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- GRAND CHALLENGES: SOCIAL JUSTICE AND
THE NEED FOR EVIDENCE-BASED SEX OFFENDER
REGISTRY REFORM
Jill S. Levenson, Melissa D. Grady, and George Leibowitz 3
- FEAR AND MISINFORMATION AS PREDICTORS
OF SUPPORT FOR SEX OFFENDER MANAGEMENT
POLICIES
Erin Comartin, Poco Kernsmith, and Roger Kernsmith 39
- GUARDIANS OF CHASTITY AND MORALITY:
A CENTURY OF SILENCE IN SOCIAL WORK
Elizabeth A. O'Neill 67
- VALUE DISCRETION IN A PEOPLE-CHANGING
ENVIRONMENT: TAKING THE LONG VIEW
Stephanie Baker Collins 89
- THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CLASS WITH A "SENSE
OF ENTITLEMENT": A CASE STUDY ON POLITICAL
RHETORIC AS SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN DENMARK
Klarissa Lueg and Andreas Jakobsen 111
- SOCIAL SUPPORT AND CRIME: A STATE-LEVEL
ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SUPPORT POLICIES
Jessica Brown 135
- ASSESSING ACCESS TO SOCIAL SERVICES IN
EMERGING SYSTEMS: A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH
Steven G. Anderson, Meirong Liu, and Xiang Gao 157

BOOK REVIEWS

- The New Immigration Federalism.*
Pratheepan Gulasekaram & S. Karthick Pamakrishnan.
Reviewed by Elizabeth Kiehne. 181
- addicted. pregnant. poor.* Kelly Ray Knight.
Reviewed by Cara Kelly. 183
- The History of the English Poor Law System.*
Jianding Ding
Reviewed by Lin Guo. 185
- The Rise of the Military Welfare State.*
Jennifer Mittelstadt.
Reviewed by Mark Olson. 187
- Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize
Public Schools.* Scott Hardung & Seth Kershner.
Reviewed by Daniel Liechty. 191
- Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy.*
Joseph E. Stiglitz.
Reviewed by Mary Caplan. 193

Assessing Access to Social Services in Emerging Systems: A Conceptual Approach

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There has been considerable concern about systemic factors that serve as access barriers for vulnerable groups in need of services, but conceptual and empirical work related to such issues have been limited. This article presents a new conceptual approach for considering and assessing access, which we call the "Funnel Framework." The framework is explicated abstractly, and is illustrated with use of the U.S. child care subsidy system. We argue that the framework can usefully guide the analysis of access to any social benefit system, and can be helpful to administrators and program developers as they design and implement benefit systems.

Key words: *social service access, poverty, bureaucracy*

The extent to which various types of social services and other public benefits have been available to general populations, and especially to disadvantaged groups, has received considerable research attention. Resulting indicators of the percentage of those "in need" that receive selected benefits have consequently become common. In addition, a literature has emerged on "barriers" to receipt, as well as on disparities in the characteristics of persons who do or do not receive benefits (see, for example, Bentele & Nicoli, 2012; Greenberg, 2010; Herbst, 2008; Kissane, 2010; Li, 2006; Park, Fertig, & Metraux,

2014; Schlay, Weinraub, Harmon, & Tran, 2004; Studts, Stone, & Barber, 2006). These studies collectively have resulted in the elaboration of diverse systemic and individual factors that restrict access.

Despite the importance of such issues to policy planners, administrators, advocates, and researchers, attempts to conceptualize access more generally have been limited and imprecise. This has fostered several problems for those interested in interpreting service access issues. First, interesting conceptual models have been developed to explain access in particular service systems (see, for example, Andersen, 1968, 1995; Stiffman, Pescosolido, & Cabassa, 2004), but access conceptualizations across different types of social systems have been lacking. This has resulted in unnecessary limitations in conceptual generalizations. Second, the term access itself has been defined in widely varying ways, which creates difficulties in understanding competing claims about the severity of access issues. Third, from an empirical standpoint, there have been relatively few rigorous attempts to systemically evaluate the relative importance of various service access barriers. Although this limitation derives partially from difficult measurement issues, the explication of a sound conceptual approach may foster meaningful empirical improvements in assessing access.

This article addresses each of these problems, with an emphasis on developing a new conceptual framework for assessing access to a wide array of social benefits. After first discussing selected overarching issues that complicate the evaluation of service access, we present the conceptual framework, which categorizes the mechanisms through which persons potentially in need of benefits are eliminated from service receipt. The U. S. child care subsidy system will be used to illustrate how the categories we develop may operate in one social service system. However, the framework can be generalized for use with any social benefit system. We conclude by discussing how the suggested framework can guide human services administrators and policymakers as they consider potential service access difficulties and related ways of improving policies and administrative practices. We also argue that the framework can be used to guide empirical research that more precisely

assesses the importance of various types of access problems.

How Should Access to Services be Defined?

One of the difficulties in comparing access studies is that they often reflect different points of departure or emphasis. For example, one study may focus on a population subgroup that receives designated benefits through any means, while another may more narrowly examine the proportion of persons eligible for a public program that actually receive such benefits. For example, with respect to child care, the former approach would focus on the mechanisms through which anyone thought to need child care services received them (i.e., markets, kin networks, government); the latter approach, rather, would center on the proportion of those eligible for the Child Care and Development Fund or Head Start that received these particular public benefits. There is nothing inherently incorrect with either approach. However, these differing foci should be clearly understood when comparing studies, as should the fact that the results of employing one definitional lens rather than another will result in quite different policy and programmatic implications.

In this section, we briefly describe two types of definitional issues that are important in conceptualizing access to services. These pertain to: (1) measuring the extent of need for services in an entire population; and (2) determining the auspices through which needed services are provided. Rigorous attention to factors falling within each of these realms will result in a more informed consideration of access issues in any substantive area.

Defining Need: Estimating Populations with an Access Goal

Determining the relevant population base against which access assessments are made is a critical first step in considering access issues. Such determinations always entail some societal conception, either explicitly stated or implied, about factors associated with need. An initial step in defining service need therefore involves assessing the personal characteristics that indicate a need for some form of care or benefit. For our purposes, we wish to begin by limiting such considerations to

the characteristics of the service recipient that suggest need, without considering how the needed service is provided (i.e., through family, private markets, or governments).

There are four primary criteria generally used to estimate the subset of a population that may need a service. These include: demographic or social characteristics; ties to selected social statuses, such as work; diagnoses based on functional criteria; and financial means (Gilbert & Terrell, 2010). We will discuss each of these criteria in more detail in a later section on establishing service eligibility criteria.

The important summary point here is that meaningful discussions of service access must begin by clearly determining the parameters of need. Although it is true that judgments about such service needs almost always are imprecise, failing to make educated estimates with documentation of the methods used severely limits the constructive assessment of service access. It can result in confusion regarding whether a service simply is considered unnecessary, or rather whether failures to obtain a service result from unintended access problems.

Means of Service Provision: Access through Private Markets, Voluntary Associations, and Public Auspices

Another difficulty in assessing service access involves the extent to which various service-providing mechanisms are considered. In general, services may be conceived as being provided through four primary methods: (1) kinship and friendship networks; (2) voluntary organizations, including both religious and non-religious organizations; (3) private proprietary markets; and (4) governmental programs (Gilbert & Terrell, 2010). In reality, these mechanisms often become quite mixed, as when a government program pays family members to provide care for their relatives, or when government services are purchased from nonprofit or proprietary service providers. Given these complexities, and because of the importance of public provision from a policy standpoint, we will focus primarily on access to services provided through public auspices in this paper. Nonetheless, in relatively free-market economies such as the United States, considerable service provision occurs through market purchase without direct government assistance. Prominent examples include the high

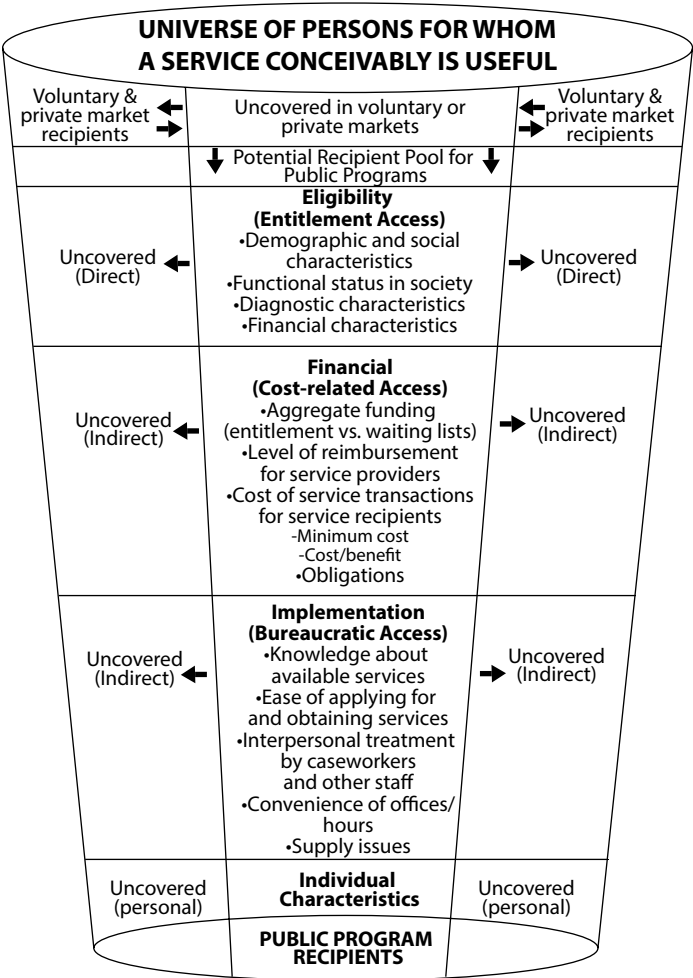
percentages of the population who purchase child care from private markets solely with their own funds. The government in such systems typically plays a "residual" role in providing services to designated portions of populations considered in need and unable to obtain market-based care.

Assessing access to public services therefore requires at least some consideration of the often complex and multi-directional interactions between public programs and private market exchanges. That is, just as perceived inadequacies in public service provision may stimulate private care seeking, the scope of government's residual role is influenced by the extent to which private markets provide access. For example, when rising costs make market-based child care unaffordable for many families, governments face pressures to increase access to publicly subsidized child care. At the same time, if government-run child care subsidy programs have fairly stringent eligibility requirements or are perceived to be of low quality, larger numbers of persons are forced to seek help through kinship networks or to purchase whatever child care they can through private markets. Although interactions such as these often are very difficult to interpret precisely, they often matter a great deal both in determining overall access to services and in assessing the primary mechanisms through which access is obtained.

The Funnel Framework for Assessing Access to Public Benefits

In this section, we present a basic conceptual model that differentiates systematic factors that affect access to public benefits. The framework is depicted in Figure 1. We refer to our approach as "The Funnel Framework," which is intended to metaphorically reflect how populations in need of service are systematically funneled toward or away from receipt based on a range of political or bureaucratic mechanisms. Our approach differs from well-known earlier work by Andersen (1968, 1995) in that it focuses on macro or systemic factors that affect access, while treating individual motivations and proclivities more as residual factors that operate within the context of broader systems.

Figure 1: The Funnel Framework of Social Service Access



Our approach is to begin by trying to estimate the broadest population subset that would be considered in need of a particular service, as is indicated at the top of the figure. We next discuss selected issues that affect the receipt of services through private markets, because many systems depend heavily on private provision and then use public systems to meet the needs of those not served privately. The many factors that can preclude receipt of public benefits for persons who do not receive benefits through private systems then are

examined in greater detail. The shaded portions of Figure 1 display four sets of factors that are particularly important in this respect. The first three of these—eligibility, financial, and implementation factors—all are systemic in nature in that they are substantially determined by public policy making and implementation decisions. We treat the final set—individual factors—as somewhat of a residual category to capture disparities in outcomes that may occur regardless of how well a system is operating.

Difficulties related to any of these four sets of factors may result in needy persons not receiving public benefits, as is denoted in the "uncovered" boxes next to each set of factors; these uncovered boxes indicate the portion of the potential pool that are eliminated from service receipt due to the access factors in question. Collectively, the uncovered boxes represent the portion of the population in need that we consider to have public benefit access problems. In contrast, if people negotiate each of these sets of factors without being screened out, they receive public benefits, as is shown in the bottom of the figure.

In the following sections, we describe the various access factors, and provide illustrations of how each may serve to screen potentially needy and eligible persons from service receipt. To provide some consistency in presentation, we will use the U.S. child care system, and especially the Child Care and Development Fund subsidy program, in illustrating access factors. A brief introduction follows to provide some minimal background on this child care system.

Background on the U.S. Child Care System

Child care in the U.S. involves a wide mix of private market transactions, government tax incentives, and direct government care subsidies. In general, child care by noncustodial parents is considered to be needed as parents engage in work or school; the ages at which care is needed may be subject to debate, but U.S. policy has focused on children under age 13 as well as older children who have special needs.

Many parents obtain needed care through private market transactions as well as free help provided by relatives, and a smaller number obtain assistance through their

workplaces. Government policies intersect with such arrangements primarily in two ways. First, the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit (CDCTC) provides federal tax credits up to \$3,000 (\$6,000 for two or more children) for childcare expenses for children under age 13 whose parents work or go to school. The credit is non-refundable—that is, it can only reduce a family's income tax liability to zero; any additional credit is lost. As a result, low-income families who owe little or no income tax get little benefit from the credit.

Second, the Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF) provides block grant funding to states to establish child care subsidy programs. While program rules vary widely across states, a family must have monthly income below the state determined income eligibility threshold for a family of that size. Most states set income eligibility limits substantially below the maximum level allowed by federal law, which is 85% of the state median income (SMI). Both the mother and the father (if there is a spouse present) must be either working or attending a job training or educational program and have a child under age 13 (or older with special needs) in order to receive subsidies.

Parents receiving subsidies may obtain care in a range of child care settings, including center care, family child care, and care in the child's own home. Many states allow noncustodial family members to be the subsidized caregiver. Assistance is provided in the form of either a contracted child care slot or a voucher that may be used to access care by any provider that meets state requirements. Families typically pay a monthly co-payment, based on factors such as income, family size, and the number of children in care.

The child care subsidies are not a federal entitlement, meaning that eligible applicants do not necessarily receive subsidies. Findings from previous studies suggest that, although a large fraction of low-income families are eligible for child care subsidies, states serve between 15% and 30% of the eligible population. From fiscal year (FY) 1996 to FY2001, federal and state funding for subsidized child care increased from \$3.6 billion to \$11.2 billion, and then to 14.9 billion in 2012 (Administration for Children and Families, 2014). In 2010, the

CCDF served approximately 1.7 million children per month (Office of Child Care, 2012).

Potential Population in Need

We turn next to describing the conceptual framework more fully, using examples from the child care system outlined above and frequently referencing Figure 1 for explanatory purposes. As previously mentioned, all analyses of access to services necessarily begin with some conception of the population that needs a particular benefit. Such need determinations vary dramatically across societies and communities, ranging from universal access for an entire population to fairly narrow determinations of need for defined groups. Thinking of child care in the U.S., for example, it generally is accepted that child care from a non-custodial parent is needed if the parent(s) are engaged at least part-time in work or school. Conceptions of the ages of children for which care is needed vary; they may range up to the age of 18, but more commonly are considered as less than 13 in U.S. policy discussions. We will use the latter convention here, and thus the "universe of persons for whom a service conceivably is useful" depicted in Figure 1 would refer to all families with parents working or in school who have children under age 13.

Options for Obtaining Needed Benefits

The boxes immediately below the "universe" in Figure 1 are meant to signify that this defined population potentially has multiple options for meeting their needs. Many persons obtain needed services through private market transactions or through free assistance from kinship networks, as indicated by the "private voluntary and market recipients" boxes; such transactions often are aided by government or employer incentives. For example, a very large portion of child care in the U.S. is provided through private means, with the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit (CDCTC) then used by a subset of these families to defray a portion of the costs.

However, as is well known, private transactions typically do not allow adequate provision for all families, due to financial limitations and many other difficulties. Those who

are not able to fully meet needs through private transactions thus may be viewed as being "uncovered in private markets," and in turn they constitute a "potential recipient pool for public programs." The horizontal arrows in the figure between those covered or uncovered through private provision denote the previously mentioned simultaneous influence these sectors typically have on each other, and the related fact that movement in and out of private provision may be quite fluid; it is affected by market conditions, the relative generosity of public provisions, and changing individual incomes and other circumstances.

Access Through Public Programs

This brings us to a consideration of the various mechanisms in the public decision-making sphere that serve to either enhance or restrict access for the pool of persons in need of public services. In general, eligibility requirements tend to restrict access in a direct way, while financial and implementation factors operate more indirectly. We turn next to describing the principal ways in which each of these broad categories affect service access.

Eligibility (Entitlement access). Some access restrictions are the deliberate result of policy design, as when governments limit eligibility for services depending on income or other criteria. This type of conscious and "direct" service access restriction occurs in some instances because persons are not considered sufficiently needy to require public supports. In others, persons are precluded because it is assumed that they will receive comparable or at least related services through other means, usually because of higher incomes or due to being tied to a status through which benefits are provided (i.e., jobs). In this sense, people may be restricted from public programs even though they seemingly are in need and are not receiving services as indicated in Figure 1 through private market transactions.

The most direct way in which government officials restrict access in this manner is through the eligibility rules that they set for programs. We will refer to these types of rules as "entitlement access," in the sense that they establish the boundaries with respect to the broadest group of persons who may have

a claim on a benefit. Meeting such initial criteria is a necessary but not sufficient condition for obtaining benefits.

Before we discuss some of the more general methods of restricting access through eligibility rules, a distinction between two primary types of programs should be made. In what we call "strong entitlement programs," a decision has been made (generally through legislation) that anyone who meets the defined eligibility rules in fact should be entitled to receive services. The U.S. Social Security system is a classic example of a strong entitlement program.

In other programs, which we will term "discretionary programs," eligibility determination only establishes a pool of persons who may be considered eligible, but those selected for service from this pool then are further constrained by a variety of deliberate bureaucratic procedures. In practice, many programs combine elements of these entitlement and discretionary features, in that rules are established that clearly define the pool of people eligible for services, but limited funding serves to constrain all people meeting such guidelines from receiving services. The CCDF is a good example of this, in that eligibility rules for receipt are established, but not all people meeting these criteria will receive services, even if they apply.

There are many ways in which entitlement to services is directly limited through eligibility rules. Figure 1 indicates four such categories that are of particular importance: demographic and social characteristics; functional statuses in society; diagnostic characteristics; and financial characteristics. Although we describe each of these separately, it is important to note that programs often include combinations of these criteria.

Demographic and social characteristics generally are used to "attribute need" based on factors that research findings or social norms indicate are associated with a given problem. For example, child care subsidies usually are limited to families with children under 13, based on the belief that older children can more easily care for themselves or that nonpaid options may be more readily available.

Second, some benefits are tied to functional statuses in society, under the assumption that service need is related to that status or that benefits are earned through some type of service. In child care, for example, parents need to be employed or in school for a minimum number of hours per week

to be eligible for child care subsidies. Special health care and other benefits for veterans serve as an example of the "earned through service" types of benefits; they are received because a societal decision has been made that service to the country should be rewarded with such benefits.

Third, the need for many services is tied to what Gilbert and Terrell (2010) refer to as diagnostic differentiation, which generally denotes specific malady-related conditions within a population that require some form of diagnosis by professionals. For example, although the general age of service receipt under the CCDF is under 13, services also are provided to households with older children with special needs. Nursing home care and special education services in schools are other prominent examples of services in which eligibility is based partially on diagnostic differentiation criteria.

The fourth criterion—financial means—is among the most widely used but also conceptually muddled. The confusion revolves around whether income is being considered because of limited ability to pay for services, or because income level may suggest a need for services regardless of ability to pay. In the latter case, if study shows that the children of low-income families are more likely to have poor school-readiness preparation, a strong case can be made for child care or early learning program eligibility rules that are income-related. For example, the Head Start program aims to provide comprehensive services to support the mental, social, and emotional development of children from birth to age five give in low-income families through agencies in their local community. The eligibility is largely income based—families must earn less than 100% of the federal poverty level; a primary reason for this criterion is that research has found that children from low-income families often have insufficient early learning opportunities. Generally, however, financial status is more important in thinking about the means through which a benefit should be provided, as opposed to serving as an actual indicator of service need. We will return to this issue in the following section on "financial (cost-related access)."

Eligibility criteria such as those discussed above typically screen out many persons in need from the potential pool for public provision. These persons are depicted in Figure 1

by the "Uncovered (Direct) boxes." Persons not screened out in this manner form the largest group that decision-makers have specified as being eligible for services. Of course, not all persons in this "eligible" group will subsequently receive services; the percentage of an eligible population that actually receives services often is referred to as the "take-up rate" for a benefit. This brings us to a consideration of the principal mechanisms through which members of this group with "entitlement access" further are screened out from service receipt. As shown in Figure 1, and described in the following sections, financial, implementation, and individual factors all play a role in affecting take-up rates and hence further restricting access. While the forms such restrictions take vary considerably, in general they are more indirect than the eligibility criteria previously described.

Financial (Cost-related Access)

Program financing can affect program access in three distinct ways. First, and most directly, the aggregate level of funding for a program directly impacts the number of persons served. Especially in discretionary programs, a specific amount of funding is designated for the program purpose. If the amount of money provided is insufficient to serve all of the people who meet eligibility criteria, some people simply are not served. This restriction on numbers served may be accomplished by instituting a waiting list for services, creating targeted subgroups for service priority from among those who meet eligibility requirements, or else simply by closing the application process when funds are exhausted. For example, the block grant nature of the CCDF system suggests that total funding levels may be insufficient to meet demand. Some form of rationing is needed in such situations, such as by starting waiting lists or freezing intake. One study found that 18 states had implemented one or both of these strategies, and that two-thirds of single mothers lived in states with waiting lists, suggesting that such practices are important factors in determining access to child care (Herbst, 2006; Schulman & Blank, 2006).

For benefits in which a third party provides services, the rates paid to service providers constitute a second important way in which service access may be financially restricted. The

adequacy of rates varies greatly in social service programs, and payment rate decisions can significantly affect the extent to which providers are willing to offer their services. This, of course, can seriously impact access to the benefit by constraining service supply, and also can compromise the quality of any benefit provided. In the child care subsidy case, it has been found that provider reimbursement rates are associated with increases in subsidy usage among eligible families, and in particular, that more generous provider reimbursement rates are associated with greater use of formal sources of child care, such as center and family-based services (Herbst, 2008).

Finally, access is affected by the financial or other costs that potential recipients must incur in order to obtain the benefit. The most direct form of such costs is fees associated with service receipt, such as the co-payments assessed when CCDF benefits are obtained. Such costs potentially have two related but distinct effects on service access. First, if persons are destitute, the inclusion of any fees may preclude access; persons in need simply cannot afford the payment. Second, for those with more disposable income, the level of fees may generate an informal cost-benefit assessment concerning the relative value of the benefit in relation to the assessed fees.

Implementation (Bureaucratic Access)

Even if a person is formally eligible for a program and cost issues do not preclude service receipt, there are many factors associated with how a program is implemented that can curtail access. We refer to these as implementation or bureaucratic access factors. In some cases, bureaucratic access constraints may be an intentional strategy designed to restrain demand for services, such as when application procedures are personally invasive or workers are trained to discourage potential applicants from applying for services. A classic illustration of such strategies at their most onerous was the often flagrant inappropriate questioning of African Americans as they attempted to register to vote during the civil rights era. Such strategies have been referred to more generally as "bureaucratic disenfranchisement" (Brodkin, 1997; Lipsky, 1980). However, bureaucratic access constraints also often are unintentional in nature, and result from the general difficulty in implementing social

programs in an effective manner. The following sections describe five principal types of bureaucratic access constraints.

Knowledge about services. A fairly wide body of literature across different types of social services has found that eligible persons who do not receive benefits often simply do not know about them, or else believe that they are not eligible (Anderson, 2002). A portion of such non-receipt doubtlessly is attributable to individual characteristics, including educational and language factors and motivation to apply. However, another portion, in which we are interested here, is more systematic and hence falls under the purview of bureaucratic control.

