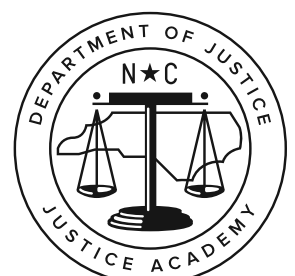


JOURNAL **of the** **NORTH CAROLINA** **JUSTICE ACADEMY**



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Messages from the Attorney General & Academy Director

As law enforcement officers, you all put your lives on the line every day to keep our communities safe. At the North Carolina Justice Academy, we are proud to offer the top-notch instruction you need to fulfill your critical duties. You deserve the best training available.

While North Carolina has seen falling crime rates over the last decade – thanks to your good work – fighting crime will always be important. Keeping up with the latest crime trends will require law enforcement agencies trained with the newest technology and methods. The Justice Academy is committed to providing just that.

As Attorney General, protecting the people of North Carolina is my top priority. The work you do is essential to keeping our communities safe. If you have suggestions for making our state's law enforcement even stronger, please share them with the Justice Academy Staff or me.
Thank you for your vital service to the people of North Carolina



Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Josh Stein". The signature is fluid and cursive.

Josh Stein, Attorney General

A cursory examination of any industry will reveal continuous evolution. From simple logo changes to major revisions to mission and vision, organizations must evolve to meet changing stakeholder needs. The demands placed on our NC Police Departments and Sheriffs' Offices have certainly evolved over recent decades. Community Policing was in its infancy when I entered the field in 1992 when single officers or small units were tasked with administering community outreach programs. Most agencies have evolved to make community outreach a holistic, agency-wide effort; partnering with other organizations to maximize benefits. Crisis intervention, body cameras, and de-escalation, rarely discussed even ten years ago, are critical implications today.

The Justice Academy is committed to evolving to meet the changing needs of our stakeholders. Esthetically, 2019 marks the beginning of significant residence hall renovations on our Salemburg Campus. While these renovations will take some time to complete, the result will be a significantly improved on-campus experience for students.

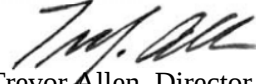


As Winston Churchill wrote, "To improve is to change; to be perfect is to change often." I would argue that change is another word for evolution. The Justice Academy looks forward to evolving to ensure we meet our internal mission of enhancing the careers of NC criminal justice officers. While perfection is a panacea, we're confident you will find your on- campus or online training experience rewarding and are committed to continuously improving that experience.

On the training side, we recently unveiled a brand-new telecommunication simulator, which will bolster our Telecommunicator Certification Course. Our online training menu continues to expand, resulting in over 100,000 completions in 2018. We are introducing new and revised courses such as our NCJA Leadership Institute. Partnering in this course with Wake Technical Community College and the UNC School of Government, we have created a leadership program specifically designed to address current issues and

challenges facing law enforcement leaders. Finally, 2019 ushers in a new Job Task Analysis in support of our BLEET program. I urge you to complete the survey associated with this effort to be disseminated by the Criminal Justice Standards Division later this year. Doing so will help our training staff develop the most cutting-edge curriculum for all of our incoming sworn officers.

Best Regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Trevor Allen", written in a cursive style.

Trevor Allen, Director

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Forging Law Enforcement/School System Partnerships: Using Youth Diversion Programs to Address the School-to-Prison Pipeline

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Abstract

Forging Law Enforcement/School System Partnerships: Using Youth Diversion Programs to Address the School-to-Prison Pipeline

National juvenile diversion program evaluations have yielded mixed findings and conflicting results. The current study examines a Youth Diversion Program (YDP), developed as a result of the law-enforcement/school-system partnership in a large, southeastern metropolitan county. Quantitative comparisons were conducted among four groups of youth: those completing the program, those not completing the program, those rejected at screening, and all youth participating in a post-arrest diversion program across the state. Results indicate that the YDP is effective in reducing re-arrest up to 12 months post-completion ($p < 0.001$). Subgroup analyses of recidivism outcomes showed differences among service providers but failed to explain the reasons for those differences. Limitations concerning the comparison groups, missing data, and analyses that would have provided increased rigor to the study, are discussed. Implications and recommendations for addressing the school-to-prison pipeline by developing new and strengthening existing law enforcement/ school system partnerships are provided.

Keywords: juvenile justice, diversion, school-to-prison pipeline, law enforcement/community partnerships, smart decarceration, pre-arrest diversion, police-based diversion, school-based diversion

Forging Law Enforcement/School System Partnerships: Using Youth Diversion Programs to Address the School-to-Prison Pipeline

Introduction

The National Institute of Justice defines youth diversion as an intervention or strategy that prevents young people from being formally processed through the juvenile or adult court system but still holds them accountable for their actions (National Institute of Justice, 2017). The goals of youth diversion are to limit juvenile involvement in the justice system (and in some cases, connect youth with more appropriate services), reduce delinquent offending behaviors and recidivism, increase system efficiency, and reduce overall costs to the community, youth, and their families (Cocozza et al., 2005). Broadly there are two types of youth diversion – informal and formal. Informal diversion is implemented without any further accountability steps and incurs no court involvement/record (Siegel & Welsh, 2009). Formal diversion typically requires accountability for one's actions, and is implemented through a diversion contract or commitment to fulfill specific conditions or expectations and when said conditions are met, no further justice contact is required (Dembo, Wareham, & Schmeidler, 2005). If, however, these conditions or expectations are not met, official court processing may be a consequence (Wilson & Hoge, 2012). Examples of formal diversion programming include: community service, alternative courts (e.g., teen, mental health, drug, gun, and treatment), restitution, mediation, restorative justice, life or employment skills, and family counseling (Bartollas, 2006; Mears et al., 2016; Schwalbe et al., 2012).

Youth may be offered diversion at various contact points within the juvenile justice system including pre- and post-charge/complaint (Bates & Swan, 2018). Pre-charge diversion is typically reserved for first-time or low-risk juvenile offenders and carries no court record (Siegel & Welsh, 2009). Post-charge is usually formal diversion, involves law enforcement or prosecution, requires an admission of guilt, and includes the aforementioned contract or conditions be met to either dismiss charges or eliminate the court record (Cocozza et al., 2005; Wilson & Hoge, 2012).

According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, in 2014 (the latest statistics available), there were 974,900 estimated delinquency cases processed in the U.S. (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2017). Of those estimated 974,900 cases, 56% (542,500) were handled formally with petitions filed through their local juvenile court whereas 44% (432,500) were handled informally/not petitioned. Of those, 40% (171,000) were dismissed, 24% (102,800) were assigned probation, and 37% (158,700) received another type of sanction including diversion with or without community service, restitution, mediation with or without restorative justice, agency referral, etc. (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2017).

Historically, diversion programs have been implemented to minimize the effects of labeling (by preventing young people from being viewed as and subsequently from identifying themselves as criminals) (Becker, 1963; Rausch, 1983), interrupt/redirect emergent offending patterns (Hamilton, Sullivan, Veysey, & Grillo, 2007), connect youth with more appropriate services (e.g., substance abuse, mental health) (Andrews & Bonta, 2010), reduce the likelihood that they socialize with delinquents and learn antisocial attitudes (Loeb, Waung, & Sheeran, 2015; Sutherland, 1974), and to reserve resources for those who commit more severe crimes or who present as higher risk offenders (Cuellar, McReynolds, & Wasserman, 2006). Potential benefits for other stakeholders and systems include: incurring fewer costs, reducing the burden on juvenile court, and decreasing prosecutorial, judicial, and probation caseloads (Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, & Guckenberg, 2013; Rutherford & McDermott, 1976).

Police-Based Diversion

Police-based diversion enables law enforcement officers to make decisions that allow youth to avoid the justice system, entirely, when they are apprehended for low-level offenses (Mears et al., 2016). Most states also specify offenses for which a petition must be filed and therefore, for which youth cannot be diverted, such as weapons-related offenses, gang-related offenses and

violent offenses including homicide, rape, or serious assault (Juvenile Diversion Guidebook, 2011). However, if the youth is eligible for diversion, the school resource officer, police officer, or juvenile court counselor may enter into a diversion contract with the juvenile and the juvenile's parent/guardian. (For a list of various state diversion statutes see Juvenile Diversion Guidebook – Models for Change, 2011.)

School Resource Officers and School-Based Diversion

According to the National Association of School Resource Officers (NASRO), school resource officers are officers placed in a school with a triad of responsibilities: educator, informal counselor, and law enforcer; with the goals of educating, counseling, and protecting school communities (Canady, James, & Nease, 2012). SROs are usually either employed by the school district or are sworn police officers employed by the local police department (Kim & Geronimo, 2009). Between 2003 and 2012, the U.S. Department of Education reports that during the 2003/04 school year, 24.8% of public schools had the daily presence of police or security personnel as compared to 57.6% in 2011–2012 (U.S. Department of Education, 2013).

Schools have become a primary source of justice system referrals (School-Based Diversion, 2011) and that statistic has been steadily increased (U.S. Department of Education, 2013). National education and criminal justice scholars attribute this increase to school policy reform - including zero-tolerance policies and high-stakes testing (Ruis, 2017; Skiba, 2013), more students presenting with trauma, mental health challenges, and disabilities (Skowrya & Coccozza, 2006), and resource officers making justice referrals for discipline that was previously meted out by school administrators (Justice Policy Institute, 2011).

Since 2000, law enforcement officers have assumed a greater presence in many schools across the U.S. and are often called on to assist with behavioral issues (Berger, Lipsey, Dennison,

& Lange, 1997; Hazen, 2012). Theriot (2009) conducted a study of 28 middle and high schools (13 with officers and 15 without) over three consecutive years to examine the impact of school resource officers (SROs) on the criminalization of student behavior and found that schools with SROs had arrest rates for disorderly conduct that were 5 times the rate of schools without an SRO. He concludes by suggesting that, “As police and school security become more and more omnipresent at schools, school resource officers, teachers, principals, and all school staff need to be mindful of the negative consequences associated with punitive disciplinary strategies and criminal arrests” (Theriot, 2009, p. 286).

The School-to-Prison Pipeline

The school-to-prison pipeline is a contemporary term used to describe the route between the education and juvenile justice systems (McCarter, 2017; Rocque & Snellings, 2017; Wald & Losen, 2003; Wilson, 2014). Though the juvenile crime rate has been declining in the U.S. (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2017), the rates of school-based offenses, suspensions, and referrals to law enforcement continue to increase (U.S. Dept. of Education, 2012). The U.S. Department of Education reports that during the 2013/14 school year, out of the nearly 50 million students enrolled in public schools, 2.7 million students experienced at least one in-school suspension (ISS), 1.56 million students were suspended for at least 1 day, over a million students were suspended more than one time, 111,144 students were expelled, 195,219 students were referred to law enforcement, and 60,170 were arrested for school-based offenses (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). School suspension and expulsion increase a student’s likelihood of falling behind academically (Losen & Martinez, 2013), achieving a lower grade point average (Morrison, Anthony, Storino, & Dillon, 2001), and dropping out (Balfanz, Byrnes, & Fox, 2015). A Council of State Governments’ study of almost a million youth concluded that after controlling for individual and school-level variables, students who were suspended or expelled were three times

more likely to become involved with the juvenile justice system the following year as compared to students who did not experience school disciplinary action (Fabelo et al., 2011).

Diversion Research/Evaluation and National Best Practices

Previous examinations of the efficacy of juvenile diversion have yielded mixed results. Gensheimer, Mayer, Gottschalk, and Davidson (1986) evaluated 44 studies only to determine that the juvenile diversion programs studied were no more effective than adjudicating juveniles delinquent through the juvenile court. The Adolescent Diversion Project (ADP) out of Michigan State University was evaluated by Davidson and colleagues and determined that youth who participated in the 18-week intervention were less likely to have a petition filed in court in the two years following the program, as compared to their control group, but did not differ in rates of self-reported delinquency (Davidson et al., 1987). Subsequent studies of ADP confirmed these findings with a 22% recidivism rate for the experimental group versus 32% for the control group (Smith et al., 2004).

Cocozza et al., (2005) studied the Miami-Dade Juvenile Assessment Center's (JAC) Post-Arrest Diversion Program (PAD). They suggest that youthful offenders often present with multiple challenges, including mental health problems, substance use issues, low academic achievement, and violence/trauma exposure. Thus, Cocozza et al. (2005) contend that to address these challenges, a broad network of community-based services needs to be offered. They conclude that successful diversion programs leverage their community relationships, establish trust across systems, and work towards mutual goals. They propose that the Miami-Dade JAC could serve as a national model based on its "evidence-based systematic approach to assessment, case planning, and supervision; the support from community-based service providers to support youth in the PAD program; and the commitment of the PAD and JAC staff to improve the lives and well-being of youth in the program and their families" (Cocozza et al., 2005, p. 948).

Wilson and Hoge (2012) examined 45 studies (73 distinct programs – victim-offender mediation, community service, restitution, and treatment or education programs) and their findings suggest that juvenile diversion was more effective in reducing recidivism than processing of youth through the juvenile justice system with both study- and program-level factors impacting diversion's effectiveness. That same year, Craig Schwalbe and his colleagues conducted a meta-analysis of diversion programs. They assessed 28 experimental or quasi-experimental studies with 57 comparisons and 19,301 juveniles who were involved in at least one of five program types: case management, individual treatment, family treatment, youth court, and restorative justice programs. Schwalbe et al. (2012) contend that only family treatment ($OR=.57$) and specific kinds of restorative justice programs ($OR=.69$) significantly reduced recidivism.

Winder and Denious (2013) suggest that effective diversion programming results in a high program completion rate and low re-offense/recidivism rate - though they suggest that both of these terms “high” and “low” are not specifically operationalized and vary considerably across programs. Generally, completion rates refer to youth entering diversion programs and meeting the specific conditions expected in terms of the diversion contract. And recidivism can be measured as re-engagement with the criminal justice system (arrest, charge issued, a petition filed, adjudication/conviction, or incarceration) and the length of time until the subsequent contact (Winder & Denious, 2013).

Review of national diversion programming suggests that best practices for juvenile diversion programs feature: 1) standardized and consistent screening and assessment for juveniles which are not problem-focused but strengths-based and account for appropriate youth development; 2) reduced contact with and penetration into the justice systems; 3) use of wrap-around and family-centered interventions focused on problem-solving and skill-building; and 4)

inclusion of a broad network of community-based services that collaborate with one another (Cocozza et al., 2005; Dembo et al., 2007; Winder & Denious, 2013).

Method

This study evaluates an inter-agency collaboration between local law enforcement, the schools, the Governor's Crime Commission/Juvenile Crime Prevention Council, and a local non-profit focused on racial/ethnic disproportionality in the juvenile justice system. Led by local law enforcement, these agencies worked together to divert first-time youthful offenders from formal processing through the juvenile justice system. Using a quasi-experimental design, non-randomized, non-matched comparison groups were used to assess differences in characteristics and outcomes. A randomized controlled trial was not possible as all participants were grouped based on participation decisions, assessment, and eligibility criteria. Therefore, the experimental group was compared to multiple groups: youth rejected from the program at screening/youth choosing not to participate, youth entering but not completing the program, and a state-wide sample of youth diverted from the juvenile justice system via court counselors. Further comparisons were also conducted within the experimental group based on the types of services provided. The analyses conducted sought to answer the following:

Research Questions

1. How does the recidivism rate for Youth Diversion Program completers compare to those who were rejected at screening, those youth who enroll but do not complete the program, and the state's general diverted juvenile population?
2. Do recidivism rates vary based on the types of services provided?
3. What specific steps are taken to improve youth's decision-making skills and to empower families?

Data Collection

Quantitative data from the inception of the Youth Diversion Program in 2013 through November 2017 were gathered by the YDP's Diversion Specialists, SROs, and a data analyst with the law enforcement agency. These data include demographic variables, diversion status, offenses, referral source, and service provider assignment, progress in school, progress in juvenile court, and progress with the home situation, face-to-face contacts, SRO concerns, school suspensions, and recidivism outcomes.

Qualitative data were also collected to contextualize the quantitative findings. These data were drawn from semi-structured interviews each lasting approximately 35 minutes with representatives from five of the agencies that provide intervention services to the majority of the juveniles in the Youth Diversion Program.

This Youth Diversion Program was developed and implemented by a large, southeastern metropolitan police department in January 2013. It is a pre-arrest, police-based, diversion program for first-time offenders charged with divertible offenses. Eligible youth range in age from 6 to 17 years-old and live within the county district. Both the youth and their parent(s)/caregiver(s) had to consent to participate in the intervention program instead of formal juvenile justice processing/formal record. Divertible offenses include public affray, simple assault, disorderly conduct, communicating threats, trespassing, larceny, and damage to property, weapon law violations, and alcohol/narcotics possession. (Note that restitution cannot be mandated for property damage, unrecovered items, or medical bills.)

Before the start of the Youth Diversion Program, any juvenile with a delinquency complaint proceeds through the intake process and is evaluated by a juvenile justice court counselor. In this

particular state, court counselors have up to 30 days to determine if the complaint should be closed, diverted, or be filed as a petition and brought to court.

The goals of this Youth Diversion Program are threefold: 1) to divert youth from juvenile court, 2) improve the youth's decision-making skills, and 3) empower families through education, direction, and guidance.

Process

Since 2013, and based on the inter-agency collaborative, when an incident occurs either at school, at a school-sponsored event/location, or in the community with a young person between the ages of 6-17 years-old and local law enforcement is involved; diversion is considered. If the offense is severe or the juvenile has multiple priors, he/she/they may be arrested. If not, and the juvenile is between the ages of 6-17, lives in the county, and this is the first misdemeanor offense, the officer verifies contact information, reviews the young person's criminal history in the police database and generates a report. Then, the case is forwarded to the diversion supervisor to determine eligibility for the program. If the youthful offender does not meet the eligibility criteria, the case is sent back to the arresting officer and the youth is considered "rejected at screening." Eligibility for the Youth Diversion Program is affected by acquiring new charges or having a prior criminal history, moving out of the county, failing to appear for scheduled intake, being unable to contact or providing invalid contact information. Also, youth, and/or parents/guardians may elect not to participate. For cases which meet the eligibility criteria, the youth is assigned to one of the police department's Diversion Specialists. At this point, the Diversion Specialist contacts the juvenile and his/her/their parent/guardian to explain the terms of the diversion program as an alternative to juvenile justice processing and to schedule an intake with the young person and the parent(s)/guardian(s).

At intake, the Diversion Specialist then administers two assessment instruments: The police department's Youth Diversion Assessment, which includes questions from the GAIN-SS, and the state's Assessment of Juvenile Risk of Future Offending for the youth. These are used to determine the best programmatic fit and the family is then assigned to the appropriate group. If the family agrees to participate in the program, they must sign a consent to participate in both the required parent/guardian sessions and youth sessions, not to reoffend, and to permit access to the child's school records. Once this is complete, the Diversion Specialist notifies the originating officer that the referral has been accepted and to which intervention service provider the youth has been placed. Finally, the young person is added to the watch list for recidivism calculations.

Service Provision

Through the duration of the program, several community-based service providers have been utilized to provide intervention services. However, seven organizations provided the majority of intervention services to the diversion program participants. These include Anuvia Prevention and Recovery Center, Family First, Future Leaders, Prevention, Teen Court, Urban Thoughts, and Youth Development Initiative (no longer a service provider as of 2015).

Anuvia Prevention and Recovery Center (Anuvia) is a private, non-profit organization, founded in 1958, by the county's ABC Board. Anuvia offers a full continuum of assessment, pre-treatment and outpatient treatment services for youth ages 12-17 who are struggling with or have experimented with substances. Family First Community Services LLC (FFCS) is accredited by CARF International and certified as a Critical Access Behavioral Health Agency (CABHA) for the child/adolescent substance abuse continuum. Family First provides a variety of services to children, adolescents, and adults with mental health, substance abuse, and/or intellectual/developmental disabilities. For diverted youth, Family First facilitates the RISE Program (Positive Solutions Model) designed to assist youth in increasing their skills to deal more

effectively with stressors and/or improve their functioning in all settings by changing the way they think about life and their circumstances. Future Leaders is a leadership and life skills development program designed to enhance the lives of teens through education, mentoring, college preparation and career identification. Students are provided skills and techniques to better understand their learning styles, improve their academic achievements, and develop confidence in their ability to excel. Prevention is taught by the police department's SROs, Diversion Staff, and Prevention Specialists. The program provides two hours of programming designed to identify who youth are – and who they would like to become – for youth ages 6-11 and their parents/guardians. The county's Teen Court is an alternative justice system for youth with no previous convictions between the ages of 12-17; it emphasizes accountability, positive peer influence, and youth empowerment and involvement. Teen Court requires that youth admit guilt, have their case heard by their peers, perform jury duty, complete community service hours, and render any additional sanctions assigned by their jurors. Urban Thoughts is a conflict resolution series that focuses attention on clients' perception of self, community, and environment to empower youth on issues that affect positive growth at the individual and community levels. Youth Development Initiatives was discontinued as a service provider in 2015; however, the program provided services to increase school retention and community service and to develop job-readiness skills.

After youth complete the intervention program services, they are required to make four face-to-face contacts at school with their assigned School Resource Officer (SRO) over the next four school quarters. The SROs are instructed to explore the following topics during their conversations with diverted youth: 1) How was your diversion experience? 2) Are you having or have you had any issues or concerns you would like to share? 3) If you have any questions or need advice, feel free to ask me anything. The SRO contact component of the Youth Diversion Program was added in 2016.

Participants

Since the Youth Diversion program began in 2013, a total of 3,365 youth have been referred for services as of November 30, 2017. Referrals start the process of eligibility screening for the program. Youth are considered diverted when they meet the criteria for the program and are routed into services. Youth not considered diverted are those who are: rejected at screening for not meeting the eligibility criteria, youth referred to or already involved in other, often more intensive services, or youth who decline to participate. Table 1 shows the number of referrals and subsequent diversions into the Youth Diversion Program between January 1, 2013, and November 30, 2017.

