority, but also their vulnerability within a male-dominated organization (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Shelley et al., 2011). In their study

of the experiences of female police cadets in the academy, Prokos and Padavic (2002)

recount the training exercise wherein a video from *COPS* was shown to cadets in order to

discuss officers' response to the domestic scenario shown in the scene. At one point in

the video, the unruly citizen involved in the disturbance screams about his female partner,

"there oughtta be a law against bitches" (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). The female

participants in Prokos and Padavic's (2002) study explained that this became the slogan

of their male cadets and that this sentiment was voiced repeatedly during their time at

training. These informal interactions serve to clearly communicate to women in a male

dominated field that they do not belong. This example also underscores how early in their

policing careers female officers begin to experience this discrimination.

Additionally, Black women may be more vulnerable to sexual harassment than

White women. In her study of Black female police officers, Martin (1994) observed that

Black female officers were at an increased risk of experiencing sexual harassment from

their Black male colleagues. For these officers, reporting such conduct about Black

colleagues would be deemed as inappropriate because of the negative racial implications

of reporting a Black officer for harassment (Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996). While

all women within organizations may be at risk for experiencing sexual harassment, it is

important to recognize the ways that individuals' multiple identities may expose them

differently to organizational forms of subordination.

Racial discrimination has been used in much the same way as sexual harassment,

wherein members of the White dominant group use slurs or racially insensitive jokes to

target their colleagues of Color, communicating with no uncertainty that they do not fit in

the dominant, White culture of the organization (Hassell & Brandl, 2009). Studies that

have explored these issues within the criminal justice system have often observed that Black female officers report experiencing both racism and sexism (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Martin, 1994; Pogrebin et al., 2000). In their study of the professional experiences of police officers, including their perceived treatment by the department and colleagues and their general feelings of wellbeing in relation to their jobs, Hassell and Brandl (2009) observed that "Black females experience a greater number of workplace problems compared to all other race/sex combinations" (p. 423). When compared to Black male officers, Martin (1994) found that Black female officers reported greater levels of racial discrimination. These findings highlight the importance of an intersectional analysis, in which both officers' race and gender are considered in the context of their workplace experiences.

As more blatant forms of racism and sexism have become increasingly unacceptable within professional environments, organizational members have adopted more politically acceptable approaches to maintaining the traditional power structures within departments. Supervisors may engage in practices that are framed as helpful or paternalistic, such as placing women in "safer" job posts (Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2011; Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996). While these placements may appear friendly, and male colleagues or supervisors assert that they are helping women or protecting them (Britton, 2011), these actions may directly contribute to the exclusion of women in higher levels of the organization based on performance evaluations and promotional policies (Britton, 2011; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Shelley et al., 2011). For example, female correctional officers may be stationed to work in control rooms as opposed to in the dorms with inmates as a means of keeping female officers safe, yet this lack of

experience working directly with inmates could result in a female officer losing

promotional opportunities because she has failed to show a record of being able to work

in the dorms (Britton, 2011). These missed opportunities could also be revealed during

job evaluations, which may be used for promotional considerations (Martin & Jurik,

1996). It may appear that female workers have lower performance evaluations because

they have not successfully completed the tasks included in the performance evaluations,

which often focus on masculine components of the job (Belknap, 2007; Martin & Jurik,

1996), such as emphasizing arrests over resolving disputes without arresting civilians or

interacting directly with inmates as opposed to completing administrative work

(Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Britton, 2011; DeJong, 2005). While these paternalistic

actions are framed as a means of protecting and supporting female officers, the

designation of women to differential spaces can perpetuate the view that women are

incapable of performing the job, thereby marginalizing them to the least respected duties

in the institution.

Additionally, these experiences may differ for White women and women of

Color. While White women may experience "protection" from supervisors and their male

colleagues, even if it is to their professional detriment, female officers of Color may find

that they are completely unsupported in the field (Martin, 1994). In their study of Black

female police officers, Pogrebin and colleagues (2000) spoke with some participants who

reported that their calls for back up in dangerous situations went unanswered. One officer

described a situation where she had called for assistance when encountering three armed

robbery suspects, only to find that her calls went unanswered by all of the other officers

on her shift who had gotten coffee together (Pogrebin et al., 2000). Another Black female

police officer reported receiving backup from White male officers when she was partnered with a White female officer, but not another Black officer (Martin, 1994). Dodge and Pogrebin (2001) found that Black female officers reported feeling generally unsupported by their male colleagues, regardless of race, and speculate that Black male officers, already at a racial disadvantage in a predominantly White policing culture, may be hesitant to risk losing any more status by supporting female officers. These observations support Acker's (1990, 2006) assertion that workers' interactions can create an informal culture that serves to perpetuate gendered and racialized oppression and isolation within organizations.

The organizational framework has frequently been applied in studies that focus on professional decision-making within the criminal justice system (Boyd, 2016; Collins & Moyer, 2008; Kulik et al., 2003; Lundman, 2009; Menkel-Meadow, 1985; Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Schuck, 2014). Researchers contend that the criminal justice system is largely comprised of masculine and racialized organizational structures, wherein women and people of Color have had difficulty entering and thriving (Acker, 1990, 2006; Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Garcia, 2003; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Pogrebin et al., 2000; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Shelley et al., 2011). To combat these structures, feminist scholars have argued the importance of increasing the number of women and people of Color in certain occupations, especially those dominated by White men (Britton, 2000). Some scholars advocate that more diversity within organizations will reduce issues of gendered and racialized oppression, although other scholars contend that individual female actors and actors of Color are just as likely to be influenced by the dominant culture of organizations as male workers and White workers, and that these minority

workers may be more willing to subscribe to the dominant ideas as a means of assimilation within organizations (Boyd & Nelson, 2017; Britton, 2000; Davis, 1992; Gilliard-Matthews et al., 2008; Lundman, 2009; Menkel-Meadow, 1985; Miller, 1998). That individual workers may impact broader organizational structures may speak to the belief that workers' own experiences and socialization may vary depending on their identities, which emphasizes the importance of individual-level theories.

Gender Model

A second approach to understanding how gender and race may affect criminal justice decision-makers considers that employees may perform and experience their jobs differently from colleagues based on race and gender differences (Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2000). This approach assumes that people are different (Britton, 2000) because of their socialized experiences (Garcia, 2003; Gilliard-Matthews et al., 2008; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Early research efforts worked to demonstrate that women were no different than their male colleagues in terms of professional effectiveness, although more recent research examines the ways that women may have advantages in the workplace because of their gender (Britton, 2000; DeJong, 2005; Garcia, 2003; Lundman, 2009; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). In an effort to explore how workers' socialized experiences may inform how they approach and perform their jobs, researchers have often explored empirically how workers experiences and decision-making may differ based on their sociodemographic characteristics (Belknap, 2007).

Different Voice

One theoretical proposition that focuses on gendered workers, different voice, has been applied extensively to women in the criminal justice system (Boyd, 2016; Boyd & Nelson, 2017; Collins & Moyer, 2008; Coontz, 2000; Davis, 1992; Menkel-Meadow, 1985; Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schuck, 2014). Originally termed different voice and later called feminine ethic of care, this approach asserts that women view and arrive at moral decision-making differently because of the socialization that they have experienced based on their gender (Britton, 2000; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). These different experiences result in contrasting male and female morality (Gilligan, 1977), wherein women frame their moral decision-making within the context of being caring and connected to others and men tend to view decision-making that does not interfere with the rights of others as morally superior (Boyd & Nelson, 2017; Freedberg, 1993; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Menkel-Meadow, 1985; Miller, 1998). Ultimately, men and women may use different approaches to decision-making (Gilligan, 1977), and while men are more concerned with traditional ideas of justice (Martin & Jurik, 1996; Miller, 1998), women focus more on how their decision-making impacts others (Boyd & Nelson, 2017; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Menkel-Meadow, 1985; Miller, 1998; Schuck, 2014). As a result of different voice or the feminine ethic of care, some researchers suggest that female practitioners may engage in decision-making in the context of the criminal justice system with more of a rehabilitative focus than their male counterparts (Boyd & Nelson, 2017; Miller, 1998).

Informational Theory

Conceptualized as a way to understand how individuals' socialized experiences may inform their professional approaches, informational theory focuses on the race and gender of individual workers (Boyd, 2016; Brandl et al., 2001; Chew & Kelley, 2012; Jackson & Ammen, 1996; Jurik, 1985; Kulik et al., 2003). Informational theory suggests that female and racial minority actors may make decisions based on their own experiences related to race or gender (Boyd, 2016; Kulik et al., 2003). For example, studies suggest that female judges may be more likely to rule in favor of the plaintiff in sexual harassment cases (Boyd, 2016) and African American judges may be more likely to rule in favor of the plaintiff in discrimination cases (Boyd, 2016; Chew & Kelley, 2012). Researchers speculate that these findings may reflect female and African American judges' intimate understanding of discrimination, potentially because they have experienced comparable harms themselves (Boyd, 2016; Kulik et al., 2003). Jackson and Ammen (1996) found that Black corrections officers generally viewed inmates more favorably and were more likely to support the institutionalized delivery of services or programming to inmates than were White corrections officers. They theorized that these trends were a result of African American officers' better understanding of the needs of racial minority inmates (Jackson & Ammen, 1996).

Tokenism

Although it was initially introduced to explain how minority individuals may experience marginalization within a gender-neutral organization (Kanter, 1978), tokenism has been utilized in the literature to explore the decision-making of gendered and racialized minorities within organizations (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Martin, 1994;

Peresie, 2005; Steffensmeier & Britt, 2001; Van Voorhis et al., 1991; Walsh, 1984).

Although applied to individual workers, tokenism depends on the worker's minority status within the organization, not on their socialized experiences as related to their sociodemographic characteristics beyond the workplace. Tokenism is often suggested by researchers when gender and racial minorities act in ways contrary to the previous literature. For example, when Black judges deliver harsher sentences than White judges (Steffensmeier & Britt, 2001) and when female probation officers give more lenient presentence investigation report recommendations in sexual assault cases than male officers (Walsh, 1984). It is suggested that in these instances, individuals with a token status attempt to overcompensate with their actions as a way to reject their token status and be viewed as equal by their colleagues.

As women and individuals of Color may be less willing to advocate for their own interests when they are only minimally represented within an organization, theorists speculate that minority individuals may begin advocating for and effectively instituting widespread changes in organizations that reflect their own interests (and the interests of their similarly situated colleagues) once a "critical mass" has been met (Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017). Kanter (1977b) asserts that individuals receive a "token" status when they comprise less than 15% of an organization. As workers remain "tokens" within the organization, they may utilize a variety of methods to remain anonymous within the organization as opposed to drawing additional attention to their token status (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). As minority workers have greater representation within an organization (around 35-40% of employees), it is theorized that they will begin to and will be more effective in advocating for their own interests within the organization (Nicholson-Crotty

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et al., 2017). It is possible that an influx of women and racial minority workers may create significant changes within organizations, but those changes are likely only possible when a "critical mass" is achieved and able to advocate for their own interests. This theoretical application serves to link the decisions of individual workers to the larger organizational context and has been used to explore the practitioners' experiences in a variety of criminal justice positions (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Martin, 1994; Peresie, 2005; Steffensmeier & Britt, 2001; Van Voorhis et al., 1991; Walsh, 1984).

Intersectionality

While not considered an independent theory, intersectionality has occasionally been used as a framework through which to study decision-making, recognizing that individual workers' gender and race likely influence their experiences and professional judgements (Collins & Moyer, 2008; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Martin, 1994; Pogrebin et al., 2000). Although intersectionality was formally introduced in the early 1990s (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) and has roots from the Black feminist movement of the 1970s (Collins, 1986; Daly, 1993; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Potter, 2013), intersectional analysis of criminal justice practitioners' experiences have been minimally applied in the current literature. While practitioners' race and gender have begun to be increasingly studied, research often targets either female practitioners or racial minority practitioners without considering how both race and gender frame practitioners' experiences and decision-making (Greene, 2000).

Intersectional analysis may be limited in some areas of the literature based on the lack of diversity within the criminal justice field. While 20% of federal judges are racial minorities and 27% are women, Black women comprise only 3.4% of federal judges in

the United States (Root, 2019), and according to the Federal Judicial Center (2020) only 58 federal judges since 1789 have been African American women. Boyd (2016) discussed the issue of Black female underrepresentation in her study that included over 2,000 EEOC cases reviewed within federal courts over a ten year period wherein only three African American female judges were present in the dataset. Several policing studies reported comparable underrepresentation in their samples. Dodge and Pogrebin conducted research in a department with 1,400 sworn officers, only 21 of which are Black women (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Pogrebin et al., 2000), and Hassell and Brandl (2009) report that only 5% of their study sample was comprised of Black women, although it is unclear if the sample was representative of the police department with which they were working. Ultimately, it maybe that that underrepresentation of racial minority women in historically male-dominated criminal justice fields has contributed to the limited application of an intersectional framework to current studies.

While intersectionality has been used less frequently to study the decision-making of criminal justice actors, the literature does suggest that the intersections of race and gender impact practitioner decision-making in criminal justice fields (Collins & Moyer, 2008). More commonly, intersectional studies have focused broadly on the experiences of female practitioners in the criminal justice system (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Martin, 1994; Pogrebin et al., 2000). These studies suggest that the experiences of female practitioners of Color differ from those they might share with their White female counterparts or with their Black male colleagues (Greene, 2000; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Pogrebin et al., 2000), although fewer studies have focused explicitly on how the

intersections of race and gender may be associated with decision-making (Collins &

Moyer, 2008).

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Community Corrections Officer Decision-Making

Generally understudied, probation and parole officers have been termed the invisible officers of the criminal justice world (Lutze, 2014). Probation and parole officers are generally in a unique position within the system, functioning in many ways as law enforcement officers but expected to simultaneously work to meet the needs of offenders under their supervision. These officers must supervise offenders to ensure they are compliant with their court or state ordered conditions while working to ensure that offenders are successful under their supervision and do not reoffend while living in the community. To complete these tasks, officers engage in a variety of activities including: field visits, office visits, communicating with treatment providers to ensure that offenders are making progress in their respective treatment programs, connecting offenders with community resources, completing employment verifications, and conducting regular drug screens to detect illicit drug use (Hawley, 2012; Ruhland, 2020; Vissing, 2012).

As officers are generally the primary point of contact for offenders in the system, these officers are often the first (and sometimes only) practitioners in the position to detect offender noncompliance or recognize and address offenders' needs. Largely as a result of this responsibility, officers generally enjoy autonomy in determining which supervision strategies to employ and often have discretion when deciding how to respond to offenders' needs or noncompliance (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clarke, 1979; Clear et

al., 1992; Kerbs et al., 2009; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Schaefer & Williamson, 2017; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem & Manchak, 2008). Essentially, many probation and parole officers can determine how to supervise offenders in their charge and how to respond to their violations when such misconduct arises. With community corrections populations continuing to soar in the era of mass incarceration (Chamberlain et al., 2018; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Kerbs et al., 2009; Lowenkamp et al., 2006; Lutze, 2014; Phelps, 2013, 2017; Purkiss et al., 2003; Ruhland, 2020; Schlager, 2008; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem & Manchak, 2008; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004; Wodahl et al., 2011), it has become increasingly important to understand how these officers supervise offenders in their charge, especially considering how these supervision approaches may impact offender outcomes (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Blasko et al., 2015; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Kennealy et al., 2012; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Skeem et al., 2007; Skeem & Manchak, 2008).

A systematic review of the community corrections officer decision-making literature revealed this research has generally been focused in four broad areas: officer orientation, officer-offender relationships, violation response and revocation studies, and sentence and treatment recommendations (see Table B.1. Probation and Parole Officer Decision-Making Studies). Organizationally, this review of the literature consists of each of these broad areas, focusing first on the topical areas that have received the most attention in the literature. Officer orientation and officer-offender relationship studies comprise the bulk of the decision-making literature. Officer orientation studies may aim to understand how officer orientation (or how officers approach their jobs) is associated with officers' behaviors or attitudes (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Dembo, 1972; DeMichele &

Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Miller, 2012, 2015; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), and ultimately how officer orientation may impact offender outcomes (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Steiner et al., 2011). Officer-offender relationships have become an important focus recently in the literature, largely within the context of evidence based practices (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta et al., 2008; Kennealy et al., 2012; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Skeem et al., 2007; Viglione et al., 2018), and these studies examine the impact that officer-offender relationships may have for offenders' supervision outcomes (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Blasko et al., 2015; Bonta et al., 2011; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Kennealy et al., 2012; Skeem et al., 2007).

Other studies that explore officer decision-making include measuring how officers respond to violations (Kerbs et al., 2009), specifically through revocations (Clear et al., 1992; Grattet et al., 2009; Prus & Stratton, 1976), and what sentence or treatment recommendations officers may give (Erez, 1989; Katz, 1982; Rosecrance, 1988; Walsh, 1984). A majority of revocation studies focus specifically on probationers and parolees and what sociodemographic or sentencing characteristics may be associated with their likelihood of being revoked (Davis, 1964; Gould et al., 2011; Grattet et al., 2009; Kassebaum et al., 1999; Kassebaum & Davidson-Coronado, 2001; Landis et al., 1969; Morgan, 1994; Olson et al., 2003; Olson & Lurigio, 2000; Phelps, 2017; Sims & Jones, 1997; Steen et al., 2012; Steen & Opsal, 2007; Steinmetz & Henderson, 2015, 2016; Vito et al., 2012; Wilson, 2005). However, a small number of studies have focused on why officers pursue revocations and what officer-level factors may increase or decrease the

likelihood that officers recommend revocations for offenders (Clarke, 1979; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Prus & Stratton, 1976; Steiner et al., 2011). Probation officer decision-making has also been studied using sentence and treatment recommendations (Erez, 1989; Katz, 1982), largely through presentence investigation report (PSI) recommendations (Walsh, 1984). These studies, however, have generally focused on extralegal variables associated with offenders being sentenced and have rarely been used to explore officer decision-making.

A systematic review of the current literature on officer decision-making indicates that limited research has been done that focuses specifically on officer gender and race within the context of decision-making (see Table B.2. Probation and Parole Officer Gender and Race Studies). Initial studies often included male only samples (Glaser, 1964), which likely reflect employment trends wherein women were either excluded from the criminal justice labor force entirely or relegated to feminized spaces until federal legislation in the 1960s and 1970s began to dismantle gendered employment barriers (Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2011; Garcia, 2003; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Miller, 1998). Since their entrance into community corrections, however, women have become more proportionately represented in the field, comprising almost half of all probation and parole officers in the U.S. by 2019 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Even as women have become more represented in the field, however, little research has focused on their unique experiences or how their decision-making may differ from that of their male counterparts. Some studies have included gender as one of many sociodemographic variables (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Katz, 1982; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter &

West, 2003; Skeem et al., 2007), but an even smaller amount of research has focused extensively on gender as potentially an important aspect of officer decision-making (Ireland & Berg, 2008). This pattern is particularly troublesome in light of feminist scholarship that advocates that gender frames the experiences of individuals and should be an integral focus of research as opposed to an additional variable peripherally included and minimally considered (Chesney-Lind, 2006; Morris & Gelsthorpe, 1991).

To review the officer decision-making literature within the context of officer race and gender, a systematic review of the literature was conducted to identify studies that focused to some significant degree on how officers' race and/or gender may frame their experiences and decision-making. This search yielded several studies that focused on race and/or gender (Erez, 1989; Grattet et al., 2009; Ireland & Berg, 2007, 2008; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Walsh, 1984; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), although the extent to which each of the studies focused on race and gender varied. Next, each of the previously identified studies (including those that focused on officer orientation, officer-offender relationships, violation responses and revocation studies, and sentence and treatment recommendations) were reviewed for whether or not researchers included and reported on officer sociodemographic characteristics and to what extent these factors were included in the final analyses of the studies. This careful review revealed additional studies that included some measure of officer race and gender (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Miller, 2012), although not all of these studies reported officer race and/or gender in their analyses (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Katz,

1982; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003).

In an effort to contextualize why officer race and gender may be relevant to officer decision-making, a review of the policing literature was conducted. This review yielded studies that included officer gender and/or officer race, specifically focuses on officer-citizen interactions and citizen complaints (Brandl et al., 2001; DeJong, 2005; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Sun & Payne, 2004), different moments of officer discretion (including stop, search, ticketing, arrest, and use of force decisions) (Brown & Frank, 2006; Gilliard-Matthews et al., 2008; Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; Lundman, 2009; McElvain & Kposowa, 2008; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017; Tillyer et al., 2012), and officers' perceptions of their own experiences as police officers (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Pogrebin et al., 2000; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Schuck, 2014). While this literature is mixed, several studies detected significant differences in the perspectives and practices of female officers and/or officers of Color (Brandl et al., 2001; Brown & Frank, 2006; DeJong, 2005; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Gilliard-Matthews et al., 2008; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; McElvain & Kposowa, 2008; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017; Pogrebin et al., 2000; Rabe-Hemp, 2008, 2009; Schuck, 2014; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Sun & Payne, 2004; Tillyer et al., 2012), suggesting that officer race and gender may frame how officers engage professionally. Ultimately, these findings support the application of an intersectional lens when studying community corrections officer decision-making.

To fully review the available literature on probation and parole officer decision-making, it is useful to first discuss the studies that have been conducted, focusing on

officer orientation, officer-offender relationships, revocation studies, and sentence recommendations made by probation officers. Once these areas have been reviewed, it is instructive to separately consider how gender has been treated in decision-making studies, recognizing when and how gender has been incorporated into research studies focusing on community corrections. Additionally, a brief review of the policing literature regarding officer race and gender is included. Finally, gaps in the existing literature will be identified and discussed.

Officer Orientation

Officer orientation refers to how an officer perceives and approaches his or her job functions as a community corrections officer, and researchers suggest that this orientation has changed over time and may be impacted by a variety of factors. There is also mixed research to suggest that officer orientation may impact how community corrections officers engage in professional decision-making, which may ultimately impact offenders' supervision outcomes on probation and parole. To fully explore officer orientation and its importance to officer decision-making and offender outcomes, it is imperative to understand how officer orientation has developed, what factors may influence officers' orientation, and what evidence exists to suggest or refute officer orientation's influence on how officers approach supervising probationers and parolees.

Since the introduction of officer orientation to the community corrections literature, researchers have worked to understand how officers assume an orientation. Some studies suggest that officers independently choose orientations (Dembo, 1972; Miller, 2015; Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009), while other research suggests that external

factors likely influence the officer orientation that officers adopt (Clear & Latessa, 1993;

DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Glaser, 1964; Hsieh et al., 2015; Miller, 2015; Ohlin et al.,

1956; Robinson et al., 2012; Schaefer & Williamson, 2017; Seiter & West, 2003).

Although the literature is inconclusive regarding what ultimately influences officer

orientation, researchers have generally identified three factors that may influence

officers' orientations: departmental factors, officer sociodemographic characteristics, and

situational factors.

Historical Background

Officer orientation was first introduced in the 1950s when Ohlin et al. (1956)

theorized that three officer orientations likely exist in the community corrections field:

punitive officers, protective officers, and officers focused on welfare or social work.

Originally, punitive officers were believed to focus extensively on surveillance and

control activities and were likely influenced by the law enforcement component of

community corrections work (Ohlin et al., 1956). In contrast, officers that specialized in

welfare work were more so concerned with cultivating meaningful relationships with

offenders, offering individualized treatment and supervision, and implementing skills

obtained through social work training (Ohlin et al., 1956). Protective officers

"vacillate[d] between protecting the offender and protecting the community" (Ohlin et

al., 1956, p. 215). These officers did not identify strictly with punitive or welfare goals,

and Ohlin and colleagues explain (1956) that this officer does not exhibit strong ties to

either the offenders on his caseload or the community.

Almost a decade later, Glaser (1964) revisited Ohlin et al.'s (1956) officer orientation designations and suggested an additional officer orientation be included: the passive officer. While Glaser (1964) agreed with Ohlin et al.'s (1956) original suggested orientations, he argued that some officers likely did not fit into the original categories, and that these passive officers instead were biding their time until retirement, focusing less on the supervision needs of probationers and parolees or the community and more so on their own financial incentives to continue working in their jobs. Since its introduction, Glaser's (1964) passive officer orientation has been minimally included in research on officer orientation, with only a few studies including the passive officer (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Klockars, 1972).

Building on the work of Ohlin and colleagues (1956) and Glaser (1964), Klockars (1972) made a major contribution to the study of officer orientation with his introduction of the synthetic officer. Klockars (1972) agreed that some officers focused more extensively on surveillance and control tasks, terming these officers *law enforcers*, while other officers aimed to provide social assistance to probationers and parolees to help them be successful under supervision, calling these officers *therapeutic agents*. Klockars (1972) also agreed that some officers were less focused on their professional tasks and more concerned with earning a paycheck and eventual retirement benefits; he referred to these officers as *time servers*. Unlike Ohlin and colleagues (1956) and Glaser (1964), though, Klockars (1972) suggested that some officers may borrow from both law enforcement and therapeutic tasks to create a blended approach to supervision, which he labeled as *synthetic officers*. Since Klockars's (1972) introduction of the synthetic officer,

three dominant officer orientations have been studied in the literature: law enforcement, social work, and synthetic officers.

As probation and parole officers have been asked by departments to engage in a variety of activities, often focusing simultaneously on law enforcement and rehabilitation tasks, researchers have suggested that officers likely experience dual role conflict (Chamberlain et al., 2018; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Purkiss et al., 2003; Schaefer & Williams, 2018). Dual role conflict refers to the frustration officers may experience when they are expected to engage in supervising and surveilling offenders while also working to develop trust and rapport with probationers and parolees. Researchers suggest that dual role conflict may cause stress for officers attempting to fill multiple roles, result in officer burnout, and may ultimately lead to officers adopting one officer orientation as opposed to constantly shifting between multiple orientations (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Fulton et al., 1997).

Officer Orientation and Supervision Practices

In his early work on officer orientation and decision-making, Dembo (1972) explained that both officers' attitudes and their actions can be used to determine their orientation. Writing at the same time, Dembo (1972) and Klockars (1972) elaborate on Ohlin and colleagues' (1956) work on officer orientation, suggesting that officers may engage in certain supervision practices as a result of their officer orientations. Officers with a law enforcement orientation may be more likely to depend on the use of sanctions (Klockars, 1972) and "threats of incarceration to achieve compliance" (Skeem & Manchak, 2008, p. 223). Officers more oriented towards social work may be more

inclined to prioritize building rapport with offenders, may take steps to connect offenders with resources, and may take advantage of professional training in an effort to more successfully supervise offenders (Dembo, 1972; Klockars, 1972; Ohlin et al., 1956). Synthetic officers may emphasize the need to supervise offenders in compliance with their court-ordered conditions, but may also attempt to work with offenders to ensure their successful reintegration into society (Klockars, 1972). These officers may supervise their caseload by establishing and discussing their firm expectations that offenders comply with their conditions, yet at the same time working to build positive rapport with offenders (Skeem & Manchak, 2008).

Ultimately, the suggestion is that officers' actions and supervision practices may be influenced by their professional orientations (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Dembo, 1972; Klockars, 1972; Miller, 2012; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010). Some research suggests that officer orientation does frame decision-making (Dembo, 1972) and may influence which work-related tasks officers prioritize (Seiter & West, 2003; West & Seiter, 2004). Much of the research in this area is mixed, with some studies finding that officer orientation and attitudes are associated with decision-making (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Miller, 2012; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003; Steiner et al., 2011) and other studies failing to find significant relationships between officer orientation and decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Steiner et al., 2011).

Several studies have found that officer attitudes are associated with how officers perform their job tasks, wherein officers with a surveillance orientation are more likely to engage in controlling behaviors and officers with a social work orientation are more

likely to employ rehabilitative strategies when supervising offenders (Miller, 2012; Seiter & West, 2003; West & Seiter, 2004). In Clear and Latessa's (1993) work, they found that that this trend was true for surveillance-oriented officers, but not for officers that adopted a social worker orientation; they suggest that these variations may reflect the impact that departmental policies can have in influencing officer orientation.

Other studies have found mixed results when considering the relationship between officer attitude and officer actions, suggesting that officer orientation may be associated with just some areas of decision-making (Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011). In their study, Ricks and Eno Louden (2015) found that officer orientation may be most influential when responding to ongoing noncompliance. Surveillance and synthetic officers were more likely to use severe graduated sanctions than were officers with a social worker orientation when responding to continued noncompliance (Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015). Additionally, Steiner and colleagues (2011) found that orientation influenced how officers *intended* to do their jobs, but did not translate into how officers *actually* supervised offenders on their caseloads. When observing how officers actually responded to offender violations, Steiner and colleagues (2011) observed no difference in officers' use of sanctions, regardless of their orientation. However, officers' decision to pursue revocations was associated with officer orientation (Steiner et al., 2011). These findings suggest that officer orientation may be significant for some aspects of decision-making, but not others.

Other studies have failed to find any significant association between officer orientation and officer actions (Bolin & Applegate, 2018). In the bivariate analysis of their study, Bolin and Applegate (2018) initially found some correlation between officer

orientation and officer decision-making, wherein officers with a surveillance orientation were more likely to sanction and revoke offenders and less likely to employ supervision methods that included praising and rewarding offenders for positive behaviors. However, these associations failed to remain significant when researchers controlled for additional factors. Ultimately, Bolin and Applegate (2018) suggest that organizational factors likely have a greater impact on officer decision-making than officer attitudes and that officer orientation alone cannot account for how officers supervise offenders.

Officer Orientation Influences

Departmental Factors. Researchers have long suggested that probation and parole officer orientation is likely impacted by organizational factors (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clear & Latessa, 1993; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Glaser, 1964; Kerbs et al., 2009; Klockars, 1972; Schaefer & Williamson, 2017), including departmental policy (Dembo, 1972; Miller, 2015; Ohlin et al., 1956; Robinson et al., 2012; West & Seiter, 2004), agency culture (Ohlin et al., 1956; Robinson et al., 2012; Seiter & West, 2003; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004), caseload characteristics (Chamberlain et al., 2018; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004), and office location (Miller, 2015; West & Seiter, 2004). Although probation and parole officers generally enjoy discretion with their decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clear et al., 1992; Drake, 2011; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kennealy et al., 2012; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Schaefer & Williamson, 2017; Seiter & West, 2003), some studies suggest that organizational factors may override personal beliefs and officer characteristics when officers are adopting orientations at work (Clear & Latessa, 1993;

DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Glaser, 1964; Robinson et al., 2012; Steiner et al., 2011).

Therefore, understanding how organizational factors influence officer orientation is

essential to establishing a better understanding of officer decision-making.

Studies suggest that the broad goals of probation and parole departments may

influence the orientations of individual officers (Burton et al., 1992; Hsieh et al., 2015;

Miller, 2012, 2015; Robinson et al., 2012). As historical shifts have occurred in the

overarching goals of community corrections agencies, departments have responded by

emphasizing different aspects of offender supervision. One measurement used to

understand how departments prioritize officer activities is to consider how states have

statutorily defined community corrections officer positions. Using this approach, Burton

and colleagues (1992) observed that many states required officers to engage in

surveillance and control tasks, with less emphasis on traditional rehabilitative job duties.

A decade later, using the same methodological approach, Purkiss and colleagues (2003)

found that more states were beginning to focus more on the rehabilitative functions of

probation officers. Most states, however, still generally supported law enforcement tasks

and expected officers to become POST certified, which often includes carrying a firearm

on the job and serving arrest warrants for probation agencies (Purkiss et al., 2003). Most

recently, departments have emphasized some combination of law enforcement and

rehabilitative tasks for probation officers, expecting that officers will implement "case

manager-oriented functions," specifically developing case plans for offenders, utilizing

risk/needs assessments during intake, and connecting offenders with available community

services (Hsieh et al., 2015, p. 24). As legally defined job duties change, officers are

asked to alter how they supervise offenders, potentially impacting how they engage in decision-making regarding offender supervision.

Researchers suggest that officers must adapt to departmental policies and agency culture, and that these factors influence officer orientation and decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018). As departments alter their focus, formal policies and informal culture will also change, impacting officers' adoption of officer orientation and offender supervision practices (Burton et al., 1992; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Dembo, 1972; Hsieh et al., 2015; Miller, 2015). Formal policies may influence what tasks supervisors and officers emphasize (Clear & Latessa, 1993; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Glaser, 1964) and what actions officers must take in certain situations, ultimately limiting how much discretion officers enjoy when supervising offenders (Ohlin et al., 1956). As these policies become solidified in the department, agency culture may be shaped, further influencing officer attitudes and perceptions (Glaser, 1964; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011). Some research indicates that how officers' peers supervise offenders may have implications for how individual officers complete job tasks (Seiter & West, 2003), further suggesting that agency culture may have a significant impact on officer decision-making.

Other organizational factors that may influence officer decision-making and officer orientation includes caseload characteristics, specifically caseload sizes and caseload types. Studies that have included caseload size as a variable in decision-making have been mixed, with some studies suggesting that larger caseloads are associated with more punitive responses to violations (Caplan, 2006; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Kerbs et al., 2009; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992) and other studies resulting in opposite findings (Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011). It may be that officers with larger

caseloads are more likely to depend on punitive measures that may result in the offender being removed from their supervision as a form of caseload management (Kerbs et al., 2009); alternatively, larger caseloads and associated time constraints may mean that officers are less likely engage in punitive measures that may require officers to spend additional time responding to violations (Caplan, 2006; Miller, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003). Caseload types may also impact how officers supervise offenders on their caseloads. Some research suggests that officers that supervise specialized or ISP caseloads may be more willing to engage in rehabilitative casework activities (Fulton et al., 1997; West & Seiter, 2004), whereas other studies find that officers with more specialized or high risk caseloads are more likely to engage in punitive responses to offender violations (Steiner et al., 2011). It may be that the nature of specialized caseloads require officers to be more involved with offenders and therefore, more willing to apply multiple supervision strategies; some specialized caseloads may include higher risk offenders, though, which may result in officers being more willing to utilize surveillance approaches to reduce the risk of clients reoffending while under their supervision.

Additional evidence suggests that office location may have an effect on officer orientation and supervisory practices. While some studies have found that neither geographic region (Fulton et al., 1997; Kerbs et al., 2009) nor community characteristics are associated with officer orientation (Fulton et al., 1997), other research suggests that community characteristics may influence how officers supervise offenders (Kerbs et al., 2009; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010). This literature notes that officers who work in urban locations are more likely to engage in punitive supervision approaches

than officers who work in more rural areas (Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010), resulting in offenders with higher rates of revocations, technical violations, and new arrests during their supervision (Olson et al., 2001). Depending on a dichotomous understanding of community characteristics (urban and rural) may be limited, though, as Kerbs and colleagues (2009) found that only suburban offices differed, with officers more likely to engage in formal sanctions for some types of violations. Ultimately, more research should be conducted in this area to better understand how regional and community differences may influence officer supervision.

      Officer Characteristics and Philosophy. As researchers have explored officer orientation and decision-making, there has been some suggestion that officer sociodemographic characteristics and individual philosophies may impact how officers supervise offenders (Katz, 1982; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004), but it is unclear which factors may be associated with officer decision-making. Studies have been mixed regarding the significance of sociodemographic characteristics, with some studies finding these background factors may be associated with orientation and decision-making (Miller, 2012, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992) and other researchers failing to find any associations between them (Dembo, 1972; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012; Ward & Kupchik, 2010). In his discussion of judicial decision-making, Goldman (1970) explains that "at least part of judicial behavior is probably accounted for by their attitudes and philosophical outlook as it has been shaped by their

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life experiences" (p. 150), and it is likely that this sentiment applies to other criminal justice actors including probation and parole officers.

Researchers have included a variety of officer sociodemographic variables in their studies, generally yielding mixed results regarding the significance of such characteristics to officer orientation and decision-making. Although generally understudied, some researchers have found officer gender to be impactful for officer orientation and supervision approaches. Studies that have found differences between male and female officers regarding orientation suggest generally that female officers are more likely to emphasize rehabilitation as a primary goal of supervision (Miller, 2012, 2015; Ward & Kupchik, 2010) and are more likely than male officers to engage in social work activities (West & Seiter, 2004), including rewarding offenders for meeting supervision goals (Steiner et al., 2011). Alternatively, male officers are more likely to focus on surveillance as the dominant goal of probation and parole (Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992) and are generally more inclined to use punishment to enforce supervision conditions (Ward & Kupchik, 2010). Still, some studies have failed to find that male and female officers differ in their officer orientation and supervision approaches (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997). Studies that have included officer race have resulted in a variety of results. Miller (2012) found that Black officers are more likely to engage in surveillance approaches, while Ward and Kupchik (2010) initially detected that White officers use more punitive supervision, although when they controlled for other variables, race failed to be significant. Other researchers failed to find any evidence that race is correlated with officer orientation and decision-making (Dembo, 1972; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Steiner et al., 2011).

Although some evidence suggests that no association exists between officer age and supervision practices (DeMichele & Payne, 2018), other studies have detected such associations. Officer age has been found to be positively associated with rehabilitation (Miller, 2012) and negatively associated with punishment (Ward & Kupchik, 2010), suggesting that older officers may be more likely to prefer social work activities and less likely to prefer surveillance supervision approaches. Although Steiner and colleagues (2011) found that officer tenure and education are negatively associated with sanction rates, studies generally suggest that there are no significant correlations between officer tenure (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Kerbs et al., 2009; Ward & Kupchik, 2010) or officer education level (Dembo, 1972; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Miller, 2012) and officer orientation. Interestingly, officer orientation also did not seem to be influenced by officers' former employment, as Dembo (1972) found that former professional experience was not associated with officer orientation. These diverse findings suggest that further research must be done to better understand possible associations with sociodemographic variables, officer orientation, and decision-making.

Situational Factors. While some research indicates that organizational factors and officer sociodemographic characteristics likely influence officer orientation and decision-making, other evidence suggests that these factors are less important. Some studies find that officers respond to situations on a case-by-case basis (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Seiter & West, 2003; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004) and that their orientation is subsequently more fluid (Clear & Latessa, 1993). This line of research points out that these officers do not identify with one orientation and strictly adhere to it, but instead respond to each situation as it arises and

therefore these officers utilize both social work and surveillance approaches, sometimes

simultaneously (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Ward & Kupchik, 2010). While it is

suggested that some outside factors, such as departmental policies, have some impact on

decision-making for these officers (Seiter & West, 2003), researchers point out that

officers generally have broad discretion and are likely granted significant latitude when

determining how to respond to offender violations and successes (Klockars, 1972; Seiter

& West, 2003; West & Seiter, 2004).

Situational factors may include the officers' perception of and relationship with

individual offenders (Dembo, 1972; Klockars, 1972; Ohlin et al., 1956), and the specific

needs and risks associated with an offender (Clear & Latessa, 1993). In their original

work on officer orientation, Ohlin and colleagues (1956) theorized that the offender

component of supervision was relevant to officer orientation and that officers must learn

to contend with the duality of community supervision, wherein offenders require both

assistance and supervision. Officers may decide to utilize supervision strategies that they

believe will best meet offenders' needs, regardless of whether or not individual strategies

are considered social work or surveillance approaches (Clear & Latessa, 1993). Officers'

perceptions of how offenders will respond to these measures may also frame how officers

supervise individual offenders. Officers who perceive that offenders will respond well to

assistance may be more willing to work with those offenders, whereas officers who

expect an offender to continue to reoffend may be less likely to engage in helping

behaviors and more willing to make use of control measures (Dembo, 1972). Moreover,

officers' understanding of why offenders violate their supervision conditions may also

frame how officers utilize sanctions, using more punitive measures when officers

perceive offenders to be more culpable and using social work approaches for offenders that officers view as victims of negative social or environmental factors (Dembo, 1972).

Officer-Offender Relationships

While officer orientation studies have persisted since the 1950s, studies focusing on officer-offender relationships has been a relatively recent phenomenon, with a majority of these studies having been conducted in the last decade (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Blasko et al., 2015; Bonta et al., 2011; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kennealy et al., 2012; Morash et al., 2015; Ruhland, 2020; Skeem et al., 2007). As community corrections populations rise, researchers have begun to highlight the important role that community corrections officers may play in reducing recidivism for probationers and parolees (Ruhland, 2020), especially in the context of utilizing the Risk-Needs-Responsivity (RNR) model (Taxman, 2008; Viglione et al., 2018). While supervision approaches and primary goals of community corrections have shifted from rehabilitation to surveillance, recent efforts have begun to focus on the implementation of empirical research to increase effective supervision strategies within community corrections (Chamberlain et al., 2018). One important development has been the introduction and adoption of the RNR model, wherein officers determine offenders' risks for reoffending, their criminogenic needs, and work to deliver individualized responses to meet those needs (Andrews et al., 1990). As this research area has developed, researchers have begun to emphasize the importance of officer-offender relationships to the effective delivery of supervision, specifically as a means to reduce recidivism of offenders under community supervision (Bonta et al., 2011; Kennealy et al., 2012; Taxman, 2008;

Viglione et al., 2018). Not surprisingly then, most of these studies focus exclusively on some measure of offender recidivism, often rearrest or reincarceration (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Bonta et al., 2011; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Kennealy et al., 2012; Skeem et al., 2007).

Generally, these studies indicate that officer-offender relationships can greatly impact offenders' supervision experiences and outcomes and may ultimately help protect offenders against recidivism. Overwhelmingly, the evidence suggests that positive officer-offender relationships are correlated with reduced reoffending, rearrests, reincarceration, and recidivism (Blasko et al., 2015; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Kennealy et al., 2012; Skeem & Manchak, 2008), and alternatively, negative officer-offender relationships are associated with increased risk of recidivism for probationers and parolees (Chamberlain et al., 2018; Skeem et al., 2007). These studies suggest that positive officer-offender relationships can reduce recidivism when offenders feel that they are cared for and treated fairly by their supervising officer, when offenders receive social support from officers, and when officers more consistently adhere to the RNR model of supervision.

Studies note that officer-offender relationships defined as "fair, firm, and caring" by offenders can be especially protective against negative outcomes (Kennealy et al., 2012, p. 501), particularly for high risk offenders and offenders that suffer from mental health and substance abuse issues (Blasko et al., 2015; Morash et al., 2015; Skeem et al., 2007). Comparing the officer-offender relationship to relationships cultivated in therapeutic spaces, Skeem and colleagues (2007) assert that offenders are more likely to follow directives from officers when they feel that officers are treating them fairly and

respectfully. Female officers in Ireland and Berg's (2008) study agreed that treating offenders respectfully and building positive rapport can result in increased offender compliance, explaining that respectful interaction with offenders is more effective than depending on more aggressive enforcement tactics. Furthermore, Morash and colleagues (2015) emphasized the importance of caring officer-offender relationships; they found that the female offenders in their study who perceive their community corrections officer were supportive of their rehabilitative efforts were more likely to report reduced levels of anxiety and increased motivation and optimism for refraining from engaging in criminal activities. Importantly, several studies suggest that "fair, firm, and caring" officer-offender relationships continue to predict better offender outcomes, even after controlling for offenders' risks and needs (Bonta et al., 2011; Kennealy et al., 2012). These findings emphasize the importance of officer supervision styles and officer-offender relationships to positive offender outcomes.

Researchers generally suggest that the officer-offender relationship may be significant because officers are in a unique position to provide special support for offenders under community supervision, especially those returning from prison who are attempting to navigate the reentry process. The reentry literature emphasizes the importance of social support for returning citizens (Colvin et al., 2002; Wolff & Draine, 2004), and community corrections officers may be especially helpful in providing this support (Bares & Mowen, 2019). Officer support could include connecting offenders with resources within the community (Bares & Mowen, 2019), but also could mean establishing positive officer-offender relationships wherein offenders feel comfortable seeking assistance and social support from officers (Chamberlain et al., 2018). This may

be especially true for female offenders who are more dependent on their community corrections officers for prosocial support than their male counterparts (Morash et al., 2015). For female probationers and parolees, officers may offer both tangible resources and support that lead to successful outcomes in the community.