There are many actions that public program managers do or do not take that can affect knowledge about the availability of services. In some instances, programs simply do not advertise their services widely, because program managers know that service demand will outstrip available resources. In this case, lack of advertising becomes a mechanism for rationing services, although arguably not a very fair or rational one.

More commonly, systemic problems in information about available services result from either lack of sufficient resources for advertising or from substantive inadequacies in advertising. Social service programs routinely are poorly funded, so program managers often face difficult choices with respect to how much of a limited budget to allocate to direct service provision versus administrative or other concerns. In such decision-making environments, it is understandable that budgetary attention to advertising services often receives short shrift.

Inadequacies in advertising service availability extend well beyond monetary limitations. Expertise in developing a successful outreach and publicity strategy often is lacking in social service agencies. This can lead to such problems as unclear or otherwise ineffective presentation of program messages in advertisements; lack of cultural sensitivity in promoting programs; language issues, both in terms of over-reliance on dominant languages and insensitivity to educational levels of prospective clients; lack of sophistication in technology use; and inadequate attention to the primary methods of communication used by potential recipients in various communities.

Problems of this nature have been well-documented in the child care subsidy program (Adams, Synder, & Sandfort, 2002;

Fuller et al., 1999; Meyers & Heintze, 1999; Schlay et al., 2004). For example, Schlay et al. (2004) reported barriers related to knowledge deficiencies among potential recipients, either due to lack of knowledge of the existence of subsidies altogether, or lack of knowledge of the subsidy eligibility rules and the multiple ways in which subsidies could be used.

Administrative ease of applying for and obtaining services. Access problems also may be caused by the relative ease of applying for services, both from administrative and convenience perspectives. With respect to administration, the paperwork and/or interviewing that must be completed to obtain services is of utmost importance, as are procedures for maintaining eligibility over time or as circumstances change. As administrative procedures grow in complexity, they may impose non-financial transaction costs that applicants view as too high. Or, even if explicit cost/benefit calculations are not made, some applicants simply may find the application process overwhelming. Unfortunately, such administratively-created access problems often are likely to fall most heavily on those with limited education, persons with limited English skills, or mental health and related problems, as these persons may have more difficulty managing complex applications. In the child care subsidy program, for example, it has been estimated that one-third of eligible non-recipients do not apply for subsidies because of the perceived hassles (Schlay et al., 2004).

Constraints of this type can operate in three distinct ways. First, people may go to a social service agency to begin the process of applying for a benefit, but then become discouraged by the complexity of the process and the types of information they are asked to supply. Second, even those who complete initial applications and begin receiving services may subsequently terminate services if administrative reporting and eligibility re-determination processes are considered ominous (Adams et al., 2002; Schlay et al., 2004).

The third mechanism through which administrative procedures may limit access can be quite insidious but also is difficult to measure. That is, much information sharing about social benefits occurs through informal contacts in communities, such as someone who receives a benefit telling a friend about it. There are two related problems in such

communications from a service access standpoint. First, if the person with experience with the service conveys negative information about administrative processes associated with benefit receipt, some eligible persons may be hesitant to apply. Second, in some cases misinformation may spread informally from one person to another, which can lead to persons assuming they are not eligible for a benefit when they in fact are. It is reasonable to hypothesize that such informal provision of misinformation is likely to increase as the administrative complexity of programs increase.

Interpersonal treatment by caseworkers and other staff. The nature of the relationship between service providers and service recipients is inherently unequal in most situations, with the former exercising considerable power and the latter typically highly dependent (Handler, 1992). In this atmosphere, caseworkers and other program staff exercise high levels of discretion when interacting with service applicants or recipients. This discretion can be exercised in either a positive or negative manner, often with quite dramatic impacts on client perceptions about services (Anderson, 2001).

From an access standpoint, these interpersonal interactions may either encourage or discourage service receipt (Anderson, 2001). Caseworkers who are unfriendly, demeaning to service applicants, or personally invasive of service applicants or clients may discourage persons from continuing the application process or service receipt. In contrast, more positive caseworkers may help persons through the application process, and subsequently assist with service-related difficulties. Again, the effects of such caseworker behavior are likely to be greatest among applicants or beneficiaries who have the greatest difficulties in negotiating bureaucratic service environments.

In child care, subsidy staff are critical in shaping the experiences that families have with the subsidy system. They translate policy into practice, communicate details of policies to parents, help them with forms, process paperwork and claims, and help identify possible service providers. They are the basic point of human interaction with the subsidy agency. Research indicates that parents' experiences with these workers is highly variable (Adams et al., 2002). In some cases, parents describe how workers helped them resolve a problem and

how they were responsive and helpful. However, in other instances, parents describe being treated disrespectfully, having to wait for long periods of time, being misinformed, having paperwork lost, and so forth. The effects of these problems on parents have been argued by scholars to affect subsidy use.

Convenience of office locations and hours. The relative convenience of service receipt also can have important effects on service access. Most services require at least some face-to-face meetings to apply for and/or receive services. The relative effort required of recipients to arrange for necessary meetings thus may present problems that make services more difficult to obtain. There are two types of factors that appear most prominent in this respect. First, the physical location of the service provider may constrain many potential recipients. Locational issues and related problems of this nature may partially result from financial issues, in that the amount of program funding available likely will affect the geographic density of providers. However, problems often extend beyond funding issues, and may be due to factors such as poor planning in relation to transportation routes or areas where large numbers of recipients reside.

Non-spatial aspects of convenience also may be important. For example, many low-income persons work non-traditional hours, so service providers that operate only during daytime hours may present severe obstacles to services receipt. Likewise, the relative friendliness of offices to clients may affect a potential applicant or recipient's willingness to visit an agency, as may many other physical characteristics of agencies (Meyers, 2000).

Such convenience factors are prominent in child care, and influence not only whether services are received but the types of services used. For example, the density of child care providers in various areas varies substantially. Perhaps more important, most child care centers only are open during traditional work hours, and yet many parents need child care while working swing shifts or at night. Anderson, Ramsburg, and Scott (2005) found that about 80 percent of child care subsidy users in their Illinois study required some nontraditional hour care. Adams et al. (2002) also have described how locational, convenience, and general office practices can affect child care

subsidy access.

Supply issues. As mentioned in the previous section on financial access, the rates paid to providers have important effects on access. However, the available supply of providers for any given service often extends beyond such rate issues. For one thing, bureaucracies differ dramatically in their understanding of their clientele, which can impact provider selection decisions in ways that either encourage or inhibit access. For example, understanding the racial and ethnic composition of a population in need may lead to service contracting decisions favoring the selection of minority contractors in some instances, with the expectation of enhancing access among certain groups. As mentioned, the adequacy of understanding the spatial distribution of potential service recipients also can affect geographic location decisions in ways that can substantially affect access.

Less obvious but still important are the myriad of bureaucratic decisions that structure service relationships between funding agencies and services providers. For example, if service reporting requirements are onerous, some providers may decide that provision is not worth the effort. The amount of technical support that funding agencies offer to prospective providers also is important, as is the efficiency with which funders process payments and other administrative information. It should be noted that sometimes there is a fundamental tension between encouraging service provider participation and service accountability. That is, greater demands for accountability often result in fairly complicated bureaucratic requirements to document various aspects of service provision. This complexity, in turn, can reduce access, as some providers resist the pressure for excessive paperwork.

Individual Characteristics

As mentioned earlier, we treat differences in characteristics primarily as a residual category in this model, because our focus is on systemic factors controllable by program planners and administrators. Nonetheless, differences in individual characteristics have been found to be associated with service access, so there are obvious interactions between individual factors and the systemic factors previously discussed.

The difficulty in this respect is untangling the extent to which lack of coverage results from systemic barriers versus differences in individual proclivities and related actions. For example, educational barriers to access may be related to systemic problems in how information is disseminated, but educational level also may be associated with how much individuals value services and thus seek care. In child care, the fact that eligible households with higher levels of education are more likely to receive subsidies may suggest that state administrators are "creaming," such that those with higher skills are given priority over individuals with potential barriers to employment (Herbst, 2008). However, it also is unclear whether those with lower incomes or educational levels are less likely to apply, or if they rather are more likely to seek care from informal caregivers as opposed to child care centers (Anderson et al., 2005).

Discussion

Although we have used child care subsidy system in the U.S. to illustrate our access framework in this article, the Funnel Framework should be applicable in analyzing any social services system and in varying governmental contexts. For example, the U.S., as noted, relies substantially on private markets for social service provision, with governments then providing residual services for those not being served by markets. However, the framework similarly is useful in assessing access problems in governmental social systems in which markets play little or no role. In that case, the portion of the model depicting private markets in Figure 1 is inconsequential. Similarly, the model is applicable regardless of whether needs for a particular service are conceived as fairly universal or more narrowly focused on subpopulations; careful consideration of the "universe of persons for whom a service conceivably is useful" simply requires careful thought in either case (see Figure 1).

The Funnel Framework can be useful to both researchers and human services professionals as they consider access issues. From a research perspective, it can help guide studies intended to assess both the extent and nature of service access problems. Ideally, such assessments should make the best

possible estimates of populations in need, as well as of the numbers experiencing the various types of access problems depicted in the framework. Doing so can result in the more precise delineation of prevalent access problems, and related consideration of programmatic responses. In addition, using the framework to consistently apply analyses across programs could expand our understanding of the similarities and differences of access restrictions in various types of programs.

The framework also should be useful in the conduct of more applied program evaluations. In particular, program evaluators need to be sure that they systematically explore the full range of factors that limit program access. By conceptually explicating these factors, the framework can guide the development of evaluation questions related to each potential access limitation, and likewise improve the likelihood that distinctions between different types of access questions are not overlooked in question development and related evaluation protocols.

From an administrative and policy practice standpoint, differences in access restrictions have pragmatic implications for policy and program actions to improve services, and in turn should influence efforts by human services administrators and by those advocating on behalf of service recipients. For example, if assessments indicate that access restrictions derive primarily from constrained eligibility rules, improving access generally will require legislative changes in eligibility for public programs. Similarly, access restrictions that are estimated to result heavily from financial access factors may require changes in public appropriation levels, or in additional fundraising efforts in nonprofit agencies. In contrast, bureaucratic access problems are subject to correction from improved agency planning and administrative efforts.

Finally, the framework can be very useful as a teaching aid, especially for social policy practitioners and for those involved in social program development and administration. To the best of our knowledge, there are no similar comprehensive descriptions of systemic program access limitations in the research literature or in social policy or administration textbooks. Presenting the framework to students in policy and administration classes should be helpful in instruction about important issues in program design and implementation, and

also will serve as a teaching aid about the myriad ways in which social benefits fail to reach persons in need. A related assignment would be to have students use the framework to assess access issues as systematically as possible in their own program of interest.

Limitations, Refinements, and Further Research

The Funnel Framework is a useful extension of the emerging literature concerning how policy and program decisions and related implementation practices affect access to services. There are several areas in which the framework is limited, or in which improved research would facilitate its usefulness.

Probably the greatest problem in maximizing application of the framework concerns the availability of data for each of the access categories depicted. Such data availability varies greatly both between the different access categories depicted and between different social service programs. While acknowledging that such data availability can be a serious limitation in using the framework to comprehensively assess access, we would argue that the framework at least should lead researchers to obtain data for each category for which it is available. Furthermore, attending carefully to access categories with limited available information should suggest areas of needed primary data collection that would result in fuller access information.

A second limitation pertains to the previously mentioned interaction between private markets and public provision. While the framework recognizes that these two service mechanisms simultaneously affect each other, it is difficult to ascertain either the extent to which or the precise mechanisms through which this occurs. The framework consequently takes the level of private market provision as an initial starting point, and then focuses on public access issues. Nonetheless, public policy making affects private provision both directly through regulations and subsidies, and also indirectly through the adequacy of public provision. Research strategies that better assess these complex private and public interactions would be very helpful in informing broader considerations of service access.

Finally, we made a conscious decision to build our framework using factors that are clearly systemic in nature. This

contrasts with some access approaches that begin with considerations of differences in individual characteristics that may affect access. Nonetheless, further research is needed to better differentiate how access varies according to individual characteristics, such as race and education. More sophisticated research in this vein also could help determine the extent to which such differences reside in individual proclivities or maladies, as opposed to underlying systemic factors that serve to discriminate against persons with selected characteristics.

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to see their research expanded significantly in this book, and my hope and expectation is that this book will receive wide attention across fields such as sociology, social work, education, political science and communications.

Daniel Liechty, Illinois State University

Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy*. W. W. Norton & Company (2016), 237 pages, \$26.95, (hardcover).

Economic inequality in the United States has become an uncontestable fact, as low- and middle-earners alike are unable to make ends meet and the very wealthy are prospering enormously. This book follows in a series of books by Stiglitz and others exposing and interrogating such inequality in American society and the rigged game of the economy. While mainstream economists scratch their heads about the seeming riddle of inequality, Stiglitz dismantles arguments blaming each one of the usual culprits: technology, globalization, and a public sector that stifles business growth. He argues that it is not the nature of the market economy itself that is the problem; rather it is the rules by which the market economy is organized. As Stiglitz has done in past work, he is clear in his critique of mainstream economics that a 'trickle-down' approach does not work. But he is more forceful in this book in saying that this way of organizing the economy has actually led to economic inequality. Like other thinkers, he argues that the dominant discourse of economic growth vs. shared prosperity is a false dichotomy. Both economic growth and shared prosperity can and must be achieved simultaneously, and he proposes a major overhaul in the type, nature, and force of the policies (or 'rules' as he calls them) for governing the market economy.

The book is organized into an introduction, two chapters, and an appendix. Using straightforward and clear language to describe basic economic history and principles, the introduction lays out Stiglitz's general argument for the book. The first chapter provides evidence of how certain economic, social, employment and other policy paths have led to widespread

inequality in the U.S. The second (and last) chapter outlines the array of changes that need to be made in such sectors. Stiglitz ends the book with an appendix, which provides the reader with more detail regarding measures of economic indicators and reinforces the sense of urgency to act to change inequality-producing policies. There are copious footnotes and a considerable research base for the arguments and solutions proposed in the book, which will please academic readers.

This is not necessarily an academic book, filled with scholarly jargon, but one which readers will appreciate, especially educators who look for readings that are both stimulating and accessible to students. This accessibility, in terms of comprehensible language, use of charts and definitions, and a simple coherent storyline, is the strength of this book, as well as its weakness. To be able to tell the story of what is broken in the U.S. economy in such an uncomplicated way shows the masterfulness of Stiglitz's work, but readers who either thirst for more intellectual depth or a more nuanced and detailed explanation of the policy levers necessary to make changes to fix the economy may be frustrated by the text. In fact, Stiglitz himself admits that the broad agenda proposed in the book can be achieved only if there is the political will to advance it. Despite this profound limitation, the book adds considerably to the conversation about inequality in the United States, and does so in a way that can reach far beyond academia.

Mary Caplan, University of Georgia

victims of their own histories, as well as perpetrators against their own children when they are unsuccessful in navigating the complexities of mental health stability, sobriety, and residential transience while pregnant. In approaching addicted pregnancy as a common phenomenon in the lives of women residing in San Francisco's daily-rent hotels, the book points to the need for larger public policy changes, and for the implementation of multidisciplinary coordinated efforts to support and improve the lives of these women and their children.

Cara Kelly, Arizona State University

Jianding Ding, *The History of the English Poor Law System*. People's Publishing House (2014), ¥54 (paperback – Chinese/English edition).

English Poor Law, the origin of the social assistance system, is the foundation of modern welfare systems. Its development in Britain played an important role in promoting Poor Laws throughout the western countries. Moreover, influenced by its economic, social and political status, English Poor Law has set a model for poor relief in western countries in modern times. It has a history of nearly 350 years from the issue of the Elizabethan Poor Law in 1601 (the Old Poor Law) through the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834 (the New Poor Law) to the National Assistance Act in 1948. However, this part of the history still needs to be better sorted out.

This book divides the history of English Poor Law into seven stages: Late Medieval – Emerging; Late 17th Century – Implementation; 18th century – Improvements; 19th century – Poor Law Amendment Act; Late 19th and Early 20th Century – Adjustment and Decline; and finally Early 20th Century – Abolition. It thoroughly analyzes and discusses the English Poor Law from various perspectives, including social backgrounds, systematic concepts, the features of different historic stages, and basic functions and social status. The book provides valuable insights into the social functions of English Poor Law. On one hand, during the mid- to late 19th century, especially the period of Marx and Engels, the English Poor Law was considered as the cruel “Poor Law Bastille” (so-called because

poor people were confined in the work houses.) This situation of the Poor Law Amendment Act was an inevitable result of the restriction of the traditional poor relief system before the emergence of the social insurance system. On the other hand, in the late 19th century and early 20th century, in response to the appeal from the English public, the poor law authorities then had no choice but to take reforming actions, such as improving work house environments and relieving punishment, providing more stable indoor assistance to impoverished citizens, especially the basic living of those in extreme poverty. Moreover, the Poor Law Amendment Act provided both indoor and outdoor relief for the poor.

Based on these reforms, Ding points out very clearly that the classical Marxist critiques of the Poor Laws were aimed at the traditional indoor relief rather than the outdoor relief under the New Poor Law. It was actually the combined indoor and outdoor relief policy of the New Poor Law that guaranteed the realization of its fundamental goal and the basic principles of the English Poor Law to keep developing while still in its original form. This conclusion is based on a large number of historical reviews and is essential for a comprehensive understanding of the social functions of New English Poor Law.

The English Poor Law has very crucial political functions. It legitimized the concept of a national country and government in England and gradually extended the rights of receiving relief to the citizens, especially after the New Poor Law in 1834. Both the deserving and the undeserving poor, previously disqualified, were able to apply for poor relief. It also strengthened social control. The primary goal of the Old Poor Law System was to achieve social control, and to provide poverty relief to all kinds of poor people, especially refugees, who were considered to be the primary target of almost all social policies. Thanks to the New Poor Law, abolishment of the punishment in the Old Poor Law was conducive to the change of the nature and form of social controls.

The English Poor Law strengthened the power of parish government. The Old Poor Law was based on regional experimental practices that enhanced parish autonomy. Although centralization began already in the mid-19th century, regional power centers remained. The English Poor Law also had

economic functions, primarily providing a sufficient free labor force and a stable social environment for English industry.

This book, based on a comprehensive review of the literature, provides immeasurable value in understanding the origin, features and status of Britain as a welfare state, and in comprehending the emergence, functions and essence of the modern social welfare system. It will be a valuable reference source for research and study in sociology, social welfare and social work, especially as pertains to the history of English social security. As a pioneering systematic study from the perspective of a Chinese scholar, this book should also play a positive role in attracting academic attention and research on this topic in China.

Lin Guo, Huazhong University of Science and Technology

Jennifer Mittelstadt, *The Rise of the Military Welfare State*. Harvard University Press (2015), 344 pages, \$29.95 (hardcover).

Jennifer Mittelstadt's new book reflects the increasing scrutiny of America's military system, offering a timely critique of one of the oldest and largest of military forces, the United States Army. Centering issues of class, race, and gender in her analysis, the author juxtaposes the expansion of military benefits with the retrenchment of social welfare benefits in the civilian sector. Mittelstadt frames her account of the Army's transformation from conscription to an All-Volunteer Force (AVF) as a clash between two dominant institutions: free-market economists promoting unrestrained capitalism, and the "paternalistic and patriarchal" military leadership.

This book documents the expansion of military benefits, such as subsistence allowances and housing and education stipends, with the advent of the AVF. Following the end of the draft in 1973, benefits which had previously been available only to officers and career personnel were extended to junior enlisted members with the goal of enhancing recruitment. Consequently, more than one observer noted the irony of an expanding 'welfare state' within the American Army. Nevertheless, in response to Mittelstadt's query, "Was there a unique relationship between military service and

their immigration status, costing them access to gainful employment, higher education, and full social and civic benefits. Additionally, the authors argue that ethnic nationalism was an energizing force facilitating the spread of restrictive immigration policy; however, discussion is lacking to further convince readers of its role. Despite these limitations, this book is highly readable and an excellent source on these timely issues.

Elizabeth Kiehne, Arizona State University

Kelly Ray Knight, *addicted. pregnant. poor*. Duke University Press (2015), 328 pages, \$94.95 (hardcover), \$24.95 (paperback).

Employing an ethnographic methodology, Kelly Ray Knight examines the tumultuous lives of unstably housed women as they navigate through addiction and pregnancy. She expands existing literature by describing underlying constructs of addicted pregnancy through the lens of multiple professionals involved in the lives of women who live and work in the San Francisco daily-rent hotels. Through observation and narrative inquiry, Knight explores the larger sociological constructs of how we understand addiction and mental illness in the United States in the 21st century. Following the lives of several addicted and pregnant women in the daily-rent hotels over a four-year period, we learn of these women's experiences navigating ineffective social programs, negotiating coercive structural policies, and surviving unimaginable suffering, thus illuminating the reality faced by drug addicted women.

The book's first two chapters introduce the reader to the concept of consumption and insecurity in the daily-rent hotels, as addicted and pregnant women fight for survival and stability through consumption, as well as the concept of temporality as it pertains to antagonistic paradigms facing addicted, pregnant, and impoverished women. Through descriptions of temporal constraints facing these women, the author explores the demands of multiple conflicting priorities, while expanding the understanding of the intersecting needs facing addicted women over the course of their lives. Persistent residential transience as women navigate temporal constraints results in women often becoming indebted to the private hotels for past due rent, thus being forced to continue to engage in predatory

business transactions with hotel owners who directly profit from their instability.

Chapters three and four describe the web in which these women find themselves entangled as they struggle with addiction, mental health concerns, and housing instability. Teasing out the symptomatic differences between mental health issues and substance abuse with these women is complex, and is further complicated by implementation of neoliberal welfare policies, which have systematically defunded substance abuse and mental health treatment as a remedy for poverty. Impoverished women in the daily-rent hotels subsequently find themselves attempting to navigate a defective social service delivery system which fails to address their comorbid features holistically, leaving women forced to manipulate systems whenever possible, and to adapt through self-medication and illegal activities.

Chapters five and six describe the use of stratified reproduction by governmental entities and communities to scapegoat complex social problems and inefficient, ineffective social programs. A social construction of worthlessness of pregnant addicted women shapes government and community responses, thus vilifying addicted pregnancy rather than offering them support through their recovery and subsequent sobriety. Isolated from their families and healthy social support systems, women in daily-rent hotels are construed both as victims of personal and social trauma, and perpetrators of criminal activity, despite available treatment programs. While pregnancies are often unplanned in the daily-rent hotels, through threat of governmental intervention, children bring women together with their families for only brief moments, as they enter their lives to care for their children and provide a constant reminder of failure, loss, and unresolved grief.

This book dives deeply into a stigmatized population which is often gravely misunderstood, tackling deeply complicated social problems with compassion, honesty, and grace. Knight challenges established social constructs of substance abuse, mental health, and pregnancy amongst vulnerable women in the San Francisco daily-rent hotels. As constructs are reframed through a multidisciplinary viewpoint, the book depicts how women in the daily-rent hotels are viewed both as

victims of their own histories, as well as perpetrators against their own children when they are unsuccessful in navigating the complexities of mental health stability, sobriety, and residential transience while pregnant. In approaching addicted pregnancy as a common phenomenon in the lives of women residing in San Francisco's daily-rent hotels, the book points to the need for larger public policy changes, and for the implementation of multidisciplinary coordinated efforts to support and improve the lives of these women and their children.

Cara Kelly, Arizona State University

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English Poor Law, the origin of the social assistance system, is the foundation of modern welfare systems. Its development in Britain played an important role in promoting Poor Laws throughout the western countries. Moreover, influenced by its economic, social and political status, English Poor Law has set a model for poor relief in western countries in modern times. It has a history of nearly 350 years from the issue of the Elizabethan Poor Law in 1601 (the Old Poor Law) through the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834 (the New Poor Law) to the National Assistance Act in 1948. However, this part of the history still needs to be better sorted out.