Table 1. 2013 – 2017 Annual Youth Diversion Referrals and Intake

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
Referrals	705	565	719	697	679	3365
Diverted	508	415	574	605	608	2710
% Diverted	72.1%	73.5%	79.8%	86.8%	89.5%	80.5%

Four general subsamples are compared throughout the analyses: Program Completers, those youth who were eligible for the program, chose to participate, and completed the program more than one year ago; Non-Completers, those youth who were eligible and chose to participate, but for various reasons did not complete the program; Rejected at Screening, those who were either ineligible or who chose not to participate; and a State Comparison Subgroup of youth diverted in FY 2013. Table 2 shows the breakdown of the subsamples drawn from the Youth Diversion program as of November 30, 2017.

Table 2. 2013 – 2017 Annual Youth Diversion Program Subsamples

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
Diverted	508	415	574	605	608	2710
Program Completers	425	364	505	536	388	2218
Non-Completers	83	51	69	68	32	303
Rejected at Screening	158	104	123	70	66	521
% Successful Completion	83.7%	87.7%	88%	88.6%	63.8%	81.8%

Analyses

A complete dataset of all variables gathered for youth in the Youth Diversion Program was provided by the law enforcement agency. Univariate analyses were conducted on all variables to examine the sample and to assess the completeness of the data. One-way ANOVAs were conducted to measure differences in recidivism across the Youth Diversion Program subsamples as well as across the various agencies providing intervention services. When merited, post hoc tests were completed to identify any within the group and between group differences.

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the program administrators at Anuvia, Family First, Future Leaders, Prevention, Teen Court, and Urban Thoughts, exploring the following questions:

- What is the purpose of the agency’s participation in the Youth Diversion Program?
- How much experience has the agency and staff delivered these services had working with justice-involved populations?

- Are the services delivered considered evidence-based? And how does the agency evaluate program success?
- Given the racial disproportionality that exists in juvenile justice, what efforts does the agency take within the diversion services to reduce disparate outcomes for children and families of color?
- What steps does the agency take to improve individual decision-making (explicitly or implicitly directed at preventing youth from re-offending)? And what steps does the agency take to empower families?

The constant comparison method (Bulmer, 1979) was used to categorize and contextualize (Miles & Huberman, 1984) the qualitative data. These data were also analyzed to evaluate the established goals of the Youth Diversion Program.

Table 3. Sample Demographic Characteristics

	State Comparison Group (FY2013)	Program Completers	Non-Completers	Rejected at Screening
Total	4789	2218	303	521
Male	3257 (68%)	1323 (59.6%)	191 (63.0%)	316 (60.6%)
Female	1532 (32%)	895 (40.3%)	112 (36.9%)	205 (39.3%)
Asian	N/A	34 (1.5%)	0 (0%)	10 (1.9%)
Black	2251 (47%)	1462 (65.9%)	243 (80.2%)	402 (77.2%)
Hispanic	431 (9%)	301 (13.5%)	27 (8.9%)	46 (8.8%)
Other*	192 (4%)	12 (0.5%)	2 (0.7%)	5 (1.0%)
White	1915 (40%)	409 (18.4%)	31 (10.2%)	58 (11.1%)
6 years-old	**	10 (0.4%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
7 years-old	**	18 (0.8%)	2 (0.6%)	8 (1.5%)
8 years-old	**	33 (1.4%)	3 (0.9%)	11 (2.1%)

9 years-old	(5%)	51 (2.2%)	2 (0.6%)	14 (2.7%)
10 years-old	(2%)	71 (3.2%)	9 (2.9%)	16 (3.1%)
11 years-old	(6%)	141 (6.3%)	11 (3.6%)	30 (5.8%)
12 years-old	(12%)	242 (10.9%)	27 (8.9%)	65 (12.5%)
13 years-old	(19%)	352 (15.8%)	67 (22.1%)	74 (14.2%)
14 years-old	(26%)	408 (18.3%)	65 (21.4%)	100 (19.2%)
15 years-old	(30%)	425 (19.1%)	72 (23.7%)	111 (21.3%)
16 years-old	***	275 (12.3%)	32 (10.5%)	57 (10.9%)
17 years-old	***	192 (8.6%)	13 (4.2%)	35 (6.7%)

** Given small percentages, the state collapsed American Indian, Asian, Multi-Racial, and Other/Unknown racial categories into one – but the YDP includes Asian as a separate racial category*

***Given small percentages, the state also collapsed 6-9 year-olds into the same age category.*

****Insomuch as this particular state's age of majority is 16, 16 and 17 year-olds were not included in the state data, but the YDP includes 6-17 year-olds.*

Sample demographic characteristics are provided in Table 3. The first column lists the number of youth diverted in the state for FY 2013 (total juvenile justice population that year n=14,120; Cases Closed n=3,031; Cases Diverted n=4,789; Petitioned/Dismissed n=1,654; Petitioned/ Adjudicated n=4,646). Columns 2-3 list those youth in the county who were considered for the collaborative diversion program. These four subsamples are then further described by sex, race/ethnicity, and age. All subsamples were predominately male (59.6%-68%) and Black/African American (40.7%-80.2%). The age range included in the state subsample was from 6-15 with a median age at the offense of 14.0, and the age range of the county subsamples was from 6-17 with a median age at the offense of 14.0 years, as well.

Results

For this study, recidivism is defined as re-arrest within 12 months after completion of the program. [Since the data were analyzed through law enforcement and not the courts, the more conservative re-arrest statistics had to be used versus repeat adjudication or conviction figures.]

Participants who had not yet reached a full 12 months post-involvement were excluded from the analyses, resulting in a county sample of 2,471. Table 4 presents recidivism of the county subsamples across all years included in the analyses.

Table 4. The proportion of Participants Recidivating within 12 Months

Subsample Category	Recidivism w/in 12 Months		Total
	% Yes (n)	% No (n)	
Program Completers	12.4% (216)	87.6% (1,519)	1,735
Non-Completers	37.3% (104)	62.7% (175)	279
Rejected at Screening	27.8% (127)	72.2% (330)	457

Quantitative Findings

One-way ANOVAs across the county samples were used to answer the first research question, “How does the recidivism rate for Youth Diversion Program completers compare to those who were rejected at screening, those youth who enroll but do not complete the program, and the state’s general diverted juvenile population?” A significantly lower recidivism rate for the program completers of the Youth Diversion Program was found as compared to youth who did not complete the program or who were rejected at screening (see Table 5). The group rejected at screening also showed significantly lower recidivism as compared to the non-completers ($p < 0.003$). Finally, the Youth Diversion Program recidivism rate was also nearly half the rate of the state youth recidivism rate of 25%.

Table 5. ANOVA for Recidivism across Subsamples

Subsample Category	n	Recidivism Rate (n)
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A. Program Completers	1735	12.4% (216)*
B. Non-Completers	279	37.3% (104)
C. Rejected at Screening	457	27.8% (127)**
D. State	14,120	25% (3,530)

*Significant difference from B and C ($p < 0.001$)

**Significant difference from C ($p < 0.05$)

Since 2013, the proportion of the subsample populations involved in the main seven intervention service agencies remained fairly consistent except Teen Court and Youth Development Initiatives. This is likely because those partnerships were well established when the Youth Diversion Program began in 2013. Some providers, such as Prevention and Family First, did not start providing services until 2014 and 2015, respectively. Table 6 shows the breakdown of the combined subsample groups for each year.

Table 6. Service Provider Involvement by Year

Service Provider	Year Entering Program					Total
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	
Anuvia	11	82	48	86	60	287
Family First	0	1	81	134	81	297
Future Leaders	10	64	93	94	57	318
Prevention	0	22	77	83	57	239
Teen Court	121	109	134	114	75	553
Urban Thoughts	8	35	100	92	52	287
Youth Development Initiatives	345	88	36	0	0	469
Other*	171	118	128	71	104	592
Total	666	519	697	674	486	3,042

*Participants referred to more than one agency for services are grouped under "Other" along with those assigned to programs that provide services to a smaller number of program participants.

One-way ANOVAs also revealed differences in recidivism rates for participants based on the services provided to answer the second research question, “Do recidivism rates vary based on the types of services provided?” Across the agencies, no single program demonstrated lower rates of recidivism compared to the Youth Diversion Program overall. However, trends were observed among four agencies/service providers that showed either no significant difference or higher rates of recidivism compared to the other programs: Anuvia, Family First, Urban Thoughts, and “Other.” Two of these agencies’ recidivism rates exceeded that of the state. Four agencies showed either no significant difference or lower rates of recidivism compared to other programs: Future Leaders, Prevention, Teen Court, and Youth Development Initiative. These four agencies had recidivism rates lower than the state recidivism rate. Table 7 provides the recidivism rate for each agency/service provider.

Table 7. Recidivism Rates by Service Provider

Service Provider	Total Participants	Recidivism Rate	
		Yes	No
A. Anuvia	223	19.7%	80.3%
B. Family First	193	28.0%	72.0%
C. Urban Thoughts	225	20.0%	80.0%
D. Other	492	26.2%	73.8%
E. Future Leaders	253	10.7%	89.3%
F. Prevention	170	6.5%	93.5%
G. Teen Court	446	17.3%	82.7%
H. Youth Development Initiative	469	12.8%	87.2%
I. State Sample	14,120	25%	75%

Qualitative Findings

Semi-structured interviews were then conducted with each service provider to add context to the quantitative findings and to answer the final research question, “What specific steps are taken to improve youth’s decision-making skills and to empower families?” Qualitative analyses (Bulmer 1979; Miles & Huberman, 1984) were used to assess efforts of the service providers in meeting the goals of the Youth Diversion Program.

The qualitative findings varied considerably regarding the interviewees’ perceptions of the agencies’ participation in the YDP and the level of staff experience with justice-involved populations. Also, they suggest that self-reported use of evidence-based techniques may not necessarily be accurate nor may the agencies be achieving the desired program outcomes. One theme that did emerge from the qualitative analyses was the impact of staff turnover. Recent and significant staff turnover was documented for two agencies, both with higher rates of recidivism.

Regarding agency steps to improve decision-making, three of the six service providers specifically addressed decision-making skills in their curricula. Two others provided similar types of programming through conflict resolution, Restorative Justice, or life skills programs. The qualitative data also identified trends in service providers’ efforts to empower families. Findings suggest that three out of the six service providers delivered programming to family units, including the diverted youth and their parent(s) or guardian(s). One provider uses a standardized curriculum with caregivers, the Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (STEP).

All interviewed recognized racial disproportionality as a reality within the juvenile justice system, but the themes that emerged from this question were of particular concern as they signal a profound lack of understanding of DMC, its contributing factors, and potential solutions. Two providers noted that they have no control over the referrals, so they contend that they are in no way

contributing to disparities by race/ethnicity. Three providers noted that they have a staff of color, their staff/student ratio is balanced, or they have bi-lingual staff members – with one of those adding that cultural competency is very important to their agency.

In conclusion, though the qualitative data did provide some context for the quantitative findings, they were not able to explain outcome differences across the various providers. Independent evaluations of each program provider are necessary to better understand the specific impact of each program's services and approach to juvenile recidivism outcomes.

Limitations

For this study of youth diversion, several limitations should be noted. First, analyses of variance revealed that the three subsample populations – program completers, non-completers, and rejected at screening – were similar in all basic demographics (age, sex, and education level) except race/ethnicity. The program completers group was comprised of more youth who identified as White/Caucasian or Latinx and contained fewer youth who identify as Black/African American, as compared to the non-completers and rejected at screening groups. As a result, comparisons among the three groups may be impacted by their different racial/ethnic compositions. Secondly, several different interventions were used with the experimental group, some of which did not explicitly target reduced recidivism as the desired outcome. The use of multiple interventions complicates the evaluation, and as a result, further analyses are needed to specifically test each intervention while controlling for other variables that may impact outcomes. Also, whereas the Youth Division Program tracked numerous variables that could be analyzed for their impact on recidivism, entry of those data was incomplete and insufficient for further and more sophisticated analyses. Fourth, different components have been introduced into the program since its inception in 2013, which the researchers were not able to control for in the analyses. For instance, the use of an intake assessment form and quarterly check-ins with SROs were not introduced until three years into the

YDP, beginning in 2016. Due to the newness of that program component, there were insufficient data to test for a positive or negative impact of the quarterly interaction with an SRO. Finally, assessment scores were not compiled in a central location, and thus, analysis of the use or impact of intake screenings was also not possible.

Conclusion

This Youth Diversion Program was the result of local law enforcement's concern that many youths in the community was on a path from the schoolhouse to the jailhouse. Youth need to be held accountable for their actions, but many may age out of delinquency and contact with the justice system should be reserved for those whose crimes are more severe or present as a risk (Cuellar et al., 2006). The findings of this study suggest that the Youth Diversion Program provides a community-based solution which fosters appropriate youth development, keeps children in schools and reduces their contact with juvenile/criminal justice (disrupting the school-to-prison pipeline), provides family-centered supports, and includes various community services working together, and is effective at reducing participants' reoffending.

It also revealed areas where the Youth Diversion Program may strengthen both its programmatic and data collection efforts, which would allow for a more robust future evaluation. A data collection tool could guide the data entry of the Diversion Specialists and School Resource Officers to increase the accuracy and completeness of the data. A second instrument should be created for the service providers to ensure that standardized and consistent screenings are conducted that are not only strengths-based but that also take into account youth development (Cocozza et al., 2005; Dembo et al., 2007; Winder & Denious, 2013) and regularly capture important information, such as what evidence-based services are delivered, rates and influence of staff turnover, and the impact on desired outcomes.

This study also found that disproportionately fewer youth of color are completing the program even though they are referred to the program at higher rates. As continued disproportionate minority contact (DMC) research points out, higher levels of discretion often result in higher levels of discrimination (Fabelo et al., 2011). As all human beings are, all service providers are influenced by their explicit and implicit biases (Staats, Capatosto, Tenney, & Mamo, 2017), including a young person's race/ethnicity and this certainly influences diversion decisions (Johnson & Dipietro, 2012; Tapia, 2010). Thus, as Lieber and Stairs (1999) contend, inconsistencies in the diversion process and discretion allows "for the discriminatory case processing of non-whites" (p. 56).

Implications and Recommendations

Effective youth diversion is another tool in the toolbox to address the school-to-prison pipeline and promote smart decarceration. Given the Youth Diversion Program's success in preventing contact with the juvenile court, improving decision-making skills and reducing recidivism, and empowering families there may be value in duplicating the inter-agency partnership and YDP framework. Collaboration and shared funding, as elements of this program, are worth further examination and, possibly, replication in other jurisdictions that currently do not offer pre-arrest diversion options. Do note, however, that in order to safeguard youth from any possible overreach of school-based diversion programming, a mechanism should also be put into place to ensure that the diversion program serves youth with the appropriate potential charges which would benefit from a less intensive approach and adequately assesses those presenting with emotional and psychological functioning problems which would require more intensive services (Dembo et al., 2007; Teplin, Abram, McClelland, & Dulcan, 2002).

Another significant consideration in implementing diversion programs is net-widening. Net-widening occurs when law enforcement and school-resource officers with the legal authority

(but without due process) intervene with lower-level offenders whose petitions would have been dismissed and unintentionally involve more youth in the system (Bates & Swan, 2018; Béchard, Ireland, Berg, & Vogel, 2011; Mears et al., 2016). As Mears et al. (2016) write, “Net-widening traditionally has been viewed as arising when the juvenile court, through diversion programs, expands its reach” (p. 966). If the police do not divert children that they would typically ignore, then no net-widening occurs. But if there are vendors or programs with a vested interest in promoting diversion, the juvenile justice net may in fact ‘catch’ more youth than intended (net-widening.) The number of diversions alone does not serve as an indicator of successful diversion. After controlling for factors that impact officers’ decisions to arrest or divert, the data should demonstrate that youth charges are decreasing rather than remaining constant or increasing (Greene, 2011). A number of precautions can reduce the risk of net-widening, including informing officers regarding their discretionary role in referrals to diversion programs; ensuring diversion programs are not used to fill the role of non-justice-related, community-based social service agencies; mandating a strict eligibility criteria to ensure youth are appropriately routed into diversion programs; and adequately assessing the number of charges/youth under jurisdiction administration. Finally, one significant reason that attention must also be paid to the role that discretion plays in potential net-widening is that this discretion often compounds racial and ethnic disparities.

Thus, with all community-based programming, special precautions should be made to ensure that the benefits are made equitably to the youth of all races and ethnicities. Part of the collaboration for the YDP includes a partnership with Race Matters for Juvenile Justice which uses institutional organizing, education, and workforce development (including race analysis and implicit bias training) to reduce disproportionality and disparate outcomes for youth and families of color (www.rmjj.org). Given the current level of racial and ethnic disproportionality and

disparities across our systems, efforts such as these should be included in the law-enforcement/school partnerships moving forward (McCarter et al., 2017).

Finally, after an increase in school-based referrals in the state of Florida, a collaborative was formed with representatives from the state's attorney's office, county government, the juvenile justice system, the schools, and county/municipal law enforcement (Sullivan, Dollard, Sellers, & Mayo, 2010). They came to be called the Civil Citation Oversight Group and have since added members from the public defender's office, the courts, the NAACP, children's service providers, and local philanthropies. They and others suggest that inter-agency collaboration strengthens juvenile diversion programs and also makes them more effective and sustainable (Prothrow-Stith, 2004). As Joe Cocozza and colleagues (2005) suggest, "good [diversion] programs nurse their relationships, building bridges of trust and mutual goals" (p. 939).

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**JOB SATISFACTION IN NORTH CAROLINA'S SMALLER MUNICIPAL
POLICE DEPARTMENTS**
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Abstract

In the study of organizational behavior, researchers have defined several factors that explain how employees view their work environment. They include job satisfaction, job stress, job involvement, and organizational commitment, among others. Job satisfaction is an important aspect of behavior to study in any organization. In police work, higher levels of job satisfaction are beneficial to the individual police officer as well as the department (Carlan, 2007). One could argue that the entire community profits when police officers are satisfied with their jobs. The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between job satisfaction and police work in small municipal police departments and observe the variables that may influence it. While previous research has examined police job satisfaction in large and medium police departments and some research has looked at other aspects of organizational behavior in small and rural police agencies- the issue of job satisfaction in small departments has not been researched to the level of exploration as larger agencies. This is perhaps because presumably, job satisfaction in small departments is like that of large or medium departments. It may also be perceived that researching job satisfaction in small departments is impractical, given the natural possibility of smaller sample sizes. However, it is important to note that police work in small departments is different than in large metropolitan areas. (Sandy and Devine, 1978)

Furthermore, small police departments warrant closer examination, since they are diverse and complex in unique ways. What explains job satisfaction in a larger metropolitan police department with 300 officers; may not necessarily explain satisfaction in a five or ten officer department. Therefore, the present study explores the idea that job satisfaction is a result of different variables from those found in studies of medium to large organizations. The central issue this research sought to investigate was job satisfaction among police officers in small-town police departments and the associated factors.

Background

Since job satisfaction plays such a key role with organizational factors such as employee turnover, absenteeism, stress, and productivity, it is important to understand the elements of job satisfaction. This is especially true for public service-oriented organizations such as police departments, where public safety is dependent on competent law enforcement. The early organizational research by Hackman and Oldham (1974), Herzberg (1968), Locke (1983), and Saari and Judge (2004) studied the relationship job satisfaction has with organizational variables. The mentioned studies established and validated measures of job satisfaction in organizational settings. However, little research had looked at job satisfaction in police work until Dr. Mark Dantzker's studies (1993, 1994, 1997a, 1997b). Dantzker (1993) stated that "closer inspection of these instruments finds that they have very limited utility for the police organization. This is primarily the result of the differences between the police work environment and the environment of organizations these measures were originally designed for, such as factories, where productivity is more easily measured." Dantzker also recognized that early attempts at police job satisfaction studies "appeared too specific to each study's target sample, in that their content was directed toward the agency being studied, to allow them to be generally used." Dantzker (1997a) said that even though over 2,000 studies involving job satisfaction had been published since 1974, only 34 looked at police job satisfaction. In his 1993 study, Dr. Dantzker created a job satisfaction scale for police officers that were validated with face, criterion-related, content, and construct validity.

More recently, Jason Julseth et al. (2011) studied job satisfaction in small municipal police departments in Pennsylvania using Dantzker's survey. He observed that rising turnover rates in law enforcement might be connected to decreased job satisfaction. His study concluded that higher levels of job-related stress, more frequent shift rotation, and low department morale are related to decreased job satisfaction. Despite dissatisfaction with certain facets, police officers were satisfied overall. Julseth (2011) stated, "Essentially, cops simply like being cops." The trend of police job satisfaction studies seems to be narrowing in focus, not only on the type of population but in terms of the germane facets, as well. Future studies of police job satisfaction will likely continue to narrow the definitions of who and what, but may take into consideration new lines of thought, such as generational issues, as well.

Problem Statement

Overall job satisfaction was the focus of this survey. The question this research arose from was "Are officers in small departments satisfied at work, and what factors may cause them to be dissatisfied?" The hypothesis is as follows:

(h1) Police officers in small North Carolina Police Departments, when surveyed, will be generally satisfied with their jobs.

To discover the answer to that hypothesis, two research questions were proposed. The first research question is:

(r1) Is there a possible link between police officer demographics (gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, and years of police experience, education level, rank, and department size) and job satisfaction levels?

The study also seeks to answer a second research question:

(r2) Is there a relationship between certain organizational factors (supervisor's support, duty equipment, department morale, public support, support of fellow officers, department policy, radio communication, shift rotation, compensation for court time, general job duties, pay, job related stress, intent to leave, perception of large departments, autonomy, boredom, and recognition) and job satisfaction levels?

