



---

Bureaucrats on the Cell Block: Prison Officers' Perceptions of Work Environment and Attitudes toward Prisoners

Author(s): Sarah K. S. Shannon and Joshua Page

Source: *Social Service Review*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (December 2014), pp. 630-657

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/678448>

Accessed: 05/12/2014 10:45

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



The University of Chicago Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Social Service Review*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# Bureaucrats on the Cell Block: Prison Officers' Perceptions of Work Environment and Attitudes toward Prisoners

**SARAH K. S. SHANNON**

*University of Georgia*

**JOSHUA PAGE**

*University of Minnesota*

**ABSTRACT** US prisons represent an important site for the delivery of social services—even in light of the punitive policy shifts of recent decades—because a significant segment of the nation's low-income, minority population is incarcerated every year. Prison officers interact daily with prisoners and are responsible for maintaining prisoners' security and welfare. As a result, this group of workers can be understood as street-level, front-line bureaucrats who implement penal policy and play a role in distributing needed resources to millions of society's most vulnerable citizens. We examine prison officers through this lens to assess how officers' perceptions of prison resources, work stress, and work support are associated with their attitudes toward the prisoners in their care. We find that work stress and work support operate as mediating pathways between prisoner officers' assessments of available resources and their attitudes toward prisoners.

On any given day, over 2 million people are behind bars in US jails and prisons, the majority of whom are low-income racial minorities (Wheelock and Uggen 2008; Wakefield and Uggen 2010; Minton 2012; Carson and Golinelli 2013). Policy developments such as mandatory minimum sentencing have transformed the purpose of imprisonment from reform and treatment to containment and actuarial management of populations defined in terms of risk (Feeley and Simon 1992; Garland 2001; Wacquant 2001, 2009). Because of its scope and character, incarceration intensifies existing inequalities and creates new ones by diminishing the already precarious

*Social Service Review* (December 2014). © 2014 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. 0037-7961/2014/8804-0004\$10.00

human and social capital of individuals and communities (Clear 2007; Wakefield and Uggen 2010; Shannon and Uggen 2012).

Paradoxically, prison has become a primary site for the delivery of social services to a large segment of society's most disadvantaged citizens. While the rate of incarceration has grown over the past several decades, there have been substantial cutbacks in social services outside prison walls (Comfort 2007, 2008). Prison officers stand at the intersection of these trends, charged not only with the physical custody and management of prisoners but also with ensuring prisoners' daily welfare. Prison officers, then, can be understood as street-level bureaucrats working on the front lines of penal policy implementation. Examining how officers view the prisoners in their care and their work environment is important for understanding the provision of services to the incarcerated.

Prisons currently provide medical care, food, shelter, mental health treatment, substance abuse treatment, education, and other services to many of the nation's poor. As extremely long sentences have become more prevalent, prisons must also serve as hospice and nursing care facilities for an increasingly elderly prisoner population (Aday 2003; Reimer 2008; Aday and Krabill 2011). For many inmates, these needs have gone unmet outside of prison, making the prison a "public health opportunity" for addressing health problems and disparities in health care (Glaser and Greifinger 1993, 139). In this sense, prisons have the potential to ameliorate health and human capital deficiencies for the 95 percent of all prisoners who will eventually return to their communities (Travis 2005; Wakefield and Uggen 2010).

Prison officers act as gatekeepers between prisoners and available resources (Johnson 1996; Farkas 1999). They help solve inmate problems and act as intermediaries between inmates and other prison officials (Johnson 1996; Farkas 1999; Lin 2000; Guy, Newman and Mastracci 2008; Crewe 2009; Liebling, Price, and Shefer 2011). In this sense, prison officers are the face of the state behind the walls. But programs and services within prisons are limited. Prison overcrowding and the consequent rise in staffing needs constrain correctional budgets. And political efforts often attempt to remove programs that appear to benefit rather than punish prisoners (Lynch 2012). One prominent example is the 1994 elimination of federal Pell Grant funding for prisoners, based on the argument that it was wrong to assist prisoners with college education when law-abiding students from working families were having trouble affording it; this was in spite of evidence that higher

education programs help reduce recidivism (Page 2004). The number of prisoners with mental health problems and other special needs has also increased, and programming deficits can lead to psychosocial problems for inmates and prison staff alike (Lynch 2012).

Given their role as front-line workers who are involved in the day-to-day implementation of penal policy and the distribution of limited social service resources, prison officers can be considered street-level bureaucrats, but they have seldom been studied in this light. Michael Lipsky (2010) defines *street-level bureaucrats* as workers who interpret and implement government policy as they interact with the public. Previous studies of street-level bureaucrats have focused on police officers, teachers, welfare workers, and vocational counselors (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; Lipsky 2010; Oberfield 2010). In the analysis that follows, we examine prison officers as street-level bureaucrats to learn how their assessments of prison resources, work stress, and work support are associated with their attitudes toward prisoners. Although our data do not allow us to examine the relationship between officer attitudes and behaviors, previous research shows that attitudes affect how prison officers and other street-level workers behave toward their clients (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2000; Liebling 2008; Maynard-Moody and Portillo 2010). Officers' orientations can be expected to have repercussions for prisoner well-being.

We use data from a survey of prison officers in Minnesota to explore the relationships between perceptions of the work environment and attitudes toward prisoners. Specifically, we examine the direct associations between prison resources (staffing and program quality as evaluated by officers) and prison officers' attitudes, as well as the indirect pathways between resources and attitudes as mediated by work stress and work support. We find that, like other street-level bureaucrats, prison officers who report lower program quality and less adequate staffing resources in their facilities also report higher work stress, feel less supported in doing their work, and espouse more punitive attitudes toward prisoners.

#### **PRISON OFFICERS AS STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRATS RESOURCES AND ATTITUDES**

Street-level bureaucrats are often responsible for dispensing valuable resources and services to needy populations. They have a good deal of latitude to shape how and for whom they act because, while laws and policies bind

these workers' actions generally, the exact manner in which bureaucrats enact or enforce such mandates is both open to some interpretation and subject to available resources (Lipsky 2010; Maynard-Moody and Portillo 2010; Oberfield 2010). Lipsky argues that, "Unlike lower-level workers in most organizations, street-level bureaucrats have considerable discretion in determining the nature, amount, and quality of the benefits and sanctions provided by their agencies" (Lipsky 2010, 13). Street-level bureaucrats confront complex situations that require individualized responses and often cannot be reduced to programmatic instructions. Further, these situations may require immediate action. As such, Steven Maynard-Moody and Michael Musheno reframe Lipsky's concept of discretion as "pragmatic improvisation," saying, "The mismatch between rules and problems encourages the street-level worker to improvise and innovate" (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2012, S19).

The relationship between available resources and attitudes of street-level bureaucrats toward their clients has largely been explored as it pertains to worker discretion. Limited resources increase the need for improvisation; lacking resources, street-level bureaucrats must make decisions regarding the deservingness of their clients (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; Lipsky 2010; Maynard-Moody and Portillo 2010; Oberfield 2010). Lipsky argues that workers may adopt a "client-processing mentality" by which they "mentally discount their clientele so as to reduce the tension between capabilities and goals, thereby making their jobs psychologically easier to manage" (Lipsky 2010, 141). Making such normative judgments is a part of the "creative" work that front-line workers do as they negotiate the realities of client problems (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2012, S19). For example, Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) have found that vocational rehabilitation counselors will sometimes go beyond routine service to help those whom they deem especially deserving, such as people with greater socioeconomic need who do not seem to be working the system. Similarly, police officers will enforce rules more or less stringently based on how they perceive the citizens with whom they interact (Skolnick and Fyfe 1993; Moskos 2009; Oberfield 2010). Such "practice ideologies," including ways of classifying clients and assessing worth, affect street-level workers' job performance (Hasenfeld 2010, 418).