This book divides the history of English Poor Law into seven stages: Late Medieval – Emerging; Late 17th Century – Implementation; 18th century – Improvements; 19th century – Poor Law Amendment Act; Late 19th and Early 20th Century – Adjustment and Decline; and finally Early 20th Century – Abolition. It thoroughly analyzes and discusses the English Poor Law from various perspectives, including social backgrounds, systematic concepts, the features of different historic stages, and basic functions and social status. The book provides valuable insights into the social functions of English Poor Law. On one hand, during the mid- to late 19th century, especially the period of Marx and Engels, the English Poor Law was considered as the cruel “Poor Law Bastille” (so-called because

Book Reviews

Pratheepan Gulasekaram & S. Karthick Pamakrishnan, *The New Immigration Federalism*. Cambridge University Press (2015), 276 pages, \$34.99 (paperback).

The New Immigration Federalism is a critical book for anyone interested in immigration issues. The book is the first of its kind to comprehensively integrate a discussion of contemporary federal and subfederal legislation, executive actions, and judicial injunctions and enjoinments related to U.S. immigration policy. The book is surprisingly up-to-date, covering current events in immigration policy through early 2015 when the book went to press. It is timely reading for anyone attempting to understand present-day immigration policy.

This book offers insight into the complicated array of immigration policies, modern day political challenges with federal comprehensive immigration reform (CIR), and how and why immigration policymaking has largely devolved to states and localities, a phenomenon termed the 'new immigration federalism.' Drawing on empirical findings, as well as historical and doctrinal legal analysis, the authors critically examine the flaws of the conventional 'demographic necessity' argument used to justify restrictive state and local immigration legislation and enforcement. This argument, offered by politicians, restrictionist issue entrepreneurs, and the media, points to the increasing size of the undocumented immigrant population in new destination cities and federal inaction on immigration as the twin causes of subnational immigration legislation.

Drawing on their original research, the authors proffer a new model of 'polarized change,' which demonstrates the ways in which issue entrepreneurs leveraged ethnic nationalism and increased political polarization to stymie CIR. This, in turn, justified the involvement of state and local actors, leading to a rash of subfederal restrictionist immigration policy from 2005 to 2011. Thus, the authors flip the dominant narrative of demographic necessity on its head, citing the way in which

Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, June 2016, Volume XLIII, Number 2

polarized state and local immigration politics provided policy feedback that engendered a lasting congressional stalemate on immigration reform.

In the second half of the book, the authors discuss the traction gained by subfederal integrationist legislation from 2012 onward. They cite the contributing factors of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Arizona v. United States* ruling on the limitations of state authority over immigration, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), and the growing political power inherent in the Latino community evident in the 2012 presidential race. In addition to this synergistic trifecta of forces, immigrant advocacy groups used the organizational capacity and social capital they had gained during their defense against restrictive state and local policies to take a proactive stance in promoting pro-immigrant legislation. Although the authors do not forecast the success or failure of CIR, they contend that the devolution of immigration policy to states and localities is unlikely to fade away in the near future, given the persistence of political polarization.

In this well-written book, Gulasekaram and Ramakrishnan make effective use of nearly every page. They steer clear of legal jargon, making the content accessible to a wide audience including scholars, activists, practitioners, and interested citizens. The authors make clear the dizzying array of recent federal and subfederal immigration policies. Their articulation of the collection of trends in state and local policy is comprehensive and brilliantly set in a broader conceptual framework. Their polarized change model is grounded in empirical data and cogent argument and offers readers a rich understanding of the origins of the momentous shift to the new immigration federalism.

While this book is worthwhile and powerfully written, it has two noteworthy weaknesses. At the end, the authors offered the possibility that the new immigration federalism may be beneficial and suggested that policy uniformity might not be preferable or necessary. However, this position fails to consider that only Congress can legislate a more permanent solution for the 11.3 million people who lack legal status in the U.S., such as pathways to residency and citizenship. It neglects to acknowledge the serious holding pattern unauthorized immigrants face without the opportunity to regularize

their immigration status, costing them access to gainful employment, higher education, and full social and civic benefits. Additionally, the authors argue that ethnic nationalism was an energizing force facilitating the spread of restrictive immigration policy; however, discussion is lacking to further convince readers of its role. Despite these limitations, this book is highly readable and an excellent source on these timely issues.

Elizabeth Kiehne, Arizona State University

Kelly Ray Knight, *addicted. pregnant. poor*. Duke University Press (2015), 328 pages, \$94.95 (hardcover), \$24.95 (paperback).

Employing an ethnographic methodology, Kelly Ray Knight examines the tumultuous lives of unstably housed women as they navigate through addiction and pregnancy. She expands existing literature by describing underlying constructs of addicted pregnancy through the lens of multiple professionals involved in the lives of women who live and work in the San Francisco daily-rent hotels. Through observation and narrative inquiry, Knight explores the larger sociological constructs of how we understand addiction and mental illness in the United States in the 21st century. Following the lives of several addicted and pregnant women in the daily-rent hotels over a four-year period, we learn of these women's experiences navigating ineffective social programs, negotiating coercive structural policies, and surviving unimaginable suffering, thus illuminating the reality faced by drug addicted women.

The book's first two chapters introduce the reader to the concept of consumption and insecurity in the daily-rent hotels, as addicted and pregnant women fight for survival and stability through consumption, as well as the concept of temporality as it pertains to antagonistic paradigms facing addicted, pregnant, and impoverished women. Through descriptions of temporal constraints facing these women, the author explores the demands of multiple conflicting priorities, while expanding the understanding of the intersecting needs facing addicted women over the course of their lives. Persistent residential transience as women navigate temporal constraints results in women often becoming indebted to the private hotels for past due rent, thus being forced to continue to engage in predatory

Scott Hardung & Seth Kershner, *Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools*. Palgrave Macmillan (2015), 208 pages, \$95.00 (hardcover).

Unless you have a child attending middle- or high school, you may be unaware of how deeply military-patriotism and overt military recruitment has penetrated the American public schools. There are many factors involved in this, perhaps most significantly the general rise in military-patriotism during these years of a so-called war on terrorism, but also the fact that economic conditions in many parts of the country have made military service one of the few realistic career options for a large segment of our young men and women. The all-volunteer military places enormous pressure on recruiters to keep up monthly quotas, turning recruitment procedures into actively creative methods of gaining access to young people, nurturing them through long-term friendships, access to military video games, tutoring assistance, and so on, such that recruitment into the active military seems more like a natural 'next step' than a radical transition.

Through stories and interview reports, Harding and Kershner deftly outline the varied procedures of military recruiters who focus on the public schools as their point of access to young people. This is done fairly and objectively. It becomes clear to the reader in what kind of atmosphere military recruiters work, how their work develops, and given the parameters of their assignment, how it is that such methods emerge as logical and even as looking out for the 'best interests' of their prospective recruits.

At the same time, the book also introduces the reader to the lives of courageous men and women who have taken it upon themselves to work toward countering the infiltration of military recruiters into the public schools and offering to young people a vision of life prospects that does not pass through military service as the inevitable next step. I found this book to be fascinating reading on a number of levels, and I suspect many readers of this journal will also.

As one whose consciousness about the military was formed during the Vietnam years, I initially understood 'counter-recruitment' to be anti-military. This is not really true. Although

there are certainly plenty of old-guard pacifists and war resisters represented among the counter-recruiters, Harding and Kershner introduce us to a number of people who do not come at their work from that kind of background at all. Many are former military personnel themselves and have positive things to say about their service experience. They are motivated by simply wanting young people to know they have wider choices for their lives. They are motivated by the fact that, by being able to draw on the magnificent financial and support structures available to them, military recruiters often completely overwhelm and displace other types of recruiters at job fairs, career days and so on. They are motivated by a sense that while the military has its place of honor, there need to be many other areas in the daily lives of young people, in the classrooms, in the school convocations, in school parades and sporting events, which remain separate and insulated from strong military presence and influence.

Furthermore, as this book makes clear, were anti-recruitment efforts understood as anti-military, they would not find a welcoming or even neutral spirit for their work in schools from many administrators or communities. But these same administrators and communities, even in places where military service is held in extra high regard, such as communities in which a military base may be central to its economy, may well be open to anti-recruitment approaches undertaken in the spirit of expanding the mental and career horizons of young people, rather than as simply negative toward the military option. I repeatedly looked up from reading of this book and simply savored the moment of feeling high respect for the various people whose lives and activities are chronicled here. They continue their work day after day in the full knowledge that they are massively 'out-gunned' by the financial and institutional resources of the military recruiters. In many ways they are the unsung heroes of those working for a more peaceful, progressive and democratic society.

I first became acquainted with counter-recruitment through an article written by these same authors submitted for the special issue of this journal on Peace, Conflict and War, on which I had the privilege of serving with Sondra J. Vogel as a guest editor ('Just Say No,' JSSW 38/2) I am very pleased

to see their research expanded significantly in this book, and my hope and expectation is that this book will receive wide attention across fields such as sociology, social work, education, political science and communications.

Daniel Liechty, Illinois State University

Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy*. W. W. Norton & Company (2016), 237 pages, \$26.95, (hardcover).

Economic inequality in the United States has become an uncontestable fact, as low- and middle-earners alike are unable to make ends meet and the very wealthy are prospering enormously. This book follows in a series of books by Stiglitz and others exposing and interrogating such inequality in American society and the rigged game of the economy. While mainstream economists scratch their heads about the seeming riddle of inequality, Stiglitz dismantles arguments blaming each one of the usual culprits: technology, globalization, and a public sector that stifles business growth. He argues that it is not the nature of the market economy itself that is the problem; rather it is the rules by which the market economy is organized. As Stiglitz has done in past work, he is clear in his critique of mainstream economics that a 'trickle-down' approach does not work. But he is more forceful in this book in saying that this way of organizing the economy has actually led to economic inequality. Like other thinkers, he argues that the dominant discourse of economic growth vs. shared prosperity is a false dichotomy. Both economic growth and shared prosperity can and must be achieved simultaneously, and he proposes a major overhaul in the type, nature, and force of the policies (or 'rules' as he calls them) for governing the market economy.

The book is organized into an introduction, two chapters, and an appendix. Using straightforward and clear language to describe basic economic history and principles, the introduction lays out Stiglitz's general argument for the book. The first chapter provides evidence of how certain economic, social, employment and other policy paths have led to widespread

economic functions, primarily providing a sufficient free labor force and a stable social environment for English industry.

This book, based on a comprehensive review of the literature, provides immeasurable value in understanding the origin, features and status of Britain as a welfare state, and in comprehending the emergence, functions and essence of the modern social welfare system. It will be a valuable reference source for research and study in sociology, social welfare and social work, especially as pertains to the history of English social security. As a pioneering systematic study from the perspective of a Chinese scholar, this book should also play a positive role in attracting academic attention and research on this topic in China.

Lin Guo, Huazhong University of Science and Technology

Jennifer Mittelstadt, *The Rise of the Military Welfare State*. Harvard University Press (2015), 344 pages, \$29.95 (hardcover).

Jennifer Mittelstadt's new book reflects the increasing scrutiny of America's military system, offering a timely critique of one of the oldest and largest of military forces, the United States Army. Centering issues of class, race, and gender in her analysis, the author juxtaposes the expansion of military benefits with the retrenchment of social welfare benefits in the civilian sector. Mittelstadt frames her account of the Army's transformation from conscription to an All-Volunteer Force (AVF) as a clash between two dominant institutions: free-market economists promoting unrestrained capitalism, and the "paternalistic and patriarchal" military leadership.

This book documents the expansion of military benefits, such as subsistence allowances and housing and education stipends, with the advent of the AVF. Following the end of the draft in 1973, benefits which had previously been available only to officers and career personnel were extended to junior enlisted members with the goal of enhancing recruitment. Consequently, more than one observer noted the irony of an expanding 'welfare state' within the American Army. Nevertheless, in response to Mittelstadt's query, "Was there a unique relationship between military service and

entitlements?" the answer is, historically, yes.

Throughout the military history of this country and around the world, systems of provisions and entitlements to service members have existed as a means of recruitment, retention, and compensation. In addition to maintaining basic sustenance for individual members (as illustrated in the quote attributed to Napoleon that "An army marches on its stomach"), medical care was provided to the families of servicemen during the Revolutionary War; families of Civil War servicemen received allotments authorized by the Department of Army Regulation; and Relief Societies for the widows and orphans of deceased Army and Navy combatants were created in the early 1900s. During World War II, service members received an unprecedented rate of pay, in addition to allowances for 'Basic Maintenance' provided to their family members. These entitlements may be considered reasonable recompense, a means to cope with the challenges of military life, or demonstration of societal support in times of war, rather than a counterpart to America's traditionally residual welfare system.

It is debatable whether the systems of military benefits, regardless of their expansion or contraction over time, represent a 'welfare state.' The hierarchical nature of the military would seem diametrically opposed to the egalitarian concept of a welfare state, in which citizenship is the primary criterion for eligibility. The extension of military benefits has historically been predicated on obligation. Indeed, service personnel and their families forgo independence and autonomy for lengthy periods in exchange for benefits. This fundamental reality significantly challenges the analogy of the military system to a welfare state. While the author writes critically of the "proposed conditional requirements for receiving government support" (p. 182) stipulated by the welfare reform efforts of the Clinton administration, it must be recognized that benefits for service personnel and their families have always been conditional. At the same time, increases in military spending may be conceptualized as 'welfare' or 'national security,' depending on one's political philosophy and the tenor of the times.

Positing a relationship between Reagan-era cuts in federal grants to low-income college students and the growth in educational benefits and family services for Army

personnel, Mittelstadt argues, “the army family welfare state grew not only despite the cuts to civilian social programs, but also to some degree on their backs” (p. 169). However, this hypothesized cause and effect fails to acknowledge the confluence of political and foreign policy factors that influence defense expenditures. Military budgets are often impacted by foreign policy decisions and global concerns, as indicated by a 2014 report published by the Council on Foreign Relations. Following historical trends in defense spending, spending tended to be related to perceived threats to national security. As a case in point, Reagan came into office pledging to defend the country against an ‘evil empire’ and confront what his administration defined as Soviet aggression. The call for increased defense spending, presented in conjunction with the denigration of civilian social welfare, presented no contradiction for the Reagan administration. Such policies followed a long-established conservative philosophy that was not uncommon among the general public; namely that civilian social welfare and military benefits are not analogous.

While Mittelstadt provides ample documentation of the growth of military benefits and cuts in social welfare, the question remains as to whether these circumstances are truly comparable. The author’s association of Army entitlements with civilian income-maintenance programs suggests a parallel between these two systems generally not endorsed in American culture. Mittelstadt provides only limited evidence to support this assumed equivalence. Likewise, examination of the cultural values that underlie the disparate perceptions of government subsidy recipients is lacking, making the author’s premise seem more of a moral stance than persuasive argument. Still, it must be said that the unprecedented involvement of economists in the initial explorations of the AVF provide a basis for framing this history in terms of competing economic and social welfare theories. *The Rise of the Military Welfare State* depicts the growing influence of free-market theorists during the 1960s, who advocated applying their principles to a number of social institutions, including the military. The participation of Milton Friedman and Alan Greenspan in this regard leads Mittelstadt to suggest that “free market economists succeeded in changing the military” (p. 17). Indeed,

Friedman and Greenspan played pivotal roles in initial discussions of the AVF, and subsequently on the Gates Commission, to address the debate on conscription.

Nonetheless, the author acknowledges that the free-market proponents failed in advancing their view that military service was a job comparable to civilian employment, thereby subject to the 'rules' of the market. This may explain the diminished presence of the economists once the book's focus shifts to the Army's transition to the volunteer era; after the conclusion of the Gates Commission, their influence was not particularly significant. Additionally, it is questionable that the opposition of military leadership to the application of free-market theories was primarily 'paternalistic,' as the author suggests, rather than rooted in the realities of military function and culture.

The free-market theorists return at the end of the book as Mittelstadt documents the trend toward 'privatization,' with the contracting out of military services during the Clinton administration. While this is presented as the eventual triumph of Friedman et al., it can alternatively be viewed as one in a series of expansions, contractions, and the general shifts in military spending that accompany social and geopolitical change. Ultimately, there is little empirical or historical evidence to suggest that the Army can be accurately characterized as either a business or welfare state, making the author's comparisons in this regard problematic.

In the book's introduction, Mittelstadt notes, "The book that follows does not comprehensively document every [Army] program and benefit ... Instead, it follows the people, programs, issues, and ideas that the evidence suggested were most important in shaping the army's construction and conception of its social welfare apparatus" (p. 15). In the end, *The Rise of the Military Welfare State* offers an insightful account of the culture of the United States Army, and its often uneasy transition to an all-volunteer force. While Mittelstadt's parallels between military benefits and civilian welfare are not always convincing, the author provides a well-researched and meticulously documented account of the historical shifts in military entitlements, set against the context of social and political change.

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Social Support and Crime: A State-Level Analysis of Social Support Policies

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There is a growing theoretical and empirical tradition that examines the relationship between social support and crime. While academic research supports the idea that social support inhibits crime, public discourse and the popular media often assert that support, especially instrumental support to the poor, can increase crime. This article adds to the growing literature by including multiple forms of social support in an investigation of the relationship between social support and property crime and violent crime over a ten year period. Results indicate that while some forms of support have the expected negative relationship with crime, others displayed a significant positive relationship, and others had no significant relationship. Implications for these findings are discussed.

Key words: *social support, crime, social policy*

For many years, the popular media, political leaders, and researchers have discussed the possible implications of social support policies on crime in the United States. One of the most recent trends in this public discourse is the connection between welfare recipients and drug use, which led to drug-related restrictions for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) eligibility in the 1996 welfare reform, and has contributed to recent debates regarding the drug testing of welfare recipients (Amundson, Zajicek, & Hunt, 2014). Much of this public discourse and the resulting policies contradict the academic literature, which posits that providing support decreases the necessity of criminal activity, thus reducing the likelihood of crime. While opinions have gone back and forth over time and often depend in part on the form of social support and population being discussed, there is a dearth of

scientific research that addresses this relationship to contribute to the discussion.

This article examines how different social support policies affect crime. In public discussions, social support is often equated with welfare, especially programs which target low income mothers with dependent children. While much of the criminological literature also explores the connection between welfare and crime, recent theorizing has emphasized the importance of incorporating other forms of social support to gain a full understanding of this relationship. The overarching hypothesis regarding the relationship between social support and crime is that the relationship is negative, but scholars have also hypothesized that the strength of the relationship may differ by the type of support under consideration, as well as the level of measurement.

There are two major reasons why this research is important to the field. One contribution of this research lies in expanding the concept of social support as it is generally used in the sociological literature. Social support is an important theoretical concept, yet quantitative analyses have not yet utilized multiple measures of social support in empirical models. Incorporating recent findings from the sociology of the family helps to frame conceptualizations of social support, especially the different forms that support can take. Additionally, this research investigates the relationship between social support and crime on the state level, as many decisions regarding policy development, programming and treatment occur on this level of analysis.

Second, knowing which types of support have the strongest effect on crime will help to develop more effective public policies. Often, policies are evaluated solely on their intended outcomes, without consideration for any unintended outcomes that may result from them. However, these policies may play an important role in reducing crime and may have other unintended consequences. This research can help uncover the interrelationships that exist between different support programs.

Conceptualization and Prior Research

Social support is referenced within a number of different criminological perspectives, including strain theory, anomie

theory, and social altruism theory (Agnew, 1992; Chamlin & Cochran, 1997; Messner & Rosenfeld, 2006). However, it was not until relatively recently that social support has received sustained attention as a primary variable of interest (Cullen, 1994). Social support can be defined as "the delivery (or perceived delivery) of assistance from communities, social networks, and confiding partners in meeting the instrumental and expressive needs of individuals" (Colvin, Cullen, & Vander Ven, 2002, p. 20). This definition encompasses a wide variety of programs and behaviors. Social support occurs at both the micro and macro level, can be provided by formal sources (like the government) or informal sources (such as spouses), and can be either instrumental or expressive in nature. Instrumental support includes any kind of material assistance, such as money, goods, or services, while expressive support refers to the emotional dimension, such as having someone with whom to discuss problems (Colvin et al., 2002; Cullen, 1994; Lin, 1986).

Much of the previous work in this tradition has been theoretical in nature, expressing the general assertion that high levels of social support reduce crime. Cullen (1994) provides a comprehensive explanation of this relationship, and posits that the relationship between social support and crime may vary depending on the type, source and nature of support. More recently, social support has been utilized in conjunction with coercion to develop an integrated theory of crime control (Colvin et al., 2002; Cullen, Wright, & Chamlin, 1999). This integrated theory posits that increasing legitimate sources of support while simultaneously reducing coercive forces will lead to a reduction in crime.

Empirical work investigating social support specifically has been somewhat limited. There are a number of studies that investigate the impact of social support on mental health (e.g., Cohen & Wills, 1985), but few that focus on the relationship to crime. There are, however, a number of articles that come from a social altruism perspective to explore the relationship between social support policies and crime. While social altruism is a concept distinct from social support, these studies can inform research in this area.

Social altruism theory is derived from multiple theoretical perspectives, combining components of Cullen's (1994) social

support theory, Messner and Rosenfeld's (2006) institutional anomie theory, and Braithewaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming theory into one perspective. Social altruism theory posits that societies in which citizens value the welfare of others above their own and perform behaviors that reflect that belief will have lower rates of crime (Chamlin & Cochran, 1997).

Chamlin and Cochran (1997) explore the relationship between social altruism and crime using a sample of cities in the U.S. They show that United Way contributions are significantly negatively related to both violent and property crime rates. Chamlin, Novak, Lowenkamp, & Cochran (1999) extend this research by looking at the relationship between the contribution ratio (the ratio of tax deductible contributions to the total number of tax returns) and violent and property crime. Contrary to their expectations, they found that the contribution ratio was positively related to violent crime, and not significantly related to property crime. They explain this using the free-rider hypothesis—where citizens benefit from tax deduction without incurring any of the costs (Chamlin et al., 1999).

Pratt & Godsey (2002) also come from a social altruism perspective to investigate the relationship between social support and homicide using a sample of 46 nations. They construct an index of social support using the percent of the GDP spent on health care and the percent of the GDP spent on education. They find a significant inverse relationship between social support and homicide using their cross-national sample.

There is also a body of research that looks specifically at the relationship between welfare and crime, although not all of these studies are grounded in the social support paradigm (Burek, 2005, 2006; DeFronzo, 1996; DeFronzo & Hannon, 1998; Hannon, 1997; Hannon & DeFronzo 1998; Worrall, 2005; Zhang, 1997). Overall, these studies tend to show a negative relationship between welfare and crime, although the relationship is not always statistically significant and is sometimes positive.

Control variables play an important role in the analysis—especially variables which measure poverty and family disruption (Burek, 2005; Hannon & DeFronzo, 1998; Worrall, 2005). It is also important to consider the measure of support, which is generally some form of cash assistance from the government, especially Aid to Families with Dependent Children

(AFDC) or the more recent version of this program, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). Few studies include more than one measure of aid to the poor, and most do not include other measures of instrumental social support, such as medical insurance or tax incentives.

Integrating research from the sociology of the family adds a new dimension to the existing criminological research. This research tends to be qualitative, which allows respondents to share their stories in their own words. In terms of social support, this is important because respondents have the ability to list their sources of social support, and also to describe which sources are most important to them and why. There are two pieces in particular that explicate these issues: *Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive on Welfare and Low-Wage Work* (Edin & Lein, 1997) and "So You Think I Drive a Cadillac?" *Welfare Recipients' Perspectives on the System and Its Reform* (Seccombe, 2007). Similar themes were observed in both of these works. While the actual welfare payment provided to most of these women is important, other forms of support, both governmental and non-governmental, are considered by the woman to be more important to their survival. Having adequate and reliable childcare, transportation, health insurance, housing, food supplements, child support and ways of coping with stress were just as important forms of support as the monetary payment from AFDC/TANF.

This research indicates that using measures of AFDC/TANF payments does not fully capture the reality of social support in the United States. This article builds on the existing literature by using multiple measures of social support to explore its relationship to crime. Programs such as Medicaid, food stamps, and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) are directed at helping the poor at a larger scale than AFDC/TANF, but have rarely been included in past research. As Zhang (1997) indicates, those programs that affect more people seem to have a more robust effect on crime, and so including programs that target a greater proportion of the population (like food stamps) as well as a different population (like the EITC) will significantly contribute to the existing literature.