Researchers have also highlighted the importance of officer-offender relationships as they relate to the delivery of the RNR model of supervision, asserting that how officers deliver supervision and treatment can significantly influence the effectiveness of probation and parole supervision (Kennealy et al., 2012). Utilizing interviews with offenders residing in a substance abuse treatment facility, Blasko and colleagues (2015) found that offenders who described their relationship with their parole officer as positive were less likely to violate their supervision conditions, especially when they felt encouraged to work together with officers in the development of their case plans. Moreover, supervision efforts that focus on meeting offenders' criminogenic needs may result in reduced recidivism rates for offenders (Bonta et al., 2011), but only when offenders are willing to express their needs to officers (Chamberlain et al., 2018). These developments highlight the importance of developing positive officer-offender relationships.

Interestingly, positive officer-offender relationships may have benefits that extend beyond offender outcomes. In their qualitative study of female parole officers, Ireland and Berg (2008) found that officers generally relied on respectful interactions with offenders, not only to garner better compliance, but also for heightened officer safety. The officers in this study unanimously discussed the importance of establishing respectful rapport with offenders, explaining that these carefully cultivated relationships

helped ensure their own physical safety in the field (Ireland & Berg, 2008). For these

officers, such relationships extended even beyond offenders, and included positive

interactions with offenders' loved ones as well (Ireland & Berg, 2008). Collectively,

these studies suggest that officer-offender relationships can have serious implications,

both for offenders attempting to successfully reintegrate and for the safety of officers in

the field.

Violation Response and Revocation Studies

When studying officer decision-making, many studies have focused on

understanding how officers respond to probation and parole violations. When defendants

are sentenced to probation or released on parole, they are given a list of supervision

conditions that they are required to follow. The standard conditions of community

corrections may include requiring the defendant to maintain a stable residence and

employment, refrain from illegal drug use, and agree not to leave the state without

explicit permission from his or her community corrections officer (Clarke, 1979). If

offenders fail to follow these rules, then officers may respond to these violations in a

variety of ways, including informal and formal sanctions (Wodahl et al., 2011). A notable

caveat of these terms of supervision includes the states' ability to revoke an offender's

community supervision and incarcerate them in a jail or penitentiary for serious

violations or continued noncompliance. Revocation decisions refer to actions taken by

community corrections officers to pursue revoking probationers' and parolees'

community supervision. Revocations may occur when a defendant violates the conditions

set forth in his or her probation sentence or parole certificate, known as a technical

violation, or when the defendant commits a new crime that violates state or federal law, known as a new offense (Wodahl et al., 2011).

Most violation and revocation studies have focused extensively on what characteristics may make offenders more vulnerable to receiving formal sanctions and revocations (see Table B.3. Revocation Studies). These factors primarily include sociodemographic characteristics, such as race, gender, age, and factors related to an offender's socioeconomic status, including employment and education. Overwhelmingly, the research indicates that some demographic factors are associated with higher revocation rates for offenders, namely race, gender, and age. Studies have often found that young, male, offenders of Color are at a greater risk of revocation than other supervised offenders (Davis, 1964; Gould et al., 2011; Grattet et al., 2009; Lin et al., 2010; Morgan, 1993, 1994; Olson et al., 2003; Olson & Lurigio, 2000; Phelps, 2017; Sims & Jones, 1997; Steen et al., 2012; Steen & Opsal, 2007; Steinmetz & Henderson, 2015, 2016; Vito et al., 2012; Wilson, 2005), although a few studies suggest that race (Kassebaum et al., 1999; Landis et al., 1969; Morgan, 1994) and gender (Gould et al., 2011; Kassebaum & Davidson-Coronado, 2001) are not significantly associated with revocation.

Additional research notes that departmental policy and agency culture may impact revocation decisions (Clear et al., 1992; Steiner et al., 2011) and ultimately offender outcomes (Steinmetz & Henderson, 2016). Departmental-level factors may include department policy and agency culture, wherein department policy refers to the formal rules and guidelines of an organization and agency culture refers to the informal traditions that are observed by organization members (Clear et al., 1992). Generally,

researchers have suggested policy or cultural differences to explain inconsistent revocation rates between offices and cities (Steinmetz & Henderson, 2016), agencies (Bolin & Applegate, 2018) and regions (Grattet et al., 2009) in the same state, and between departments in different states (Steen & Opsal, 2007; Wodahl et al., 2011).

Other departmental-level factors that influence revocation rates could include the community characteristics of offices and internal factors, such as caseload characteristics. Including measures for these variables, Steiner and his colleagues (2011) found that offices located in urban areas were more likely than those in more rural areas to pursue revocations for offenders. Caseload size was also found to be significantly related to revocations, wherein officers who supervised larger caseloads were less likely to both sanction and pursue revocations than officers who supervised smaller caseloads (Steiner et al., 2011). Steiner and his colleagues (2011) also found that officers who supervised high-risk offenders were more likely to pursue revocations for offenders who violated the terms of their supervision than officers who supervised low-risk offenders.

A review of the revocation literature yields few studies that focus on or peripherally include officer-level variables and decision-making. Limited research has been mixed, with some indication that older, female officers of Color may be less punitive in their decision-making regarding pursuing revocations (Steiner et al., 2011) and other research suggesting that female officers and non-White officers may actually be more punitive in their response to some violations (Kerbs et al., 2009). Considering both violations and revocations, Grattet and colleagues (2009) found that female officers and Black officers were more lenient in their responses to less serious violations than male officers and White officers, although they found no significant differences for officer race

or gender when officers were responding to more serious violations. Additional research suggests that an officer's educational attainment and job tenure is negatively associated with the likelihood of an officer to pursue a revocation or sanction an offender (Steiner et al., 2011), although other studies have found no such relationship exists (Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009). Associations between officer work history and officers' likelihood to pursue violations have also been observed, where officers with backgrounds that included having worked in a prison were found to be more lenient in their responses to less serious violations, although these findings did not hold true for officers' responses to more serious violations, wherein there was no difference depending on officers' work history (Grattet et al., 2009).

Officers' perceptions of offenders may also be associated with their likelihood to pursue revocations. Officers who perceive offenders to be more cooperative are less likely to pursue revocations when those offenders violate their conditions (Prus & Stratton, 1976). Officers could also weigh the likelihood that an offender will successfully complete his or her probation or parole when deciding to pursue a revocation (Steen et al., 2012), and he or she might choose to refrain from revoking an offender who he or she perceives is living a traditional and productive lifestyle (Steen & Opsal, 2007). Ultimately, these studies suggest that officer decision-making is likely influenced by a variety of factors, including departmental policies and agency culture (Clear et al., 1992; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009), officers' sociodemographic characteristics (Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Steiner et al., 2011), and officers' perceptions of the offenders on their caseloads and the risk that offenders will continue to violate the

terms of their supervision (Prus & Stratton, 1976; Steen et al., 2012; Steen & Opsal, 2007).

Sentence and Treatment Recommendations

Interestingly, only limited research includes officers' recommendations about sentences (Carter, 1967; Katz, 1982; Rosecrance, 1988; Walsh, 1984) and treatment (Erez, 1989) to explore officer decision-making. As part of their statutory duties, probation officers may be involved in conducting and preparing presentence investigation reports (PSI's) for judges before sentencing decisions are made. PSI's generally include extensive background information on the defendant in the case, the crime itself, and may include victim-impact statements that are delivered with the PSI to the judge. Importantly, probation officers are asked to give their own sentence recommendation for the defendant given the facts of the case and the information the officer has learned through the completion of the investigation. Studies suggest a strong correlation between probation officers' PSI recommendations and the sentences delivered by judges (Freiburger & Hilinski, 2011; Leiber et al., 2018; Leifker & Sample, 2010; Rosecrance, 1988). While PSI recommendations themselves have been studied in other contexts, including understanding judicial decision-making (Freiburger & Hilinski, 2011), exploring members of the courtroom work group's perceptions of PSI recommendations (Leifker & Sample, 2010), and identifying the role of extralegal variables in sentencing decisions, such as offenders' race and gender (Freiburger & Hilinski, 2011; Leiber et al., 2018), there is less research that has focused specifically on PSI recommendations as a means of studying probation officer decision-making.

The studies that have considered sentence recommendations used interviews with officers regarding their PSI recommendations (Rosecrance, 1988), the PSI recommendations themselves (Walsh, 1984), and sentence recommendations garnered through the use of vignette surveys and case information, wherein officers were asked to give a recommendation based on varying scenarios and provided information (Carter, 1967; Katz, 1982). Officer treatment recommendations have also been studied, with specific interest in how officer and offender gender may impact treatment referrals (Erez, 1989).

Using semantic differentials to study officer attitudes, wherein measures are created that represent polar extremes in officer attitudes and allow officers to identify their own attitude along a continuum (Bolin & Applegate, 2018), Katz (1982) found that officer attitudes were significantly associated with officers' recommendations of probation or prison. To determine attitudinal measures, "each respondent answered the question 'Recommending probation in this case is … harmful-beneficial; good-bad; insufficient-sufficient; useful-useless; foolish-wise'" (Katz, 1982, p. 460). Furthermore, Katz (1982) found that officers' beliefs regarding how fellow officers and supervisors would view their decisions was important for officer decision-making, even more so than how officers' perceived judges and the general public to view their decision-making. These findings highlight the importance of studying officers' beliefs regarding peer and supervisory expectations when conducting research regarding officer decision-making.

Using what he refers to as a "decision-making game," Carter (1967) provided a small sample of federal probation officers a variety of information generally included in the PSI (the defendant's sociodemographic information, the defendant's family, medical,

and mental health history, and the defendant's statements surrounding the case) and

asked officers to make sentence recommendations based on the provided information.

The information was not provided to officers as a complete scenario, but instead officers

had to access parts of the provided information individually (Carter, 1967). Carter (1967)

utilized a notebook wherein the type of information was tabbed, forcing the officer to flip

through the notebook to each specific tab to find information (tabs were labeled with the

type of information found in that section, including offense, prior record, defendant's age,

etc.) and allowing Carter to record what information officers were using to make their

decisions and noting the order officers reference certain information. Overall, Carter

(1967) observed that the officers generally approached the scenarios differently, with

each officer developing an individualized system to determine a recommendation, but the

officers generally provided comparable recommendations. Notably, Carter (1967) was

unable to isolate any officer characteristic to explain the variation in PSI approaches.

Opting to interview officers regarding their process of determining their PSI

recommendations, Rosecrance (1988) interviewed 37 officers (8 female and 29 male

officers) regarding how they determine PSI recommendations. Officers generally

reported considering the offender's current offense and criminal history when making

their recommendations. Notably, though, officers reported that they aimed to provide

recommendations that were in line with the court's expectations, suggesting that officers

are influenced by other actors within the courtroom workgroup (Rosecrance, 1988).

In his study of PSI recommendations for sexual assault cases, Walsh (1984)

found that male and female officers view and handle sexual assault cases very differently.

In his study, female officers were less likely to view sexual assault cases as serious

offenses and were more likely to recommend more lenient sentences, whereas male officers were more likely to rank sexual assault as a serious offense and were more likely to recommend harsher sentences to the court (Walsh, 1984). Although significant because it is one of the few studies that focus broadly on officer decision-making through PSI sentence recommendations, Walsh's (1984) work also focuses explicitly on officer gender when considering how officers respond to violent crime against women.

In her study, Erez (1989) reviewed administrative files for probationers in Ohio to ascertain the types of treatments that officers recommended for probationers on their caseloads. Erez (1989) found that the treatment recommendations for male and female probationers differed, but that male and female officers were consistent in their treatment recommendations. Both male and female officers were more likely to recommend that female probationers complete treatment that focuses on domestic relationships, whereas male probationers were referred to treatment programs to address their employment, financial, and emotional needs (Erez, 1989). In this context, male offenders were instructed to complete programming that focused on emotional needs as a result of officers' assumption that male offenders who expressed excessive emotions are themselves problematic (Erez, 1989).

Feminists have often called for an increased representation of women in various employment fields to more fully represent and protect women's interests. However, Erez's (1989) and Walsh's (1984) research suggest that increasing the number of women in the community corrections field may not have the desired effect of providing female offenders with treatment options that better meet their economic, as opposed to domestic, needs or of providing more protection for female victims through the harsh treatment of

male offenders who perpetrate violence against women. Walsh (1984) indicates that the female officers included in his study may not want to be perceived as partial towards female victims and therefore may attempt to remain distanced from such cases. Regardless of why Walsh (1984) and Erez (1989) discovered these findings, their research also highlights the importance of studying officer gender in the context of practitioner decision-making.

Community Corrections Officer Gender and Race

Although researchers have begun to recognize the importance of understanding how community corrections officers engage in decision-making and how their relationships and interactions with offenders may impact offenders' supervision outcomes, limited research has focused on how female officers and officers of Color engage with offenders differently. Historically, women and people of Color have only relatively recently entered into the community corrections field, with legislative initiatives in the 1960s and 1970s working to eliminate gender and racialized discrimination in hiring practices (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2000, 2011; Greene, 2000; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996). Currently, women comprise almost half of all sworn community corrections officers in the United States, resulting in more women employed in community corrections than any other law enforcement sector (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Additionally, officers of Color make up over 40% of all community corrections officers, resulting in the greatest representation of racial minorities in any criminal justice sector except for corrections officers (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019).

However, research that focuses on female community corrections officers and community corrections officers of Color is largely nonexistent.

Officer Gender

Seminal studies on officer orientation generally utilized all male samples (Glaser, 1964) or failed to include gender during data analysis (Dembo, 1972). More recent studies that include officer gender do so peripherally and do not include any discussion of gender in their reported analysis (Clear et al., 1992; Katz, 1982; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem et al., 2007). The studies that have included gender as an independent variable have yielded mixed results, with some reports suggesting gender differences between male and female officers (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Walsh, 1984; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992) and other studies failing to find any significant differences based on officer gender (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997). To date, only two studies have explored the experiences of female parole officers in depth, focusing on their professional experiences with colleagues and offenders (Ireland & Berg, 2007, 2008).

Several studies that have reported gender differences for male and female officers have found that women may be more likely to prefer rehabilitation as a goal of community corrections and may be less likely to engage in punitive supervision practices. Female officers may be more willing to adopt a social work orientation and engage in social work activities (Miller, 2012; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004),

including rewarding offenders for meeting supervision goals (Steiner et al., 2011),

maintaining a high level of engagement with offenders (Miller, 2015), and conducting

home visits (Bolin & Applegate, 2018), whereas male officers prefer more punitive

supervision approaches (Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), including a greater likelihood to

punish offenders for noncompliance (Ward & Kupchik, 2010). Interestingly these trends

may persist regardless of additional factors, such as caseload size (West & Seiter, 2004).

There also may be gender differences regarding how officers respond to

offender violations, including officers' decision-making regarding sanctions and

revocations. Research in this area suggests that female officers may be more lenient on

less serious violations generally (Grattet et al., 2009), but there are some exceptions, such

as violations for absconding (Grattet et al., 2009) or failing to complete community

service hours (Kerbs et al., 2009) wherein female officers may take a more aggressive

approach than male officers. Recently, Bolin and Applegate (2018) found that male

officers had higher revocation rates than female officers, but that these findings did not

extend to sanction rates. In their study of officer orientation relationship with sanctions

and revocations, Steiner and colleagues (2011) found that punitive officers were more

likely to pursue revocations, but that orientation was not associated with officers'

decision to sanction offenders. They explain that sanctions may be used by officers with

different orientations for different reasons. For example, an officer that focuses on control

may implement this measure to increase surveillance of an offender, whereas an officer

concerned with rehabilitation may use drug screens to help hold an offender accountable

to his or her mission of sobriety. Considered in the context of prior research that suggests

that female officers may be more likely to assume a social work orientation and prefer

rehabilitation as a community corrections goal (Miller, 2012, 2015; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), Bolin and Applegate's (2018) work may add further support for associations between gender and officer decision-making.

Work in other areas of officer decision-making notes that female officers may make more lenient sentence recommendations than their male counterparts. In his study of presentence recommendations for sexual assault cases, Walsh (1984) found that female officers recommended less harsh sentences for offenders than male officers. Interestingly, female officers also considered rape a less serious offense than male officers (Walsh, 1984). Walsh (1984) suggests that female officers may feel external pressure to make recommendations they feel are more consistent with their male colleagues' recommendations and not emphasize sexual assault as more serious than other forms of offending. However, these findings also support other literature in this area that indicates that women female officers generally are less punitive and more focused on rehabilitation than male officers.

Attempting to fill "a void in the scholarship on female parole agents," Ireland and Berg (2008) conducted semi-structured interviews with current and retired female parole officers in an effort to broadly explore their supervision experiences. The women in this study discussed the supervision approaches and safety tactics that they used when working with offenders, emphasizing specifically the importance of incorporating respect and rapport in their interactions with offenders and their families (Ireland & Berg, 2008). Interestingly, all of the women in sample expressed their opinion that male officers generally depended on physical prowess in the field and that this "overreliance on

physical strength was counterproductive to personal safety" (Ireland & Berg, 2008, p. 483). Although their research introduced many interesting aspects of female community corrections officer supervision and their perceptions of supervision, the researchers did not include a comparable group of male officers (Ireland & Berg, 2008). While the women in Ireland and Berg's study (2008) may perceive that there were gender differences in how they approached supervision and interacted with offenders on their caseloads, without the inclusion of a male comparison group, it is unknown if the women in the study actually utilized different supervision strategies than their male colleagues. Moreover, the Ireland and Berg (2008) study included a very small sample of 12 officers who had all advanced in their careers. While this study is novel in its exploration of the supervision experiences of female parole officers, its limited scope highlights the importance for more research conducted in this area.

Officer Race

Officer race has been included even less frequently than officer gender in the decision-making literature and was generally excluded from analysis until the early 2000s. Although more recent studies have collected demographic information on officers, including officer race, researchers have frequently failed to report in their analysis any discussion that that includes officer race (Katz, 1982; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003; West & Seiter, 2004). When race is included in the current literature, the results have been mixed, with some studies reporting significant differences based on race (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012; Ward & Kupchik, 2010) and a few studies

failing to detect such differences (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011). Racialized differences observed in the literature have been mixed, with some studies reporting that White officers are more punitive than officers of Color (Grattet et al., 2009; Ward & Kupchik, 2010) and other research suggesting that opposite (Miller, 2012). Race may also be a relevant factor in other areas of decision-making including visits and searches. Bolin and Applegate (2018) found that White officers were significantly less likely to emphasize the importance of visiting probationers at home or at school, but were more likely to view searches as important for supervision. Kerbs and colleagues (2009) found that officers of Color were more likely to pursue formal sanctions for probationers that violated their curfews. Currently there are no existing studies that focus exclusively on the racialized experiences of probation and parole officers.

The Policing Literature Framework

In the near absence of literature that explores community corrections officer gender and race, researchers have looked to the somewhat more established policing literature (Ireland & Berg, 2008). Although there are many differences between the professions, policing and community corrections are likely comparable for studying officer gender (Ireland & Berg, 2008). Police officers and community supervision officers are both certified as peace officers (Ireland & Berg, 2008) and, in many jurisdictions, both police and community corrections officers carry firearms and other weapons (Hawley, 2012; Teague, 2016). With the shift to community-oriented policing, both fields often encourage the development of interpersonal skills to work with citizens

and offenders (Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). However, public safety remains the primary goal for both police and community corrections officers (Ireland & Berg, 2008).

Gender and Policing

Women have been police officers since the early 1900s (Belknap, 2007; Garcia, 2003), but early female police officers were relegated to feminized jobs within the police force, initially administrative work and then positions geared towards working with children and victims (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2011; Garcia, 2003; Greene, 2000; Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Miller, 1998; Novak et al., 2011; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Shelley et al., 2011). It wasn't until 1968 that the first female officer went on patrol in the United States (Belknap, 2007), just a few years before federal legislation mandated that women have equal access to employment opportunities. Equal opportunity legislation in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in the rapid growth of the number of women and people of Color employed in a variety of criminal justice agencies (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Britton, 2000; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Lundman, 2009; Rabe-Hemp, 2008, 2009). Recent statistics on police officers and sheriff's deputies report that 17% are women and 30% are people of Color (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019).

Initially, research conducted with female police officers was used to explore the concern that they may be unable to perform police duties as proficiently as men (Belknap, 2007; DeJong, 2005; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Lundman, 2009), a perspective often attributed to women's relative lack of physical strength (Garcia, 2003; Ireland &

Berg, 2008; Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Substantial efforts focused on women's competency regarding their ability to use physical tactics in the field, especially as critics of female police officers have focused on this rationale for excluding women from certain areas of policing (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Shelley et al., 2011). However, these studies find that women are just as capable as their male counterparts in their abilities to physically defend themselves against violent citizens (Garcia, 2003; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007). Additionally, scholars note that while women are as proficient as men in these areas, little police work requires physical strength and relatively few officer-citizen interactions result in violence (Garcia, 2003; Shelley et al., 2011). Instead, the glamorized image of the "crime-fighting" police officer may serve to perpetuate gendered stereotypes about police and discourage women from joining the ranks (Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Shelley et al., 2011).

The implementation of community policing efforts introduced a renewed interest in women's ability to perform as police officers, since the traits desirable for community policing are those often attributed to women (Lundman, 2009; Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Community police officers are expected to build relationships with civilians and to utilize problem-solving skills (Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2008), and verbal communication skills are emphasized as opposed to reliance on physical prowess (DeJong, 2005; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Lundman, 2009). Although community-oriented policing research began to focus on the strengths that female officers could provide to the field, community-oriented policing is sometimes considered to consist more of social work than traditional policing (Britton, 2011; Miller, 1998). In his research on the perceptions of traditional patrol officers on community-oriented policing, Dicker (1998)

found that nearly half of the officers in his sample agreed that "community policing officers aren't like street officers," nor do they "work as hard as patrol officers" (p. 71). These perceptions may further perpetuate the gender divide in law enforcement as female officers may be purposefully selected for assignment to community-oriented policing units based on their presumed interpersonal skills (Belknap, 2007; Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

Studies that have focused on gender and policing have often yielded mixed results, with some evidence of significant gender differences between male and female officers (Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; Rabe-Hemp, 2008, 2009; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007) and some studies suggesting no gender differences (DeJong, 2005; Lundman, 2009; McElvain & Kposowa, 2004; Novak et al., 2011). Many studies suggest that female officers use less force than male officers during officer-citizen interactions (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; McElvain & Kposowa, 2004; Rabe-Hemp, 2008, 2009; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Shelley et al., 2011), and women are less likely to be named in excessive use of force cases than their male counterparts (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Belknap, 2007; Brandl et al., 2001; Britton, 2011; Garcia, 2003; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007). Female officers are more likely to engage in underpredicted policing, which occurs when officers use less force than what might be predicted based on situational factors (Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007), and are significantly less likely to use force during officer-citizen interactions (McElvain & Kposowa, 2004) or be involved in a shooting incident (McElvain & Kposowa, 2008). This suggests that women may be more successful implementing alternative, non-aggressive tactics when interacting with citizens. Moreover, when suspects sustain injuries during an arrest, it is more likely to

happen during arrests made by male officers versus a female officers, although the differences reported are modest (Hoffman & Hickey, 2005).

Female police officers likely recognize their physical limitations, and choose to deploy alternative, non-aggressive approaches (Rabe-Hemp, 2009) that may ultimately be beneficial for public and officer safety because female officers are able to avoid using physical force in an effort to ensure citizen compliance (Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007). These findings are not unlike those that Ireland and Berg (2008) discovered when interviewing female parole officers, all of whom reported greater use of respectful interaction with parolees as a means of ensuring both increased offender compliance and officer safety. Officer perception and attitude also seem to differ by gender (DeJong, 2005). When compared to male officers, female officers were more likely to believe that citizens were trustworthy, although these effects were only significant when additional factors, namely race, were included (DeJong, 2005).

Some studies have found no differences in the decision-making of male and female police officers (DeJong, 2005; Lundman, 2009; Novak et al., 2011). While early research found that female officers were less likely to arrest citizens than male officers, more recent studies have failed to find significant gender differences in officers' arrest decisions (Novak et al., 2011). Relatedly, Lundman (2009) observed that male and female officers were equally likely to write traffic tickets to citizens, a finding that contradicts previously conducted studies that have concluded that female officers are less likely to issue traffic tickets or arrest citizens. DeJong (2005) found no significant differences in the comforting behaviors of male and female officers, and Rabe-Hemp (2008) determined that female officers are actually less likely than male officers "to use

supporting behaviors" (p. 431). While prior research that focuses on use of force behaviors has consistently found that female officers use lower levels of force as compared to their male counterparts during arrests, Rabe-Hemp (2008) found that male and female officers use "similar levels of use of force in general interactions with citizens" (p. 427).

Researchers who have found little difference between male and female police officers discuss several possible explanations for the lack of gender differences. DeJong (2005) found that citizen characteristics were most important in determining officer responses, and that citizens who seemed distressed generally elicited higher levels of comfort from officers, regardless of the officer's gender. Lundman (2009) suggests that the socialization process and training of police officers may diminish the possible association between gender and officer decision-making. Rabe-Hemp (2008) poses several hypotheses, including that policing itself may attract women who may be less interested in performing traditional displays of femininity and that police work itself allows female officers to participate in masculine behaviors. Another explanation may be that, in attempts to garner respect from citizens and male colleagues, female officers may display hypermasculine behaviors and subsequently disassociate from traditional or stereotypical feminine behaviors, such as comforting behaviors (Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

Race and Policing

Although race has been explored throughout the policing literature for decades, a vast majority of this research has focused exclusively on citizen's race as opposed to officer's race or ethnicity (McElvain & Kposowa, 2008; Tillyer et al., 2012). This work

has largely involved understanding what racial differences exist, if any, regarding citizens' likelihood to be stopped by law enforcement (Alpert et al., 2005; Leinfelt, 2006), to be arrested (Kochel et al., 2011; Leinfelt, 2006), or to experience some level of force at the hands of law enforcement officers (Buehler, 2016; Fryer, 2016). More recent efforts, though, have focused on the role that officers' race may play in these decisions. This part of the literature has been mixed, with some evidence suggesting that officers' race may impact how they interact with citizens (Sun & Payne, 2004), their decisions to search (Tillyer et al., 2012) or arrest citizens (Brown & Frank, 2006), and the likelihood that they are involved in work-related shootings (McElvain & Kposowa, 2008) or officer-involved homicides (Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017; Smith, 2003), but without a clear indication for how officers' race impacts decision-making. Other research suggests that officers' race is not significant in how they make decisions or conduct themselves during their police work (Brandl et al., 2001; McElvain & Kposowa, 2004; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017).

Widespread calls for diversifying police forces have been heard since President Lyndon B. Johnson's Kerner Commission, which suggested the police should emphasize community-oriented policing practices to address the civil unrest of the 1960s (Brown & Frank, 2006). Proponents for increasing the recruitment of officers of Color assert that these officers are more likely to be fair and impartial when interacting with citizens of Color and may be more sensitive to the special needs that communities of Color face (Brandl et al., 2001; Brown & Frank, 2006; Hassell & Brandl, 2009). Much like the feminists who advocate that more women in organizations will result in greater representation for women's interests, activists have rallied for the increased hiring of

police officers of Color in an effort to provide greater equality for racial minority citizens who often experience disproportionate law enforcement-contact.

Some scholars question whether or not racialized differences exist among police officers, while other empirical evidence suggests that Black officers do in fact police differently, but it remains unclear if these differences actually benefit people of Color generally. Brown and Frank (2006) found that Black officers were less likely than their White counterparts to arrest citizens overall, but that they were actually more likely than White officers to arrest Black citizens. Research suggests that there are no significant racial differences regarding the likelihood of officers to be named in citizen complaints (Brandl et al., 2001) or use of force investigations (McElvain & Kposowa, 2004). Sun and Payne (2004) observed that Black officers were more likely to employ coercive tactics when interacting with citizens than were White officers. In their reviews of officer-involved shootings and homicides, Smith (2003) failed to find significant differences in the number of officer-involved homicides in police departments that were more racially diverse compared to homogenous departments. In contrast, Nicholson-Crotty and colleagues (2017) observed significant racial differences for officers involved in homicides, wherein Black officers were actually significantly more likely than White officers to be named in an officer-involved homicide of a Black citizen.

Other research contradicts these findings, though, suggesting that Black officers may be more apt to support racial minorities and their communities. Black officers are less likely to conduct searches than White officers (Tillyer et al., 2012) and are significantly less likely to be involved in officer-involved shootings (McElvain & Kposowa, 2008). When measuring the support provided to citizens by officers, Sun and

Payne (2004) found no significant differences in the support offered by Black and White officers in heterogenous communities, but they found that Black officers were more likely to offer support to citizens in racial minority communities. There is some qualitative evidence, too, that supports the notion that Black officers may be better prepared to adequately police communities of Color. In their study of Black female police officers, Dodge and Pogrebin (2001) found that many of the participants in their study felt that they were in a better position to understand the experiences of racial minority citizens than White police officers. These officers discussed their desire to make positive changes in communities of Color and wanted to offer more to citizens than assurances of public safety (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001).

The policing literature regarding officer gender and race provides some important context for studying these sociodemographic characteristics in community corrections officers. Although the literature has been mixed, many scholars have found evidence that gender and racial differences exist for police officers and may frame how they make decisions and interact with civilians. Collectively, this research suggests that female police officers hold more positive views of civilians (DeJong, 2005) and are ultimately less likely to engage in controlling practices (Rabe-Hemp, 2008), including using weapons (Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; McElvain & Kposowa, 2008) and excessive use of force tactics (Brandl et al., 2001; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007). Scholars have also found evidence of racialized differences between White officers and officers of Color, including the factors they consider when making an arrest (Brown & Frank, 2006) and their likelihood to engage in searches (Tillyer et al., 2012) and to be involved in a work-related shooting (McElvain & Kposowa, 2008). Additionally, some evidence suggests that Black

officers interact differently with communities of Color than do White officers (Sun &

Payne, 2004), potentially because their racialized experiences have allowed them a better

understanding of the plights that face these communities (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001).

Overall, these findings suggest that female officers and officers of Color police

differently, particularly in ways that may have implications for training and policy.

As police officers and community corrections officers share many similarities in

their field work and training and certification requirements, considering the gendered and

racialized differences in this group of criminal justice practitioners lends some credence

to applying a comparable analysis to the decision-making of community corrections

officers. However, problems still exist with relying solely on these comparisons. While

the idea of officer orientation has been present in the community corrections literature

since the 1950s (Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), no such discussion exists in the policing

literature. Although a shift in the 1980s and 1990s toward community-oriented policing

introduced some of the same skills that are emphasized by a social work orientation

(DeJong, 2005; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Lundman, 2009; Miller, 1998; Rabe-Hemp, 2008),

police officers are not tasked with facilitating offenders in their long-term re-entry goals.

Although both agencies focus on public safety as their chief task (Ireland & Berg, 2008),

community corrections officers are also expected to build relationships with offenders

and their families in an effort to meet the re-entry needs of offenders and to encourage

prosocial behaviors in offenders. These relationships may last for years, depending on

how long an offender is ordered to be supervised, and require more consistent contact

than what police officers may have with suspects. While the policing literature strongly

suggests that gendered and racialized differences exist for law enforcement officers,

special attention must be paid to community corrections officers and how race and gender may frame the decision-making of these actors.

Gaps in the Literature

After reviewing the current theoretical and empirical literature regarding probation and parole officer decision-making and officer orientation, it is evident that there are some significant gaps in the current literature. While the professional orientation of probation and parole officers was initially discussed in the mid twentieth century (Ohlin et al., 1956), officer orientation for community corrections has been relatively ignored when compared to corrections officers within detention facilities (Bolin, 2014). In her comprehensive review of the studies in the literature that focus on officer orientation, Bolin (2014) identifies thirty studies that include samples of corrections officers employed at prison institutions, whereas she includes only a dozen studies that focus specifically on the officer orientations of community corrections officers. Although some more recent studies have focused on the officer orientation and parole and probation officers (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Miller, 2015; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015), probation and parole officers remain noticeably understudied in the orientation literature in contrast to detention center correctional officers.

Female practitioners have been generally missing in the literature, but probation and parole officer gender specifically has been neglected in the literature surrounding probation and parole officer decision-making. While gender has been considered in some research in this area, it has generally been treated as a peripheral control variable and

often is not included in the research analysis (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Katz, 1982; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem et al., 2007). Current research efforts have yielded mixed results (Grattet et al., 2009; Steiner et al., 2011) and some researchers have failed to find gender differences (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997), yet many studies suggest that officer gender may frame how officers supervise offenders and engage in decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kerbs et al., 2009; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). Furthermore, studies have found some relationships between officer gender and professional orientation (Miller, 2012, 2015; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), although none of this research has focused exclusively on these relationships.

The association between officer race and decision-making has received even less attention in the probation and parole literature. While some studies have included race as a control variable (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Katz, 1982; Kerbs et al., 2009; J. Miller, 2012, 2015; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem et al., 2007; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004), many of these studies have only minimally explored race as an independent variable or have failed to include race in their findings altogether (Katz, 1982; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem et al., 2007; West & Seiter, 2004). The studies that have included race have generally discovered contradictory findings, with some evidence that race may frame some aspects of

decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012; Ward & Kupchik, 2010) and other studies failing to find any significant differences in supervision based on officers' race (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011). Without a more targeted and comprehensive approach that considers race in the context of officer decision-making, it is unclear what role race may play in how community corrections officers supervise probationers and parolees.

Importantly, studies that utilize an intersectional framework are all but absent from the probation and parole officer literature. Intersectionality asserts the importance of recognizing the ways multiple identities intersect to shape individual experiences and rejects gender essentialism (Crenshaw, 1989; Daly, 1993; Simpson, 1989), which claims that there is one dominant woman's perspective, generally identified as middle-class, White, and heterosexual (Belknap, 2007; Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Martin & Jurik, 1996). Considering this theoretical framework, the available literature cannot fully consider probation and parole officer decision-making without using an intersectional lens to incorporate both race and gender. The policing literature, discussed in lieu of probation and parole research because of the neglect of this topic in the literature, highlights the importance of applying an intersectional approach to understanding decision-making on the part of criminal justice actors. Hassell and Brandl (2009) found that Black female officers experienced greater stress and more negative experiences within the department when compared to Black male officers and both White male and female officers. Female officers of Color also report experiencing both racism and sexism within police departments and feeling socially excluded from White male and female officers and their Black male counterparts (Pogrebin et al., 2000). Some policing studies that have analyzed

race and gender separately have found gendered and racialized differences (Brandl et al., 2001; McElvain & Kposowa, 2008), and although their analyses have failed to include an intersectional view of race and gender, it seems likely, based on Hassell and Brandl's (2009) and Pogrebin and colleagues' (2000) work that that intersectional differences exist.

Another important limitation of the current literature involves the lack of methodological diversity. A majority of the current research depends on quantitative methods (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Bonta et al., 2011; Clear & Latessa, 1993; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997; Grattet et al., 2009; Katz, 1982; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Walsh, 1984; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), with only a handful of studies utilizing qualitative (Chamberlain et al., 2018; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Ruhland, 2020) or mixed methods approaches (Blasko et al., 2015; Clear et al., 1992; Dembo, 1972; Kennealy et al., 2012; Morash et al., 2015; Prus & Stratton, 1976; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem et al., 2007; West & Seiter, 2004). The inclusion of qualitative methods is imperative, especially because of the limited information currently known about officer gender differences and decision-making. Qualitative approaches provide avenues for exploring topics where little is known and can provide further context for quantitative studies in these areas (Creswell, 2015; Fetters et al., 2013; Greene et al., 1989; Ivankova et al., 2006; Small, 2011; Trahan & Stewart, 2013). Moreover, feminist criminologists advocate for the comprehensive inclusion of gender as opposed to depending on the dichotomous measure of sex as a control variable included in many quantitative studies (Morris & Gelsthorpe,

1991). Therefore, implementing a mixed methods study to explore this neglected area is essential to gaining a more comprehensive understanding of probation and parole officer decision-making.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Current Project

Probation and parole officers are an interesting population since their roles and duties often exist on a continuum, ranging from social work activities to surveillance and security tasks (Morash et al., 2015; West & Seiter, 2004). Researchers have historically speculated that officers may embody a certain officer orientation, wherein officers may emphasize and prioritize the surveillance aspects of their job, the social work components, or observe a blended or synthetic orientation wherein they focus on some aspects of the surveillance and social work orientations (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Klockars, 1972; Morash et al., 2015; Ohlin et al., 1956; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). Associations between officer orientation and decision-making have been considered in previous studies (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Dembo, 1972; Miller, 2012, 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004), but little scholarship exists regarding possible associations between officer gender, race, and decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997; Grattet et al., 2009; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Walsh, 1984; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). What research does exist has produced mixed results with some studies finding that gender and race may frame officers' decision-

making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Walsh, 1984; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), whereas other studies have failed to find any significant differences for officers based on their sociodemographic characteristics (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997).

Research Questions

The current study design fills a notable gap and contributes to the literature by exploring associations between officer gender/race and officer orientation and how those variables are associated with officer decision-making in the context of pursuing probation and parole revocations. This study uses a mixed methods design to answer the following research questions:

1. Is officer gender or officer race associated with officer orientation?

2. Is community corrections officer gender, officer race, and/or officer orientation associated with an officer's decision to pursue a revocation?

3. What factors do officers identify as contributing to their decision-making concerning whether or not to pursue probation and parole revocations?

The first two research questions were answered using a quantitative approach, wherein the primary goal was to determine the association between variables of interest (officer gender, officer race, officer orientation, and the decision to pursue a revocation). The third question asked what officers themselves identify as important for their own decision-making, and therefore required a qualitative method to address it. Allowing the research questions to guide the study design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Fetters et al.,

2013; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Maruna, 2010), it became evident that a mixed methods design was the best research approach for this study.

More specifically, the research design for the current project was the explanatory sequential mixed-methods research design (see Figure 4.1. Explanatory Sequential Research Design Model; Brent & Kraska, 2010; Creswell, 2015; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Fetters et al., 2013; Trahan & Stewart, 2013). The explanatory sequential research design consists of two sequential phases: a quantitative approach followed by a qualitative component. The quantitative project component sampled all Class 1 Agents employed by South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services (SCDPPPS) and consisted of an online survey[1] distributed to agents who were actively supervising a caseload of offenders requiring regular office or field contacts.

Semi-structured interviews were used to address the third research question and were instrumental in allowing further investigation and explanation of the quantitative findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). A sample of officers was drawn from each region and then participating agents were asked to identify colleagues in other diverse sociodemographic groups who may be interested in participating in the research project; this approach was used to ensure that a diverse group of agents were invited to participate in the interviews. Considering that organizational factors may impact officer decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Dembo, 1972; DeMichele &

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[1] The quantitative data collection portion of this project was funded by the University of South Carolina's Office of the Vice President for Research through the Support to Promote Advancement of Research and Creativity (SPARC) Graduate Research Grant. Data was collected for this portion of the proposed study in January 2020 and February 2020.

Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Glaser, 1964; Kerbs et al., 2009; Klockars, 1972; Miller, 2015; Ohlin et al., 1956; Robinson et al., 2012; Schaefer & Williamson, 2017; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004), selecting officers across the department was preferable to visiting randomly selected offices to conduct multiple interviews[2]. Moreover, the sequential explanatory design itself was especially helpful for identifying and disentangling the multiple factors that influence decision-making, including agency culture and supervisory oversight (Ivankova et al., 2006; Trahan & Stewart, 2013).

The explanatory sequential mixed methods research design was especially useful for this project because the extant literature has been mixed. Some quantitative studies have failed to find any gendered or racialized differences between officer orientation or decision-making (DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011), whereas other comparable studies have found significant differences in officers' supervision approaches based on officer sociodemographic characteristics (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Walsh, 1984; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). Notably, qualitative work in this area suggests that officers themselves perceive that their sociodemographic characteristics frame their own experiences and supervision strategies (Ireland & Berg, 2007, 2008). These trends are also mirrored in the policing literature, wherein quantitative studies have revealed mixed

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[2] While the literature-informed decision to interview agents across the department instead of focusing on clusters of offices predated the COVID-19 pandemic, it should be noted that the state-wide shutdown and ongoing pandemic, which began after the survey and prior to the interviews, also made interviewing agents in the office impossible as SCDPPPS severely limited admittance into local offices.

findings (Brandl et al., 2001; Gilliard-Matthews et al., 2008; Hassell & Brandl, 2009;

Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; Lundman, 2009; McElvain & Kposowa, 2008; Nicholson-

Crotty et al., 2017; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schuck, 2014; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Sun

& Payne, 2004; Tillyer et al., 2012), yet qualitative approaches suggest that officers view

race and gender as significant to their experiences and decision-making (Dodge &

Pogrebin, 2001; Pogrebin et al., 2000; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). In response to the conflicting

literature wherein different methodological approaches seemingly yield different

findings, a sequential explanatory mixed methods research design was chosen to answer

the current research questions and contribute to the gap in this area of research.

Mixed Methods Research Design

Although not a new research methodology (Guest, 2012; Maruna, 2010), mixed

methods has only recently begun to gain traction in the research community across

varying disciplines. Historically, there has been inconsistency in how mixed methods

research has been defined, which has caused some confusion for researchers (Guest,

2012; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Some contention regarding the nomenclature of this

research has occurred, especially surrounding the use of "multimethod" and "mixed

methods." While researchers have not been consistent in their use of these terms (Teddlie

& Tashakkori, 2003), a more recent consensus has been reached regarding how these

terms are defined (Creswell, 2015; Hunter & Brewer, 2015). Multimethod research

includes studies where multiple forms of data collection or analysis occur, but wherein

variation only exists within quantitative or qualitative approaches (i.e., multiple

quantitative approaches or multiple qualitative approaches but not both quantitative and

qualitative approaches in one study) (Creswell, 2015; Hunter & Brewer, 2015; Johnson et al., 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Mixed methods research, however, emphasizes the integration of both qualitative and quantitative approaches into one study (Creswell, 2015; Hunter & Brewer, 2015; Johnson et al., 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003).

Mixed methods research is generally defined as a research approach that incorporates both quantitative and qualitative project designs, data collection, or data analyses (Johnson et al., 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Maruna, 2010), although researchers disagree about the level of integration necessary to qualify a study as mixed methods (Creswell, 2015; Johnson et al., 2007; Small, 2011). While this definition is generally recognized, some critics voice concern that such a broad view of mixed methods may allow some studies that superficially or unnecessarily use a mixed methodology to be considered mixed methods (Cameron, 2009). Regardless of these concerns, however, the research community has generally agreed upon this overarching definition of mixed methods research.

While the use of mixed methods research is not novel (Guest, 2012; Johnson et al., 2007; Maruna, 2010), it is only recently that mixed methods has begun to be recognized as an independent third option beyond monomethod quantitative or qualitative approaches (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Because of these more recent developments, mixed methods research has been described as being in its "adolescence," wherein researchers are still developing the nomenclature for mixed methods and grappling with study designs (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Experts have emphasized the importance of developing mixed methods typologies, advising that these steps can help

researchers identify appropriate designs for their projects, can contribute to the development of mixed methods pedagogy (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009), and can even serve to legitimize mixed methods as a research approach (Guest, 2012; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003).

Experts have offered extensive mixed methods research designs (Caracelli & Greene, 1997; Creswell, 2015; Maruna, 2010; Morse, 1991) and mixed methods justifications (Greene et al., 1989), but generally mixed methods designs have fallen into two broad categories: (1) designs that implement quantitative and qualitative components largely separate from one another, and (2) designs that are more fully integrated. As the literature has developed, these designs have been termed differently by researchers and have evolved over time, but these broad divisions generally represent the two dominant types of designs suggested. Designs that incorporate separate qualitative and quantitative components may allow for one phase of the project to inform the development of the second phase, including the research instrument development or identifying an appropriate sampling frame (Greene et al., 1989; Maruna, 2010). These projects may also call for conducting the quantitative and qualitative components separately but simultaneously, wherein integration largely occurs during final data analysis or reporting. Other mixed method designs consist of more fully integrated models, wherein the quantitative and qualitative components are conducted in concert and integration occurs earlier and at multiple levels of the project. As opposed to separate categories, Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2009) suggest considering research designs as falling on a continuum ranging from monomethod to partially mixed methods (those projects with separate implementation of design components) to fully mixed methods.