Purpose of the Survey

Since satisfied employees are more productive and less likely to leave, it is important to know how satisfaction can be understood and used to improve effectiveness and efficiency. The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between job satisfaction and police work in small municipal police departments and examine different variables that may influence it. By administering a survey only to police officers who were members of small municipal departments, the study targeted the population of NC Police Officers working at small departments. This was possible since the researcher was able to obtain an email address for the Chief of Police or a designee for each department fitting the criteria. The departments surveyed were selected because they were small. Most of these departments were smaller than those used in previous police job satisfaction studies. This research, therefore, is more precisely aimed at the desired population. This research also sought to increase the existing pool of knowledge of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among police officers in small-town police departments. This is significant because police job satisfaction research in small departments is nearly nonexistent, yet most police departments in the US are defined as small departments according to Reaves (2011).

Stakeholders

One could argue that the entire community profits when police officers are satisfied with their jobs. The citizens of the State of North Carolina are the primary stakeholders. Citizens in small towns, like those in larger cities, want police to be professional, efficient, and competent. Police administrators, supervisory personnel, and individual officers with higher levels of job satisfaction are beneficial to the department as well as the town. Community partners such as social service agencies, state and federal law enforcement, mental health organizations, and certainly privately-owned businesses rely on quality public safety services for daily operation and success. Police Chiefs and administrators, supervisory personnel, and individual officers of small-town police departments stand to benefit from the findings of the study if information regarding satisfaction levels is used to improve equipment, policies and procedures, co-worker relations, and on-the-job stress.

Theoretical Base and Organization

The present study is first, exploratory, seeking to add to the current knowledge base of police job satisfaction as it relates to small departments. Much of what is known about organizations comes from studies that have examined various industries. The research on job satisfaction is plentiful and includes occupations such as librarians, medical personnel, school teachers, and factory workers. To capture the most accurate results, much of the concept for this study was based on the police job satisfaction research of M.L. Dantzker (1997a, 1997b) and Julseth, et al. (2011). These studies are the closest in nature and overall design to the present study, and their findings helped form the hypothesis here.

Assumptions

This study assumed that small police department job satisfaction in North Carolina, when measured with a survey, might be an accurate reflection of individual police officer job satisfaction. The study assumed that the police chiefs would disseminate the survey to all officers in their department, and that action would result in an adequate response rate. The study assumed that those taking the survey would be only police officers and not civilians or Police Chiefs. The study also assumed that the officers taking the survey would be truthful in their answers.

Limitations of the survey

The present study was limited by the distribution method. Namely, by sending the survey link by email to the Chief of Police or designee, there was no guarantee the individual officers would even get the survey. Another limitation was the time allotted to collect the contact information, administer the survey and collect the results. More time spent in these areas would mean a more thorough and definitive study. Another limitation was that the definition of the small town was inconsistent within the extant literature. The definition for small municipal police departments used here were those municipal jurisdictions with populations less than 6,000 citizens and with a total number of officers of 30 or less. Again, with more time, the researcher could have explored this definition to make the study population as correctly as accurate as possible. Also, the data used to identify departments and population size was from the Bureau of Justice Statistics *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008*. The researcher found that when checking some department's websites, the number of officers had increased significantly, and they were removed from the list.

Literature Review

The Job Characteristics Model

Job satisfaction is often defined as having positive feelings about and being content with one's job. It is useful to begin exploring job satisfaction in police departments using Hackman and Oldham's (1974) Job Characteristics Model (JCM) as a framework for understanding how specific characteristics affect employee attitudes. The JCM has five core job dimensions including skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback. These five dimensions can be combined and scored to give a Motivating Potential Score, which can reveal the potential motivation, performance, and satisfaction for a job. Hackman and Oldham (1976) found that three psychological states must be present for employees to have high levels of job satisfaction. First, employees must believe their work is important and meaningful. Second, they must feel like their work makes a difference, and that they are responsible for the outcomes of their work. Third, employees must know about their work product and receive enough feedback from supervisors to see that their work has produced a substantial impact. Hackman and Oldham's Job Characteristics Model has been used in academic textbooks and referenced in research studies since the study was published in 1974, suggesting it has credibility and validity.

Herzberg's Two Factor Theory

To further understand the concept of job satisfaction and work environment, it is helpful to relate Fredrick Herzberg's two-factor theory. Herzberg's two-factor theory explains why it is clear that these motivations are linked to non-materialistic desires just as much as pay. Job satisfaction, according to Herzberg (1968), depends on the employee's perception of the importance of tasks and the acknowledgment of accomplishments. Herzberg (1968) premised that an employee's satisfaction with work is associated with motivators such as recognition,

advancement, and achievement. Conversely, employee job dissatisfaction is associated with hygiene factors such as policy, supervision, and salary. Herzberg's study found that satisfaction in the workplace is derived from the substance of the work environment itself. He identified three sources of job satisfaction: the importance of the work, the personal responsibility in doing the work, and the recognition received from doing the work. Also, the motivating reasons why police officers choose the field of law enforcement are connected to job satisfaction.

Four General Factors Associated With Job Satisfaction

In a similar vein, Saari and Judge (2004) found there are four general factors associated with high employee job satisfaction: mentally challenging work, equitable rewards, supportive working conditions, and supportive colleagues. Saari and Judge note that virtually all employees desire a positive social component in the workplace, meaning they are more satisfied when coworkers are getting along. It may also be relevant that a person's perceptions about their capabilities and competency as an employee can shape their views of the workplace.

According to Saari and Judge, those employees who have higher levels of self-confidence and self-worth are not only more likely to gravitate towards challenging jobs; they are more apt to see their work as fulfilling.

Impact on Job Performance

Job satisfaction significantly impacts job performance, as pointed out by Dantzker, (1993). Organizations with contented workers tend to be more efficient than organizations with unhappy ones, as posited by Robbins and Judge, (2011). They also noted that satisfied employees are more likely to exhibit altruistic or organizational citizenship behavior. When people are satisfied with their jobs, they are more apt to help out and go beyond the basic expectations. In terms of officer turnover, the research by Koslowsky (1991) found that over time, Israeli police

officers with low job satisfaction levels were more likely to leave the organization. Also, Yang, Brown, and Moon (2011) noted that “job satisfaction is negatively associated with absenteeism and turnover intention.” While she observed that decreased levels of job satisfaction might indirectly lead to officer turnover, Brough (2004) suggested that the correlation between the two needs to be further studied. This notion is of particular significance to the administrators of small departments where turnover rates are high, but it is an issue all police departments face. Maintaining employee job satisfaction is an important component of successful organizations (Koslowsky, M. 1991). However, in the field of police work, job satisfaction affects the organization on many levels. Ostensibly, satisfied officers are more likely to not only stay with the department but remain loyal during difficult budgetary times, as well. Officers with high job satisfaction are presumably more efficient, more committed to being at work, and more apt to devote themselves to the cause of police work (Brough 2004).

Job Dissatisfaction

Job dissatisfaction is almost inevitable. Carlan (2007) observed that any degree of dissatisfaction or cynicism in police work “robs the profession of the very values needed to accomplish its goals.” Police officers who are upset with employers may take out their frustrations in many different ways. They might take supplies home for personal use, such as ammunition or pepper spray. Dissatisfied officers may also use work time for socializing or unjustifiable personal internet use. Some officers may become excessively tardy or fabricate sick leave when they are no longer satisfied at work.

Robbins and Judge (2011) advise employers to address the root cause of dissatisfaction as opposed to exerting great effort at attempting to regulate it. They suggest one way police administrators can attend to or avoid officer dissatisfaction is through the use of regular employee surveys. Surveys allow officers to voice complaints about the work environment,

especially when made anonymously. Even if supervisors do not use all the suggestions, there is value in allowing officers to be heard. Another way administrators can combat job dissatisfaction is by promoting educational advancement through salary compensation, tuition reimbursement, and career track programs.

Additionally, fitness incentive programs that allow officers to exercise during work hours can boost job satisfaction. Robbins and Judge noted that a bonus benefit of fitness programs is that officers take fewer sick leave days when they are healthier. Some agencies have used officers on best practices or policy review boards to combat dissatisfaction. Every employee responds to dissatisfaction differently, though. According to Robbins and Judge, all four of the dissatisfaction responses and behaviors typically fall within two dimensions; either constructive or destructive behaviors or active or passive behaviors. The exit response is behavior aimed at leaving the organization, such as seeking and applying for a new job. The voice response describes behavior that seeks to improve the workplace, such as making suggestions and discussing problems with managers. The behavioral loyalty response to job dissatisfaction describes the employee who quietly but hopefully waits for things to get better. This behavior includes the officers who have been with the department for many years and are optimistic that one day, management will improve or change. The fourth behavior is called the neglect response and is often seen in the form of absenteeism, reduced productivity, or increased rate of errors.

Demographic factors

Demographic factors such as educational level, ethnicity, gender, and years of service also play a part in police officer job satisfaction, though to a lesser degree. Carlan (2007) remarked that “one constant of job satisfaction research is that demographics contribute little to the explanation of this emotional phenomenon.” Instead, it appears that there are more influential

factors to consider when studying job satisfaction among police officers. With the increasing educational level of police officers in the past few decades, the relationship between higher education and job satisfaction has been studied, but with mixed results (Zhao, Thurman, and He 1999). It is not yet clear whether more education can be directly associated with job satisfaction, or if other similar variables have an overshadowing influence. Ethnicity and gender are other demographic variables that have produced mixed results when studied.

While discrimination against minority and female officers exists, not all research on this matter is conclusive that officers in these demographic categories tend to be dissatisfied with their job (Zhao et al. 1999). In the demographic area of years of service or rank, a negative association exists between an officer's job satisfaction and time on the job according to Carlan (2007). This might be an obvious indication to police administrators that more attention needs to be paid to cynicism among veterans. Even though the rookie enthusiasm may eventually fade, the loss does not have to equal job dissatisfaction, and police employers should be aware of this point. The bottom line is that while demographic variables contribute to police officer job satisfaction, the degree of influence is negligible for some and unknown for others.

The Immediate Work Environment

The concept that some researchers believe has the most impact on police officer job satisfaction is the work environment. Brough (2004) noted that some research indicates that self-reported perceptions of job stressors are higher among emergency service populations when compared to other occupations. However, Brough went on to examine both the experience of trauma in comparison to the more frequently experienced minor organizational stressors. Brough points out that "whenever it was possible to make a comparison between trauma and organizational stressors in the literature, organizational stressors appear to have a greater influence within emergency services populations." As it relates to the Brough study, the research

findings seem to indicate a connection between job satisfaction and occupational stress. The role of leadership is another variable that impacts job satisfaction.

Julseth, et al. (2011) reported that job satisfaction is subject to the officer's view of administration as well as other outside variables. As found with other research, (Dantzker, 1997a, Zhao, et al. 1999) Julseth reported that police officer job satisfaction decreased with time spent on the job. In departments where community policing was implemented, for example, the close day to day interactions between officers and supervisors were connected to higher job satisfaction. Supervisory support and administration contact with officers were variables that coexisted with higher levels of job satisfaction. Researchers, however, warn about generalizing their studies to departments dissimilar in size and geographic location. Researchers do agree that communication between supervisors and police officers has a significant impact on job satisfaction. Additionally, Carlan (2007) said that decreased levels of job satisfaction lead to officer turnover. This notion is of particular significance to the administrators of rural and small-town police agencies, where turnover rates can be high.

The Strength of Autonomy

Both Herzberg's (1968) and Hackman and Oldham's theories were studied by Zhao, Thurman, and He (1999). They determined that "police officers' satisfaction with work is associated positively with their perceptions about the importance and significance of their work, the recognition they receive, their autonomy, and the capability to do the work" Zhao, et al. (1999). The variable that was significantly related to all three sources of job satisfaction was autonomy, which shows that police officers enjoy having the ability to make their own decisions. This finding was also discovered in the research project by Carlan (2007), where the police officer's perceived degree of freedom was related to higher job satisfaction. Given that autonomy has surfaced in several research studies as a leading causal factor in police officer job

satisfaction, administrators who offer more freedom in workplace decision making may indeed have more satisfied officers.

Carlan (2007) also found that police officer job satisfaction is strongly connected to the individual's intrinsic need to fulfill career ambitions. The dimensions that were related to high job satisfaction scores were, in order of importance: social contribution, pay, adventure and excitement, autonomy, peer respect, and job security. It is of worth to note that quite many police officers associated helping others with high job satisfaction. This could mean that if officers can realize this career goal, they will be more satisfied with police work. It is also understood that pay and benefits are directly related to job satisfaction, but according to Carlan (2007), the relationship is not as strong as with non- materialistic motivators. The strongest influence pay had on job satisfaction in Carlan's study was 11%. The element of adventure and excitement that is associated with police work was ranked third highest in priority by respondents in Carlan's study. Carlan states that "positive outlooks on this issue increase job satisfaction by 14%," indicating that should this element of the work environment be met, police are more likely to be satisfied with their job. Feelings of having freedom in making work decisions, positive companionship, and secure employment also contributed to job satisfaction, though not as strongly as other work environment influences. Carlan (2007) finally concludes that with a commitment from police administrators, these work environment influences of job satisfaction can be attained, benefiting society.

Job Satisfaction and Stress

Stress in the workplace is a fact of life. In modern society, stressors are present in every type of job. How stress impacts one's job can vary, depending in part on the individual's perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs. One such impact stress may have on individuals in the workplace is the level of job satisfaction. Job satisfaction among police officers may be

connected to work-related stress. The field of Law Enforcement is inherently dangerous and stressful, and in fact- police officers have one of the most stressful occupations in the world. (Dantzker, 1987) The current day police officers have to deal with an increasing plethora of issues, including changes in policing philosophies, intense scrutiny by the courts, a hypersensitive media, and managerial problems such as role ambiguity. Davey et al. (2001) stated their study “examined what workplace attributes were predictive of job stress and job satisfaction within the police workplace. Officers in rural stations reported lower levels of job stress than did their metropolitan, suburban, or regional city-based counterparts. This needs further investigation as it may reflect specific policing issues.”

Research has established the types of stressors police officers experience as organizational, external, task-related, and personal. (Oliver and Meier 2004) Organizational stressors describe those factors related to the bureaucratic nature of police agencies and the conflicts between management and line officers. External stressors are those uncontrolled factors outside of policing such as politics and a poor economy. Task-related stressors are the inherent dangers of police work associated with the daily tasks officers perform. Personal stressors affect the individual, such as family life. It was established by researchers Sandy and Devine (1978) that many of the stressors found in policing urban areas could be generalized to rural and small-town policing, as well. Oliver and Meier (2004) concluded that there are four specific stress factors unique to rural patrol officers. Rural patrol officers must wait significantly longer than their urban counterparts for backup to arrive. They also live and socialize in the same community they work in. Rural officers experience less than adequate working conditions, equipment, and pay while experiencing long periods of inactivity.

Oliver and Meier (2004) stated that “The majority of stress studies have dealt with large urban police departments serving populations over 250,000 with over 1,000 police officers or

medium size police departments serving populations over 50,000 with over 100 officers.” Their study was supportive of the findings described by Sandy and Devine, (1978) who noted that many small towns and rural police officers realize that “boredom resulting from long periods of inactivity is often a factor contributing to job dissatisfaction.” This prevalent research by Sandy and Devine is often referenced in research on rural policing. A person’s job satisfaction could vary according to their work environment, and the occupational stress literature demonstrates an agreement regarding the negative relationship between stress and job satisfaction. (Villanueva and Djurkovic, 2009) Also, research by Liu et al. (2008) stated that “occupation had a significant impact on employee’s job strains,” which added additional support to the proposal that a negative relationship between rural police stress and job satisfaction exists. Sandy and Devine, (1978) noted that many small towns and rural police officers realize that “boredom resulting from long periods of inactivity is often a factor contributing to job dissatisfaction.” Julseth, Ruiz, and Hummer (2011) found that “there was a trend for officers to report greater stress and to have less overall job satisfaction; however, the differences were not significant.” They did notice, though, that as stress levels increased, job satisfaction scores decreased in direct relation to each other. William Pelfrey (2007) stated “Although interesting and important research has been conducted on policing in rural areas, there are several key deficits in this literature” He goes on to say, “A second deficit exists in the rural policing literature concerning the job satisfaction of these officers.” Pelfrey’s research particularly studied the relationship between job satisfaction and community policing style in rural police. Yolanda Scott (2004) said, “Previous studies on police stress have focused mainly on urban officers, and attention afforded to rural and small-town police is virtually nonexistent.” Scott’s study focused on the extent to which rural police officer stress is a function of administrative changes and media criticism.

Methodology

Investigation Design

After reviewing the existing literature, it is apparent that the preferred research tactic for studying this type of issue is descriptive research using quantitative methods. The most prevalent studies of police job satisfaction used a survey with Likert type questions. In this survey, the questionnaires used by Dantzker (1997b) and Julseth, et al. (2011) were reviewed, and many of the measures validated by Dantzker were used here. This study intended to show with descriptive statistics whether a relationship exists between certain organizational and demographic variables and job satisfaction levels. Research literature currently examines police officer job satisfaction levels and their relationship to demographic and workplace characteristics. This study analyzed police officers' job satisfaction levels to determine what variables might have an impact.

Participants

The participants in this study sample were sworn police officers within small-town municipal police departments in North Carolina. To ensure that only small-town police officers were being surveyed, the author intentionally chose to survey departments even smaller than those recorded in the existing literature. Specifically, the definition for small-town municipal police departments used here was those municipal jurisdictions with populations less than 6,000 citizens and with a total number of officers of 30 or less. The author was able to obtain a list of all North Carolina municipal police departments using data collected by the Bureau of Justice Statistics *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008*. From that list, all departments with jurisdictions serving populations of 6,000 or greater and a total number of officers greater than 30 were eliminated. The database was further compiled in an Excel spreadsheet including department name, address, website if available, phone number and the

contact person's name and email address. The Qualtrics software allowed the researcher to upload the list of departments totaling 200.

Data Collection

The data for this study were collected using an online survey questionnaire that consisted of demographic data questions and job satisfaction questions with a five-point Likert type scale (Appendix A). Descriptive statistics about the independent variables- in this case, demographics and organizational factors- were gathered using questions drawn from the previously discussed research. The dependent variable, job satisfaction, was also examined with questions gathered from previously conducted research, primarily that of Dantzker (1997b). The demographic data included age, sex, ethnicity, marital status, education, total years of police experience, and department size. The survey instrument itself included an informed consent (Appendix A) identifying the researcher and giving the respondents more awareness of the purpose, benefits, procedure, duration, confidentiality, and anonymity of the survey. The Informed Consent also explained the respondent's right to ask questions, the voluntary nature of the study, and the lack of discomfort or risks. The surveys were developed and distributed using the Qualtrics Survey Software®. The survey was sent to all 200 contact email addresses via Qualtrics, and a survey reminder was sent out after one week. The survey was open for two full weeks before the survey link was then disabled. Qualtrics then generated a complete report of the survey data (Appendix B).

Research Findings

The research findings indicated positive relationships between the selected organizational factors and job satisfaction levels. Given the smaller budgets of small municipalities and the present day state of the national and state economy, it is not surprising that the lowest ranked facet was pay. However, it is important to note that the mean ranking for satisfaction with pay was 2.79, above the median value of 2.5. When the overall job satisfaction facet and the

satisfaction with pay facet were cross-tabulated (Appendix D, Cross Tab Overall Job Satisfaction and Satisfaction with Pay), it was interpreted that only four officers were “Dissatisfied” with both pay and overall job satisfaction. So, even when officers report dissatisfaction with pay, they still seem to be generally satisfied with their jobs.

It was determined that there was no significant negative relationship between demographics and job satisfaction. Officers reported high levels of satisfaction in every individual demographic category, as shown in Appendix D, Cross Tab Overall Job Satisfaction and Demographics. The average respondent across all demographic categories was a married white male police officer between 36 to 45 years old with 12 years police experience, some college education, and belonging to a small department with 21 or more officers. However, in terms of diverse demographics, the low number of responses in the non-Caucasian categories was surprising. If the number of non-Caucasian officers was proportionate to the population of all police officers working in small North Carolina towns, the disparity might be within a normal range. Knowing the exact demographic makeup of each police department should be an area considered in future research.

Furthermore, when the job satisfaction scale was compared to department size in a cross-tabulation chart (Appendix D, Cross Tab Job Satisfaction Scale and Number of Officers); it was interpreted that the number of officers did not significantly change job satisfaction as department size increased. In departments ranging from 1- 5 officers up to departments with 21 officers or more; officers were generally satisfied with their work. The twelfth and last question of the survey was “What do you believe are the top two reasons officers in small police departments might be dissatisfied?” This question allowed the respondents to type their response in a text box. The purpose of this type of open-ended question was to capture any responses that may not otherwise appear in the survey. There were 110 typed responses to this question. The responses are included in Appendix B. The words “pay,” “salary,” or “money”

appeared 67 times. The words “promotion,” “advancement,” or “progression” were used 23 times. The word “politics” appeared 15 times.

Discussion of the Findings

Since overall job satisfaction was the main focus of this study, the question “Are officers in small departments satisfied at work, and what factors may cause them to be dissatisfied?” was answered with an aggregate view of the survey results.

The hypothesis (h1); that police officers in small North Carolina Police Departments who were surveyed are generally satisfied with their jobs was supported with the results of the survey.

First, officers indicated high levels of satisfaction in every individual facet related to job satisfaction except pay (Table 9, Items 1- 12). Secondly, in the overall job satisfaction facet, officers indicated high levels of job satisfaction (Table 9, Item 13 and Appendix C, Graph 1).

To investigate the hypothesis, two research questions were examined. The first research question (r1) asked: Is there a possible link between police officer demographics (gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, and years of police experience, education level, rank, and department size) and job satisfaction levels?