Some scholars have suggested that street-level bureaucrats make arbitrary decisions based on individual biases and that they are too generous or too punitive in their distribution of benefits and services (Baumgartner 1992;

Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011). But Lipsky (2010) and others have argued that factors within the work environment matter a great deal in determining how front-line workers exercise discretion (Mashaw 1983; Baumgartner 1992; Feldman 1992; Brodtkin 2007, 2011; Soss et al. 2011). Lipsky writes, “Administrators and occupational and community norms also structure the policy choices of street-level bureaucrats” (Lipsky 2010, 14). Recent scholarship on welfare reform shows that, even while lower-level discretion has increased in recent years, especially with expanded authority to reward or sanction recipients in the form of benefits and services (Brodtkin 1997; Hasenfeld, Ghose, and Larson 2004), work environment factors such as routines, norms, and incentives act as strong social controls (Morgen 2001; Soss et al. 2011). In a case study of Florida Welfare Transition Program workers, Joe Soss, Richard Fording, and Sanford Schram (2011) find that higher sanction rates were not primarily due to the individual whims or prejudices of front-line case workers but rather were the result of intense, organizational-level performance pressures to achieve desired program results (see also Fording, Soss, and Schram 2007; Schram et al. 2009).

Similar dynamics prevail in prison. Alison Liebling (2008) argues that the organizational goals of any given prison affect shared assumptions, values, and beliefs, which then shape prison officers’ work behavior. Like welfare workers, prison officers can use their “discretionary toolkits” (Watkins-Hayes 2009, 56) in granting or withholding privileges in order to achieve organizational goals such as behavioral control (Liebling 2000). But, unlike many other street-level workers, prison officers do their work in tightly controlled settings (Liebling 2011). With ongoing, face-to-face contact, they must leverage relationships with prisoners to assert their authority and carry out organizational objectives (Liebling 2000). Mary Guy, Meredith Newman, and Sharon Mastracci (2008, xii) note that prison officers’ work includes “emotional labor” (Hochschild 2012), such as being able to read and respond to prisoners’ moods and behavior while still maintaining professionalism within the high-surveillance, high-control prison environment.

Consequently, although the stated policy goal of prison may be containment, prison officers’ roles go far beyond locking doors and counting prisoners. They “deal daily with prisoners’ welfare” (Liebling 1992, 197), including meeting their basic needs, providing guidance, and protecting their safety (Kifer, Hemmens, and Stohr 2003; Liebling et al. 2011). Providing or denying access to privileges, including programs, visits, and other benefits, is an in-

strumental part of prison officers' ability to improvise on the job. If, as Lipsky (2010) and others suggest, street-level bureaucrats ultimately respond to their clients' problems by making normative judgments, or determinations of who merits help based on certain characteristics and behavior, it is crucial to understand how prison officers' attitudes toward prisoners are connected to their perceptions of the work environment. These bureaucrats' notions of their work and prisoners (and how they translate into actual prisoner interaction) are "matters of great public concern" (Lipsky 2010, 141).

#### ATTITUDES, WORK STRESS, AND WORK SUPPORT

According to Lipsky (2010), worker stress plays a critical role in how street-level workers form normative judgments about their clients as they improvise on the job. Lipsky argues that workers' negative attitudes toward their clients "will be rigid or flexible in large measure according to the degree they help workers cope with job stresses" (2010, 142). In this way, Lipsky explicitly connects stress, workers' attitudes, and actions on the job. Mentally discounting clients can help workers relieve tension and manage work expectations in their high-stress occupations (Lipsky 2010). The particular stress that street-level workers face lies in the tension between idealized service goals and inadequate resources; they must "rationalize the discrepancy between service ideals and service provision" (Lipsky 2010, 140). To justify their inability to meet goals for all clients, street-level bureaucrats may deem some recipients less deserving than others. As such, the quantity and quality of resources available to street-level workers should affect levels of work stress, which should further affect attitudes. Accordingly, we hypothesize an indirect relationship, mediated by work stress, between officers' perceptions of prison resources and their attitudes toward prisoners.

Like other street-level bureaucrats, prison officers perform work that is risky and stressful, with extensive physical and emotional demands (Guy et al. 2008; Maynard-Moody and Portillo 2010). Prison officers confront some of society's most intractable social problems in their day-to-day interactions with prisoners, which call for significant staffing and program resources. Given cuts in rehabilitation spending in recent decades, prison officers may experience heightened work stress due to limited staffing and programming resources that help them achieve the central missions of pris-

ons: containment, safety, and rehabilitation (Lynch 2012). More than half of all state prisoners report having a mental health problem; nearly three-quarters of these prisoners have co-occurring substance dependence (James and Glaze 2006). Many prisoners suffer from communicable and chronic diseases (Massoglia 2008; Schnittker, Massoglia, and Uggen 2012), and the medical needs of elderly prisoners present a growing burden given the longer sentences imposed in recent decades (Aday 2003; Reimer 2008; Aday and Krabill 2011). Prisoners suffer from significant deficits in human capital, including lower levels of education, interrupted work histories, and limited employment prospects post-release (Pager 2003, 2007; Western 2006). All of these conditions point to the need for adequate staffing and programs to address prisoners' physical and social well-being.

From Lipsky's (2010) framework, we would expect those officers who feel most stressed to express the most punitive views toward prisoners. For example, the extent to which prison officers see prisoners as capable or worthy of rehabilitation may be linked to the officers' relative work stress. To manage internal conflict (and very real interpersonal workplace conflict), these stressed officers likely make the same judgments about deservingness that other street-level bureaucrats make; with more dubious resources to draw on, officers may emphasize management and containment over rehabilitation. This is, in fact, what Liebling (2008) finds. Prison officers working in an English prison with limited resources were more likely than their counterparts in facilities with more resources to view prisoners as especially dangerous, even though the inmates were no more dangerous than prisoners at similar facilities.

Previous research has analyzed the relationship between work stress and officers' attitudes toward prisoners, with mixed results. Some find no relationship between work stress and support for rehabilitation (vs. punishment; Cullen et al. 1989), while a recent meta-analysis directly connects punitive attitudes toward inmates and elevated levels of officer stress (Dowden and Tellier 2004). Studies of prison officer attitudes and stress have controlled for officers' individual characteristics, such as age, gender, race, work tenure, and education, but there is little consensus about which of these factors contribute, if at all, to officers' stress or attitudes toward prisoners (Dowden and Tellier 2004).

The Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) has administered the annual Prison Social Climate Survey (PSCS) since 1988 to a stratified proportional



probability sample of federal prison employees. Studies using these PSCS data have found that stress is higher for front-line staff (vs. administrators) and for staff with longer tenure in the BOP, but lower for black and Hispanic staff than white officers (Saylor and Wright 1992; Wright and Saylor 1992). These researchers argue that because work stress and satisfaction are formed within the context of past or potential employment opportunities, minority officers' responses may be shaped by positive evaluations of prison work as compared to other, less appealing job opportunities (Wright and Saylor 1992).

In addition to stress, studies have identified relationships between officer attitudes and other important aspects of the work environment, including input in decision making, communication, and supervisory and peer support (Cullen et al. 1985; Lambert et al. 2008; Griffin, Hogan, and Lambert 2012). In particular, supervisory support (whether officers feel that their supervisors offer encouragement and handle disputes well) has a significant association with attitudes toward inmates (Cullen et al. 1989; Griffin et al. 2012). These studies highlight the importance of work support, or the extent to which officers feel they have the training, support, and communication from management to help them perform their jobs. In light of these findings, we hypothesize that work support also mediates the relationship between staffing and program resources and attitudes. If officers feel that they are well trained, are supported by their supervisors, and have effective communication to achieve their work objectives, they may endorse more positive views of prisoners. Program and staffing resources might then be associated with attitudes indirectly through work support to the extent that officers feel that they have the tangible resources that they need to address prisoners' needs and safety.