While there is no unanimously recognized and exhaustive list of mixed methods designs (Guest, 2012; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003), experts have suggested some guidelines that researchers may consider when designing a mixed methods project. Once the researcher has determined the appropriateness of a mixed methods design for the research question(s) being asked (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Fetters et al., 2013; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003; Trahan & Stewart, 2013), the researcher must: (1) decide which method will take priority in the design (i.e., deciding if the quantitative, qualitative, or both components should be the primary focus of the project), (2) determine how to best implement the project design (i.e., deciding if methods should be implemented concurrently or consecutively) (Ivankova et al., 2006; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003), and (3) determine when and to what extent to integrate the two methods (i.e., deciding if the qualitative and quantitative components should be fully or partially integrated and determining at which phase(s) in the project methods should be integrated) (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Ivankova et al., 2006; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009). While there is still much to be established and explored regarding mixed methods terminology and designs, considering the priority, implementation, and integration of methods may enable researchers to better design a mixed methods project that will accurately answer their research question(s).

Mixed methods research designs have multiple benefits over monomethod designs. Most importantly, this research benefits from strengths of both its quantitative and qualitative approaches (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Fetters et al., 2013; Maruna, 2010) without being hindered by the weaknesses of both approaches, termed the fundamental

principle of mixed research (Johnson et al., 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003; Trahan & Stewart, 2013). The quantitative component of this design introduces precision and generalizability of the research (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Maruna, 2010; Trahan & Stewart, 2013), whereas the qualitative approach allows for rich and in-depth exploration of the quantitative findings (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Maruna, 2010). Ultimately, a mixed methods study creates a comprehensive project (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Morse, 1991, 2003).

The proposed project uses an explanatory sequential design, which has several specific benefits. First, this approach allows the researcher an opportunity to explain and add context to the quantitative findings with qualitative probing, which can result in a more thorough understanding of the research findings (Creswell, 2015; Fetters et al., 2013; Greene et al., 1989; Ivankova et al., 2006; Small, 2011; Trahan & Stewart, 2013). Second, the explanatory contribution of the qualitative component may be especially useful if the quantitative findings are contradictory to previous findings or if there are other factors that may affect the outcome variables (Ivankova et al., 2006; Trahan & Stewart, 2013). Finally, utilizing multiple methodological approaches may be especially useful in conducting intersectional research.

Intersectional Methodologies

Generally regarded as a guiding framework through which to critically investigate the experiences of marginalized persons, intersectionality demands that researchers carefully consider the methodologies that they choose to implement when

conducting research (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Windsong, 2016). Feminists have often

depended on qualitative research methods, criticizing quantitative approaches as working

within current power structures and ultimately utilizing and perpetuating those structures

as opposed to questioning them (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; McCall, 2005; McHugh,

2014). Notably, quantitative and qualitative purists have often criticized other

methodological approaches, with positivists asserting that quantitative approaches are

superior and interpretivists or constructivists advocating instead for qualitative

methodologies (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Johnson et al., 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie,

2004). At the root of much contention is that these methodological purists generally

adhere to different paradigms, wherein positivists emphasize the importance of

objectivity and universal truth, while constructivists reject that an overarching truth

exists, insisting instead that all knowledge is situated and depends on positionality instead

of unrefuted fact (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Considering

these paradigm differences, it is unsurprising then that feminists, advocating for the

advancement of epistemological understanding and the deconstructing of dominant

patriarchal frameworks, might gravitate towards qualitative methodologies for their

research endeavors.

   While feminist scholars have dispelled the myth that feminist research and

quantitative methodologies are mutually exclusive (Morris & Gelsthorpe, 1991), there is

certainly debate among feminist researchers regarding the best approaches for conducting

intersectional research. As scholars assert the importance of intersectionality, often

claiming that it is one of the most important contributions made by feminist theorists,

many researchers struggle with the underdeveloped nature of intersectional methods

(Windsong, 2016). Essentially, feminist researchers advocate that scholars should apply an intersectional lens to their research (Bowleg, 2008; McHugh, 2014), but it is less clear exactly how researchers should conduct these studies (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Windsong, 2016). Literature that focuses on intersectional methodology has generally been produced by feminist scholars who have reviewed their own earlier work through an intersectional lens, critiquing their past approaches and methodologies to provide guidance for researchers applying an intersectional framework to that work (Bowleg, 2008; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; Windsong, 2016).

Many of these researchers advocate for the application of qualitative methods (Bowleg, 2008; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; Windsong, 2016). Qualitative approaches are especially useful for conducting exploratory research in subject areas where little is known within the academic community, and some methods, such as in-depth interviews, may be especially valuable for allowing participants to share their own narratives and experiences (Brinkmann, 2014; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; McHugh, 2014). This methodological approach can offer researchers a vehicle through which to explore the interlocking relationships of power, wherein identities contribute differently to each person's lived experience of oppression and privilege (Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Windsong, 2016). One concern that feminist researchers raise is the perpetuation of structural inequality through positivist methods (McCall, 2005; McHugh, 2014), and qualitative interviewing helps negate this concern by allowing participants to guide the research. For participants who have generally been excluded from past research activities, these methods allow marginalized voices to be heard (Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; McHugh, 2014).

Some intersectional researchers have expressed concern regarding the application of quantitative methods to intersectional work (Bowleg, 2008; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; McCall, 2005). In reference to using a positivist approach to intersectionality and the application of quantitative method and statistical data analysis, Bowleg (2008) summarizes constructivists' concerns succinctly by recalling "Audre Lord's famous quote, the 'Master's tools will never dismantle the master's house'" (p. 320). Attributed largely to the standardized and exhaustive nature of closed-ended response options available to subjects in quantitative studies, quantitative methodologies generally force participants and their responses into predefined categories that may not accurately reflect their individualized perceptions or experiences (Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; McCall, 2005). Not only will the results from such research not accurately reflect participants' lived experiences, these methods may ultimately perpetuate the structural inequalities that marginalized persons have historically experienced (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; McCall, 2005).

Mixed method approaches, however, provide an opportunity to shift the research paradigm and to begin instituting radical frameworks through which to conduct research. While methodological purists oppose the application of mixed methods research, many mixed methods researchers have adopted a different research paradigm, pragmatism, wherein scholars adopt the methodology or methodologies appropriate for the specific research question(s) being asked in a project. Importantly, methodologies can be used to supplement one another, allowing for a more comprehensive study (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015). Moreover, this approach allows researchers the flexibility to adapt later phases of a project to better clarify and explore data from earlier data collection efforts. In other

words, a major benefit to using mixed methods is that researchers can utilize different methods in later portions of projects if they find that their original data collection yields results that demand further exploration or explanation. Developed through an intersectional framework, a mixed methods project can be designed in a way that capitalizes on the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative methods without sacrificing participants' voices and perpetuating their systematic exclusion and oppression.

Many of the dominant issues that intersectional researchers have discussed, namely sampling methods, question development, and data analysis (Bowleg, 2008; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015), ask how researchers can respond to traditional methodological concerns through an intersectional lens and extend to quantitative and qualitative monomethod and mixed methods research. Intersectional scholars discuss the difficulty of sample selection, wherein large samples used for quantitative methods may not include a representative sample of marginalized persons (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015) and smaller qualitative samples may provide rich, descriptive data for only a few individuals as opposed to generalizable findings (Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999). How to best ask questions using quantitative and qualitative research instruments is a fundamental methodological consideration for researchers (Bowleg, 2008), regardless of the specific method they are utilizing. Data analysis, too, is a methodological issue that quantitative and qualitative researchers face. While these issues may differently impact the intersectional methodology literature, these are universal research dilemmas with which all researchers must contend.

What intersectional researchers express is the importance of utilizing an intersectional framework through which to design and interpret research. Qualitatively, this may mean the deliberate choice to study small, homogenous samples to better understand the experiences of those participants, with the acknowledgement that generalizable results are not the dominant research goal (Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999). Interview questions should be carefully considered (Brinkmann, 2014), and the research should explore identities as a multiplicative phenomenon as opposed to asking about identities in a way that considers them as additive (Bowleg, 2008; Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015). As researchers analyze the data, they should be deliberate to allow the themes of the data to emerge naturally, and they should constantly consider the sociohistorical context of the research participants (Bowleg, 2008; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999). In the discussion of her research on the discriminatory experiences of Black lesbians, Bowleg (2008) emphasizes that the absence of sexist experiences from the discussions of some of her participants does not indicate that they do not experience sexism; instead, she explains that it is likely that that their experiences with discrimination are so heavily rooted in sexism, racism, and homophobia, that it may be difficult for her participants to disentangle which type(s) of discriminations they are experiencing.

For intersectional researchers engaging in quantitative research, comparable considerations should be made. Researchers may utilize specialized sampling techniques to ensure that their samples adequately represent marginalized groups (e.g., stratified sampling strategies). Survey instruments should be developed with more comprehensive sociodemographic categories, and respondents should be allowed to select all

sociodemographic categories with which they identify to allow participants more agency in deciding how their own identities should be represented (Bowleg, 2008; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015). Consideration of participants' sociohistorical positionality may be especially important in the context of quantitative research, wherein White masculine experiences are often treated as the norm and differing experiences are only acknowledged when participants deviate significantly from that norm (Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; Windsong, 2016), which may further solidify their positionality as "the other." Moreover, without purposeful and targeted statistical consideration, quantitative analysis may fail to identify the ways that privileged and oppressed identities interact to frame participants' experiences (Bowleg, 2008). In their discussion of Woo's (1985) quantitative study of Asian American women in the labor force, Cuádraz and Uttal (1999) provide an example of the importance of applying an intersectional analysis to quantitative findings:

> Woo (1985) found that even when White women and Asian American women had the same family income levels (no race difference), Asian American women had more wage earners per family (race difference) that contributed to the total family income, and they also had more education than White women (race difference) for the same level of jobs. These hidden differences are the products of historical processes that have treated racial ethnic groups differently. (p. 164)

This analysis emphasizes the importance of researchers' intentional application of an intersectional lens during quantitative data analysis.

Ultimately, intersectional research does not require one specific methodology (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; McCall, 2005), but instead it demands that researchers

approach their research questions, research design, and data analysis with an emphasis on individuals' oppressed and privileged identities (Bowleg, 2008). Research agendas should consider how these identities are related and should frame their research to explore how these identities position individuals and groups in a micro- and macro-level context (Bowleg, 2008; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015). Researchers must be aware of the sociohistorical positionality of their participants (Bowleg, 2008; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999) and should purposefully utilize methodologies that include and also attempt to measure these factors. Intersectionality should be a dominant focus during data analysis as well, regardless of whether data is gathered through qualitative or quantitative approaches. Instead of demanding one dominant methodological approach, intersectional research depends on the holistic application of an intersectional lens to the entirety of the research process (Bowleg, 2008).

Quantitative Research Component: Survey

Sample

The sampling frame for this portion of the project consisted of all South Carolina Probation and Parole Agents who were both Class 1 Certified and were actively supervising a caseload at the time of the survey distribution (January – February 2020). The South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardons Services (SCDPPPS) was chosen because of previous collaborations between SCDPPPS and researchers from the University of South Carolina's Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice. At SCDPPPS, probationers and parolees are supervised by either Class 1 Certified officers (known as Probation and Parole Agents) or non-Class 1 Certified staff (known as

Offender Supervision Specialists or OSS) (South Carolina Department Probation, Parole, and Pardons Services, n.d.). Class 1 Certified officers are sworn personnel who supervise a range of caseloads (including high risk caseloads) and conduct field visits. Alternatively, OSS are not sworn officers, can only supervise low-risk caseloads, and supervise primarily through review of financial and other case records (South Carolina Department Probation, Parole, and Pardons Services, n.d.). Additionally, OSS staff do not respond to offender violations; this duty falls to agents (South Carolina Department Probation, Parole, and Pardons Services, n.d.), and only agents would be in a position to recommend revocations.

Because of these distinctions between agents and OSS within the department, only agents who were actively supervising caseloads at the time of the survey distribution were included in the sample. These criteria generally excluded supervisors from the sample, although some supervisors do continue to carry a caseload while filling a managerial role. To assist in data collection, SCDPPPS provided a list of the names and email addresses of all employed agents and OSS at the time of the survey distribution (January 2020). Based on the list of agents and OSS provided by SCDPPPS, 266 subjects were initially identified as eligible to participate in the study. However, 7 subjects did not have available email addresses and 3 individuals were listed multiple times on the contact sheet, resulting in the final distribution of email invitations to 256 agents. After the distribution, 19 subjects communicated their ineligibility directly to the researcher (primarily agents-in-charge without active caseloads or agents currently in training who had yet to complete their Class-1 certification). During the survey, 25 participants indicated in the survey that they were not agents and/or they did not currently supervise

an active caseload of offenders; these records were removed prior to data analysis.

Therefore, a final sample of 212 agents met the inclusion criteria.

Quantitative Data Collection

The quantitative component of the project utilized a web-based survey design that included Likert scales and several vignettes. During its development, the survey was reviewed by several agents at SCDPPPS to ensure that the terminology and survey items were relevant to SCDPPPS agents. The survey instrument was then uploaded into REDCap, the survey delivery software. To ensure that the survey delivered through REDCap was reliable and user-friendly, the instrument was tested among University of South Carolina graduate students. SCDPPPS provided the email addresses of all Class 1 agents. The survey invitation was delivered via email to all caseload-carrying Class 1 agents employed through SCDPPPS as an attachment with a note from the Deputy Director at SCDPPPS to provide legitimacy for the project. Several subsequent email reminders were distributed to qualified agents, reminding them to participate in the study, and one additional email was sent by the Deputy Director at SCDPPPS encouraging agents to complete the survey (Dillman et al., 2014). Ultimately, the survey yielded a 63.2% response rate among Class 1 agents[3] (The American Association for Public Opinion Research, 2016), wherein 132 surveys were completed, 2 surveys were partially completed, 4 recipients opened but failed to complete any of the survey, 1 participant completed a negligible amount of the survey before exiting, and 73 agents received an

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[3] Response rate calculated using Response Rate 2 (RR2) equation as provided by the AAPOR: $(132 + 2) / (132 + 2) + (4 + 1 + 73)$

invitation email but failed to respond in any way (either by opening and participating in the survey or communicating their ineligibility to this researcher).

Vignette Survey Design

Decision-making is often influenced by a variety of internal and external factors (Rossi & Anderson, 1982; Wallander, 2009), and probation and parole officers specifically utilize a variety of information when engaging in decision-making, including consideration of their own preferences and perspectives (Katz, 1982; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004) and departmental expectations and agency culture (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Dembo, 1972; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Fulton et al., 1997; Glaser, 1964; Kerbs et al., 2009; Klockars, 1972; Miller, 2015; Ohlin et al., 1956; Robinson et al., 2012; Schaefer & Williamson, 2017; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004). Rossi and Anderson (1982) explain that an individual's sociodemographic characteristics may also contribute to their decision-making through biological factors or socialization and experiences that may result from the presence or absence of certain sociodemographic characteristics. One challenge, then, in studying decision-making and the possible association of sociodemographic characteristics, is disentangling multiple variables that may be associated with decision-making (Rossi & Anderson, 1982; Taylor, 2006; Wallander, 2009, 2011).

Vignette surveys are frequently used to study decision-making, especially when attempting to understand specific factors that may be influential in decision-making (Alexander & Becker, 1978; Carroll & Johnson, 1990; Rossi & Anderson, 1982;

Wallander, 2009, 2011; Wilks, 2004), and have been used in a variety of academic fields (Hughes & Huby, 2004; Phillips, 2009; Wallander, 2011) to study professional judgements and decision-making (Taylor, 2006; Wallander, 2009, 2011). Vignette surveys include the distribution of realistic scenarios to participants, in which they are most often asked to read the scenarios and respond to questions asked by the researcher based on the scenarios (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014; Finch, 1987; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Taylor, 2006; Wallander, 2011). Vignette scenarios may be delivered as multiple terminal anecdotes in which participants are asked to reflect on or make decisions in response to the "snapshots," or they may contain an ongoing situation wherein multiple events occur to the same 'paper people' in a longer vignette sequence (Jenkins et al., 2010).

Validity threats are prominent issues within the vignette methodology (Hughes & Huby, 2004), and one primary criticism of using vignette surveys when studying human behavior is that how participants respond to vignettes may not reflect their real-life decision-making (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014; Finch, 1987; Hughes, 1998; Wilks, 2004). While some researchers have found evidence that supports that participants may respond to vignettes in comparable ways to real-life situations (Hughes, 1998), the literature offers guidance on ensuring the validity of vignette approaches. Researchers advise that vignettes should be purposefully written with participants in mind, using familiar terminology (Hughes & Huby, 2004) and discussing topics that are interesting and applicable to research subjects (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014; Hughes & Huby, 2004). Researchers generally stress that vignettes should reflect realistic scenarios (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014; Hughes, 1998; Jenkins et al., 2010; Wallander, 2011) and that researchers should strive to provide comprehensive response options for participants who are asked

to decide between standard behavior options provided in the scenario (Hughes, 1998; Jenkins et al., 2010). To ensure that vignettes are as realistic and targeted as possible, researchers may choose to collaborate with experts and practitioners in the field when developing vignettes (Carroll & Johnson, 1990; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Wilks, 2004). Thoroughly exploring the relevant literature regarding a topic may also contribute to the development of more realistic vignette scenarios (Hughes & Huby, 2004).

Implemented correctly, vignettes can provide useful data regarding how participants make decisions or view situations. Vignettes can be especially useful when researchers are exploring sensitive topics (Hughes, 1998), as the vignettes allow participants to project their answers upon the "paper people" in the scenarios and discuss how the characters may respond to situations (Hughes & Huby, 2004; Jenkins et al., 2010). Moreover, even if vignettes fail to definitively predict human behavior, they can still offer insight into how people approach and participate in the decision-making process, which can contribute to the collective understanding of human judgement in a different way (Hughes, 1998; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Jenkins et al., 2010; Wilks, 2004). To fully explore how participants approach decision-making and interpret different aspects of the vignettes, the second part of the proposed project will explore decision-making using additional vignettes and discussions around why and under what circumstances certain decisions are made by agents. This additional qualitative component will be useful to examine and explain the findings observed through vignette surveys (Finch, 1987) and discuss the participants' responses in real time (Hughes, 1998; Jenkins et al., 2010), thereby permitting the researcher to probe for illustrations, justifications, or reasons behind seeking revocations for those offenders on their caseload.

Survey Development

In the early stages of the survey development, this researcher met with several agents to review SCDPPPS standards of supervision, caseload division, and the department's violations matrix. When offenders enter supervision, risk assessments are used to determine their risk level and subsequent supervision level (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019). Offenders under SCDPPPS supervision are separated into three different levels of supervision: standard, medium, and high (including specialized caseloads for sex offenders and domestic violence offenders) (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019). In an effort to implement evidence-based practices, SCDPPPS has instituted the use of a violations matrix that guides agents on the appropriate types of sanctions to be used in response to offender violations (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019). The matrix includes an offender's supervision level and the severity of the violation to determine a range of possible sanctions that agents may implement, including some sanctions that may depend on the approval of a supervisor or hearing officer (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019). The sanctions range from "verbal reprimand" and "refer to treatment" for low severity violations to "recommending weekend jail time" and "recommending partial or full revocation" for high severity offenses (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019).

While the survey instructions ultimately advise agents to disregard the violations matrix and depend on their own discretion when responding to offender violations described in the survey vignettes, scenarios were written to somewhat align with the violations matrix with the assumption that officers will have been trained on this matrix and that their decision-making will likely be influenced by the matrix. Additionally, there are areas where agents have more discretion in their decision-making (C. E. Cooper, June

4, 2019), and this researcher considered these scenarios and options carefully during the survey design.

To ensure that the survey and scenarios are realistic, relevant, and may generate greater external and internal validity (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014; Carroll & Johnson, 1990; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Wallander, 2011; Wilks, 2004), this researcher met with senior agents within SCDPPPS who no longer carry active caseloads to have them review the instrument and vignettes. This ensured that correct terminology was used, and scenarios were applicable and realistic to the agents in the department. Once their feedback was incorporated and the final survey was completed and adapted to an online format using REDCap, the survey was distributed for testing to the research staff at SCDPPPS and among several graduate students of the University of South Carolina in the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice. This initial testing was useful to ensure the functionality of the software features (e.g., filtering questions), review the survey instructions and content for clarity and typing errors, and to consider the final appearance of the survey instrument. All the feedback was reviewed and considered before the final survey was distributed.

Distribution Procedure

Prior to the distribution of the survey, the University of South Carolina's Internal Review Board (IRB) granted approval for the project. Initial IRB approval was granted for the quantitative component of the project prior to the completion of the survey (separate permission was later granted for the qualitative component of the project). Utilizing Dillman and his colleagues' (2014) approach to web survey distribution, email

invitations were distributed to participants in waves over several weeks (see Appendix C: Survey: Contact Letters, Informed Consent, and Instrument). To avoid participants believing that the survey link may contain malware and to enhance the legitimacy of the research, the SCDPPPS Deputy Director agreed to assist in initially distributing information about the research study. This informational email, sent on January 27, 2020, included an attachment directly from the researcher briefly explaining the quantitative component of the research project and asking subjects to consider participating in the upcoming survey. The introductory email included additional information to help participants identify and legitimize future project correspondence, including the subject line that would be utilized and the researcher's university email address from which the survey invitations would be generated (Dillman et al., 2014).

The first wave of invitation emails was sent directly from the researcher to participants two days after the initial contact (January 29, 2020). This email discussed more extensively the current project and invited participants to follow a link generated by REDCap survey software to complete the survey. The provided links were specific to each participant, and participants were asked not to forward the link to others. In an effort to increase the response rate (Dillman et al., 2014), reminder emails were sent to participants directly from the researcher on February 4, and February 13, 2020. These emails acknowledged those participants who may have already participated during wave 1 and reminded participants who had not yet completed the survey of the importance of their participation in the study and thanked them for the time that they would take to complete the survey. In accordance with best practices (Dillman et al., 2014), these reminder emails included a survey link embedded in the email. Immediately preceding

the final reminder email sent out by the researcher, the SCDPPPS Deputy Director sent

an email to all agents on February 12, 2020, encouraging them to participate in the

project if they had not yet done so and thanking those officers who had already

completed the survey.

The survey software utilized for this project, REDCap, offers many features to

encourage subject participation and enhance the project's legitimacy. First, the web-based

survey was designed using the University of South Carolina official banners and logos to

ensure that agents recognized that the project was associated with a research study at the

University of South Carolina. This feature, along with the initial invitation and reminder

sent from the SCDPPPS Deputy Director, served to ensure that agents understood the

authenticity of the project. Moreover, REDCap allows for the development of a survey

distribution list, wherein respondents are removed from the list upon completion of the

survey and therefore do not continue to receive reminder emails regarding the project.

Instead, when participants complete the survey, they receive an email thanking them for

their participation in the study. These features allow for a more tailored project

experience and serve to enhance completion rates by participants (Dillman et al., 2014).

This portion of the project closely followed Dillman and his colleague's (2014)

suggestion that email surveys be administered and reminder emails sent every few days.

Dillman and his colleagues (2014) assert that email surveys can be sent in quicker

procession than mail-based surveys, and they encourage sending email survey invitations

and reminders only a few days apart. Invitation and reminder emails were also sent on

different days of the week (Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday) and at different times

(including emails sent at 9am and 2pm). Sending the invitation and reminders on

different days and at different times was done to reach more agents at a time when they may be available to complete the survey. It would be problematic if, for example, agents received invitations and reminders at the same time each week when they are mandatorily providing security for in-house programs that are held at the same time each week.

After removing ineligible subjects, 212 agents were eligible for participation; 134 surveys were completed or partially completed, resulting in a 63.2% response rate (see Table 4.1. Survey Sample Descriptives for Demographic Characteristics; see Table 4.2 Survey Sample Descriptives for Work-Related Characteristics). The survey sample descriptive statistics for the independent variables (including gender, race and ethnicity, age, education, tenure, and prior experience) and the dependent variable measures (including officer orientation and officer decision-making) follow.

Independent Variables

Gender

Respondents were asked to identify their gender and were given the options to select male, female, gender nonconforming, transgender male, transgender female, and other (for precise wording of survey questions, see Appendix C: Survey: Contact Letters, Informed Consent, and Instrument). The final sample was predominantly male, with 62% (82) of participants identifying as male, 35% (48) participants identifying as female, one participant identifying as gender nonconforming, and one participant identifying as other. The participant that identified as "other" failed to write in a preferred gender identity. Because only two agents identified with a gender identity that was not male or female, data analysis only included agents who identified as male (=1) or female (=0).

Race and Ethnicity

Respondents were asked if they identified as Latino/a/x. Most participants responded that they did not identify as Latino/a/x (98.5% or 128 participants), while only 1.5% (2) of participants responded that they did identify as Latino/a/x. Respondents were asked what race they considered themselves, and were given the following options: White, Black or African American, Native American or American Indian, Asian/ Pacific Islander, Biracial/ Multiracial, or other. Most of the participants considered themselves to be White (70% or 92 participants), 23% (31) of participants considered themselves Black or African American, 1.5% (2) of participants identified as Asian or Pacific Islander, 1.5% (2) of participants identified as biracial or multiracial, 2.3% (3) of participants advised they were of another race, and no participants identified as Native American or Indian American. Although three participants chose "other," none of the participants specified a different race. Because of the small number of participants that identified as Latino/a/x, Black or African American, Asian Pacific or Islander, Biracial or Multiracial, or other, these ethnic and racial categories were collapsed into a Non-White group for data analysis. Data analysis was conducted using White (=1) and Non-White groups (=0).

Age

Participants were asked to provide their birth year, which was used to determine their age at the time of the survey completion. Provided ages ranged from 23 years to 70 years. The average age of participants was 39.7 years.

Education

To measure education, participants were asked to self-report their highest completed level of education and were given the following options: High School Diploma or GED, Associate Degree, Bachelor's Degree, and Post-Graduate Degree (masters, JD, PhD, etc.). Only 3.1% (4) of participants selected a high school diploma or GED as their highest completed level of education. Most participants reported having completed some level of college education, including 3.8% (5) of participants who completed an associate degree, 78.6% (103) of participants who completed a bachelor's degree, and 14.5% (19) of participants who completed a post-graduate degree. Since only 3.8% (5) of participants completed an associate degree, this category was collapsed with a bachelor's degree for data analysis. For data analysis, officers were identified as having some form of post-graduate degree or not having a post-graduate degree; a dummy code was created wherein 1=post-graduate degree and 0=no post-graduate degree.

Tenure

Tenure was measured by asking participants to select the range of years that they had been an agent (including time served as OSS, if applicable) within the department. Possible time spent as OSS was included because these experiences would likely contribute to how officers supervise offenders and make decisions about their cases, even if that time spent with the department was not spent as an agent. The possible ranges included less than 1 year, 1-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, 16-20 years, 21-25 years, 26-30 years, and more than 30 years. Fourteen percent (19) of participants have been employed as an OSS or agent with SCDPPPS for less than one year (14.6%), 46.2% (60)

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of participants were employed between 1 and 5 years, 6.9% (9) of subjects advised they have been with the department between 6 and 10 years, 15.4% (20) of participants have worked there between 11 and 20 years, 13.9% (18) of participants have worked with the department between 21 and 30 years, and 3.1% (4) of participants have worked with the department more than 30 years. For some data analysis, the tenure measure was recoded into the midpoint to create a continuous variable (where "less than 1 year" was coded as 0.5 years, "1-5 years" was coded as 3 years, "6-10 years" was coded as 8 years, "11-15 years" was coded 13 years, "16-20 years" was coded as 18 years, "21-25 years" was coded as 23 years, "26-30 years" was coded as 28 years, and "more than 30 years" was coded as 32 years).

Prior Experience

Participants were asked about possible related prior professional experience. This variable was discussed during one of the meetings with SCDPPPS senior agents, wherein it was suggested that this previous experience may influence how officers approach supervision. This measure is generally not included in this literature, but it was included upon that practitioner's suggestion as a background factor that she personally felt seemed to make a difference in her own and her colleagues' supervision experience.

Participants were asked what best describes their professional background and experience and were given a list of options and asked to identify "yes" or "no" for each of the options. The options included: Military experience, Police/sheriff's department experience, Corrections experience, Probation or Parole in another state, Social work experience, Victims' Services, Counseling/treatment provider, Work with juvenile

offenders. Notably, 63.4% (83) of participants reported having some prior related professional experience. Of participants that reported some prior experience, 21.3% (27) of agents reported having prior military experience, 33.6% (44) of agents reported having worked for a police department or sheriff's office, 22% (28) of agents had some corrections experience, 3.2% (4) of agents had worked in a probation or parole department in another state, 8.7% (11) of agents had some social work experience, 7.1% (9) of agents had worked with victims' services, 5.5% (7) of agents had worked in counseling or as a treatment provider, and 10.2% (13) of agents had worked with juvenile offenders. Many agents reported having multiple areas of prior experience. For data analysis, officers were identified as having any form of professional experience in a surveillance area in their background (defined as any military experience, any policing experience, or any experience in corrections) or no surveillance background experience, and this variable was dummy coded where 1= surveillance background, 0= no surveillance background.

Dependent Variables

Officer Orientation

Officer orientation was measured using a Likert scale, wherein officers could designate professional tasks as ranging from "Not at all important" to "Very important." In the survey instructions, officers were asked to identify the importance of each work-related activity based on their individual perception of importance, ranging from 1 for tasks that are "Not at all important" to 5 for tasks that are "Very important." Several measures were adopted from Miller's (2015) survey of supervision practices, including

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those used to measure orientations that focus on punishment ($\alpha = 0.69$) and rehabilitation ($\alpha = 0.89$). Additionally, several measures were developed after a thorough review of the literature and in consideration of tasks that SCDPPPS Class-1 agents may engage in based on agency-specific supervision practices. While Miller's (2015) items provided an important foundation for the scale used, the additional measures integrated into the survey improved the applicability of the items to the officers in the study. Measures for the current survey were categorized as surveillance and control measures ($\alpha = 0.84$) or rehabilitative measures ($\alpha = 0.87$) to reflect a law enforcement and social work orientation, respectively.

Although initially developed with the intention of combining the measures into one officer orientation for each agent, officer orientation was not collapsed for the final data analysis (see Chapter 5). Instead, respondents received both a law enforcement orientation score and a social work orientation score, reflecting a combination of either high law enforcement- high social work (55 of 134 officers; 41%), high law enforcement- low social work (18 of 134 officers; 13%), low law enforcement- high social work (12 of 134 officers; 9%), or low law enforcement- low social work (49 of 134 officers; 36%; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Steiner et al., 2011).

Decision to Pursue a Revocation

Vignettes were used to measure officer decision-making, specifically officers' decision to pursue a revocation. The vignettes reflected a situation of continued non-compliance by one male offender initially on probation supervision for a felony forgery charge. The probationer's age and race were not specified, and the name "Kevin

Williams" was used to provide a race-neutral name. These steps were taken to reduce the impact that the probationer's sociodemographic variables may have on officers' decision-making, as relevant literature indicates that these variables may be associated with revocation rates for probationers and parolees (Davis, 1964; Gould et al., 2011; Grattet et al., 2009; Lin et al., 2010; Morgan, 1993, 1994; Olson et al., 2003; Olson & Lurigio, 2000; Phelps, 2017; Sims & Jones, 1997; Steen et al., 2012; Steen & Opsal, 2007; Steinmetz & Henderson, 2015, 2016; Vito et al., 2012; Wilson, 2005).

A total of four vignettes were presented to officers in which they were asked to indicate whether they would utilize a variety of responses for the probationer's initial and then continued noncompliance. While there is no definitive rule in the literature regarding how many vignettes should be used during a vignette survey, researchers should consider respondent fatigue during survey development (Taylor, 2006; Wallander, 2009). The violations included in the vignettes ranged from missing a scheduled appointment to failing to inform officers of a new arrest for a misdemeanor charge, and possible officer responses ranged from verbally reprimanding the probationer to recommending a full revocation. A revocations measure was created by identifying officers who recommended a revocation as a response to any of the four vignettes, and creating a dummy variable, wherein 1= any decision to pursue a revocation and 0= the absence of a revocation decision.

Qualitative Research Component: Interview

Sample

The sampling frame for the qualitative component of the project was the same as the quantitative component—Class 1 certified agents employed at SCDPPPS who were actively supervising a caseload at the time of the interviews. This project used purposive sampling in an effort to explore the experiences of a diverse sample of officers (Glesne, 2016; Robinson, 2014; Windsong, 2016). This approach aimed to ensure that underrepresented groups within the department would be invited to participate in the research in an effort to incorporate the voices of those often marginalized because of their minority representation in the field (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Robinson, 2014). The intersectional methodology literature supports this approach and cautions researchers about focusing on only one characteristic (such as gender) to the exclusion of other relevant identities (such as race) (Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Windsong, 2016). Moreover, this approach served to increase the likelihood that underrepresented groups within SCDPPPS would be included in the sample (Robinson, 2014).

When working directly with SCDPPPS, the agency refused to provide sociodemographic information on agents employed through the department. However, the agency advised that they were willing to provide contact information for all C-1 certified agents within the department and include which of the five regions officers worked in within the state. Using this information, agents who were identified as meeting the inclusion criteria were separated into regions, and one agent was chosen from each region and contacted for participation in the interview. Of the two agents that responded

to this recruitment effort, one declined to participate and the other advised that she was ineligible. After reaching out to SCDPPPS regarding the lack of response, SCDPPPS sent an email to the agents, informing them of the legitimacy of the study, advising them that the study had been approved by the Department, and encouraging them to participate.

In addition to the email sent through SCDPPPS, more officers were contacted with the initial recruitment materials (5 agents from each region). An initial recruitment email was sent to agents, four days later a reminder email was sent, and a final reminder email was sent five days after the first reminder email (see Appendix D: Interview: Contact Letters, Informed Consent, and Instrument). Email invitations were sent to a total of 90 officers over a two-month period, between the last week of January 2021 and the last week of March 2021. Four agents responded that they were ineligible to participate, 4 agents declined to participate, 6 agents expressed interest in the study but failed to schedule or meet for the interview, and 54 agents failed to respond to any of the invitation emails. The recruitment process was stopped once agents ceased to respond to invitation emails, and data saturation occurred (Francis et al., 2009; Moser & Korstjens, 2018). At the point of saturation, 22 agents had participated in the interviews, resulting in a 24% participation rate from the pool of contacted officers (see Table 4.3. Interview Sample Descriptives). Used in qualitative approaches, the point of saturation describes the moment in data collection and analyses where no new themes are emerging from the data (Francis et al., 2009; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Harding, 2018; Moser & Korstjens, 2018); additional data collection and analyses past this saturation point is unnecessary and would result in a waste of time and resources from the researcher and participant (Francis et al., 2009).

In an effort to build a diverse sample of participants, agents were asked for referrals of other officers that they felt might be interested in participating. Agents were then asked for a male and female agent, and frequently asked for a male and female agent of Color in an effort to ensure diversity in participants (agents who responded aggressively towards the race/gender aspect of the study were not asked for referrals based on race or ethnicity; see Chapter 6 for more discussion of these responses). Agents who were contacted based on referrals were sent recruitment materials that highlighted that they had been referred by a colleague who had participated in the study. Generally, response rates did not differ from agents who were randomly contacted and those who were referred to the study.

Qualitative Data Collection

Consistent with allowing the research questions to drive methodologies (Fetters et al., 2013; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003; Trahan & Stewart, 2013) and approaching this research through an intersectional lens (Bowleg, 2008; Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015), the qualitative component of this project serves to explore the factors that officers feel are relevant to their own decision-making. In-depth interviewing of participants allowed officers to guide the discussion and frequently uncovered ideas that the researcher had not considered (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Windsong, 2016). The interview portion of the study, especially the use of vignettes during the interview, encouraged officers to discuss the rationale behind their decision-making (Finch, 1987; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Taylor, 2006). Moreover,

qualitative interviewing provided further explanation and context to findings revealed

during the quantitative phase of the project (Creswell, 2015; Fetters et al., 2013; Finch,

1987; Greene et al., 1989; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Ivankova et al., 2006; Small, 2011;

Trahan & Stewart, 2013), particularly in the context of revocation decisions as measured

in the survey (this is more fully discussed in Chapter 6).

Interview Instrument Design

The instrument used in the qualitative portion of the project followed a semi-

structured interviewing approach. The semi-structured interview instrument consisted of

predetermined questions developed beforehand by the researcher with several probes that

could be used to elicit more information from the participant during the interview process

(Brinkmann, 2014; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Harding, 2018; McIntosh &

Morse, 2015). This approach prompted respondents to share and describe their own

experiences while ensuring some form of standardization across the questions being

asked (Brinkmann, 2014; McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Because of this quasi-structured

approach, the semi-structured interview represents the qualitative approach most

frequently integrated into mixed methods research designs (McIntosh & Morse, 2015).

The interview instrument is comprised of two components (see Appendix D:

Interview: Contact Letters, Informed Consent, and Instrument). The interview first

focuses on the agent's background information, how the agent engages in supervision

approaches and job tasks, and how the agent approaches professional decision-making

(Harding, 2018). These questions are approached through an intersectional lens, and

focused on specific activities (supervision approaches, job tasks, decision-making) in an

effort to allow participants to describe these experiences in their own words (Brinkmann, 2014; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999). Using these concepts as anchors, the interview includes how officers' sociodemographic positionality may frame those experiences (Bowleg, 2008; Christensen & Jensen, 2012). These questions were asked based on the multiplicative nature of identities and were not posed in such a way that forced officers to view their identities in an additive way (i.e., officers were asked to think about questions as a White man or Black woman, but not separately as a White person and male person or as a female person and Black person) (Bowleg, 2008; Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Windsong, 2016).

The section of the instrument that focused on officer decision-making included a few introductory questions but was primarily comprised of vignettes. While utilizing vignettes in a qualitative instrument has not been applied prevalently in the current literature, a few previous studies have utilized this approach (Hughes, 1998; Jenkins et al., 2010; Lee & Scott, 2017). Jenkins and his colleagues (2010) designed their interview instrument to include some introductory questions before moving into reading and responding to the vignettes. Discussing vignettes in a qualitative capacity provided an opportunity for participants to thoroughly discuss their decision-making approaches in more realistic ways and offered a more comprehensive understanding about how participants approach and interpret the information provided in the vignettes (Wilks, 2004). Guided discussion in these areas led to the discussion of factors not considered by the primary researcher that may have otherwise remained undetected (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Windsong, 2016).

Interview Instrument Development

While the interview instrument was developed prior to the quantitative data collection, quantitative data analysis suggested that one section of the interview instrument should be modified. The original interview instrument focused more specifically on officer orientation, describing the concept to participants and then asking them about their own perceptions of officer orientation, the orientations that exist, and the sociodemographic factors that may influence their professional orientations. Once the quantitative data analysis was complete for the first research question, it became clear that the original professional orientation constructs did not reflect the officers' own orientations as agents in the survey scored primarily in orientations that reflected a high law enforcement- high social work orientation and low law enforcement- low social work orientation. Once these findings were determined, the interview instrument was adjusted to reflect that there might be an additional officer orientation (low law enforcement- low social work) that existed among the population of SCDPPPS agents. This section of the interview instrument (including questions 9 -10) was revised to reflect these initial findings from the quantitative portion of the study.

Interview Procedure

The qualitative portion of the project was submitted separately to the University of South Carolina's IRB for approval before data collection began. Once IRB approval was granted for the project, data collection began. Officers received an initial recruitment email, a first reminder email, and a final reminder email advising them of the study and asking for their voluntary participation. Agents were asked to respond either to the email

or use the provided telephone number to advise of their interest in participating. Once agents indicated an interest in participating, an interview date and time was scheduled.

Although the project initially proposed to use videoconferencing software, agents seemed to prefer speaking via telephone, with only one agent requesting to use videoconferencing software instead of speaking over the phone. Officers generally advised that the telephone was easier as it allowed them to move freely throughout their day while still participating in the study (for example, one agent participated in the study during a long drive that he had to make for work purposes). Such flexibility allows research to remain participant-focused, an important tenet of feminist research (Trier-Bieniek, 2012). Research suggests that telephone interviewing can be as effective as interviewing participants in person (Carr & Worth, 2001; Trier-Bieniek, 2012). Although this approach enabled agents to perform other work tasks during the interviews, it seldom seemed to this researcher that agents became distracted. When agents encountered something distracting during the interview (for example, the agent who was driving missed a turn), they would generally advise that they needed to briefly pause the interview and then almost always were able to begin speaking about the same topic where they had previously paused the conversation.

Telephone interviews may have interesting implications regarding interviewer effects, specifically race-of-interviewer effects wherein respondents may answer race-related questions differently when speaking to interviewers of the same or a different race (Cotter et al., 1982; Lowe et al., 2011; Samples et al., 2014) and gender-of-interviewer effects wherein male and female participants answer questions differently depending on the perceived gender of the interviewer (Kane & Macaulay, 1993). These effects are

especially salient when the focus of the interview questions include racialized or gendered experiences (Cotter et al., 1982; Kane & Macaulay, 1993; Lowe et al., 2011). Research suggests that interview participants may answer race and gender-based questions differently dependent on the interviewer's sociodemographic characteristics in an attempt to remain race or gender-neutral or to avoid creating uncomfortable situations around race or gender for both the interviewer and participant (Kane & Macaulay, 1993; Lowe et al., 2011). While conducting interviews on the telephone may protect against some bias as participants' ability to see the interviewer's nonverbal responses is diminished and therefore respondents may be less prone to censorship and social desirability bias (Carr & Worth, 2001), research suggests that interviewer effects may still influence participant responses in interviews conducted on the telephone (Cotter et al., 1982).

At the beginning of the phone conversation, agents were read the informed consent information and were allowed to ask any questions they had regarding the interview. All agents agreed to continue to participate in the interview and agreed to have their interview recorded for transcription purposes. At the completion of the interview, agents were advised that they could contact the primary researcher, the researcher's faculty mentor, and/or the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance using the information provided in the original email they received regarding the study should they have any additional questions or concerns.

One primary concern for researchers, particularly those working from a positivist paradigm, is the issue of validity. Constantly reviewing the validity of their own methodologies, positivists voice concern regarding the validity of qualitative methods,

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especially when the researcher herself is the primary research instrument (Brinkmann, 2014; Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). Interpretivists, who challenge the notion of objective knowledge garnered through traditional methods, are subsequently less concerned with the objective validity of research (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006), although qualitative researchers generally strive to ensure that their research is trustworthy (Glesne, 2016).

Comparable to the positivist understanding of validity, trustworthiness addresses "the quality and rigor of a study, [including] what criteria can be used to assess how well the research was carried out" (Glesne, 2016, p. 53). Quoting Jupp (2006), Harding (2018) defines trustworthiness as, "the extent to which conclusions drawn from research provide an accurate description of what happened or a correct explanation of what happens and why" (p. 113). In other words, when qualitative researchers aim to ensure their work is credible and reflective of the constructs they are attempting to measure, they are pursuing trustworthiness in their data collection and analysis.

While no one standard of ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative projects exists (Harding, 2018), researchers have identified several ways to enhance the trustworthiness of qualitative research (see Glesne, 2016). In an effort to provide trustworthiness, this project depended on researcher reflexivity, a carefully maintained audit trail (Glesne, 2016; Harding, 2018) and the use of methodological triangulation as facets of the project design (Caracelli & Greene, 1997; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Doyle et al., 2009; Morse, 1991). Reflexivity requires the researcher to consistently revisit and consider her own positionality and subjectivity regarding the research topic, questions, and findings (Creswell & Miller, 2000; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Glesne, 2016; McHugh,

2014). This approach is useful for conducting interviews and interpreting data because this practice requires the researcher to repeatedly revisit where her own biases and feelings lie, and how these underlying assumptions and subjective views may impact her project, including data analysis.

Recognizing this researcher's own positionality was particularly important during the interview process, because of how this researcher's own professional experience may shape how interview content could be interpreted and collected. Maintaining a vigilance related to her own positionality, this researcher consistently asked for clarification from participants instead of assuming she understood their responses and frequently learned that they meant something different than what this researcher assumed. Without an awareness regarding her own positionality and her engagement in reflexivity during and after the interviews, many of the insights learned from the interviews would have been obscured by the researcher's own experiences and assumptions, which would have seriously threatened the validity of the findings of the research. Additionally, this researcher worked carefully to build rapport with participants without influencing their responses, refraining from discussing shared experiences or even her own professional experience as a probation and parole officer unless the participant became guarded or seemed unlikely to continue participating in the interview. As this happened with only a small number of agents, this researcher generally did not include her own experiences or context within the interviews and focused instead on allowing the semi-structed questions and participants to guide the interview.