The second research question (r2) asked: Is there a relationship between certain organizational factors (supervisor’s support, duty equipment, department morale, public support, support of fellow officers, department policy, radio communication, shift rotation, compensation for court time, general job duties, pay, job related stress, intent to leave, perception of large departments, autonomy, boredom, and recognition) and job satisfaction levels (r2)?

While satisfaction with the Chief of Police was ranked high, the highest ranked facet on the job satisfaction scale was with the immediate supervisor's support (Appendix C, Graph 2). This finding is consistent with previous research and underlines the importance of front line supervisors as leaders. Field Training Officer and Front Line Supervisor training may be part of the reason officers are satisfied with superiors, possibly stemming from better relationships in the ranks. Other areas where satisfaction levels were high included compensation for court time, the quality of duty equipment, the quality of radio communications, support of fellow officers, department policy, and general job duties (Appendix C, Graphs 3-8).

Some of the research reviewed indicated that job-related stress played a role in job satisfaction. The results of this study showed that stress levels were rated as mostly moderate (Appendix C, Graph 9). When compared to overall job satisfaction in a cross-tabulation, the impact of job-related stress on satisfaction seems to decrease as satisfaction level increases (Appendix D, Cross Tab Overall Job Satisfaction and Stress Level). Only three officers who reported "High" levels of stress also reported they were "Dissatisfied" with police work overall. Officers taking the survey reported high levels of job satisfaction and only moderate job-related stress. This could mean that police work in small departments is not highly stressful to officers, but it may also be related to the ability of officers to thrive in stressful environments. This finding is consistent with previous research, suggesting that job satisfaction and stress indeed have a negative relationship.

The other organizational factors were organized so they could be compared to department size with a "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree" scale. These items were measures selected from previous research. When compared using a cross-tabulation chart, officers seem to be content working in small departments and seem to be happy overall with the immediate work environment (Appendix D, Cross Tab Organizational Factors and Number of Officers). The

autonomy item, “I have adequate independence to do my job,” was ranked high in all department sizes surveyed; suggesting officers are more likely to be satisfied when given adequate freedom to work. Most officers reported they do not often feel bored while at work. Boredom is a measure researchers have indicated to be related to dissatisfaction in rural areas. The recognition item, “I am recognized when I do a good job,” was also ranked highly across all department sizes. This finding agrees with the research that suggests a connection between employee recognition and job satisfaction.

The remaining items asked officers if they would leave police work for a better paying job if they would change departments, if they would prefer to work for a larger department, and if they believed officers at larger departments were more satisfied than those at small departments. The findings from these questions further indicated that when compared across all department sizes surveyed, most officers were content with working at a small department, and more specifically, their current department. The officers also indicated they did not perceive that working at a larger department is more satisfying. These items collectively demonstrate that most officers at small departments are satisfied with their jobs.

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The current day police officers have to deal with an increasing plethora of issues, including shrinking budgets, changes in policing philosophies, and concentrated scrutiny by the courts, a hypersensitive media, and managerial problems such as leadership weakness. It might be perceived that these issues would be enough to deter anyone from working in the field of law enforcement, let alone be satisfied with it. Fortunately, academic research has taken notice of the need to support this aspect of organizational behavior within police work by defining and explaining job satisfaction, and ultimately giving recommendations for police administrators.

The majority of academic research, however, has been focused on large police departments, often with 100 or more officers. Even the few that attempt to study small or rural agencies rely on size definitions that can include significantly populated cities of nearly 50,000 people. Future research in this area needs a logical, well-defined meaning of a small or rural department. The effort of such studies might take a broad cross-sectional survey approach combined with narrowing construct definitions to improve external validity. This might be accomplished using the US Census Survey of Micropolitan Areas but would likely take a great amount of time. For this study, a definition was used that included only departments serving a population of 6,000 citizens or less and having 30 or fewer officers. The available descriptive and contact information for the small departments in each town was difficult to obtain, as much small-town Police Chiefs did not publish their email addresses. The final database of small-town police departments came to exactly 200.

A limitation of this study was not having an email address for each police officer. By looking at even smaller Police Departments than other studies, it is hoped that the findings represent a portion of the law enforcement population that has been underrepresented in the literature.

The findings of the research did support the hypothesis that law enforcement officers working in small North Carolina Police Departments who responded to the survey are satisfied with their jobs. This conclusion was reached by taking a cumulative look at the answers to two research questions. The first (r1) asked if a link existed between demographics and job satisfaction. Consistent with the research of large and mid-sized police departments, no individual demographic category produced lower job satisfaction ratings. While disparity and inequity may exist in small police departments with regards to one or more of the demographic categories, there was no apparent impact on job satisfaction in the present study.

The study also sought to explore the relationships between several organizational factors and job satisfaction (r^2). Police officers, like most employees, simply want good working environments and fair treatment. The survey revealed that officers want enough autonomy to feel free from micro management, but appreciate regular support from supervision. Organizational behavior research has indicated that when jobs give more autonomy, employees have higher rates of job satisfaction and productivity. Moreover, survey data strongly indicates that police officers in small towns want to pay that is fairly allocated. Ideally, law enforcement officers would always be properly financially compensated for the dangerous work they do. While this is an area administrators could already be aware of, the recourses may be limited. Still, Police Chiefs might choose to be open to new possibilities when creating a budget. New, more cost-efficient policing techniques, equipment, and learning resources are becoming more available constantly. In turn, administrators may be able to reallocate the newly accessible funds towards pay, thereby generating more satisfaction, reducing turnover, and improving the state of the department.

When administrators are looking to increase retention, they may choose to focus on job satisfaction as well as employee recognition as they can have a critical impact on the department's overall success. Satisfied employees are more likely to have positive interaction with coworkers and clients. In police work, it is essential that officers refrain from forming negative relationships with the public as well as each other. If officers are satisfied with their jobs, they are less likely to have negative interactions with citizens they encounter or fellow employees. Political turmoil may always be a part of public work, whether in small local governments or large state bureaucracies. However, police administrators and supervisors who seek to avoid engaging in favoritism, micro management, or hearsay can potentially avoid damage to department morale and individual job satisfaction.

Put simply, the data collected in this study tends to support earlier research that cops like being cops. That is, despite various organizational variables and stresses, police officers generally enjoy their roles. Future studies may want to look to examine job satisfaction within law enforcement among military veterans, as there may be lessons to learn about the differences between the two. It may also be beneficial for the larger understanding of job satisfaction to see a meta-analysis of research studies of job satisfaction in small, medium, and large police departments. Another vein of research to be considered is job satisfaction between generational types. So far, the advice given by researchers ranges from suggested policy changes to simple equipment upgrades. The common thread seems to be saying the same thing: police officers, while generally satisfied with their work, can be even greater assets if managers pay attention to and apply these recommendations. The recommendations from this study are not vastly different. Police Chiefs who consider creative budgeting possibilities may allow more equality in pay to the greatest extent possible. Chiefs can seek to provide supervision and leadership training for front line supervisors to enrich the skills necessary for those they supervise. Performance appraisals that are connected to raises and promotions might be considered, if not already in place, and reevaluated if they exist. Finally, Police Chiefs can use the information in this study to enhance their understanding of the parts of police work that are satisfying to officers that can be controlled and improved on, versus those parts that are dissatisfying or are out of the administrator's control.

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Bio:

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Patrick has taught Criminal Justice classes at the University of Mount Olive, including Criminal Justice Administration, Advanced Law Enforcement Systems, and Research Methodology. Patrick teaches Basic Law Enforcement Classes and continuing education classes including Firearms, Rapid Deployment, and TASER at James Sprunt Community College. Patrick is a member of the North Carolina Training Officers Association, the National Tactical Officers Association, The International Association of Firearms Instructors, and Alpha Phi Sigma- the Criminal Justice Honor Society. He is a recipient of the Advanced Law Enforcement Certificate.

Patrick resides in Willard, NC with his wife Teresa and four children, Nathan, Naomi, Natalie, and Nadine.

The North Carolina Criminal Justice Association: Who are We, Really?

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Abstract

In 2011, the North Carolina Criminal Justice Association (NCCJA) modified its Constitution to allow one annual conference instead of two. NCCJA also changed the format of the conference to make the conference more “academic” in nature. Rather than featuring one or two speakers, the new format invites talks and papers from people all across the state and is thus consistent with conferences of other academic organizations such as the Southern Criminal Justice Association (SCJA) and the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS). One result of the change is a much larger conference audience. In this paper, the author analyzes the conference programs of the North Carolina Criminal Justice Association from 2011-2018 (eight years), to establish the types of papers that attendees are presenting (and those they are not). The author also shows the schools and agencies represented by presenters. The purpose of the analysis is to discover what NCCJA is doing well & what presenters are ignoring and to illustrate the schools being best served by the new conference format and those that tend not to attend. The paper provides a snapshot of NCCJA since the switch in a conference format.

Keywords: NCCJA, conference, criminal justice

The North Carolina Criminal Justice Association: Who are We, Really?

In 2010-2011, under the presidency of Matthew Robinson, the North Carolina Criminal Justice Association (NCCJA) modified its Constitution to switch from two annual conferences varying from the eastern and western parts of the state to a single annual conference early in the year in a central location (i.e., Raleigh). The conference format was also changed, switching from one keynote speaker and perhaps one or two other invited speakers, to a submission-based format where anyone can submit abstracts for consideration for inclusion in the annual program.

The purpose of the changes was to encourage greater participation by students, faculty, and practitioners in the state and beyond to participate in the conference. Historically, NCCJA conferences were not well-attended for many reasons. First, faculty, students, and practitioners could present research or give talks by invitation only. Second, it is often difficult if not impossible to obtain funding for conference travel when one is not making a presentation. Third, the focus of the conference programs was often not themed or themes were very limited in scope.

The new conference format allows anyone to submit abstracts for papers, posters, talks, roundtables, and entire panels. This assures presenters can obtain funding from their institutions to attend. Each year there is a broad theme, and a call for papers is sent out to educational and professional institutions. This allows presenters from all types of institutions across the whole state. With no question, this has been an unqualified success, as attendance at the conference has grown significantly.

This paper examines the nature of conference presentations since the change, from the first year when the new conference format was practiced (2011), to the most recent conference (2018). The author examines each of the last eight conference presentations to identify the numbers of papers, presenters, and schools/agencies represented each year. The author also

illustrates the nature of the topics been addressed at these seven conferences, to provide a snapshot of who is the NCCJA?

Methodology

This paper grew out of a careful review of all the NCCJA conference programs during the years 2011 through 2018. Thus, seven conference programs were reviewed. The title and abstract of each scheduled presentation were used to classify papers/talks into one of several broad categories of papers/talks, including:

- Crime
- Policing
- Courts
- Corrections
- Criminal justice education
- Criminological theory
- Juvenile justice
- Other

This is the approach used by Robinson (2002) in his review of the 2002 annual program of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) and by Robinson (2004) in his review of the annual program of the Southern Criminal Justice Association (SCJA) from 1998 through 2003. This approach was replicated by Ruffinengo, Mueller, and Collins, (2007) in their review of the 2007 annual program of the ACJS. The author of this paper follows the same approach when it comes to classifying papers or talks into one main category: typically the most appropriate category assignment was easy to ascertain based on the title of the talk and the

abstract of the paper, but when it dealt with more than one area (e.g., a theoretical explanation of crime), the assignment was made to the category where the paper best fit in the judgment of the author. In the case of theoretical explanations of crimes, those were placed in the criminological theory category rather than the crime paper, even though they also concern crime. As another example, papers concerning student perceptions of different aspects of criminal justice were placed in those categories of police, courts, or corrections rather than the criminal justice education category because the main topic of those papers dealt with student perceptions of branches of criminal justice rather than education per se. A complete list of paper topics each year is provided in Appendix A to give the reader a better idea of which types of papers were included in each category.

Findings

Figure 1 illustrates that from 2011 to 2018, the relative size of the program has stayed remarkably similar. The total number of panels from 2011 to 2018 was 99, or approximately 12 panels per year. The total number of papers scheduled from 2011 to 2017 to be presented was 249 papers or about 31 papers per year.

Figure 2 shows the general paper topics scheduled to be presented from 2011 to 2018. The number of papers varied significantly by topic.

Figures 3 through 10 make the number of papers within each topic and the general trends within each category easier to see. Tied for the most papers were papers in the “other” category (see Figure 3), which includes everything that could not easily be categorized into the more specific categories. There was an average of 6.6 papers per year in the “other” category (21% of the total during the years of study).

Tied with that category were papers related to policing (an average of 6.6 papers per year, or 21% of the total, see Figure 4). The third most common paper topic was criminal justice education (an average of 4.4 papers per year, or 14% of the total, see Figure 5).

This is followed closely by papers about some criminological theory (an average of 4.3 papers per year, or 14% of the total, see Figure 6). The fifth most common topic papers about some form of crime (an average of three papers per year, or 10% of the total, see Figure 7) and papers about corrections (an average of three papers per year, or 10% of the total, see Figure 8). Ranked seventh was papers on courts (an average of two papers per year, or 6% of the total, see Figure 9). The least common number of papers were those about juvenile justice (an average of one paper per year, or 3% of the total, see Figure 10).

Figure 11 shows the total number of institutions who had presenters represented at the conferences from 2011 through 2017, as well as the number of total authors over time. Each conference featured an average of 18 institutions represented per year, with an average of 45 authors per year. A complete list of institutions is provided in Appendix B to give the reader a specific idea of which institutions had individuals scheduled to present papers at the conferences).

Table 1 shows that, during the seven years of study, people scheduled to present papers or give talks came from a total of 67 institutions, including 27 universities, six colleges, five community colleges, 13 policing agencies, three judicial agencies, two correctional agencies, and nine other agencies. The institutions underlined attended the first conference in 2011, and the two schools in bold (Appalachian State University and Western Carolina University) are the only schools that had faculty and/or students make presentations at all eight of the conferences included in the study.

Discussion

The switch to a more academic style conference where attendees can present their research has been a success for NCCJA. It is positive news that the conference remains popular and well-attended. However, the size of the conference has not grown over the years, and the majority of school in the state are not regularly sending people to present research papers or to deliver talks. Community colleges are the least represented among presenters. Similarly, while NCCJA has attracted some professional presenters from law enforcement and other criminal justice agencies, the number of presenters from those agencies is tiny and relatively insignificant given the size of the “criminal justice system in the state.”

In terms of topics, much of what is found is not surprising. As one example, the large number of papers about criminal justice education is to be expected by an organization that regularly has made efforts to focus on our academic discipline (as well as connections with professional agencies). As another example, there were far more papers on policing than on courts and corrections. Policing in the US (and the state) receives far more attention and resources than the other branches of the system, and many if not most of our students seek to go on to work in law enforcement careers. The very small number of papers on juvenile justice is quite surprising, however. Currently, that system is plagued by serious problems of disproportionate minority confinement (DMC), something that is in great need of study by the state’s criminal justice scholars.

Topic by Topic

To get more specific by topic—starting with papers about crime—the vast majority of papers presented between 2011 and 2017 dealt with street crimes rather than the far more common and dangerous acts of white-collar, corporate, and government deviance & crime.

Papers focused on topics such as robbery, homicide, sexual assault/rape, sexual harassment, child sexual abuse, child prostitution, domestic violence, witness intimidation, gang crime, drug use, drug dealing, binge drinking, academic dishonesty, texting while driving, and sexting. The only papers focused on elite deviance were written about forced labor, financial exploitation of the elderly, crimes of the food industry, and violations of federal water safety regulations. Finally, there was only one paper focused on acts of terrorism during the entire period of study. As a group, we are *not* presenting on the greatest threats to our lives and property, meaning we are not analyzing the behaviors that cause the most harm to citizens.

Papers on policing were on a wide variety of topics, including student perceptions of police, reducing citizen complaints, community policing, citizen accountability, communication with the media, police education, paramilitary and problem-based training, recruitment and retention, policing styles, officer satisfaction, stress, hot spots policing, police pursuits, initial crime responses, police use of data, conducting research with law enforcement agencies, wearing body cameras, false burglar alarms, leadership, ethics, information sharing, cold cases, K9s, police in schools, fitness policies, BLET, dealing with particular populations, police victimization, ethnicity and gender of officers, asset forfeiture, policing after Ferguson, and evaluations of particular police programs. Generally missing from the conference presentations were papers that were critical of particular police policies or policing in America more generally.

Papers on courts were also varied, and included student perceptions of judges and Constitutional issues, drug courts, mental health courts, veterans courts, women's and girls' courts "Alford pleas," stress among public defenders, as well as more critical assessments such as the Constitutionality of particular practices and sentencing disparities and social justice. Numerous important court issues are not being addressed in NCCJA conference presentations.

Papers on corrections examined issues including probation, prison gerrymandering, capital punishment, religion and prison, recruitment and retention of public safety staff, changing inmate behavior, ethical issues of doing research with inmates, sex offender treatment, drug abuse treatment, funding for rehabilitation, collateral consequences of incarceration, re-entry, the impact of incarceration on subsequent employment, drug overdoses after release, mental illness in prison, mental health task forces, an assessment on a program in the state, and the impact on corrections of particular laws in the state. Absent from the conference was any paper dealing with the huge financial burdens of the state's prison system, descriptions of life under correctional supervision, or racial and ethnic disparities in the North Carolina corrections system.

The papers on juvenile justice were few and only dealt with the theory of rehabilitation, gender-responsive programming, mental health treatment in juvenile justice, the effects of restraining juveniles, and the impact of law on juvenile justice practice. At least two more critical issues were examined by scholars during these conferences, including racial threat and disproportionate minority confinement (DMC) and the impact of the transfer on adolescent development.

Criminological theory papers only focused on a handful of theories of crime, including different aspects of social disorganization theory, social learning theory, social bonding theory, anomie and strain theory, low self-control, labeling theory, feminist theory, and bio-social approaches to understanding behavior. Other papers focused on mental disorders and antisocial attitudes, moral decision-making, predicting violence in juveniles, the impact of bullying on school shootings, the impact of PTSD on criminal behavior among veterans, the relationship between alcohol laws and campus crime, how sociological factors impact promiscuous sexual behaviors among college students, psychosocial factors and child sex offenders, protective

factors within the family and schools, morality and religiosity, how different factors impact perceptions of school safety, and reducing unwanted pregnancy and STDs. There was only one paper in the eight years of study aimed at explaining acts of white-collar, corporate, or government deviance and crime.

The relatively popular category of papers on criminal justice education featured examinations of topics such as the role of the Juris Doctorate (JD) in criminal justice education, curricular decisions at some schools, service learning, internships and experiential learning, student clubs, criminal justice journals, collaboration with criminal justice organizations, using technology, using theory to better educate students, media in the classroom, guest speakers in the classroom, employers' views of criminal justice majors, writing skills of students, teaching statistics, the role of the thesis in graduate education, undergraduate research, education versus training, social justice in the classroom, readying students for work, international student exchanges, and insights about grad school from program directors.

The largest share of papers, papers on "other topics," was the most diverse group of papers offered at the conferences from 2011 to 2017. These papers included papers on crime & drug use prevention, using music to reach at-risk youth, self-esteem among teens, multi-systemic therapy, restorative justice, peace education, assessments and discussions of the drug war, career opportunities in private security, bridging gaps between researchers and practitioners, issues related to different forms of research, policy implications of research, information sharing in criminal justice, interagency cooperation, criminal justice leadership, grantsmanship, effectively planning emergency management drills, effective disaster response, emergency notification systems at colleges and universities, crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED), the CSI effect, biases created by the criminal law, the impact of politics and ideology and

criminal justice, the NC Violent Death Reporting System, water recovery, soil variation and human decomposition, dental remains, human remains detection canines, forensics tools, victimology, technology and crime control, the social justice implications of low-wage workers, the role of morality in criminal justice, evaluating criminal justice policies using justice theory, the impact of race on sex offender registration, African American Criminology and Criminal Justice, the proper role of criminologists in society, and even a comparison of South African Apartheid and Israeli treatment of Palestinians. Perhaps more than any other category of papers, these best demonstrate the major research interests of those attending our conferences.

Conclusion

This paper likely contains much useful information for board members and officers serving the North Carolina Criminal Justice Association (NCCJA). NCCJA leaders can utilize the information contained within this paper to assess what we are doing well and what needs to be improved. Specifically, there is information contained within this paper to suggest reforms for how to attract researchers and presenters who will better represent all the state's educational and professional institutions in the state and to identify areas of interest that are not yet being pursued by our members. Efforts should be made to continue to grow the membership, encourage participation in the conference, and gain a better representation of academic and professional organizations across the state. Logical recommendations from this research include

1. Continue to make efforts to grow the size of the conference
2. Make more outreach efforts to community colleges with criminal justice and related programs
3. Make more outreach efforts to universities with criminal justice and related programs
4. Make more outreach efforts to professional organizations (e.g., police departments)

5. Encourage papers on underrepresented topics, including but not limited to elite deviance, problems with criminal justice practice, courts, juvenile justice, etc.

Specifically, officers and board members of the NCCJA should make sure that call for conference papers are sent to every academic institution in the state that has a criminal justice or related program. The call for papers should also target institutions that have, as of now, never sent a participant to the conference. Finally, efforts should be made to reach out to professional criminal justice organizations, especially in the city of Raleigh where the conference is held every year. When the first conference utilizing the new format was held, the expectation was that the organization would eventually outgrow the hotel facilities that hosted the NCCJA. This has not happened, and whereas the conference remains highly popular, well-attended, and professionally satisfying, the size of the conference could grow significantly, forcing the organization to locate a new hotel facility to host the conference.