Given that prison officers are charged not only with maintaining physical custody of inmates but also with facilitating prisoners' access to facility resources, their assessments of the availability and quality of such programs are likely related to levels of work stress and work support. We anticipate direct relationships between job stress, feelings of work support, and attitudes toward prisoners. We further expect that work stress and work support will mediate the indirect relationship between available staffing and program resources and attitudes toward prisoners. In light of these theoretical expectations, we hypothesize that perceived limited staffing and low-quality program resources will be related to more punitive attitudes toward

prisoners, while adequate staffing and high-quality programs will be associated with more rehabilitative attitudes toward prisoners, and that these relationships will be mediated through work stress and work support.

## DATA AND METHOD

### SAMPLE

Our analysis draws on survey data from 907 prison officers in Minnesota, collected in 2007.<sup>1</sup> The survey asked about work experience, safety, facility programs, relationships with management, stress, and attitudes toward the goals of incarceration and inmate rehabilitation. All prison officers employed by Minnesota in the state's adult prison system were included in the sampling frame. Minnesota does not hold any prisoners in private facilities, so all officers in the study work in one of eight facilities run by the Minnesota Department of Corrections (Carson and Golinelli 2013). The survey was administered by mail, according to Don Dillman's (1978) guidelines, with an overall response rate of 51 percent, which is comparable to or higher than that of previous studies with a similar design and population (Wright and Saylor 1991; Jackson and Ammen 1996; Sundt et al. 1998; Lerman 2008). There are a few notable, but statistically insignificant, differences between the sample and the Minnesota Department of Corrections prison officer population. The sample of respondents is slightly more white than the overall prison officer population (93 percent vs. 91 percent,  $z = -.02$ ) and more female (30 percent vs. 23 percent,  $z = -.12$ ). The response rates from each of the eight state prisons are not significantly different from the proportion of officers working in those prisons.

### MEASURES

#### *Dependent Variables*

We use two dependent variables, both of which are standardized scales with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.<sup>2</sup> The first measures punitive

1. Several of our variables contained missing data due to nonresponse on those items. We used multiple imputation techniques using the *mi* command in Stata to fill in these missing data, excluding our distal outcomes of attitudes (StataCorp 2013).

2. Because both scales are standardized, coefficients can be interpreted in standard deviation terms.

attitudes toward prisoners based on the mean response to seven statements (Eigenvalue = 2.80,  $\alpha = .82$ ), coded from 1 to 7 (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). These items are detailed in the appendix and include such statements as, “By the time inmates enter prison, it is too late for rehabilitation programs to do them any good.” Our second dependent variable measures prison officers’ attitudes about prisoners and rehabilitation using the mean score on six items (Eigenvalue = 2.37,  $\alpha = .79$ ). Items include statements such as, “Rehabilitation should be a central goal of incarceration.”

### *Individual Characteristics*

We control for several individual characteristics that may be associated with prison officer attitudes toward inmates. Because some previous studies have found conflicting results regarding the relationship between gender and attitudes (Lambert et al. 2009), we code for a binary measure of gender (1 = female, 0 = male). Results regarding education have been similarly inconsistent in previous studies, some of which find no relationship between officers’ education levels and punitive attitudes and others of which find an inverse association (Lambert et al. 2008, 2009). College degree, another binary variable, indicates whether the officer has completed an associate’s degree or higher (1 = degree, 0 = none). Some previous studies have found tenure to be positively associated with more punitive attitudes (Lambert et al. 2009), so we measure tenure continuously as the number of years worked within the Minnesota Department of Corrections. Because the distribution of tenure is positively skewed (at .83), we logged the variable to achieve a more normal distribution. We do not include race due to lack of sufficient variation in our sample (93 percent of respondents are white).<sup>3</sup>

3. We ran alternative models including race. They showed no significance for race and no significant differences in coefficients for other variables. Previous studies have also noted a confounded relationship between age and tenure and, as a result, use only one indicator, as we do here (Dowden and Tellier 2004). We chose to include tenure rather than age because it is more theoretically relevant to our analysis. Longer tenure could increase punitive views as officers become more stressed over time, or it could be associated with more rehabilitative attitudes as officers learn how to better relate to prisoners as they gain work experience, and stress levels decrease as a result.

*Officers' Perceptions of the Work Environment*

Four variables measure prison officers' perceptions of their work environment: adequate staffing, program quality, work stress, and work support. These are not direct measures of the prison environment but officers' evaluations of working conditions. Adequate staffing is a binary measure combining two questions: "Do you think there are enough staff working to provide for the safety and security of staff?" and "Do you think there are enough staff working to provide for the safety and security of inmates?" To gauge overall perceptions of safety, including that of staff and prisoners, those who answered yes to both questions are coded as 1, all others as 0. Program quality is measured as a standardized scale (Eigenvalue = 2.64,  $\alpha = .83$ ) combining officers' ratings of services and programs available in the prison (1 = very poor quality, 5 = very good quality). The survey asked participants to rate educational programs, vocational programs, psychological services, drug and alcohol treatment, and sex offender treatment. Together these measures capture officers' assessments of programmatic and staffing resources available in their work environment.

Finally, we include measures of work stress and work support. Work stress is measured by a standardized scale comprised of three variables (Eigenvalue = 1.40,  $\alpha = .74$ ), coded from 1 to 7 (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). These items capture the extent to which officers report feeling safe, tense, stressed, or under pressure on the job (see the appendix). Work support is measured with six items (Eigenvalue = 2.68,  $\alpha = .81$ ), coded from 1 to 7 (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). These items ascertain whether officers feel they have the support, training, and communication from management that they need to do their jobs well (see the appendix).

## ANALYTIC STRATEGY

We use structural equation modeling (SEM) to examine pathways between officers' perceptions of the resources at their disposal and their attitudes toward prisoners. Specifically, we evaluate whether work stress and work support mediate the relationship between resources and attitudes, as Lipsky (2010) suggests. We first briefly discuss bivariate relationships between our dependent, independent, and mediator variables. We then display results from our SEM model, controlling for individual characteristics and estimating robust standard errors to correct for clustering by prison

facility. The SEM approach allows simultaneous modeling of the following four equations:

$$\text{punitive}_i = b_1(\text{staffing}_i) + b_2(\text{programs}_i) + b_3(\text{stress}_i) + b_4(\text{support}_i) + b_5(\text{controls}_i). \quad (1)$$

$$\text{rehab}_i = b_1(\text{staffing}_i) + b_2(\text{programs}_i) + b_3(\text{stress}_i) + b_4(\text{support}_i) + b_5(\text{controls}_i). \quad (2)$$

$$\text{stress}_i = b_1(\text{staffing}_i) + b_2(\text{programs}_i) + b_5(\text{controls}_i). \quad (3)$$

$$\text{support}_i = b_1(\text{staffing}_i) + b_2(\text{programs}_i) + b_5(\text{controls}_i). \quad (4)$$

Together, these equations allow us to assess our hypotheses that perceived availability and quality of staffing and program resources is related to prison officer attitudes indirectly through work stress and support.

## RESULTS

### DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics for all of our variables. Individual officer characteristics show that our sample is predominantly male (70 percent) and that about half of the sample have an associate's degree or higher (54 percent). Average tenure with the Department of Corrections is approximately 8 years ( $e^{2.05}$ ). On average, only 16 percent of officers report that their facilities are adequately staffed to protect the safety of both staff and prisoners. The remaining variables are standardized scales with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.