Expressive support is not explicitly measured in most previous studies, although some variables used as controls in previous studies may also be capturing a dimension of

expressive support. Previous research has indicated a significant relationship between family variables and crime, including family size, parent-child relations, parental supervision, and child-rearing strategies (Derzon, 2010; Farrington, 2011). While the relationship between these variables is clearly indicated, the mechanism through which these variables influence crime is less clear. That is, it is unclear whether these variables influence propensity towards crime because of parental love and support, because of parental supervision and control, or because of some combination of the two. Previous research has included some family variables in the analysis as controls, and arguably these controls may be indicative of levels of expressive support at the macro level. However, based on research to date, it is impossible to say with certainty whether that is the case.

This article expands the literature in the area by including different types of social support in a single analysis. In addition to governmental assistance to the poor as an indicator of instrumental support, the analysis includes other instrumental support programs such as the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). Additionally, forms of instrumental support from alternate sources are considered, including medical insurance and private donations. Expressive support is also included in the analysis, both in the form of control variables that may be indicative of family support, as well as an attempt to measure access to expressive support at the macro level. Finally, the current analysis uses two different measures of crime, to discover whether the effect of social support on crime differs by type of crime.

This study is largely exploratory in nature. While the relationship between social support and crime is generally hypothesized to be negative, Cullen (1994) suggests that different types of support may influence crime in different ways. Previous research has tended to focus on instrumental support from the government, and other types of support are generally not included in the analyses. This article explores whether the relationship between social support and crime varies depending on the type of support, and whether the same relationships occur with both violent and property crime.

Data and Method

Data for this analysis come from a variety of sources, including the Uniform Crime Reports, Current Population Survey, Health and Human Services, and a number of other organizations. Data was collected for the years 1997–2006 for all 50 states. For a complete list of state-level variables and their sources, please see the Appendix.

Crime

Two crime types are included in this analysis: violent crime and property crime. The measure of violent crime includes four offenses: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Property crime includes four offenses, as well: burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. All crime rates are calculated per 100,000 individuals in the population.

Instrumental Support

There are multiple measures of instrumental social support included in the analysis.

Per Person in Poverty TANF/MOE Spending

This measure was constructed by taking the combined TANF/MOE dollars (State Maintenance-of-Effort [MOE] Expenditures) spent by state on basic assistance, child care, and transportation and dividing it by the number of people in the state who live below the poverty line. This measure is an attempt to estimate TANF spending per each person eligible to receive it. However, it is important to note that TANF eligibility is not limited solely to income, and to the author's knowledge there is no source that provides an exact number of the welfare eligible population. Therefore, the number used in the denominator is an attempt to measure the welfare eligible population.

Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)

Recent studies have shown that the EITC is an important source of social support for families in which at least one person is working. The EITC can play a significant role in lifting working poor families out of poverty, and in allowing single

parents to enter the workforce (Kim, 2001; Noonan, Smith, & Corcoran, 2007; Philips, 2001). Therefore, two measures of the EITC are included in this analysis. One measure of the EITC is calculated by taking the average EITC payment amount for each state. An alternative measure of the EITC considers state-level EITC programs, rather than the federal program. The second EITC measure included in this analysis is the percentage of the federal EITC incentive offered on a state level.

Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)

The Food Stamp Program, which was renamed SNAP in 2008, is one of the most extensive governmental social support programs in the United States. SNAP benefits in this analysis are measured using the percentage of people receiving benefits of all of those who are eligible.

Health Insurance

Research shows that for families that live in poverty, health insurance is an important source of instrumental support (Edin & Lein, 1997; Seccombe, 2007). While health insurance may not be used as frequently as other forms of assistance, lack of health insurance can have a significant and immediate impact on family finances, in the form of debt. Therefore, access to health insurance is an important indicator of instrumental support. Health insurance is measured as the percentage of people in the population who do not have it.

Charitable Donations

This is an indicator which attempts to measure non-governmental instrumental support on the state level. The indicator is the average charitable contribution per tax return as a percentage of the adjusted gross income.

Expressive Support

Expressive support is difficult to measure on the state level as it is largely the product of individual interactions between people, and state-level indicators attempt to capture these interactions with the use of structural indicators. Included in this analysis are measures of those professions which attempt to improve or enable expressive support, as well as

structural variables which are used as proxy measures of expressive support.

Social workers and psychologists per capita. The raw number of social workers and psychologists in each state for every year were divided by the population of that state, creating a measure of per capita social workers and psychologists. While this measure is certainly not an indicator of access to these services, it is meant to serve as a proxy for the availability of this type of expressive support.

Other expressive support variables. Other structural variables that are theorized to affect or indicate levels of expressive support on the state level are included in the analysis. These include the teenage birth rate and percent of children who live in single parent families. Teenage pregnancy creates strain within families, and is also related to fewer resources and a lack of emotional support, both for the parents and for the children. This indicator reflects the rate of births for the female population aged 15-19, and is presented per 100,000 females aged 15-19 in the population. Research has shown that single parent families have less time to spend with family and fewer resources available to provide support to family members. This can create stress and conflict within families, as well as lead to a lack of positive interactions between parents and children. This indicator represents the percentage of all children who currently live in single parent families.

While these variables may be indicative of levels of expressive support, they also likely capture other concepts such as supervision and control. Therefore, any results that show relationships between these variables and crime are not necessarily indicative of a relationship between expressive support and crime. These variables will be treated as controls in the analyses, but may also indicate levels of expressive support.

Control Variables

Other control variables included in the state-level analysis are median household income, percent of people living in poverty, and percent of the population that is unemployed. All three of these variables are indicators of poverty, and have been shown to be related with crime rates on the macro level.

Additionally, as many of the indicators of social support on this level specifically target those individuals who live in or near poverty, controlling for the overall poverty rate is an attempt to distinguish between the effect of poverty on crime, and the effect of social support on crime net of poverty effects.

Analysis

All models were run using fixed-effects regression analysis. Fixed-effects modeling allows researchers to control for all stable characteristics of the units of analysis, and thus better determine causality (Allison, 2005). Fixed-effects modeling works by having each case serve as its own control by making comparisons within individual units and then averaging those differences across all units in the sample (Allison, 2005). The main benefit of using fixed-effects is the elimination of a large source of bias in the form of stable unmeasured characteristics. The drawback is that fixed-effects modeling cannot control for unobserved variation that changes over time, and also that the relationship between the unmeasured characteristics and dependent variable is not known (Allison, 2005).

Results

Fixed Effects Regression for Property Crime

The results for property crime are displayed in Table 1. Model 1 displays the relationship between property crime and the instrumental support variables only. The analysis shows that the average EITC payment has a significant negative relationship with property crime ($b = -2.14$). Other significant relationships are observed between property crime and the percent of the eligible population receiving food stamps ($b = 7.46$), and the percent of the population without health insurance ($b = 17.73$). While the relationship between property crime and the percent of the population without health insurance is in the expected direction, the relationship between property crime and the percent of the population receiving food stamps is in a positive direction, which runs counter to the overarching hypothesis. The measure of the state EITC and both measures of welfare spending do not show a significant relationship with property crime.

Table 1. Fixed Effects Regression on Property Crime (N = 495)

	Model 1 Coefficients (SE)	Model 2 Coefficients (SE)	Model 3 Coefficients (SE)
Instrumental Support			
Average EITC Payment	-2.14** (.10)	-1.95** (.16)	-1.38** (.24)
State EITC (as percent of federal)	-2.72 (3.49)	-2.07 (3.43)	-1.01 (3.32)
Percent Receiving Food Stamps	7.46** (1.83)	5.27** (1.87)	4.33* (1.82)
Informational Support Spending Per Person in Poverty	-.31 (.28)	-.37 (.28)	-.00 (.27)
Instrumental Support Spending Per Person in Poverty	-.15 (.13)	-.17 (.13)	-.02 (.13)
Percent Without Health Insurance	17.73** (6.81)	9.78 (6.92)	-3.65 (6.93)
Expressive Support			
Psychologists Per Capita	.	-2.83# (1.62)	-1.14 (1.59)
Social Workers Per Capita	.	1.20** (.29)	1.28** (.28)
Charitable Donations as Percent of AGI	.	-25.62 (98.43)	-81.53 (102.8)
Control Variables			
Median Income	.	.	-.02** (.01)
Percent in Poverty	.	.	27.1** (9.97)
Percent Unemployed	.	.	43.65** (17.31)
Teenage Birthrate	.	.	.09 (.06)
Percent of Children in Single Parent Families	.	.	17.69# (9.83)

Note: * Indicates significance at the .05 level for a two-tailed test; **Indicates significance at the .01 level for a two tailed test; # Indicates significance at the .05 level for a 1-tailed test.

Model 2 includes the expressive support variables, displaying the relationship between property crime and all of the support variables. The measure of charity is not significantly related to property crime. Psychologists per capita is negatively related to property crime ($b = -2.83$). The measure of social

workers per capita shows a significant positive relationship with property crime.

Model 3 introduces the control variables to the model. The federal average EITC payment, food stamp receipt and social workers per capita retain their significance, but only the federal EITC is in the expected negative direction ($b = -1.38$). Social workers per capita and food stamp receipt are also significantly related to property crime, although the direction is positive ($b = 1.28$, and $b = 4.33$, respectively). The control variables median income, percent of the population in poverty, percent of the population unemployed, and single parent families are all significantly related to property crime in the expected direction.

Fixed-Effects Regression for Violent Crime

The data for these models are displayed in Table 2. The models are run in the same manner as above, with model 1 displaying the relationship between the instrumental support variables and violent crime, model 2 adding in the expressive support measures, and model 3 introducing the control variables.

In general, the fixed effects results for violent crime follow the same patterns as those models on property crime. In the final model, average EITC payment ($b = -.08$), percent of the eligible population receiving food stamps ($b = 1.04$), and social workers per capita ($b = .08$) are significantly related to violent crime. Only the average EITC payment is in the expected negative direction, while percent receiving food stamps and social workers per capita show a positive relationship. The only control variable with a significant relationship to violent crime was the teenage birthrate, with a significant positive relationship. Other control variables did not have a significant relationship with violent crime.

Fixed-Effects Models with Robust Standard Errors

Preliminary testing indicated that the above models had residuals that were correlated. The models were re-run using the robust standard error option. With this option, the coefficients from the previous models remain the same, but the standard errors are inflated to reduce the risk of type 1 error.

The estimates from these models are a more conservative estimate of the relationship between social support and crime. Data from these models can be found in Tables 3 (property crime) and 4 (violent crime).

Table 2. Fixed Effects Regression on Violent Crime, N = 495

	Model 1 Coefficients (SE)	Model 2 Coefficients (SE)	Model 3 Coefficients (SE)
Instrumental Support			
Average EITC Payment	-.25** (.02)	-.16** (.03)	-.08# (.04)
State EITC (as percent of federal)	-.73 (.61)	-.75 (.60)	-.48 (.58)
Percent Receiving Food Stamps	1.53** (.32)	1.29** (.33)	1.04** (.32)
Informational Support Spending Per Person in Poverty	.05 (.05)	.05 (.05)	.05 (.05)
Instrumental Support Spending Per Person in Poverty	.01 (.02)	.01 (.02)	-.00 (.02)
Percent Without Health Insurance	3.19** (1.19)	1.94# (1.21)	1.52 (1.21)
Expressive Support			
Psychologists Per Capita	.	-.04 (.28)	-.01 (.28)
Social Workers Per Capita	.	.08# (.05)	.08# (.05)
Charitable Donations as Percent of AGI	.	-67.08** (17.16)	-26.94 (18.0)
Control Variables			
Median Income	.	.	.00 (.00)
Percent in Poverty	.	.	1.08 (1.75)
Percent Unemployed	.	.	2.38 (3.02)
Teenage Birthrate	.	.	.06** (.01)
Percent of Children in Single Parent Families	.	.	2.48 (1.72)

Note: * Indicates significance at the .05 level for a two-tailed test; **Indicates significance at the .01 level for a two tailed test; # Indicates significance at the .05 level for a 1-tailed test.

Table 3. Fixed Effects Regression with Robust Standard Errors on Property Crime, N = 495

	Model 1 Coefficients (SE)	Model 2 Coefficients (SE)	Model 3 Coefficients (SE)
Instrumental Support			
Average EITC Payment	-2.14** (.25)	-1.95** (.28)	-1.38** (.38)
State EITC (as percent of federal)	-2.72 (4.28)	-2.07 (3.77)	-1.01 (3.39)
Percent Receiving Food Stamps	7.46* (3.40)	5.27 (3.42)	4.33 (3.95)
Informational Support Spending Per Person in Poverty	-.31 (.31)	-.37 (.32)	.00 (.35)
Instrumental Support Spending Per Person in Poverty	-.15 (.20)	-.17 (.19)	-.02 (.18)
Percent Without Health Insurance	17.73** (5.47)	9.78 (6.75)	-3.65 (7.48)
Expressive Support			
Psychologists Per Capita	.	-2.83 (2.10)	-1.14 (2.00)
Social Workers Per Capita	.	1.20** (.46)	1.28** (.41)
Charitable Donations as Percent of AGI	.	-25.62 (112.85)	-81.53 (141.68)
Control Variables			
Median Income	.	.	-.02 (.01)
Percent in Poverty	.	.	27.14* (13.58)
Percent Unemployed	.	.	43.65 (30.09)
Teenage Birthrate	.	.	.09 (.10)
Percent of Children in Single Parent Families	.	.	17.69* (8.59)

Note: * Indicates significance at the .05 level for a two-tailed test; **Indicates significance at the .01 level for a two tailed test; # Indicates significance at the .05 level for a 1-tailed test.

In general, the results from the models run with the robust standard errors confirm what was observed in the original models. Results from Table 3 show that the average EITC

Table 4. Fixed Effects Regression with Robust Standard Errors on Violent Crime, N = 495

	Model 1 Coefficients (SE)	Model 2 Coefficients (SE)	Model 3 Coefficients (SE)
Instrumental Support			
Average EITC Payment	-.25** (.04)	-.16** (.05)	-.08 (.06)
State EITC (as percent of federal)	-.73 (.76)	-.75 (.74)	-.48 (.66)
Percent Receiving Food Stamps	1.53** (.54)	1.29* (.53)	1.04* (.51)
Informational Support Spending Per Person in Poverty	.05 (.04)	.05 (.04)	.05 (.04)
Instrumental Support Spending Per Person in Poverty	.01 (.02)	.01 (.02)	-.00 (.02)
Percent Without Health Insurance	3.19** (1.25)	1.94 (1.34)	1.52 (1.31)
Expressive Support			
Psychologists Per Capita	.	-.04 (.32)	-.01 (.29)
Social Workers Per Capita	.	.09 (.07)	.08 (.06)
Charitable Donations as Percent of AGI	.	-67.08** (23.87)	-26.94 (22.55)
Control Variables			
Median Income	.	.	.00 (.00)
Percent in Poverty	.	.	1.08 (2.28)
Percent Unemployed	.	.	2.38 (4.49)
Teenage Birthrate	.	.	.06** (.02)
Percent of Children in Single Parent Families	.	.	2.48* (1.18)

Note: * Indicates significance at the .05 level for a two-tailed test; **Indicates significance at the .01 level for a two tailed test; # Indicates significance at the .05 level for a 1-tailed test.

payment remains significantly related to the property crime rate in all three of the models, as does social workers per capita. Results from the regression for violent crime show that the average EITC payment loses significance in the final model,

while the percent receiving food stamps retained significance in a positive direction.

Discussion

The overarching hypothesis regarding social support and crime is that the relationship is negative. The results from the state-level analysis show some support for this theory, but also some exceptions. Of all of the measures of instrumental social support, only the federal EITC payment was significantly negatively related to crime, although not for violent crime when using robust standard errors. Both qualitative and quantitative research indicates that the EITC is a significant source of support to families who are hovering near the poverty line; additionally, the EITC is one of the few social support programs that expanded during the time period under observation.

It is possible that the EITC is the only program significantly related to crime because it is the most effective federal social support program. Prior research shows that the EITC is instrumental in lifting working-poor families out of poverty and adding to their quality of life, just as a great deal of research shows that TANF, food stamps, and other similar programs are less effective (Seccombe, 2007; Sykes, Kriz, & Edin, 2009). Therefore, it is possible that the EITC is negatively related to crime because it is the program that is most effective in offering instrumental support. These findings may indicate that social support programs that succeed in achieving their primary goal, whatever that goal is, are those programs that will have a potentially significant effect on crime. That is, those programs that are effective in providing the support they are intended to provide will have an unintended (but still beneficial) effect on crime. Prior research supports this general idea, in that the EITC and health insurance are generally considered more effective in providing support than other programs like TANF, but this hypothesis needs to be the subject of future testing.

In order to fully test this idea, it would be necessary to determine an independent measure of effectiveness for a particular program, and then assess whether and how that program is related to crime rates. For example, research could focus on all of the programs that target poverty, and assess the effectiveness of the programs by seeing whether people were

lifted above the poverty line within a certain period of time following the receipt of the support. Then, it would be possible to compare those programs that are effective at providing support with those that are less effective, and analyze their relationship with crime.

Two measures consistently displayed a positive relationship with both measures of crime: the percent of the eligible population receiving food stamps and social workers per capita. The fact that food stamps receipt consistently displayed a positive and generally significant relationship with crime (food stamp receipt was not significantly related to property crime in the model with robust standard errors) is surprising. While it is erroneous to assert that SNAP benefits cause higher crime rates, it is worthwhile to hypothesize about the nature of the relationship.

It is possible that some types of social support, such as SNAP, provide unique opportunities for crime. For example, in the media there has been an increasing amount of attention paid to welfare fraud, in the form of recipients selling SNAP benefits for cash (Rao, 2012). This type of crime would not be possible without being a SNAP recipient. Additionally, Swan et al. (2008) show that welfare recipients often unintentionally commit fraud due to confusion about reporting requirements or because of external constraints to accurate reporting. As these cases are criminalized, they would be reflected in the state level crime rate. While the research of Swan et al. (2008) focused on TANF recipients, it is possible that similar instances are occurring to SNAP recipients, especially as SNAP services a larger population of people. In addition, Edin and Shaefer (2015) note that among those living on less than \$2.00 a day, selling SNAP benefits is one way to obtain needed cash, especially in an era when few people are receiving cash benefits from TANF. According to Morin (2013), about 1 in 5 Americans has participated in SNAP, and about 1 in 4 has lived in a household with someone who has participated in the program. The observed relationship deserves to be elaborated in future research.

There was also a positive relationship between social workers per capita and crime in the models. Data show that a significant proportion of crime committed in the United States is committed by juveniles, and social workers are often

expected to handle cases of juvenile delinquency. It is plausible that states with more cases of juvenile delinquency would hire more social workers to handle the cases, which would explain why higher crime rates are associated with more social workers per capita. That is, states that have higher crime rates would hire more social workers as a response. As the data in the analysis are yearly, rather than monthly, it is not possible to see whether higher crime rates led to more social workers per capita, rather than vice versa. It is possible that increases in juvenile delinquency led to the hiring of more social workers, and this relationship is obscured when looking at yearly data. It is also possible that changes specifically related to child welfare influenced the number of social workers per capita. This should be explored in future research.

Results concerning expressive support variables were not as clear. As stated earlier, there is an inherent difficulty in measuring expressive support at the state level, as expressive support, by definition, deals with interpersonal interactions. While measures of expressive support were included in the state-level models, it is possible that concepts were not adequately captured with the available measures. The only expressive variable with a clear relationship to crime in almost all of the models was social workers per capita, and this relationship was positive. While the control variables were not always significantly related to the outcome variables, when significant they were always in the expected direction.

As expressive support is incredibly difficult to measure at the macro level, future macro-level research should focus on the supportive nature of programs that target instrumental support. Every social support program was created with a stated goal in mind, and that goal had nothing to do with crime prevention. For example, TANF, food stamps, and the EITC were created with the goal of reducing poverty. Health insurance policy targets the health of the population, and also attempts to lessen financial burdens when an individual needs medical care.

Additionally, it would be worthwhile to investigate the relationship between instrumental support and crime at different levels of analysis. States were originally chosen as the unit of analysis because many instrumental support programs are administered by the states. However, Cullen's (1994) first and

second propositions regard support at the international and community levels. Future research should look at how levels of instrumental support differ by nation-state and how this influences crime rates internationally. This would allow for the use of other criminological theories, such as institutional anomie theory, to explore how levels of social support influence crime with larger units of analysis.

Also, future research should look at support programs at the community level using aspects of social disorganization and collective efficacy theories. This is a project that would best be conducted with qualitative research, starting with a small community. In terms of welfare programs in particular, it seems that something is lost in between the money spent at the state level and the money administered to individuals within a community. It is difficult to ascertain how and where money is spent at the state level, and how much of that money actually makes its way into the hands of the welfare recipients. A qualitative analysis of different support organizations within one community would offer the best chance of ascertaining the ways in which support programs operate at the community, and potentially also the individual, level.

Finally, the relationship between expressive support and crime should be studied in greater detail, especially on the individual level. This type of research is uniquely suited to qualitative methodologies, similar to those that have been used to study women on welfare more generally. Qualitative research offers respondents the opportunity to discuss the expressive support that they receive in their own words, and can elucidate the relationship between support and crime on the individual level.

Overall, this analysis has expanded the existing research on social support and crime by utilizing multiple measures of support. While some of the results supported the assertion that social support reduces crime, some of the results displayed significant results in the opposite direction. This research has pointed to a number of areas of future research to further elucidate the relationship between social support and crime.

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Appendix: State-Level Variables and Their Sources

Variable	Source
State Name	
State FIPS Code	
Instrumental TANF Spending/Number of People in Poverty	CLASP from HHS Data; Current Population Survey
Expressive TANF Spending/Number of People in Poverty	CLASP from HHS Data; Current Population Survey
Violent Crime Rate per 100,000 people	Uniform Crime Reports
Property Crime Rate per 100,000 people	Uniform Crime Reports
Average EITC Payment	Brookings Institute
Percentage of State-level EITC as compared to the Federal	From stateeitc.com, Prepared by the Hatcher Group
Average Charitable Contribution per Tax Return	Prepared by the Urban Institute from IRS Data
Number of Social Workers per Capita	Bureau of Labor Statistics
Number of Psychologists per Capita	Bureau of Labor Statistics
Percentage of People Not Covered by Governmental Health Insurance	Current Population Survey
Median Household Income	U.S. Bureau of the Census
Percent of People Living in Poverty	U.S. Bureau of the Census
Percent of Population Unemployed	Bureau of Labor Statistics
Divorce Rate	Vital Statistics
Teenage Birth Rate	Vital Statistics
Percent of Children Living in Single Parent Families	Calculated by Kids Count Program from Census Data
Percent of Eligible People Receiving Food Stamps	US Department of Agriculture

Value Discretion in a People-Changing Environment: Taking the Long View

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This article explores the normative value judgements (called value discretion) made by Ontario Works income assistance case managers in their people-changing roles. The focus of case management under welfare reform has moved from determining eligibility for income assistance—people processing, to moving recipients from assistance to employment—people changing. The article outlines case managers' pursuit of "the long view" in working with recipients over time, moving from assessment to crisis work to meeting workfare requirements. In taking the long view, case managers expose a basic contradiction in welfare reform that people changing does not result in the shortest route to a job.

Key words: bureaucratic discretion, value discretion, workfare, case management

There has been consistent interest in the policy implementation side of social welfare provision from the early work of Lipsky (1977/2010) and Prottas (1979), who examined the use of bureaucratic discretion by front line workers, to more recent efforts focusing on changes to the nature of discretion under welfare reform and new public management (see for example: Dubois, 2014; Evans & Harris, 2004; Lens, 2008; Sawyer & Green, 2013; Taylor, 2014; Taylor & Kelly, 2006). This article reports on a study of the use of discretion by front line workers who administer a provincial income assistance program in Ontario, Canada called Ontario Works. Their use of value discretion exposes the contradictions between a mandate to transform the long-term unemployed into employment-ready workers and the mandate of finding the shortest route to a job.

Neo-liberal welfare reform in Canada began in the 1990s with cuts in transfer payments by the federal government

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for cost-shared, provincially-administered income assistance programs. In addition to cuts in transfer payments, legislative mandates were reconfigured into block funding with the removal of standards which restricted provincial activities such as workfare. The provincial response to both cuts in funding and devolution of policy responsibility included restructured social assistance systems (Baker Collins, 1998). In Ontario, under a Progressive Conservative government, social assistance benefits were cut by 21.6% in 1995, followed by a complete restructuring of social assistance, including the introduction of workfare. Under a Liberal government (elected in 2003), there have been marginal policy changes to social assistance, including small cost-of-living increases, and changes to earnings reductions and asset levels. The primary infrastructure of the workfare program, however, including the continual proving of eligibility and work required in exchange for benefits, remains largely intact.