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Bio:

Dr. Matthew Robinson has been with the Department of Government and Justice Studies at Appalachian State University since 1997, after earning his PhD in Criminology and Criminal Justice from Florida State University. He is the current President of the North Carolina Criminal Justice Association and Past President of the Southern Criminal Justice Association. Robinson is the author of 20 academic books, most recently, [*Media Coverage of Crime and Criminal Justice*](#) (Carolina Academic Press, 2018), as well as more than 100 other publications in journal articles, books, encyclopedias, and newsletters. He has authored scores of op-eds in newspapers across the country and regularly appears in media stories of crime and criminal justice. Dr. Robinson also maintains a blog devoted to media and crime at <http://mediacriminaljustice.blogspot.com/>

APPENDIX A: Complete List of Paper Topics

2011 conference (29 papers)

Papers on crime:

1. Home Invasion Robbery: What We Know about it and a Report on Related Research in Progress
2. Weapon Use in Intimate Partner Violence Incidents in Rural North Carolina
3. European Jihadists: Assessing Threats to US Homeland Security

Papers on policing:

1. Promising Strategies and Practices for Reducing Citizen Complaints and Improving Performance in Law Enforcement Agencies: A Proactive Approach
2. Law Enforcement and the Challenges of Autism
3. The Ethics of the P300-Based Concealed Information Test for Use in Law Enforcement
4. Student Perceptions of Legal and Extralegal Factors in Officers' Decisions to Stop and Arrest

Papers on courts:

1. Sentencing Disparities in the Criminal Justice System: The Implications for Social Justice
2. Student Perceptions of Legal and Extralegal Factors in Judges' Pretrial Decisions
3. Student Perceptions of Legal and Extralegal Factors in Judges' Sentencing Decisions

Papers on corrections:

1. Theological Reflections on the Penal System
2. The Application of the Death Penalty in North Carolina

Papers on juvenile justice:

1. The North Carolina Juvenile Justice System: A System Based in Rehabilitation
2. How Might the Evidence Base on the Effectiveness of Gender-Responsive Programming Inform North Carolina's Juvenile Justice Practice?
3. The Impact of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 2002 in North Carolina for Juveniles

Papers on criminological theory:

1. The Electronic Scarlet Letter: Criminal Backgrounding and Perpetual Spoiled Identity
2. The Long-Term Protective Effects Family Factors Have on Delinquency among Latino Youth
3. Wrap it up...Be Safe: Protect Yourself from Pregnancy and STDs: An Exploratory Study of Sexual Behavior in North Carolina Through Social Learning Theory
4. Civility, Violence, and Resiliency: Bulletproofing the Academy through Policy and Practice

Papers on criminal justice education:

1. The Role of the Juris Doctorate (JD) in Criminal Justice Education

2. Curricular Directions in Criminology & Criminal Justice at Western Carolina University
3. Unshackling the Journals of Criminal Justice
4. Criminal Justice Graduate Program Directors (Roundtable)
5. The Center for Community Justice & Service Learning at Fayetteville State University (plenary)
6. Student Criminal Justice Clubs: The Road to Success, Hope and Opportunity (Roundtable)
7. Toward a New Generation of Criminal Justice and Human Service Professionals: Internships and Experiential Learning Opportunities Revisited—What Works, What Does Not Work (Workshop)

Papers on other topics:

1. Increasing Criminal Justice Students' Awareness of Career Opportunities in Private Security (plenary)
2. National Drug Control Policy under President Obama (plenary)
3. With Great Power Comes Great Responsibility: How Students Use and Misuse Technology

2012 conference (34 papers)

Papers on crime:

1. Community Child Sexual Abuse
2. Smart Phones and Dumb Drivers: The Dangers of Texting While Driving

Papers on policing:

1. Hot spot policing: A Deterrent Technique for Reducing Part 1 Offenses
2. The cost of Unabated Response to False Burglar Alarms
3. Prioritizing Offenders: An Evaluation of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department's P.O.S.T Program
4. A Quantitative Study of Police Sergeants' Perceived Authentic Leadership Factors on Officers' Morale in Eastern North Carolina
5. Innovations in Information Sharing: An Example Provided by the Sarasota County Sheriff's Office
6. Police Victimization and its Effect on Organizational Commitment

Papers on courts:

1. Success Stories and "Superstars" in North Carolina's First Mental Health Court
2. Choosing Church or Jail for Misdemeanor Offenses: Is it Constitutional?

Papers on corrections:

1. Just the Facts: North Carolina's Capital Punishment System According to the Data
2. Fletcher v. Lamone: The Political Impact of Prison Gerrymandering
3. Justice Reinvestment Act: Examining North Carolina's Legislative Construction of Criminal Justice

Papers on juvenile justice:

1. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Gender-Responsive Delinquency Intervention Programming for Boys and Girls in Detention
2. The Effects of Restraining Youth

Papers on criminological theory:

1. Residential Segregation and Socio-Ecological Models of Crime: An Empirical Analysis
2. Identifying and Addressing Predictors of Violence Juvenile Delinquency
3. Bullying and School Shootings: An Exploratory Study of their Correlation and Abuses
4. An Exploration of Veterans' Criminal Behavior that Suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder through the General Strain Theory
5. Hypnotized by Gangsterism: Liberating our Youth from Fatal Gangsterism

Papers on criminal justice education:

1. Introducing...MyCJLab (lunch presentation)
2. Partnerships and Collaboration Between Criminal Justice Organizations and Higher Education: Mutually Beneficial Successful Initiatives (roundtable)
3. Innovative Uses of Technology to "Teach" Controversial Material (plenary)
4. Raising the Bar: Employers' Views on College Learning in the Wake of the Economic Turndown
5. Undergraduate Criminal Justice Students' Writing: Papers are a "Reel Waist" of Time for Educators to Grade
6. Teaching Statistics in Criminology & Criminal Justice: An Outcome Assessment
7. Criminal Justice at a Cross Creek: A Case Study of Criminal Justice Education at a Model Early College Program
8. Providing Student Resources for Success in a MACJ Program

Papers on other topics:

1. Multi-faceted Interventions to Address Violent Juvenile Delinquency
2. Issues Implementing Multi-Systemic Therapy
3. Bridging the Gap Between Researchers and Practitioners
4. Practitioners and Educators Together (roundtable)
5. Issues and Challenges in Homegrown Terrorism Research
6. Issues and Challenges in Illegal Immigration Research

2013 conference (28 papers)

Papers on crime:

1. Criminalizing Sexting: Controlling Illicit Cyber Activity among Juveniles
2. Rape on College Campuses: Using Research to Inform Students
3. Forced to Work and Live in Hell: Identifying and Evaluating Labor Trafficking Hotspots in the United States

Papers on policing:

1. A Perfect Circle: How Education (of Police Officers) is the Key to Justice
2. Job Satisfaction in North Carolina's Small Town Police Departments
3. Assessing the Impact of a Local Police Athletic League on Youths and the Community

4. K9 Dogs: A Vital Tool for Law Enforcement Professionals
5. Homicide Cold Cases: Partnering with Higher Education

Papers on courts:

1. Public Defenders' Job-Related Stress and Effects in North Carolina and Georgia

Papers on corrections:

NONE

Papers on juvenile justice:

1. Racial Threat and Disproportionate Minority Confinement (DMC) in North Carolina

Papers on criminological theory:

1. Making Decisions about Offenders and about Offending: Do Biological Markers Predict Both?
2. Feminist Theory and Female Delinquency" A Synthetic Theory Explaining Female Crime
3. Female Criminality Explained through Parental Attachment and Involvement
4. Gottfredson and Hirschi Travel Overseas: Is Deficient Parenting Associated with Low Self-Control in a Sample of Chinese English School Students?
5. Juvenile Delinquency Prevention: Applying Social Learning Theory
6. A Criminological Post-mortem on the Casey Anthony Case
7. The Association of Moral Decision-Making and Intentions to Offend

Papers on criminal justice education:

1. The Importance of Including a Thesis in a MACJ Program: A National Perspective
2. Teaching Criminal Justice: Where do I Begin? (plenary)
3. Program Directors Roundtable (roundtable)
4. The Importance of a Positive Writing Environment in Criminal Justice Education

Papers on other topics:

1. Up to the TASC? An Assessment of Recidivism amongst Drug Treatment Clients in North Carolina
2. Effective Planning of an Emergency Management Drill
3. Assessing Gulum and Murray's Framework for Acquiring Emergency Notification Systems at Colleges and Universities
4. Comparing the South African Apartheid and the Israeli Treatment of Palestinians
5. Restorative Justice as a Viable Criminal Justice Practice
6. The Problem is the Law: How Lawmakers Create Bias in Criminal Justice
7. Criminal Justice and Non-Criminal Justice Students' Attitudes Toward Issues in Criminal Justice

2014 conference (34 papers)

Papers on crime:

1. Watchful Eyes: Health Inspectors' Account of Labor Trafficking Situations
2. Justifiable Homicide in the Defense of Companion Animals
3. Educational Benefits, Sex Crimes, and Binge Drinking: A Closer Look at those who Protect and Serve in North Carolina

Papers on policing:

1. The Future of Police Leadership in North Carolina (roundtable)
2. Categories of Policing Style (COPS) Instrument
3. The Role of Social Capital in Improving Community Wellness in a Community Policing Context
4. A Pilot Study on Police Ethnicity in Relation to the Organizational Adaptation Strategies among Police Officers in the Town of Morrisville and Rocky Mount Police Departments

Papers on courts:

1. Drug Dogs and Cell Phone Logs—A Look Back and a Look Ahead at US Supreme Court Search and Seizure Decisions
2. Constitutional Issues in the Moral Monday Protests: Disruption, Disturbance, and Trespass

Papers on corrections:

1. Changing Offender Behavior: Implementing the Principles of Effective Intervention
2. Improving Probation Office Effectiveness through Agency-University Collaboration
3. Project Reentry: An Example of an Evidence Based Reentry Program

Papers on juvenile justice:

NONE

Papers on criminological theory:

1. Mental disorders and antisocial attitudes
2. Changes in Alcohol Laws and On Campus Offenses
3. How Biosocial Theory can be Integrated into the Development of Correctional Programming
4. Neighborhood Correlates of Homicide in Southeastern North Carolina
5. Radical Choices: Toward a Typology of Homegrown Islamist Terrorism
6. A Warden's Perspective: Explaining the Structural Effects of Juvenile Detention Centers on the Behaviors of Detained Youth
7. Explaining Some Sociological Factors in College Environments that Increase the Likelihood of Promiscuous Sexual Behaviors Among College Students

Papers on criminal justice education:

1. Undergraduate Research: Effective Pedagogy and Student Engagement
2. A Workshop on Undergraduate Student Clubs at the University Level
3. An Assessment of Educational Requirements in the Field of Criminal Justice and a Preliminary Look at a Student Interest in Advanced Education

Papers on other topics:

1. A Preliminary Look at Self-Esteem Among Teens: Factors and Outcomes
2. The NC Violent Death Reporting System
3. Challenging and Improving Situations for the Low-Wage Worker: Through the Lens of Social Justice
4. The Problem is the Law: How Lawmakers Create Bias in Criminal Justice
5. National Data Exchange (N-Dex) Information Sharing Across the Criminal Justice Lifecycle (workshop)
6. Training and Confidence: An Important Combination in Effective Disaster Response?
7. The Social Justice Implications of the US Drug War
8. The North Carolina Criminal Justice Academy
9. Does Race Influence Sex-Offender Registration in North Carolina?
10. Alternatives to Social Control: Ending Crime and Achieving Justice through Peace Education
11. Crime, Justice, and Social Control: “Driving Home” Issues in Victimology
12. Crime Control in the Age of Technology

2015 conference (31 papers)

Papers on crime:

1. Exploring Stranger and Acquaintance Sexual Harassment of College Female Students (poster)
2. Into the Light (poster)
3. Myths of Gang Membership and Activity: Reality of Social Construct?
4. I Sold My Child into Prostitution Because ...

Papers on policing:

1. Examining the Organization-Public Relationship between Community Property Managers and the Cary Police Department: A Program Evaluation of the Project PHOENIX Program
2. K9 Dogs: A Vital Tour for Law Enforcement Professionals
3. Using a Data Driven Approach to Reducing Crime and Traffic Crashes (by Law Enforcement)
4. Using Data Driven Approaches to Crime and Traffic Stops
5. Child Victims of Sexual Assault: Initial Response
6. Police Accountability and Citizen Oversight: A Framework for Justice in the 21st Century
7. Exploring Attitudes within Legal Precedents Related to Police Pursuits

Papers on courts:

1. Constitutional Crisis: An Analysis of College Students’ Perceptions of Constitutional Issues
2. The Implications of the Abandoned Property Doctrine of the Fourth Amendment on Data Deleted from the Cloud

Papers on corrections:

1. Sex Offender Treatment Effectiveness: A Formative Evaluation of SOAR
2. Overdose among Recent Prison Releases in North Carolina

3. The Southern Death Penalty
4. Incarceration and Subsequent Employment

Papers on juvenile justice:

1. The Impact of Transfer on Adolescent Development

Papers on criminological theory:

1. American Indian Victimization: Examining Socioeconomic Factors Affecting Homicide Rates (poster)
2. Anderson & Miller: A Theoretical Rumble in the Inner-City Jungle (poster)
3. Bullying, Unsafe Schools, and Deviant Peers: Effects on Violent Behavior

Papers on criminal justice education:

1. Studying Criminal Justice in South Korea: WCU's Exchange Program with the Korean National Police University
2. Roundtable with ... (graduate school directors)
3. Using Media to Teach Theory and Public Policy to Undergraduate Students: One Criminology Program's Experience (poster)

Papers on other topics:

1. The Reality of the CSI Effect
2. Missing Persons: The Complexity of Water Recovery
3. NC Violent Death Reporting System System-Academic Collaborative Projects
4. Breathing Life into African American Criminology and Criminal Justice
5. Types of Programs for Female Batterers (poster)
6. Community Awareness of Into the Light Program
7. So How Goes the Drug War?

2016 conference (32 papers)

Papers on crime:

1. Financial Exploitation of the Elderly
2. Historical and Current Trends in Academic Dishonesty: An Examination of Survey Results

Papers on policing:

1. Recruitment and Retention Programs for Law Enforcement Agencies
2. Exploring the Influence of Media, Social Media, and Other Factors for Recruiting Qualified Law Enforcement Officers for Municipal Agencies in North Carolina
3. Law Enforcement Officer Stress and Coping: The Impact of Relationship Satisfaction
4. Repairing Public Trust in Policing: An African American Criminologist's Perspective Concerning Reasonable Policing
5. Citizen Perceptions of Police and Police Perceptions of Citizens: An Analysis and Exploration of Conflicting Perceptions
6. Dealing with an Aging Population: Implications for Law Enforcement
7. Asset Forfeiture in North Carolina

8. Shot Spotter Data Analysis Project
9. Navigating the Pathway to the Future: The Role of Strategic Leadership in Law Enforcement
10. A Comparison of Paramilitary and Problem-Based Models of Training
11. Communication Between State Law Enforcement and the Media

Papers on courts:

1. Strategic Understanding: Public Defenders' Offices and Membership Theory
2. Content Analysis of "Alford Plea" Appeals Following the 1970 US Supreme Court Case of North Carolina v. Alford, 400 US 23, 91 S. Ct. 160; 27 L. Ed. 2d (1970)
3. A Survey of Women's and Girl's Courts in the United States

Papers on corrections:

1. The Current Status of the Mental Health Task Force
2. An Assessment of the STARR Program and Offender Outcomes in a Federal District Office

Papers on juvenile justice:

NONE

Papers on criminological theory:

1. Child Sex Offenders: How Psychology and Sociology Both Play a Role in Understanding Offender Characteristics and Public Perception in Society
2. Exploring Families and Schools: Factors Associated with Running Away from School
3. Examining Context of American Indian Homicide Victimization in North Carolina

Papers on criminal justice education:

1. Making it Real: Bringing Criminal Justice Professionals into the College Classroom
2. Building Bridges: A Qualitative Case Study of Workforce Development Functions Utilizing Community College and For-Profit Criminal Justice Programs
3. The Millennials and Choice of Career in Criminal Justice: An Examination of Survey Results
4. AACU High Impact Educational Practices
5. Criminal Justice Clubs: Helping Students Excel
6. Current Issues in Criminal Justice Training and Education

Papers on other topics:

1. The Real Problem of Contemporary Criminal Justice: Politics and Ideology
2. From the Corner to a Symphony: Using Music to Reach At-Risk Youth
3. Soil Variation and Human Decomposition: HRD Canine Study
4. Building Relationships in Criminal Justice: A Modal Example of Interagency Cooperation
5. Leadership: Modeling Appropriate Behavior (training)

2017 conference (30 papers)

Papers on crime:

1. Recent Revelations Concerning Robbery in America from Analysis of UCR Data—The Past Ten Years
2. Designer Drugs and Implications for Biomedical Research
3. Consent, Policy, and Sex Crimes on Campus

Papers on policing:

1. Perceptions about Public Safety and Women Police Officers in North Carolina, 2016
2. Local Law Enforcement in North Carolina: Examining Media, Social Media, and Other Factors that Influence Recruitment
3. Law Enforcement Fitness Policies in Relation to Job Injuries and Absenteeism
4. How Research Plays an Influential Role on the Criminal Justice Investigative Process
5. BLET in NC (break out session)
6. Learning from the Past
7. Training Enhances Confidence, Confidence Increases Effective Response

Papers on courts:

1. Gender Differences in Pretrial and Sentencing Decisions
2. Stakeholders' Perceptions of Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion, Civil Citation Programs, and Drug Court Programs in a Rural County
3. The Successes and Challenges of Establishing and Maintaining a Veterans' Treatment Court

Papers on corrections:

1. It Comes Down to Money: An Analysis of Funding for Rehabilitative Programs in Correctional Facilities in North Carolina
2. Recruitment and Retention of Public Safety Staff
3. Collateral Consequences (break out session)

Papers on juvenile justice:

NONE

Papers on criminological theory:

1. Gender, Neighborhood Context and Recidivism
2. Measuring Morality and Religiosity: A Multidisciplinary Comparison
3. How Negative Perceptions of Schools' Safety, Violence, Delinquency and Victimization Contribute to the Likelihood of Dropping Out of High School

Papers on criminal justice education:

1. Internships (break out session)
2. Classroom Technology (break out session)

Papers on other topics:

1. The Proper Role of Criminologists Right Now, Revisited

2. Theory and Research Inform Policy
3. Practitioners and Academics Collaborate (break out session)
4. Grants (break out session)
5. How to Evaluate Criminal Justice Policies Using Justice Theory
6. Public Policy Implications of Research on Alcohol Distribution Locations and Crime: Can Better-Specified Models Lead to Greater Sharing of Responsibility and Improved Control of Crime?
7. Dental Remains: The Use of Dental Structures for Accurate Body Identification
8. Legal and Ethical Considerations Regarding Use of Human Remains Detection Canines
9. Forensic Tools and Criminal Justice (training)

2018 conference (31 papers)

Papers on crime:

1. Incidence and Prevalence of Type 2 Diabetes in America: Is There Culpability in the Food Industry?
2. Thirty Years of Federal Water Pollution Prosecutions
3. Witness Intimidation in Intimate Partner Violence
4. Just Get it Online: Drug Delivery Mail Order Style

Papers on policing:

1. Study Design Considerations in Conducting Research with Law Enforcement Agencies
2. Dispatching Services in North Carolina Counties
3. Improving Reporting of Biased-Based Policing Data
4. What Happens Downstream? Perceptions of Policy Body-Worn Cameras among External Stakeholders
5. Exploring the Unique Challenges of Body-Worn Camera Deployment in Small Law Enforcement Agencies
6. Keeping Kids Safe: Public Perceptions about Police in Schools
7. Law Enforcement Fitness Policies in Relation to Job Injuries and Absenteeism
8. The Science and Utility of Scent Detections K9s
9. Hesitation, Reluctance and Recruitment Issues in the Post-Ferguson Era: A Survey of North Carolina Law Enforcement Officers

Papers on courts:

NONE

Papers on corrections:

1. Capital Punishment, International Law, and Human Rights
2. Death penalty in America: Understanding Attitudes and Trends
3. The Impact of the Collateral Consequences of a Criminal Conviction
4. Ethical Considerations for Conducting Data Collections with Inmates
5. The HOPE Initiative
6. The Criminalization of Mental Illness
7. Where oh Where do we Find the Talent?

Papers on juvenile justice:

1. North Carolina Juvenile Justice and Community Collaboration for Mental Health Care

Papers on criminological theory:

1. Applying Contextual Anomie and Strain Theory to Recent Acts of Corporate Deviance
2. Media Stereotypes and its Danger to Children

Papers on criminal justice education:

1. The Ronnie Long Project: Integrating Social Justice Advocacy in a Justice Studies Curriculum
2. Criminal Justice Student Organizations
3. A Practice Approach to Education
4. Student Development

Papers on other topics:

1. Criminal Justice Agency Survey Data Collections: Operational Challenges and Solutions
2. The Effectiveness of Increased Lighting on Crime Reduction
3. Does Morality Belong in our Justice System?
4. The North Carolina Criminal Justice Association: Who are We, Really?