TABLE 1. Sample Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Description	Mean	SD
Individual characteristics:			
DOC tenure (logged)	Years working for MN DOC	2.05	.85
College degree	1 = college degree, 0 = none	.54	.50
Female	1 = female, 0 = male	.30	.46
Perceptions of work environment:			
Adequate staffing	1 = yes, 0 = no	.16	.36
Program quality	1 = very poor, 5 = very good	0	1
Work support/stress:			
Work stress	1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree	0	1
Work support	1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree	0	1
Attitudes:			
Punitive	1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree	0	1
Rehabilitative	1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree	0	1

Note.— $N = 907$ .

TABLE 2. Bivariate Correlation Matrix

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Punitive Views	1								
2. Rehabilitative Views	-.65*	1							
3. Tenure	.08*	-.06*	1						
4. College	-.04*	.09*	-.11*	1					
5. Female	-.10*	.06*	-.13*	.04*	1				
6. Adequate Staffing	-.14*	.09*	-.14*	.04*	.07*	1			
7. Program Quality	-.18*	.05*	-.10*	-.04*	.05*	.19*	1		
8. Work Stress	.23*	-.15*	.15*	-.02	-.03*	-.32*	-.21*	1	
9. Work Support	-.29*	.21*	-.12*	-.02	.11*	.29*	.38*	-.46*	1

Note.—N = 907.

\*  $p < .05$ .

Table 2 presents bivariate correlations for all variables. As expected, punitive and rehabilitative attitudes are significantly and negatively correlated ( $r = -.65, p < .05$ ). Our mediator variables of work stress and work support are also negatively and significantly correlated ( $r = -.46, p < .05$ ), while our key independent variables of perceived adequate staffing and quality programs are positively and significantly correlated ( $r = .19, p < .05$ ).

To illustrate how prison officer attitudes vary by facility, figure 1 provides box plots of officers' scores on the punitive attitudes scale by facility. Average punitive attitudes scores by prison range from a low of  $-.23$  at facility 5 to a high of  $.31$  at facility 3. Notably, facility 5 is the state's only prison for

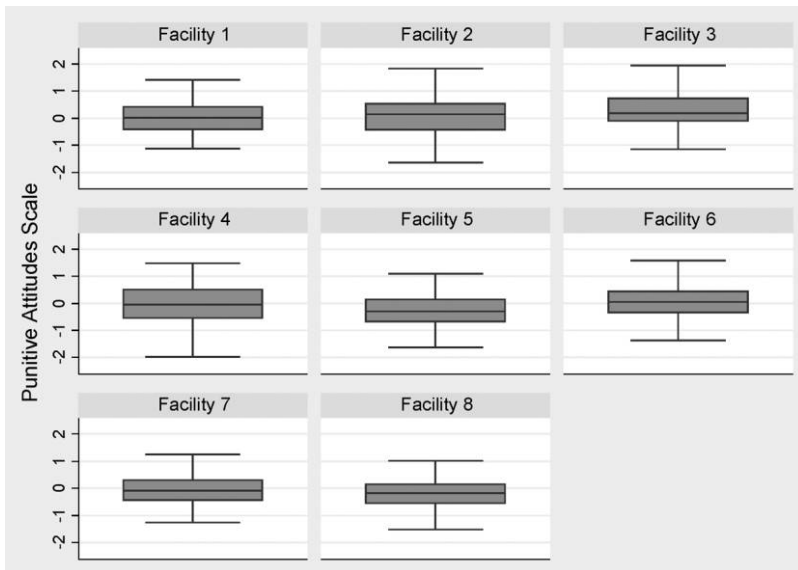


FIGURE 1. Box plots of punitive attitude scale scores by facility

females. Facility 3 is the state's supermax prison (short for super-maximum security), which exclusively houses male inmates with convictions for serious, violent offenses and those who are deemed too disruptive to remain at the state's other prisons. These descriptive differences suggest that officers working with prisoners who are deemed to be higher risk may be more likely to make negative normative judgments about the prisoners' ability to be rehabilitated.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, staff tends to view female prisoners as less violent, needier, and more dependent than male prisoners (Britton 2003; Haney 2010). Some female prisons (especially in large states like California) have become more like medium or even maximum-security male prisons as penal policy has become more punitive and the female prison population has grown substantially in recent decades.<sup>5</sup> In Minnesota, however, the women's prison provides a wide array of rehabilitative programming, looks more like a college campus than a penitentiary, and lacks a secure perimeter (i.e., it does not have a wall or a fence), indicating that the state sees the inmates as low security risks (Hussemann and Page 2011).

### *Decomposition*

In bivariate (see table 2) and multivariate analyses (not shown),<sup>6</sup> work stress and work support are significantly associated in opposite directions with

4. It is also possible that the nature of working with prisoners in a high-risk setting, rather than the type of prisoner, is linked to more punitive attitudes. We are not able to adjudicate causal direction in our current, cross sectional analyses.

5. Staff in these higher-security prisons tend to view female inmates, especially younger ones, as more serious and dangerous than those in traditional prisons for women (Rierden 1997; Kruttschnitt and Gartner 2005). Ideally, we would compare officer attitudes across higher- and lower-level security female prisons. Because Minnesota only has one female prison, this comparison is not possible in the current study.

6. There are several alternatives for modeling data that are clustered at the facility level. We estimated ordinary least squares (OLS) models with clustered standard errors after comparing the results from three alternative specifications: (i) OLS models using dummy variables for each facility, (ii) a multilevel model using facility-level data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005 Census of Prison and Jails at level 2, and (iii) a multilevel model using averages for prison officers' perceptions for each facility at level 2. Baseline multilevel models for prison officer attitudes showed that only 4.5 percent of the variance in prison officers' attitudes can be explained by differences between facilities, which is quite low. In addition, we have only eight cases (prisons) at level 2, a number most would consider too small to justify multilevel analysis. Finally, our level-2 variables in both multilevel specifications did not alter the significance or magnitude of our level one coefficients. These findings are similar to results in studies using nationally representative data from the Federal Bureau of

prison officer attitudes toward inmates, as expected. Work stress is associated with more punitive and less rehabilitative attitudes, while work support is associated with the reverse. These relationships remain even when resources and control variables are entered into the models. Our variables for perceptions of staffing and program resources also show significant bivariate relationships with attitudes (negative for punitive, positive for rehabilitative). With the exception of college education (positively and significantly associated with rehabilitative attitudes), no individual characteristics are significant in the multivariate context. With these basic associations established, we move to decomposing the direct and indirect pathways between resources and attitudes using SEM.

Table 3 and figure 2 display SEM coefficients for the direct and indirect pathways between our resource variables and prison officer attitudes, controlling for officer gender, college education, and tenure. Wald tests indicate that both direct and indirect paths contribute to model fit. The direct associations between adequate staffing and both types of attitudes are not significant, as shown in equations 1 and 2 of table 3 (corresponding to SEM eq. [1] and eq. [2]). The direct path between quality of programs and punitive attitudes is negative and marginally significant ( $-.06, p < .10$ ), but the direct path to rehabilitative attitudes is not statistically significant. Equations 3 and 4 of table 3 (corresponding to SEM eq. [3] and eq. [4]) show that these resource indicators are significantly associated with the mediator variables, work stress and work support. Adequate staffing and the quality of programs are both negatively associated with work stress ( $-.60$  and  $-.16$  at  $p < .001$ , respectively) and positively associated with work support ( $.44$  and  $.30$  at  $p < .001$ , respectively). Our mediator variables are in turn directly and significantly associated with attitudes, as shown in equations 1 and 2 of table 3. Work stress is positively and significantly associated with punitive attitudes ( $.10, p < .001$ ) and negatively and significantly associated with rehabilitative attitudes ( $-.06, p < .05$ ). Conversely, the pathway between work support and punitive attitudes is negative and significant ( $-.19, p < .01$ ), while positive and significant for rehabilitative attitudes ( $.18, p < .001$ ).