Literature Review

From People Processing to People Changing

Income assistance program structures for households who are poor under neo-liberal regimes are means-tested, intrusive and punitive. Under welfare reform and the imposition of workfare, the implementation of welfare policy has become centred on the case manager/client relationship. It is the principle setting in which the state materializes in the lives of the long-term unemployed (Dubois 2010, 2014; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; McDonald & Marston, 2005), and in which social citizenship and subjectivity are given meaning (Gooden, 2004; McDonald & Marston, 2005; Prottas, 1979). The case management role has also shifted from an emphasis on establishing eligibility, or people processing (Prottas, 1979), to assigning individual responsibility for economic self-sufficiency, or people changing (Meyers, 1998; van Berkel, van der Aa, & van Gestel, 2010). This new role requires active intervention in the lives of recipients, with transformation sought in individual behavior, attitudes and circumstances towards particular ends (Dubois, 2014; McDonald & Marston, 2005; Meyers, 1998, van Berkel et al., 2010).

The world of people-changing is fraught with contradictory impulses for case managers. There is greater discretion in developing an individualized plan for employment readiness for individual clients (Johnson, Chun-Chung Chow, Ketch, & Austin, 2006; Meyers, 1998; van Berkel et al., 2010), and yet performance targets in some jurisdictions have the effect of closing off discretion in exchange for the heavy use of sanctions in order to meet monthly quotas (Taylor, 2014); or the strict eligibility culture remains and a narrow focus on rules obscures clients' work efforts and actual progress (Lens, 2008).

The world of people-changing is also fraught for households who are poor. There is a unique dependency on the judgements of front line workers for these households given the desperate nature of presenting problems and the involuntary nature of the application. The literature on front line workers speaks of the presenting problems as "tragic circumstances" (Lipsky, 1977/2010), "dire need" (Stivers, 2007), "multiple forms of social suffering" (Dubois, 2010), "matters of life and death" (Campbell, 2011; Murray, Low, & Waite, 2006), and "extreme hardship" (Jewell & Glaser, 2006). Because the stakes are so high, decisions made by front line workers have profound impacts (Jewell & Glaser, 2006) on people's life chances (Anderson, 2001; Lipsky, 1977/2010). In addition, applicants are seeking essential services they cannot obtain elsewhere (Brodin, 1997; Lipsky, 1977/2010) and they face front line workers who have intimate knowledge of the rules (Rowe, 2002). This knowledge (and the power to share or withhold this knowledge from applicants) and the involuntary nature of the application gives power to front line workers that is disproportionate to their status in the organization (Dubois, 2010).

Value Discretion

These dimensions of case management—the people-changing mandate, the high stakes involved, and the power differential—can leave considerable space for the exercise of discretion. Bureaucratic discretion is a term used broadly and across multiple professions where policy implementation is a central function. One dimension (among many) of discretion described by researchers is the act of making normative

judgements based on individual values, professional codes of ethics and/or perceived societal judgements (Dubois, 2010; Lipsky, 1977/2010; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Taylor & Kelly, 2006). In their exploration of bureaucratic discretion, Taylor and Kelly (2006) categorize the various dimensions of discretion in a way that is helpful for distinguishing the exercise of normative judgements from other dimensions. The authors distinguish between rule discretion, task discretion and value discretion. Rule discretion refers to the interpretation of legislation in unique settings, task discretion refers to the ability to complete tasks in settings of high caseloads and reduced resources, and value discretion refers to making normative judgments in the application of bureaucratic rules. The bureaucratic discretion focus in this study is on value discretion.

The application of value discretion has been called the regulation of identity (Dubois, 2010), an assessment of moral character (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003), the correction of moral failings (van Berkel et al., 2010) or the mobilization of "moral common sense" (Kjorstad, 2005, p. 391). Rather than the occasional lapse into moralizing judgements, Hasenfeld (2000) argues that the work of administering social assistance is inherently moral work which includes judgments about a person's worth, his or her ability and willingness to change, and his or her responsibility for their situation.

It is in the exercise of value discretion that case managers begin to make normative value judgements that distinguish between applicants who are worthy of assistance and those who are not. In the face of standardized rules and very unstandardized individual circumstances, treating everyone the same seems inherently unfair (Dubois, 2010; Lipsky, 1977/2010; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Prottas, 1979). Some authors suggest that worthiness is based on need and a kind of economic triage happens with regard to the depth and genuineness of the need (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Radey, 2008; Rowe, 2002). Others suggest a distinction between situational applicants who need only temporary assistance and those who are generational recipients (Hagen & Owens-Manley, 2002; Lens, 2008; Turgeon, Taylor, & Niehaus, 2014). Differential treatment of social assistance recipients based on racial discrimination has also been demonstrated (Keiser,

Meuser, & Choi, 2004; Radey, 2008; Stivers, 2007; Watkins-Hayes, 2011). And finally, recipient behavior, particularly motivation, is also a factor, with applicants who are compliant and motivated preferred to those who are persistent, demonstrate knowledge of the system or seek third party support in their application (Hagen & Owens-Manley, 2002; Isenhour & Goldstein, 2008; Lipsky, 1977/2010; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Morgen, 2001; Prottas, 1979; Sandfort, 2000).

Under neo-liberal welfare reform, case managers play a central role in the task of people-changing, drawing on a variety of diverse and often conflicting allegiances (Sossin, 2005). Whether case managers draw on professional ethics, legislation, moralizing categories of recipients or individual moral beliefs, the problematic end result is the same: applicants receive differential access to public services.

Methods: Value Discretion in the Implementation of Ontario Works

In the implementation of Ontario Works, case managers occupy a distinctive front line role. They determine income eligibility, enforce workfare requirements and deliver services to support employability. Conceptions of bureaucratic discretion in the literature are often drawn indirectly from interviews with case managers about program administration. This article draws on case manager interviews in which they are asked directly about their perception of spaces for the exercise of bureaucratic discretion in their implementation of Ontario Works (OW). (For a discussion of the institutional context of discretion and the spaces for discretion, see Baker Collins, 2015).

This study began as a pilot project to seek case manager input on the meaning and shape of bureaucratic discretion in support of a larger project proposal. The important insights of case managers about their own discretion prompted an expansion of the project to include additional case manager interviews. In total, 15 OW case managers working in southern Ontario were included in the study. Qualitative interviews with case managers were conducted during 2012 and 2013, with the bulk of interviews taking place in the summer and fall of 2013. The central focus of the interviews was on areas of policy implementation where case managers were able to

exercise discretion and the ways in which they used their discretion in relationships with clients. (In the interview, the term professional judgement was used in place of bureaucratic discretion, which is not a familiar term for case managers.) Case managers were also asked to describe differences among case managers in the exercise of discretion.

Case managers were recruited both formally and informally. Local social service agency personnel were asked to share information about the study with OW case managers who may be interested in participating, and an email recruitment letter was sent to case managers through a regional director of the program. Ethical approval for the research was obtained from the McMaster Research Ethics Board.

The case managers interviewed for this study are representative of a range of years of experience and case management roles. About one third had been working in OW for less than five years, about one third between five and ten years and about one third had worked for over ten years, with two case managers working very long term at 17 and 27 years. There were a variety of case manager roles represented among the participants ranging, for example, from income eligibility and employment counselling, to community outreach, training, and working with particular populations including the homeless, youth and those with addictions and mental health issues. The variation in the roles primarily related to the setting in which case management took place (in community settings or the OW office) and the population of recipients (a general or a specific population). All of the case manager roles focus either on eligibility, employability, or both, and each of the case managers interviewed had experience in both areas. The greater length of experience and the variety of experience among the case managers reflects more extensive knowledge of OW policy implementation.

The case managers who took part in the study work in regional offices in southern Ontario. Since case managers report on both sanctioned and unsanctioned uses of discretion, the specific offices from which case managers originated is not being shared to protect confidentiality. In addition, care has been taken to avoid identifying practices specific to a particular OW office. Campbell's (2011) warning about potential

repercussions for case managers from management responses to unsanctioned use of discretion is well taken.

Case manager interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed using the MAXQDA qualitative data analysis program. Interviews were analyzed both inductively and deductively. Inductive analysis discovered themes of values applied in the use of discretion, the tone/setting of client encounters, the scope of the assessment, the participation agreement, non-compliance, and comparisons with other case managers. Once a pattern of taking a long view towards the participation agreement was ascertained, interviews were coded deductively for dimensions of the long view, such as crisis work, barriers, taking responsibility, generational patterns and forward movement.

Case managers are identified below with pseudonyms and their years of experience as OW case managers. Case managers are not identified by their specialized roles, since some roles are unique to regions and thus would compromise confidentiality.

Findings: Taking the Long View

The Long View

The centerpiece of workfare requirements for Ontario Works is the Participation Agreement (the mandatory individual plan for employment), which outlines the steps the client must take towards employment in order to become and remain eligible for income assistance. Much of the case manager/client relationship is focused on drawing up this agreement and monitoring progress. Participants described the Participation Agreement as that space where they had the most room for the exercise of discretion (see Baker Collins, 2015). This article draws especially on extensive conversations with participants about the development of the Participation Agreement, and thus the exercise of value discretion.

The literature suggests that case managers will exercise value discretion by creating categories of clients that distinguish between those who are worthy and unworthy of assistance with a corresponding generous or restrictive interpretation of the rules. The findings described in this study suggest a different application of value discretion among participants in

this study. The most prominent approach was one which described a general philosophy for working with all clients based on their perceived distance from employment. There was recognition on the part of participants that change towards employment readiness takes time and a willingness to grant that time in exchange for efforts towards employment.

For the case managers in this study, in a people-changing environment, the best way to elicit change is to understand the barriers standing in the way of change and the steps needed to move forward. These steps follow a discernible pattern which moves from the assessment setting to crisis work to drawing up the Participation Agreement to expected change. I have characterized this philosophy as "the long view." It follows a trajectory that has as its aim "forward movement." The long view is not without normative judgements about the character of clients, as will be discussed later in this section, but these judgements happen in an overall framework of granting time to work towards employment readiness with a corresponding expectation that this time will be used appropriately.

The Tone and Scope of the Assessment

There was consensus among the participants about the importance of the initial contact with an OW applicant and the value of setting a tone in which rapport could be established and apprehension and anxiety dispelled. The aim was to develop a relationship that would enable them to work together over time:

When I work with clients I try to work client-centered, seeing what they perceive as the main issue and start with that to try to create some kind of a relationship so that eventually we are on the same team working on something. (Trina, 14 years)

Several case managers work in community settings where they can "meet people more on their level in their home area" (Gwen, three years). For one case manager, this included attendance at neighborhood events. Several other case managers have instituted a drop-in day where clients can drop in without an appointment.

Well, when somebody comes in for an application.... well, you welcome them and introduce yourself and the first thing I say is 'what brought you here?' whereas other people are saying 'OK can I see some ID?' and then they turn right to a computer and it's all the computer and whereas I turn away from the computer, ask them more about the story about what brought them there. (Olivia, five years)

The purpose of a more welcoming approach to clients is to develop a fuller understanding of the complexity of their situations, which paves the way for a fuller assessment. The breadth of this initial assessment, which determines the immediate needs and the long term possibilities, is a key factor in the case management relationship. Case managers can choose a quick and cursory assessment which focuses only on strict eligibility requirements, or they can listen to the deeper story which exposes hidden, long-term barriers that need to be addressed, such as chronic health or mental health issues. Case managers who follow the long view undertake a broad assessment which takes on importance in preparing the Participation Agreement, described below.

Crisis Work

There is a general assumption among participants who take the long view that people must first be stable in terms of basic needs before they can begin to work towards employment. Crisis work is about addressing immediate needs for income support and stable housing. It includes providing time to gain stability. For example, rather than suspending a check due to missing information, participants provide time to get identification documents such as a social insurance number or birth certificate.

Some participants also use what are intended as employment benefits to address immediate needs (e.g., bus pass) as a way of increasing what is recognized to be meager income support.

I've had a number of times people say a single recipient gets \$606 so they say, 'is that all you can give me? Is

that-Is there anything you can squeeze out?' There's no way I can give you any more money, maybe a bus pass. So I can help them kinda figure out other ways, not to cheat the system but other ways to get other benefits. (Olivia, five years)

Several participants described the satisfaction they receive from relieving a crisis for clients.

I build the best relationship with people in that immediate need because most people come in not wanting to be there, so I like when they see me. You can tell that they have that apprehension, but then when we start going through stuff, you can see that automatic relief and you can see that a lot of that crisis that they were coming starting to be relieved as you go through the intake. (Daphne, six years)

The Participation Agreement:

Recognizing Barriers, Building on Interests

After the crisis is addressed, the Participation Agreement must be drawn up with each recipient. This agreement is the most flexible aspect of the legislation because it allows for individual circumstances to be taken into account. The heart of the Participation Agreement is the required list of activities that will move the recipient towards employment. It is also the vehicle through which discretionary benefits are issued. Participants who have undertaken a broad assessment that takes complex issues in a person's life into account will complete a different kind of Participation Agreement than someone who simply says, "You must do a, b and c to get your check. Sign here." Participants described the latter approach, observed among their colleagues:

You're kind of setting the client up for failure because if I impose on you ten different things that you have to do, and for whatever reason you [are] not able to meet what I've imposed on you, then I will cut you off for three to six months. (Olivia, five years)

In contrast, there are two sides to the long view approach: one is to work at removing barriers to employment, and the other is to build on client interests and activities in moving towards employment.

For case managers who have completed a fuller assessment, distance from employment often includes what they describe as complex, deep-rooted, layered and multiple disadvantages including addiction, mental health issues, low education, and/or poor health sometimes leading to poor appearance (e.g., teeth are in poor condition). Participants used language such as: figure out the barriers, the underlying problem, what is standing in the way, the main issue, the reason(s), because the lives of recipients are much more complex than needing to find a job.

It could be based in trauma, it could be based in childhood abuse, it could be all of these deep layers of things that have nothing to do with what we are doing, yet they're impacting them every single day because job readiness—it's a pretty high level of readiness when you look at it in terms of all the things you have to have in place in your life to be ready to go into employment and keep it. (Hilary, four years)

Some participants reported using the Participation Agreement creatively to remove barriers such as assisting clients with improving dental health, or to complete Grade 12, or helping a client with alopecia purchase a better wig.

In outlining steps towards employability, there is also flexibility for case managers to take into account client interests and current activities. Participants who take this approach use the term "baby steps" to describe a gradual move towards employment. Participation Agreements are seen to work best when there is mutual agreement on the steps outlined and these steps are realistic and achievable.

And I always say ... 'baby steps.' So ok, today they slept in 'til three in the afternoon, then they came and saw you for their PA. So what are you gonna ask them? You know ... what are some things they can do? And

I always say, tell them to go to local College. Grab one of those books. See what kind of courses they like ... Just those little—to start planting those seeds I think is really ideal and **you don't get change overnight. They didn't become like this yesterday.** (Selena, 13 years, emphasis added)

Taking Time

The last part of the quote above alludes to the distance from employment both in terms of barriers and time. Behind the long view is a practical approach that takes into account that the path to employment is developmental. People-changing needs a different approach than eligibility-processing. It will take time to address barriers and to build skills and readiness.

A number of participants explained the time necessary for change as rooted in generational poverty and welfare transmission. Generational receipt of social assistance is presented as one of the multiple disadvantages and barriers to employment, although mental health, addictions, and other barriers are not presented as outcomes of generational poverty. The distance from employment can be vast given multiple long-term issues and the downward trajectory described for those on assistance for some time. "Because, really, the focus was that this is the shortest route to employment. How they figured that one out—people who had been on social assistance for a generation—that they would just come and find employment" (Trina, 14 years).

There is also a dimension of the long view philosophy that recognizes it is foolish to knowingly put someone on a downward trajectory through sanctioning, even though the legislation may technically support such a move. One seasoned case manager described an applicant who was referred to her by a local politician after he had been refused assistance by an OW trainee. She described the applicant as an older recent immigrant who had lost his ID, broken up with his wife, had no income and was facing homelessness. The average replacement time for his ID would put him on the street for six months. "Where is the common sense in that?" she asked (Alma, 27 years). She took over the case and found him eligible.

It should be noted that for some participants, especially

those who work with populations who are chronically homeless with mental health issues and substance use, there are clients for whom employment is an unrealistic goal. The distance to employment is too far.

I mean, Ontario Works is supposed to be temporary financial and employment assistance, and the notion that we have some sort of temporary intervention in people's lives contradicts the reality ... the people that we see, certainly, I mean, we're talking years, literally, and the only way out is not through employment. It is death, or they go on ODSP, right? (Fraser, five years). (ODSP, Ontario Disability Supports Program, is an income support program for those with disabilities.)

Information and Power

There was recognition from a number of participants of their power in controlling information about the intricacies of OW rules, exemptions and available benefits. Most participants tried to be transparent about available benefits and some even coached clients in how to request them. But a number of participants pointed to other managers they knew who withheld information. "I always tell clients, you know, read the rights and responsibilities. Know what you're eligible for, because there's actually quite a few benefits that you're eligible for that you don't ask for, 'cause no one tells you about it" (Daphne, six years).

There was also recognition of the power to collect detailed information on clients' lives: "We basically ask for everything you know. All kinds of personal information that ... I wouldn't tell anybody, so I can certainly understand why it throws them back" (Maryam, two years).

There was another side to the control of information. Participants also recognized the power of clients to withhold information, which was the key complaint about client behavior. Housing arrangements were seen as the aspect of recipients' lives that they were most likely to hide. Participants reported receiving spurious letters from landlords or indications of more people living in a unit than reported. A number of case managers in the study disliked the local policy that discouraged them from pursuing co-residency that was not being

reported. (Sharing rental units among OW recipients is a basic survival strategy, especially for single adults, whose income does not come close to the average cost of a rental unit.)

This concern about client withholding of information belies the power differential between case managers and recipients. In fact, several participants alluded to understanding why people agree to a participation agreement that they know they cannot fulfill:

When you have someone who's intimidating and telling you that you need to be doing this, this, and this, you'll sign anything ... even though you have no intention of going to the YMCA 'cause you don't want to go to the employment program, and then next month when you come in and they ream you out for not going to the employment program well, you know, you just wanted your check, you wanted to say whatever they needed to hear because you've got bigger issues. (Daphne, six years)

The case managers in this study were reluctant to use the ultimate tool of power, which is to "put them in non-compliance," meaning to remove recipients from the caseload for three months. There was recognition of the risk for clients in this use of sanctions: "when you have all those things on the table, people can be quite at risk you know, when you have that kind of penalty."

The problem is that the people who are less likely to fight back are the people that are sort of the most needy, right? They don't feel they have any power, and so when you get somebody who's terminating them, then they, they disappear. They're not, you know, they're not ready to do battle. (Cheryl, 17 years)

You Need to CHANGE

Case managers' discourse in this study confirms convincingly that the task is people changing. The implicit message to recipients is: You need to change. This change discourse has two dimensions to it. One dimension is movement (change) and the other is improvement (change in a positive direction). Movement language includes terms like "towards," "up,"

"move on," "baby steps," "do something," and "produce something." Improvement language includes moving forward, making better choices, improve your life and the lives of your children, and signs of progress. Change needs to happen, and it must be in the general direction of employment.

Get them to move, you know, to the next step. (Roland, 14 years)

You've gotta produce something, you have to bring some material to it. (Hilary, four years)

I don't care if they are even going to find a job or not, that's not the point. The point is I see the development, the improvement. (Rose, 12 years)

It is not necessary to actually find a job. In fact, finding work as a result of workfare activities is infrequent among recipients. The requirement is forward movement and improvement.

Employment is that if you're able to walk alongside with somebody that is making some changes to their life in going into something that is going to bring them more stability and less chaos, and maybe for them to have access services that will help them make sustainable changes in their lives. I think that's pretty gratifying. (Trina, 14 years)

There is an exchange going on here; flexibility in applying the OW rules in exchange for forward movement, for change. The legislation does not require immediate employment, but it does require adherence to the Participation Agreement. There is also an implicit assumption that employment is not achievable without change:

I don't know for me, it didn't pay to look at it like I'm working for the taxpayer and like ... my first line is to get you off of assistance, because ultimately even often people who found jobs, they were temporary, so they're right back on again, **unless you've changed something else.** (Cheryl, 17 years, emphasis added)

Although the route to employment may be a long one, recipients of OW are not allowed to remain where they are in life. Something needs to change and that change needs to meet some definition on the part of the case manager of improvement.

YOU Need to Change

The other side of this message is that the change must be individual, since the clear implication of the Participation Agreement and of workfare itself is that the change needed is change on the part of recipients. One of the ways this need is expressed is in the language of "owning it" and taking responsibility: "We work a lot, you know, identifying it and gently working towards owning it, 'cause once you own it, you can try and fix it" (Piper, two years).

One example of expecting recipients to take responsibility relates to appointments. A significant number of participants lamented a policy which allows recipients to show up late for appointments without penalty. Those who bristle under this restriction reason that showing up on time is a quality of readiness for employment. Similarly, several case managers referred to pushing young clients who are technically exempt from workfare requirements to begin working towards employment anyway:

So many young women that are home with children, they're choosing not to participate because they don't have to. I try to push a little bit harder because I know what it's like to be out of work for a few years and then try to get back into the job market. (Gwen, three years)

There is significant flexibility on the part of case managers in this study to create a realistic path towards employment, but the end goal is clear and required. You need to change.

When someone comes in and they've had six jobs in the past, you know, eight months ... you know, and it's like 'ok, like, are you seeing any patterns here?' ... and, you know, not being afraid to actually bring those to their attention and ask them about them and ask why and what they could do differently. (Cheryl, 17 years)

The Long View and People-Changing Contradictions

The neo-liberal context of income assistance requires change in a particular direction, from both service providers and service users. Providers must serve more people with fewer resources and better outcomes. There is pressure to reduce the time spent with clients, to engage in stricter eligibility criteria and to reduce caseloads. Applicants must move to employment, no matter how precarious or poorly paid, as soon as possible. The most significant change required on the part of applicants is to no longer be in need of public services (Baker Collins, 2004).

The long view approach of the case managers in this study highlights a basic contradiction in the Ontario Works program and similar approaches to workfare. This contradiction is between the mandate to pursue the shortest route to a job and the mandate to change people. The only way for these two mandates to work in concert is if one assumes that the sole change needed from clients is to alter a negative attitude to paid employment; clients are employment-ready and just unwilling to work. The case managers in this study would point out that this assumption flies in the face of the reality of the lives of the long-term unemployed. The problem is not attitude towards employment, but material conditions, including past trauma, long-term poverty, addictions, mental health issues, and poor physical health.

In addition to individual issues, there was acknowledgement by case managers of important contextual issues, such as low minimum wage, low OW rates, a changing job market that requires higher skills, lack of affordable transportation, poor quality housing (including bed bugs), cuts in services such as childcare, long wait lists for mental health and addiction services; as well as individual issues that would be seen as outside someone's control, such as trauma, brain injury and abuse.

However, this acknowledgement of contextual issues reveals another contradiction in workfare approaches to income assistance. While changes in any one of the service shortfalls listed above would improve the lives of recipients, this is not the kind of change required by workfare. Recipients cannot put advocating for more affordable housing or campaigning

for poverty reduction on their Participation Agreement. Nor can case managers exclude recipients from workfare requirements because of poor prospects for employment.

Even for participants who take the long view of moving towards employment, Ontario Works is still a workfare program and the case manager/client relationship is where individual responsibility is assigned. Workfare is based on an assumption that the long-term unemployed look different from the rest of society. Behind the need to change is an implicit normative judgement that clients are not currently living a life that warrants support from the state in the form of income assistance unless they make efforts to change. In spite of the acknowledgement of contextual issues, the onus for change is on the individual and descriptions of individual barriers include deeply entrenched patterns such as generational poverty.