APPENDIX B: Complete List of Institutions and Authors by Last

Name

2011 (20 institutions, 45 authors)

Appalachian State University – Moore, Mullen, Murphy, Robinson, Scherlen, Varipapa (6)
Columbia Theological Seminary – Bethea (1)
East Carolina University – Bloss, Kerbs (2)
Fayetteville State University – Barlow, Barlow, Boyd (3)
High Point University – Little (1)
Johnson C. Smith University – Bledsoe-Gardner, Bivens (2)
Marquette University – Jones (1)
Methodist University – Forrest, Kieser (2)
North Carolina A&T University – Mayes, White (2)
North Carolina Justice Academy – Brown (1)
North Carolina State University – Day, Tichavsky, Zahn (3)
Novant Health – Potter (1)
Stanly County Community College – Boylen (1)
University of North Carolina Pembroke – Brown, Meneses, Lowery, Oxendine (4)
University of North Carolina Wilmington – Lanier, Hossfeld, Maume, Snowden, Wehmann (5)
University of South Carolina – Fuleihan (1)
University of Wisconsin Oshkosh – Richards (1)
Wayne Community College – Everhart (1)
Western Carolina University – Brown, Caravelis, Kapak, Mueller, Simpson, Vaske (6)
Winston Salem State University – Byrd (1)

2012 (23 institutions, 48 authors)

No affiliation listed – Boelte, Dennis (2)

Appalachian State University – Lail, Robinson (2)
Campbell University – Bullock (1)
Cape Fear Community College – Ward (1)
Charlotte Mecklenburg Police Department – Smith (1)
Criminological Associates – Boelte (1)
East Carolina University – Bloss, Williams (2)
Fayetteville State University – Adkinson (1)
Fifth District Attorney General Office – Coleman (1)
Johnson C. Smith University – Bivens, Bledsoe-Gardner (2)
Keiser University – Smith (1)
Methodist University – Forrest, Kieser, Smith (3)
Mount Olive College – Fox (1)
New Hanover County Sheriff Office – Vincent (1)
North Carolina A&T University – Mayes (1)
North Carolina Highway Patrol – Scott (1)

North Carolina State University – Day, Dollar, Ray, Richardson, Tichavsky, Zahn (6)
Social Evaluation Research – Adams (1)
University of North Carolina Greensboro – Cureton (1)
University of North Carolina Pembroke – Klemann, Meneses, Van Dyke (3)
University of North Carolina Wilmington – Murray, Welker (2)
Western Carolina University – Brown, Caravelis, Foster, Kopak, Lee, Johnson, McEwan, Orender, Shell, Tuttle, Vaske (11)
Wilmington Police Department – Key (1)
Winston Salem State University – Byrd (1)

2013 (12 institutions, 37 authors)

American Public University – Crawford (1)
Appalachian State University – Mullen, Robinson (2)
Buffalo State College – Cretacci (1)
Catawba Valley Community College – Streater (1)
D’Youville College – Cretacci (1)
Keiser University – Dennis, Smith (2)
Methodist University – Bowman, Giddeons, Pauly (3)
Mount Olive College – Robinson (1)
University of North Carolina Wilmington – Cline, DeVall, Foster, Lanier, Maume, McCarty, McColskey-Leary (7)
University of North Georgia – Choo (1)
Western Carolina University – Caravelis, Geen, Geyer, Johnson, Harrison, Lee, McCarty, McColskey-Leary, McGee, Mittan, Myers, Oliver, Pittman, Rosenheim, Swain, Vaske (16)
Wilmington Police Department – Chamberlain (1)

2014 (21 institutions, 49 authors)

Appalachian State University – Baker, Clodfelter, Hester, Holcomb, Jones-May, Marcum, Robinson, Salsman (8)
Campbell University – Cowling, Mero (2)
Cary Police Department – Bazemore (1)
Fayetteville Police Department – Medlock (1)
International Association of Chiefs of Police – Bush (1)
ITT Technical Institute – Cuartas (1)
Johnson C. Smith University – Bledsoe-Gardner (1)
Methodist University – Bowman, Champion, Potts (3)
Missouri Southern State University – Fox, Hulderman (2)
North Carolina A&T University – Mayes (1)
North Carolina Central University – Cadwallader (1)
North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services – Austin, Norwood (2)
North Carolina Justice Academy – Fuss (1)
North Carolina Police Executives Association – Jarvies (1)
Prem Rawat Foundation – Camp, Cohen, Klein (3)

St. Augustine University – Dukes (1)
United States Probation Middle District of North Carolina – Alexander (1)
University of Baltimore – Richards (1)
University of North Carolina Charlotte – Hartman, Listman (2)
University of North Carolina Wilmington – Buist, Cline, Foster, Lanier, Maume, McCarty, Murray, Pitman (8)
Western Carolina University – Braithwaite, Briggs, Evitt, Mungro, Sennett, Vaske, Young (7)

2015 (17 institutions, 44 authors)

Appalachian State University – Clodfelter, Marcum, Mullen, Robinson (4)
Criminological Associates – Boelte, Boelte (2)
Guilford College – Pizio (1)
Johnson C. Smith University – Bivens, Bledsoe-Gardner (2)
International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training – Schaefer (1)
Methodist University – Champion, Fulbright, Norman (3)
North Carolina A&T – Lawrence, Mayes (2)
North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services – Austin, Holt, Norwood, Proescholdbell (4)
North Carolina State University – Bixby (1)
North Carolina Wesleyan College – Lewis (1)
Office of the Chief Medical Examiner – Sapp (1)
University of Mount Olive – Dowling, Ryan (2)
University of North Carolina Charlotte – Wemlinger (1)
University of North Carolina Greensboro – Cureton (1)
University of North Carolina Wilmington – Askew, Coffey, Maume, McCarty, Pitman (5)
Western Carolina University – Bennett, Briggs, Brown, Burgason, Cline, Denver, Johnson, Jaynes, Lindsey, Pickarski, Schepp, Vaske (12)
Wilmington Police Department – Ovaska (1)

2016 (22 institutions, 59 authors)

Administrative Office of the US Courts – Lowenkamp (1)
Appalachian State University – Clodfelter, Holcomb, Marcum, Mullen, Robinson, Smith, Williams (8)
East Carolina University – Bonner, Davidson, Frederick, Jones (4)
Haywood County Sheriff Office – Christopher, Haynes (2)
Johnson C. Smith University – Bivens, Bledsoe-Gardner, Quick (3)
Meredith College – Brown, Champion, Law, Le Whittington, Long, Macomber (7)
Methodist University – Allen (1)
North Carolina Central University – Beeler, Williams (2)
North Carolina Justice Academy – Kudrick (1)
North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation – O'Toole (1)

North Carolina State University – Bixby, Ross (2)
 Old Dominion University – Pitman (1)
 University of Baltimore – Richards (1)
 University of Mount Olive – Robinson (1)
 University of North Carolina Charlotte – Blowers, Kazempour, Thomas (3)
 University of North Carolina Greensboro – Cureton (1)
 University of North Carolina Wilmington – Black, Conner, McCarty, Jones, Lanier, Roberts (6)
 US Probation and Pretrial Service – Alexander (1)
 Western Carolina University – Briggs, Grant, Haggerty, Mason, Murray, Rosenblatt, Smith, Vaske, Winze (9)
 Wayne Community College – Everhart, Rogers (2)
 Wilmington Police Department – Ovaska (1)
 WRAL News – Dukes (1)

2017 (19 institutions, 41 authors)

No affiliation listed – McIntyre (1)

 Appalachian State University – Clodfelter, Mullen, Robinson, Smith (4)
 Cumberland County Veterans Treatment Court – Shore (1)
 East Carolina University – Board, Bonner, Jones, Urwick (4)
 Guilford College – Pizio (1)
 High Point University – Little (1)
 Meredith College – Manzo, McLennan (2)
 National Center for Missing and Exploited Children – Grant (1)
 North Carolina Central University – Beller (1)
 North Carolina Justice Academy – Phillips, Zimmerman (2)
 North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation – Mathias (1)
 North Carolina State University – Kawaguchi, Smith, Zahn (3)
 North Carolina Wesleyan College – Allsbrook, Marsal (2)
 Randolph Community College – Hancock (1)
 Southeast Missouri State University – Radu (1)
 Stanly County Community College – Boylen (1)
 University of North Carolina Wilmington – Day, Jones, Voet (3)
 Western Carolina University – Briggs, Cameron, Goodman, Haynes, Shipman, Sterrett, Stone, Taylor, Vaske, Youstin (10)
 Wilmington Police Department – Ovaska (1)

2018 (11 institutions, 36 authors)

Appalachian State University – Larson, Moody, Robinson, Rogers, Turner (4)
 East Carolina University – Bonner, Gaub, Jones, Stacey (4)
 Guilford College – Hancock, Langston, Qi (3)
 Meredith College – Brown, Macomber (2)
 Nashville Police Department – Bashmore, Flory (2)

North Carolina A&T University – Morsell, Sapp (2)
 North Carolina Central University – Beeler (1)
 Randolph Community College – Hancock (1)
 RTI International – Caspar, Chambers, Flanigan, Stutts (4)
 Western Carolina University – Brancale, Briggs, Gerulis, Griffin, Hansen, Riley, Soonah, Wise, Younts, Youstin (10)
 Winston-Salem State University – Dare, Frazer, Nation (3)