In an additional effort to ensure trustworthiness for the qualitative component of the project, this researcher incorporated an audit trail. An audit trail generally includes

materials related to the research process, including field notes and research memos (Glesne, 2016), which serve to document key decisions made during the research process (Birks et al., 2008). As semi-structured interviews were conducted, research memos were completed following each interview. These memos included descriptive information about the interview, including the participants' demeanor and other relevant verbal cues (for example, when participants seemed to speak more freely or in a more guarded manner; Glesne, 2016), and served as a space wherein the researcher discussed subjective reflection from the interview (such as the interviewer's interpretation of the interview) (Saldaña, 2016). Additionally, research memos provided a space to document primary decisions that were made during data collection and analysis, including decisions made during the coding process (Birks et al., 2008; Glesne, 2016; Harding, 2018; Saldaña, 2016). Importantly, audit trails enable the researcher to review and evaluate her own work and decisions during the research process (Birks et al., 2008).

The project design itself incorporated methodological triangulation within the project as a means of ensuring the validity of the findings (Caracelli & Greene, 1997; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Doyle et al., 2009; Morse, 1991). Creswell and Miller (2000) define methodological triangulation as "a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study" (p. 126). Initially recommended for use in monomethod research (specifically research that depended on several quantitative approaches; Campbell & Fiske, 1959), mixed methods researchers have since advocated for the utilization of methodological triangulation as a strength of mixed methods research (Caracelli & Greene, 1997; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Doyle et al., 2009; Morse, 1991). To ensure

greater trustworthiness and validity within the comprehensive project, the quantitative (survey) and qualitative (semi-structured interviews) methodological approaches work together to uniquely and more precisely measure dependent variables and concepts of interest within the project. Importantly, the qualitative component contributed additional explanation and contextualization of the information learned through the quantitative component and provided a better understanding of the significant findings (and null findings) from the survey.

Although discussed more extensively in Chapters 5 and 6, an example of methodological triangulation within the study includes the focus on officer orientation, which was measured through a Likert scale item in the survey and was discussed during the semi-structured interviews. A notable finding that emerged from the survey data is that respondents generally did not identify with a law enforcement *or* social work orientation; most agents either reported a synthetic orientation or failed to identify any supervision tasks as especially important. These findings were unexpected, and as most research focuses on orientation as either dichotomous (law enforcement/social work) or existing on a continuum (law enforcement/synthetic/social work), there is limited prior literature to help explain the current findings. Because of the explanatory sequential mixed method research design, the interview instrument was adjusted to reflect these findings, and agents were asked directly about their perceptions of officer orientation, including this additional fourth orientation (low law enforcement-low social work). measuring and exploring officer orientation in multiple ways allowed for a deeper understanding of the construct, and ultimately produced one of the study's most notable results and has important implications for future research.

Concepts of Interest

The qualitative arm of the project was required to answer the third research question, "What factors do officers identify as contributing to their decision-making concerning whether or not to pursue probation and parole revocations?" Additionally, the qualitative data provided methodological triangulation and contextualization for the quantitative findings. To adequately address this question, several concepts of interest were covered in the semi-structured interview instrument, including officer's professional tasks, officer orientation, decision making, and the ways that officers' race and gender may frame their perceptions and decision-making.

Professional Tasks

After collecting background information on participants, agents were asked broadly about their job tasks and how they view these duties. Officers were first asked to describe their typical day as an agent at SCDPPPS; this question served to anchor the interview within in their professional experiences (Carr & Worth, 2001; Christensen & Jensen, 2012). Agents were also asked about how they spend their time at work, and which parts of their job they find most and least rewarding. Questions in this section of the interview prompted agents to share their perspectives on different facets of their job, including the aspects of supervision that they felt were most valued and the tasks they spent most of their time completing.

Officer Orientation

The survey instrument also included questions regarding officers' orientation. West and Seiter (2004) directly asked about officers' orientation within their survey

instrument by first explaining the idea behind officer orientation, briefly describing each

orientation (namely surveillance and casework), and then asking officers to self-identify

where they exist on the continuum of officer orientation. However, considering the

complexity of the concept of officer orientation, it is more appropriate to directly discuss

officer orientation in a semi-structured interview where the researcher and participants

can more easily engage and discuss the idea of officer orientation. Additionally, findings

from the survey portion of the project suggested that agents fall into one of four

categories of officer orientation, as opposed to the three orientations traditionally

discussed in the literature.

To build upon the findings of the officer survey, this researcher explained the

concept of officer orientation and briefly characterized the law enforcement, social

worker, and synthetic orientations. Additionally, the researcher suggested that a fourth

orientation may exist, in which officers fall outside of these three areas and fail to

prioritize either law enforcement or social worker tasks. Officers were then asked how

they perceived these orientations through the question, "As an agent who works in this

field, how do you feel about these characterizations?" If agents agreed that four

categories exist, they were asked to expand upon what group of officers may comprise

that fourth category. To gauge their own orientation, officers are asked, "Where would

you say that you fall within these categories?"

Officer Decision-Making

The interview instrument used several approaches to explore and understand

officer decision-making. As a matter of policy, SCDPPPS agents are instructed to follow

a violations matrix when responding to offender noncompliance (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019). While officers were instructed to respond to the survey portion of the project as if the matrix was not in existence (i.e., they were asked to respond to noncompliance however they deemed appropriate), the interview instrument asked how much discretion officers felt they have in the decision-making process when responding to offender noncompliance. The aim was to better understand if officers perceived they are merely following the guidelines of the matrix or if their recommendations and decision-making are independently valued.

The crux of the qualitative interview included introducing and working through vignettes regarding offender noncompliance. Officers were first asked what factors they considered generally when responding to offender violations. Officers were then led through a series of individual vignettes that described various forms of noncompliance. Unlike the survey vignette series, these vignettes did not represent continued noncompliance, but instead were individual noncompliance scenarios. The vignettes each focused on a male probationer with a race-neutral name (Thomas Jones, John Weeks, Henry Tanner, and Jonathan Logan). Officers were provided with primary offense information (including property charges, drug charges, and violent charges) and case information (including sentence length, special conditions when relevant, and supervision level). After each scenario, officers were asked how they might respond to the probation violation (which included failure to pay court-ordered fines and fees, arrests by other agencies for new charges, and positive drug screens). After officers shared how they would respond to the violations, they were asked to explain why they responded in that way (Finch, 1987). While the vignette responses may not reflect how officers would

respond in real-life scenarios (although some research suggests that vignettes can be used to measure how participants would respond in real-life), discussing vignettes in a semi-structured interview led to an improved understanding of the decision-making process itself (Hughes, 1998; Jenkins et al., 2010), which is ultimately the goal of this research study. Asking officers first about their decision-making process and then providing scenarios through which to further discuss their decision-making allowed for a deeper and more nuanced discussion around how agents make decisions regarding noncompliance.

Officers' Race and Gender

How officers' sociodemographic characteristics, specifically race and gender, may frame their supervision practices and decision-making is another vital area of interest for the current research project and is included throughout the interview instrument. During the beginning of the interview, officers were asked some basic questions on their backgrounds and professional job tasks to encourage a better rapport between the participant and researcher. These questions were consistent with an intersectional analysis that was rooted in participants' experience (Christensen & Jensen, 2012). More specifically, questions included: "Why did you initially come to work at SCDPPPS," "What attracted you to a job in probation and parole," and "Tell me about a typical day at SCDPPPS." By asking these experiences without a focus on race and gender, participants' responses allowed for insight into commonalities and differences based on their intersectional positionality. Identifying these trends and distinctions is an important component of intersectional data analysis (Bowleg, 2008; Christensen &

Jensen, 2012), but designing the interview instrument in this way allowed for subsequent analysis.

Officers were explicitly asked about the ways they felt their race and gender framed how they did their jobs at various points during the interview (Bowleg, 2008). When questioned about the goals of probation and parole, officers were asked how their intersectional identity framed how they viewed the broad goals of probation and parole (i.e., "In what ways (if any) do you feel that how you prioritize the goals of probation and parole reflects your experiences as a [male/ female/ White person/ person of Color]?"). Officers were again asked to consider their race and gender after discussing the aspects of supervision that they feel are most important (i.e., "When you think about these aspects of your job, what are the ways (if any) that you feel like your perspective is affected by your race and/or gender?"). Later in the interview, about officer orientation, officers were asked, "In what ways (if any) do you feel like your race and/or gender may influence where you fall on this continuum?" Lastly, immediately preceding the discussion of the vignettes, officers were questioned, "In what ways (if any) do you feel like your race and/or gender may influence how you supervise offenders on your caseload?" The query construction followed the recommendations of intersectional scholars, who suggest asking questions in a way that allows the participant to focus on a primary identity or the intersections of several identities but does not force them to choose a master status through which to approach the interview (Bowleg, 2008; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Windsong, 2016).

Analytic Strategy

The strategies utilized for data analysis included using descriptive statistics, bivariate statistics, and multiple linear regression to answer the first question, descriptive and bivariate statistics for the second research question, and open coding of the qualitative data to explain the quantitative findings and answer the third research question. The analytic strategy is discussed for the quantitative approaches (research questions one and two), followed by the analysis approach used for the qualitative project component (explanation of research questions one and two and answering research question three).

Quantitative Data Analysis

Data from the survey was used to answer the first two research questions: (1) Is officer gender or officer race associated with officer orientation; (2) Is community corrections officer gender, officer race, and/or officer orientation associated with an officer's decision to pursue a revocation? Measures for officer gender, race/ethnicity, officer orientation, and decision to pursue a revocation are discussed above (see Quantitative Independent Variables and Dependent Variables sections).

Although feminist scholars began calling for intersectional research applications decades ago (Bowleg, 2008; McHugh, 2014), researchers have struggled with the logistical implications of intersectional data analysis (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; Warner, 2008; Windsong, 2016), especially in the context of quantitative research. Though intersectional researchers who employ quantitative methods concede that there are some limitations with the current statistical methods used to analyze quantitative data (Bowleg,

2008), researchers have suggested interaction effects can be used for analyzing data through an intersectional lens (Bowleg, 2008; Dillaway & Broman, 2001; Dubrow, 2008). Guided by the feminist intersectional framework regarding which measures to include within the statistical models (Warner, 2008), data analysis for the first research question involved using multiple linear regression models that included interaction effects for race and gender.

For the second research question, initial data analysis proposed to use a binary logistic regression to explore the significance of an officer pursuing a revocation based on officer gender, race, and officer orientation. However, the survey results indicate that only 15 agents (11%) recommended a revocation at any point during the scenario of continued noncompliance unfolding across the vignettes. Because of the small number of respondents who would pursue a revocation, a binary logistic regression analysis would be unsuitable (Peduzzi et al., 1996).

Alternatively, descriptive statistics were analyzed to identify potential revocation patterns in the data. These approaches included crosstabulations for both gender and race across agents' decision to pursue a revocation at any point during the scenario of continued noncompliance. Additionally, a comparison of means was considered to identify significant differences based on agent gender or race/ethnicity and their decision to pursue a revocation. To understand how officer orientation may be correlated with decision-making in the context of revocations, correlations were run for both law enforcement and social work orientations against officers' willingness to pursue a revocation in any of the vignette scenarios.

To capitalize on the strength of the explanatory sequential mixed methods research design, the qualitative data was used to explain the survey findings used to answer the first two research questions (Creswell, 2015; Fetters et al., 2013; Greene et al., 1989; Ivankova et al., 2006; Small, 2011; Trahan & Stewart, 2013). Consequentially, the first two research questions were answered first using the quantitative data gathered from the survey and then were contextualized using the qualitative data collected through the semi-structured interviews. The interview data analysis is discussed below.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data is used to answer the third research question: (3) What factors do officers identify as contributing to their decision-making concerning whether or not to pursue probation and parole revocations? Data for this question was drawn from the qualitative interview conducted with probation and parole officers, specifically question #13 on the interview instrument ("When you have an offender that violates his/her supervision conditions, what factors do you consider when responding to those violations?") and the vignettes series that follows. As interviews were conducted, they were transcribed and analyzed, allowing for ongoing data analysis that occurred simultaneously with continued data collection (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Saldaña, 2014, 2016). After each recorded interview was transcribed, the transcription was uploaded into NVivo, a software package used to analyze qualitative data (Harding, 2018).

For the first round of coding, each transcribed interview was read through in its entirety, and the text was descriptively coded (Harding, 2018; McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Saldaña (2016) describes a code as,

> a researcher-generated construct that symbolizes or "translates" data (Vogt, Vogt, Gardner, & Haeffele, 2014, p. 13) and thus attributes interpreted meaning to each individual datum for later purposes of pattern detection, categorization, assertion or proposition development, theory building, and other analytic processes. (p. 4)

Interviews were generally revisited several times (Saldaña, 2016), wherein coding occurred during each subsequent reading. Coding continued until a point of saturation was reached within the data analysis (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

Descriptive coding, which comprised the first round of coding, focused on broadly describing what ideas are present in the text (McIntosh & Morse, 2015; Saldaña, 2014, 2016). Additionally, the first round of coding included in vivo coding, wherein codes were often comprised of verbatim text pulled from the data (Saldaña, 2014, 2016). This first round of coding served to begin to identify what broad topics or ideas were being shared through the data. A subsequent round of coding, wherein the interviews were revisited, was used to begin categorizing codes and identifying patterns that were beginning to emerge from the interviews (Harding, 2018; McIntosh & Morse, 2015; Saldaña, 2014, 2016). As these patterns emerged, they were categorized and organized in a way that was more refined (Saldaña, 2014, 2016). Beginning with descriptive and in vivo coding and moving then to identify patterns and themes in the data helped to ensure that the researcher remained open to what was emerging from the data as opposed to mining for specific topics or ideas within the data (Saldaña, 2016).

As the data was coded in Nvivo, a codebook was also developed and maintained in Nvivo. The codebook identified different levels of codes, provided a working definition for the code, and inclusion and exclusion criteria codes when necessary (McIntosh & Morse, 2015; Saldaña, 2016). The codebook allowed for organization of the codes but also served to ensure that consistent codes were used during data analysis (Saldaña, 2016). Additionally, analytic memos were kept as a record of decision-making regarding how data was coded (Harding, 2018; Saldaña, 2014). These steps contributed to the overall trustworthiness of the data analysis and the subsequent findings (Birks et al., 2008; Glesne, 2016; Harding, 2018; Saldaña, 2016).

Table 4.1. Survey Sample Descriptives for Demographic Characteristics (n=134)

	Sample		SCDPPPS Agents	
	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency
Gender				
Male	62.1	82	59.6	140
Female	35.8	48	40.4	95
Gender non- conforming	0.8	1	0	0
Other	0.8	1	0	0
Latinx[1]				
Yes	1.5	2		
No	98.5	128		
Race				
White	70.8	92	67.7	159
Black	23.8	31	29.8	70
Asian or Pacific Islander	1.5	2	0.9	2
Biracial or Multiracial	1.5	2	NA[2]	NA[2]
Other	2.3	3	1.7[1]	4[1]
Race and Gender				
White Male	43.8	57	42.5	100
White Female	25.4	33	25.1	59
Male of Color	19.2	25	17	40
Female of Color	11.5	15	15.3	36
Age				
Average		39.7 years		36.7 years
Marital Status				
Single	35.7	46	NA[2]	NA[2]
Married	50.4	65	NA[2]	NA[2]
Divorced	10.9	14	NA[2]	NA[2]
Separated	1.6	2	NA[2]	NA[2]
Widowed	1.6	2	NA[2]	NA[2]
Minor Children				
Yes	40.3	52	NA[2]	NA[2]
No	59.7	77	NA[2]	NA[2]

[1]While the survey asked officers about ethnicity (Hispanic/Latinx) separately from race, SCDPPP data does not differentiate race and ethnicity. Instead, race is separated into White, African American or Black, Hispanic or Latino, and Asian. For the purposes of the descriptive data, the Hispanic or Latino categories as supplied by SCDPPP is listed as "other".
[2]Data unavailable from SCDPPPS.

Table 4.2. Survey Sample Descriptives for Work-Related Characteristics (n=134)

	Sample		SCDPPPS Agents	
	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency
Tenure				
< 1 Year	14.6	19	20.9	49
1-5 years	46.2	60	48.5	114
6-10 years	6.9	9	5.1	12
11-20 years	15.4	20	12.3	29
21-30 years	13.9	18	10.2	24
31 +	3.1	4	3.0	7
Supervisor				
Yes	12.3	16	NA[1]	NA[1]
No	87.7	114	NA[1]	NA[1]
Education				
Diploma/GED	3.1	4	NA[1]	NA[1]
Associate/BA	82.4	108	NA[1]	NA[1]
Post-Grad	14.5	19	NA[1]	NA[1]
Prior Experience				
Military (yes)	21.3	27	NA[1]	NA[1]
PD/Sheriff (yes)	33.6	44	NA[1]	NA[1]
Corrections	22	28	NA[1]	NA[1]
PPO in Other State	3.2	4	NA[1]	NA[1]
Social Work	8.7	11	NA[1]	NA[1]
Victims Services	7.1	9	NA[1]	NA[1]
Counseling/Txt Provider	5.5	7	NA[1]	NA[1]
Juveniles	10.2	13	NA[1]	NA[1]

[1]Data unavailable from SCDPPPS.

Table 4.3. Interview Sample Descriptives (n=22)

			Sample		
Gender	Number	Percentage		Mean	Range
Male	11	50			
Female	11	50			
Race					
White	18	82			
Black	4	18			
Race and Gender					
White Male	8	36			
White Female	10	45			
Black Male	3	14			
Black Female	1	5			
Current Title					
Agent	13	59			
Specialized Agent	7	32			
Agent in Charge	2	9			
Age				36.7 years	23-55 years
Tenure				8.6 years	1-28 years

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┌─────────────────────┐           ╭───────────────╮           ┌─────────────────────┐           ╭───────────────╮
│  Quantitative Data  │  ───────> │ Follow up with │  ───────> │   Qualitative Data  │  ───────> │ Interpretation │
│ Collection & Analysis│          ╰───────────────╯           │ Collection & Analysis│          ╰───────────────╯
└─────────────────────┘                                       └─────────────────────┘
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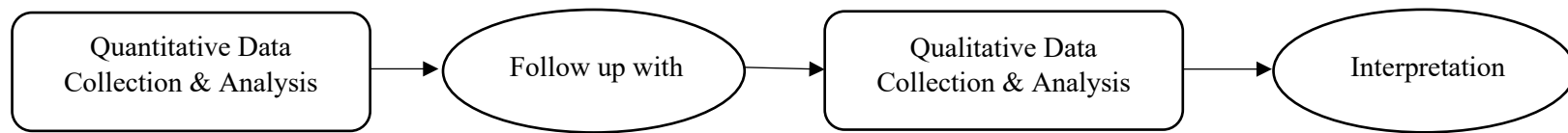
Figure 4.1. Explanatory Sequential Research Design Model
Note. Figure from Creswell & Plano Clark (2011).

Chapter 5: Findings

Using an explanatory sequential mixed method approach (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Creswell, 2015; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Fetters et al., 2013; Trahan & Stewart, 2013), this study focused on three primary research questions to better understand probation and parole officer sociodemographic characteristics and decision-making, specifically in the context of revocations. The quantitative component of the project consisted of a survey distributed to all SCDPPPS C-1 agents who were actively supervising caseloads between January and February of 2020, and the qualitative arm of the project included semi-structured interviews conducted with 22 agents between February and March of 2021. The project's methodological design allowed for the qualitative findings to provide explanation and contextualization of the quantitative findings (Creswell, 2015; Fetters et al., 2013; Greene et al., 1989; Small, 2011), especially for quantitative findings that are seemingly contradictory to the current literature (Ivankova et al., 2006; Trahan & Stewart, 2013).

In her discussion of mixed methods research, Creamer (2018) discusses the "messy" nature of data analysis (p. 190), wherein it can be difficult to clearly organize the integration of mixed methods analysis and findings. In an effort to order this "messiness," Creamer (2018) suggests providing a figure to explain how project results are obtained and organized. Figure 5.1 displays the sequence of the current project and focuses explicitly on the ways that the findings are organized and supplement each other.

Beginning with the research questions, this figure displays how the quantitative and qualitative approaches were ordered and applied to answer the research questions. Data analysis is depicted in the figure, including the measures analyzed to answer the first two research questions and the process wherein themes emerged from the qualitative data through ongoing coding of the data. Additionally, this figure provides a roadmap for reporting the findings in the study and emphasizes the high level of integration that occurs later in the discussion of the key findings (see chapter 6).

To answer the first research question, data collected from the survey responses was used to explore associations between officer gender and/or race and officer orientation using multiple linear regression analysis. Secondly, associations between officer sociodemographic characteristics, officer orientation, and officer's willingness to pursue a revocation were analyzed using descriptive statistics computed from the survey data, primarily because so few agents (15 officers; 11%) elected to pursue a revocation in the scenarios provided in the survey. The findings from these questions were contextualized using the qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews following the survey administration. Data for this contextualization was identified through multiple rounds of coding across each interview in its entirety (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the qualitative data analysis; Harding, 2018; McIntosh & Morse, 2015; Saldaña, 2014, 2016). In other words, this data is not associated with any one interview instrument question but is instead reflective of the themes that emerged from the interviews when they were analyzed in their entirety. The third research question asks what factors officers identify as relevant to their own decision-making when responding to noncompliance and is solely answered through the qualitative interviews. The data

analyzed to answer this research question is drawn primarily from question 13 and the subsequent case scenarios provided through the interview instrument, although contextualizing information may be learned from the dominant themes that emerged during holistic interview coding.

Quantitative Data Analysis

Officer Orientation Findings

Research Question #1: Is officer gender or officer race associated with officer orientation?

Descriptive analysis indicates that the majority of officers reported either high scores[4] for both the law enforcement orientation and social work orientation (55 out of 134 officers; 41%) or low scores for both law enforcement orientation and social work orientation (49 officers out of 134; 36%). This finding suggests that officer orientation does not represent a dichotomous construct (see Table 5.1. Officer Orientation Crosstabulation Table). Additionally, only a relatively small percentage of officers reported either a predominant social work orientation (12 officers out of 134; 9%) or law enforcement orientation (18 officers out of 134; 13%). Given these initial findings, the orientation scales were analyzed separately (as opposed to combining the scales to measure one overall officer orientation score; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015).

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[4] Overall law enforcement and social work orientation scores were assigned for each officer based on their average Likert scale score on the law enforcement items and on the social work items. Orientation scales were considered "high" if a respondent's score was above the mean score and "low" if a respondent scored below the mean score (3.91 for law enforcement and 4.13 for social work).

Descriptive and Bivariate Statistics

Descriptive statistics for officer orientation are shown in Table 5.2. Variables were measured in a Likert scale where response options ranged from "Not at all important" (= 1) to "Very important" (= 5). A law enforcement orientation index was created by summing the seven items and calculating a grand average mean for the index. A higher mean reflects a higher level of perceived importance of that orientation. Agents reported an overall average of 3.91 for the law enforcement orientation index. Legal consequences (M = 4.23), risk detention (M = 4.22), monitor behavior (M = 4.16), and fully enforce rules (M =4.07) were viewed as being more important than residence searches (M = 3.76), drug screens (M = 3.62), and emphasize authority (M = 3.26). A social work orientation index was created by summing the 8 items and calculating a grand mean for the index. Agents indicated an overall average of 4.13 for the social work orientation index. Agents attributed higher importance to developing rapport (M = 4.48), therapeutic services (M = 4.40), rehabilitative goals (M = 4.22), and skill-building (M = 4.14). Rewarding offenders (M = 3.99) and being accessible (M = 3.77) were viewed to be less important by agents.

Additionally, bivariate statistics are shown in Table 5.3 (law enforcement orientation measures) and Table 5.4 (social work orientation measures). The mean response for each orientation measure is compared based on gender, race, the officers' professional background, and education; Pearson's correlations are reported for officers' age and tenure across each item. There were no significant differences based on gender, race, professional background, or education for any of the measures. Age was significant and negatively associated with two of the law enforcement measures (i.e., "participating

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in residence searches" and "emphasizing your authority as a probation and parole officer"), but none of the social work measures. Most notably, an increase in tenure was significant and negatively associated with several law enforcement and social work measures and the overall orientation scores.

Multiple Linear Regression

Multiple linear regression was used to analyze possible correlates with officer orientation (see Table 5.5. Multiple Linear Regression Models for Law Enforcement Orientation; see Table 5.6. Multiple Linear Regression Models for Social Work Orientation). Although the adjusted R^2 value is relatively small in the regression models for law enforcement and social work orientation, the F-statistics are significant across the models, suggesting that the multiple linear regression models are a good fit for the data.

Data Diagnostics. Diagnostic tests were performed for all the models. Scatterplots of the predictor variable residuals suggest that the linearity assumption and the assumption for homoscedasticity are met for all of the models (see Appendix E: Multiple Linear Regression Model Data Diagnostics; Field, 2018; Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2017; Osborne & Waters, 2002). The normal probability plot (P-P plot) and a histogram of the residuals suggest normality of the residuals across the models (Field, 2018; Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2017; Osborne & Waters, 2002).

The variance inflation factor (VIF) test indicates that multicollinearity is not a problem with the data (Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2017). The highest VIF value across models 1 and 2 (those without the interaction terms) for law enforcement and social work orientation is 2.671, which is well below the generally observed cut-off point of 5.0 (see

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Table E.1. Multiple Linear Regression Law Enforcement Orientation Diagnostics; see Table E.2. Multiple Linear Regression Social Work Orientation Diagnostics; Craney & Surles, 2002). Leverage is associated with how influential certain observations may be on the dataset as a whole. Observations with large leverage may have significant influence on the dataset; leverage values below 0.2 are not considered problematic, between 0.2 and 0.5 is risky, and above 0.5 is an indication of a problematic influential observation (Habshah et al., 2009; Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2017). The largest leverage values for both law enforcement and social work orientation are 0.244, suggesting there are no outliers within the data. Additionally, the largest Cook's distance values are 0.096 for law enforcement orientation and 0.059 for social work orientation; these values fall well below the cut-off value for Cook's distance (an absolute value of 1), providing further indication that there are no influential observations within the dataset (Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2017).

  Model Output. Each of the models in the multiple linear regression series for law enforcement and social work include control variables for tenure (wherein categorical ranges provided in the survey were recoded to the midpoint), age (as calculated from respondent's birth year), education (1 = post graduate degree; 0 = no post graduate degree), and a surveillance background (1 = military background, policing experience, and/or corrections experience; 0 = absence of a military background, policing experience, and/or corrections experience). Model 1 in each of the linear regression models includes gender (1 = male; 0 = female) as the primary predictor variable, and model 2 includes both gender and race (1 = White; 0 = Non-White) as predictor variables. Feminist

intersectional theory supports deliberate consideration of the variables and their intersections to include in the models for officer orientation, including intersections of dominant and subordinate identities (Warner, 2008). To incorporate intersectional statistical data analysis, a cross-product term for gender and race was created (wherein gender [male = 1; female = 0] was multiplied by race [White = 1; Non-White = 0]) and included within the regression models (model 3 for both law enforcement and social work orientations).

A nested F-test was conducted between models 1 and 2, and between models 2 and 3, which includes the cross-product of gender and race, for both law enforcement and social work. The nested F-tests were not significant, suggesting that the full models (including the models that incorporate race [model 2] and the interaction term [model 3]) have no more predictive power than the partial model (model 1) for both law enforcement and social work. In consideration of the results from the nested F-tests, only the most parsimonious model will be discussed (model 1 in both series of regression models), although models 2 and 3 are provided to reflect an intersectional data analysis approach that incorporates race and the cross-product of race and gender.

The first three multiple linear regression models for law enforcement orientation are shown in Table 5.5. In the models for the law enforcement orientation, gender is significant at the $p \leq .05$ level for model 1, and it approaches significance in model 2 (with a critical value of .056). These findings suggest that, compared to female agents, being a male agent is associated with a score of .289 points lower on the law enforcement orientation scale. None of the predictor variables were significant in model 3.

The second series of multiple linear regression models focuses on the social work orientation variable (see Table 5.6). Neither race, gender, nor the interaction of race and gender is significant across the models. However, tenure is significant at the $p \leq .05$ level in model 1 ($p = .013$) and at the $p \leq .01$ level in models 2 and 3 ($p = .007$ and $p = .009$, respectively). These findings suggest that with each year increase in an officer's tenure, his or her social work orientation decreases by about .026 points.

Revocation Findings

Research Question #2: Is community corrections officer gender, officer race, and/or officer orientation associated with an officer's decision to pursue a revocation?

Initial descriptive information regarding officers' decision to pursue a revocation found that only 15 officers (11%) decided at any point during the vignettes to recommend a revocation. Because so few agents advised they would pursue a revocation, binary logistic regression analyses that would have included interaction effects for race and gender were not appropriate to use (Peduzzi et al., 1996). Alternatively, the quantitative analysis considering associations between officer race, gender, professional orientation, and revocations decisions includes descriptive and bivariate analysis.

A crosstabulation of gender with revocation decisions reveals that approximately 8% of female agents and 12% of male agents opted to pursue a revocation, compared to 92% and 88% of female and male agents, respectively, that chose not to pursue a revocation at any time (see Table 5.7. Gender by Revocation Decision). A crosstabulation of race and revocation indicates that approximately 11% of non-White officers (including African American, Latinx, and other races) and 12% of White officers

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recommended a revocation, whereas 90% of non-White and 88% of White officers did not (see Table 5.8. Race by Revocation Decision).

A dummy variable was used to analyze an agent's willingness to pursue a revocation, wherein 1= any decision to pursue a revocation across the four vignettes, and 0= the absence of a revocation decision. To compare agents' decision to pursue a revocation based on gender, a mean score for male (M = .122, SD = .329) and female agents (M = .083, SD = .279) was obtained from a sum of dummy codes (see Table 5.9. Gender, Race, Officer Orientation, and Revocation Decision). No significant differences regarding agents' decision to pursue a revocation were detected based on gender. Like the gender analysis, there were not significant differences in agent decision-making between White agents (M = .120, SD = .326) and agents of Color (M = .105, SD = .311).

Additional analysis includes correlations between officer orientation and an officer's decision to pursue a revocation, however neither law enforcement nor a social work officer orientation were significantly associated with an officer's decision to pursue a revocation. Although not significant, the relationships between officer orientation and a revocation decision were in the expected direction, with a law enforcement orientation positively correlated with the decision to pursue a revocation (r = 0.096; p = .271) and a social work orientation negatively associated with a recommendation for revocation (r = -0.092; p = .289).

Contextualized Findings

The analysis of quantitative survey data suggests that officer gender, but not race, is significantly associated with a law enforcement officer orientation, wherein being female is associated with having a law enforcement orientation. Neither gender nor race emerge as significantly associated with a social work orientation, although longer tenure is significantly, negatively associated with a social work emphasis. Notably, the survey data suggest that a large portion of respondents identified with a fourth officer orientation (low law enforcement- low social work), which represents a deviation from the frequently studied law enforcement (high law enforcement- low social work), social work (low law enforcement- high social work), and synthetic (high law enforcement- high social work) orientations. Additionally, too few agents reported that they would recommend a revocation in the continued noncompliance scenarios to utilize binary logistic regression to explore associations between agent gender, race, officer orientation, and decision-making in the context of pursuing a revocation. When descriptive and bivariate analyses were completed, none of the independent variables (agent gender, agent race, or officer orientation) were significantly associated with officers' decision to pursue revocations in scenarios of continued noncompliance.

Qualitative data analysis and results from the semi-structured interviews can offer some contextualization for these findings. When asked about officer orientation, agents shared their perceptions of a fourth officer orientation and the reasons why agents may fall within this category. The qualitative analysis also suggests additional support for a fourth officer orientation. Additionally, agents discussed the importance of both gender and race to their professional experiences and supervision approaches. Several female

agents shared their experiences of feeling underestimated by both the offenders they supervise and the colleagues they work with, and they explained the ways that they display an authoritative demeanor in an effort to overcome these challenges. In discussions of race, agents emphasized their own equal treatment of offenders and described the strained relationship between law enforcement and Black communities. Many agents felt that officer orientation and decision-making was less influenced by agents' race or gender, and more influenced by an agent's own personality or the specific requirements of the job itself.

Qualitative interviews also help to explain why so few agents indicated in the survey that they would pursue a revocation when they were faced with scenarios characterized by noncompliance. Several agents noted feeling that recent legislation encourages agents to pursue graduated sanctions instead of incarceration and to only seek a revocation when no other alternatives exist. Additionally, agents believed that judges seemed reluctant to grant revocations, even when agents recommended incarceration as the best course of action in an offender's case.

Officer Orientation: Qualitative Interview Insights

Notably, the survey portion of the project suggests four unique officer orientations, as opposed to the traditional three orientations that are often measured. As these findings emerged from the survey, the interview instrument was adjusted to reflect this change, and agents were asked their own perceptions of officer orientation and which types of orientation may exist in the field. At the beginning of the interview, agents were asked what initially attracted them to community corrections, and many agents discussed

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early in the interviews their perception that probation and parole allowed them to engage in both law enforcement and social work tasks. When these orientations were formally discussed later in the interview, some agents agreed that a fourth officer orientation exists in the field.

> I think there's a lazy category, I don't know if that actually is—what the scope is that you're asking about, but lazy would be more so my category for the outside of the scope. There are definitely lazy agents. There's definitely agents that don't care. There's definitely agents that, "Oh, I'll just deal with that tomorrow," or "I'll deal with it when the problem is huge." They have no business being in this field either. They're just a body at that point filling the position. [Sarah[5], White]

> I mean, you also have those people that are just there because it's a job, too.
> [Stephanie, White]

As Sarah and Stephanie suggest, a fourth category of officer orientation likely encompasses agents who are involved in probation and parole primarily for the benefits of employment associated with the job as opposed to any internal motivation to engage in law enforcement or social work tasks.

Additionally, some agents also spoke to a fourth orientation throughout their interviews, although they did not formally couch these perceptions as officer orientations. Michael (White) and Aaron (White) represent agents at two different places in their career trajectory, with Michael just beginning his career and Aaron nearing his

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[5] For confidentiality purposes, all participants' names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

retirement. Michael, who has a Master's degree and had only been employed with the department for a few years, states that SCDPPPS is "just a starting point of where [he] wants to go next; it is more of like a steppingstone to get where [he] wants to go versus a career choice." He explains,

> I'll say now, there's no money in the state. So, like, I got my master's … So there's no reason for me to settle for less when I know I can do more. Federal government has that like… [is] the highest point, you know, everybody wants to go fed. So that's the end goal.

Moreover, when responding to the case scenarios, Michael states at one point that the violation "[isn't] worth me putting all that extra work into it."

In contrast, Aaron, an agent with over twenty years of combined law enforcement experience, describes himself as an officer who "just wants to finish out [his] career and [has] sort of been there, done that." He also expressed frustration with the agency by stating,

> This agency, they don't seem to reward hard work. … But sometimes, you know, *you* personally don't get rewarded with promotions, pay raise, or anything like that for doing a good job. It's more or less, you get… that they keep you at the same spot. So, "Hey, you're doing a good job. Keep doing it. Here's some more work." [laughs]

While Aaron does not perceive himself as lazy, his interview responses suggest that, at this point in his career, he is committed to the agency primarily for the retirement benefits. His lack of serious investment in SCDPPPS may also stem from his frustration with a department that does not seem to reward his efforts.

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Moreover, some agents may become frustrated with continued noncompliance of offenders on their caseloads, and these officers may begin to view probation and parole supervision generally as futile. Several agents (3 agents) discussed feeling frustrated when offenders they supervised continued to be noncompliant, especially when officers felt that they had exhausted all options to support and rehabilitate the offender. David (White), who had almost a decade of combined law enforcement experience, explains his frustrations with seeing offenders on his caseload continue to be involved in the criminal justice system even after he has made significant efforts to help them be successful and desist from a criminal lifestyle.

> A lot of times, regardless of my efforts, a lot of people just get to the point where I have to send them either back to prison, or to prison, because they, like I said before, they were given a second chance. They did not go to prison. The judge gave them a second chance to do this probation, but you did not take advantage of it. So now I have to do what I have to do, and they end up going to prison. And that's frustrating because I feel like I failed that person…

It is possible that agents like David, who experience frustration with the continued noncompliance of offenders on their caseloads, may begin to feel that neither control nor rehabilitative approaches will impact the offenders they supervise in positive ways.

Additionally, insights from agents like Aaron and David, both of whom have lengthy tenure within the department, may provide some contextualization regarding the associations observed between tenure and officer orientation within the quantitative data. Although not a primary focus of the study, the findings regarding agent tenure and officer orientation are notable. Bivariate statistics for officer orientation reveal that tenure is

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statistically significant, but negatively associated with both a law enforcement and social work officer orientation, suggesting that agents with longer tenure were less likely to view *any* form of offender intervention as important. The multiple linear regression models for social work suggest that agents with longer tenure tend to perceive social work tasks as less important for supervising offenders.

While none of the interview questions focused specifically on tenure, agents frequently discussed the importance of officer tenure during the interviews. Agents like Aaron and David spoke about their individual frustrations with the department and their experiences of compassion fatigue, but several of their colleagues emphasized the ways that the department itself had changed over time and how these departmental shifts impacted field agents.

In 2010, South Carolina passed the Omnibus Crime Reduction and Sentencing Reform Act, which included the implementation of evidence-based practices within SCDPPPS (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019; South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, & Pardon Services, n.d.). Culturally, agents advised that the reform efforts encouraged the use of graduated sanctions and placed an emphasis on both surveillance and rehabilitative efforts, effectively shifting away from the "get tough on crime" strategies that had previously guided departmental policies.

> Back in the '90s, obviously a lot of people were being thrown in jail for dumb
> stuff. Three strikes rule and all that good stuff. However, the agency has adopted
> [evidence-based practices] as a part of their strategic plan ... and they
> continuously let us know, "Hey, rather than revoke, rather than this, we could do

this. We could do this. You know, we could do that. We could do this." [Joseph, Black]

People who were hired long before sentence reform may come at it from a much more law enforcement-oriented perspective than somebody who was hired, say three, four years ago, who comes at it from more of a sentence reform perspective. So, I think longevity plays a factor. [Samantha, White]

Joseph and Samantha's insights suggest that agents hired prior the 2010 Sentencing Reform Act may approach supervision from a more law enforcement-oriented perspective, which might explain why agents with longer tenure tended to perceive social work tasks as less important for supervising offenders.

Similarly, Aaron spoke about a colleague with over 25 years of experience with the department, who ultimately chose to retire when he was unable to adopt a different approach to supervision. Aaron described these legislative changes as "a tough pill to swallow," explaining that "a lot of people left" following the Sentencing Reform Act. It is possible that agents with longer tenure who remained with SCDPPPS following the reforms did so primarily for the employment and retirement benefits and may have become disillusioned with probation and parole supervision generally, including both law enforcement and social work approaches.

While Sarah and Stephanie identify that some agents are just "lazy" or are employed with SCDPPPs "because it's a job," the fourth officer orientation might be more expansive. The survey results suggest that agents who identify neither law enforcement nor social work tasks as important (the fourth officer orientation category)

comprise the second largest group of officers within the department. This category might broadly include agents like Aaron and David, who have become uninvested in law enforcement and social worker tasks for a variety of reasons, including becoming frustrated with the department and disheartened with the effectiveness of probation and parole. Moreover, this category might include agents who are struggling to adapt to the departmental changes that Joseph and Samantha described, which may explain the observed associations between tenure and officer orientation. Finally, this orientation may also include agents like Michael, who simply view SCDPPPS as the "starting off point" for their career.

Sociodemographic Characteristics: Qualitative Interview Insights

Officer Gender

Using quantitative methods, the current study finds some evidence that gender, but not race or the interaction of race and gender, may contribute to officer orientation. Notably, these associations only exist for a law enforcement, but not a social work orientation. A review of the literature suggests that, when gender differences are significant, female probation and parole officers are more likely to identify with a social work orientation (West & Seiter, 2004), engage in social work-related tasks (Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004), and place a greater emphasize on rehabilitation for offenders (Miller, 2012; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). However, the findings from this study suggest that gender is not a significant predictor of a social work orientation, but instead that being female is associated with a higher score

on the law enforcement scale. While seemingly contradictory to the current literature, several of the agents interviewed offered some explanation for these findings.

When asked about the impact of their gender on different parts of their professional lives, almost half of the female agents (5 agents) discussed feeling that they were not taken seriously by male offenders on their caseloads.

I've seen a lot of males really underestimate it in the sense that they think I won't be hard on them if I need to be. [Amanda, White]

Now some offenders think they can probably get away with stuff for me being a female but I treat everybody the same… some males offenders, you know, they try to sweet talk to you in the beginning, but then once that get to know you, like, know how you conduct your business, I never have a problem. [Jessica, White]

Additionally, several male and female agents (5 agents) discussed the difficulties that female officers may have when supervising offenders who do not want to have a female agent. For some agents, the difficulties extended to interacting with offenders' family members who refused to acknowledge their authority as female agents.

I don't know if it was mainly geared towards women, I think it was just because I was the only one meeting with that. They just didn't care who you were, they just raised their voice, just came at you with just that demeanor. Again, I don't know if it was necessarily geared to me being a female, it just seemed like I got that more than any of the other males with some of mine. [Stephanie, White]

I have one offender, his dad will not respectfully address me correctly. He calls

me by my first name. Refuses to acknowledge me, especially in the very

beginning, refused to acknowledge that I was a person of authority. He would say,

"That girl," and wouldn't even look at me and would look at my boss. … he still

refuses to address me professionally, still refuses to come to me first. He always

has to run it by somebody else before he comes to me but I'm the one ultimately

in charge of your son. So that's definitely one of the most recent ones I've dealt

with that's been difficult. [Sarah, White]

Christopher (WM) explains the special safety concerns that female agents may face in the

field, especially when supervising offenders charged with domestic violence, as these

offenders already have a history of violence against women.

We have, a lot of our domestic violence offenders are going to be biased against

women, … We had one training where we were advised that an offender was

pulled over on the way to the office and they found a gun in the car, and he

straight-up told the officer that he was on his way to the probation office to kill

his female probation officer, and it's because his officer reminded him of his

mother, whom he had problems with.

As Sarah explains, "there is definitely a struggle, day in and day out, with certain

offenders" for female probation and parole agents.

In an effort to combat these perceptions, several female agents discussed feeling

the need to overcompensate for being underestimated and consequentially display a more

traditional, masculine persona by exerting more authority over offenders. For these

agents, it was imperative to address these issues early, and several of the female officers

discussed working to establish their authority immediately upon interacting with offenders. Emily and Sarah explain how they purposefully interact with offenders in an effort to defy gender stereotypes.

> I feel like my gender can affect situations. [long pause] I'm trying to think of how to phrase it. When I first meet offenders, or the first time I'm meeting them, I have more of the law enforcement side. Because I think with my gender sometimes people—or offenders don't take me serious because I am a female and I'm a younger female. So especially my older males that are on my caseload, I have to like set the tone is—"Okay, I'm here to help you, but I am law enforcement, and these are the conditions we have to follow." So I feel like my gender does play effect in those roles, and especially in that initial contact with them. [Emily, White]

> I'm a blonde female in a male industry. Of course, you can imagine the attention, or the unwanted attention or the comments, just simply going to the jail when I'm not in uniform, like when I'm in court and I'm in court clothes and have to go to jail, I always feel like I have to be harder, especially with male offenders… with males, it's just authority with them. It's just establishing authority right off the get and telling them what they are and are not going to do. [Sarah, White]

These female agents all discussed the ways that their gender may work against them in their interactions with offenders, but gender stereotypes can also impact the ways that agents' peers in law enforcement and those in the general public perceive them.