A final contradiction is that this stereotypical perspective of entrenched poverty actually helps motivate the long view and results in administrative flexibility in ways that matter in the lives of recipients. Participants who take the long view seek to understand the complexity of clients' lives, address crises so as to provide stability, and provide time to work towards employment in ways that reduce long term barriers and build on client interests. The result for recipients is a much less punitive approach to workfare in an environment where a punitive approach is tolerated. For example, when asked to compare themselves against their colleagues, all of the participants described colleagues who take a very stringent approach to the Participation Agreement and derive an unrealistic list of requirements which the recipient is unlikely to meet. This sets the client up for failure, and these colleagues use the requirements of workfare to apply sanctions that reduce their caseloads.

The question inevitably arises as to why the participants in this study take a long view. It may be that the voluntary recruitment process used in this research was more likely to attract those case managers who were prepared to discuss their use of discretion and whose use of discretion was more generous than their colleagues. It is beyond the purposes and scope of this study to answer why the case managers in this study took a different approach than many of their colleagues.

But research on front line workers and the use of discretion offers some clues about what motivates the use of discretion among front line workers.

Some researchers have found that professional codes of ethics which emphasize human dignity and/or individual autonomy are a factor (Sawyer & Green, 2013; Taylor & Kelly, 2006). Other researchers suggest that case managers move back and forth between individual moral values and the values and ideology of the organization (Kjørstad, 2005; Morgen, 2001; Oberfield, 2010). Hasenfeld (2000) and Sossin (2005) suggest case managers draw on multiple and competing obligations in the exercise of discretion including obligations to the public, to professional duty, to organizational and legislative contexts, to applicants and to their own personal moral beliefs.

In addition, while much has been written about the restrictive nature of neo-liberal welfare administration, a number of researchers have found front line workers take what might be called a long view approach, even in restrictive environments. Isenhour and Goldstein (2008) found workers who relied on professional and personal experience to resist punitive approaches and to develop alternative definitions of self-sufficiency which recognize barriers. Workers resisted aspects of the program which they disagreed with for clients who were working towards a goal. Kjørstad (2005) also found front line workers who resisted restrictive workfare policies that did not fit with client needs, particularly in situations with poor job prospects for clients. Additionally, a study by van Berkel et al. (2010) found a group of front line workers who emphasized a sustainability approach and another group who emphasized care or protection of clients.

The participants in this study join others who have resisted restrictive workfare policies. It is important to acknowledge, however, that in taking the long view, the participants in this study could only challenge the first contradiction in workfare programs, that people-changing can be achieved through pursuing the shortest route to a job. The workfare program does not leave room for them to challenge the second contradiction, that the most important barriers faced by clients are not individual but systemic.

In addition, there are many jurisdictions in which outcome

measures and quotas would prohibit even taking the long view. In these situations, the basic contradiction between people-changing and the shortest route to employment is borne by recipients in differential ways based on levels of need, race, motivation, and/or hard-to-serve status. This will continue to be the case as long as the required change is assigned to individual poor households rather than to public institutions to address issues such as affordable housing, child care and a precarious labor market.

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Fear and Misinformation as Predictors of Support for Sex Offender Management Policies

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This study investigated the public's agreement with sex offender management policies. Respondents (N = 703) were randomly sampled from the state of Michigan, using a CATI system. Two path-analysis models were used to test if personal characteristics, level of fear of sex offenders, and misinformation regarding this population were predictive of agreement with: (a) sex offender registration and community notification policies; and (b) more severe sanctions (life in prison and chemical castration). The findings suggest that greater fear of sex offenders and acceptance of misinformation were predictive of more support of sex offender management policies. Research has found that these policies are costly and ineffective in promoting community safety. Effective and efficient policy development occurs when policy is based on evidence. Community and legislative education may promote thoughtful policy development that holds offenders accountable and promotes successful reintegration.

Key words: sex offenders, sex offenses, public fear, policy

The public's knowledge of sex offenders is often times comprised of overgeneralizations and misperceptions. These beliefs are founded upon our shared knowledge of this particular type of offender, which often stem from representations found in the media. In addition, there is a high level of fear towards this population due to the level of harm that is done to victims of sexual crime. To protect the public from these

harms, a variety of criminal justice sanctions have been created to isolate and manage sex offenders in lieu of or following a prison or jail sentence. These range from parole and probation oversight, registration and community notification, to civil commitment and castration.

This research seeks to examine the degree to which support for public policy is influenced by fear and misinformation about sexual offenders. Prior research (Comartin, Kernsmith, & Kernsmith, 2009; Pickett, Mancini, & Mears, 2013) has found a strong correlation between public fear and support for sex offender management policies. This research examines the degree to which misinformation about sex offenders might further explain support for policy, as misperceptions may serve to increase or maintain fear. The goal of the research is to identify potential avenues for advocacy for more effective and appropriate policy development.

Guided by moral panic theory (Cohen, 1972), this study uses a path analysis to investigate the relationship between personal characteristics of the public, misperceptions of sex offenders, and fear, to predict agreement with post-prison sex offender management policies. The primary research question is: Do misperceptions of sex offenders predict the level of fear of sex offenders, which in turn increases the public's agreement with more severe sanctions? As previous research has shown, these policies are highly supported by the public (Kernsmith, Craun & Foster, 2009; Levenson, Brannon, Fortney & Baker, 2007), and politicians are likely to respond to public opinion when it relates to sex offenders (Bottoms, 1995). Thus, it is important to know the predictive factors that drive the public's knowledge regarding sex offenders.

Moral Panic Theory

A moral panic is described as an intense, emotional reaction by a population to an issue or event that is deemed to violate the social order (Cohen, 1972). A moral panic typically develops when one or more people or groups, moral entrepreneurs, take the lead in spreading concern and fear over a social issue. These actors seek to gain support through education campaigns, media, and legislation in order to restore the social order. Although moral panic may develop

or be centered around an actual issue of social concern, moral panic is characterized by exaggerated or misdirected fear, typically fueled by emotion-driven and sensationalized campaigns that result in reactive legislation (Cohen, 1972; Jenkins, 1998). Sexual offending is a fertile issue for the development of a moral panic, as both sexuality and the protection of children are critical issues in the moral fabric of American society.

Sex Offender Misinformation

As previously noted, sex offender management policies may be influenced by public fear and moral panic (Federhoff & Moran, 1997). The Center for Sex Offender Management (CSOM) (2000) notes that the public holds many misperceptions or overgeneralizations about sex offenders, which are the basis of sex offender management policies. Misinformation includes issues related to offenders, the relationship between offenders and victims, recidivism rates, treatment efficacy, conviction rates for sexual offenses, cost effectiveness of community-based sex offender management compared to prison sentences, and trends in national sex crime statistics.

Beliefs about Offenders

Overgeneralizations exist about the gender, age, and substance abuse of sex offenders. One common perception is that all sex offenders are male (Denov, 2001). While the majority of offenders are male, a small percentage are female. Females account for approximately 2-5% of all reported rapes and sexual assaults, although victims may be less likely to report abuse by a female perpetrator (Grayston & DeLuca, 1999; United States Department of Justice, 1999). Grayston and De Luca (1999) report that the typical female perpetrator of child sexual abuse is in her 20s or 30s and typically offends against children in her care. Earlier studies have found that a female sex offender is generally an accomplice to a male offender (Matthews, Mathews, & Speltz, 1991; Syed & Williams, 1996); however, one recent study showed that females were primary offenders (97%) (Ferguson & Meehan, 2005).

It is also a common belief that sex offenders are adults. Juveniles commit one-quarter (25.8%) of all sex crimes and over one-third (35.6%) of offenses against minors (Finkelhor,

Ormrod & Chaffin, 2009). Greenfeld (1997) reports 18% of rapes and sexual assaults are committed by individuals under age 18. Additionally, Boyd, Hagan, and Cho (2000) note that between 1981 and 1990 there was an increase in rape and sexual offenses perpetrated by juveniles in the United States, increasing from 20% to 28% of all rapes and 25% to 32% of all other sexual offenses. These statistics indicate that a substantial number of sex offenses are committed by juveniles and young adults.

Research has indicated that drug and alcohol abuse is a factor in sexual offenses. Yet, the role is sometimes overemphasized as a cause of sexual violence. In a national sample, intoxication was present in over one-third of all sexual offenses (Greenfeld, 1998). The majority of acquaintance assaults involved the use of alcohol by a male offender (Ullman & Brecklin, 2000). Alcohol consumption increases the likelihood of an assault between acquaintances (Abbey, 2002) and the level of injury involved in the offense (Testa, Vanzile-Tamsen, & Livingston, 2004). Intoxication is a factor in sexual violence, as it reduces inhibitions, increases the severity of injury during offenses, and has been used as an excuse for the offending behavior; however, it is not the key determinant of sexual offending (Parkhill & Abbey, 2008). Alcohol expectancies are an important factor in determining whether an individual will choose to act aggressively or violently, may provide an excuse for an individual to commit a sexual assault, or may use alcohol in a premeditated manner to allow themselves to behave aggressively under the guise of the loss of control attributed to alcohol (Abbey, 2011).

There is also a belief that childhood victimization causes future offending behavior. A review of the literature found that, on average, 28% of offenders had been a victim of sexual violence, with studies showing a range from 0% to 67% (Hanson & Slater, 1988). Among female sex offenders, 80% had histories of having been abused sexually, physically or emotionally (Grayston & De Luca, 1999). A review of the literature comparing adult offenders of sexual and non-sexual crimes showed some support that childhood sexual victimization is related to adult offending behavior. However, a limitation is the need to include a third comparison group

of non-offending adults (Jespersen, Lalumiere, & Seto, 2009), as the majority of victims do not become perpetrators (Wolfe, 2007). The relationship between victimization and offending behavior is far more complex (Grabell & Knight, 2009), with age of abusive experience, as well as attitude and personality traits, impacting the relationship (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004).

Relationship between Offender & Victim

It is commonly believed that a stranger most often perpetrates sexual violence against children. Sex offender registries across the nation were established so that unknown sex offenders living in the community could be identified through a publicly available list (Malesky & Keim, 2001). This perpetuates a false assumption that potential victims need protection from strangers, when in reality greater danger is posed from family members and acquaintances (Finn, 1997). Greenfeld (1997) notes that 90% of cases involving children occur with someone that the child knows. In 43% of cases involving victims under the age of 12, perpetrators were relatives (Presser & Gunnison, 1999). When cases involve a victim over the age of 12, three-quarters knew the perpetrator (an intimate partner, a relative, or an acquaintance) (Truman, 2011).

Rates of Sexual Re-offense

There is a common belief that those who offend once will do it again in the future (Turner & Rubin, 2002). Recidivism rates of sex offenders have been widely published in the research literature (Adkins, Huff, & Stageberg, 2000; Alexander, 1999; Duwe, Donnay, & Tewksbury, 2008; Hanson, Broom, & Stephenson, 2004; Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Nunes, Firestone, Wexler, Jenson, & Bradford, 2007). Hanson and Bussiere (1998) conducted a meta-analysis of sexual recidivism studies with a total sample of 23,393 sex offenders for an average follow up period of 66 months (ranging from 6 months to 23 years). Overall, 13.4% of offenders sexually re-offended across 61 follow-up studies, with an average length of 4 to 5 years. When non-sexual crimes were included, the recidivism rate was 36.3%. Re-offense rates were higher among offenders who did not receive or complete treatment, those who had deviant

sexual preferences, and those with more extensive criminal histories. Thus, there are smaller subpopulations of offenders with a greater likelihood of reoffending; however, the average re-offense rate for all sex offenders is low.

Treatment Efficacy

The effectiveness of sex offender treatment programs has an extensive research history. One meta-analysis reviewed 79 studies between 1943 and 1996 (Alexander, 1999). The findings suggest that offenders who receive treatment have recidivism rates below 11%, with prison-based interventions showing the greatest success rate. Another meta-analysis of 61 studies (Hanson & Bussiere, 1998) found that failure to complete treatment was a significant predictor for sexual and nonsexual recidivism. In another, offenders who received treatment were 37% less likely to recidivate than those who did not complete treatment (Losel & Schmucker, 2005), showing that treatment can be effective in preventing future offenses. However, some research questions whether these findings are based in strong evidence or are sufficient to support the claim that treatment is effective (Harrison & Rainey, 2013). Controlled clinical trials are needed to accurately assess the impact of treatment.

Conviction & Prison Rates

There is a common misperception that the majority of sex offenders are reported to police, convicted and sent to prison (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2000). In 2010, half (50%) of all rapes and sexual assaults were reported to the police (Truman, 2011). Reporting rates are thought to be low due to shame and the pervasive stigma and victim-blaming attitudes in society. Among cases reported to the police, between 18% and 44% are referred to prosecutors, and prosecutors issue warrants in 46% to 72% of referred cases (Bouffard, 2000; Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, & Barnes, 2001; Spohn, Beichner, & Davis-Frenzel, 2001). Overall, approximately 14% to 18% of all reported sexual assaults, and less than 10% of all rapes, are prosecuted (Campbell, 2008). Additionally, only two-thirds of individuals convicted of a sexual offense serve time in prison (Turner & Rubin, 2002). It is thought that prosecution rates are low due to a number of factors,

including institutional bias and lack of training of investigating officers, memory difficulties among victims due to trauma and alcohol, and reluctance of victims to participate due to shame, trauma, and a legal system that is described as re-traumatizing due to victim-blaming practices. These statistics suggest that most sex offenders are not held criminally responsible for the crimes and, therefore, could not be detected on the sex offender registry.

Cost of Community-based Sex Offender Management

The trend to manage sex offenders in the community rather than in prison is based largely on cost. There is a belief among citizens and policy makers that it is cheaper to keep offenders in prison than in the community (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2000). Nunes et. al. (2007) report that it costs approximately \$80,000 per year to house an offender in the Canadian prison system, and the cost to manage them in the community was \$20,000. This suggests that management in the community is cheaper than management in the prison system. However, a cost analysis conducted in New Jersey revealed dramatic cost increases associated with maintaining the sex offender registry. When it was initially implemented in 1995, it cost just under \$600,000. In 2006, it cost almost \$4 million (Zgoba & Bachar, 2009). These costs may drive decision-makers to change policies regarding sex offender management. Additionally, some states (Arizona, California, New York and Texas) have decided that the costs to comply with the mandates in the Adam Walsh Act are too high (Caygle, 2011; Greenblatt, 2010; Lui, 2011). Yet, in examining both economic and intangible costs of sex offender management, it has been found that treatment and community management is more cost-effective than incarceration (Donato & Shanahan, 2001).

Trends in National Sex Crime Statistics

There is a common belief that sexual crimes have been increasing, likely due to increased media reporting (Levenson & Hern, 2007). In fact, between 2001 and 2010, rates of rape and sexual assault for victims over the age of 12 decreased by 32% (Fineklhor & Jones, 2004). Furthermore, Finkelhor and Jones (2004) have reported a 40% decline in substantiated

child sexual abuse cases by child protective services agencies between 1992 and 2000.

The way society views sex offenders influences the public's perceptions of this population (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990), resulting in the design and implementation of more severe policies to manage offenders (Kappeler & Potter, 2005). What is unknown in the research is if one's belief system about offenders is related to support for current sex offender management policies. Research has previously examined the extent to which the public holds misinformation about sexual offenders (Fortney, Levenson, Brannon, & Baker, 2007; Katz-Schivavone, Levenson, & Ackerman, 2008; Willis, Levenson, & Ward, 2010), as well as the degree to which sex offender notification policies are supported. Research has not yet examined the degree to which fear and misinformation jointly influence policy support. Additionally, most research has focused exclusively on registration and community notification policies (Brannon, Levenson, Fortney, & Baker, 2007; Comartin et al., 2009). This study explores the relationship between acceptance of commonly held overgeneralizations and misinformation and support for harsh punishments for sex offenders. We hypothesize that a higher level of fear of sex offenders would be associated with higher levels of agreement with sex offender sanctions. A causal model was used to consider the relationship between personal characteristics, fear of sex offenders, and acceptance of misinformation as predictors of sex offender management policies.

Sex Offender Management Policies

Since the mid 1990's, emerging policies have brought attention to the management of sex offenders. These range from registration and public notification to more severe laws, such as lifetime imprisonment and the use of chemicals to castrate an offender. Aside from life imprisonment and civil commitment, which fully remove offenders from the community for protective purposes, the intended goal of these policies is to keep the public safe from potential harm, while reintegrating offenders into the community (Terry & Ackerman, 2009). Some efforts are guided by federal policies, such as registration and notification; others are determined at the state or local

level, such as residency restrictions, electronic monitoring, civil commitment, and chemical castration. The post-conviction policies examined in this research include those that are most commonly implemented (such as registration, notification, and residency) and those that are cited as more severe, sensational approaches to offender management.

The first registration and community notification policy was instituted in 1990 (Terry & Ackerman, 2009) and soon spread across the country with the passing of the Jacob Wetterling Act of 1994. This law required states to implement a sex offender registry. The Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act (AWA) (2006) set national standards, mandating that all states register offenders over the age of 14, regardless of assessed risk to the community (Terry & Ackerman, 2009). Tier 1 offenders (low risk offenders) are subject to community notification and verification of offender information every 12 months, Tier 2 offenders every 6 months (moderate risk offenders), and Tier 3 offenders every 3 months (high risk offenders).

Another strategy is the use of pharmaceuticals to reduce an offender's sex drive, which is called chemical castration. Drugs are continuously administered to reduce hormone levels, which decrease an individual's sex drive. This sanction is legal in some states for offenders convicted of multiple crimes (Farkas & Stichman, 2002). While reviews have shown this intervention to reduce recidivism rates (Meyer & Cole, 1997; Rice & Harris, 2011), there are methodological concerns regarding the equivalency of treatment and control groups, as interventions such as these have not been randomly assigned. Additionally, there are ethical issues with mandating this form of chemical treatment (Scott & Holmberg, 2003), and studies have shown that side effects have led to non-compliance and program dropout (Losel & Schmucker, 2000). This treatment, to be effective, should be accompanied by other interventions, such as psychosocial treatment (Glasser, 2009).

Other states allow involuntary commitment of sex offenders, following the completion of a prison sentence. These civil commitment policies stemmed from the public perception that sentences for violent offenders were too short (Janus, 2000). Civil commitment laws commit sex offenders to long-term mental health treatment facilities (Levenson, 2003), which may go beyond the individual's original criminal sanction. While

some states had civil commitment policies prior to The Adam Walsh Act of 2006, this federal policy encouraged all states to create one (Terry & Ackerman, 2009).

The Goals of Sex Offender Management Policies

Sex offender management policies were designed to protect the public from sexual harm by keeping track of where offenders work and live, increasing an offender's length of confinement away from society, and decreasing an offender's sex drive. The ultimate goal is to decrease the level of recidivism amongst registered offenders and to deter new offenders (Carlsmith, Monahan, & Evans, 2007; Farkas & Stichman, 2002; McAlinden, 2005). The impetus for these policies has been highly publicized and heinous sexual crimes against children committed by strangers (Wright, 2003). These cases, taken up by family members and moral entrepreneurs, garnered media attention, social activism, and policy development. While these crimes are relatively uncommon, with 90% of cases committed by someone the victim knows and nearly half by relatives (Best, 1990; Greenfeld, 1997; Presser & Gunnison, 1999), they have increased the public's fear. Many sex offender policies are named after children who have gone missing or who have died at the hands of sex offenders, such as Jacob Wetterling, Megan Kanka, and Jessica Lunsford. Media coverage of these high-profile cases spurred fear amongst the public, resulting in calls for laws to protect the public from sex offenders (Wright, 2003).

The goal of this research is to explore the extent to which fear and misinformation exist in the general public and the degree to which they impact support for sex offender management policies. Inasmuch as research indicates that these policies are not only ineffective, but also have significant negative consequences for families and financial costs for states, reconsideration of these policies is needed. However, politicians are unlikely to support policy change that is widely supported by constituents. Therefore, research on the relationships among fear, misinformation, and policy support is needed to identify avenues for advocacy.

Methods

We used Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) to collect data from a sample of 703 respondents, using random digit dialing. Sampling was conducted across the state of Michigan, although the Detroit metropolitan area was sampled more heavily. The response rate for the study was 46% of qualifying phone numbers. To qualify, respondents were required to be contacted at a residence, be 18 years of age or older, and speak English. Potential respondents were informed of the study, including their rights as human subjects and provided oral consent to participate. Respondents were not compensated for participation. All methods were approved by the institutional review board for the university.

The respondents ranged in age from 18 to 92 with an average age of 51.44 years, ($SD = 16.16$). The sample was statistically similar to the state (U.S. Census, 2010) in terms of racial composition, with the majority of the sample (81.5%, 78.9% for the state) identifying as Caucasian and 12.1% (14.2% for the state) as African-American. Small percentages identified as Latino (1.4%, 4.4% for the state), Native-American (1%, 0.6% for the state), Asian-American (0.6%, 2.4% for the state) and Arab-American (0.4%). Nearly all (95.9%) had at least a high school education, compared to 83.4% for the state (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) and one-third (32.2%) had a bachelor's or graduate degree. The median income was \$40,587, indicating higher levels of education and lower levels of income than the state population (state median income is \$46,291). Nearly two-thirds of the sample (62.2%) was female, over-representing females, compared to the state population (50.9%). More than two-thirds (68.1%) were parents, although nearly half of the parents (48.4%) had only adult children.

Instrumentation

Support for sex offender policy. This study examined patterns of support for sex offender policies, which was measured using eleven items describing approaches to sex offender management, including notification, registration, life in prison, and castration. Respondents were asked how much they agreed or disagreed that the approach would be appropriate (1 = strongly

disagree, 5 = strongly agree). Two constructs from these items, community notification and severe sanctions, were selected, as they represent the most widely supported as well as the most extreme approaches.

As the most widely used, and federally mandated, approach to sex offender management, community notification through the public sex offender registry was measured in three questions, including informing neighbors, notification through a sex offender registration website, and publication in the newspaper ($r = .75$). These items were combined, as they represent various means of notifying individuals of a convicted offender in the community. Although online notification is the most commonly used, it was thought that those who use the internet less regularly might prefer another approach. In contrast, less common and more severe approaches were examined. These included life in prison and castration ($\alpha = .66$). Although the reliability of this scale is somewhat low, both were deemed to represent sanctions that are severe and not rehabilitative. The mean of these two items was taken as the measure of support for severe consequences for sex offenders.

Mediating variables. It was hypothesized that support for sex offender management policies would be correlated with a variety of demographic, emotional, attitudinal, and experiential factors. Specifically, it was hypothesized that fear of sex offenders and acceptance of misinformation about sex offenders would have the strongest correlation with support for both categories of sex offender management policies.

A scale of misinformation about sex offenders was developed, using a list produced by the Center for Sex Offender Management website (CSOM, 2000). This scale included over-generalizations and commonly held myths about sex offenders and victims. An 11-item scale was developed that included items such as "most children who are sexually abused are molested by strangers" and "The number of sex crimes is increasing in recent years" and "sex offenders commit crimes because they are under the influence of drugs or alcohol." Items were measured on a four-point Likert-type scale (1 = definitely true and 4 = definitely untrue). Items were recoded, so that a higher number indicates an incorrect response and a lower number a correct response. Therefore, a higher score indicated higher levels of misinformation.

Fear of sex offenders was measured by two items. The first asked respondents to rate their general fear of sex offenders. The second asked how afraid they would feel if a sex offender moved into their neighborhood. Both were measured on a fourpoint Likert-type scale (1 = Not at All Afraid, 4 = Very Afraid).

Table 1. Sample Demographics and Attitudes

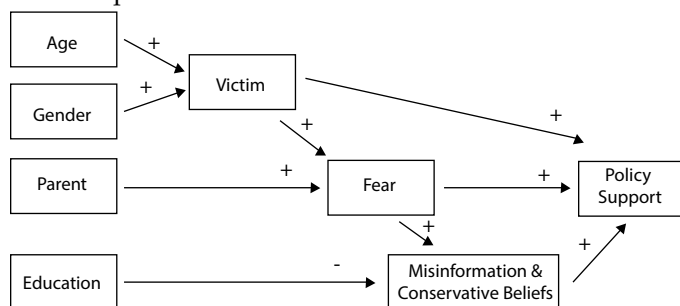
	Mean	SD	Range	%
Fear	2.65	.91	1 - 4	
Misinformation	2.41	.29	1 - 3.45	
Age	51.44	16.16	18 - 92	
Household Income	40,587.28	37,707	0-300,000	
Education				
No high school				4.3%
High school or GED				42.8%
Post high school education				37.1%
Graduate degree				14.8%
Parent				68.7%
Been or know a victim				35.5%
Been convicted of a crime				3.8%
Female				62.2%
Race				
Caucasian				81.5%
African American				12.1%
Other				5.7%
Marital Status				
Married				55.6%
Divorced/Separated/ Widowed				27.5%
Never Married				16.2%

Exogenous variables. We hypothesized that several demographic variables would also be related to support for sex offender policies, including gender, age, parental status, and educational attainment, as these have been identified as related to attitudes toward and use of the sex offender registry (Kernsmith, Comartin, Craun, & Kernsmith, 2009; Kernsmith,

Craun, & Foster, 2009). Crime victimization was asked in one question to determine if they or someone close to them had ever been a victim of a sexual crime. Victimization was expected to have both direct and indirect relationships to policy support, based on previous research (Comartin et al., 2009).