Figure 1: Number of Panels and Papers Presented, 2011-2017

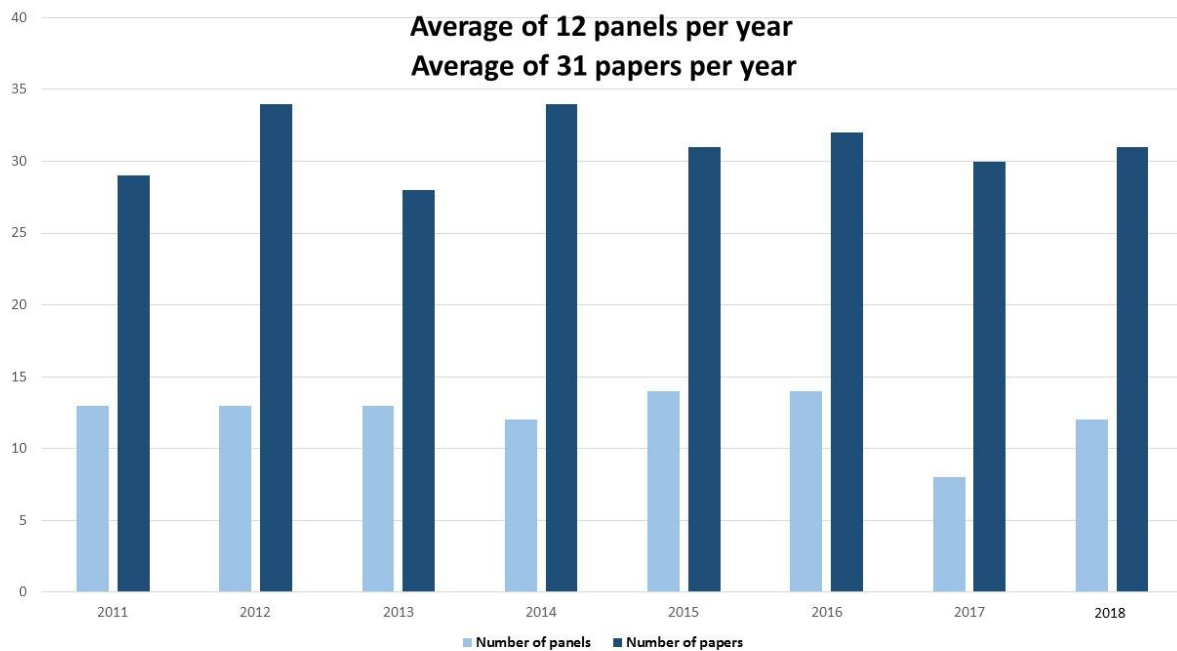


Figure 2: Number of Papers Presented by Topic, 2011-2018

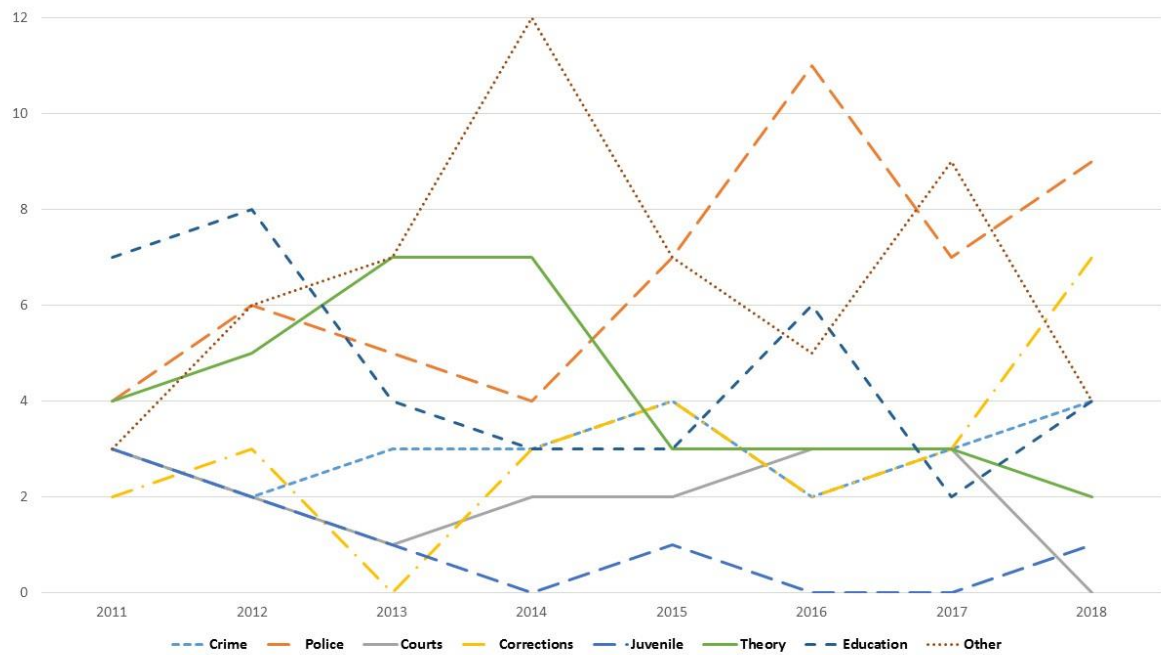


Figure 3: Number of Papers in the “Other” Category, 2011-2018

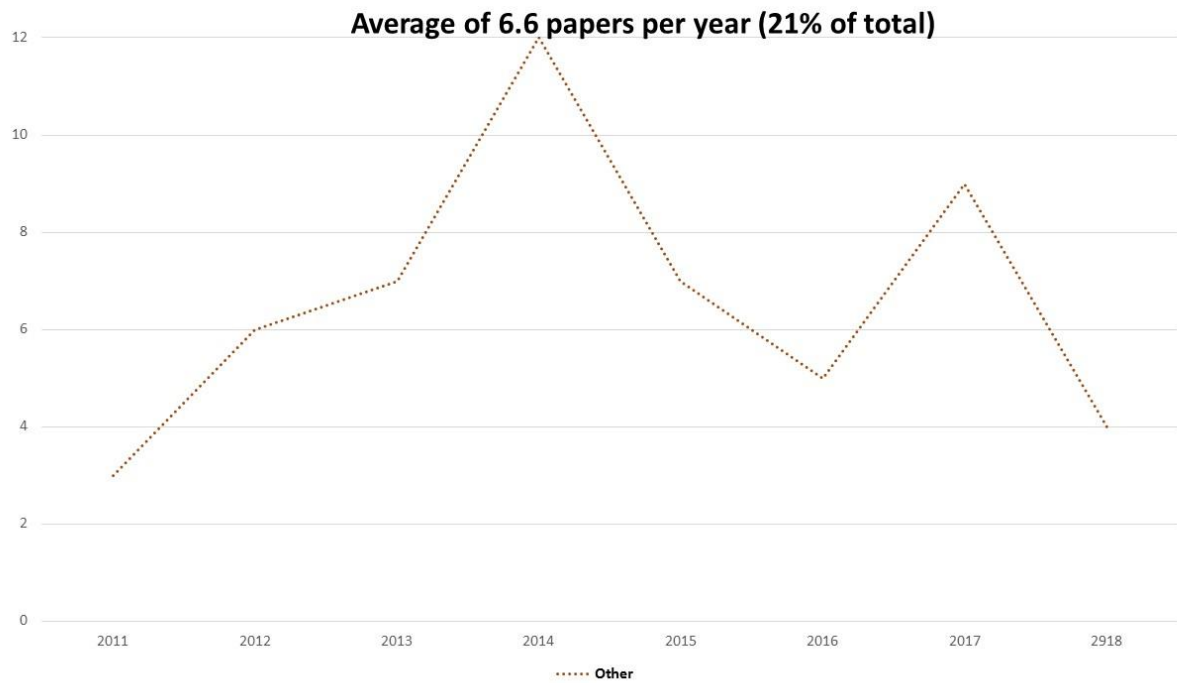


Figure 4: Number of Papers in the “Policing” Category, 2011-2018

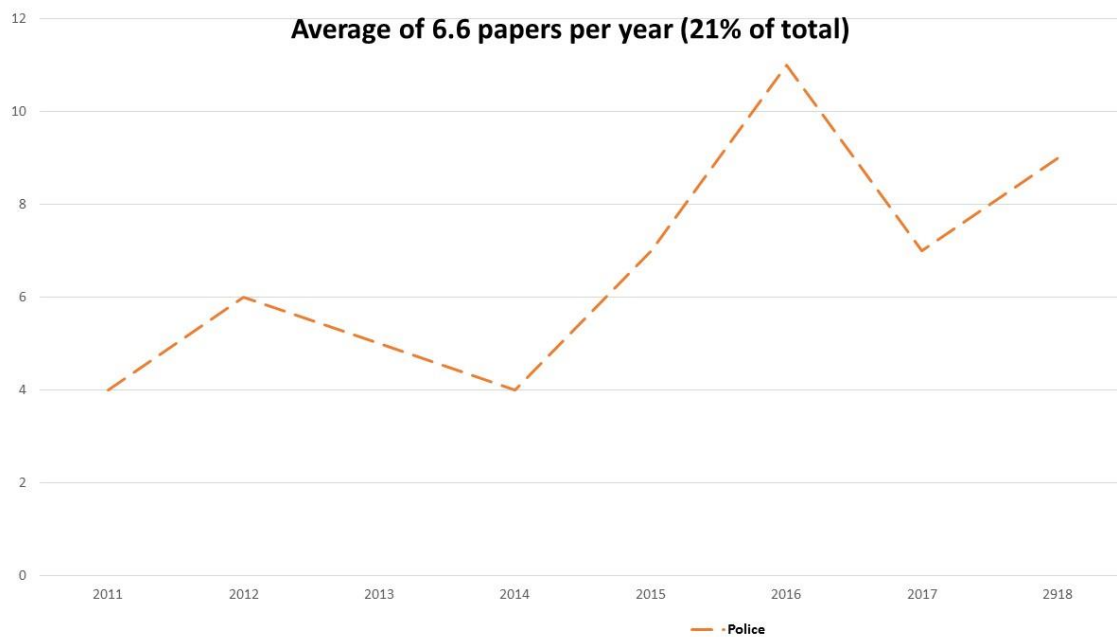


Figure 5: Number of Papers in the “Education” Category, 2011-2018

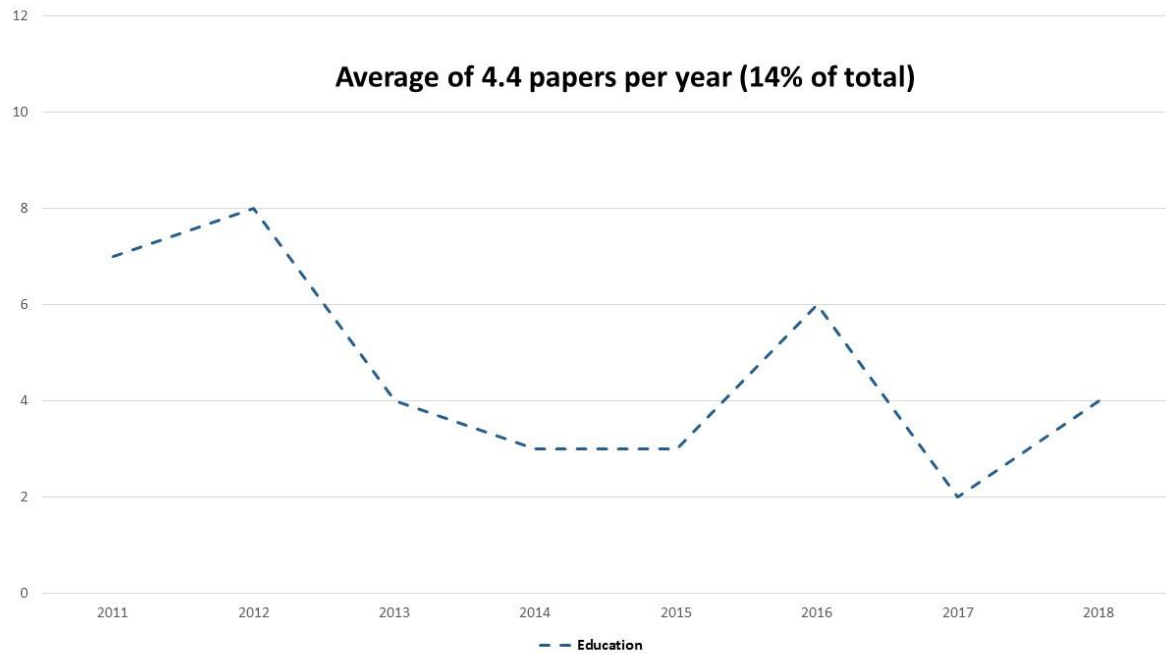


Figure 6: Number of Papers in the “Theory” Category, 2011-2018

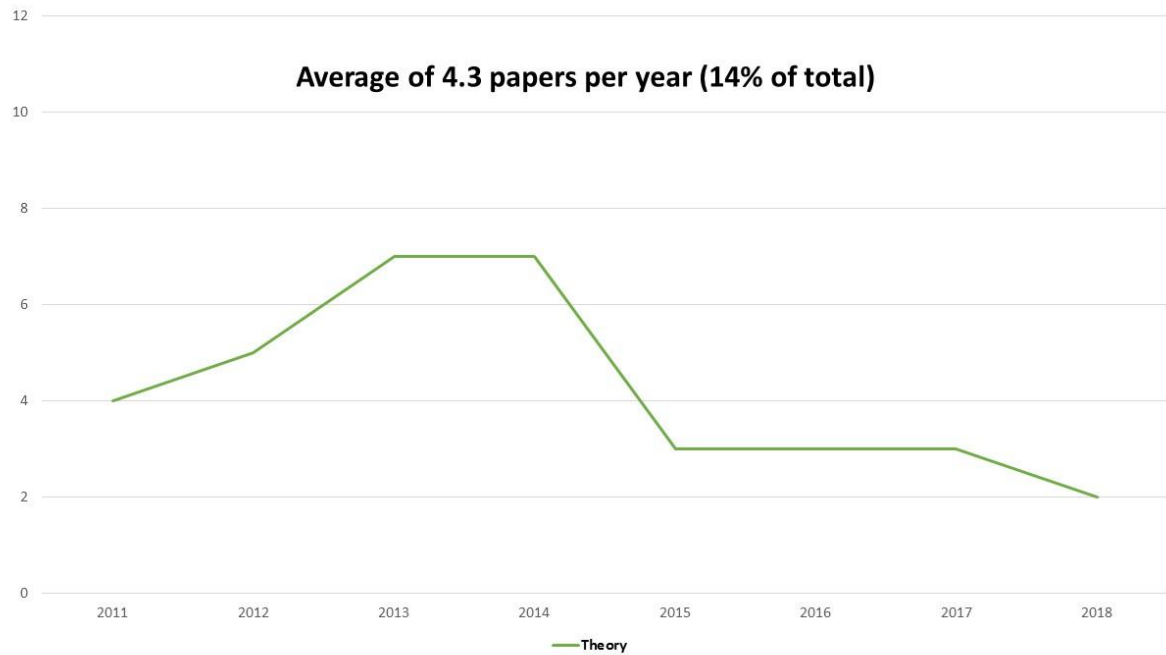


Figure 7: Number of Papers in the “Crime” Category, 2011-2018

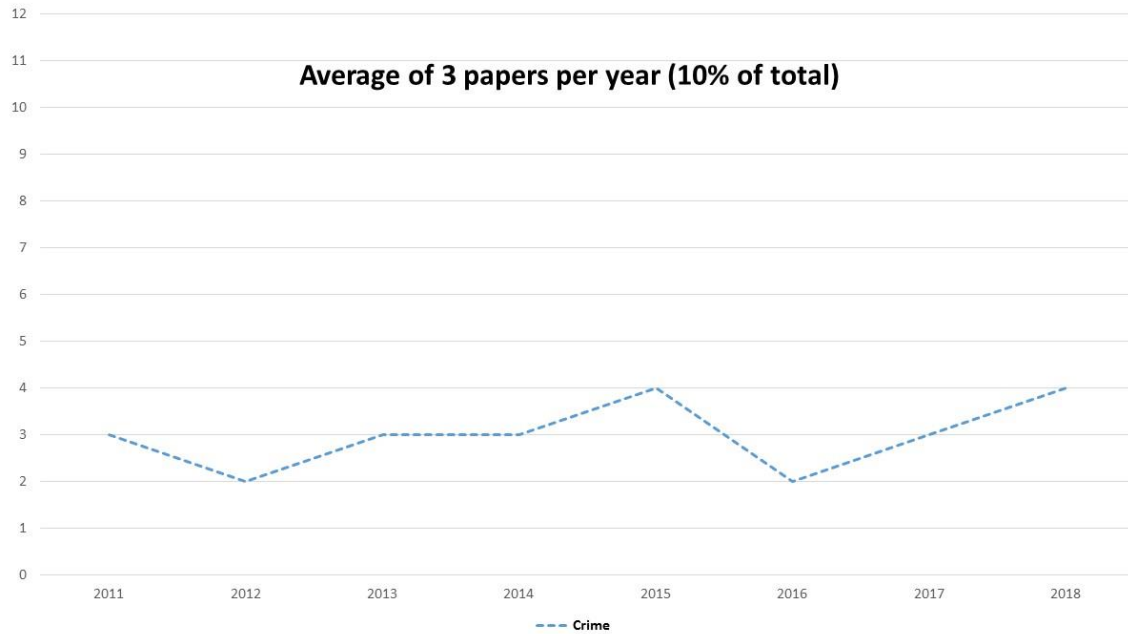


Figure 8: Number of Papers in the “Corrections” Category, 2011-2018

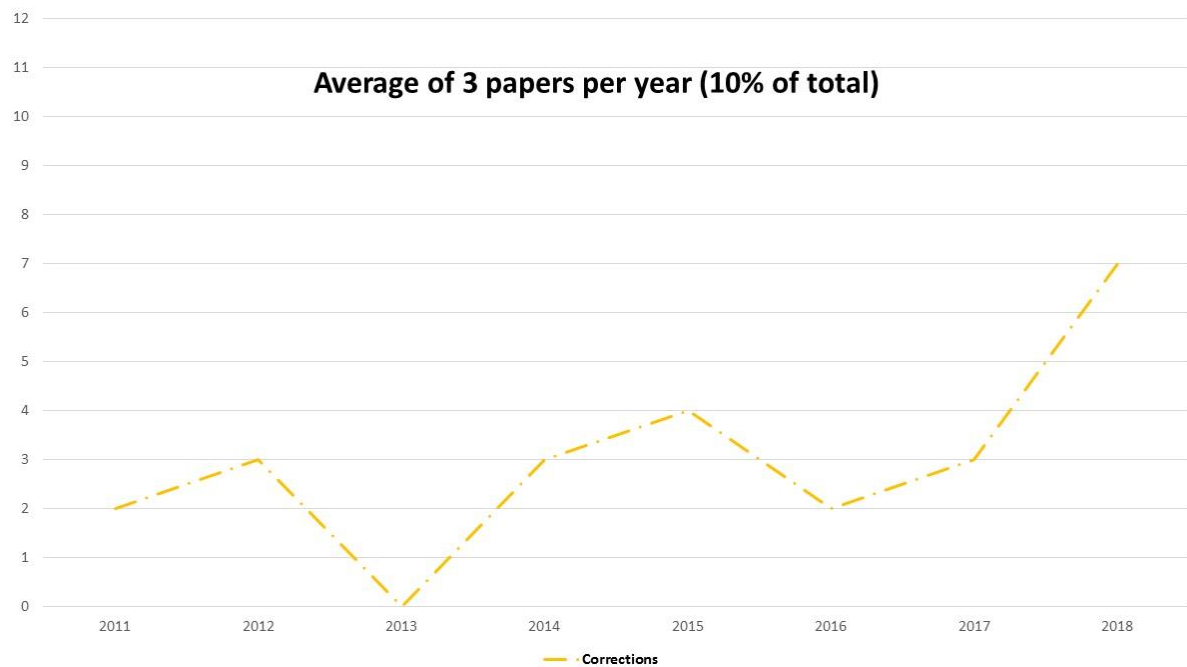


Figure 9: Number of Papers in the “Courts” Category, 2011-2018

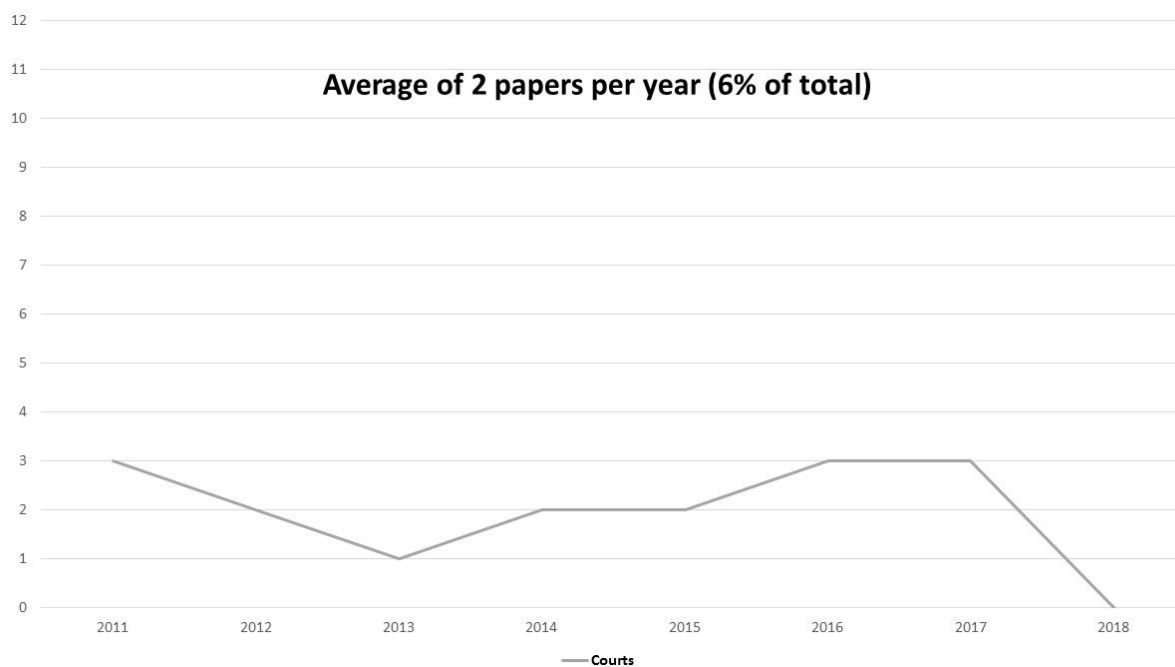


Figure 10: Number of Papers in the “Juvenile” Category, 2011-2018

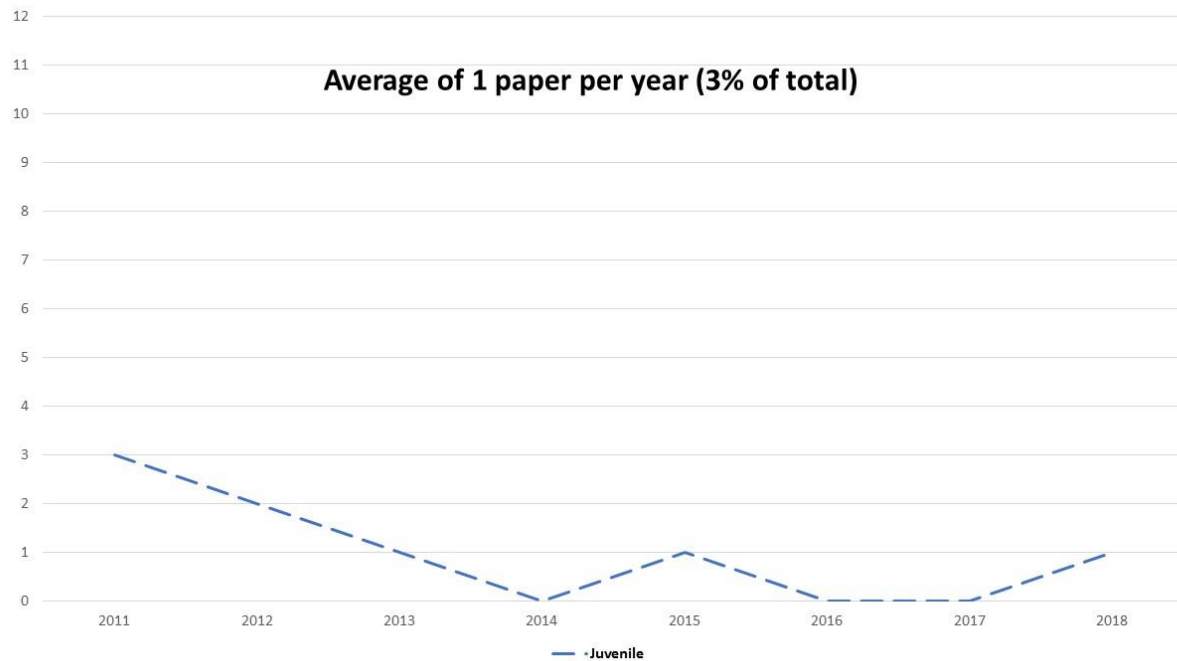


Figure 11: Number of Institutions Represented among Presenters and Number of Total Authors

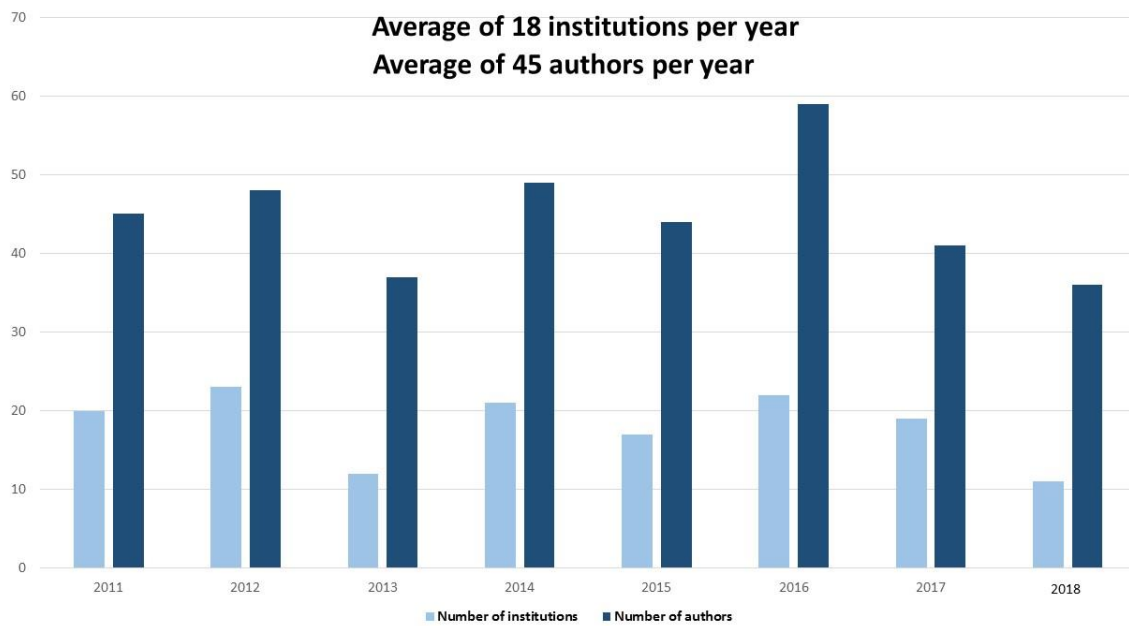


Table 1: Institutions Attending and Authors Presenting at NCCJA Conferences (2011-2018)

Institution as author	Number of years from school	Total authors
Administrative Office of the US Courts	1	1
American Public University	1	1
<u>Appalachian State University</u>	8	42
Buffalo State College	1	1
Campbell University	2	3
Cape Fear Community College	1	1
Cary Police Department	1	1
Catawba Valley Community College	1	1
Charlotte Mecklenburg Police Department	1	1
<u>Columbia Theological Seminary</u>	1	1
Criminological Associates	2	3
Cumberland County Veterans Treatment Court	1	1
D'Youville College	1	1
<u>East Carolina University</u>	5	19
Fayetteville Police Department	1	1
<u>Fayetteville State University</u>	2	4
Fifth District Attorney General Office	1	1
Guilford College	3	5
Haywood County Sheriff Office	1	2
<u>High Point University</u>	2	2
International Association of Chiefs of Police	1	1
International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training	1	1
ITT Technical Institute	1	1
<u>Johnson C. Smith University</u>	5	10
Keiser University	2	3
<u>Marquette University</u>	1	1
Meredith College	3	11
<u>Methodist University</u>	6	15
Missouri Southern State University	1	2
Mount Olive College/ University of Mount Olive	4	5
Nashville Police Department	1	2
National Center for Missing and Exploited Children	1	1
New Hanover County Sheriff Office	1	1
<u>North Carolina A&T University</u>	5	8
North Carolina Central University	4	7
North Carolina Department of Health and		

Human Services	2	6
North Carolina Highway Patrol	1	1
<u>North Carolina Justice Academy</u>	4	5
North Carolina Police Executives Association	1	1
North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation	2	2
<u>North Carolina State University</u>	5	15
North Carolina Wesleyan College	2	3
<u>Novant Health</u>	1	1
Office of the Chief Medical Examiner	1	1
Old Dominion University	1	1
Prem Rawat Foundation	1	3
Randolph Community College – Hancock	2	2
RTI International	1	4
Social Evaluation Research	1	1
Southeast Missouri State University	1	1
<u>Stanly County Community College</u>	2	2
St. Augustine University	1	1
United States Probation Middle District of North Carolina	1	1
University of Baltimore	2	2
University of North Carolina Charlotte	3	6
University of North Carolina Greensboro	3	3
<u>University of North Carolina Pembroke</u>	2	7
<u>University of North Carolina Wilmington</u>	7	36
University of North Georgia	1	1
<u>University of South Carolina</u>	1	1
<u>University of Wisconsin Oshkosh</u>	1	1
US Probation and Pretrial Service	1	1
<u>Wayne Community College</u>	2	3
<u>Western Carolina University</u>	8	83
Wilmington Police Department	5	5
<u>Winston Salem State University</u>	3	5
WRAL News	1	1

**An Examination of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)
as a Policy Bedrock and Therapy for the Challenge of Unauthorized
Children Arrivals**

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The United States of America has long prided itself as a country of immigrants and opportunity, where people in search of liberty and freedom can realize their dreams without inhibition. This pride and acknowledgment of the role of immigrants in founding the country and contributing to its sustainability is displayed in several American slogans and institutional labels. However, despite this apparent pride and willingness to showcase its commitment to the accommodation of immigrants, recent discourse with regards to policies appear to challenge this narrative. Indeed, the narrative seems to be changing, and the perception now seems to suggest that the Americas are hostile to immigrants and are working at discouraging migration. While polarity of views and attitudes concerning legal immigration is indisputable, the issue of unauthorized and undocumented immigrants appears to pose the most significant challenge as it relates to policy. With an estimate of more than 12 million undocumented immigrants in the country, occasioning a variegated range of impacts on the society, policymakers were challenged to craft a sustainable policy that can secure adoption in America's ideologically and politically polarized policy arena. Previous attempts at comprehensive immigration reform to address this challenge have failed to secure legislative adoption.

In 2012, frustrated with previous failed attempts, coupled with the desire to provide reprieve on humanitarian grounds, the Obama administration intervened via executive policy, using the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). While DACA provided a reprieve to persons who fell within its eligibility criteria, because it was an executive action, the footprint of unsustainability was written all over it. President Trump predictively rescinded the program in November 2017, thereby withdrawing the reprieve that Obama had provided this category of persons. Since the announcement of President Trump's DACA rescission policy, the policy arena has erupted with a polarity of arguments for and against the DACA Program and raised series of

questions such as: What are the objectives of DACA? What is the justification for President Trump's rescission? What is the justification for the arguments against its rescission or cancellation? What are the implications of President Trump's cancellation of this policy on the beneficiaries and the country? What is the way forward towards a sustainable policy to address the challenge posed by the reality of this group of unauthorized immigrants? These are all thought-provoking questions deserving answers.

This paper attempts an interrogation of America's policy regarding undocumented immigrants with specific reference to the debate on a policy framework for childhood arrivals. The paper gives a brief historical perspective on immigration to the United States and highlights the introduction of immigration rules and restrictions, which ushered in the concept or notion of unauthorized/undocumented immigrants. The paper also contextualizes the current challenge of undocumented immigration and the difficulty of crafting comprehensive immigration reform. It pivots to President Obama's intervention via executive policy concerning persons brought to the United States as children and examines the rationale and justification for such apparent amnesty. Furthermore, the paper highlights President Trump's policy terminating DACA and interrogates the rationale and justification for the same. In conclusion, there is an attempt to reconcile and balance the contending justifications and arguments on both sides, to chart a possible route for the adoption and entrenchment of a viable and sustainable policy that can address the plight of this category of persons.

Historical Perspective of Immigration to America

According to Hansen (1927), the history of immigration to the territorial lands of the United States traces as far back as the years around 1607; when Europeans arrived in groups and

companies as exiles who were running away from oppression and seeking refuge on foreign lands. This type of immigration continued even after the revolution and was responsible for the arrival of more than 30 million Europeans on American shores between 1815 and 1914. Immigration is presently viewed essentially concerning arrivals after independence and not the early settlers. While the early settlers migrated because of the need to escape oppression, subsequent settlers were either running away from oppression or seeking treasure in this 'foreign' land (Hansen, 1927).

According to Desmond (1998) during the 1820s the number of persons who immigrated into the United States was about 146,000. In the 1830s this figure rose to nearly 600,000, and by the 1840s this figure nearly tripled owing in part to famine in Ireland. The increasing number of immigrants comprised mostly of Germans and the Irish. Between 1850 and 1882 about 320,000 Chinese laborers were reported to have migrated to the U.S. Natives' resistance against this wave of immigration prompted the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which marked the first federal intervention with regards to immigration regulation and restriction. Steir and Vasi (2014) corroborated this position by their averment that from the inception of the United States and throughout the 18th century, immigration regulation if any was largely within the jurisdiction of states and municipalities. They added that the first real federal intervention on the issue of immigration regulation and control was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Supreme Court's decision in *Chae Chan Ping VS. The United States* in 1889. The court established in the Ping case the doctrine of Federal plenary power over immigration and placed responsibility for immigration regulation in the hands of the Federal Government.

Despite federal intervention in 1882, immigration into the country was not in any way about to abate. Reportedly, between 1880 and 1920, more than 23 million new immigrants

migrated to the United States, mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe (Desmond, 1998).