As equation 1 of table 3 shows, the indirect association between adequate staffing and punitive attitudes as mediated by work stress and work

---

Prisons showing very small between-prison variance to be explained (Camp, Saylor, and Harer 1997; Camp, Gaes, and Saylor 2002). As a result, we used OLS models with clustered standard errors to establish initial relationships between our study variables. Results of the OLS and multilevel models are available upon request.



**TABLE 3.** SEM Analysis of Direct and Indirect Effects of Staffing and Program Resources on Prison Officer Attitudes

Model	Equation 1: Punitive Attitudes		Equation 2: Rehabilitative Attitudes		Equation 3: Stress		Equation 4: Support	
	Unstandardized	Standardized	Unstandardized	Standardized	Unstandardized	Standardized	Unstandardized	Standardized
Direct:								
Staffing	-.05 (.07)	-.03	.03 (.03)	.01	-.60*** (.06)	-.27	.44*** (.05)	.22
Programs	-.06+ (.03)	-.07	-.03 (.05)	-.03	-.16*** (.03)	-.15	.30*** (.05)	.32
Indirect:								
Staffing	-.14*** (.03)	-.07	.12*** (.01)	.06				
Programs	-.07*** (.02)	-.08	.06*** (.02)	.07				
Total:								
Staffing	-.19** (.06)	-.10	.14*** (.04)	.07				
Programs	-.14*** (.03)	-.15	.03 (.04)	.04				
Stress	.10*** (.02)	.11	-.06* (.03)	-.07				
Support	-.19** (.04)	-.20	.18*** (.04)	.19				
Wald $\chi^2$ (df)	111.14 (7)		123.50 (7)		173.01 (5)		119.76 (5)	

Note.—N = 907. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by prison facility. All models include controls for individual characteristics (female, college education, tenure). SRMR = .091; coefficient of determination = .310. The results in this table directly correspond to SEM equations (1)–(4).

+  $p < .10$ .

\*  $p < .05$ .

\*\*  $p < .01$ .

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

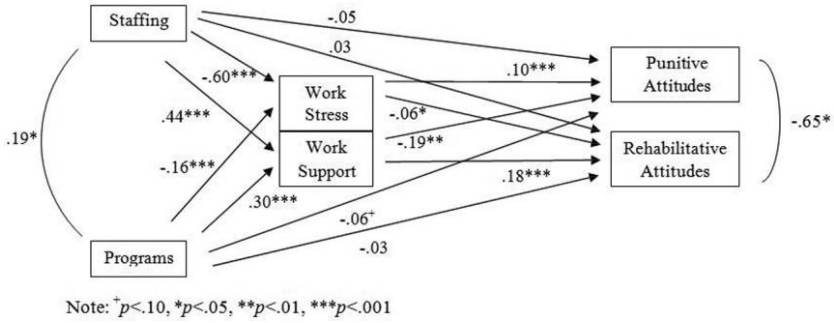


FIGURE 2. SEM Analysis of punitive and rehabilitative attitudes

support is  $-.14$  ( $p < .001$ ). Quality of programs is indirectly linked to punitive attitudes at  $-.07$  ( $p < .01$ ). Both of these pathways are negative and significant. We can estimate the proportion of the total effect of these resource variables on punitive attitudes that is mediated by work stress and work support by dividing the indirect coefficients by the total effects ( $-.19$ ,  $p < .01$ , for staffing and  $-.14$ ,  $p < .001$ , for programs). Work stress and work support mediate approximately 74 percent ( $-.14 / -.19 = .74$ ) of the estimated association between staffing and punitive attitudes and 50 percent ( $-.07 / -.14 = .50$ ) of the estimated association between programs and punitive attitudes.

We can further decompose how each mediator contributes distinctly to the indirect effects of staffing and programs. By multiplying the coefficient for the effect of staffing on stress in equation 3 by the coefficient for the effect of stress on punitive attitudes in equation 1, we estimate that 41 percent of the indirect effect of staffing on punitive attitudes is due to work stress ( $-.60 \times .10 / -.14 = .41$ ).<sup>7</sup> The remaining 59 percent is estimated to operate through work support ( $.44 \times -.19 / -.14 = .59$ ). Likewise, for the quality of programs, about 21 percent of the indirect effect is accounted for by work stress ( $-.16 \times .10 / -.07 = .21$ ) versus 79 percent by work support ( $.30 \times -.19 / -.07 = .79$ ). In both cases, we estimate that work support mediates a greater proportion of the association between resources and punitive attitudes than work stress.

As expected, the indirect pathways between resources (staffing and programs) and rehabilitative attitudes are positive and significant ( $.12$  and  $.06$  at  $p < .001$ , respectively). Again dividing the indirect coefficient by the

7. Slight differences in these calculations may occur due to rounding.

total effect, we estimate that work stress and work support mediate 86 percent of the association between adequate staffing and rehabilitative attitudes. Parsing the relative influence of each mediator shows that work stress accounts for 33 percent and work support carries 67 percent of the indirect association between staffing and rehabilitative attitudes. As with punitive attitudes, it appears that work support mediates a greater proportion of the indirect relationship between staffing and attitudes than does work stress.

The indirect relationship between the perceived quality of programs and rehabilitative attitudes presents a case of inconsistent mediation. The direct pathway between quality of programs and attitudes is negative and nonsignificant ( $-.03$ ), while the indirect pathway is positive and significant ( $.06$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This leads to a total effect size ( $.03$ , NS) that is smaller than the indirect effect. Dividing the indirect coefficient by the total leads to a mediation effect of greater than 1 ( $.06/.04 = 1.5$ ). This finding suggests that the mediating effects of work stress and work support suppress the association between the quality of programs and rehabilitative attitudes (MacKinnon, Krull, and Lockwood 2000; MacKinnon, Fairchild, and Fritz 2007). Without accounting for the mediating pathways of work stress and support, the association between the quality of programs and rehabilitative attitudes would appear to be small and nonsignificant, whereas our findings suggest that the quality of programs is indeed related to prison officers' rehabilitative attitudes but is so indirectly through work stress and support. Again, parsing the influence of each mediator separately, work support accounts for most of the indirect association between resources and rehabilitative attitudes (90 percent) observed in this study.

Finally, the total effects in table 3 indicate that adequate staffing and quality of programs are negatively associated with punitive attitudes ( $-.19$  and  $-.14$ ,  $p < .01$  and  $p < .001$ , respectively). While estimates of the total effect of the quality of programs on rehabilitative attitudes are not statistically significant due to the suppression effect of work stress and support, adequate staffing is positively and significantly ( $.14$ ,  $p < .001$ ) associated with rehabilitative attitudes toward prisoners. These findings support our first hypothesis that adequate staffing and quality of program resources are associated with prison officer attitudes. Further, the results in figure 2 and table 2 indicate that the pathways between officers' assessments of the adequacy of staffing and the quality of programs are mediated through their perceptions of work stress and work support, which supports our second hypothesis. Where officers think that staffing is sufficient and programs for inmates are

of high quality, they express less stress, feel more supported, and hold less punitive views toward inmates. Likewise, officers who perceive that their work environment has greater resources are more likely to have favorable attitudes toward prisoners' prospects for rehabilitation. Where officers consider staffing to be scarce and programs of low quality, the opposite is true.