Proposed model. Based on a review of the literature, we developed a hypothesized model. In the hypothesized model, policy support is influenced by misinformation and fear of sex offenders. Each of these is influenced directly and indirectly by demographic factors and a history of sexual victimization.

Figure 1. Proposed Model



Fear of sex offenders was hypothesized to have the strongest relationship with support for management policies. It was further hypothesized that those expressing more fear would also indicate stronger support for management policies. Fear was also hypothesized to be correlated with acceptance of misinformation about sex offenders. Although it is not possible to determine in this cross-sectional design whether misinformation increases fear or vice versa, it was hypothesized that those expressing more fear will also demonstrate more acceptance of misinformation. Although it is possible that accepting misinformation about sex offenders could cause one to feel more afraid, we hypothesize that it is an increased level of fear that drives acceptance of misinformation. The rationale for this model is that fear may cause an individual to choose to ignore factual information that is contradictory to misinformation presented in the media or by friends and family, as strong emotional states drive attitude development (DeSteno, Dasgupta, Bartlett, & Cajdric, 2004).

We hypothesized that prior victimization is related to

support of management policies. In addition, it was hypothesized that victimization would be related to increased fear. It was further theorized that education was negatively related to misinformation acceptance, meaning that those with higher educational attainment show a lower level of acceptance. Although income has been identified as related to misinformation and policy agreement (Comartin et al., 2009) we excluded income due to a high correlation with education to avoid violating the assumptions of the statistical procedure. A model containing both variables or income alone showed similar results. It was also hypothesized that parents would report higher fear due to the protective role of parenting and the fact that the term "sex offender" generally brings to mind the thought of a child molester. Lastly, it was hypothesized that gender and age would be related to victimization, with females being more likely to have been or have known someone who was a victim, and people who are older would have had a longer time to have been, or to have learned of another's victimization. Gender was not hypothesized to directly impact fear, as it was hypothesized that fear is not caused by one's gender, but instead through increased awareness of victimization risk.

Theorized models were tested using SPSS Amos. The models were specified based on the researchers' causal theory for the constructs, based on prior literature and a confirmatory SEM to test the fit of these models. Path analysis was used to analyze two models, both for community notification and severe sanctions. It was anticipated that the model would be similarly related to both forms of sex offender management. The Maximum Likelihood method was employed to examine the direct and indirect relationships between the exogenous and mediating variables with the two outcome variables. The model presented in Figure 1 contained eight variables with a sample size of 703, allowing sufficient power for the analysis.

Results

We found moderate misinformation acceptance among the sample ($M = 2.41$, $SD = .29$, with 4 indicating high acceptance). Reported fear was also moderately high ($M = 2.65$, $SD = .91$, with a 4 indicating very afraid) (See Table 1). Two-thirds of the

sample ($N = 470$, 68.3%) reported they would feel somewhat or very afraid of sex offenders. A significant correlation was found between misinformation and fear ($r = .139$, $p < .001$). Just over one-third (35.5%) of the sample reported that they had been or knew someone who had been a victim of a sex crime.

Then we analyzed the bivariate relationships with the policy support variables. Fear, misinformation, and education were found to be significantly related to both community notification and severe sanctions. Support for both policies was found to be highest among those who expressed greater fear, higher acceptance of sex offender misinformation, and lower levels of education. No other significant relationships were found (see Table 2).

Table 2. Bivariate Relationships with Policy Support

	Severe	Community Notification
Fear	.231*	.263*
Misinformation	.301*	.258*
Victimization	.013	.024
Parent	.034	- .004
Gender	.056	.008
Education	- .196*	- .133*

* $p < .001$

Severe Sanctions

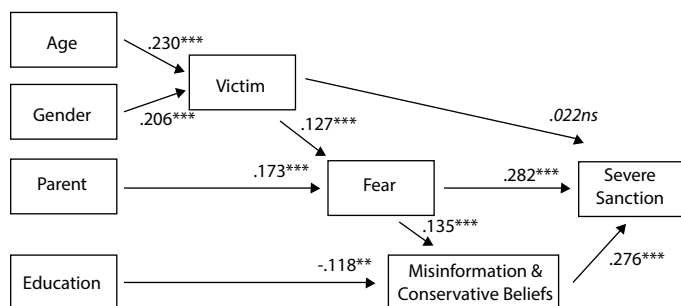
Structural Equation Modeling was used to examine the multivariate relationships. Models were examined for both severe sanctions as well as more commonly supported policies, sex offender registration, and community notification, to assess the similarities and differences in the correlates. Support for more severe sanctions, life in prison and castration, was remarkably high. Approximately half of the respondents (49.9%) reported that they agreed or strongly agreed that life in prison was an appropriate sanction for sex offenders. A slightly smaller percentage (40.4%) supported chemical castration of sex offenders. The mean of these two items was taken as

the measure of support for severe sanctions. On a scale where 1 indicated no support and 5 indicated high support, a mean of 3.13 (SD = 1.13) was found for severe sanctions ($\alpha = .66$).

The proposed path model was analyzed for severe sanctions. The goodness-of-fit index indicated that the model was good without revision, ($\chi^2 = 169.534$, $df = 19$, $p < .001$). The standardized total effects indicated that misinformation (.276) and fear (.282) had the greatest impact on support for severe sanctions. As anticipated, fear ($\beta = .19$, $p < .001$) and misinformation ($\beta = .28$, $p < .001$) were directly related to support for severe sanctions, with those expressing greater fear and more acceptance indicating greater policy support. There was no direct relationship between victimization and support for severe sanctions ($\beta = .02$, $p = .54$), but victimization was significantly related to fear ($\beta = .13$, $p < .001$). The relationship between fear and misinformation was also significant ($\beta = .14$, $p < .001$), with those expressing more fear also indicating greater acceptance of misinformation.

Gender ($\beta = .21$, $p < .001$) and age ($\beta = .23$, $p < .001$) were both found to be significantly related to victimization, with females and people who were older being more likely to have been or have known someone who was a victim of a sex crime. Those who were parents reported significantly higher fear than non-parents ($\beta = .17$, $p < .001$). Last, misinformation was higher among those with lower educational attainment ($\beta = -.12$, $p = .002$).

Figure 2. Model for Severe Sanctions



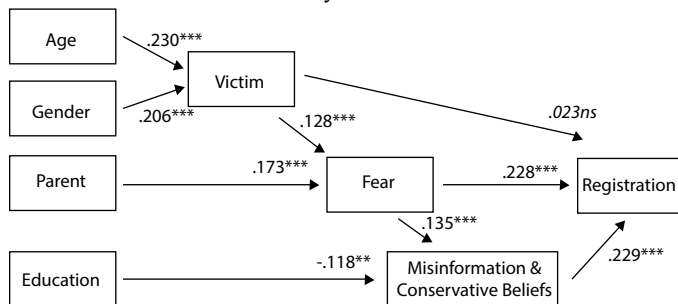
Registration and Community Notification

The highest support was for the publication of sex offender registry information on a website (83.5%) and notifying neighbors when a sex offender moves into the community (85.6%).

Fewer respondents supported publication of registry information in the newspaper (62.1%). Although debates regarding notification through the newspaper have been notably different from those regarding online notification, the constructs were found to be significantly correlated ($p = .000$). When the mean was taken of these three items, support for community notification was high, ($M = 3.93$, $SD = .92$) with 5 indicating strong support for these policies ($\alpha = .75$).

The analysis of the path model for community notification indicated nearly identical results as severe sanctions. The goodness-of-fit index indicated that the model was again acceptable ($\chi^2 = 175.195$, $df = 19$, $p < .001$). Like the previous model, the standardized total effects indicated that misinformation (.229) and fear (.259) had the greatest impact on support for community notification. Fear ($\beta = .23$, $p < .001$) and misinformation ($\beta = .28$, $p < .001$) were directly related to support for community notification. Greater fear was related to support for community notification, as well as to greater misinformation ($\beta = .15$, $p < .001$). Those who expressed greater acceptance of misinformation about sex offenders were also more likely to support community notification. No direct relationship was found between victimization and support for community notification, ($\beta = .02$, $p = .53$) but victimization was significantly related to fear, ($\beta = .13$, $p < .001$) with a standardized total effect of .056.

Figure 3. Model for Community Notification



Females were more likely to report having been victimized or knowing someone who had been a victim ($\beta = .21$, $p < .001$). People who were older also reported higher victimization ($\beta = .23$, $p < .001$). As in the previous model, parents reported significantly higher fear than non-parents ($\beta = .17$, $p < .001$) and

misinformation was higher among those with lower educational attainment ($\beta = -.12, p = .002$). The results of this model were similar to those for severe sanctions.

Discussion

The results indicate that support for community notification of sex offenders is high. Support for severe consequences, such as castration and lifetime imprisonment is also quite high, given the harshness of these sanctions. The bivariate analyses and path models indicated that support for these sanctions is largely driven by fear and sex offender misinformation. The relationships between fear, acceptance and policy support were found to be similar for more severe sanctions as they were for the more widely supported community notification policies.

These findings suggest that misinformation regarding sex offenders and the correlate of fear leads to the belief that sex offenders should be more harshly punished, despite research that refutes that approach. Chemical castration has been found to have some impact on recidivism rates among those who are compliant with the requirements (Losel & Schmucker, 2000). However, it is not ethically or economically feasible to require chemical castration or lifetime imprisonment for all offenders. Additionally, research indicates that registration and community notification are not associated with reductions in sexual recidivism (Prescott & Rockhoff, 2008; Zgoba & Bachar, 2009). This research indicated that there is some effect for registration with local law enforcement to assist with monitoring offenders. However, large, inclusive registration of low risk offenders may actually increase recidivism.

A theory by Bottoms (1995), called popular punitivism, discusses the role that the media, the public, and politicians have in the formulation, and continuation, of criminal sanctions. High-profile media coverage of crime has driven the public to call on politicians for a more punitive style of justice. Politicians have chosen to be tough on crime to meet the demands of their voter/constituents, drafting and passing policies based on the public's fear about high-profile crimes. This theory points out that the missing link in punitive-style justice is the evidence and knowledge of those who study and work with offenders. When such policies are drafted, they lack research evidence

suggesting whether the policy has been, or is likely to result in the desired outcomes (Zgoba & Bachar, 2009).

Sanctions for sex offenders may increase offender stigma, anxiety and isolation that can then stimulate future offenses (Prescott & Rockhoff, 2008). Sex offenders required to register their personal information on the sex offender registry have experienced many unintended collateral consequences, which may be linked to increased recidivism (Edwards & Hensley, 2001), including harassment and stigmatization (Tewksbury, 2005), loss of social support (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008), and loss of employment and housing (Levenson, & Hern, 2007). In extreme cases, registrants have also been the subject of verbal and physical assaults (Tewksbury, 2005). These unintended consequences additionally impact the lives of the registrant's family members (Comartin, Kernsmith, & Miles, 2010; Levenson & Tewksbury, 2009).

Popular punitivism occurs when the public's desires for harsh sanctions has a greater influence on the decisions of policymakers. Therefore, the research evidence may not be able to overcome the dynamic between these forces. However, several factors influence policy development, including major judicial decisions, social and economic conditions of the state (Hofferbert, 1990) and public discourse regarding sex offenders (Klugman, 2010), which may provide barriers or opportunities. Advocates for more effective policy approaches may be effective by framing messages that draw upon sympathetic personal experiences of registrants or their family members. Sabatier (1991) suggests that a single piece of research is unlikely to impact policy, but that, over the course of time, and as the research accumulates, policy makers are likely to understand the issue and investigate the causes and consequences of social policies. By supporting personal appeals with research evidence of the costs and ineffectiveness of policy, a message calling for more appropriate and effective sanctions can be developed. Reaching a wide public audience with these messages, in addition to targeted education to legislators, may help support thoughtful policy development.

Limitations

The research is limited in several ways. Longitudinal research would improve the study to better elucidate the

relationship between fear and misinformation over time. In addition, the inclusion of other variables, such as knowing someone who has been convicted of a sex crime, may improve the models and should be considered in future research.

This study, while representative of the state population in many respects, may not be generalizable to the wider public. Inclusion criteria for this study consisted of individuals in one state, who had landline telephones, spoke English, and were over the age of 18. This resulted in selection bias, not only in those who were eligible to participate, but also in those who may self-select to participate in the study. Furthermore, while many strategies were employed to increase response rate, including follow-up mailings and opportunity to complete the survey online, the response rate was low. Thus, those who chose not to participate may have answered the survey differently.

Additionally, the measures may have been limited in the inability to differentiate between child molesters and rapists in the assessment of attitudes. These groups are commonly combined in research, overlooking the important differences between the two and attitudes toward them (Ward et al., 2006). However, in the few studies that have differentiated between offender types, including stranger rapist, acquaintance rapist, marital rape, statutory rape, stranger victim pedophile, or familial victim pedophile (Kernsmith, Craun, & Foster, 2009; Ferguson & Ireland, 2006), few differences in fear and attitudes were found. These studies indicate that all types of sex offenders evoke significant anxiety and fear among the general public. However, by applying strategies to all offenders, regardless of the type of offense or risk level of the offender, it is not possible to attend to the individual needs of various offenders.

Last, the model presented accounted for only a relatively small amount of the total variance. This indicates that additional factors likely play a role in attitudes that support offender management strategies. Further research is needed to further explicate these potential additional factors.

Conclusions

Interventions with offenders and the use of empirically based prevention programs show greater promise in

promoting public safety. Fuselier, Durham, and Wurtele (2002) identified that myths and stereotypes of perpetrators as "social misfits, strangers, or 'Dirty Old Men'" (p. 272) divert the focus from the real dangers and places where potential victims are at greater risk. Public education for children, adolescents and adults on the realities of the risk and protective factors associated with sexual violence is crucial, and ultimately more effective in preventing sexual violence.

Inasmuch as these policies are ineffective, expensive and produce barriers to successful reintegration, it is preferable to ground management policies in research evidence and thorough policy analysis. Sex offender management policies are founded on assumptions that recidivism is greater among sex offenders than among other criminal populations, that treatment for sex offenders is ineffective, and that rates of sex crimes are increasing; each of which are incorrect assumptions (Sample & Bray, 2003). Harsher sanctioning of sex offenders is not based in empirical evidence, but in emotion (Mears, 2007), which defies the original intent of these policies: to make the public safer (Edwards & Hensley, 2001).

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Grand Challenges: Social Justice and the Need for Evidence-based Sex Offender Registry Reform

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Sex offender registries, though popular, bring with them enormous fiscal costs and unintended consequences for offenders and communities. Consistent with the Grand Challenges, social workers can play a role in advocating for sex offender management policies that are better informed by evidence and thus a better use of resources. Registry reform would also mediate the stigma resulting from the sex offender label, and reduce barriers to offender reintegration. A brief history of registration laws and the research regarding their effectiveness will be provided, followed by a rationale for needed improvements in sex offender management policy. Five evidence-based recommendations for reform will be proposed: (1) juveniles should not be subjected to sex offender registration; (2) registration durations should be guided by risk assessment research; (3) procedures for relief and removal from registries should be available; (4) discretion should be returned to judges; (5) residence restrictions should be abolished. Such changes can result in improved public safety outcomes and social justice, as well as reduced fiscal and social costs.

Key words: Sex offender, policy, social work grand challenge, registry, registration, social justice

Recently, social work leaders have embraced a set of "Grand Challenges" (Barth, Gilmore, Flynn, Fraser, & Brekke,

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2014; Uehara et al., 2013) to address a range of complex and inter-related social problems that deeply impact American society. The primary aim of these grand challenges is to "galvanize social workers' collective contribution to the quality of life and promotion of an equitable society in the 21st century" by reducing poverty and inequality and by improving access to health and human services (Uehara et al., 2013, p. 167). The leaders of this movement have proposed forming a unified and cohesive approach to addressing the complex issues they have identified. In doing so, the profession will benefit from the integration of collaborative leadership, knowledge, science, and public dialogue to effect innovative and transformative solutions (Uehara et al., 2013).

Among those grand challenges for social workers is the predicament of mass incarceration and the inherent racial and economic disparities that have fueled its progression (Pettus-Davis & Epperson, 2015). Social work scholars have argued that individuals involved in the criminal justice system face numerous social injustices (Bracken, McNeill, & Clarke, 2010; Fenton, 2011; Scheyett, Pettus-Davis, McCarter, & Brigham, 2012; Zumdahl, 2011) and that disparities are rampant, with the poor and people of color disproportionately affected (Pew Charitable Trusts, 2009). Social work's commitment to challenging injustice features prominently in the NASW Code of Ethics (NASW, 2008). Therefore, our profession must address the "ways in which social institutions inhibit or liberate persons" (Young, 2011, p. 34).

Few examples are more illustrative and poignant with regard to the way social systems may inhibit the rights of individuals than the policies addressing management of those who have committed sexual offenses. This article will first give a brief history of sex offender registration and notification (SORN) laws and the research around their effectiveness. Next, a rationale for needed improvements in sex offender management policy will be provided. Finally, evidence-informed recommendations will be offered for five proposed areas of reform. We believe that this topic is one of relevance for social workers, victims, survivors, and offenders, as well as for policy analysts and legislators. Though sex offenders arouse little sympathy in our society, registry reform is

consistent with the mission of the Grand Challenges facing the social work profession. Evidence-informed changes can result in improved public safety outcomes and social justice in our communities.

The History and Evolution of SORN Laws

There are perhaps no crimes that inspire as much fear, revulsion, and outrage as sexual offenses. Over the past several decades, in response to a series of brutal and highly publicized sexual crimes, lawmakers have responded decisively to the public's demand for protective legislation. The purpose of SORN laws is to increase public awareness about sex offenders living among us so that concerned citizens and parents can take protective actions to prevent victimization. Furthermore, sex offender registration provides a system by which law enforcement agencies can track, supervise, and monitor these offenders.

The evolution of contemporary sex offender policy began in 1989, when 11-year-old Jacob Wetterling was abducted in Minnesota while riding his bike with his brother and a friend. The Wetterlings successfully advocated for federal guidelines requiring known sex criminals to register their addresses with local law enforcement agents in order to help identify potential suspects in such cases (Jacob Wetterling Act, 1994). Since that time, states have required all adults convicted of sex crimes and some juveniles to register. In 1996, after seven-year-old Megan Kanka was sexually assaulted and murdered by a convicted sex offender in New Jersey, Megan's Law was passed allowing the release of registry data to the public. States were later required to create publicly accessible and searchable online registry websites by 2003. About half of the states classify offenders by risk levels and notify the public differentially according to the offender's threat to children and other possible victims. Other states employ broad notification policies, publicly identifying all individuals convicted of sexual crimes regardless of risk.

In 2006, federal SORN requirements were refined once again by the passage of the Adam Walsh Act (AWA)—named for a Florida child who was abducted from a shopping mall

and murdered in 1981—which standardized guidelines in an effort to create uniformity across all 50 states (Adam Walsh Act, 2006). The AWA required implementation of a pre-designed 3-tier offense-based classification system with concordant registration durations of 10 years for misdemeanors, and 25 year or lifetime registration for felony offenders. The law mandates prison sentences for sex offenders who fail to properly register. States that do not comply with AWA lose 10% of their federal criminal justice funding; currently, 19 states are compliant with AWA federal guidelines. The AWA also created the Office of Sex Offender Sentencing, Monitoring, Apprehending, Registering, and Tracking (SMART Office), and designated resources for the FBI to integrate all state registries into a searchable National Sex Offender Registry (NSOR).

Summary of Research about SORN

In 2015 over 843,000 registered sex offenders (RSO) resided in the U.S. (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2015a), although at least 12% are not living in the community because they are confined, deceased, or deported (Ackerman, Harris, Levenson, & Zgoba, 2011). Approximately one-third of RSOs have been deemed by their state's assessment process to pose a low risk for future offending and therefore are not listed on public registries, and their status is known only to law enforcement (Ackerman et al., 2011). Among RSOs who appear on public registries, about 14% have been designated by states as high risk, predator, or sexually violent (Ackerman et al., 2011). Nearly 98% of RSOs are male, the average age is about 45 years old, and the majority (85 - 90%) have only one sex offense conviction (Levenson, Ackerman, & Harris, 2013; Sandler, Freeman, & Socia, 2008). Approximately 90% of registered sex offenders have had a minor victim under the age of 18, with about one-third of victims under 10 years old, and most (87 - 89%) victims (adult and minor) are female (Ackerman et al., 2011; Finkelhor et al., 2008). As is true throughout the criminal justice system, minorities are over-represented on sex offender registries: 22% of RSOs are black, compared to 12 - 13% of the U.S. population (Ackerman et al., 2011).

Public perception surveys have found strong support for

sex offender registries (Levenson, Brannon, Fortney, & Baker, 2007; Pickett, Mancini, & Mears, 2013; Sample & Kadleck, 2008), however, an analysis of sexual assault cases from a victim advocacy center reported that less than 4% of the offenders would have been found on a registry prior to the abusive incident (Craun, Simmons, & Reeves, 2011). Few people seem to utilize registries with any regularity or take preventive measures after searching a registry (Anderson & Sample, 2008; Beck & Travis, 2004; Kernsmith, Comartin, Craun, & Kernsmith, 2009). Despite the fact that registries make people feel safer, the data indicate that their actual effectiveness in preventing sexual recidivism is quite weak.

There are many methodological challenges faced by researchers when conducting sex crime policy analysis. For example, low recidivism base rates, the confound of several policies enacted within short time frames, the difficulties of prospective research designs to collect large samples of recidivism data, and the need for long follow-up periods all contribute to the complexities of measuring the impact of these laws. Moreover, though national guidelines exist, the SORN policy in each state is idiosyncratic, complicating efforts to conduct national sex offender policy research (Harris, 2011).

About two dozen studies have been conducted to evaluate the impact of SORN, and most involve one of two methodologies: group differences of sex offenders required to register compared with those who were not, and time-series or trend analyses of sex crime rates over time. Most single-state studies have not detected significant reductions in sex crime rates that can be credited to SORN policies (Letourneau, Levenson, Bandyopadhyay, Sinha, & Armstrong, 2010; Levenson & Zgoba, 2015; Sandler et al., 2008; Veysey, Zgoba, & Dalessandro, 2008; Zgoba, Veysey, & Dalessandro, 2010). Modest effects were detected in Minnesota and Washington (Duwe & Donnay, 2008; Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2005); both states use empirically-derived risk assessment classification systems to reserve aggressive and long-term public registration for the most high-risk offenders.

Multi-state studies have also produced mixed results, but most show small or no effects on recidivism attributable to SORN laws. For instance, an investigation of the impact

of SORN laws on sexual assault rates in ten states (Vasquez, Maddan, & Walker, 2008) showed a significant increase in rape rates in California following implementation, while Hawaii, Idaho, and Ohio had significant decreases in rape rates, and the remaining six states (Arkansas, Connecticut, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, & West Virginia) showed non-significant trends.

An analysis examining data from over 300,000 sex crimes in 15 states found that, while registration appeared to decrease the rate of recidivistic sex offenses, public notification did not (Prescott & Rockoff, 2011). Using Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data from 1985-2003, Agan (2011) failed to find a significant decline in arrest rates of rape or sexual abuse after registration was implemented, or after public Internet access to registry information was instituted. Agan also examined Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) data tracking individual sex offenders after their release from prison in 1994, and determined that having to register as a sex offender did not lead to significant reductions in sex offense recidivism (Agan, 2011). Using UCR data for the years 1970-2002, Ackerman, Sacks and Greenberg (2012) concurred that SORN legislation did not result in dramatic declines in forcible rapes.