Natives continued to agitate against the wave of immigrants who were mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe. These agitations prompted the adoption of another policy, the National Origins Act of 1924, which provided measures to restrict the immigration of persons from Southern and Eastern Europe as well as Asians. The Act made provision for a ceilings and quotas system based on the already existing populations from these countries as of 1890. This policy restricted entry from Asian countries as well as Southern and Eastern Europe while increasing the opportunity for Western Europeans (Desmond, 1998).

The fact that the Act did not place restrictions on immigration from the western hemisphere left the immigration of Mexicans unchecked. The Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 abolished the quota system introduced by the National Origins Act setting narrow limits for all other immigrants except those from Western Europe. The Act made family reunification the cornerstone of immigration and enhanced the number of persons allowed to immigrate.

According to Desmond (1998), the advent of the 1965 Act and its provision for chain migration, coupled with international developments and low cost of transportation increased the wave of immigration to the United States, albeit with different demographics. Economic developments in Europe made the migration to the United States less attractive to Europeans. Consequently, immigrants from Asia and other developing countries dominated this new wave. Immigration in the decade following this Act increased by more than 60 percent and by the late 80s more than 85% of immigrants were emigrating from Asia and Latin America.

The rise in the number of immigrants, particularly those who were unauthorized and undocumented had policymakers scrambling for a solution. Efforts this time led to the passage of

the Immigration Restriction and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. This Act among other things granted amnesty to illegal immigrants who had been living in the country since 1982. It also provided funds for enhanced border control and mandated employer sanctions against employers who employed unauthorized immigrants (Desmond, 1998). Notably, the IRCA provided eligibility for the legalization of status to two main categories of persons, namely persons who had continuously resided in the United States since 1st January 1982 and Special Agricultural Workers who had 60 days of seasonal farm work experience between May 1985 and May 1986 (Warren & Kerwin (2015). Further attempts at addressing the challenge of unauthorized entry and undocumented immigration reforms were passed in 1990 and 1996.

Despite this historical retinue of policy attempts at addressing the challenge of unauthorized and undocumented immigration to the United States, the numbers of undocumented immigrants in the United States has continued to increase, generating resistance from natives and posing challenges to policymakers. Since the 1996 reforms, no major policy option has succeeded in transiting from agenda status to legislative adoption despite several attempts. While legislative lethargy and gridlock have stalemated policy, the challenge has only continued to blossom. Recent estimates by the Pew Research Center indicate that the United States may be home to more than 12 million unauthorized and undocumented immigrants with an overwhelming majority of Mexican origin (Borjas, 2017).

Faced with the reality of an immigration crisis and realization that his legislative agenda for comprehensive immigration reform may never see the light of day under a Republican-dominated Congress (given a few failed attempts), President Obama felt compelled to act. He used executive powers to address the immigration challenges by providing a temporary fix in the form of DACA for undocumented immigrants, especially to the people who were brought

illegally to the United States as children; they were considered innocent victims of their parents' decision to violate America's immigration laws.

The Deferred Action for Children Arrivals (DACA)

One of the most controversial themes within the immigration policy debate must be the question of whether to grant a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants already in the United States. A particularly sentimental sub-theme of this debate has been the less contentious push for a path to citizenship for persons illegally brought into the United States as children (Dorantes & Antman, 2017). While revving up immigration enforcement via measures including deportations, detention of families, enhanced border enforcement and collaboration with the home states of unauthorized immigrants (Warren & Kerwin, 2015), the Obama administration singled out the case of children brought to the United States illegally by their parents for more lenient treatment. On June 15, 2012, President Obama signed an executive order, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) exempting children and persons brought into the United States illegally by their parents from deportation and granting them privileges not available to their parents and other undocumented immigrants. This executive policy did not provide any permanent residence or route for beneficiaries but permitted this category of individuals to receive social security numbers, procure drivers licenses, benefit from higher education and secure authorization to work (Uwemedimo, Monterrey & Linton, 2017). This singular action greatly enhanced the quality of life for this group of undocumented immigrants.

To qualify for DACA, an applicant was required to meet specific defined criteria including: the applicant must have been less than 16 years old at the time of arrival; must have remained in the US since 2007; must have been less than 31 years old as at 2012 and; must have

completed high school or be enrolled in school (Lancelet Editorial, 2017). Beneficiaries were to be granted these temporary benefits and status for a renewable term of two years. Estimates indicate that there are roughly 1.5 million persons eligible for the benefits and privileges conferred under DACA (Warren & Kerwin, 2015). It is noteworthy that President Obama's attempt at expanding the benefits conferred by DACA to undocumented parents of US citizens and permanent residents, via the Deferred Action for Parents of American Children (DAPA) in 2014 suffered judicial restraint and remained unimplemented until the end of his tenure (Dorantes & Putitanum, 2016).

The Obama administration introduced DACA as a stop-gap measure within the limits of executive power, and not as a long-term solution to the challenge of this category of undocumented immigrants, a challenge that only Congress is empowered to legislatively address by way of legislative policy. Even before DACA, a variegated range of policy options regarding this issue had been considered. Reportedly, the most significant of these efforts was the Dream Act introduced in the Senate in 2001. Other variants such as the American Hope Act and the Recognizing America's Children's Act have similarly enjoyed placement on the policy table without being passed into law. The objective of all these policy options was to provide a path to citizenship and legalize the status of these individuals based on certain identifiable criteria (Zaidi & Kuczewski, 2017).

Justification and Support for DACA

The justification for the introduction of DACA is best summed up in the words of then-Homeland Security Secretary, Janet Napolitano as she announced the policy:

Our Nation's immigration laws must be enforced in a strong and sensible manner. They are not designed to be blindly enforced without consideration given to the individual

circumstances of each case. Nor are they designed to remove productive young people to countries where they may not have lived or even speak the language. Indeed, many of these young people have already contributed to our country in significant ways. Prosecutorial discretion, which is used in so many other areas, is especially justified here (cited in Thronson, 2016, p128).

Some arguments in support of the DACA policy have been advanced. Arguments in support of the DACA policy includes the need to prioritize limited immigration enforcement resources. According to Thronson (2016) with more than 11 million undocumented immigrants in the United States, the system is ill-equipped and unprepared for immigration enforcement. The resources to enforce deportation are inadequate, as the resources appropriated by Congress on an annual basis can barely take care of 400, 000 potential deportees. Consequently, it makes good sense to prioritize immigration resources and channel them to priority areas, especially areas with evident and immediate potential impact on public safety and national security.

Other arguments include an awareness of the fact that America is a country formed, nurtured and developed by immigrants, many of whose parents or ancestors migrated to America without authorization. Lamenting the cancellation of DACA, Knopf (2017) averred that it is important that we all remember our family histories and how our forefathers came to America. In his words' "whether it was the Mayflower or a more recent voyage unless you are Native American" (Knopf, 2017, p. 11), you are also an immigrant. He further contended that there is a compelling need to strengthen America's current and future workforce by legalizing the status of this category of immigrants, who are already indoctrinated in the American way of life and are Americans for all intents and purposes, except legal status.

President Trump's DACA Termination Policy

Early September 2017, President Donald Trump terminated DACA, and the US Department of Customs, Immigration, and Border Control followed up with an announcement of a phased program for the total and complete rescission of the policy (Berk, 2017). The reasons advanced by the government for the termination of the policy were on legality and constitutionality grounds. Trump's administration contended that President Obama's policy was illegal and unconstitutional from the start as it violated clear provisions of the constitution, which vest powers over immigration in the legislature. Two Federal Judges have since thought and pronounced otherwise, and the challenge over the legality or otherwise of the policy is currently pending before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (Hong, 2018). Until the Court makes a pronouncement and probably a final pronouncement by the Supreme Court, President Trump's termination policy remains at a standstill. However, if the judiciary upholds President Trump's executive policy, it will effectively lift the protective veil that the Obama policy had placed on the beneficiaries of DACA. The beneficiaries will not only lose the protective veil that the Obama policy had granted them they will lose their anonymity too. The loss of a protective veil will make it difficult for beneficiaries to maintain their anonymity, as the registration for DACA would have exposed them as "documented undocumented immigrant."

Justification and Support for President Trump's Termination of DACA

The first argument against DACA and justification for its termination is the concept of The rule of law. Proponents for the abolition of the DACA Program argue that regardless of the wisdom behind the policy as well as its desirability America is a country of laws and must be seen to operate under such laws. The powers and discretion of the President regarding the executive policy on immigration must be exercised within the confines of the framework as intended by the framers of the constitution. To do otherwise will be laying a perilous precedent,

with dire consequences. Congress alone has constitutional powers to legislate on immigration matters, as such if Congress sets certain standards via the instrumentality of law the standards must be seen to enjoy primacy over any executive discretion. An example of legislation regarding immigration made by Congress is the Immigration and Control Act of 1965. Another successor legislative intervention such as the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 all together provide the extant legal framework for America's immigration system. The above legislative laws indicate that the American immigration system is governed by legislation that makes provisions for lawful entry and contains provisions that discourage unlawful entry.

The second argument against DACA is the deterrence effect of the law. The laws stated above were put in place to deter immigration lawbreakers (Margulies, 2015). For the deterrent effect to be achieved the law's "provisions discourage unlawful entry, presence, and work, while its enumerated categories of the legal status block unlawful entrants' acquisition of status through post-entry U.S.-citizen children" (Margulies, 2015, p. 1255). To willfully allow law violators to remain in the country and even grant them privileges ordinarily accruable only to citizens and legal immigrants, does not only violate the law but rewards lawbreakers and provides an incentive to other potential lawbreakers to also break the law with expectation for a similar reprieve. Indeed, the surge in the number of unaccompanied children entering the US borders mostly from Central American countries such as Guatemala and Honduras in recent times prompted many to conclude that DACA, its incentives and the possibilities it affords are responsible for this surge. Jeff Sessions (then Senator) was a leading exponent of this narrative and made a pungent case for the termination of DACA for this reason, much as research does not

support this narrative (Dorantes & Putitanum, 2016). Margulies (2015) captured the argument in these terms:

Any exercise of discretion that is favorable to those who have violated the law triggers the problem of moral hazard: individuals who know in advance they will be immunized from the consequences of wrongdoing have a heightened incentive to break the law (2015, p. 1189).

Another obvious but often unstated reason or justification for President Trump's decision to terminate DACA is the need to keep his campaign promise to be tough on immigration and tighten and secure U.S borders. A promise that certainly resonated with his base and may have played no small part in his victory. President Trump, therefore needs to satisfy the expectations of his base, as he looks towards the next elections. According to this narrative, the arguments against DACA must be situated in the context of nativist sentiments against immigration. Steir and Vasi (2014) have identified two threads of arguments that have remained constant and continue to gain grounds among anti-immigrant movements and groups. First, that immigrant especially the Hispanic populations pose a threat to the American quality of life. They are presumed to specifically threaten the middle class as they overstretch the capacity of governments to continue providing public goods like healthcare and education. There also exists the threat of competition for existing employment opportunities and the threat of the continuous use of the English language. The second concern stems from the status of this group of individuals as unauthorized and undocumented. Their immigration status already signposts them as lawbreakers who are likely to commit crimes, thereby increasing the incidence of crimes in communities. This is consistent with general nativist perspectives such as the belief that immigrants take away their jobs, and partake in the public goods thereby negatively affect Americans share of the public goods as well as the impact of cultures that are foreign to theirs

(Bisin & Zanella, 2017). These perspectives and resentments are not limited to the United States. Using data extrapolated from the European Social Survey, Bisin and Zanella (2017) found a predominance of citizens' support for more restrictive immigration policies, objections to increased immigration and open borders. Indeed, out of the 22 countries surveyed, only Germany and Sweden appeared to have an embrative attitude towards immigration.

Why Is Policy Adoption on this Issue Challenging?

The challenge and politics of immigration control and the concomitant issue of managing the presence and influx of unauthorized and undocumented immigrants in the United States originated with neither Presidents' Obama nor Trump and may well transcend their limited terms of office. It is indeed, a subject that has occupied political discourse for quite some time. The George W. Bush-era made various attempts at immigration reform to resolve the challenge of undocumented immigrants in the United States. President Bush in 2006 proposed an immigration reform that would enhance border security, allow a guest worker program and provide a path for illegal residents to obtain legal status. This plan received overwhelming support from the then Republican-controlled Senate with support from Democrats as well (Economist, 2006). This was a departure from the uncompromising stance taken by the then Republican-controlled House which passed a bill, that among other things sought to build a 700-mile fence along the Mexican border, contained no provision for guest workers, stipulated stiffer penalties for employers of illegal immigrants, criminalized illegal immigration and provided no path to citizenship (Economist, 2006). These fundamental differences and points of departure, however, frustrated the adoption of any of these variants into law.

Wright and Citrin (2016) have suggested, the failure of comprehensive immigration

reform that includes a path for citizenship for undocumented immigrants must be located within the context of public opinion dissonance as reflected in the opposed perspectives of the Republican base and the liberal Democratic base. They contend that Republicans are teleguided by their supporters' antipathy to any policy action that will legalize large groups of unauthorized immigrants, rejecting such moves as 'amnesty' or stipulating impracticable attachments to such policies. On the other hand, Democrats agitate for constricted legalization policies without the willingness to accommodate more expansive wishes of the conservatives. In a similar vein, Gratton (2018) has argued that despite personal prejudices of politicians, their motivations are vote driven. Consequently, he contends that politics provides the best barometer to explore the success of immigration movements in democratic societies.

Peters (2014) introduced another interesting perspective in explaining the failure of effective progressive policy on immigration. She contends that globalization and the current international economic order which was developed and entrenched after the Second World War provides the most significant inhibition to immigration policy reform. According to her, immigration policy is inclined to a country's need for labor, which is influenced by a country's trade policy and the ability of corporations to move production abroad. With the elimination of trade barriers now making it possible for firms in search of labor to locate production plants abroad, the need for semi-skilled labor by these vast corporations has eased. There is no real incentive for these corporations to bring their substantial and consequential weight to bear in getting Congress to take progressive immigration decisions.

A summation of these contending views indicates that the first contends that perspectival differences by the base of the two major political parties, which ultimately influence the positions of Congressmen have made it somewhat challenging to find common ground. While

the second contends that lack of interest and lethargy on the part of large corporations who play an influential role in shaping legislative decisions is responsible for the paucity of legislative action. These two contradictory positions seem to fit appropriately within the group and elite theories of decision making.

Without any real legislative solution, the challenge has continued to blossom. Estimates by the Department of Homeland Security and the Pew Research Center indicate that about 12 million unauthorized and undocumented immigrants presently reside in the United States (Borjas, 2017). The failure of Congress to act decisively on immigration reform has created a vacuum which is being filled by the States, thereby creating further challenges of managing a multiplicity of different laws in the country. Some States have adopted policies that are supportive of immigrants (like California since 2014), while others have embraced policies that not only denigrate immigrants but threaten security and peace. The disparity in the application of immigration policies among states has created much confusion as it relates to immigration policy.

Reconciling and Balancing the Arguments

According to Warren and Kerwin (2015), an enduring and sustainable policy solution to address the challenge of unauthorized and undocumented immigrants in the United States is not only desirable but unavoidable. They contend that reform that includes a path to citizenship for currently existing undocumented immigrants may perhaps be the only real and feasible solution. As reflected in the discussion above, the justification for and against DACA can be situated within the context of constitutionalism and the rule of law, morality, and equity, as well as economics. To move forward, it is perhaps pertinent to attempt reconciling and balancing these

broad arguments.

Constitutionalism and Legality

The legality and constitutionality of the DACA policy is the basis for the Trump administration's justification for terminating the policy. Similarly, the main argument of opponents of DACA, and any form of reprieve for unauthorized immigrants has often been predicated on the need to uphold the rule of law. The rationale is that laws are in place for a reason. To disregard the Laws on the book and act otherwise will not be healthy for the state of the country in the long run. The United States has immigration laws stipulating legitimate and authorized ways and routes through which immigrants can immigrate into the country. These legally stipulated ways and routes must be strictly adhered to by all persons who wish to join and become part of the American Society. To willfully allow law violators to remain in the country and even grant them privileges ordinarily accruable only to citizens and legal immigrants do not only violate the law but rewards lawbreakers and provide an incentive to other potential lawbreakers to also break the law with expectation for a similar reprieve. This argument sounds logical and persuasive.

Thronson (2016) has rebutted the above argument with his postulation that implementation of immigration laws cannot be done in abstract and must be balanced against the principles of international humanitarian law and the international human rights obligations of the United States. He contends that the underlying principles of DACA bordering on the need to exercise prosecutorial discretion and deferred action, intent on focusing resources in areas of more urgent need is not only sensible and logical but is consistent with international human rights obligations of the United States. He further argues that international humanitarian law and

equity compels individual consideration of the peculiarities of each case, to determine the equitability or otherwise of deportation enforcement decisions. In making consideration, several factors are relevant, including the imminent threat posed to social order in the country, impact on family, ability to speak the language and integrate into the new community as well as connection to family in the country of origin (Thronson, 2016). According to Thronson, a consideration of equitable factors in the determination of an enforcement decision is not only consistent with international humanitarian law obligations of the U.S but compelling. He further posits:

In reconciling the ability of States to control matters of immigration with protections of family integrity, the touchstone in international law is balance. A State's right to expel a non-citizen resident for a legitimate state interest must be balanced against due consideration in deportation proceedings for a deportee's family connections and the hardship the deportation may have on the family, especially children. The non-citizen's right to remain is not absolute, but neither is the State's right to expel. U.S. immigration law's routine failure to provide any opportunity for decision-makers to balance family equities against the need for enforcement violates international human rights law's demand for contextualization and nuance in the application of immigration controls. (Thronson, 2016, p. 127).

Morality, Equity, and Good Conscience

The most fundamental creed of all major religions is the love for God and love for neighbor. This principle further extends to the desire and willingness to "do unto others as you would wish that it be done unto you." This premise makes, the case for the treatment and consideration of DACA beneficiaries in a humane and compassionate manner more compelling. These were children brought into the United States by their parents at an age when they were not capable of making a decision and susceptible to the dictates of their parents, good or bad. To, therefore, seek to punish them for the sins of their parents is not only unfair but immoral. One of

the earliest and most vocal opponents of President Trump's decision to cancel DACA was the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) and the words of its President, Fernando Stein were emotion-laden and compelling:

To punish individuals who were brought to the United States by their parents as children, some even as babies, and characterize them as lawbreakers, is immoral and unjust. As they grew into young adults, these children have served our country in uniform, they have graduated from our colleges and universities, they have invested in our communities and they work in our cities and towns. They are valedictorians and entrepreneurs. One even sacrificed his life trying to save others during Hurricane Harvey (cited in Knopf, 2017, p. 10).

It is for reasons like this that laws prescribe a minimum age for criminal liability, as persons must not only be capable of voluntary action but must be mentally competent to decipher the consequences of forbidden actions, before subjecting them to punishment. Granted that there should be consequences even for their parents' actions, the argument that these children have suffered enough, socially, emotionally and economically can be made. Their circumstances both materially, emotionally and socially, cannot be compared with those of their peers who are fortunate to be children of legal Residents, and we should treat them with empathy. Famous Black American Activist Frederick Douglas's words uttered back in 1867 remain relevant and poignant in this case:

If we would reach a degree of civilization higher and grander than any yet attained we should welcome to our ample continent all nations, kindreds and tongues and peoples; and as fast as they learn our language and comprehend the duties of citizenship, we would incorporate them into the American body politic. The outspread wings of the American eagle are broad enough to shelter all who are likely to come (Cited in Desmond, 1998, p. 452).

Economics

Warren and Kerwin (2015) posit that it is in the economic, family and humanitarian interest of the United States to address the challenge of unauthorized and undocumented immigrants in the Country. They suggest reforms that will include a path to citizenship for currently existing undocumented immigrants as it is the only real and feasible solution. This category of immigrants need the United States, to regularize their stay, as it is the only country they have grown to know as home, and the United States also needs them for reasons that bother on economic sustainability. As the baby boomers are nearing the exit door from the workforce, the need for more able-bodied persons in the pipeline to fill the widespread vacancies is becoming apparent. These children provide a true source for filling this gap. Beyond that, Zaidi and Kuczewski (2017) have argued that this category of immigrants are in a vantage position to ameliorate the challenge of shortage of physicians in the United States because they are often minorities with the likelihood of serving in low-income areas where there is a shortage of health care providers. They consequently contend that doing away with DACA invariably weakens the healthcare workforce by blocking this group of future professionals from enriching and strengthening the health care system.

Furthermore, research indicates there are limited jobs categories that undocumented and unauthorized immigrants qualify and typically work. Agriculture the biggest industry in several states in the country seems to top the chart as an area that is primarily serviced by undocumented and unauthorized immigrants. Estimates indicate that about 70% of workers in the Agriculture industry, are unauthorized and undocumented (Economist, 2011) and these are jobs that documented Americans are not willing to do. Getting these categories of people off the working radar will not only threaten the economy of some states, but it may also threaten the food

security of the nation. According to Kumar and Krueger (2013), a variety of studies have underscored the contributions of undocumented immigrants to the economic development of the United States. Creating reforms that will regularize undocumented immigrants to full members of the documented economy can only enhance their contributions especially when viewed from the perspective of expansion of the revenue base.

Conclusion

This paper has examined America's policy on undocumented immigrants with specific reference to the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). It attempted an examination of the policy from the perspective of its objective, rationale, and justification (pros) as well as the rationale and justification (cons) for its termination. The paper also made attempts at unearthing the factors responsible for Congress's inability to adopt a legislative policy to address the challenge of this category of immigrants, despite a variegated range of attempts since the Bush era. There was also an attempt to reconcile and balance the contending arguments within the broad themes of constitutionalism and legality, morality, equity and good conscience as well as economics. It is evident at this point that the immigration challenge is not going anywhere anytime soon, and Congress and decision makers must dig deep in their decision-making, and find ways of finding common ground, as this is a challenge that urgently yearns for a legislative solution. The challenge has become protracted and may soon become intractable.

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