## DISCUSSION

After decades of unprecedented growth in incarceration, US prisons now serve as default social service providers for many disadvantaged citizens. Prison officers confront many of society's most pressing social problems in their face-to-face work with prisoners, including mental or chemical health problems, aging, and severe deficits in human capital such as employment and education. Since at least 95 percent of all inmates are eventually released, a substantial number of Americans (over half a million annually) are taking the challenges of incarceration back into their already under-resourced communities (Travis 2005; Clear 2007; Carson and Golinelli 2013). As Sara Wakefield and Christopher Uggen note, with adequate program resources and staffing, incarceration "has the power to address human capital and health deficits and to improve prospects for inmates and the communities to which they return" (Wakefield and Uggen 2010, 399). Understanding prison officers as street-level bureaucrats who have the authority to request and distribute resources to address these problems in prison is important not only for confined inmates but also for their communities.

Our analyses provide provisional evidence that prison officers' attitudes toward prisoners are indirectly related, through work support and work stress, to a perceived availability of resources to perform their jobs, as predicted by Lipsky (2010). While our data preclude us from drawing causal conclusions, our analyses suggest several insights for theory, policy, and further study of prison officers. This study shows that prison officers who feel that their work environment has high-quality programs and adequate staffing resources also report less work stress and greater support from management. Lower reported work stress and greater work support are associated with more favorable, less punitive attitudes toward inmates. Like previous studies of street-level bureaucrats, our analysis shows that attitudes toward clients are significantly associated with conditions in the work environment over and above workers' individual characteristics, such as

gender, education, or tenure. These findings align with the theoretical claim that street-level bureaucrats are affected by the pressures and resources within their work environment at least as much as, if not more than, their individual characteristics (Lipsky 2010). Moreover, our results suggest that work stress and work support operate as important intervening mechanisms between prison officers' perceptions of available staffing and program resources and their attitudes about inmates and imprisonment. Previous research has not explored the potential pathways connecting prison resources and prison officer attitudes. Our study provides an advance in that direction that warrants further research.

From a policy perspective, it has long been understood that access to rehabilitative resources within prison is vital to prisoners' experiences and prospects once they are released (Liebling 2000; Wakefield and Uggen 2010). From this standpoint, understanding how prison officers' attitudes are related to their perceptions of available resources is crucial, since previous studies have linked front-line workers' normative views of clients with the use of discretion in distributing limited resources (Skolnick and Fyfe 1993; Hasenfeld 2000; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2000; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; Maynard-Moody and Portillo 2010; Oberfield 2010). Our analyses provide preliminary support for efforts aimed at reducing officer stress by ensuring that staffing levels are sufficient to enable them to perform their jobs and that programs are of high enough quality to enable prisoners to make progress toward rehabilitation. This is particularly evident in our findings that work stress mediates the associations between resources and attitudes. Improving the quality of programs for prisoners and increasing staffing levels might also improve relations between prison officers and prisoners by helping lower officer stress and, indirectly, encouraging more positive attitudes toward prisoners' prospects for change.

Our findings have implications for scholarly and policy discussions about prison officer unions (in line with, e.g., work by Liebling et al. [2011], Page [2011, 2012], and Thompson [2011]). On the one hand, officer labor groups strive to improve wages and benefits and enhance professionalization, including the union in Minnesota (an affiliate of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees) that represents officers in all of the state's prisons. For officers, professionalization means receiving material benefits, respect, rights, training, and hiring and promotion standards similar to those of city and state police officers (Page 2011). Officer unions, then,

seek to improve the image of the occupation and increase resources, particularly with respect to job safety and training (Jacobs 1983; Owen 1988; Page 2011, 2012). Unions also seek to provide officers with more authority and autonomy on the job, ideally increasing worker satisfaction and decreasing stress (Page 2011).

To the extent that unions are effective enough to improve resources in prisons, unions should help decrease work stress, increase work support, and, by extension, improve officer attitudes about prisoners and shift their ideas about the purposes of imprisonment toward rehabilitation. Still, there is evidence that prison officer unions can exacerbate divisions and distrust between management and line officers, limiting effective communication and collaboration (Page 2011). As such, unions may contribute to a corrosive work culture. Because we find that work support, including management-officer communication and training, is an important pathway between resources and prison officer attitudes, unions may inadvertently and indirectly affect line officers' views of their clients in negative ways if they aggravate tension with management while seeking to promote greater resources for officers.<sup>8</sup> Additional research is needed to identify the contextual factors, managerial practices, and models of unionization that facilitate or obstruct trust, communication, and collaboration between administrators and prison officer unions.

Our analysis has several limitations that temper our conclusions and offer direction for future research. First, our data are cross-sectional, and we cannot make definitive claims about the causal relationships among resources, work stress, work support, and attitudes. Without longitudinal data, we cannot assess how prison officers' views change over time in response to resources or stress.

Second, our variables for program and staffing resources are based on prison officers' reported perceptions. We do not account for actual prison budgets, number of staff, or number and types of programs, for example. Our theoretical interest is in how officers' perceptions of their work environments, especially the resources at their disposal, affect their attitudes to-

8. Minnesota's officer union concentrates primarily on bread and butter issues such as wages and benefits and officer safety matters (Lerman and Page 2012). There is no evidence that this labor group is overly antagonistic with management, as unions are reported to be in other states, especially California (Page 2011).

ward prisoners.<sup>9</sup> A larger study using data from a greater number of facilities across multiple states would make multilevel analyses more feasible, allowing us to test how objective conditions between prison systems affect prison officer attitudes. Such an analysis would also allow us to examine the theoretical possibility that officers' attitudes about resources, work stress, and related issues are the result of objective conditions or a negative culture among officers that promotes pessimistic views about job-related issues (e.g., the idea that resources are never adequate and management is inherently distrustful and malicious). Ideally, we might gather data on resources and indicators of worker-management relations (e.g., number of grievances) to measure key elements of officer work culture. We could then better determine the source of the attitudes we have identified in this study.

Third, we do not investigate the relationship between prison officer attitudes and behaviors toward prisoners. Combined with previous research, our findings suggest that further study, including direct observation of interactions between officers and inmates, would be beneficial. Finally, much remains to be learned about prison officer attitudes in general, including their determinants and effects. Previous studies, as well as our own OLS models (available upon request), explain little variance in prison officer attitudes, with *R*-square values lower than .20 (Jurik 1985; Cullen et al. 1989).

Prior research demonstrates that attitudes toward clients are a key component of street-level bureaucrats' "pragmatic improvisation" on the job (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2012, S19). Prison officers shape program implementation, the routine operations of the prison, and prisoner quality of life. Without buy-in from front-line prison staff, which is related to their views of inmates and the goals of imprisonment, new programs, policies, and routines have little chance of success (Lin 2000). Ultimately, prison officers stand guard at this critical intersection of public policy, resources, and prisoner needs. With millions of society's disadvantaged citizens cycling through the nation's prisons and jails every year, prison officers have tremendous potential to affect some of society's most trenchant and troubling social problems.

9. We did specify multilevel models with available data, including objective measures of prison staffing and resources (see note 6) and found that the vast majority of variation in officer attitudes was within prisons, indicating that prison officers' perceptions of resources are crucial in understanding their attitudes.

**APPENDIX**

Scale items for punitive attitudes:

1. "The job of a prison is to keep the public safe, not to help inmates."
2. "By the time most inmates enter prison, it is too late for rehabilitation programs to do them any good."
3. "Most inmates are just regular people who have made some mistakes."  
(reverse coded)
4. "There are better ways for the state to spend money than on programs for inmates."
5. "Rehabilitation programs don't work because most inmates don't want to change."
6. "It would cost too much to provide all inmates with high quality programs."
7. "Inmates don't deserve to get rehabilitation programs."