Sarah and Aliyah explain that their male peers may view women in law enforcement as less capable than male officers. Sarah shared her experience of seeing male agents bypass female agents when asking for assistance with professional tasks, regardless of which agent is more qualified in a given situation.

> The male agent in charge will go to the male agent or help with most things and not to the female, but the female has 10 years of military police work or three years of sheriff's office background, whereas the male has only worked probation. So it's just, you're going to the male over the female naturally to handle anything. And I mean handle anything, I mean like warrants services or advice on how to handle someone.

In her description of difficulties with her peers because of her gender, Aliyah (Black) shares that this often manifests as jokes from male agents. However, she explains that these comments are not humorous, but instead are "kind of a stab." She explains that these jokes often focus on female officers' inability to physically defend themselves in an altercation or highlight the safety issues that female officers face in the field.

> Yeah, we get a lot of, "Could you actually do a home visit? What if you get in a situation? You're not tough enough or you're not strong enough," or "What happens if you actually have to get in a fight with one of them?" It's jokes like that, they try to keep putting you down and stating that because you're a female that you can't do it. They always think we're scared to do home visits or scared to do an arrest, or something like that, just because we're female.

When asked how they respond to these instances of sexism, Aliyah explained that these hurtful remarks serve to motivate her to prove that women can be successful in law enforcement.

> I actually don't have a response to it, I just look at them because I know I'm tough enough to do it and I'm not afraid to do it. I chose this profession because I always wanted to be in it, so nobody could tear me down from it. It's just motivation to be like, well I'll prove to you eventually I can do this and I can do that. It has happened before, so it is really good. I think it's just a motivation once they say that to me.

Sarah, too, explained that she has had to "make herself known" among her colleagues and peers to establish her own professional proficiencies and prove that she is an effective law enforcement officer.

> Notably, several agents discussed their perceptions of agent gender, including a distrust of female officers' physical capabilities at work. Emily expressed concerns that her male colleagues "might see a male as more of a protector or doubt my capabilities because of my gender," and her fears may be valid. Several agents (6 officers; 2 male agents, 4 female agents) shared their perceptions that male officers are "stronger" or "more hardcore."

> I mean, males tend to be there, they have that more testosterone, males tend to be more like… wanting to do things, the hardcore way, you know. Want to do the law enforcement—carry the gun, kick in doors and all that, you know, so I think that's where like, that plays a role, obviously. [Michael, White]

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> A lot of the female agents that work with me are maybe not as physically capable in some ways… [James, White]

Christopher explains that his office will occasionally have a male agent escort a female agent of record into the field to see an offender if that offender is known to have a bias towards female agents. Although he elaborated on the physical protection a male officer could provide to a female agent, he was unable to clarify whether or not this support was requested by the female agent of record. Therefore, it is unclear if this assistance is requested by female agents of record or if male agents make assumptions about their required physical presence.

While several female agents discussed feeling the need to overcompensate for their gender, both with their interactions with colleagues in law enforcement and offenders on their caseloads, one male agent seemed to notice this behavior, although he categorized it differently from his female colleagues. When discussing gender differences associated with the ways that officers approach their jobs, Aaron (White) explained,

> Most of the women that work in this field are kind of bullies … honestly my opinion, is … they like to be in that position of authority, so they can bully people and yell at them. And they have, you know, the law to back them up. So, I'm not saying all, you know, I've worked with some very good women, female officers and agents. But most of them, in my opinion, have—have kind of just sort of like that authority and like to kind of throw their weight around.

While Aaron's perspective is that his female peers are being "bullies," this may actually reflect the efforts that agents like Sarah and Emily make to maintain authority over male offenders who might view them as less capable than male officers. Unfortunately, these

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actions can create a catch-22, wherein their male colleagues may respect female agents even less because they perceive these women as just trying to "throw their weight around." These qualitative findings help explain the unexpected results obtained from the survey portion of the project and help to contextualize why the quantitative findings suggest that female agents are more inclined to engage in law enforcement tasks, even when controlling for other sociodemographic factors.

Officer Race

Although quantitative data analysis did not find any significant associations between officers' race and officer orientation, the probation and parole officers who participated in the interview process generally had very strong reactions to the questions that focused on race. While none of the interview questions asked about probationer and parolee sociodemographic characteristics, many of the agents responded to race-focused questions similarly to Jennifer (White), who explained, "I don't really care about what color people are to be honest. An offender's an offender." These agents responded with assurances that they do not discriminate against people on their caseload based on race (2 agents) and that they aim to treat everyone under their supervision equally (8 agents).

> I supervise everyone pretty much the same. I play by roadhouse rules, which is, be nice until it's time to not be nice. I'm going to start off polite and respectful and nice with all of my individuals that I supervise. [Christopher, White]

> I've dealt with... I have had even Asians. I have had Black, White, Hispanic, and Asians. I've had male and female. I have had heterosexual and homosexual. I've had it all. And just none of that plays into my decision-making ability or my

decision-making skills. And does it maybe play into theirs? I don't know. I don't

know if they see me as a particular type and that's... Again, that's not for me to be

concerned with because at the end of the day, if you do A and that leads to B then

I don't care what color or sex you are. B's going to happen because A took place.

[Matthew, White]

The focus on equal treatment among offenders was highlighted by both White officers

and agents of Color. Joseph and Brandon, two African American agents, explain,

But relatability with the African American? Absolutely. I relate. I could talk to

them. And they know I don't give special treatment, because I've sent a lot of

people to prison back in the day, so the word is that Agent [Name Retracted] is

awesome. You would want him for your agent. However, don't get on his bad

side, because you will be back in prison or back in jail. And if you continue to do

something stupid, then that's what's going to happen. So, and that's Black, White.

That's everywhere. You know, all of the ethnicities. [Joseph]

I look at everybody the same when they come into my office. Either I've got

Blacks, Whites, Hispanics. Either they're drug addicts or they're not. I'll look at

them all the same. [Brandon]

A few of the agents shared their previous life experiences with diverse groups of people

to serve as examples of their ability to remain neutral and fair when working with

different people.

Certainly with my experience in law enforcement, I've learned to deal and handle

anyone of any class, race, gender, creed with the utmost respect. And to

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accomplish the goals of getting them help or last case scenario, having to arrest

somebody or place them in jail. [Jason, White]

Similarly to Jason, both David and Christopher shared how their previous experiences, in

the military and attending a heterogenous school, respectively, enabled them to work well

with diverse populations.

When agents did focus on the ways that their own race impacted how they viewed

their work as probation and parole officers and the officer orientation they may adopt,

agents were mixed regarding the importance that they placed on these identities. Michael,

a White agent, discussed his perception regarding how an agent's race may impact his or

her officer orientation. Michael suggests that Black agents may be more likely to adopt a

social work orientation to help minority communities and bridge the gap between

communities of Color and law enforcement. He explains that officers of Color may better

understand the needs of those in communities of Color and may be especially sensitive to

communities' negative experiences with law enforcement.

> With race… I think race is a good one because you see the negative connotation
>
> of law enforcement a lot more in African American communities. Simply for the
>
> fact that there tends to be more hate towards police, you know. Like, in the
>
> African American community, you always hear the stories of them having—them
>
> having a contact with the police, and it's not necessarily a positive, it's always
>
> negative. The police are always doing something to make the situation worse ...
>
> So I think, when it comes to that community, I think there's more of an option to
>
> like veer away from law enforcement and try to stay more social and help people
>
> because they've grown up in a situation where the police are always being called

and it's always a negative thing. And all the stories you hear are about police

officers doing negative things and never helpful.

Aaron, another White officer, elaborates on this idea as well, explaining the ways he

perceives Black colleagues may differently prioritize the goals of probation and parole.

You know, the African Americans I know that have worked here, that I've

worked with, I think they're coming from a place that, historically speaking, their

families have been sort of an oppressed member of society, and they kind of want

to sort of reverse that and be part of the solution. And most of them are, you

know. I won't say that they treat anybody any differently. But you can kind of tell

that, like maybe they, I don't know how to say this, I'm not saying they favor

some of the African Americans that we deal with, but I think that's their ultimate

goal is they kind of want to be part of the solution. Because they've seen so much

of the problem. And that's the best way to fix it is from the inside. As far as, you

know, your—your, your race.

Aaron elaborates that his perception is that some of his colleagues of Color may become

involved in probation and parole to "be a part of the solution," and several agents of

Color spoke about this when discussing the ways that their own race frames their

experiences in community corrections.

Aliyah, a Black officer, explains that she and other Black officers sometimes

experience backlash from members of the Black community for their decision to pursue a

career in law enforcement. When responding to members of the Black community who

are critical of her decision, she explains,

I did choose this field to make a change and then I chose it to actually help more

and actually have a better name to it, because with everything going on, our race

is like, "Why would you choose that?" I'm just like, "Well, in order for—if you

want to make a change, you have to be the change."

Additionally, several Black officers explained that they felt their own race and gender

made them more relatable to some offenders on their caseloads.

I think I can, as me being an African-American male, growing up the way I grew

up, I think I can be a little bit more relatable to that individual. And once that

person sees that I'm not judging them based on stereotypical law enforcement

aspect, a law enforcement persona, then that person kind of is open to what I have

to say. I think the barrier is with law enforcement, because immediately as soon as

they see the gun and the badge, some of them are like, "Eh, I don't want to talk to

this guy." [Joseph, Black]

You know, I believe most people will, I guess, tend to gravitate towards someone

of their own kind, whether that be the same race or the same gender. Most people

generally gravitate towards, you know, someone they can relate to. [Caleb, Black]

Although these agents discussed feeling that they could make a positive impact on the

field, they also elaborated on their experiences facing opposition from the Black

community, advising that these experiences "take a toll" on Black officers.

It takes a toll because from the outside world you will get a lot of, I don't want to

say hatred, but people will look at you different because of my race being in law

enforcement and don't actually realize why we're in law enforcement. We get the

bad vibes from it, we don't get it from everybody, I know it's certain people that do not like our race to be in law enforcement. So it does take a toll and a lot of folks, what I have learned, a lot of folks will not be your friend. A lot of family members won't want to talk to you no more, just because you chose this lifestyle. [Aliyah, Black]

But yeah, I get basically another Black male, and he sees that I'm being stern with ... "Hey, you don't have to put me through this. You're Uncle Tom. You're trying to please the White man." They tell you things like that. [Brandon, Black]

Several of the probation and parole agents interviewed shared the belief that officers of Color may be more relatable in the field and may be more focused on creating a positive change within law enforcement generally.

Although the interview instrument did not contain any questions that asked about how agents viewed offenders on their caseloads, many of the officers emphasized that they do not discriminate against offenders on their caseloads based on offenders' sociodemographic characteristics. Notably, this seemed to be true for both White agents and agents of Color. Just as the female agents in the study discussed feeling the need to overcompensate for their perceived weaknesses associated with gender, it may be that the agents of Color in the study do not want their colleagues or the public to perceive that they treat offenders of Color favorably when compared to White probationers and parolees. While agents of Color do not seem to overcompensate in such an extreme way as the women in the survey, the interview data help explain the null quantitative findings related to agent race and officer orientation.

Intersection of Officer Gender and Race

Questions in the interview instrument were purposefully developed in a way that asked about participants' intersectional experience, generally asking the ways, if any, their race and/or gender framed certain aspects of their professional experiences (officer orientation, decision-making, identification of the primary goals of probation and parole, etc.; Bowleg, 2008; Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015). Across the interviews, agents interchangeably referred to their own race and/or gender, focusing sometimes more so on one aspect of their identity, other times on another sociodemographic characteristic, and sometimes on the intersection of the two. Agents' interwoven responses represent one of the challenges of intersectional research, wherein findings can be difficult to report in a way that adequately reflects the intersectional nature of identities.

Additionally, agents' perceptions varied regarding the ways that they felt their race and gender impacted their experiences. While many agents shared the ways that their experiences were framed by their sociodemographic characteristics, these same agents may not feel that their race and gender are responsible for all their professional experiences. In other words, it was not uncommon for an agent to share during the interview an example of sexism at work and then advise later that her gender does not impact her professional orientation or decision-making. While it seems inconsistent, this type of complexity is common in qualitative research (Watson, 2006), and instead of compromising research validity, these contradictions authentically reflect the complicated lived experiences of participants (Antin et al., 2015).

At some point during the interviews, most agents (17 agents) advised that their own race and gender did not impact their professional approaches. Instead, many of these agents focused on their own backgrounds or personalities as the driving force behind how they approach their officer orientation and professional decision-making.

Yes, I don't think that race or gender really comes into play for me, with that I think it's more a kind of personality background kind of thing. [Brittany, White]

I don't think my race influence that I portray that type of officer. It would just have to be my life experience. I've had experience, you know, on both sides of the law, you can say, I have family members that have gotten in trouble and family members that have not gotten in trouble. So being that I've experienced both sides, I understand, you know, what this person may need or what this person may be going through, and try to, you know, meet them where they are, and, you know, try to set a common goal and help them reach that goal. I don't believe race— race has anything to do with me. [Caleb, Black]

And other people are a little more helpful. I think it comes from their background. There is an agent, who her brother had had some trouble in the past, and she saw the good that came out of probation and things like that. So I think she's a little more apt to go down that route to help her offenders from all of that. [David, White]

Several agents also suggested that the professional obligations of probation and parole agents are more likely to inform their officer orientation than anything that is internal to

the agents themselves. Christopher (White) explains, "I don't think either [race or gender] has an impact on which group you fall into. It's going to depend entirely on what your job position is." Moreover, some participants felt that their officer orientation was informed by a combination of these factors.

> I wouldn't really say race or gender… would categorize me on either side. If anything it would just be my personality, my character. Like I said, would place me more in the synthetic category. And the expectations of my probation job and running a caseload would put me kind of in the middle. But I don't think race or gender has really any effect on that, at least not that I've experienced. [Amanda, White]

While some agents discussed the importance of their race and gender to other aspects of their professional experiences, it is notable that most officers did not feel that these sociodemographic characteristics contributed to their officer orientation.

Although most of the agents asserted that their own gender and race did not frame their officer orientation or approaches to decision-making, a few of the agents (6 agents) shared that their race and gender work together to frame how others view them. Notably, almost all of the agents that shared this perspective were White (5 White agents, 1 Black agent), and most of the agents were women (5 female agents, 1 male agent). Amanda (White) explains that offenders on her caseload may feel that she is unable to relate to their experiences because of her race and gender differences.

> I think it comes from a place where they don't think I would understand or I would take them seriously or I would even care. … for me, being White and female and having majority Black male on my caseload, I think initially it makes

a difference, but then once we establish the relationship, I think it doesn't even

matter anymore.

A few of the agents discuss the difficulty that their race and gender represent, wherein

they feel disadvantaged because of their race and gender.

> I think that I'm always just going to think that my race, gender is always going to
>
> be a little bit of a disadvantage in every situation. And so I get over that initial,
>
> assumed, I guess, thing about me until I prove that I'm a real person or that I can
>
> be fair and justified in all my actions. I think that's always going to be a first
>
> impression. [Sarah, White]

> And, you know, regards to race, I'm very much aware that, you know, I'm White.
>
> If I'm dealing with a Black offender, I know that there is racism out there. And it
>
> works, you know, on both sides. And I can, I can end up dealing with somebody,
>
> not only do they not like White people, but they may not like police officers. They
>
> especially may not like female police officers. [Jennifer, White]

> I think… [long pause] I think my race can play a role, depending on who I'm
>
> speaking with. But I think it would come along with gender. I don't think it would
>
> just be because I'm White. I think it would be because I'm a White female. I think
>
> my gender and race would have to play together for my race to come into it.
>
> [Emily, White]

For these agents, their race and gender may work together wherein they feel marginalized

because of the intersection of their race and gender. As Emily highlights, the

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disadvantage she experiences is not because of her race (White), but instead because of the ways her race and gender work together.

For Joshua, a White, male agent, race and gender work together differently than the ways that his female colleagues discussed. Joshua discusses the ways that he may be perceived based on his race and gender, primarily in the context of law enforcement, but he focuses on understanding these perceptions without internalizing them. In other words, whereas one of his colleagues discussed feeling targeted as a White male in law enforcement, Joshua discussed his positionality as something he should be cognizant of and work to overcome through positive interactions.

> I would say that my race and my gender, my position does happen. I would say that just with my experience, I have to recognize that I am a Caucasian male in a law enforcement role, and just assume that people might look at you as an arm of the oppressor or something of that nature, and just treat them with respect. Because, that's all you can do, is be respectful and offer assistance, however you can. And keep doing it, be persistent about it.

Notably, during his interview, Joshua spoke at length about the conversations he had with racial minorities around race, and he emphasized that their experiences with racial discrimination were particularly impactful for him in understanding his own White privilege, both as it exists in his personal and professional life.

Revocation Decision-Making: Qualitative Interview Insights

While the quantitative analysis surrounding revocation decision-making is limited because so few agents indicated they would pursue a revocation in the continued noncompliance scenarios, the qualitative data provides some contextualization regarding

why officers may be unwilling to pursue a revocation in the vignette series. During the interview process, several officers discussed that the current trend for both judges and SCDPPPS includes efforts to continue offenders on probation and to minimize using revocations as a response to noncompliance.

> But on probation, it's very hard, it's very unlikely for someone to go back to prison. Judges like, judges like giving them 10 different chances when they've already been given a second chance of probation. [Michael, White]

> Well, the way our system is set up, very rarely are they, if they are revoked, it's not they mess up one time. We have mechanisms to where, if I get to the point where I have to take them back in front of the judge, and I'm asking for revocation, several things could have happened. [David, White]

Comparable to the ways that tenure may impact officers' orientation, Aaron (White) explains that the 2010 Sentencing Reform Act has significantly changed officers' decisions to pursue a revocation.

> They passed the Reduction of Recidivism Act in 2010. And they kind of changed the model, you know, where used to be, you know, "Hey, you know, you got on probation, or you got released on parole, you know, you got arrested for disorderly conduct, you failed a drug test, you got behind on your fees… Well, let's send you back, you know, you're done." So they kind of changed that. … they said, "We don't need to put anybody in prison, and have to pay and house them, and not really do any good, you know, for a little minor, you know, penny ante violations." So they kind of said, you know, "Hey, try to work with these

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people, and try to get them to change. So that the end result is not revocation." …

You know, because we're not, you know, the science doesn't show that, that's

really changing them. It just shows that … you got them off the street for a little

bit, but they're gonna do it again. So I would say the agency, you know, based on

that law, they would value a successful case closure, that doesn't result in a

revocation because the revocations look bad ... In fact, they run reports every

year, and they kind of examine like, you know, are you are you revoking these

people for no reason? And there's a lot more a lot more accountability for that, to

make sure you're not doing that. So I would say the agency values getting these

cases to close, successfully, not a revocation.

While Michael and David focus more extensively on the judges who refuse to grant

revocations, Aaron explains that the South Carolina legislation and SCDPPPS likely

influence agents to choose graduated sanctions instead of revocations. As vignettes have

been recognized as valid assessments of real-world situations (Hughes, 1998; Hughes &

Huby, 2004; Taylor, 2006; Wallander, 2011), it may be that agents relied heavily on their

practical experience and responded to the survey in ways that genuinely reflect how they

would make decisions in the field. The insights gained from the interviews regarding

policy shifts for judges and SCDPPPS may explain why most agents pursued alternative

options as opposed to recommending revocations.

Additionally, the survey responses may reflect agents' reliance on the structured

decision-making instruments as opposed to leaning solely on their own discretion. Over

half of the officers (11 agents) who participated in the interviews advised that decision-

making instruments, including supervision conditions, risk-needs-assessments, and the violations matrix, are often influential factors in their decision-making.

Yes, there is a policy as far as you know, the type of violation and the type of consequence that is needed for that for that violation. [Caleb, Black]

We have a little matrix chart that we use. It basically outlines to what offenses, based on how many times. That usually determines how you'll respond. [Joshua, White]

So we have a violation matrix that when you put in their violations, it will tell you if it's a low risk or a low violation, or a medium violation, or a high violation. And that's pretty much what I follow. [Jessica, White]

Moreover, during the vignette portion of the interview, several agents reflected back on the violations matrix, referencing how the violation might be addressed using the structured decision-making tool. These findings suggest that agents' training and experience using the matrix frames how they make decisions, and likely influenced their responses to the survey case scenarios.

Notably, agents were mixed in their perception of whether or not these guidelines limit officer discretion. While several agents suggested that their discretion was limited by these policies, other agents felt that these resources provided them with additional graduated sanctions that they could utilize when responding to offender violations (i.e., there were more options available to them). The current literature suggests that officers may override offenders' supervision levels and institute harsher sanctions for fear of

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being perceived as not doing enough in offenders' cases (Viglione, 2017; Viglione et al., 2015), yet the findings from this study suggest that structured decision-making tools allow agents to implement less harsh sanctions without potentially facing negative consequences from the department.

> [The violation matrix] gives you some options. There's flexibility and stuff. It's not simply, "You got arrested, and so you're going to prison for five years." You know? It's not simply that. It allows you to take people back, and make your recommendations as far as, "You know, I think we need to extend his counseling." That kind of thing. [Samantha, White]

> We have—we have a good bit of discretion. We have different ways we can address violations. They're not always handled with a warrant—probation warrant or probation citation. They can be something online— some type of homework assignment, so to speak. It could be increased reporting, increased drug test. [Jason, White]

Although some agents advised that their discretion was limited because of the structured decision-making tools, for Samantha and Jason, the policy guidelines create discretion and allow for the use of other graduated sanctions before advancing directly to a revocation.

Ultimately, these findings highlight the benefits of using a mixed method approach to research. Whereas the survey results indicate that very few participating agents would pursue a revocation, it is unclear from the survey alone why agents might be responding in that way. However, using an explanatory sequential mixed methods

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research design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) allows participants to explain through the interview process how they engage in decision-making and why they may choose to pursue or refrain from pursuing a revocation in an offender's case.

Officer Decision-Making Findings

Research Question #3: What factors do officers identify as contributing to their decision-making concerning whether or not to pursue probation and parole revocations?

To answer the third research question and explore the factors that officers themselves identify as contributing to their decision-making, specifically when responding to violations in the context of revocations, officers were asked what factors they considered when responding to offender noncompliance and were then asked how they might approach different examples of offender noncompliance. Over half of the agents (13 agents) who participated in the interviews reported that they consider the seriousness of the violation when deciding how to respond to offender noncompliance. Additionally, officers discussed the importance of an offender's behavior during the current term of supervision (9 agents), including any prior violations that they have had while on probation or parole (9 agents).

> So I consider the severity of the violation. I consider the [offender's] compliance up to that point. I consider past violations. Let's see… yeah, I think that about covers it. [Brittany, White]
>
> Yeah, I think the response, it just really depends on what the violation is for, how many violations have occurred, and what the actual violation is would play a factor on the response. [Emily, White]

The factors really are… what is the violation? How severe is it? … You know, that really determines how I'm going to approach it. And how often have they violated in the past? Have they been consistent and this is just a blip? And maybe we can try and fix it an easy way or are they just consistently not complying? And just something more serious has to be done about it? It's more about the severity and consistency of the probation history. [Jennifer, White]

Several agents emphasized the importance of considering the violation in the context of the totality of the case when responding to violations.

For one, the severity of the violation. If you have a weapon or were you arrested for strong arm robbery? Okay, that's a deal breaker. That's a deal breaker. I just... You have to look at the totality of everything and you have to look at what the particular violation itself was. [Matthew, White]

But it's just, you gotta, you got to look at each situation. Each individual—look at their backgrounds, who they are, what their charges are, and use that to decide what route you're going to take because everybody, every individual is different. [Michael, White]

For many officers, the violation response depends on each offender's history and individual situation. Notably, many agents discussed this individualized or case-by-case response as an important aspect of community supervision that strengthens the effectiveness of probation and parole.

When asked to respond to different scenarios of noncompliance, agents generally discussed the seriousness of the violation and offenders' supervision history when making recommendations in specific case scenarios. Asking about the factors that officers consider when making decisions and then having agents work through case scenarios provides validity to agents' initial responses. Ultimately, agents did seem to review and discuss during the case scenario responses the same factors that they identified previously in the interview when they were asked more directly about the factors that influence their decision-making.

In the first case scenario, which focuses on a positive urinalysis for methamphetamine and marijuana, none of the officers recommended a revocation. Instead, most of the agents recommended some form of treatment through either AA or NA, substance abuse classes, or in-patient treatment (18 agents). A few agents emphasized the severity of methamphetamine use (4 agents), with David referencing the "fierceness of that drug." Additionally, several agents (5 agents) agreed with Samantha that "relapse is part of recovery," and they considered this in their decision-making.

> First of all, is because he's been compliant up to that time. He has completed his substance abuse counseling. I understand that drug usage is sometimes not something that just goes away after you complete counseling. Sometimes it can be a process to remain sober. And I understand that. [Brittany, White]

> And it's known that most drug users, the first time they complete substance abuse counseling, or the first time they get sober, they relapse. [Emily, White]

For these agents, responding to illegal drug use should focus on rehabilitative efforts instead of punitive or controlling responses. This approach may reflect David's perspective that, "using drugs is a medical as well as psychological thing," and therefore should be approached through treatment, especially when offenders have otherwise been compliant.

Several agents referenced offender stability when making their recommendation (5 agents), with one officer advising that her recommendation would be solely focused on the offender's stability. Offender stability, including an offender's employment status and his residential stability, was important to agents for two primary reasons. First, offender stability signaled to agents that his drug addiction had not reached such a severe level that he was unable to function, signaling to the agent that they had identified the offender's relapse early.

> Because if he's actively using methamphetamine with any sort of regularity, that's going to show up over time. And it may be that he just started back using it regularly, and that's the start of, you know, he's going to not be able to pay rent. His house is going to end up in disarray. There are other signs that I would start looking at, just to kind of gauge how serious it is, and start building the case from there. [Samantha, White]

Second, agents were hesitant to remove offenders from situations that were generally stable, explaining that offenders often have difficulty securing housing and employment and that removing them from stable situations could cause more harm than good for offenders, or as Brittany noted, "put him any further behind."

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That's a perfect example of if you come in right now, when this person has a job, they're doing the classes to get their kids back, and they finish substance abuse treatment and they've got things turned around. If you come in and send that person to prison, then all that's gone. They lose their kids again, they lose their job. They may lose their home. They're going to start back in a bad place. But, if you say, okay. Let's extend probation or add this, this, and this. If they screw up, prison's an option still. You haven't taken it off the table, but you've not come in and turned their life upside down when they finally come to a place where they're getting it straight. [Michelle, White]

As Sarah explains, helping to maintain an offender's wellbeing can be a delicate balance, wherein agents may be forced to prioritize an offender's sobriety over his community stability. However, this is not a decision that Sarah (White) takes lightly.

To our people, [a job] is very high on the achievement list. They have a job, they have income. Income equals stability, stability equals less stress and happy, so it's just a big factor on that. It's a sense of they're doing something right. On the more severe cases where they're literally skin and bones and a meth user but they're maintaining a job for some crazy reason, that's very rare. Sometimes we step in and say, "Who do you work for? Let me call them. Do you care if I call them? Do you care if I speak to them about what's going on here? We will fight for you to keep your job, we will write something up saying you have to go do this 28 day, but you will come back and you will be an employee for them." That's when we step in and try to secure their job, because they're terrified of losing their job if they have one, because of their family and income, which is very reasonable.

Sometimes, and not all the time, but sometimes, we do pick sobriety over a job, and it just—it is what it is, because if not, then we feel at the time that they'll probably end up dead.

It is unsurprising that Sarah recognizes the importance of her recommendation, as she discussed during her interview the loss of an offender to an overdose of illegal drugs. She described the experience as having deeply affected her and one that provides her with a special motivation to help other drug offenders on her caseload.

Consistent with the first case scenario, agents generally cited the seriousness of the violation and the offender's criminal history when deciding how to respond to the second case scenario, which focuses on an offender serving a 5-year probation sentence for aggravated assault who is recently arrested for a simple battery-family violence charge. When asked how they would respond to these violations, half of the agents (11 agents) advised that they would recommend some form of revocation, including partial and full revocations. For agents who recommended a revocation, most of them (7 agents) explained that they did so because of the seriousness of the domestic violence charge, especially when this type of offending is a pattern of behavior for this offender as opposed to an isolated event.

I might still would issue an arrest warrant just because he's on for assault. He has prior arrests, but no convictions for assault. And he was just arrested for a battery. So… and I would probably be asking for jail time. Now, whether that be a partial revocation, or that be a full revocation, I don't know. [Emily, White]

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If he has a history of family violence, and he committed an assault against the victim of a previous case, I would probably have the understanding that he may do it again. So, I might recommend maybe some kind of jail or prison sentence, because it seems like it might be a repeated offense. If you've done it once before and you do it again now, who's to say you won't do it again in the future?

[Joshua, White]

Notably, much like Sarah's concern for community stability in the first case scenario, Samantha (White) also discussed the gravity of recommending a revocation for an offender who may have attained some level of community stability.

Kind of on the front end, without knowing anything regarding the victim or weapons or anything like that, probably some sort of partial revocation. Again, depending on the severity of it, somewhere in the 90 days to six-month kind of deal. I think it would really just depend. And two, the length of revocation is going to be dependent on his community stability. The revocation itself can help or hinder. If I take him out of what overall, what seems to be sort of working for the most part, but maybe there's other issues, that's going to be a factor. Is taking him out of the community better or worse for him, and better or worse for the community? It's just a lot of things to consider with that one.

Brittany also discussed the importance of community stability, basing her recommendation on the offender's current employment. While she did feel that sometimes incarceration was warranted, Brittany advised that she would recommend the offender serve his jail time during the weekends in an effort to allow him to maintain his job.

Like the first two scenarios, officers generally reflected on the seriousness of the violation when making their recommendation in the third case scenario, which focused on an offender who, although overwhelmingly compliant, is arrested for a shoplifting charge that amounts to $60 worth of stolen merchandise. Most of the agents in this scenario suggested some form of continued probation supervision, including waiting for the court disposition in the case (10 agents), deferring to the judge's discretion (4 agents), asking for credit for time served (1 agent), or modifying the offender's conditions of supervision in some way, including community service hours (1 agent), recommending a no tolerance clause[6] (2 agents), or placing an offender on intensive supervision (4 agents). Overall, though, most of the agents advised that this scenario was not serious enough to warrant some form of revocation.

> I wouldn't violate him because it's—it's a minor thing. And they'll go to court within the next few months for it. … and it's like 60 bucks, like I've always looked at it as it's not like a violent charge, it's not like a burglary, you know, it's not like they stole thousands and thousands of dollars worth of stuff. [Michael, White]

> Now, you also have to look at the type of charge and the amount that was stolen. I hate saying that. I know that's ... I don't want to say "petty." I don't know if "petty" is the right word, but I would look at his case and it would just be ... If

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[6] As explained by participants, a "no tolerance clause" serves as a modification of an offender's supervision conditions wherein strict and immediate action can be taken in the event that an offender violates this new condition.

that's his first arrest since him being on probation, that's just going through and given what the charge was, I would just give him a verbal warning that if it happens again, I would take further process the next time it came around. [Stephanie, White]

As in the former scenarios, several agents referenced the offender's previous supervision history, focusing on his general compliance in other areas of supervision.

If he was in pretty much 100% compliance with me, and he even reported the law enforcement contact, I would not necessarily violate him for that. [Amanda]

But considering that he's got a fairly consistent and good history, then I'm not gonna make any, any major recommendations on that. Just continue more probation. [Jennifer, White]

Notably, only one agent advised that he would recommend the offender be revoked for the new charges. Jason (White) explains,

I would respond with a probation revocation due to the fact that he continues to commit property crimes even though he's been on probation for a year. It still seems that he has a problem with—either he's committing property crimes or being around others committing property crimes. So I would say—I would recommend a revocation and to serve time in prison.

Although Jason explained that he would recommend a revocation, most of the other agents reported that they preferred other forms of graduated sanctions or continuing probation without sanctions as opposed to reincarcerating the offender, especially when they perceived the charges were not very serious.

In the final case scenario, which describes an offender who is generally noncompliant with supervision but who has not committed new offenses, the agents seemed torn between focusing on rehabilitative options and recommending a full or partial revocation. Almost half of the agents (9 agents) recommended some form of rehabilitative treatment, ranging from substance abuse counseling to an inpatient treatment plan, and approximately half of the agents recommended some form of revocation (9 agents). Notably, three agents advised they may recommend both approaches. As two of these agents explain, sometimes agent recommendations depend on the willingness of offenders to be involved in their own rehabilitation efforts.

> You know, as long as you work with me, I'll work with you. So if he comes in and we can do it as a citation, and he can walk out the door and he can maintain those appointments, great. But if I can't find him, and he's not being forthcoming and not willing, that changes things. His involvement and his level of willingness to participate changes things, too. That's a factor in my decision, in what I recommend. [Samantha, White]

> I've had a similar case. And to be honest with you, if somebody has got all those types of charges previously, and they've still got drugs in their system, and there's still an issue… you're either going to have to send them back to jail, or you're going to have to get them into an intensive rehab program. And the problem is, is that a lot of them don't want to go into intensive rehab. You know, they don't want to be locked away for three or six months, you know, so you gotta, you got to gauge the offender, where their motivation is, are they motivated? And some

are, some are like, "Hey, I want to do this. You know, I know I haven't completed

it in the past, but I really want to make a go of it this time." And normally you can

get a good sense of, you know, being genuine about it. Because a lot of people, if

they don't want to do it, they're not going to do it. [Jennifer, White]

Christopher (White) oscillated between a revocation or rehabilitation, explaining that his

preference was to recommend some more extensive rehabilitative approach if it seems

likely to be effective, but that he would recommend a revocation if the offender had

already completed several forms of substance abuse treatment.

Do I want to try to get him in prison, or do I want to get him back through ... I

mean, substance abuse counseling obviously didn't work for him the first time.

Will it work the second time? Will he have to go either an intensive out-patient or

an in-patient facility? If we think that'll help, then we would probably go that

route, but if it's someone that has a long history of doing this and has been

through counseling multiple times and still keeps going back to drugs, then in that

case, we would probably try to get their probation revoked.

For agents like Samantha, Jennifer, and Christopher, recommendations may hinge on

how serious offenders are about making changes in their lives and how many

opportunities they have experienced previously to take advantage of rehabilitative

services.

Unlike the prior case scenarios, only a few agents (4 agents) focused on the

seriousness of the violations. These agents discussed both the seriousness of failing to

provide a urine sample and of community instability, but primarily in the context that

these "minor" violations signaled deeper issues of noncompliance.

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The fact that he has admitted to something, but cannot provide a sample and then left would lead me to believe that there could be more. Typically when someone admits they're going to be positive or something, I still give them a test because sometimes they'll say, "If I tested for marijuana, he'll just send me to marijuana classes [that last] only one day." But it really they have cocaine and meth in their system. So they'll do that to try and get out of the test just by admitting. So that is why, the fact that, okay, well, I'm still going to give you the test and then he leaves would lead me to believe that he was trying to hide something. [David, White]

It's taken very seriously when they fail to provide a urinalysis sample. You know, we take that coupled with the, you know, any other violations, and that would be a warrant. Like I said before, there's certain things that, okay, it's fine, but there's certain things that are not, you know, I mean, they tell us a lot of things, but you got to take some of it with a pinch of salt. He needs to provide a urinalysis sample, I mean, he could have a whole gamut of drugs in his system, you know. And they have to provide a sample. [Jennifer, White]

I've also got concerns about community instability, if he really is living where he says he is. You know, at some point, if you go to somebody's house three times and they're never there, that's going to raise some concerns that maybe they're not living where they say they are. So, I think I would look at that from a perspective of instability, and can I find him again. That's going to be really the

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determining factor for me, is contact with him. [Samantha, White]

For these agents, the "minor" technical violations are not inherently problematic themselves, but they indicate that the offender is likely not compliant in other additional, potentially more serious ways.

While the seriousness of the offense was less important for officers' decision-making in the final case scenario, many agents (10 agents) still considered the offender's criminal history and compliance with his current term of supervision as relevant for informing their recommendation. These agents also highlighted the offender's general noncompliance, advising that his failure to cooperate suggested that he may not be a good candidate for probation and that agents may have few options aside from some form of incarceration.

Because he's got a prior history. And he's showing that he's not cooperating with probation by leaving the office. And at that point, he's absconding supervision. [Lisa, White]

He *just* did jail time. He's not… [sigh] And he's gonna test positive and he's just leaving the probation office and he's not reporting, he's obviously not taking instruction that I'm giving him seriously enough, or that the court's ordering him. He wouldn't be a good candidate at this time for probation. And I don't have any other justification to why he should be on. There's nothing for me to justify the actions that he's committing. [Emily, White]

Moreover, agents like Amanda (White) identify offenders who continually refuse to cooperate as a potential threat to community safety, and therefore recommendations of

incarceration may be in the best interest of the community at large.

It would be evident that he may be what some judges call a "poor candidate for probation." Even no matter how many times we explain the conditions or the expectations, like look, "Show up, communicate, report, that's it. You're good." And he still can't do that, he's already been violated once, that would be a factor and another warrant. If the previous violation was for a charge, say, a gun charge or a severe pending charge, that would also make me wonder, is he choosing to continue a criminal lifestyle and doesn't give a damn about probation? Then I would have to look into, well, is he better in the community? Is he being productive in the community? Or is he making more victims out there in the community?

While Emily discusses attempting to "justify" continuing the offender on probation, Amanda points out that his presence in the community may pose a public safety risk, which would ultimately support some form of incarceration.

When asked directly about the factors they consider when responding to a violation, agents generally advised that they considered the seriousness of the violation in addition to the offender's criminal history and their behavior during their current term of supervision. Upon further probing and the discussion of different case scenarios, agents were fairly consistent in their consideration of these factors when making decisions regarding offender noncompliance. This methodological approach provides further validity to agents' responses, but it also allows officers to work through scenarios and explain how these decision-making factors apply to real world situations.

Table 5.1. Law Enforcement Orientation by Social Work Orientation (n=134)

		Social Work Orientation	
		Low	High
Law Enforcement Orientation	Low	49 (36%)	12 (9%)
	High	18 (13%)	55 (41%)

Table 5.2. Officer Orientation Measure Descriptive Statistics

Measure	Not at all important (%)		Important (%)		Very Important (%)	Mean	N
Law Enforcement	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**3.91**	**134**
Legal Consequences	0.8	2.2	21.6	23.9	51.5	4.23	134
Risk Detention	1.5	1.5	20.9	25.4	50.7	4.22	134
Monitor Behavior	0.7	3.0	18.7	34.3	43.3	4.16	134
Fully Enforce Rules	0.7	3.0	26.1	28.4	41.8	4.07	134
Residence Searches	3.7	11.9	26.1	20.9	37.3	3.76	134
Drug Screens	4.5	8.3	35.3	24.8	27.1	3.62	133
Emphasize Authority	7.5	17.9	37.3	15.7	21.6	3.26	134
Social Work	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**4.13**	**134**
Develop Rapport	0.8	1.5	12.7	19.4	65.7	4.48	134
Therapeutic Services	0.7	1.5	14.9	22.4	60.4	4.40	134
Rehabilitative Goals	0.7	2.2	18.7	30.6	47.8	4.22	134
Skill-building	0.8	2.2	21.6	32.8	42.5	4.14	134
Family-based Services	1.5	4.5	26.1	28.4	41.8	4.04	134
Graduate Sanctions	0.8	3.8	28.6	25.6	41.4	4.03	133
Reward Offenders	1.5	6.0	26.9	23.9	41.8	3.99	134
Being Accessible	1.5	6.1	33.3	31.8	27.3	3.77	132

Table 5.3. Bivariate Statistics for Law Enforcement Orientation

	Law Enforcement Orientation Measures[1]							
	Legal Consequences	Risk Detention	Monitor Behavior	Fully Enforce Rules	Residence Searches	Drug Screens	Emphasize Authority	Overall Score
Gender[2]								
Male	4.24	4.26	4.15	4.09	3.77	3.51	3.20	3.89
Female	4.29	4.27	4.27	4.21	3.85	3.87	3.46	4.04
Race[2]								
White	4.24	4.22	4.16	4.04	3.71	3.55	3.20	3.87
Non-White	4.18	4.24	4.16	4.21	3.92	3.78	3.42	3.99
Surveillance background[2]								
Yes	4.30	4.28	4.18	4.10	3.82	3.76	3.34	3.97
No	4.16	4.16	4.16	4.09	3.73	3.47	3.20	3.85
Post-Graduate Degree[2]								
Yes	4.26	4.26	4.05	3.84	4.00	3.26	3.42	3.87
No	4.24	4.23	4.20	4.14	3.74	3.68	3.23	3.93
Age[3]	-.01	-.15	-.13	-.18	-.30**	-.02	-.23*	-.210*
Tenure[3]	-.18*	-.27**	-.25**	-.23**	-.33***	-.14	-.18*	-.308***

[1]Measures were coded from 1 = "Not at all important" to 5 = "Very important"
[2]Means reported
[3]Pearson correlations reported
*p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.4. Bivariate Statistics for Social Work Orientation

	Social Work Orientation Measures[1]								
	Develop Rapport	Therapeutic Services	Rehabilitative Goals	Skill-building	Family-based Services	Graduated Sanctions	Reward Offenders	Being Accessible	Overall Score
Gender[2]									
Male	4.48	4.34	4.15	4.12	4.04	4.01	3.91	3.71	4.10
Female	4.46	4.56	4.42	4.27	4.10	4.13	4.15	3.90	4.27
Race[2]									
White	4.46	4.37	4.15	4.10	3.96	3.98	3.99	3.79	4.10
Non-White	4.53	4.45	4.39	4.21	4.18	4.16	3.92	3.68	4.19
Surveillance background[2]									
Yes	4.40	4.36	4.27	4.07	4.04	4.06	3.97	3.63	4.11
No	4.56	4.44	4.17	4.20	4.00	4.00	3.97	3.89	4.15
Post-Graduate Degree[2]									
Yes	4.63	4.68	4.16	4.21	4.21	4.26	4.05	3.79	4.25
No	4.46	4.37	4.23	4.13	3.99	4.01	3.96	3.77	4.12
Age[3]	-.05	-.13	.08	-.06	.07	-.03	-.03	-.10	-.045
Tenure[3]	-.18*	-.29**	-.08	-.16	-.08	-.09	-.17*	-.15	-.205*

[1]Measures were coded from 1 = "Not at all important" to 5 = "Very important"
[2]Means reported
[2]Pearson correlations reported
*p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.5. Multiple Linear Regression Models for Law Enforcement Orientation

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Tenure	-.018	.011	-.019	.011	-.018	.011
Age	-.006	.009	-.006	.009	-.006	.009
Education (Post-Graduate)	.008	.186	-.023	.192	-.009	.192
Surveillance Background	.185	.14	.149	.108	.153	.149
Gender (Male=1)	-.289*	.136	-.266	.138	-.034	.251
Race (White=1)			-.126	149	.082	.240
Gender X Race					-.324	.294
F	3.530		2.934		2.693	
Adjusted R^2	.102		.095		.097	

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

Table 5.6. Multiple Linear Regression Models for Social Work Orientation

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Tenure	-.025*	.010	-.027**	.010	-.027**	.010
Age	.011	.008	.012	.008	.011	.008
Education (Post-Graduate)	.195	.171	.200	.176	.206	.177
Surveillance Background	-.107	.129	-.179	.136	-.178	.137
Gender (Male=1)	-.228	.125	-.210	.126	-.105	.231
Race (White=1)			-.216	.136	-.122	.221
Gender X Race					-.147	.271
F	2.544		2.543		2.208	
Adjusted R^2	0.065		0.078		0.071	

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

Table 5.7. Gender by Revocation Decision (n=130)[7]

| Gender | | Revocation Decision | | |
		Yes	No	Total
	Female	4 (8.3%)	44 (91.7%)	48
	Male	10 (12.2%)	72 (87.8%)	82
	Total	14 (10.8%)	116 (89.2%)	130

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[7] Cases do not equal 134 due to 4 missing cases.