Scale items for rehabilitative attitudes:

1. "Rehabilitation should be a central goal of incarceration."
2. "Inmates who want it should have access to academic training at least up to and including GED preparation."
3. "Inmates who want it should have access to academic training at the college level."
4. "Inmates who want it should be given access to vocational training."
5. "High quality rehabilitation programs would pay for themselves in the long run with decreased crime and a smaller prison population."
6. "Inmates who want it should have access to drug and alcohol treatment."

Scale items for work stress:

1. "I feel safe when working among the inmates." (reverse coded)
2. "When I'm at work, I often feel tense or stressed."
3. "I usually feel that I am under a lot of pressure when I am at work."

Scale items for work support:

1. "I have the backup and support I need to perform my job well."
2. "I receive the kind of training that I need to perform my job well."
3. "Management communicates clear guidelines on when the use of lethal force is appropriate."
4. "Management communicates clear guidelines on when the use of non-lethal force is appropriate."



5. "I receive the kind of training I need to keep myself safe on the job."
6. "When I have a problem at work, there is someone I can talk to who will really help me solve it."

## NOTE

**Sarah K. S. Shannon** is an assistant professor of sociology at the University of Georgia. She studies law, crime, and deviance, especially the intersections between crime, punishment, and public welfare programs. Her research investigates how social institutions like the criminal justice and public welfare systems affect social inequality.

**Joshua Page** is an associate professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota. He is the author of *The Toughest Beat: Politics, Punishment, and the Prison Officers Union in California* (Oxford University Press). His main research interests are crime, law, and punishment.

The authors thank Hollie Nyseth Brehm, Eric Grodsky, Jeannette Hussemann, Amy Lerman, Letta Page, the editor, and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable support and feedback. We also thank Lindsay Cohen and Keller Sheppard for their helpful research assistance. Please direct correspondence to Sarah Shannon at (sshannon@uga.edu).

## REFERENCES

- Aday, Ronald H. 2003. *Aging Prisoners: Crisis in American Corrections*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Aday, Ronald H., and Jennifer J. Krabill. 2011. *Women Aging in Prison*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Baumgartner, Mary Pat. 1992. "The Myth of Discretion." 129–62 in *The Uses of Discretion*, edited by Keith Hawkins. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Britton, Dana. 2003. *At Work in the Iron Cage: The Prison as Gendered Organization*. New York: New York University Press.
- Brodkin, Evelyn Z. 1997. "Inside the Welfare Contract." *Social Service Review* 71 (1): 1–33.
- . 2007. "Bureaucracy Redux: Management Reformism and the Welfare State." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 17 (1): 1–17.
- . 2011. "Policy Work: Street-Level Organizations under New Managerialism." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21 (2): 253–77.
- Camp, Scott D., Gerald G. Gaes, and William G. Saylor. 2002. "Quality of Prison Operations in the US Federal Sector." *Punishment and Society* 4 (1): 27–53.
- Camp, Scott D., William G. Saylor, and Miles D. Harer. 1997. "Aggregating Individual-Level Evaluations of the Organizational Social Climate: A Multilevel Investigation of the Work Environment at the Federal Bureau of Prisons." *Justice Quarterly* 14 (4): 739–61.
- Carson, E. Ann, and Daniela Golinelli. 2013. "Prisoners in 2012." Report NCJ 243920, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, DC.
- Clear, Todd. 2007. *Imprisoning Communities*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Comfort, Megan. 2007. "Punishment beyond the Legal Offender." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 3:271–96.
- . 2008. *Doing Time Together: Love and Family in the Shadow of the Prison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Crewe, Ben. 2009. *The Prisoner Society: Power, Adaptation, and Social Life in an English Prison*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cullen, Francis T., Bruce Link, Nancy Wolfe, and James Frank. 1985. "The Social Dimensions of Correctional Officer Stress." *Justice Quarterly* 2 (4): 505–33.
- Cullen, Francis T., Faith E. Lutze, Bruce G. Link, and Nancy Travis Wolfe. 1989. "The Correctional Orientation of Prison Guards: Do Prison Officers Support Rehabilitation?" *Federal Probation* 53 (1): 33–42.
- Dillman, Don. 1978. *Mail and Telephone Surveys: The Total Design Method*. New York: Wiley.
- Dowden, Craig, and Claude Tellier. 2004. "Predicting Work-Related Stress in Correctional Officers: A Meta-analysis." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 32 (1): 31–47.
- Farkas, Mary Ann. 1999. "Correctional Officer Attitudes toward Inmates and Working with Inmates in a 'Get Tough' Era." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 27 (6): 495–506.
- Feeley, Malcolm M., and Jonathan Simon. 1992. "The New Penology: Notes on the Emerging Strategy of Corrections and Its Implications." *Criminology* 30 (4): 449–74.
- Feldman, Martha. 1992. "Social Limits to Discretion: An Organizational View." 163–84 in *The Uses of Discretion*, edited by Keith Hawkins. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fording, Richard C., Joe Soss, and Sanford F. Schram. 2007. "Devolution, Discretion, and the Effect of Local Political Values on TANF Sanctioning." *Social Service Review* 81 (2): 285–316.
- Garland, David. 2001. *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Control in Contemporary Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Glaser, Jordan B., and Robert B. Greifinger. 1993. "Correctional Health Care: A Public Health Opportunity." *Annals of Internal Medicine* 118 (2): 139–45.
- Griffin, Marie L., Nancy L. Hogan, and Eric G. Lambert. 2012. "Doing 'People Work' in the Prison Setting: An Examination of the Job Characteristics Model and Correctional Staff Burnout." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 39 (9): 1131–47.
- Guy, Mary E., Meredith A. Newman, and Sharon H. Mastracci. 2008. *Emotional Labor: Putting the Service in Public Service*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Haney, Lynne. 2010. *Offending Women: Power, Punishment, and the Regulation of Desire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hasenfeld, Yeheskel. 2000. "Organizational Forms as Moral Practices: The Case of Welfare Departments." *Social Service Review* 74 (3): 329–51.
- Hasenfeld, Yeheskel. 2010. *Human Services as Complex Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hasenfeld, Yeheskel, Toorjo Ghose, and Kandyce Larson. 2004. "The Logic of Sanctioning Welfare Recipients: An Empirical Assessment." *Social Service Review* 78 (2): 304–19.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 2012. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Hussemann, Jeannette, and Joshua Page. 2011. "Gender Diversity and the Prospects for Progressive Prison Reform." *Women and Criminal Justice* 21 (4): 267–89.

- Jackson, Jerome E., and Sue Ammen. 1996. "Race and Correctional Officers' Punitive Attitudes toward Treatment Programs for Inmates." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 24 (2): 153–66.
- Jacobs, James. 1983. *New Perspectives on Prisons and Imprisonment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- James, Doris J., and Lauren E. Glaze. 2006. *Mental Health Problems of Prison and Jail Inmates*. Report NCJ 213600, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, DC.
- Johnson, Robert. 1996. *Hard Times: Understanding and Reforming the Prison*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Jurik, Nancy C. 1985. "Individual and Organizational Determinants of Correctional Officer Attitudes toward Inmates." *Criminology* 23 (3): 523–39.
- Kifer, Misty, Craig Hemmens, and Mary K. Stohr. 2003. "The Goals of Corrections: Perspectives from the Line." *Criminal Justice Review* 28 (1): 47–69.
- Kruttschnitt, Candace, and Rosemary Gartner. 2005. *Marking Time in the Golden State: Women's Imprisonment in California*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lambert, Eric G., Nancy L. Hogan, Shannon M. Barton, and O. Oko Elechi. 2009. "The Impact of Job Stress, Job Involvement, Job Satisfaction, and Organizational Commitment on Correctional Staff Support for Rehabilitation and Punishment." *Criminal Justice Studies* 22 (2): 109–22.
- Lambert, Eric G., Nancy L. Hogan, Shannon M. Barton, Shanhe Jiang, and David N. Baker. 2008. "The Impact of Punishment and Rehabilitative Views on Organizational Commitment among Correctional Staff: A Preliminary Study." *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 33 (1): 85–98.
- Lerman, Amy. 2008. "The Citizens Prisons Produce: How Criminal Justice Policies Shape American Communities and Civic Life." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Lerman, Amy, and Joshua Page. 2012. "The State of the Job: An Embedded Work Role Perspective on Prison Officer Attitudes." *Punishment and Society* 14 (5): 503–29.
- Liebling, Alison. 1992. *Suicides in Prison*. London: Routledge.
- . 2000. "Prison Officers, Policing, and the Use of Discretion." *Theoretical Criminology* 4 (3): 333–57.
- . 2008. "Why Prison Staff Culture Matters." 105–22 in *The Culture of Prison Violence*, edited by James M. Byrne, Donald Hummer, and Faye S. Taxman. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- . 2011. "Distinctions and Distinctiveness in the Work of Prison Officers: Legitimacy and Authority Revisited." *European Journal of Criminology* 8 (6): 484–99.
- Liebling, Alison, David Price, and Guy Shefer. 2011. *The Prison Officer*. 2nd ed. Cullompton, Devon: Willan.
- Lin, Ann Chih. 2000. *Reform in the Making: The Implementation of Social Policy in Prison*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lipsky, Michael. 2010. *Street-Level Bureaucrats: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lynch, Mona. 2012. "The Social Psychology of Mass Imprisonment." 242–59 in *Handbook of Punishment and Society*, edited by Jonathan Simon and Richard Sparks. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- MacKinnon, David P., Amanda J. Fairchild, and Matthew S. Fritz. 2007. "Mediation Analysis." *Annual Review of Psychology* 58:593–614.

- MacKinnon, David P., Jennifer L. Krull, and Chondra M. Lockwood. 2000. "Equivalence of the Mediation, Confounding, and Suppression Effect." *Prevention Science* 1 (4): 173–81.
- Mashaw, Jerry L. 1983. *Bureaucratic Justice*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Massoglia, Michael. 2008. "Incarceration, Health, and Racial Disparities in Health." *Law and Society Review* 42 (2): 275–306.
- Maynard-Moody, Steven W., and Michael C. Musheno. 2000. "State Agent or Citizen Agent: Two Narratives of Discretion." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10 (2): 329–58.
- . 2003. *Cops, Teachers, and Counselors: Stories from the Front Lines of Public Service*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- . 2012. "Social Equities and Inequities in Practice: Street-Level Workers as Agents and Pragmatists." *Public Administration Review* 72 (S1): S16–S23.
- Maynard-Moody, Steven W., and Shannon Portillo. 2010. "Street-Level Bureaucracy Theory." 252–77 in *Oxford Handbook of American Bureaucracy*, edited by Robert Durant. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Minton, Todd D. 2012. "Jail Inmates at Midyear 2011: Statistical Tables." Report NCJ 237961, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, DC.
- Morgen, Sandra. 2001. "The Agency of Welfare Workers: Negotiating Devolution, Privatization, and the Meaning of Self-Sufficiency." *American Anthropologist* 103 (3): 747–61.
- Moskos, Peter. 2009. *Cop in the Hood: My Year Policing Baltimore's Eastern District*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Oberfield, Zachary W. 2010. "Rule Following and Discretion at Government's Front Lines: Continuity and Change during Organization Socialization." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 20 (4): 735–55.
- Owen, Barbara. 1988. *The Reproduction of Social Control: A Study of Prison Workers at San Quentin*. New York: Praeger.
- Page, Joshua. 2004. "Eliminating the Enemy: The Import of Denying Prisoners Access to Higher Education in Clinton's America." *Punishment and Society* 6 (4): 357–78.
- . 2011. "Fear of Change: Prison Officer Unions and the Perpetuation of the Penal Status Quo." *Criminology and Public Policy* 10 (3): 733–70.
- . 2012. "Politically Realistic Unionism: The California Prison Officers Association and the Struggle over the 'Public Good.'" *Working USA: Journal of Labor and Society* 15 (3): 377–96.
- Pager, Devah. 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (5): 937–75.
- . 2007. *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Reimer, Glenda. 2008. "The Graying of the US Prisoner Population." *Journal of Correctional Health Care* 14 (3): 202–08.
- Rierden, Andi. 1997. *The Farm: Life inside a Women's Prison*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Saylor, William G., and Kevin N. Wright. 1992. "Status, Longevity, and Perceptions of the Work Environment among Federal Prison Employees." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 17 (3–4): 133–60.

- Schnittker, Jason, Michael Massoglia, and Christopher Uggen. 2012. "Out and Down: Incarceration and Psychiatric Disorders." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 53 (4): 448–64.
- Schram, Sanford F., Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Linda Houser. 2009. "Deciding to Discipline: Race, Choice, and Punishment on the Frontlines of Welfare Reform." *American Sociological Review* 74 (3): 398–422.
- Shannon, Sarah, and Christopher Uggen. 2012. "Incarceration as a Political Institution." 214–25 in *The New Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*, edited by Kate Nash, Alan Scott, and Edwin Amenta. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Skolnick, Jerome H., and James J. Fyfe. 1993. *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force*. New York: Free Press.
- Soss, Joe, Richard Fording, and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. "The Organization of Discipline: From Performance Management to Perversity and Punishment." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21 (S2): i203–i232.
- StataCorp. 2013. *Stata Multiple-Imputation Reference Manual, Release 13*. College Station, TX: Stata.
- Sundt, Jody L., Francis T. Cullen, Brandon K. Applegate, and Michael G. Turner. 1998. "The Tenacity of the Rehabilitative Ideal Revisited: Have Attitudes toward Offender Treatment Changed?" *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 25 (4): 426–42.
- Thompson, Heather Ann. 2011. "Rethinking Working-Class Struggle through the Lens of the Carceral State: Toward a Labor History of Inmates and Guards." *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas* 8 (3): 15–45.
- Travis, Jeremy. 2005. *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Wacquant, Loïc. 2001. "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment and Society* 3 (1): 95–133.
- . 2009. *Punishing the Poor*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Wakefield, Sara, and Christopher Uggen. 2010. "Incarceration and Stratification." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:387–406.
- Watkins-Hayes, Celeste. 2009. *The New Welfare Bureaucrats: Entanglements of Race, Class, and Policy Reform*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Western, Bruce. 2006. *Punishment and Inequality in America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Wheelock, Darren, and Christopher Uggen. 2008. "Race, Poverty and Punishment: The Impact of Criminal Sanctions on Racial, Ethnic, and Socioeconomic Inequality." 261–92 in *The Colors of Poverty: Why Racial and Ethnic Disparities Persist*, edited by David Harris and Ann Chih Lin. New York: Russell Sage.
- Wright, Kevin N., and William G. Saylor. 1991. "Male and Female Employees' Perceptions of Prison Work: Is There a Difference?" *Justice Quarterly* 8 (4): 505–24.
- . 1992. "A Comparison of Perceptions of the Work Environment between Minority and Non-minority Employees of the Federal Prison System." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 20 (1): 63–71.