Table 5.8. Race by Revocation Decision (n=130)[8]

		Revocation Decision		
		Yes	No	Total
Race	Non-White	4 (10.5%)	34 (89.5%)	38
	White	11 (12.0%)	81 (88.0%)	92
	Total	15 (11.5%)	115 (88.5%)	130

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[8] Cases do not equal 134 due to 4 missing cases.

Table 5.9. Gender, Race, Officer Orientation, and Revocation Decision[9]

	Revocation Decision-Making[1]			
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Pearson Correlation
Gender				
Male	82	.122	.329	
Female	48	.083	.279	
Race				
White	92	.120	.326	
Non-White	38	.105	.311	
Officer Orientation				
Law Enforcement	134			.096
Social Worker	134			-.092
[1]Measures coded as 1 = Any decision to pursue a revocation across vignettes, and 0 = No decision to pursue a revocation across vignettes *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001				

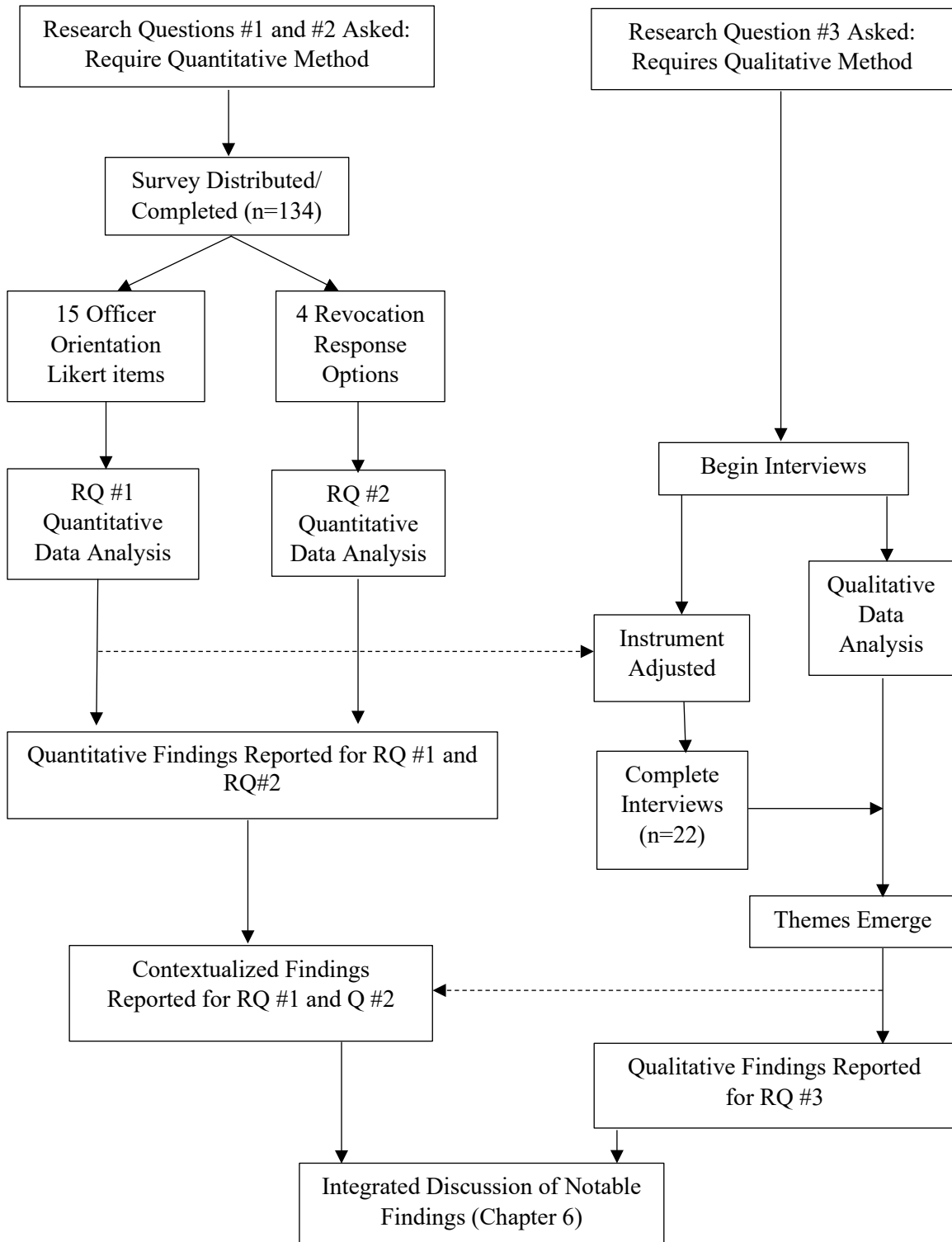[9] Cases may not equal 134 due to missing cases.

Figure 5.1. Project and Reported Findings Sequence

Chapter 6: Discussion

Overview of the Study

Although correctional populations have generally declined over the last few decades, the most recent estimates suggest that 6.4 million Americans were still under some form of correctional control by the end of 2018 (Maruschak & Minton, 2020). The majority of these adults (4.3 million) are supervised in the community (Maruschak & Minton, 2020), either as probationers (3.5 million) or parolees (878,000; Kaeble & Alper, 2020). While some states have depended on the use of community corrections as a means to reduce overcrowded correctional facilities, other states' approaches have resulted in probation and parole policies that only further contribute to the incarcerated population (Phelps, 2013). Described by Caplow and Simon (1999) as "a powerful feedback loop," this process of introducing or returning adults to jail and prison through probation or parole revocations has further contributed to the crisis of mass incarceration in some state systems (p. 73).

Originally developed with a rehabilitative focus (Alarid, 2019; Caplan, 2006; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Lutze, 2014; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ruhland, 2020), community corrections, much like institutional corrections policies, evolved to prioritize control and supervision efforts during the 1970s and 1980s (Caplan, 2006; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Hsieh et al., 2015; Miller, 2015; Purkiss et al., 2003; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem & Manchak, 2008; West & Seiter, 2004). More recently, some states have begun

to embrace evidence-based practices, which often focus on an empirically-informed combination of treatment and surveillance approaches (Guevara & Solomon, 2009; Taxman, 2008). These efforts are highlighted in states like South Carolina, the location of this study, wherein the Omnibus Crime Reduction and Sentencing Reform Act passed in 2010 (South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, & Pardon Services, n.d.). These legislative reforms refocused probation and parole efforts to incorporate the use of evidence-based practices, like the implementation of risk-and-needs assessments and structured decision-making tools to respond to offender noncompliance, and emphasized graduated sanctions as noncompliance response options instead of probation or parole revocations (South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, & Pardon Services, n.d.).

Research efforts also began to focus on the ways that community corrections officers may influence offender outcomes (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Blasko et al., 2015; Bonta et al., 2011; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Kennealy et al., 2012; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Skeem et al., 2007). Studies suggest that prosocial officer-offender relationships can be protective against offender recidivism (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Blasko et al., 2015; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Kennealy et al., 2012; Morash et al., 2015), especially for offenders with specialized needs, including those with substance abuse issues and mental health disorders (Skeem et al., 2007). Officer orientation, which includes the supervision approaches that officers themselves emphasize as important, has also been found to influence officer decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Miller, 2012; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011) and offender outcomes (Dembo, 1972; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005). Additionally, officer orientation may impact the goals of probation and parole that officers prioritize

(DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992) and the ways they spend their time at work (Seiter & West, 2003; West & Seiter, 2004). In many departments, probation and parole officers generally have broad discretion in the supervision approaches they utilize and the ways that they respond to offender noncompliance (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kennealy et al., 2012; Klockars, 1972; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Schaefer & Williamson, 2017; Skeem & Manchak, 2008), suggesting that understanding how officers make decisions in their cases is important for more fully understanding offenders' supervision outcomes.

An additional component for understanding probation and parole officer orientation and decision-making may include exploring the ways, if any, that officers' sociodemographic characteristics may affect their supervision approaches. Since legislation in the 1970s that required women and people of Color be allowed to enter the work force in a variety of professional jobs (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2000, 2011; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Greene, 2000; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Rabe-Hemp, 2008, 2008), feminist scholars have asserted that these actors likely engage in their professional duties differently than their White, male counterparts (Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2000). Scholars contend that these differences may be a result of the job model or the gender model, wherein the gendered and racialized structure of the organization or the gendered and racialized experiences of the worker, respectively, might contribute to their differing professional approaches (Acker, 1990, 2006; Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2000, 2011; Garcia, 2003; Martin & Jurik, 1996). Intersectional theorists maintain that each person's race, gender, and other identities all contribute to a person's

lived experience (Collins, 1986; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Daly, 1993) and that these lived experiences should be brought to the forefront of research (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Collins, 1990; Morris & Gelsthorpe, 1991; Potter, 2013).

Practitioner race and gender may be especially important for understanding probation and parole officer orientation and decision-making, especially as women and people of Color comprise a greater percentage of the work force in community corrections than many other sectors of the criminal justice system (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Although the research that focuses extensively on community corrections officers' race and gender is limited, some current literature suggests that officer sociodemographic characteristics are associated with officer orientation (Miller, 2012; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), supervision approaches (Ireland & Berg, 2007, 2008; Miller, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004), and decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009). Notably, too, probation and parole officers often exercise broad discretion in their decision-making (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kennealy et al., 2012; Klockars, 1972; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Schaefer & Williams, 2018; Skeem & Manchak, 2008), which may directly impact the likelihood of a probationer or parolee having their supervision revoked following the detection of a violation.

Applying an intersectional feminist framework and using an explanatory sequential mixed methods research design, this study aimed to understand how race and gender may be associated with probation and parole officers' professional orientation and decision-making, particularly regarding revocations, and understanding the factors that

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officers themselves identified as relevant to their decision-making at work. To answer these three research questions, all of the C-1 Certified Law Enforcement Officers who were actively supervising a caseload at the time of the study were asked to complete a survey that focused on their officer orientation and the ways that they engaged in professional decision-making. Likert scale items were used to measure officer orientation, and a series of continued noncompliance vignettes were provided to explore agents' decision-making when responding to noncompliance. Several multiple linear regression models suggest that gender, but not race, is associated with agents' officer orientation, wherein being female is associated with a higher law enforcement officer orientation. Additionally, quantitative analysis suggests that there are no significant differences between agents' sociodemographic characteristics and their decision to pursue a revocation, or associations between their officer orientation and their revocation decision-making.

Several months after the survey distribution, a subsample of agents was contacted regarding participating in a semi-structured interview. The interview aimed to explain the findings from the survey, particularly the results surrounding officer orientation, to explore the ways, if any, that agent race and gender framed their decision-making and professional experiences, and to unpack officer decision-making while discussing several vignettes of offender noncompliance. The interview findings suggest that agents generally consider the seriousness of a violation and an offender's history of supervision, including their prior probation or parole violations, when responding to noncompliance and deciding to pursue a revocation.

Discussion of Key Findings

While the current project set out to answer three primary research questions, several key findings emerged following the integrated data analysis. These integrated findings are informed by both the quantitative and qualitative components of the project, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the study findings. These key findings generally focus on the measurement of officer orientation, the intersectional findings, specifically when considered in a sociohistorical context, and the organizational influences that were found to be relevant to officer orientation and decision-making.

Officer Orientation Measurement

One of the more surprising findings from the project include the emergence of a fourth officer orientation from the survey data. Although the initial project design intended to treat officer orientation as one measure wherein each officer was provided one overall officer orientation score, the findings from the data suggest that this is not the most accurate approach to discussing officer orientation. Instead, the majority of officers tended to score either high on both the law enforcement and social work orientations or low on both scales; relatively few officers scored high on one scale and low on the other (which would suggest a serious lean toward either a law enforcement or social work orientation; see Chapter 5 for more detail regarding these findings). These findings are significant because they support a notable deviation from the traditional approaches for studying officer orientation and they suggest that some prominent orientations may be currently understudied in the literature.

In their initial conceptualization of officer orientation, Ohlin and colleagues (1956) introduced three primary officer orientations (punitive officer, protective agent, and welfare worker). In his study of 486 probation and parole officers, Glaser (1964) observed the smallest category of officers (39 officers, 8%) identified as passive officers, scoring low on both control and rehabilitation measures. Glaser (1964) observed that passive officers were generally comprised of older agents and those with greater educational achievement, and he theorized that, "this category includes a high proportion of officers who have been disappointed, or have become lazy, with respect to achieving the rank for which their graduate education qualified them" (p. 439). Reframing Glaser's (1964) passive officer orientation, Klockars (1972) focused this fourth orientation, which he called a time server orientation, to include officers "see their jobs as having certain requirements to be fulfilled until retirement" (p. 551).

Since Klockars's (1972) seminal work, most studies that consider officer orientation have treated the concept as a dichotomous measure (law enforcement/social work) (Dembo, 1972; Miller, 2012, 2015; Ward & Kupchik, 2010) or as a continuum across the orientations (law enforcement/synthetic/social work), often using semantic differentials to allow respondents to identify where on the spectrum they fall between two polar extremes (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Fulton et al., 1997; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; West & Seiter, 2004). Measuring officer orientation using these approaches allows extreme orientations (law enforcement and social work) to emerge but fails to differentiate between officers who use either many or few synthetic approaches. In other words, this approach to a synthetic orientation captures both officers who engage with multiple law enforcement and social

work measures and those who fail to engage with either law enforcement or social work measures without distinguishing between the two groups.

Notably, only two studies have varied from this approach. Steiner and colleagues (2011) and DeMichele and Payne (2018) used Likert scales to measure law enforcement and social work activities, and grouped officers into Glaser's (1964) four orientations for analyses, including, "Punitive – high authority/low assistance, Welfare – low authority/high assistance, Paternal – high authority/high assistance, and Passive – low authority/low assistance (reference category)" (DeMichele & Payne, 2018, p. 238). Although the current study was not originally designed with this measure of orientation in mind, the findings from this study highlight the importance of Steiner and colleagues' (2011) and DeMichele and Payne's (2018) approach. Allowing officers to score in a myriad of ways (high law enforcement/high social work, high law enforcement/low social work, high social work/low law enforcement, low law enforcement/low social work) is a better measure of officer orientation as this approach allows for a more comprehensive understanding of officer orientation.

Data from the interviews suggest that agents who may identify with an orientation that is low law enforcement- low social work likely fall into Glaser's (1964) passive orientation category for a variety of reasons. Agents shared their frustrations with the constantly changing culture of the agency, their experiences with compassion fatigue, and their desire to retire. Agents also spoke of colleagues who they perceived as lazy and working with the department merely to collect a paycheck. However, several of the interview participants were highly ambitious, and because they saw probation and parole as just one stop along their long-term career trajectory, avoided becoming too entrenched

in certain aspects of the agency. As the quantitative findings suggests that agents who identified a low law enforcement- low social work orientation comprised approximately 40% of the sample and agents discussed a variety of explanations for this finding during the interviews, these findings suggest that a fourth officer orientation is present and represents a significant number of agents for an array of reasons.

Intersectional Findings

Regarding associations between officer sociodemographic variables, officer orientation, and decision-making, the survey data analyses suggest that being female is significantly associated with a higher law enforcement orientation, but that race and the interaction of race and gender is not. None of the variables of interest (i.e., gender, race, interaction) are associated with a social work orientation. Additionally, the quantitative data analysis surrounding officers' decision to pursue a revocation failed to reveal any significant differences in decision-making regarding pursuing a revocation based on agents' race or gender.

While the gender and race survey findings seem contradictory to the current literature (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992), the in-depth interview data help to explain these findings. The interviews with agents reveal that female agents frequently experience sexism from offenders and colleagues, and they often feel that they must prove themselves to those around them. Almost half of the female agents discussed feeling like they were "underestimated" by offenders on their caseload. In response to these perceptions, several

of the female agents explained that they have to overcompensate at work. Emily shared that she has to "have more of the law enforcement side" when interacting with male offenders, especially upon first meeting them.

Sarah also discussed the challenges of supervising offenders, providing an example of the importance of gendered symbols within probation and parole, particularly her law enforcement uniform. Sarah shared the differences in her interactions with offenders when she is wearing her law enforcement uniform verses when she visits offenders at the jail in her "court clothes." A self-described "blonde female in a male industry," she explains that she has to "be harder" when interacting with offenders while wearing court attire, which is traditionally distinctly gendered, than when wearing her badge and gun, both symbols of masculine authority (Acker, 1990).

The professional overcompensation that Emily, Sarah, and several of the other women discussed may explain the survey findings that suggest that being female is associated with a greater propensity to prioritize law enforcement tasks. Other studies in the community corrections and policing literature have discovered comparable findings (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Ireland & Berg, 2007; Rabe-Hemp, 2009), wherein "females overcompensate for their gender in a male-dominated system by becoming 'plus royaliste que le roi'" (*more royalist than the king*; Walsh, 1984, p. 385).

That women feel that they must "overcompensate" for their gender at work reflects the masculine ethic within the Department. Kanter (1975) explains that masculine ethic occurs when masculine traits and gender performances associated with the organization are preferred over feminized characteristics, and that this standard

contributes to the perpetuation of the oppression of female workers within the organization. That agents in the study, both male and female, discussed men as "stronger" and "more hardcore" highlights how engrained the masculine ethic is in probation and parole, especially because female agents felt the need to compensate for these seeming deficiencies. This is especially notable because most of the agents discussed the importance of traditionally feminized characteristics, including relationship building and listening skills, as important supervision techniques, but still highlighted women's physical capabilities (or physical limitations) in the field.

While several female agents focused on the ways that their gender impacts their interactions with offenders, the female probation and parole agents also experienced difficulties with their male colleagues. In an example of paternalism in the field (Belknap, 2007; Britton, 2011; Martin, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 1996), Christopher discussed that male agents sometimes escort female agents of record into the field to ensure their safety when visiting offenders. Although he emphasized that this is not a frequent occurrence, he was unable to provide a clear answer when asked if the female agents of record requested this assistance from their male colleagues.

Relatedly, in his observation that his female colleagues can sometimes be "bullies," Aaron referred to himself and other male colleagues as "bodyguards" to the female agents, speculating that offenders may "forget themselves" and physically harm female agents when male agents are not there to defend them. Christopher and Aaron's comments reveal their assumptions that female agents cannot physically defend themselves in the field. Additionally, Aaron's perception highlights the difficulty that female agents experience when they attempt to subvert their own gender and perform

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masculinity (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). For these women, being female is problematic, but attempting to establish some authority to compensate for their femininity is also criticized by their colleagues.

Sarah shared her experiences of being overlooked by male colleagues, both within SCDPPPS and within the law enforcement community at large. She spoke about male agents who will ignore female agents in the office with more experience when asking for help from another male agent. She also shared experiences where other law enforcement officers and court officials would call her male colleagues to discuss offenders on her caseload instead of contacting her directly. Aliyah shared similar difficulties with male officers, wherein male agents would make jokes about female law enforcement officers, questioning their professional capabilities. These informal interactions between colleagues serve to communicate to women that they do not belong in the field and that their participation in the organization is marginalized and not appreciated (Acker, 1990).

Although quantitative data analyses did not identify significant racialized differences in the agents' officer orientations or decision-making, the qualitative interviews with agents suggest that their professional experiences may differ based on race. Several agents of Color expressed specific ways that their professional experiences were framed by their own racial identity. Brandon discussed working with African American offenders who expected him to "turn a blind eye" on their noncompliance, claiming that Black law enforcement officers are, "Uncle Tom… [just] trying to please the White man." Although she explained that her own family was supportive of her decision to pursue a career in probation and parole, Aliyah explained that some of her

Black colleagues in law enforcement had "lost friendships and family members just because they chose this profession."

While the agents interviewed shared their experiences of backlash from the Black community, several agents of Color also emphasized their ability to better relate to the offenders of Color they supervise. Joseph and Caleb explained that they felt more relatable because of their own identities; they explained that these shared background experiences may make offenders more comfortable with coming to them with problems. Additionally, Aliyah explains that one of her primary motives for entering probation and parole is to make a positive change in law enforcement, especially regarding the relationship between law enforcement and communities of Color.

Although there is virtually no research that focuses on the intersectional experiences of probation and parole officers, the limited intersectional police scholarship that exists observed comparable findings. In their intersectional research on African American female police officers, Dodge and Pogrebin (2001) found that the women felt they were better able to police communities of Color because of their personal understanding of citizens' racialized and gendered experiences. These women, much like Aliyah, prioritized making real change in the communities of Color that they served. Additionally, these women also shared experiences of anger and distrust from the African American community, similar to the experience that Black agents, both male and female, discussed in this study.

While agents of Color shared their unique experiences regarding their interactions with African American offenders on their caseloads and communities of Color generally, they also questioned how their peers in law enforcement may perceive them. One Black

agent questioned whether other law enforcement officers viewed Black agents' primarily as colleagues or members of the African American community. The agent elaborated by explaining, "I feel like gun and badge is first, but the question is always … 'How do you see me without the gun and the badge?'" This agent's concern emphasizes the precarious situation that law enforcement officers of Color experience. Although law enforcement officers of Color may choose to pursue careers in law enforcement because they want to help communities of Color, they may ultimately experience rejection by family members, friends, and other members of the African American community. Moreover, they may not be fully accepted into the law enforcement community either, contributing to their special experiences of marginalization.

The timeliness of this research project is also noteworthy. Intersectional researchers emphasize the importance of framing findings within the sociohistorical context of participants (Bowleg, 2008; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999), and this is especially relevant when discussing issues of race and law enforcement, where historically those relationships have been strained (Thompson, 2017) and current events continue to create tension between law enforcement and communities of Color (Golds & Kim, 2020). The interviews for this study were conducted between February and March 2021, several months after a series of Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests were organized across the country (Buchanan et al., 2020). Initially organized by activists in response to the shootings of two unarmed Black men, Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown (Banks, 2018; Carney, 2016), protestors and activists associated with BLM have demanded increased police accountability (Jennings & Rubado, 2017; Pauly & Michaels, 2020). Protests erupted in the summer of 2020, following the deaths of Breonna Taylor and George

Floyd in March and May of 2020, respectively (BBC News, 2021; Taylor, 2021). Even before July 2020, researchers estimated that between 15 and 26 million protestors had rallied across the US for BLM, resulting in what is now become recognized as "the largest movement in the country's history" (Buchanan et al., 2020). At the time that the interviews for this study were conducted, Derek Chauvin, one of the law enforcement officers involved in the killing of George Floyd, had been charged with second degree murder and was awaiting his trial in Minnesota, which began on March 29, 2021 (BBC News, 2021).

Unsurprisingly, the movement was directly referenced by several agents during the interviews, and a few agents became noticeably upset when talking about race during the interviews. One agent became frustrated with the frequency that race and gender was discussed in the interview instrument, ultimately responding that, "I feel like I've answered that question like six times already. I don't feel like my race and gender influence how I supervise." Another agent became so agitated during the interview that the researcher asked if the interview questions were asked in a problematic way. This agent shared frustration that "people these days try and make so much about race."

One agent shared feeling targeted as a White law enforcement officer, both by the general public and by the department, and explained that the social and political climate had changed dramatically over the 18 months prior to this interview. This agent discussed feeling like police officers are becoming increasingly rejected and targeted by the public and that they are viewed as "the enemy" and as "bad guys." This agent specifically referenced officer-involved shootings, explaining that civilians are assumed innocent until proven guilty, whereas "once you put a gun and badge on then if something goes

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South, you're guilty until proven innocent." This agent described law enforcement as "a thankless job" and discussed feeling "scrutinized with every minute thing you do."

The concern regarding departmental oversight might be the result of communication that SCDPPPS had shared with officers in response to the BLM protests. Another agent discussed this communication wherein the department asked agents to carefully consider their supervision approaches and be cognizant of the social climate during that time. Although the agent did not provide any further information regarding the communication that originated from SCDPPPS, it is likely that the timing of the BLM protests the previous spring and summer and the focus it received from SCDPPPS influenced officers' responses when asked about race and gender.

Additionally, although agents were never asked about how they viewed offenders on their caseload based on offenders' race or gender, almost half of the agents responded to the interview questions about race and gender by asserting that they do not discriminate against offenders on their caseload, that they treat everyone on their caseload equally, and that they do not think about offenders' sociodemographic characteristics. When asked his perspective of why agents may be focusing on offenders' sociodemographic characteristics instead of their own, one agent explained his perception that "every conversation that happens and takes place on any scale seems like these days, local or national, everything is black and white. Well, everything is Black people, White people, not… it's anything but black and white these days." His feedback, particularly in the sociohistorical context of racial tensions between law enforcement and racial minorities, suggest that at the time of the interviews, agents had a heightened awareness of race, particularly their treatment of racial minorities on their caseloads.

Organizational Influences

The survey data resulted in a very small number of agents who reported a willingness to pursue a revocation in a series of vignettes, with only 15 agents (11%) choosing to revoke the offender. When asked about their own decision-making during the interviews, agents discussed their perception that revocations are difficult to secure, either because of judicial discretion that tends to prefer alternatives to incarceration or in response to agency goals and policies that encourage agents to explore intermediate sanction options. These agents spoke about their use of structured decision-making instruments at work, with many agents sharing the ways that these tools provide a wide range of response options to offender noncompliance. Regardless of their personal opinions about the policies, agents generally agreed that revocations are more difficult to secure in recent years, and this may explain why so few agents opted to pursue revocations in the survey vignettes. Consistent with the prior research regarding violation responses and revocation decision-making (Clear et al., 1992; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009), the qualitative findings highlight the importance of organizational influences on officers' supervision approaches and decision-making.

Following the passage of the Omnibus Crime Reduction and Sentencing Reform Act in 2010, SCDPPPS prioritized the implementation of evidence-based practices, specifically tailoring supervision and resources to offenders based on needs and risks and developing and implementing the violations matrix (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019; South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, & Pardon Services, n.d.). Quantitative analysis suggests that very few agents identify with strictly a law enforcement or social work orientation (30 agents; 22%), and most of the agents in this study scored either high in

both areas (55 agents; 41%) or low in both areas (49 agents; 36%). The multiple linear regression models report significant, negative associations between agent tenure and a social work orientation, suggesting that agents hired before the reform efforts may be less likely to prioritize social work tasks. Additionally, the interview data support the importance of these legislative changes within the Department, as several agents spoke to the ways that the agency goals had changed following the 2010 legislation and the implementation of evidence-based practices.

As agents shared their perceptions of what factors influence officer orientation, several agents suggested that the agency promotes a synthetic orientation and that the job duties themselves require a supervision approach that implements both rehabilitative and surveillance efforts. That departmental policy and agency culture can influence officer orientation is consistent with the current body of literature that highlights the importance of organizational factors on officer orientation (Dembo, 1972; Miller, 2015; Ohlin et al., 1956; Robinson et al., 2012; Seiter & West, 2003; Steiner et al., 2011; West & Seiter, 2004). Moreover, national trends suggest that probation and parole officer duties are changing, which might also influence the societal expectations of what roles these agents must fill. In their review of the statutorily defined job duties of probation and parole officers, Burton and colleagues (1992) found that surveillance tasks were more prevalent across state departments than rehabilitative tasks. When Purkis and colleagues (2003) conducted a similar review a decade later, they observed that duties generally had increased for probation and parole officers, with both surveillance and rehabilitative tasks increasing. Most recently, Hsieh and colleagues' (2015) work found the emergence of case manager tasks as agencies adopted supervision approaches more reliant on evidence-

based practices that integrate both surveillance and rehabilitative duties. While the agents in the current study focused on statewide legislative changes, national trends may also be impacting agents' experiences.

Agents generally agreed that the culture within the Department had shifted with the reform efforts, wherein officers were encouraged to use graduated sanctions that were determined through a violations matrix. Agents frequently emphasized the importance of the violations matrix, a structured decision-making tool informed through evidence-based practices (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019), to their individual decision-making. During the vignette scenarios discussed during the interview portion of the study, agents consistently referred to the violations matrix, referencing how each offense "scored" on the matrix and what the subsequent response should be to scenario of noncompliance.

When agents focused on revocations as a point of decision-making, they frequently discussed the difficulty with pursuing a revocation, citing pushback from the Department internally and from local judges. One agent shared that the Department regularly conducted internal reports to identify how many offenders had been revoked state-wide. This agent elaborated by explaining that, if revocation numbers remain low, the Department can then appeal to the state for more funding, citing reduced revocations as an important cost-savings measure. Agents perceive that judges, too, seem to prefer graduated sanctions in lieu of revocations, with several agents highlighting their own frustration with judges who seem unwilling to revoke in certain cases. Either from internal or external pressure, many of the agents discussed the emphasis on reducing revocations within the state. Overall, these findings are consistent with other revocation studies that have observed that departmental policy and agency culture impact officer

decision-making (Clear et al., 1992; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Prus & Stratton, 1976).

While agents had different opinions about the ways that the Department had changed, those who discussed this change almost unanimously agreed that serious changes, including an agency cultural shift, had occurred. One agent explained, "our agency is all about evidence-based practices… it's basically a culture here." This agent goes on to explain that, following these reform efforts, these ideas have "trickled down" to field agents. As states across the country work to enact policy changes to implement evidence-based practices (Hsieh et al., 2015; Manchak et al., 2019) and reduce state spending on correctional budgets associated with revocation expenditures (Guevara & Solomon, 2009; Viglione et al., 2018), researchers cite both departmental and officer buy-in as essential to creating sustainable change within departments (Burrell & Rhine, 2013; Viglione et al., 2018). For departments to effectively implement evidence-based practices within their agency, these changes must be supported by the department administration and mission statement and field officers' daily supervision approaches must integrate evidence-based practices (Manchak et al., 2019; Miller & Maloney, 2020; Viglione et al., 2018). The findings from this study suggest that SCDPPPS has made significant progress in the last decade in implementing these practices. Regardless of agents' personal feelings regarding these shifts, the officer orientation findings and the low number of agents who indicated they would pursue a revocation in the survey vignette series suggests that agents have internalized these changes.

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Limitations

As with any research study, this project has several limitations that must be discussed. That the study took place in one small geographic location likely limits the generalizability of the quantitative component of the study to other states. SCDPPPS is somewhat unique in its development and implementation of a variety of evidence-based practices, including the use of graduated sanctions and structured decision-making tools (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019; South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, & Pardon Services, n.d.), although other departments in the US and Canada have begun to adopt similar practices (Bonta et al., 2011; Robinson et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2012; Viglione, 2017, 2019; Viglione et al., 2015). While participants were asked to disregard the violations matrix, the department's structured decision-making instrument, when responding to the vignette series in the survey, it seems very likely that agents' training using the matrix influenced their survey responses. During the interviews, agents frequently referenced both the violations matrix in discussing their professional decision-making and the agency focus on evidence-based practices. The study location, therefore, likely influenced the study findings and may somewhat limit the generalizability of those findings, specifically to agencies that permit more discretion and do not use such decision-making tools.

The quantitative component of the project specifically suffers from additional limitations. It is likely that the current study lacks relevant predictor variables when measuring officer orientation. In the officer orientation multiple linear regression models, the highest adjusted R^2 value across the models is 0.102 for a law enforcement orientation and 0.130 for a social work orientation. This suggests that the measures which

were included explain, at most, 10% and 13% of the variance in the law enforcement and social worker orientations, respectively. Therefore, important predictor variables are likely missing from the current officer orientation models.

The use of vignettes as a measure of decision-making is another limitation of the current study, wherein officers' actual decision-making is not measured but only how agents report they would respond to different scenarios. While validity is a significant concern when using vignettes to study real world decision-making (Hughes & Huby, 2004), substantial steps were taken to ensure that the scenarios were appropriate and realistic (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014; Hughes, 1998; Jenkins et al., 2010; Wallander, 2011), including having supervisory agents review the case scenarios and available response options (Carroll & Johnson, 1990; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Wilks, 2004). Additionally, the vignettes were developed with careful consideration of the violations matrix to ensure that scenarios and responses were consistent with the ways that officers were trained to make decisions and were expected to supervise offenders in the real-world context (Hughes, 1998; Jenkins et al., 2010).

Another limitation of the quantitative data includes the low response rate for the surveys. Although the project yielded a 63.2% response rate, which is consistent with the average response rate for law enforcement officer surveys (64%; Nix et al., 2019), some of the statistical analysis that would have been appropriate during data analysis, particularly for the second research question, could not be conducted due to the small number of respondents (Peduzzi et al., 1996). Although the qualitative component of the project assisted in the contextualization of the findings for the second research question, the limited number of respondents and the small number of officers who opted to

recommend a revocation (15 agents; 11%) limited the data analysis options that might be used to answer the second research question.

One limitation of the qualitative component of the study includes the limited participation of agents of Color. At the completion of the interviews, only four of the agents who participated were officers of Color, and only one was a female agent of Color. While efforts were made to enhance the sample diversity (including attempting to initially contact a diverse sample of participants and using referrals to reach out specifically to officers of Color), a majority of the agents who agreed to participate were White. One explanation for the general lack interest in the interviews (of 90 agents contacted, only 22 participated) is that this portion of the project was conducted in the approximately one year following the global shut down in response to the COVID-19 pandemic (American Journal of Managed Care, 2021), and agents simply may not have had the time to participate. Throughout their interviews, agents discussed how the COVID-19 pandemic had drastically changed their professional lives, including forcing agents into the field as opposed to having offenders report into the office and causing a severe backlog of postponed administrative and court hearings. Several agents who participated expressed feeling overwhelmed with these changes, and this may have contributed to agents' limited participation in the interviews. A few agents who did respond to the email invitation for the study declined to participate because they felt too busy to participate in an interview at the time.

Additionally, the interviews were conducted approximately 9 months after George Floyd's death and the subsequent Black Lives Matter protests (Taylor, 2021), and one month before Derek Chauvin, one of the officers charged in Floyd's death, was scheduled

to begin his trial (BBC News, 2021). This chain of events likely impacted both the lack of racial diversity for the interviews and framed some of the findings from the study. Like other law enforcement agencies, SCDPPPS communicated with agents about the national events, which could have contributed to agents' heightened awareness of racial tensions between law enforcement and communities of Color. Between internal communications and national media coverage, it is likely that agents were hesitant to participate in a project that focused on race within the context of law enforcement, and when agents did participate, these events also seemed to frame how agents responded to specific interview questions.

Study Contributions and Future Directions

As previously discussed, several gaps exist in the current literature surrounding probation and parole officers' professional orientation and decision-making, especially the ways that their own gender or race may frame their supervision approaches. While officer orientation has been studied for decades, much of those efforts have focused on institutional corrections officers with less research aimed to understanding probation and parole officer orientation (Bolin, 2014). Moreover, studies that explore officer orientation have generally included two (law enforcement/social work) (Dembo, 1972; Miller, 2012, 2015; Ward & Kupchik, 2010) or three officer orientations (law enforcement/social work/synthetic) (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Fulton et al., 1997; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; West & Seiter, 2004). The survey findings from this study suggest that an additional, prominent officer orientation exists beyond what has been considered in the recent literature. To explore this additional

orientation, agents were asked during their interviews about this fourth orientation. The qualitative data supports that a fourth officer orientation exists, and the integrated study findings suggest that this orientation likely reflects Glaser's (1964) passive officer, wherein officers who adopt this orientation span from agents who are nearing retirement or who have experienced a myriad of changes during their tenure to those who are new to the department but view their employment only as the first step in their careers.

These findings suggest that future research efforts should include more comprehensive measures of officer orientation. During quantitative approaches, officer orientation measures should allow respondents to score high and low in both law enforcement and social work measures and should not confine them to one overall orientation measure. Moreover, officer orientation should not be viewed as a continuum (where agents' orientation exists somewhere between the extremes of law enforcement and social work), but should instead be treated categorically, wherein agents can simultaneously score high and low in surveillance and rehabilitative approaches. Qualitative work should continue to ask participants' themselves to describe officer orientation, as this study suggests that probation and parole officers often discuss law enforcement and social work supervision approaches when sharing the important aspects of their jobs.

The current study also makes a significant contribution to the literature by focusing extensively on agent gender and race. While some earlier work has focused peripherally on agents' sociodemographic characteristics (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Katz, 1982; Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem et al., 2007), what research has focused more closely on

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officer sociodemographic variables has been largely mixed (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997; Grattet et al., 2009; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; West & Seiter, 2004; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). Moreover, no study to date has used an intersectional framework to understanding officer orientation and the professional decision-making of probation and parole officers.

Although not a primary focus of the study, the findings regarding agent tenure and officer orientation are notable. Bivariate statistics for officer orientation reveal that tenure is statistically significant, but negatively associated with both a law enforcement and social work officer orientation, suggesting that agents with longer tenure were less likely to view *any* form of offender intervention as important. In the multiple linear regression model, tenure remained significantly related to a lower social work orientation, suggesting that, when other variables are controlled, agents who had longer tenure within the department tended to perceive rehabilitative tasks as less important for supervising offenders. Future research should explore the ways that tenure impacts professional orientation.

Additionally, this study employed a mixed method approach, which contributes to the methodological diversity of the literature. Most of the probation and parole officer decision-making literature depends on quantitative methods (Bares & Mowen, 2019; Bolin & Applegate, 2018; Bonta et al., 2008; Clear & Latessa, 1993; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997; Grattet et al., 2009; Katz, 1982; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Walsh, 1984; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist,

1992), and only a few studies use qualitative (Chamberlain et al., 2018; Ireland & Berg, 2008; Ruhland, 2020) or mixed method approaches (Blasko et al., 2015; Clear et al., 1992; Dembo, 1972; Kennealy et al., 2012; Morash et al., 2015; Prus & Stratton, 1976; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem et al., 2007; West & Seiter, 2004). A mixed method approach also allows for a better implementation of intersectional research. While intersectional research does not demand a specific methodological approach, feminist scholars have long expressed concerns with monomethod quantitative approaches (Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; McCall, 2005; McHugh, 2014). Through a careful design of the quantitative approach (Bowleg, 2008; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015), the introduction of a qualitative component (Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Cuádraz & Uttal, 1999; Hankivsky & Grace, 2015; McHugh, 2014; Windsong, 2016), and the consideration of an intersectional framework during the project design and data interpretation (Bowleg, 2008), this mixed method study both contributes to the methodological diversity of the current literature and adheres to the rigorous standards of intersectional research.

Future research should apply an intersectional framework, especially as racial tensions continue to rise between the law enforcement and African American communities. The findings from this project suggest that law enforcement officers of Color have a unique perspective based on their simultaneous positionality of both a law enforcement officer, which suggests a place of power, and as a member of the African American community, wherein members have historically experienced oppression, frequently at the hands of law enforcement. The agents in this study shared their experiences of backlash from members of the Black community, while also wondering about how their While colleagues perceive them.

Future work should also incorporate a variety of methodological approaches. One significant contribution of this study is the use of a mixed method research design, whereas previous research has heavily depended on quantitative methods with very few qualitative studies. Past research that has reported on agent sociodemographic variables has been largely mixed, although there seem to be some methodological trends. When conducted quantitatively, the research reveals mixed findings regarding race and gender-based differences (Bolin & Applegate, 2018; DeMichele & Payne, 2018; Erez, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997; Grattet et al., 2009; Kerbs et al., 2009; Miller, 2012, 2015; Steiner et al., 2011; Walsh, 1984; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). While limited in number, all of the qualitative or mixed methods studies suggest differences based on officer race and gender (Ireland & Berg, 2007, 2008; West & Seiter, 2004). Comparable to some of the previous research, the seemingly mixed findings in this study are largely split along methodological lines, wherein the quantitative findings suggest that officer race and gender are not associated with officer orientation or decision-making, but the qualitative findings provide an extensive explanation for these findings and suggest that agent race and gender have a profound impact on officers' professional experiences. Future research should utilize a variety of methods, including mixed methods, in an effort to explore how methodological approaches may frame findings related to officer sociodemographic characteristics, officer orientation, and professional decision-making.

Policy Implications

After consideration of the findings from this study, there are several policy implications that should be discussed. First, jurisdictions and departments that are

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working toward criminal justice policy reform should continue to work closely within their respective departments, as the findings from this study suggest that reform efforts instituted at the administrative level of the department can seriously impact the agency culture. Following the Omnibus Crime Reduction and Sentencing Reform Act of 2010, SCDPPPS made significant changes to the departmental mission and the supervision standards that agents were asked to enforce, including the implementation of risk-needs-assessments and the structured decision-making tool (C. E. Cooper, June 4, 2019; South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, & Pardon Services, n.d.). The current literature suggests that upper management and officer buy-in is essential to effect policy change within criminal justice departments (Burrell & Rhine, 2013; Manchak et al., 2019; Viglione et al., 2018). The findings from this study suggest that changes that begin with the administration of departments can, as one agent described, "trickle down" to line officers. While several agents discussed the reform efforts and the cultural shift that had occurred within the department, the quantitative findings suggest that these changes have become institutionalized with the department, as agents in the survey vignette series consistently chose graduated sanctions when responding to offender noncompliance, as opposed to revocation options, and tenure emerged as the significant predictor variable when studying officer orientation.

Relatedly, agents also highlighted the changes that local judges have made regarding their decision-making. Agents spoke about judges' tendencies to provide multiple chances to noncompliant offenders, discussing a deviation from past judicial sentencing patterns. While the findings from this study suggest that state departments can make internal cultural changes, it also seems that reform efforts are most effective when

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all criminal justice stakeholders in a jurisdiction are on board with the reform efforts. While some agents felt that their recommendations were generally followed in court, others advised that judges were unpredictable and could rule in a variety of ways during hearings. These statements suggest that major stakeholders within jurisdictions, including the legislative body, state criminal justice departments, and the judiciary, must work together to implement comprehensive policy reforms, but that ultimately these reforms can be effectively instituted.

An additional policy implication, especially for departments that are working to implement policy reforms, includes the hiring of synthetic agents. Even before introducing the language surrounding officer orientation, which often focuses on law enforcement and social worker approaches, agents discussed their perceptions that probation and parole was unique in that it integrated surveillance and rehabilitation efforts. Moreover, many agents, the vast majority of whom later identified as synthetic agents, focused on building relationships and rapport with offenders as a primary tool for effective supervision. These agents shared the ways that positive rapport could create a safer work environment and contribute to better compliance from offenders on their caseloads. Research suggests that officers that emphasize both law enforcement and social work tasks may be more likely to embrace and implement evidence-based practices (Miller & Maloney, 2020). For departments that are working to move away from more traditional surveillance and control approaches, it may be helpful to focus hiring efforts on candidates who view probation and parole in a more balanced light.

Finally, departments might implement some form of sensitivity training, particularly as it relates to issues of race and gender inequality. Several White agents

shared their experiences with learning about racial discrimination and the profound ways that that knowledge impacted them. One agent spoke about observing the disparate treatment of members of the Black community while serving as a patrol officer; two other agents shared their personal and professional experiences wherein friends and colleagues shared their negative experiences of racial harassment. These agents spoke of internal checks, wherein they are cognizant of the different experiences of others, and they work to ensure that their treatment of others is fair and equitable, especially in the context of race. For these agents, and a few others who spoke to similar realizations, it was the lived experiences of others that effectively challenged their world view and made them more sensitive in their treatment of others.

Comparable training should also focus on the experiences of women in law enforcement. Many of the women in this study shared experiences of sexism and gender-based harassment. Highlighting these experiences to male agents may make them more aware of how their own behavior contributes to the gendered oppression of their colleagues. It is likely that the male officers who make gender-based jokes, for example, do not recognize the negative impact of these comments. Some agents, like Christopher, may even feel that their paternal behaviors are helpful to their peers, without realizing that these actions may be problematic for female agents. Highlighting and addressing how these behaviors ostracize their female colleagues would likely cause male agents to consider and hopefully change their own words and actions.

Conclusion

Although recent trends suggest that community corrections populations are
declining slightly, over 4 million people are currently supervised in the community
(Maruschak & Minton, 2020). While many states have opted to use community
corrections as a relief valve for state prison populations, research suggests that
revocations may actually contribute to incarceration rates in some places (Phelps, 2013).
In the last decade, many states, including South Carolina, have begun to implement
policy reforms wherein evidence-based practices and modified supervision approaches
are instituted within criminal justice agencies, including probation and parole
departments (Hsieh et al., 2015; Manchak et al., 2019). Additionally, scholars have begun
to focus on the impact that officers may have on offenders' supervision outcomes (Bares
& Mowen, 2019; Blasko et al., 2015; Chamberlain et al., 2018; Kennealy et al., 2012;
Morash et al., 2015; Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Skeem et al., 2007; Skeem &
Manchak, 2008), especially as evidence suggests that officers have broad discretion in
how they supervise offenders and make decisions in their cases (Bolin & Applegate,
2018; Clarke, 1979; Clear et al., 1992; Kerbs et al., 2009; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015;
Schaefer & Williamson, 2017; Seiter & West, 2003; Skeem & Manchak, 2008).

Using an intersectional framework and a mixed method research design, this
project aims to understand the associations between officers' sociodemographic
characteristics, officer orientation, and agents' decisions to pursue revocations.
Additionally, this project explores the factors that officers themselves discuss as relevant
to their own decision-making, especially in the context of pursuing revocations. By
answering these primary research questions, this project fills several notable gaps in the

literature and contributes to a better understanding of probation and parole officer orientation, which has been relatively understudied when compared to the officer orientation utilized by institutional correctional officers. Notably, the findings from this study challenge recent conceptualizations of officer orientation and suggest a more inclusive measurement for officer orientation should be used in future research.

This study also serves as the first intersectional research project to focus specifically on probation and parole agents and their officer orientation and decision-making. The findings suggest that officer race and gender may be associated with officer orientation and certainly frames professional experiences, but that these sociodemographic characteristics ultimately may be less influential on officer decision-making. Moreover, this study contributes to the methodological diversity of the current literature by applying an explanatory sequential mixed method design wherein qualitative data was used to explain and contextualize the quantitative data. This approach proved to be crucial to providing a comprehensive understanding of the findings, as neither the quantitative nor the qualitative findings alone were sufficient to accurately understand officers' professional orientation or decision-making experiences. Several policy implications emerged from the findings of this study, and future research should continue to apply intersectionality through innovative methodologies and improved measurements to better understand officer orientation, officer decision-making, and officers' professional experiences.

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Appendix A: Criminology Studies Applying Feminist Theory

Table A.1. Feminist Theory Application

Citation	Included Variables		Organizational Structure	Workers' Individual Experiences					No Specified Theory
	Gender	Race		Different Voice	Informational	Intersectionality	Tokenism	Other	
Judicial Branch									
Boyd (2016)	X	X	Representational Bureaucracy	X	X				
Boyd & Nelson (2017)	X	*		X					
Chew & Kelley (2012)	*	X			X				
Collins & Moyer (2008)	X	X	Representational Bureaucracy	X		X			
Coontz (2000)	X	*		X					
Davis (1992)	X	*		X					
Johnson (2014)	X	X							X
Kulik et al. (2003)	X	X			X				

Citation	Included Variables		Organizational Structure	Workers' Individual Experiences					No Specified Theory
	Gender	Race		Different Voice	Informational	Intersectionality	Tokenism	Other	
Menkel-Meadow (1985)	X	*	Representational Bureaucracy	X					
Peresie (2005)	X	X					X		
Songer & Crews-Meyer (2000)	X	*							X
Steffensmeier & Britt (2001)	*	X					X		
Welch, Combs, & Gruhl (1988)	*	X	Representational Bureaucracy						
Policing / Law Enforcement									
Archbold & Schulz (2008)	X	*					X		
Brandl et al. (2001)	X	X			X				
Brown & Frank (2006)	*	X							X
DeJong (2005)	X								X
Dodge & Pogrebin (2001)	X	X				X			

Citation	Included Variables		Organizational Structure	Workers' Individual Experiences					No Specified Theory
	Gender	Race		Different Voice	Informational	Intersectionality	Tokenism	Other	
Gilliard-Matthews et al. (2008)	*	X							X
Hassell & Brandl (2009)	X	X				X			
Hoffman & Hickey (2005)	X	*							X
Ireland & Berg (2008)	X	*							X
Kerbs et al. (2009)	X	X							X
Lundman (2009)	X	*	Organizational Model					X	
Martin (1994)	X	X	Racialized and Gendered Organization			X	X		
McElvain & Kposowa (2008)	X	X							X
Miller (1998)	X	*	Gendered Organization	X					
Nicholson-Crotty et al. (2017)	*	X	Representational Bureaucracy						
Pogrebin et al. (2000)	X	X				X			
Rabe-Hemp (2008)	X	*		X					

Citation	Included Variables		Organizational Structure	Different Voice	Informational	Intersectionality	Tokenism	Other	No Specified Theory
	Gender	Race							
Schuck (2014)	X	X	Gendered Organization	X					
Schuck & Rabe-Hemp (2007)	X	*							X
Sun & Payne (2004)	*	X							X
Walsh (1984)	X	*					X		
Corrections									
Jackson & Ammen (1996)	*	X			X				
Jurik (1985)	X	X	Organizational Model		X				
Paboojian & Teske (1997)	X	X							X
Van Voorhis et al. (1991)	X	X	Organizational Model				X		

* indicates variable was not included

Appendix B: Probation and Parole Studies

Table B.1. Probation and Parole Officer Decision-Making Studies

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Officer Orientation				
Bolin & Applegate (2018)	Distributed survey to all adult and juvenile probation and parole officers in South Carolina	Officer orientation: Measured through 6 semantic differential scales	Officer actions: Sanction rate Revocation rate	Officer orientation is not associated with the use of sanctions. Officer orientation is associated with officers' willingness to pursue revocations.
Burton et al. (1992)	Reviewed state statutory requirements for probation officers	N/A	N/A	A greater number of state statutes focused on surveillance and control tasks than rehabilitation tasks.
Caplan (2006)	Reviewed broad community corrections shift from rehabilitation to surveillance over recent decades	N/A	N/A	Overall corrections trends have influenced probation and parole officers to move away from treatment and rehabilitative focus and to begin using control and surveillance tactics for supervising offenders. These supervision changes have contributed to increased revocation rates for offenders under community supervision.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Clear & Latessa (1993)	Sent survey to ISP officers in GA and OH	Officer attitude: Authority/Assistance Questionnaire (authority, assistance, enforcement)	Officer behavior: Supervision Task Questionnaire (control, support, both control and support)	Officer orientation is associated with officer behavior (using vignette surveys), especially for surveillance-oriented officers.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Dembo (1972)	Interviewed 94 NY parole officers; reviewed case records for interviewed officers	Officer Characteristics: Background variables (ethnicity, location of early life, place of longest residence, education, employment history, father's occupation) Attitudinal variables (liberalism-conservatism, cases preferred to supervise, job dissatisfaction, control attitudes) Other activities (part-time employment) Job activities (excess hours worked, absconder visits made) Job decision-actions (number of motor vehicle license referrals, offenders with technical violations, rate of recommended revocations)	Officer Orientation: Punishment-oriented Reintegrative-oriented	Punishment-oriented officers have a greater number of offenders with technical violations and make more recommendations for revocations. Reintegrative-oriented officers supervise offenders with fewer technical violations and recommend fewer revocations.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
DeMichele & Payne (2018)	Email survey distributed to all probation officers (juvenile and adult) in one state.	Orientation scale: Authority Assistance Officer orientation: Punitive—high authority/low assistance Welfare—low authority/high assistance Paternal—high authority/high assistance Passive—low authority/low assistance	Goals of supervision: Enforcement Reentry Protection	Officers who ranked high on authority and assistance were equally likely to value reentry as a goal of supervision. Punitive and paternal officers were also equally likely to value reentry as a primary goal of supervision. Officer actions are more dependent on situational factors as opposed to a predetermined officer orientation. Found evidence that supports the existence of synthetic officer orientation.
Fulton et al. (1997)	Surveyed ISP and non-ISP probation officers in 2 different state departments	Geographic location Caseload type (ISP or regular)	Officer attitudes: Subjective role scale Strategy scale	Association between ISP officers and social work orientation. Officers with non-specialized caseloads were more likely to have surveillance orientation.
Hsieh et al. (2015)	Reviewed state statutory requirements for probation officers	N/A	N/A	Found the emergence of a "case manager" orientation, based largely on the increased incorporation of the RNR model of supervision. Many states have increased their emphasis on surveillance tasks, although all states showed an increased in officer duties generally.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Klockars (1972)	Presented a theory of probation supervision, building upon previous officer orientation work.	N/A	N/A	Introduced the synthetic officer orientation.
Miller (2012)	Distributed email surveys to APPA members; received 1,793 from officers who met inclusion criteria.	Punishment orientation Rehabilitation orientation Caseload size Supervising adults or juveniles Age Gender Race/ethnicity Education Agency progressiveness Office geography	Supervision practices: Surveillance and control practices Rehabilitation practices Opportunity focused practices	Officers often engage in both surveillance and rehabilitative strategies, suggesting the existence of a synthetic approach. There is an association between officer orientation and officer actions. Officers that rated higher on rehabilitative strategies were more likely to have a rehabilitative orientation. Officers that ranked higher on surveillance strategies were more likely to have a surveillance orientation.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Miller (2015)	Distributed email surveys to APPA members; received 1,723 from officers who met inclusion criteria.	Supervision practices (Surveillance and control practices; Rehabilitation practices; Opportunity focused practices) Punishment orientation Rehabilitation orientation Caseload size Supervising adults or juveniles Age Gender Race/ethnicity Education Agency progressiveness Office geography	Officer groups: High engagers Medium engagers-community collaboration Medium engagers-traditional Low engagers	Found evidence to suggest that officers likely use synthetic orientation as opposed to choosing either surveillance or social work orientation. Officers who emphasized rehabilitation practices were more likely to belong to the high, medium- community collaboration, or medium-traditional engagers group. Officers who emphasized surveillance practices were more likely to belong to the high engagers group. Caseload size as negatively associate with the high engagers group. Agency progressiveness was positively associated with the high and medium-community collaboration engagers groups. Female officers were statistically more likely to be in more engaged groups.
Ohlin et al. (1956)	Discussed the dilemmas that social work-oriented officers may experience while working in probation departments.			Introduces the three probation/parole officer orientations. This article focuses specifically on the social worker (welfare worker) officer orientation and his struggles with a dual role, the clients, the community, and the agency may inform how he does his job and whether or not he continues to work in probation and parole.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Paparazzi & Gendreau (2005)	Matched sample of ISP and regular probation cases in New Jersey	Officer orientation: Parole Officer Punishment and Reintegrative Orientation Questionnaire	Offender outcomes: Technical violation New conviction Revocation	Surveillance orientation is associated with increased violations. Synthetic orientation is associated with fewer revocations.
Purkis et al. (2003)	Reviewed state statutory requirements for probation officers	N/A	N/A	States generally have a greater number of statutory requirements for probation officers. New POST certification requirements in many states emphasized the surveillance approach to supervision. Many states also began requiring probation officers to serve their department's own warrants. Some states also mandated more rehabilitative tasks than prior statutes had demanded.
Ricks & Eno Louden (2015)	Sent email survey (vignettes) to probation/parole officers in one state; 294 officers responded	Officer orientation: Law enforcer Social worker Synthetic officer	Response to initial and continued noncompliance: Positive pressure Neutral pressure Negative pressure	Found evidence that most officers utilized synthetic approach. Officer orientation was associated with officer responses to offenders' continued noncompliance but not initial noncompliance. Virtually no officers used positive pressure responses.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Seiter & West (2003)	Used mixed method design that depended on survey of officers and follow up interviews of probation and parole officers in one state	Survey asked officer to self-identify their officer orientation	Survey asked officers to report how much time they spend engaging in a variety of activities	Survey revealed that officer orientation is associated with how much time officers spend on specific tasks. Interviews suggest that officers respond to situations on a case by case basis, with some influence from their department. Officers also advise that larger caseloads may limit the amount of social work activities that they can engage in with offenders.
Skeem & Manchak (2008)	Consider how different orientations may contribute to community corrections effectiveness	N/A	N/A	Theoretical and empirical result suggest that synthetic- and social work- oriented officers will be less likely to pursue revocations, ultimately resulting in better outcomes for offenders. The recommendation is that training should focus on producing synthetic officers that will ultimately result in serious supervision shifts within community corrections departments.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Steiner et al. (2011)	Conducted mail survey with Ohio parole officers	Officer attitudes Officer demographic characteristics Officer employment characteristics Caseload characteristics Officer satisfaction	Officer intended behaviors (enforcement; reward) Officer actual behaviors (sanction rate; hearing rate)	Officers with higher education, longer tenure, and larger caseloads were less likely to sanction offenders for noncompliance. Officers with larger caseloads were less likely to pursue revocations. Officers supervising high risk offenders and those in urban and suburban areas were more likely to pursue revocations for offenders. There was no association between officer orientation and sanction rate. There was an association between officer orientation and officers' willingness to pursue revocations, with surveillance-oriented officers being more willing to pursue revocations than social-work oriented officers.
Steiner et al. (2005)	Reviewed state statutory requirements for probation and parole agencies			States generally have a greater number of statutory requirements for probation officers. More states began instituting ISP programs (vs. regular supervision) and there was a general decrease in the emphasis on probation as a rehabilitative supervision approach. Generally, more punitive approaches were emphasized by states.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Ward & Kupchick (2010)	Distributed survey to juvenile probation officers in one midwestern state	Court context (geographic location; county juvenile arrest rate; program sufficiency) Officer characteristics (age; race; gender; parental status; tenure) Attitudinal resonances (moral character; victims' rights; offense severity)	Treatment index Punishment index	Officer race and gender were significant, where Black, female officers were more support of treatment over punishment. Attitudinal resonances (moral character and victims rights) both significantly predicted officers' preference for treatment. Suggest that officers may respond to cases based on situational factors as opposed to adopting one dominant orientation. Found that treatment and punitiveness are not necessary mutually exclusive and officers may rank high on both scales.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
West & Seiter (2004)	Used mixed methods approach (survey and interviews) of PPOs in Missouri and Kentucky	Officer sociodemographic characteristics (sex; race; education level; major; age) Job characteristics (tenure; caseload size; caseload type)	Supervisory activities Supervision style continuum	"Officers spent more time engaging in casework activities (54%) than surveillance activities (42%)." Female officers were more likely to engage in casework activities and self-identify a casework orientation. Officers with smaller caseloads were more likely to engage in casework activities. Officers generally felt that it was important to establish a positive relationship with offenders. Officers generally felt that utilizing a casework orientation resulted in better outcomes for offenders, but officers also struggled with finding adequate time to engage in casework activities.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
White & Lindquist (1992)	Mail survey administered to 125 parole officers in Alabama; 108 officers responded	Officer sociodemographic variables (age, gender, race, tenure) Caseload size Client contact Job satisfaction Participation in decision-making Role conflict Job stress	Professional orientation (using Klofkas-Toch Professional Orientation Scale: counseling roles, punitive orientation, distance, corruption of authority)	Officers were generally more supportive of rehabilitation as opposed to punitive supervision goals and approaches. Male officers and officers with larger caseloads were more likely to support punitive goals and supervision approaches. Female officers and officers who engaged in more contact with their officers were less likely to support punitive goals and supervision approaches.
Officer-Offender Relationship				
Bares & Mowen (2019)	Used four waves of data from SVORI (Serious and Violent Offender Reentry initiative)	Officer support: Provided information Acted professionally Acted respectfully Was helpful Was trustworthy Failed to listen Was too busy	Offender outcome: Reincarceration	Professional support from officers is associated with reduced reincarceration.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Blasko et al. (2015)	Interviewed 480 parolees in drug treatment center	Parolee perception of officer-offender relationship: DRI-R (Dual Relationships Inventory-Revised) LCSF (Lifetime Criminality Screening Form) TXUDS-II (Texas Christian University Drug Screen II)	Offender outcome (self-reported): Drug use Technical violation	Positive officer-offender relationship is associated with better offender outcomes. Offenders who described officer-offender relationships as positive were less likely to violate their supervision conditions.
Bonta et al. (2011)	Volunteer probation officers were randomly assigned to treatment group (received CBT training) or control group (no training).	Officer-offender interaction (interactions were audio-recorded and reviewed by researchers): Discussion of needs Effective intervention	Offender outcome (used official records): Recidivism	Officers in the experimental group (who received training) were more likely to adequately address offenders' criminogenic needs. Offenders supervised by officers in the experimental group had lower recidivism rates than offenders supervised by officers in the control group.
Chamberlain et al. (2018)	Interviewed sample of offenders involved in SVORI	Officer-offender relationship: Supportive rapport Nonsupportive rapport Contact (type and frequency)	Offender outcome (use official records): Reincarceration	Positive officer-offender relationship is associated with reduced recidivism. Negative officer-offender relationship is associated with increased recidivism. More contact between officers and offenders is associated with reduced recidivism.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Ireland & Berg (2008)	Conducted interviews with 12 female parole officers to explore their perceptions of supervising parolees.			Officers all emphasized the importance of building a positive rapport with parolees to increase compliance from offenders and help ensure officer safety. All of the officers stated that they felt male parole officers depended too heavily on physical strength for safety, whereas the officers in this sample advised that respecting offenders and utilizing communication techniques may be more useful for officer safety and offender compliance.
Kennealy et al. (2012)	109 parolees in one state were interviewed regarding their perceptions of their parolee officer; official records were used to determine offender outcomes	Officer-offender relationship (DRI-R (Dual Relationships Inventory-Revised)	Offender outcomes: Rearrest	Positive officer-offender relationship associated with the reduction of rearrest for offenders. Relationships that were "firm, fair, and caring" were found to be especially helpful for reducing offenders' likelihood of negative outcomes (p. 501). "The quality of the dual role relationship predicted rearrests, above and beyond the influence of offenders' problematic personality traits and level of risk for rearrests" (p. 501).

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Morash et al. (2015)	Longitudinal study included survey and interviews of 330 women on probation/parole and their respective probation/parole officers	Officer-offender relationship: DRI-R (Dual Relationships Inventory-Revised)	Offender anxiety (Anxiety subscale of the Brief Symptom Inventory) Response to supervision (Hong psychological Reactance Sale) Offender self-efficacy to avoid criminal lifestyle (matrix of items)	Relationships that offenders perceive as punitive result in higher levels of anxiety and reduced levels of self-efficacy to avoid a criminal lifestyle. Relationships that offenders perceive as supportive result in reduced levels of anxiety and higher levels of self-efficacy to avoid a criminal lifestyle.

Offenders with lower anxiety and greater self-efficacy to avoid a criminal lifestyle before supervision were more likely to be negatively impacted by punitive officers. |

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Ruhland (2020)	Focus group and interviews were conducted with probation officers in Texas	N/A	N/A	Officers reported feeling pressure from upper management to have offenders pay probation fees, and officers advised that it was sometimes difficult to determine which offenders were indigent and which offenders simply refused to pay their fees. Officers discussed a variety of strategies that they used to ensure that they were able to collect fees from offenders under their supervision.

Researchers discuss concern that emphasis on paying fees may begin to take precedent over other aspects of supervision and may ultimately result in strained relationships between offenders and officers (especially when some officer strategies include threatening incarceration over lack of payment). |

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Skeem et al. (2007)	Used survey of probation officers and their probationers to complete survey regarding supervision; researchers then audiotaped meeting between officers and offenders to review their interactions	Officer-offender relationship: DRI (Dual Relationships Inventory) WAI (Working Alliance Inventory) Relationship satisfaction	Rule compliance: Violations (treatment noncompliance; substance abuse; failure to report; technical violation) Revocation (yes/no)	Positive officer-offender relationship may be protective for offenders with a dual diagnosis. Offenders' perceptions of officer fairness are important for optimal outcomes for offenders. The offenders supervised by officers with a synthetic orientation had better outcomes than those supervised by surveillance- or social work- oriented officers.
Violation Response and Revocation Studies				
Clarke (1979)	Discusses generally probation supervision and why officers may choose to revoke offenders' probation.	N/A	N/A	Officers have a wide range of discretion regarding how to respond to offenders' violations. Probation agencies should be considering how community supervision may best meet the primary goals of sentencing (retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation, and incapacitation).

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Clear et al. (1992)	Used official case records and interviews with officers from 5 states to study how officers responded to offenders' violations	New offenses: Major violent crimes Major property offenses Drug and weapons offenses Minor crimes Technical Offenses: Major violations Moderate violations Minor violations	Officer responses: High-leniency responses Low-leniency responses Low-severity responses High-severity responses Revocation	Officers across departments responded to violations differently, suggesting that departmental policies and agency culture greatly influence officer decision-making. Officers generally depend on lower-level responses (high- and low-leniency responses and low- and high-severity responses) as opposed to revocations.
Grattet et al. (2009)	Used official records for all parole violations and revocations for parolees in California over a 2 year period	Parolee characteristics (age, sex, race, mental health status, criminal background) Departmental factors (agency culture based on geographic location) Parole officer characteristics (age, sex, race, work history, tenure)	Offender outcome: Parole violations Parole revocations	Parolee characteristics were associated with parole violations (age, sex, race, mental health status, and criminal background). There were no departmental differences for parole violations. Parole officer sex, race, and history were associated with the likelihood that offenders on their caseload violated their parole. Parolee characteristics were associated with an increased likelihood for parole revocations (age, race, and criminal background). Agency culture was associated with the likelihood that offenders were revoked.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Kerbs et al. (2009)	Email surveys were sent to all members of the APPA that met the inclusion criteria (actively supervising adult offenders for state/county departments); 332 surveys were returned from qualified officers	Officer characteristics (gender, race, education, years experience, job title) Department characteristics (geographic location, agency administrative setting, agency funding, community setting, department size, policy requiring/inhibiting formal actions for some violations, caseload type, caseload size, adult or juvenile offenders, probation or parole department)	Officer violation response: Verbal/written reprimand Administrative sanction Arrest warrant/formal hearing	Officer gender, race, and job title was associated with violation response; officer education and tenure were not. Caseload size, agency policy, and agency funding were associated with officer decision-making; geographic location was not.
Prus & Stratton (1976)	Used surveys (vignettes) to study parole officers' decision-making in one state; follow-up interviews and observations were conducted	Officer's private definitions Officer's official definition	Officer's recommendation: Pursue revocation Do not pursue revocation	An officer's private definitions must go through several steps (supervisory approval, hearing officer approval, parole board's approval) before becoming acceptable official definitions. To justify decisions to revoke, officers may include their negative past dealings with that offender. Officers discussed concerns that revoking an offender would label them as ineffective officers. Officers may feel that

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
				prison is too severe a punishment for a violation.
Sentence and Treatment Recommendations				
Carter (1967)	Provided 14 federal probation officers in the Northern District of California cards that included a variety of information and asked officers to make a sentence recommendation; uses Wilkins's "decision-game" strategy	Offender demographics (age, race, education, religion, sexual orientation, marital status, residence data) Offender history (employment history, family history, medical history, military history, family criminality, alcoholic involvement, drug usage, prior criminal record, psychological/psychiatric, place of birth, interests and activities, defendant's attitude) Offense information (offense, defendant's statement, plea, confinement status, legal representation)	Frequency of cards chosen (independent variables prioritized in the decision-making process) Sentence recommendations	Officers develop their individual system for making PSI decisions, regarding which factors they consider with the most frequency and most heavily. Overall, the PSI recommendations did not significantly vary between officers. Although no officer sociodemographic information is reported, the author advises that there were no significant differences between officers based on education and job tenure. No additional sociodemographic characteristics were included.

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Erez (1989)	Reviewed casefiles of 500 randomly selected probationers in in Ohio	Officer gender Offender gender	Treatment recommendations	Treatment recommendations for female offenders focus on domestic relationships. Treatment recommendations for male offenders focus on employment, finances, and dealing with emotions.

There were no differences in the treatment recommendations made by male and female officers. |
| Katz (1982) | Surveyed 185 New York probation officers (used vignette survey) | Officer attitudes (attitude about incarceration and probation) Officer beliefs (beliefs about fellow officers, supervisors, judges, and the public) | Sentence recommendations: Probation Prison | Officer attitudes and beliefs were significantly associated with their decision-making. Attitudes were responsible for more of the variation in decision-making than beliefs.

Of officer beliefs, beliefs about fellow officers and supervisors were more important for officer decision-making than officers' beliefs about judges and the general public. |

Citation	Study Description	Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Findings
Rosecrance (1988)	Interviewed 37 probation officers in two California counties	N/A	N/A	Officers reported making decisions primarily based on the current offense in the case and the defendant's criminal history. Officers reported providing recommendations they felt were in line with the court's expectations. Officers move through 3 stages of decision-making when conducing PSI's: (1) officers create private typings of offenders; (2) officers conduct the formal investigation, which can serve to justify their private typings; (3) officers formally submit the PSI and must consider how their recommendation will be received by the court
Walsh (1984)	Reviewed the PSI recommendations for all sexual assault case processed over three years in one county in Ohio	Officer gender	Severity of PSI recommendation	Male officers were more likely than female officers to rank rape as a severe offense. Male officers generally recommend harsher sentences in sexual assault cases than female officers.

Table B.2. Probation and Parole Officer Gender and Race Studies

Citation	Research Focus	Gender	Race	Findings
Bolin & Applegate (2018)	Determine possible associations between officer orientation and supervision practices/approaches for adult and juvenile PPO's	X	X	Male officers place significantly less emphasis on conducting home visits than female officers. Male officers report significantly higher rates of revocation, but not sanctions (vs. female officers). White officers were significantly less likely to emphasize the importance of visiting probationers at work or school and to emphasize engaging in searches.
Clear & Latessa (1993)	Study officer attitudes and behavior.	X	*	Officer gender is not included in reported analysis.
DeMichele & Payne (2018)	Associations between officer orientation and personal goals of supervision.	X	X	There were no statistically significant differences for male and female officers regarding their supervision goals. There were no statistically significant differences for White and non-White officers regarding their supervision goals. (It should be noted that the sample was 90% White.)
Erez (1989)	Consider officer and offender gender as related to treatment recommendations following completion of offender risk-needs assessments.	X	*	There were no statistically significant differences in the treatment recommendations made by male and female officers.
Fulton et al. (1997)	Comparing regular probation officers and ISP officers regarding officer attitudes.	X	*	There were no statistically significant differences for male and female officers regarding officer attitudes.

Citation	Research Focus	Gender	Race	Findings
Grattet et al. (2009)	Study parole violations and revocations and consider officer-level, offender-level, and department-level factors associated with violations and revocations.	X	X	Female officers are more likely to be lenient for less serious violations and were more likely to respond more seriously for absconding. There is no statistically significant difference for how male and female officers respond to more serious offenses. Black officers are more likely to be lenient for less serious violations. There is no statistically significant difference for how Black and White officers respond to more serious offenses.
Ireland & Berg (2007)	Qualitative study focused specifically on exploring the professional experiences of a sample of female parole officers and how officer gender has framed those experiences.	X	X	Participants shared stories regarding experiencing sexual harassment and discrimination from male colleagues. Participants discussed feeling like they had to overcompensate at work for being female. Sample was comprised of African American, Latina, and White women. One Latina participant discussed the assertion that her fellow officers made that her advancements were based on affirmative action.
Ireland & Berg (2008)	Qualitative study focused specifically on exploring the professional experiences of a sample of female parole officers and how these officers supervised caseloads.	X	X	Participants emphasized the importance of respectful interactions with offenders and their families in an effort to build positive rapport. Participants explained that this rapport is important for offender compliance and officer safety.

Citation	Research Focus	Gender	Race	Findings
Katz (1982)	Associations between officer attitudes and officer beliefs and sentence recommendations (probation or prison)	X	X	Officer gender is not included in reported analysis. Officer race is not included in reported analysis.
Kerbs et al. (2009)	Associations between officer background and demographic characteristics and officers' willingness to pursue formal or informal sanctions.	X	X	Female officers were more likely to pursue formal sanctions for offenders who had failed to complete their community service hours. Non-White officers were more likely to pursue formal sanctions for offenders who violated their curfew.
Miller (2012)	Associations between officer orientation and officers' supervision practices.	X	X	Female officers were more likely to emphasize rehabilitation practices. Black officers were more likely to emphasize surveillance practices.
Miller (2015)	Associations between officer sociodemographic variables, supervision practices, and orientations and level of engagement between officers and offenders.	X	X	Female officers were more likely to be engaged than male officers (included in the high and medium engagers groups). No significant differences based on officer race were found during analysis.
Morash et al. (2015)	Understanding how officer-offender relationships may impact offenders	X	X	Officer gender is not included in reported analysis. Officer race is not included in reported analysis.
Paparozzi & Gendreau (2005)	Associations between officer orientation and offender outcomes (technical violations, new convictions, and revocations).	X	X	Officer gender is not included in reported analysis. Officer race is not included in reported analysis.

Citation	Research Focus	Gender	Race	Findings
Ricks & Eno Louden (2015)	Associations between officer orientation and response to offender initial and continued noncompliance.	X	X	Officer gender is not included in reported analysis. Officer race is not included in reported analysis.
Seiter & West (2003)	Understand relationship between officer orientation and how officers spend their time at work.	X	X	Officer gender is not included in reported analysis. Officer race is not included in reported analysis.
Skeem et al. (2007)	Understanding how officer-offender relationships may impact offender outcomes (violations and revocations)	X	X	Officer gender is not included in reported analysis. Officer race is not included in reported analysis.
Steiner et al. (2011)	Associations between officer attitudes and other officer sociodemographic variables and officers' intended and actual behaviors.	X	X	Female officers were more likely than male officers to reward offenders. Male and female officers were equally likely to engage in enforcement behaviors. Race was not statistically significant for officers' intended or actual behaviors.
Walsh (1984)	Reviewed the PSI recommendations for all sexual assault cases processed over three years in one county in Ohio	X	*	Male officers were more likely than female officers to rank rape as a severe offense. Male officers generally recommended harsher sentences in sexual assault cases than female officers.
Ward & Kupchik (2010)	Associations between court context, officer characteristics, and attitudinal resonances with officer's support of treatment and punishment.	X	X	Female officers were more supportive than male officers of treatment over punishment. Black officers were more supportive than White officers of treatment over punishment.

Citation	Research Focus	Gender	Race	Findings
West & Seiter (2004)	Associations between officer sociodemographic characteristics, officer orientation, and how officers spend their time at work. Explore qualitatively how officers perceive their own orientations and the importance of their relationships with offenders.	X	X	Female officers were more likely to engage in casework activities and self-identify a casework orientation. Officer race is not included in the reported analysis.
Whitehead & Lindquist (1992)	Associations between officer sociodemographic characteristics and professional orientation.	X	*	Female officers and officers who engaged in more contact with their officers were less likely to support punitive goals and supervision approaches. Male officers and officers with larger caseloads were more likely to support punitive goals and supervision approaches.

* indicates variable was not included

Table B.3. Revocation Studies

Citation	Offender-level Factors		Officer-level Factors			Dept.-level Factors
	Sociodemographic Characteristics	Sentencing Characteristics	Sociodemographic Characteristics	Background Characteristics	Officer Perception	
Davis (1964)	X					
Gould et al. (2011)	X		X			
Grattet et al. (2009)	X		X	X		X
Kassebaum (1999)	X	X				
Kassebaum & Davidson-Coronado (2001)	X	X				
Landis et al. (1969)	X	X				
Lin et al. (2010)	X					
Morgan (1994)	X	X				
Olson et al. (2003)	X					
Olson & Lurigio (2000)	X					
Phelps (2017)	X					
Prus & Stratton (1976)					X	
Steen & Opsal (2007)	X	X				
Steen et al. (2012)	X				X	
Sims & Jones (1997)	X	X				

Study				
Steiner et al. (2012)			X	X	X
Steinmetz & Henderson (2015)	X				
Steinmetz & Henderson (2016)	X				X
Vito et al. (2012)	X				
Wilson (2005)	X	X			

Appendix C: Survey: Contact Letters, Informed Consent, and Instrument

Dear Agent,

My name is Amber Wilson, and I am a doctoral student with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina (UofSC). I am conducting a research study funded in part by the University to examine officer views and perspectives on their professional orientation and the kinds of factors they feel are relevant and important in the decisions they make concerning probation and parole violations. You are receiving this communication from me about the study because you are a Class 1 Probation and Parole Agent who is actively supervising a caseload. The purpose of letter is to inform you of the upcoming study.

In the next few days, you will receive an email directly from me explaining the project and discussing how you can participate if you choose to do so. This email will also include a link to a survey that you will be asked to complete as part of my project. To ensure that you can easily identify my communication about the project, you will receive a message from me using the following email address alwilson@email.sc.edu and containing the subject line "Probation and Parole Agent Decision-Making Study."

If you have any questions about my project, please feel free to contact me at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt at (803) 777-9921 or bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu.

Thank you and I look forward to sharing more information with you about my study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Probation and Parole Agent Decision-Making Study
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina
912-531-1519
alwilson@email.sc.edu

Dear Agent,

My name is Amber Wilson, and I am a doctoral student with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina (UofSC). You may remember receiving an email from SCDPPPS and myself a few days ago briefly introducing a research study that I am conducting that focuses on community corrections officer orientation and decision-making. You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a Class 1 Probation and Parole Agent who is actively supervising a caseload. Your participation in this study will help researchers learn more about your experiences as a probation and parole officer and better understand how you supervise probationers and parolees on your caseload.

To participate in this project, you are asked to complete an on-line survey. The survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete. The survey includes questions about your background and how you view your job as a probation and parole agent. Using an example case, the survey also includes questions that ask you to indicate how you would respond to violations as the supervising officer given specific circumstances. Participation in the survey is completely voluntary, and you can decide to skip any questions that you feel uncomfortable answering. Any responses that you give will be confidential, and only UofSC research staff will have access to your answers. All reports or papers that are produced as part of the study will not identify any individual participant or their responses, and all results will be reported in the aggregate.

If you consent to participating in this study, please use the link provided below to complete the survey. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact me at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt at (803) 777-9921 or bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. You may also contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670 regarding your rights as a research subject.

Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Probation and Parole Agent Decision-Making Study
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina
912-531-1519
alwilson@email.sc.edu

Dear Agent,

My name is Amber Wilson, and I am a doctoral student with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina (UofSC). Last week, I emailed you asking you to participate in a research study that I am conducting that focuses on community corrections officer orientation and decision-making. As a Class 1 Probation and Parole Agent who is actively supervising a caseload, you are eligible to participate in this important project. (If you do not meet these criteria and you have not completed the survey, please contact me directly at alwilson@email.sc.edu to advise that you are not eligible to participate.) I want to remind you that your involvement in the study is crucial for developing a better understanding of how community corrections officers make decisions. As a former probation and parole officer myself, I understand how demanding the job can be and how many factors you must consider when making decisions at work. Your participation in this study will help researchers learn more about your experiences as a probation and parole agent and better understand how you supervise probationers and parolees.

Remember that to participate in this project, you are asked to complete an on-line survey. The survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete. The survey includes questions about your background and how you view your job as a community corrections agent. Using an example case, the survey also includes questions that ask you to indicate how you would respond to violations as the supervising officer given specific circumstances. I want to remind you that participation in the survey is completely voluntary, and you can decide to skip any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering. Any responses that you give will be confidential, and only UofSC research staff will have access to your answers. All reports or papers that are produced as part of the study will not identify any individual participant or their responses, and all results will be reported in the aggregate.

If you consent to participate in this study, please use the link below to complete the survey. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact me at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt at (803) 777-9921 or bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. You may also contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670 regarding your rights as a research subject.

Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Probation and Parole Agent Decision-Making Study
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina

Dear Agent,

My name is Amber Wilson, and I am a doctoral student with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina (USC). Several weeks ago, I emailed you asking you to participate in a research study that I am conducting that focuses on community corrections officer orientation and decision-making. As a Class 1 Probation and Parole Agent who is actively supervising a caseload, you are eligible to participate in this important project. I want to remind you that your involvement in the study is crucial for developing a better understanding of how community corrections officers make decisions. As a former probation and parole officer myself, I understand how demanding the job can be and how many factors you must consider when making decisions at work. Your participation in this study will help researchers learn more about your experiences as a probation and parole agent and better understand how you supervise probationers and parolees.

Remember that to participate in this project, you are asked to complete an on-line survey. The survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete. The survey includes questions about your background and how you view your job as a community corrections officer. Using an example case, the survey also includes questions that ask you to indicate how you would respond to violations as the supervising officer given specific circumstances. I want to remind you that participation in the survey is completely voluntary, and you can decide to skip any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering. Any responses that you give will be confidential, and only USC research staff will have access to your answers. All reports or papers that are produced as part of the study will not identify any individual participant or their responses, and all results will be reported in the aggregate.

If you consent to participating in this study, please use the link below to complete the survey. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact me at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt at (803) 777-9921 or bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu.

Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Probation and Parole Agent Decision-Making Study
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina
912-531-1519
alwilson@email.sc.edu

Probation and Parole Officer Orientation and Decision-Making Survey Instrument

The purpose of this survey is to better understand the decision-making process of probation and parole agents. Participation in this survey is voluntary, and any information that you share through this survey will remain confidential. Only the USC Research Staff will be able to link any of your responses with your identity. Please only answer questions that you feel comfortable responding to and skip any questions that you do not want to answer. The survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Amber Wilson at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu or Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt at (803) 777-9921 or bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. You may also contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670 regarding your rights as a research subject.

Thank you for your time and your assistance in contributing to a better understanding of probation and parole agent decision-making!

If you decide to participate in this study, please follow the link below to complete the survey. Clicking "Next Page" below and responding to the survey signals that you consent to participate in this study.

1. There may be many reasons that you decided to pursue a career as a probation and parole agent. How important were each of the following factors in attracting you to a job as a probation and parole agent? Please select the level of importance for each factor, ranging from "Very important" to "Not at all important."

	Very important		Important		Not at all important
State benefits	1	2	3	4	5
Flexibility in scheduling	1	2	3	4	5
Helping offenders	1	2	3	4	5
Participating in the courtroom work group	1	2	3	4	5
Participating in law enforcement	1	2	3	4	5
Making a difference in the community	1	2	3	4	5
Ability to maintain work/life balance	1	2	3	4	5

2. As an agent, you engage in many work-related activities, and practical realities might mean you focus less attention or more attention on some activities than you would like. In an ideal world where you could devote your effort to the activities you personally think are most important, how important or unimportant are each of the following activities? Please select the level of importance for each factor, ranging from "Very important" to "Not at all important."

	Very important		Important		Not at all important
Being accessible to offenders when they need additional assistance	1	2	3	4	5
Participating in residence searches	1	2	3	4	5
Utilizing graduated sanctions when offenders violate their supervision	1	2	3	4	5
Conducting drug screens	1	2	3	4	5
Rewarding offenders when they complete supervision goals	1	2	3	4	5
Reminding offenders of the legal consequences of their behaviors	1	2	3	4	5
Collaborating with fellow officers to ensure close supervision of offenders	1	2	3	4	5
Connecting offenders with appropriate therapeutic services (e.g., substance abuse, mental health)	1	2	3	4	5
Ensuring the offender understands that they risk detention or	1	2	3	4	5

	Very important		Important		Not at all important
incarceration for failing to follow instructions					
Connecting offenders with family-based services to improve the quality of home life	1	2	3	4	5
Fully enforcing rules when any transgressions occur	1	2	3	4	5
Working to establish trust and rapport with offenders	1	2	3	4	5
Emphasizing your authority as a probation and parole agent	1	2	3	4	5
Working with offenders to establish rehabilitative goals and strategies	1	2	3	4	5
Closely monitoring behaviors (substance use, employment, etc.) to ensure compliance	1	2	3	4	5
Connecting offenders with appropriate skill-building programs (e.g., vocational, academic, problem-solving, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
Collaborating with fellow officers to ensure that offenders' needs are met	1	2	3	4	5

3. As an agent, you are responsible for performing many duties. However, it is likely that you find some duties more rewarding than others. Considering the following items, rank how rewarding you find each duty, beginning the with duty you find most rewarding by designating it as "First" and ending with the duty you find least rewarding by designating it as "Fifth."

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
Connecting offenders with resources that they need in the community (employment, substance abuse, etc.).	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Supervising offenders to ensure they are in compliance with their conditions of supervision.	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Collaborating with offenders to develop rehabilitative case plans.	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Conducting residence searches.	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Performing a warrant service.	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th

The questions in this section focus on external factors that may influence your decision-making as a probation and parole agent. Please follow the instructions provided with each question.

4. Are you an Agent with SCDPPPS (NOT Offender Supervision Specialist)?   Yes
    No

5. Are you currently supervising a caseload of probations and/or parolees?   Yes
    No

6. Please identify the level of supervision for offenders currently on your caseload. *(Select "yes" or "no" for each of the following options.)*

Standard	Yes	No
Medium	Yes	No
High	Yes	No
Intensive	Yes	No
Sex Offenders	Yes	No
Domestic Violence Offenders	Yes	No
Other Specialized Caseload	Yes	No

7. Given the level of supervision of offenders currently on your caseload, what do you believe is an ideal caseload size? *(Please select the range that best reflects the number of offenders that would comprise your optimal caseload.)*

    ☐ Up to 25 offenders
    ☐ 26-50 offenders
    ☐ 51-75 offenders
    ☐ 76-100 offenders
    ☐ 101-125 offenders
    ☐ 126-150 offenders
    ☐ 151-175 offenders
    ☐ 176-200 offenders
    ☐ 201-225 offenders
    ☐ 226-250 offenders
    ☐ 251-275 offenders
    ☐ 276-300 offenders
    ☐ 301 or more offenders

8. How many offenders are currently on your caseload (including active and jurisdictional cases)?

_____

9. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about caseload issues. Please select the level that you agree with each statement, ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would rather revoke an offender than go through the hassle of other sanctions.	1	2	3	4	5
I am able to effectively supervise offenders on my caseload.	1	2	3	4	5
It is easier to use graduated sanctions than revoke an offender.	1	2	3	4	5
I am more likely to use graduated sanctions for an offender when I have enough time to complete all of my work tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
I am often overwhelmed by the size of my caseload.	1	2	3	4	5

10. Agents may make decisions based on their supervisors' directives. For the following statements, please consider your immediate supervisor's expectations regarding how you manage your caseload. Reflecting upon instructions you've received from your immediate supervisor, how do you feel that <u>your immediate supervisor</u> views the following activities? Please select the level of importance for each factor, ranging from "Very important" to "Not at all important."

	Very important		Important		Not at all important
Being accessible to offenders when they need additional assistance	1	2	3	4	5
Participating in residence searches	1	2	3	4	5
Utilizing graduated sanctions when offenders violate their supervision	1	2	3	4	5
Conducting drug screens	1	2	3	4	5
Rewarding offenders when they complete supervision goals	1	2	3	4	5
Reminding offenders of the legal consequences of their behaviors	1	2	3	4	5
Collaborating with fellow officers to ensure close supervision of offenders	1	2	3	4	5
Connecting offenders with appropriate therapeutic services (e.g., substance abuse, mental health)	1	2	3	4	5

	Very important		Important		Not at all important
Ensuring the offender understands that they risk detention or incarceration for failing to follow instructions	1	2	3	4	5
Connecting offenders with family-based services to improve the quality of home life	1	2	3	4	5
Fully enforcing rules when any transgressions occur	1	2	3	4	5
Working to establish trust and rapport with offenders	1	2	3	4	5
Emphasizing your authority as a probation and parole agent	1	2	3	4	5
Working with offenders to establish rehabilitative goals and strategies	1	2	3	4	5
Closely monitoring behaviors (substance use, employment, etc.) to ensure compliance	1	2	3	4	5
Connecting offenders with appropriate skill-building programs (e.g., vocational, academic, problem-solving, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
Collaborating with fellow officers to ensure that offenders' needs are met	1	2	3	4	5

In this section, you are asked to read through an example of possible scenarios you may encounter as a probation and parole agent. Please read the scenario carefully as they provide detailed information, and then choose how you would respond to each situation within the scenario if you had broad discretion (i.e., you are free to choose any response as if the violations matrix was not in use).

Case Scenario

Kevin Williams is serving a 3-year probation sentence for forgery (felony). Mr. Williams has several past drug charges. Mr. Williams's only special condition is to pay restitution; he has sporadically paid towards his restitution. Mr. Williams has been on probation for 1 year and is being supervised as a medium case.

Mr. Williams has generally reported to the office as instructed, but he recently missed his last appointment with you. You tried to call Mr. Williams, only to find that his phone is disconnected. When you attempt to visit Mr. Williams at his residence, you learn from his girlfriend that she and Mr. Williams broke up a few weeks ago and Mr. Williams has moved out of the residence. She does not know where he is currently living, but she is able to give you his new phone number.

You call Mr. Williams and instruct him to report to the office. When Mr. Williams reports to the office you learn that he is currently homeless and having difficulty maintaining employment.

1. How do you respond to Mr. Williams's probation violation(s)? (*Please select "yes" or "no" for each of the following options. If you would use multiple responses, please select "yes" for each response that you view is appropriate for the given scenario.*)

Verbally reprimand Mr. Williams for the probation violation(s)	Yes	No
Refer Mr. Williams to a homeless shelter	Yes	No
Refer Mr. Williams to employment services	Yes	No
Exempt supervision fees for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Revoke compliance credits for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Recommend jail time for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Recommend full revocation for Mr. Williams	Yes	No

1a. Which statement most accurately reflects why you would respond to Mr. Williams's violation(s) in this way?

 □ Mr. Williams should be held responsible for violating his supervision conditions.
 □ Mr. Williams should receive treatment to address his criminal thinking/needs.
 □ Mr. Williams should be held accountable for violating his supervision, but he also needs help to be successful on supervision.

Survey advances to Section 4 if respondent selects revocation. If respondent selects verbal reprimand, referral to a shelter, referral to employment services, exempt supervision fees, or revoke compliance credits, continue to question 2. If respondent selects recommend jail time, skip to Section 4:

Case scenario continued

During Mr. Williams's office visit, you give Mr. Williams a drug screen. He tests positive for illegal drug use (not marijuana).

2. How do you respond to Mr. Williams's probation violation(s)? (*Please select "yes" or "no" for each of the following options. If you would use multiple responses, please select "yes" for each response that view is appropriate for the given scenario.*)

Verbally reprimand Mr. Williams for the probation violation(s)	Yes	No
Increase drug testing for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Instruct Mr. Williams to attend AA or NA meetings	Yes	No
Refer Mr. Williams to a substance abuse class	Yes	No
Revoke compliance credits for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Recommend jail time for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Recommend full revocation for Mr. Williams	Yes	No

2a. Which statement most accurately reflects why you would respond to Mr. Williams's violation(s) in this way?

- ☐ Mr. Williams should be held responsible for violating his supervision conditions.
- ☐ Mr. Williams should receive treatment to address his criminal thinking/needs.
- ☐ Mr. Williams should be held accountable for violating his supervision, but he also needs help to be successful on supervision.

Survey advances to Section 4 if respondent selects revocation. If respondent chooses verbal reprimand, increase drug screens, revoke compliance credits, or recommend jail time, skip to question 4. If respondent selects AA/NA meetings or substance abuse class, continue to question 3:

Case scenario continued

Within a few weeks, you learn that Mr. Williams has failed to attend the substance abuse class / AA/NA meetings. When you question Mr. Williams about his lack of attendance, he tells you that he's had a hard time finding a ride to the class / meetings, but he doesn't really think he needs the class / meetings anyway.

3. How do you respond to Mr. Williams's probation violation(s)? (*Please select "yes" or "no" for each of the following options. If you would use multiple responses, please select "yes" for each response that you view as appropriate for the given scenario.*)

Verbally reprimand Mr. Williams for the probation violation(s)	Yes	No
Instruct Mr. Williams to return to the substance abuse class or AA/NA meetings	Yes	No
Refer Mr. Williams to in-patient treatment	Yes	No
Revoke compliance credits for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Recommend Mr. Williams remain in jail until bed space is available for treatment	Yes	No
Recommend jail time for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Recommend full revocation for Mr. Williams	Yes	No

3a. Which statement most accurately reflects why you would respond to Mr. Williams's violation(s) in this way?

- ☐ Mr. Williams should be held responsible for violating his supervision conditions.
- ☐ Mr. Williams should receive treatment to address his criminal thinking/needs.
- ☐ Mr. Williams should be held accountable for violating his supervision, but he also needs help to be successful on supervision.

Survey advances to Section 4 if respondent selects revocation. If respondent chooses verbal reprimand, instruct offender to return to substance abuse class/ AA/NA meetings, refer to in-patient treatment, revoke compliance credits, or jail time with or without treatment component, continue to question 4:

Case scenario continued

When running rap sheets for the month, it comes to your attention that Mr. Williams was arrested a few weeks prior for attempting to cash a bad check for $250. Mr. Williams has failed to contact you regarding the arrest.

4. How do you respond to Mr. Williams's probation violation(s)? (*Please select "yes" or "no" for each of the following options. If you would use multiple responses, please select "yes" for each response that view as appropriate for the given scenario.*)

Verbally reprimand Mr. Williams for the probation violation(s)	Yes	No
Refer Mr. Williams to an appropriate treatment referral source	Yes	No
Instruct Mr. Williams to complete community service	Yes	No
Revoke compliance credits for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Recommend Mr. Williams remain in jail until bed space is available for treatment	Yes	No
Recommend jail time for Mr. Williams	Yes	No
Recommend full revocation for Mr. Williams	Yes	No

4a. Which statement most accurately reflects why you would respond to Mr. Williams's violation(s) in this way?

- ☐ Mr. Williams should be held responsible for violating his supervision conditions.
- ☐ Mr. Williams should receive treatment to address his criminal thinking/needs.
- ☐ Mr. Williams should be held accountable for violating his supervision, but he also needs help to be successful on supervision.

In this section, you are asked questions about your background. This information will only be used for statistical purposes. Your responses will never be reported in any way that you could be personally identified.

1. In what year were you born? _____

2. What is your gender?
   - ☐ Male
   - ☐ Female
   - ☐ Gender nonconforming
   - ☐ Transgender male
   - ☐ Transgender female
   - ☐ Other: _____

3. Do you consider yourself Latino / Latina / Latinx?
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No

4. What race do you consider yourself?
   - ☐ White
   - ☐ Black or African American
   - ☐ Native American or American Indian
   - ☐ Asian / Pacific Islander
   - ☐ Biracial / Multiracial
   - ☐ Other: _____

5. What is your current marital status?
   - ☐ Single (never been married)
   - ☐ Married
   - ☐ Divorced
   - ☐ Separated
   - ☐ Widowed

6. Do you have minor dependent children that currently live in the home with you?
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No

7. How many years have you been an agent (including time served as Offender Supervision Specialist, if applicable) in this department?

- ☐ Less than 1 year
- ☐ 1-5 years
- ☐ 6-10 years
- ☐ 11-15 years
- ☐ 16-20 years
- ☐ 21-25 years
- ☐ 26-30 years
- ☐ More than 30 years

8. Do you supervise other agents?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

9. At which office(s) do you currently work (*select all that apply*):

- ☐ Abbeville
- ☐ Aiken
- ☐ Allendale
- ☐ Anderson
- ☐ Bamberg
- ☐ Barnwell
- ☐ Beaufort
- ☐ Berkeley
- ☐ Calhoun
- ☐ Charleston
- ☐ Cherokee
- ☐ Chester
- ☐ Chesterfield
- ☐ Clarendon
- ☐ Colleton
- ☐ Darlington
- ☐ Dillon
- ☐ Dorchester
- ☐ Edgefield
- ☐ Fairfield
- ☐ Florence
- ☐ Georgetown
- ☐ Greenville
- ☐ Greenwood
- ☐ Hampton
- ☐ Horry
- ☐ Jasper
- ☐ Kershaw
- ☐ Lancaster
- ☐ Laurens
- ☐ Lee
- ☐ Lexington
- ☐ Marion
- ☐ Marlboro
- ☐ McCormick
- ☐ Newberry
- ☐ Oconee
- ☐ Orangeburg
- ☐ Pickens
- ☐ Richland
- ☐ Saluda
- ☐ Spartanburg
- ☐ Sumter
- ☐ Union
- ☐ Williamsburg
- ☐ York

10. Please indicate your highest completed level of education:

- ☐ High School Diploma / GED
- ☐ Associate Degree
- ☐ Bachelor's Degree
- ☐ Post-Graduate Degree (Masters, JD, PhD, etc.)

11. What best describes your professional background and experience? (*select yes or no for each of the following options*)

Military experience	Yes	No
Police/sheriff's department experience	Yes	No
Corrections experience	Yes	No
Probation or parole in another state	Yes	No
Social work experience	Yes	No
Victims' Services	Yes	No
Counseling/treatment provider	Yes	No
Work with juvenile offenders	Yes	No

Appendix D: Interview: Contact Letters, Informed Consent, and Instrument

Dear Agent,

My name is Amber Wilson, and I am a doctoral student with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina (UofSC). I am conducting a research study funded in part by UofSC to examine officer views and perspectives on the kinds of factors that influence professional orientation and decision-making in the context of probation and parole revocations. You may remember having received information regarding the survey portion of my project earlier this year; this part of the project includes an interview to explore the findings learned from the survey. You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a class 1 South Carolina Probation and Parole Law Enforcement Officer who is actively supervising a caseload. If you would be willing to talk with me about your work, please reply to this email or call me at (912) 531-1519 so that we can arrange a time that would be convenient for you. Your participation in this part of the project is entirely voluntary.

This component of the project includes an interview about your professional decision-making. In light of the current health pandemic, the interviews will be conducted virtually via videoconferencing software. The questions I am asking generally focus on your professional background, how you approach your job tasks, and how you supervise offenders on your caseload. Sometimes, these questions also include the ways (if any) you feel that your race and/or gender may frame how you engage in professional decision-making. To better understand your professional decision-making, we will discuss a few fictional scenarios and you can share with me how you might respond if these were real situations. I expect the interview will take about 45 minutes to complete, and I am happy to schedule it around your availability.

This interview is completely confidential; I will be the only person who can link your identity to your interview. If SCDPPPS asks for a review of the findings from this project or I report about this project later, I will only present a broad overview of the findings. Additionally, I will use a pseudonym if I discuss anything from your interview (you can choose a pseudonym if you would like).

Please contact me directly at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu if you are interested in participating, have additional questions or concerns about the project, or are certain that you do NOT want to participate in the project. If I do not hear from you, I will follow up with you soon regarding your willingness to participate within the study. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, you can contact me directly or you can contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt, at

bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. Additionally, you can contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670.

Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina

Dear Agent,

I recently reached out to you regarding my research study funded in part by the University of South Carolina (UofSC) to examine officer views and perspectives on the kinds of factors that influence professional orientation and decision-making in the context of probation and parole revocations. As a class 1 South Carolina Probation and Parole Law Enforcement Officer who is actively supervising a caseload, I am asking you to participate in an interview that would last about 45 minutes, and I am happy to schedule it around your availability.

Please contact me directly at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu if you are interested in participating, have questions or concerns about the project, or are certain that you do NOT want to participate in the project. Participation is completely voluntary. If I do not hear from you, however, I will follow up with you soon regarding your willingness to participate in the study. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, you can contact me directly or you can contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt, at bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. Additionally, you can contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670.

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Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina

Dear Agent,

I recently reached out to you regarding my research study that focuses on professional orientation and officer decision-making. As a former probation and parole officer myself, I understand how valuable your time is, but my professional experience in the field is why I think this research is so important. As a class 1 South Carolina Probation and Parole Law Enforcement Officer who is actively supervising a caseload, I believe you are in the best position to discuss how you make decisions at work. I am asking you to participate in this project, but please know that your participation is entirely voluntary. Please respond to this email or call me directly at (912) 531-1519 if you want to talk about the project.

I would like to know if you are interested in participating in an interview about your professional decision-making. In light of the current health pandemic, the interviews will be conducted virtually via videoconferencing software. The questions I am asking generally focus on your professional background, how you approach your job tasks, and how you supervise offenders on your caseload. Sometimes, these questions also include the ways (if any) you feel that your race and/or gender may frame how you engage in professional decision-making. To better understand your professional decision-making, we will discuss a few fictional scenarios and you can share with me how you might respond if these were real situations. You can always skip any question that you don't feel comfortable answering. I expect the interview will take about 45 minutes to complete, and I am happy to schedule it around your availability.

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Please contact me directly at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu if you are interested in participating, have additional questions or concerns about the project, or are certain that you do NOT want to participate in the project. If I do not hear from you, I will assume that you are not interested in participating in this study. However, if you decide later that you would like to participate, please contact me directly to learn more about the study. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, you can contact me directly or you can contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt, at bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. Additionally, you can contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670.

Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson

Doctoral Candidate
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina

Dear Agent,

My name is Amber Wilson, and I am a doctoral student with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina (UofSC). I am conducting a research study funded in part by UofSC to examine officer views and perspectives on the kinds of factors that influence professional orientation and decision-making in the context of probation and parole revocations. You may remember having received information regarding the survey portion of my project earlier this year; this part of the project includes an interview to explore the findings learned from the survey. As a class 1 South Carolina Probation and Parole Law Enforcement Officer who is actively supervising a caseload, one of your colleagues suggested that I reach out to you because they thought you may be interested in participating in this study. If you would be willing to talk with me about your work, please reply to this email or call me at (912) 531-1519 so that we can arrange a time that would be convenient for you. Your participation in this part of the project is entirely voluntary.

This component of the project includes an interview about your professional decision-making. In light of the current health pandemic, the interviews will be conducted virtually via videoconferencing software. The questions I am asking generally focus on your professional background, how you approach your job tasks, and how you supervise offenders on your caseload. Sometimes, these questions also include the ways (if any) you feel that your race and/or gender may frame how you engage in professional decision-making. To better understand your professional decision-making, we will discuss a few fictional scenarios and you can share with me how you might respond if these were real situations. I expect the interview will take about 45 minutes to complete, and I am happy to schedule it around your availability.

This interview is completely confidential; I will be the only person who can link your identity to your interview. If SCDPPPS asks for a review of the findings from this project or I report about this project later, I will only present a broad overview of the findings. Additionally, I will use a pseudonym if I discuss anything from your interview (you can choose a pseudonym if you would like).

Please contact me directly at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu if you are interested in participating, have additional questions or concerns about the project, or are certain that you do NOT want to participate in the project. If I do not hear from you, I will follow up with you soon regarding your willingness to participate within the study. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, you can contact me directly or you can contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt, at bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. Additionally, you can contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670.

Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina

Dear Agent,

After one of your colleagues suggested I speak to you, I recently reached out to you regarding my research study funded in part by the University of South Carolina (UofSC) to examine officer views and perspectives on the kinds of factors that influence professional orientation and decision-making in the context of probation and parole revocations. As a class 1 South Carolina Probation and Parole Law Enforcement Officer who is actively supervising a caseload, I am asking you to participate in an interview that would last about 45 minutes, and I am happy to schedule it around your availability.

Please contact me directly at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu if you are interested in participating, have questions or concerns about the project, or are certain that you do NOT want to participate in the project. Participation is completely voluntary. If I do not hear from you, however, I will follow up with you soon regarding your willingness to participate in the study. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, you can contact me directly or you can contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt, at bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. Additionally, you can contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670.

This interview is completely confidential; I will be the only person who can link your identity to your interview. If SCDPPPS asks for a review of the findings from this project or I report about this project later, I will only present a broad overview of the findings. Additionally, I will use a pseudonym if I discuss anything from your interview (you can choose a pseudonym if you would like).

Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina

Dear Agent,

I recently reached out to you regarding my research study that focuses on professional orientation and officer decision-making. I reached out to you specifically because one of your colleagues thought you may be interested in participating in this study. As a former probation and parole officer myself, I understand how valuable your time is, but my professional experience in the field is why I think this research is so important. As a class 1 South Carolina Probation and Parole Law Enforcement Officer who is actively supervising a caseload, I believe you are in the best position to discuss how you make decisions at work. I am asking you to participate in this project, but please know that your participation is entirely voluntary. Please respond to this email or call me directly at (912) 531-1519 if you want to talk about the project.

I would like to know if you are interested in participating in an interview about your professional decision-making. In light of the current health pandemic, the interviews will be conducted virtually via videoconferencing software. The questions I am asking generally focus on your professional background, how you approach your job tasks, and how you supervise offenders on your caseload. Sometimes, these questions also include the ways (if any) you feel that your race and/or gender may frame how you engage in professional decision-making. To better understand your professional decision-making, we will discuss a few fictional scenarios and you can share with me how you might respond if these were real situations. You can always skip any question that you don't feel comfortable answering. I expect the interview will take about 45 minutes to complete, and I am happy to schedule it around your availability.

This interview is completely confidential; I will be the only person who can link your identity to your interview. If SCDPPPS asks for a review of the findings from this project or I report about this project later, I will only present a broad overview of the findings. Additionally, I will use a pseudonym if I discuss anything from your interview (you can choose a pseudonym if you would like).

Please contact me directly at (912) 531-1519 or alwilson@email.sc.edu if you are interested in participating, have additional questions or concerns about the project, or are certain that you do NOT want to participate in the project. If I do not hear from you, I will assume that you are not interested in participating in this study. However, if you decide later that you would like to participate, please contact me directly to learn more about the study. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, you can contact me directly or you can contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara Koons-Witt, at bakoons@mailbox.sc.edu. Additionally, you can contact the University of South Carolina's Office of Research Compliance at (803) 777-6670.

Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Amber Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of South Carolina

Informed Consent

(To be read prior to the interview)

My name is Amber Wilson, and I am a doctoral student with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina (UofSC). I am conducting a research study funded in part by UofSC to examine officer views and perspectives on the kinds of factors that influence professional orientation and decision-making in the context of probation and parole revocations. You may remember having received information regarding the survey portion of my project earlier this year; this part of the project includes an interview to explore the findings learned from the survey. You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a class 1 South Carolina Probation and Parole Law Enforcement Officer who is actively supervising a caseload. Your participation in this part of the project is entirely voluntary.

This component of the project includes a semi-structured interview that focuses on your professional decision-making. I expect the interview will take about 45 minutes to complete. The questions I am asking generally focus on your professional background, how you approach your job tasks, and how you supervise offenders on your caseload. Sometimes, these questions also include the ways (if any) you feel that your race and/or gender may frame how you engage in professional decision-making. To better understand your professional decision-making, we will discuss a few fictional scenarios and you can share with me how you might respond if these were real situations.

This interview is completely confidential; I will be the only person who can link your identity to your interview. If SCDPPPS asks for a review of the findings from this project or I report about this project later, I will only present to them a broad overview of the findings. Additionally, I will use a pseudonym if I discuss anything from our interview (you can choose a pseudonym if you would like).

To ensure that I am correctly recording interview responses and capturing all of the information discussed, I would like to record audio from the interview. For confidentiality purposes, I do ask that you don't share identifiable information during the recorded interview. After the interview has been transcribed, the audio recording will be deleted. You can let me know if you do not feel comfortable with your interview being recorded, I can pause recording at any time, and you can always opt not to answer any question that you don't feel comfortable answering.

Do you have any questions that I can answer at this time?

If you have any additional questions or concerns later regarding this study, you can contact me directly, you can contact my faculty advisor, or you can contact the University of South Carolina using the contact information previously provided in my email regarding this project.

At this time, do you want to participate in the interview?

Probation and Parole Officer Orientation and Decision-Making Interview Instrument

Background

First, I think it may be helpful to have some understanding of how you became interested in this field and how you began working here.

1. Why did you initially come to work at SCDPPPS?

2. What attracted you to a job in probation and parole?

3. Is this your first job in corrections/law enforcement? What prior relevant or related employment did you have?

4. What year did you begin working at SCDPPPS?

5. Currently, what is your title in the department (regular/specialized agent/agent in charge)?

     5a. What, if any, other/past titles/jobs have you had within the department?

Supervision/Job Tasks

I want to explore what your job entails, especially supervising probationers and parolees. I am also interested in how you feel about different areas of offender supervision.

6. Tell me about a typical day at SCDPPPS.

7. What do you feel are the most important goals of probation and parole?

     7a. What do you feel your supervisors stress as the most important goals of probation and parole?

     7b. Part of what I am interested in exploring are the ways (if any) that an agent's gender and/or race may frame how they approach their job. In what ways (if any) do you feel that how you prioritize the goals of probation and parole reflects your experiences as a [male/ female/ White person/ person of Color]?

8. What do you think are the most important aspects of your job when supervising probationers and parolees?

     8a. When you think about these aspects of your job, what are the ways (if any) that you feel like your perspective is affected by your race and/or gender?

     8b. What tasks do you feel you spend the most time completing?

     8c. What aspects of your job do you find most rewarding? Least rewarding?

8d. What tasks do you feel are most valued?

As I've studied probation and parole, I found where a lot of researchers have categorized agents as "law enforcement," "social workers," or "synthetic agents." Law enforcement agents focus more on control and supervision of offenders'. Social worker agents focus on rehabilitating offenders and connecting them with resources. Synthetic agents really emphasize both approaches. Additionally, some agents may fall outside all of these categories entirely and do not prioritize either law enforcement or social worker tasks.

9. As an agent who works in this field, how do you feel about these characterizations?

       9a. Where would you say that you fall within these categories?

10. In what ways (if any) do you feel like your race/gender may influence where you fall within these categories?

Decision-Making

I want to focus on how you make decisions at work.

11. How much discretion do you feel that you have regarding how you supervise offenders and make decisions in their cases?

12. In what ways (if any) do you feel like your race/gender may influence how you supervise offenders on your caseload?

13. When you have an offender that violates his/her supervision conditions, what factors do you consider when responding to those violations?

To further explore how you make supervision decisions, I think it may be helpful to go through a few possible scenarios you may encounter as a probation and parole agent.

Case Scenario 1:

Thomas Jones is on probation for 2 years for possession of methamphetamine. Mr. Jones has a previous conviction for petty theft. He has served 1 year on probation and is being supervised as a medium case.

Mr. Jones has been in the same rental house with two roommates for the last three months. He has been employed at a fast food restaurant for 6 months. He admits to drinking alcohol "sometimes" but denies any other illegal drug use.

Mr. Jones's special conditions include completing substance abuse class, which he has completed. Mr. Jones reports as instructed but has failed to make regular payments towards his court-mandated fines and supervision fees. During an office visit, Mr. Jones tests positive for methamphetamine and marijuana in a urinalysis. He says that he used both drugs two weeks ago but hasn't used any drugs since then.

> How do you respond to Mr. Jones's probation violation(s)?
>
> Why?

Case Scenario 2:

John Weeks is on probation 5 years for aggravated assault. Mr. Weeks has an extensive rap sheet that includes property crimes and other violent crimes, including several simple battery-family violence arrests (although he was not convicted of these charges). He has served 3 years of probation and is being supervised as a high case.

Mr. Weeks has lived with his mother for the past year and has recently moved in with his girlfriend, although he failed to notify you about his change of residence. He has worked for several construction companies during the last year and has made his payments regularly; he is currently employed. Mr. Weeks reports as instructed. Mr. Weeks's special conditions include community service and anger management class; he has completed the anger management class but has failed to work any of his community service hours.

When conducting a rap sheet check, you learn that Mr. Weeks was arrested recently for simple battery-family violence charge; he failed to inform you of this arrest.

> How do you respond to Mr. Weeks's probation violation(s)?
>
> Why?

Case Scenario 3:

Henry Tanner is on probation for 2 years for credit card fraud. He has previous convictions for vandalism and credit card fraud. Mr. Tanner has been compliant with the terms of his supervision, has maintained a stable residence and employment, has paid his supervision fee regularly, and is being supervised as a standard case. Mr. Tanner has served 1 year of his probation sentence.

One day, Mr. Tanner calls to report that he was arrested with his wife at a local dollar store and charged for theft by taking. He advises that his wife was the one stealing items, but that he decided to take the charge for her. When you pull the police report, you learn that items stolen were valued at about $60.

How do you respond to Mr. Tanner's probation violation(s)?

Why?

Case Scenario 4:

Jonathan Logan is on probation for 3 years for possession of cocaine. Mr. Logan has had previous convictions for prior drug charges, burglary, vandalism, and theft. As part of his special conditions, Mr. Logan must complete a substance abuse class, which he has completed. Mr. Logan has served 2 years of his probation sentence and is being supervised as a high case.

Six months ago, Mr. Logan was released from serving jail time following a probation violation. Since then, Mr. Logan has reported living with his father, but you have been unable to see him at that residence. Mr. Logan has failed to report consistently or pay his supervision fee. Mr. Logan has passed two drug screens since his release from jail. During his most recent office visit and before a drug screen, Mr. Logan advised that he would test positive for marijuana but that he was unable to provide a urine sample at the time. While waiting in the lobby to provide a urine sample and with instructions not to leave the lobby, Mr. Logan leaves the probation office without explanation.

How do you respond to Mr. Logan's probation violation(s)?

Why?

Demographics

I would like to ask about some basic demographic characteristics.

a. Age

b. Gender

c. Race

d. Education

Appendix E: Multiple Linear Regression Model Data Diagnostics
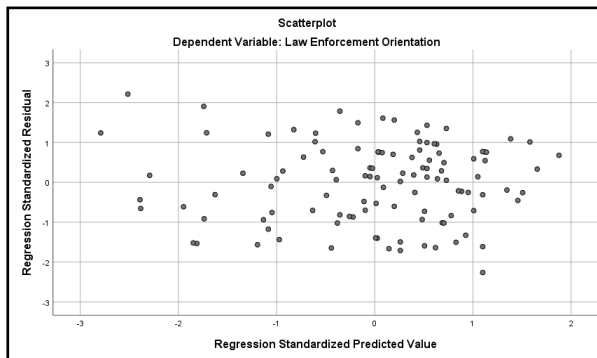
Figure E.1. Scatterplot for Law Enforcement
Orientation (Model 1)
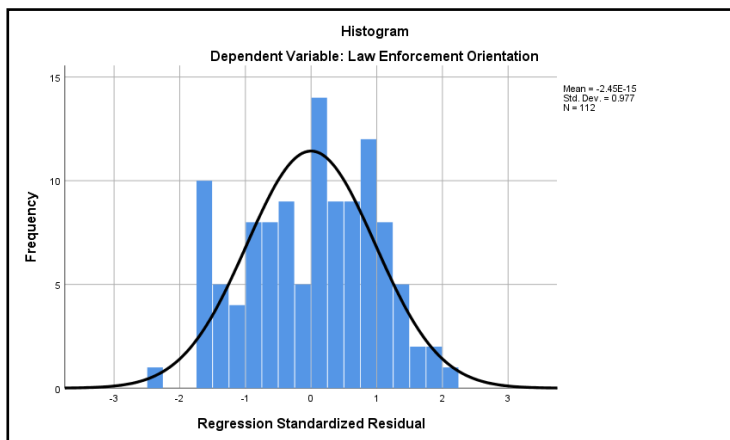
Figure E.2. Histogram for Law Enforcement
Orientation (Model 1)
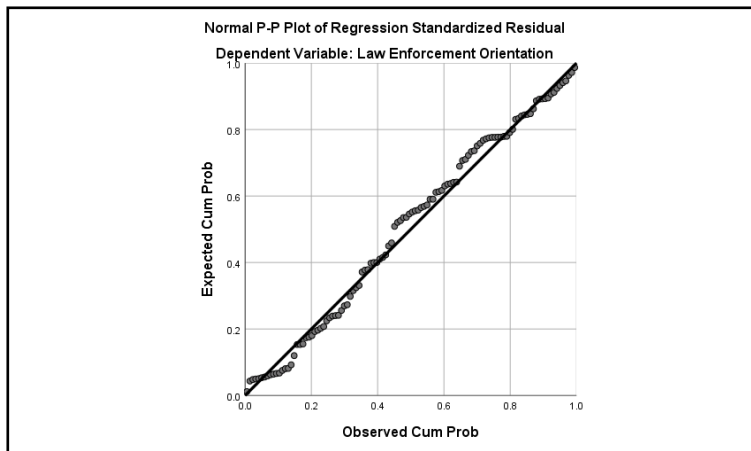
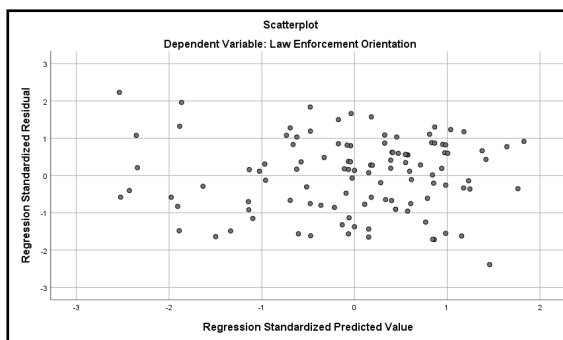Figure E.3. P-P Plot for Law Enforcement Orientation
(Model 1)

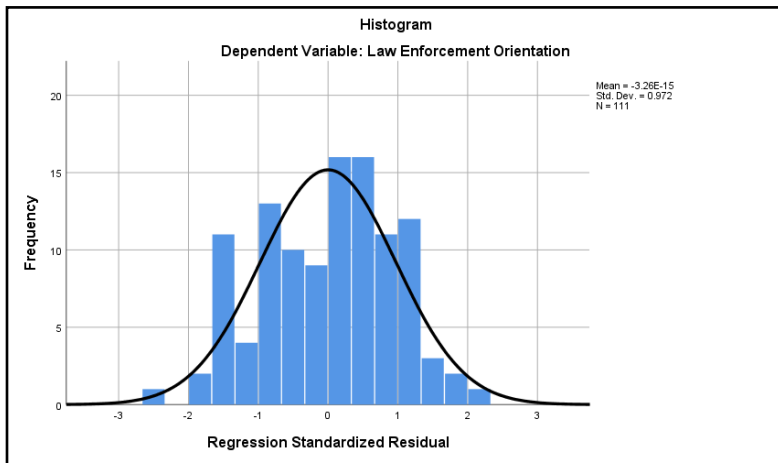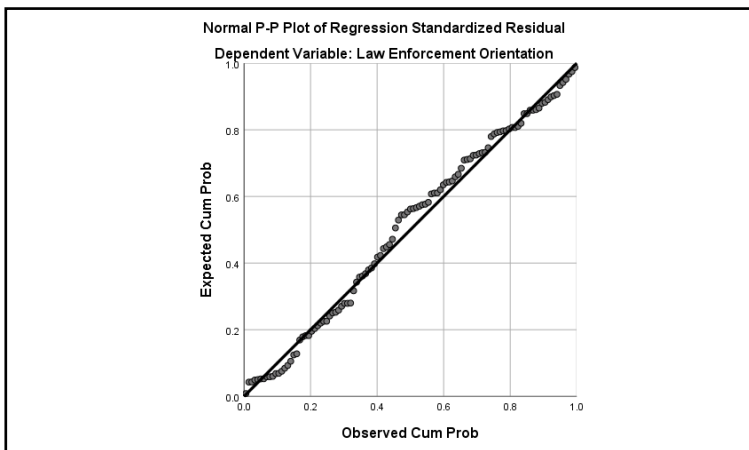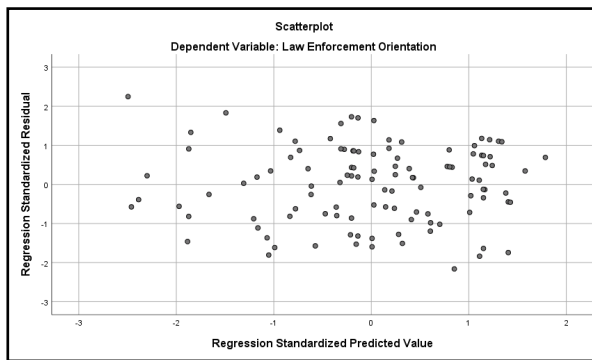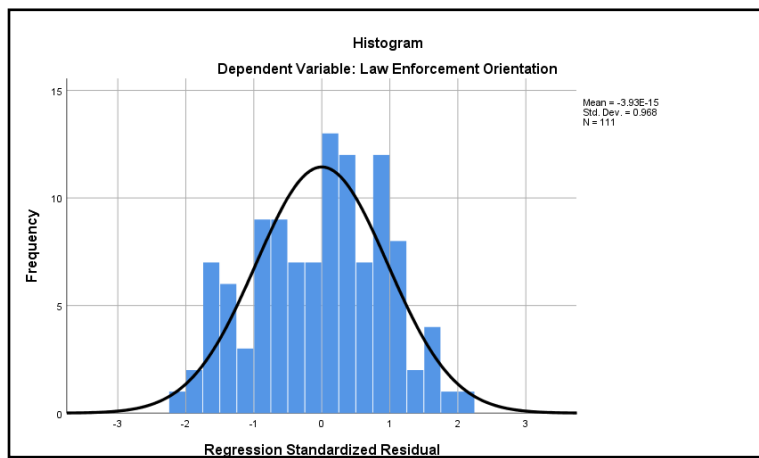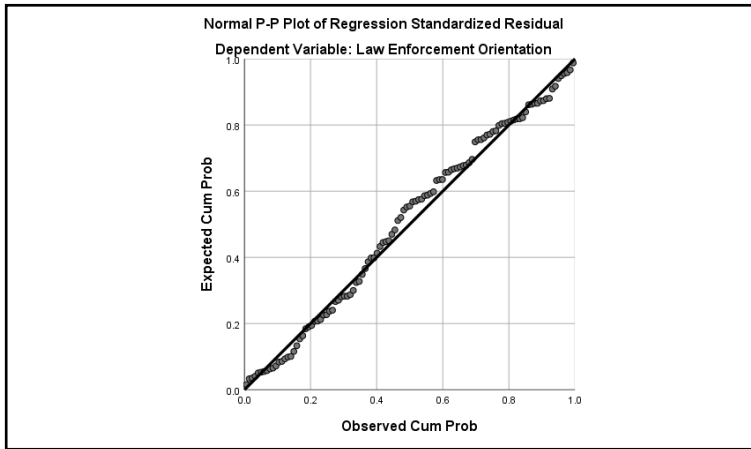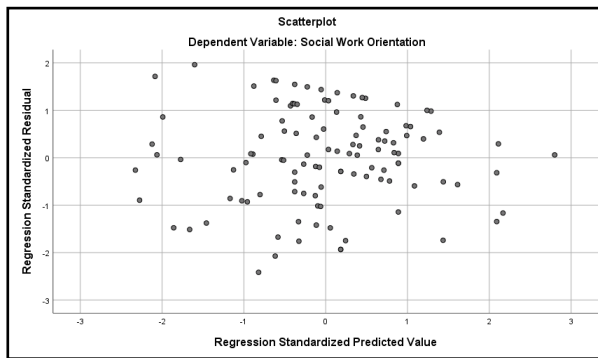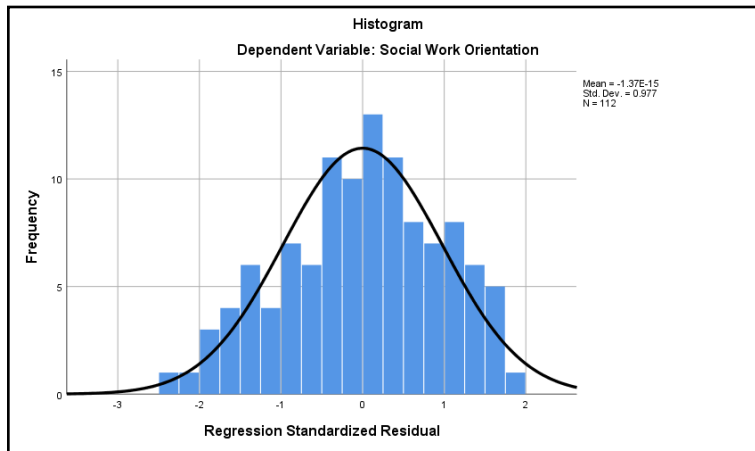Figure E.4. Scatterplot for Law Enforcement
Orientation (Model 2)

Figure E.5. Histogram for Law Enforcement Orientation
(Model 2)

Figure E.6. P-P Plot for Law Enforcement Orientation
(Model 2)

Figure E.7. Scatterplot for Law Enforcement
Orientation (Model 3)

Figure E.8. Histogram for Law Enforcement Orientation
(Model 3)

Figure E.9. P-P Plot for Law Enforcement Orientation
(Model 3)

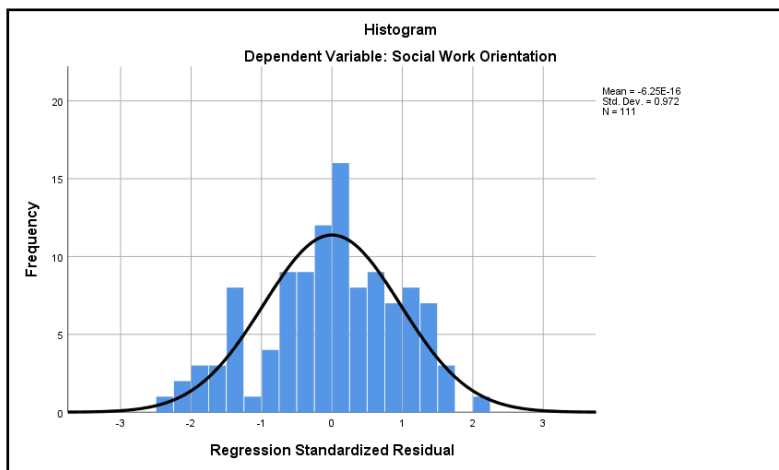Figure E.10. Scatterplot for Social Work
Orientation (Model 1)

Figure E.11. Histogram for Social Work Orientation
(Model 1)
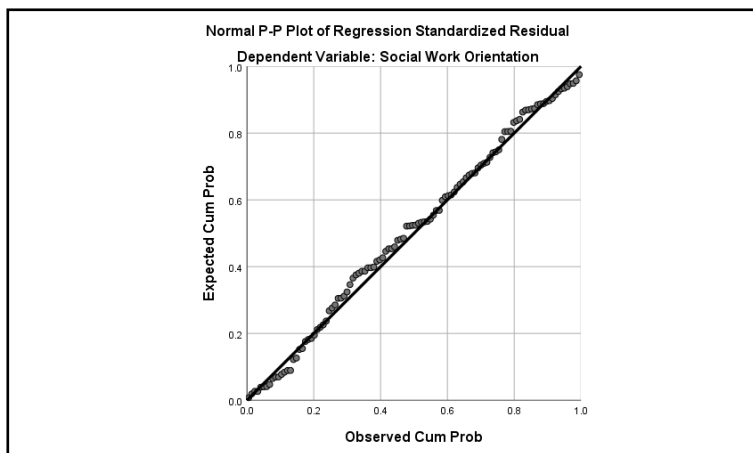
Figure E.12. P-P Plot for Social Work Orientation
(Model 1)
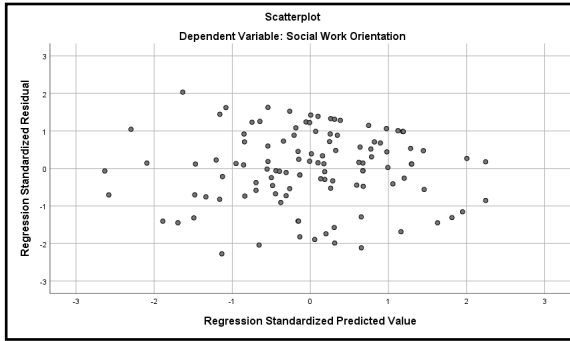
Figure E.13. Scatterplot for Social Work
Orientation (Model 2)

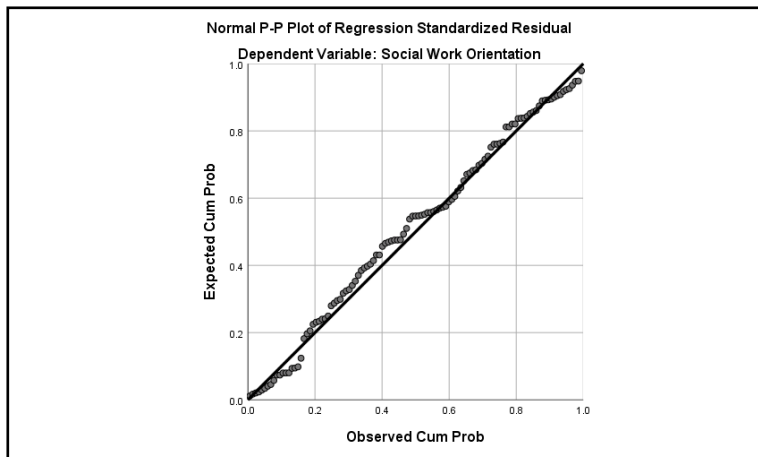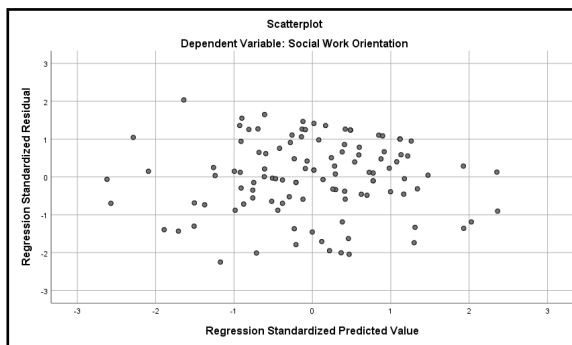Figure E.14. Histogram for Social Work Orientation
(Model 3)

357

Figure E.15. P-P Plot for Social Work Orientation
(Model 3)

Figure E.16. Scatterplot for Social Work
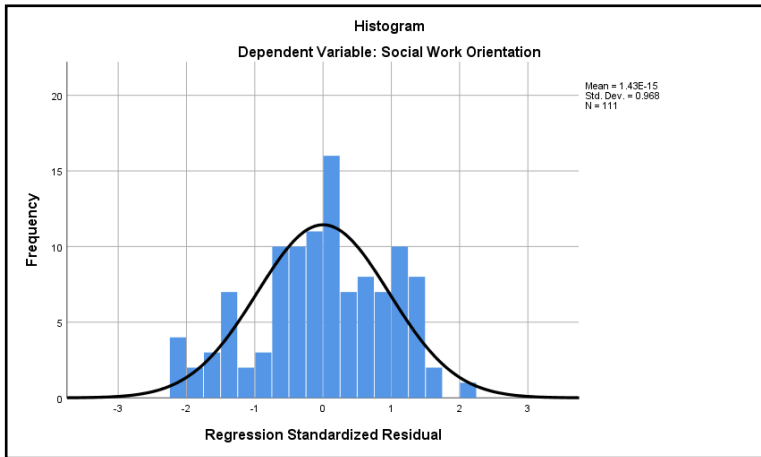Orientation (Model 3)

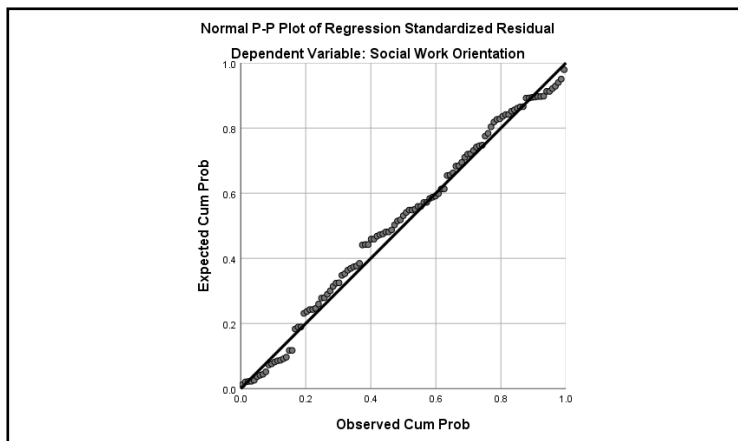Figure E.17. Histogram for Social Work Orientation
(Model 3)

Figure E.18. P-P Plot for Social Work Orientation
(Model 3)

Table E.1. Multiple Linear Regression Law Enforcement Orientation Diagnostics

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
VIF[1]	2.626	2.671	5.484
Tolerance[2]	0.381	0.374	0.182
Leverage[1]	0.200	0.244	0.244
Cook's Distance[1]	0.063	0.079	0.096

[1] indicates maximum value

[2] indicates minimum value

Table E.2. Multiple Linear Regression Social Work Orientation Diagnostics

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
VIF[1]	2.626	2.671	5.484
Tolerance[2]	0.381	0.374	0.182
Leverage[1]	0.2	0.234	0.244
Cook's Distance[1]	0.059	0.055	0.057

[1] indicates maximum value

[2] indicates minimum value