Other recent investigations have raised questions about the utility and validity of the federally mandated Adam Walsh Act tier system, which requires states to classify sex offenders using the characteristics of their offenses rather than risk assessments grounded in empirically-derived factors. In Florida, New Jersey, Minnesota, and South Carolina (Zgoba et al., 2015) and in New York (Freeman & Sandler, 2010), the AWA offense-based classification process did a poor job of identifying potential recidivists. The authors opined that empirically developed risk assessment procedures were better than offense categories for screening sex offenders into relative risk categories to establish monitoring requirements. The AWA classification process often over-estimates risk, contradicting evidence suggesting that the highest risk of sexual re-offense is concentrated among a small group of offenders (Harris, Lobanov-Rostovsky, & Levenson, 2010), but offense-based classification schemes also sometimes under-estimate risk because some offenders plea-bargain down to lesser crimes

that may not truly reflect their dangerousness (Letourneau, Levenson, Bandyopadhyay, Armstrong, & Sinha, 2010).

In short, the abundance of evidence does not point to the effectiveness of registration systems in reliably classifying offenders, reducing recidivism, or preventing sex crimes. The absence of an empirical link does not rule out the possibility of undetected public safety impacts and efficacy of SORN laws, and it is also feasible that individual effects might exist as a result of law enforcement monitoring and case management, or prevention efforts by citizens (Bierie, 2015). Many scholars, however, have agreed that the accumulation of empirical evidence strongly suggests that the fiscal and social costs of these laws outweigh their benefits (Ackerman, Sacks, & Greenberg, 2012; Zgoba, Witt, Dalessandro, & Veysey, 2009). Of course there are dangerous predators who should be carefully monitored, and registry information may be useful to citizens and law agents in anecdotal cases. However, the data raise questions about the widespread use of registries, the costs and benefits of them, and the social justice implications for offenders who aspire for second chances to demonstrate productive and law-abiding lives.

Rationale for Registry Reform

Labeling theory proposes that self-identity and behavior of individuals may be determined or influenced by the words used to describe or classify them; the stigma and isolation resulting from labels attached to those who deviate from social norms can be demeaning and may become deeply entrenched in one's self-concept (Goffman, 1963; Maruna, LeBel, Mitchell, & Naples, 2004). Labeling and its resulting social rejection is also related to the concepts of stereotyping and self-fulfilling prophecy, such as when an individual internalizes assumptions about him or herself made by others and then behaves in a way that conforms to that notion (Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989). In the context of theories of crime, the exclusionary practices activated by shaming labels can isolate stigmatized groups from mainstream social life, solidifying one's deviant identity and fortifying criminal behavior (Bernburg, Krohn, & Rivera, 2006; Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989). Thus, when we

label people by the very description we don't want them to be, we actually prevent the cognitive transformation that plays a role in social conformity and reduced recidivism risk (Maruna et al., 2004; Willis, 2015). This is especially true for the sex offender designation, which defines individuals for life, sometimes by isolated events, in ways that foster unequivocal negation of other aspects of their character and behavior.

Recent cases calling attention to the need for registry reform have prompted public dialogue in prominent media outlets including the *New York Times*, NPR's *Diane Rehm Show*, the *New Yorker* magazine, CNN's *Anderson Cooper 360*, and ABC's *Nightline* (e.g., Bosman, 2015; National Public Radio, 2015; Stillman, 2016). For example, Zachery Anderson was a 19-year-old college student with no criminal history when he met a teenage girl on a dating app and had sex with her. The girl, who admitted she lied about her age, turned out to be only 14, which made their encounter a sex crime. Despite testimonials by the girl and her mother begging the judge for leniency, Zachery was sentenced to 90 days in jail, followed by five years of probation, and landed on the sex offender registry in two states for 25 years (Bosman, 2015; Levenson, 2015).

As Zachery's story illustrates, all sex offenders are not the stereotypical monsters we imagine. Of the nearly 850,000 registered sex offenders in the U.S., about 6 - 7% are age 25 or younger (Ackerman et al., 2011), and many of their crimes involve situations like Zachery's. We know from decades of neuroscience research that the executive regions of the brain continue to develop well into the mid-twenties, and that teens are often poorly equipped to fully appreciate the long-term implications of their choices. Sex offender registries were originally envisioned to help concerned citizens and parents prevent victimization by listing predatory, violent, and pedophilic offenders who pose a true threat to children and others in our communities. This goal is impeded by a system that forces people like Zachery to register, diluting the public's ability to tell who is really dangerous, creating an added workload burden for law enforcement personnel, and generating an inefficient distribution of fiscal resources. Every dollar spent monitoring someone like Zachery is a dollar not available for victim services, child protection responses, and

prevention programs for at-risk families (Levenson, 2012). All sex offenders are not the same, and the high monetary, human, and social costs of these policies are worthy of consideration.

Registries also contain many other offenders who may pose little threat to public safety, including non-contact and first-time offenders assessed to be at low risk to reoffend. An ever-growing national registry system tracking over 850,000 individuals weakens the public's ability to distinguish truly dangerous offenders. The size and scope of the registry means that impacts are felt by millions of people, including registrants and their families. Though sex offenders inspire little sympathy, evidence and logic suggest that in many ways registries contradict best practices in criminal re-entry. They may unfairly and unnecessarily deprive offenders of opportunities for success; indeed, the federal Second Chance Act, passed in 2008, specifically excluded sex offenders from its programs. As social workers, if we believe in social justice, we cannot pick and choose to whom it applies.

Collateral Consequences of Sex Offender Management Policies

The challenges of reintegration after a criminal conviction are even more pronounced for registered sex offenders. The legacy of any felony conviction often includes employment obstacles, denial of public benefits, decreased educational opportunities, and disenfranchisement (Maruna et al., 2004; Petersilia, 2003; Pettus-Davis & Epperson, 2015; Uggen, Manza, & Behrens, 2004), but the unique label of "sex offender" can obstruct community re-entry even more profoundly. Sex offenders in many states report employment difficulties, housing disruption, relationship loss, threats and harassment, and property damage (Levenson & Cotter, 2005a; Levenson, D'Amora, & Hern, 2007; Mercado, Alvarez, & Levenson, 2008; Sample & Streveler, 2003; Tewksbury, 2004, 2005; Tewksbury & Lees, 2006; Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b). Psychosocial symptoms such as shame, stigma, isolation, anxiety, depression, and hopelessness are also commonly reported by sex offenders. These impacts extend to their family members, who report financial, practical, social, and psychological effects when a loved one

is placed on the registry (Farkas & Miller, 2007; Levenson & Tewksbury, 2009; Tewksbury & Levenson, 2009). Employment and housing problems experienced by the RSO were identified as the most pressing issues for family members, and some also described threats and harassment by community members, as well as social rejection of children of RSOs by teachers and classmates (Levenson & Tewksbury, 2009).

The deleterious consequences of registration are particularly salient for youthful sex offenders (Chaffin, 2008; Harris, Walfield, Shields, & Letourneau, 2015; Letourneau & Miner, 2005; Pittman & Parker, 2013; Stillman, 2016). The Adam Walsh Act initially mandated states to publicly register juveniles as young as 14 who were adjudicated for sexual crimes, but after significant pushback from developmental psychologists, treatment specialists, and attorneys, this provision was revised to allow for discretion in placing juveniles on public registries. More recently, legal scholars have questioned the constitutionality of juvenile registration, given the U.S. Supreme Court's decision that lifetime sentences for juvenile offenders violate the Eighth Amendment (Parker, 2014; Sterling, 2015).

In a report to the Vermont legislature, advocates argued that there was no evidence that public registration and notification requirements for juveniles, and especially younger children, are associated with positive treatment outcomes or with improved safeguarding of other children (Burford, Gallagher, Leibowitz, & Robinson, 2007). Additionally, a compelling and deeply disturbing Human Rights Watch report conducted nearly 300 interviews and documented the irreparable harm of juvenile registration on youth and their families (Pittman & Parker, 2013). The negative, iatrogenic effects of registration significantly impact mental health, physical safety, and educational opportunities for youth, who reported remarkably similar stories of stigma, isolation, despair, suicidality, hopelessness, harassment and violence against them, as well as profound shame.

A survey of juvenile sex offender treatment specialists concurred that these negative effects are seen in 85% of registered youth, and that approximately 20% had attempted suicide (Harris, Walfield et al., 2015). It is unlikely that these consequences are markedly different for young adults who have

passed their 18th birthdays, as the severe limitations placed on one's potential future are daunting. Yet, 41 states have some form of registration for juveniles adjudicated delinquent for a sex crime, 30 states permit or require website publication of the registration information, and most states require registration for juveniles waived over and convicted in adult court (SMART Office, 2015).

Sex offender residence restriction (SORR) laws prohibiting RSOs from living within close proximity to schools, parks, playgrounds, or daycare centers are tied to registration status and further exacerbate these immense barriers to offender re-entry (Levenson, 2008; Socia, Levenson, Ackerman, & Harris, 2015). Housing restrictions frequently force sex offenders to relocate, prevent them from returning to their own homes after conviction, and preclude them from living with family members (Levenson, 2008; Levenson & Cotter, 2005b; Levenson & Hern, 2007; Mercado et al., 2008). Many report that affordable housing is less available due to limits on where they can live, that landlords refuse to rent to them or to renew a lease, and that they are forced to live farther away from employment, public transportation, social services, and mental health treatment. Young adults are especially impacted by these laws when they are unable to live with family and have difficulties securing affordable housing (Levenson, 2008; Levenson & Hern, 2007). In densely populated communities, the combination of extensive buffer zones and more costly rental prices can create a "perfect storm" for sex offender homelessness and displacement, interfering with law enforcement agents' ability to track and supervise registrants (Levenson, Ackerman, Socia, & Harris, 2015, p. 20).

Ironically, housing instability is consistently associated with criminal recidivism and absconding (Petersilia, 2003; Roman & Travis, 2004; Schulenberg, 2007; Steiner, Makarios, & Travis, 2015), suggesting that housing restrictions may actually undermine the very purpose of registration laws and compromise public safety (Levenson et al., 2013). Such laws can also cause RSOs to cluster in the few locations where compliant housing is available, resulting in a disproportionate number of offenders in a small geographical area and understandably raising concerns for the safety of children living

in such neighborhoods (Broward County Commission, 2009; Socia, 2013). Legislation that thwarts sex offenders' housing stability contradicts another of social work's grand challenges: ending homelessness (Henwood et al., 2015).

Sex Offense Recidivism

Sex offender laws have been inspired by the common belief that most sex offenders inevitably reoffend and that they therefore require special management. Research indicates, however, that sex offense recidivism rates are lower than commonly believed, averaging from 5% to 15% depending on the study (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2003; Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Hanson, Harris, Helmus, & Thornton, 2014; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Helmus, Hanson, Thornton, Babchishin, & Harris, 2012; Zgoba et al., 2015). They are less likely to be re-arrested for a new crime compared to other violent, property, and drug offenders (Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2014; Sample & Bray, 2006). It is often argued that low recidivism rates reflect the high number of sex crimes that go undetected, and of course, many are not reported. It is well established, however, that a small group of predatory or pedophilic offenders has a high volume of victims, and that on average the majority of sexual offenders are not arrested for repeat sex crimes (Abel et al., 1987; Harris & Hanson, 2004; Helmus et al., 2012). Rates of recidivism for juvenile sex offenders are very low (about 7% over 5 years) (Caldwell, 2010), and the collateral consequences of registration for youth and their families are devastating (Harris, Walfield et al., 2015; Pittman & Parker, 2013; Stillman, 2016).

Importantly, recent longitudinal research has found that sex offender recidivism risk declines substantially over time as individuals remain in the community offense-free. Remarkably, low risk sex offenders commit new sex crimes at rates below general criminal offenders; in other words, criminal offenders with no prior sex offense history are re-arrested for a subsequent sex crime more often than low-risk convicted sex offenders (Hanson et al., 2014; Harris & Hanson, 2012). After 16.5 years in the community without a new sex crime arrest, even high-risk sexual offenders are no more likely to be

arrested for a new sex offense than non-sexual criminals, and moderate risk sex offenders cross that threshold after about 10 years. While some sex offenders certainly pose a long-term and serious danger to community members, many do not.

Fiscal Considerations

While the national costs of sex offender registration are difficult to estimate, law enforcement agents and others have expressed concerns about fiscal and workforce demands (Harris, Lobanov-Rostovsky, & Levenson, 2015). The expenditures of registry programs include local police surveillance and compliance verification of RSOs, costs associated with non-compliance, such as courts and incarceration, and expenses for continuous technological improvements to build and maintain online registries and to seamlessly update and connect registry systems with other databases (Harris, 2011; Harris & Lobanov-Rostovsky, 2010; Matson & Lieb, 1996; Zevitz & Farkas, 2000a; Zgoba et al., 2009). When quantifiable costs are summed, they are estimated to range from \$10 billion to \$40 billion nationally per year (Belzer, 2015). In a 2009-2010 appropriations bill, Congress substantially increased the U.S. Marshal Service budget by \$10,000,000 above their \$50,985,000 request to expand Adam Walsh Act enforcement (111th Congress, 2009). More than half of states have elected not to comply with the AWA due to the financial burden it placed on them, because the loss of federal dollars was estimated to be less than the costs of implementing new mandates (Harris & Lobanov-Rostovsky, 2010; Justice Policy Institute, 2008).

Only one known cost-benefit analysis related to SORN has been done to date (Belzer, 2015), because such an endeavor is complicated by many factors (Harris, 2016). Implementation of these laws is not uniform, and incremental costs and benefits vary significantly from state to state and over time, making it nearly impossible to tabulate the multiplicity of exact agency expenses incurred and the proportion of state budgets allocated for sex offender management. Importantly, assigning a dollar value to the primary benefit of interest—reduced victimization—presents innumerable challenges, and various SORN-related costs may each carry its own "return on

investment." The complex web of inter-related and multi-systemic fiscal costs is exceedingly difficult to deconstruct, and the human and social costs of sexual assault for victims and registration mandates for offenders are multifarious and confounding when attempting to quantify them (Harris, 2016). That said, it is indisputable that the number of individuals on state registries increases each year (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2015a) and that the expenditures for sex offender management grow accordingly.

States have had to invest enormous resources in technological advancements and administrative data systems, law enforcement personnel for offender monitoring and compliance management, and expenses associated with courts and corrections for registry violators. Registration mandates pass on implementation costs to offenders and their families, homeowners (decreased real estate values), renters and landlords, businesses and employers, schools, state and municipal governments and the public at large. With individuals placed on registries for mandatory durations of 25 years or life, little attrition occurs, and fiscal burdens for states will continue to escalate. Notably, 62% of states elected not to implement the 2006 requirements of the Adam Walsh Act, citing the initial and ongoing expenditures associated with the federal guidelines as a primary obstacle (Harris & Lobanov-Rostovsky, 2010; Justice Policy Institute, 2008).

Belzer (2015) conducted a quantitative retrospective assessment of the benefits and costs of registration and notification laws as currently enacted and implemented, followed by a second qualitative prospective cost-benefit analysis of several alternative reforms, including removal of juvenile registrants, prosecutorial discretion, and better risk assessments. The study considered the benefits of potentially preventing a statistically random sexually violent event, enhancing law enforcement, and reducing inefficient expenditures. Belzer underscored that there are complex challenges associated with measuring risk and social well-being and that there are fiscal and human costs to false positives (i.e., an over inclusive registry) and false negatives (i.e., failing to identify a sexually dangerous person who then victimizes someone in the community).

Sex offender management policies are assumed to be worth

the monetary investment to reduce recidivism, but they must simultaneously ensure public protection and avoid violation of human rights. Belzer found that notification requirements do not result in net benefits, and thus recommended that policy reform efforts should be geared toward reducing fiscal and social costs (Belzer, 2015). As Belzer (2015) highlighted, "registration alone is unlikely to produce net social benefits.... public notification is almost certainly a highly cost-ineffective way to reduce future sex offenses" (p. 15). Resources spent on policies that overextend their reach while failing to enhance public safety take funding away from other rehabilitation and reintegration programs as well as from victim services and prevention initiatives. A paradigm shift toward empirically-based sex offender management systems might prove more cost-efficient than current policies in achieving the important goal of preventing repeat sexual violence.

What Should Registry Reform Look Like?

With over 800,000 sex offenders in an ever-growing registry system, law enforcement resources become overextended and the ability of the public to differentiate high risk offenders is diluted. Certainly the diverse and sometimes countervailing goals of policy need to be carefully deliberated; social reintegration needs of offenders must be balanced with victims' rights and concerns. While community safety is paramount, sanctions should be applied in a cost-effective fashion with some discretion to fit the crime. Public registries should be reserved for high risk sex offenders so that the public can be better informed, specifically about pedophilic, predatory, repetitive or violent sex offenders likely to commit new sex crimes. At the same time, collateral consequences could be minimized for lower risk offenders reintegrating into society and desiring to become productive, law abiding citizens. These goals could be achieved by registry reform in five major areas.

1. Juveniles Should Not be Subject to Sex Offender Registration

Offenders adjudicated as juveniles should not be placed on registries. Only a handful of states allow exceptions for "Romeo" offenders (those with minor "consensual" victims who

were no more than 4-5 years younger), and children as young as 10 years old can be found on the registries of some states. Registration of youth contradicts the rehabilitative goals of the juvenile justice system and what we know about neurological, cognitive, social and psychological development of youngsters (Chaffin, 2008; Jones, 2007; Letourneau & Miner, 2005; Parker, 2014). The obstacles to academic opportunities and subsequent employment preclude meeting adolescents' needs in order for them to feel invested in their futures and motivated to conform to the rules and norms of society (Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989; Triplett, 1994).

Youth should not be labeled and defined for life by the single worst decision they might have made as a teenager. Some youth may have antisocial or sexually deviant traits, but most are amenable to rehabilitation when the proper treatment is offered (Letourneau & Borduin, 2008; Reitzel & Carbonell, 2006). Additionally, many delinquent youth have histories of early adversity and maltreatment (Baglivio et al., 2014; Burton, Duty, & Leibowitz, 2011; Topitzes, Mersky, & Reynolds, 2012), and when a child is engaging in traumatic re-enactment as a result of his or her own victimization, labeling him or her as a "sex offender" can be especially injurious.

2. Registration Durations should be Guided by Research

The world's leading researchers on sex offender risk and recidivism have been conducting longitudinal research for over two decades and have developed, refined, and validated actuarial risk assessment tools (such as the Static-99-R) that demonstrate predictive ability to screen offenders into relative risk categories (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2009; Hanson & Thornton, 1999; Hanson, Thornton, Helmus, & Babchishin, 2015; Helmus et al., 2012). We now have reliable data about the long-term recidivism outcomes of sex offenders who have been assessed at different levels of risk, and these data are enormously helpful in formulating policy decisions.

Compelling evidence exists to guide registry durations by looking at the longitudinal patterns of post-conviction offending (Hanson et al., 2014; Harris & Hanson, 2012). Low risk sex offenders are less likely to be arrested for subsequent sex crimes than general criminal offenders. After 10 years,

moderate risk sex offenders reach recidivism rates comparable to general criminal offenders, and after 16 years, even high risk sex offenders are no more likely to be arrested for a new sexual crime than an offender with no prior sex crime history. Thus, it is unlikely that registration periods beyond 20 years (at the longest) provide added value, even for high risk offenders.

Lifetime registration requirements contribute to an inefficient distribution of resources with perhaps little benefit to community safety, and they contradict research indicating that risk declines with age for all criminals and that sex offense recidivism is especially rare with advanced age (Hanson, 2002; Helmus, Thornton, Hanson, & Babchishin, 2011; Thornton, 2006). Over time, the sex offender population will contain a substantial proportion of elderly, infirm, and incapacitated individuals who pose virtually no risk for crimes of any sort. Furthermore, registration durations of 25 years to life contradict empirical evidence that risk declines significantly as offenders spend longer time in the community offense-free (Hanson et al., 2014; Harris & Hanson, 2012; Harris, Phenix, Hanson, & Thornton, 2003).

We know that those with prior sex crimes are already recidivists, and are thus at increased risk for new sex crime arrests. We know that child molesters of boy victims and rapists of adults are at highest risk for repeating their behavior, and that rapists are more likely to injure their victims and to use force or weapons (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Harris & Hanson, 2004). Non-contact offenders, such as exhibitionists, tend to be compulsive and repetitive but typically tend not to engage in contact crimes (Hanson & Thornton, 1999), and child pornography possessors are among those at lowest risk for future child molestation offenses (Eke, Seto, & Williams, 2011). We know that sexually-motivated stranger abductions—though they've fueled SORN policy development—are exceedingly rare (115 per year of children and 332 per year total) (Kessler, 2015) and that about 15% of such perpetrators were registered as sex offenders at the time of the crime (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2015b).

These data provide persuasive guiding principles for registration duration policies. Classification procedures should utilize validated risk assessment tools and consider risk

factors empirically associated with recidivism. For lower and moderate risk offenders, 10 years duration provides sufficient time to demonstrate their post-conviction patterns of recidivism. Those with pre-pubescent victims or who used force or physical violence when committing their crimes should be subject to closer scrutiny. Lifetime registration carries with it an implication that individuals are beyond redemption, and therefore, if used, should be reserved for repeat offenders.

3. Procedures for Relief and Removal from Registries should be Available

Few states offer any procedures for registry removal, and federal guidelines mandate registration of 25 years to life for all felony registrants. States should create a mechanism for RSOs to petition for relief from registration. Removal criteria should reflect evidence accumulated through scientific study, including that outlined above. For instance, research suggests that offenders who are not rearrested for a new sex crime within the first 5 years following their conviction are progressively less likely to sexually recidivate the longer they remain in the community offense-free (Hanson et al., 2014; Harris & Hanson, 2012; Harris et al., 2003). Therefore, after five years in the community without a new offense, lower risk offenders should be permitted to request removal. Repeat sex offenders have much higher recidivism rates than first-time offenders, and anyone with more than one sex offense conviction should not be considered for early removal from a registry. The data discussed in the recommendations for durations is useful to provide guidance for relief procedures.

Offenders age 25 or under whose statutory offenses were motivated not by sexual deviance or coercive tendencies, but by poor judgment or youthful imprudence (sometimes referred to as "Romeo" offenders), should be removed if they are deemed low risk and demonstrate no evidence of other sexual deviance or antisocial orientation. Clearly, statutory offenders are a stark contrast to the types of predatory, violent or pedophilic sexual criminals who were envisioned when registries were created. As well, sex offenders who are elderly, infirm, or otherwise incapacitated should be removed from the registry, as they are likely to pose little risk. The restrictions associated

with registration can preclude sick offenders from residing in nursing homes, assisted living facilities, or homeless shelters, denying them needed medical care and accommodations that ensure healthy living.

A final consideration is the influence of sex offender treatment. Research indicates that sex offenders who successfully complete specialized treatment are at substantially lower risk to recidivate with a future sex crime than those who have not completed treatment (Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, 2009; Hanson et al., 2002; Losel & Schmucker, 2005; Schmucker & Lösel, 2015). In most states, sex offenders residing in the community are required to attend treatment programs as part of their probation or parole conditions. Treatment addresses the risk factors and psychosocial needs unique to each individual, including self-regulation difficulties, intimacy deficits, deviant sexual interests, criminal attitudes, impaired empathy, and co-morbid symptoms such as substance abuse, anxiety, or depression (Andrews & Bonta, 2007, 2010; Yates, Prescott, & Ward, 2010). Because many criminal offenders were victims of child maltreatment and family dysfunction themselves, trauma-informed interventions are an important component of rehabilitation (Levenson, Willis, & Prescott, 2014; Miller & Najavits, 2012). When sex offenders are empowered to understand and change their maladaptive relational styles to better meet emotional needs in healthy, non-victimizing ways, re-offense risk can be mitigated. Sex offenders who complete treatment should be allowed to seek relief from registration duties.

4. Discretion should be Returned to Judges

Mandatory offense-based registration schemes have removed discretion from judges. According to the Adam Walsh Act, and SORN laws in most states, if an individual is convicted of certain statutes, registration requirements automatically apply. Few alternatives are available for judicial actors, and few (if any) remedies for relief are available for offenders once registered. It is noteworthy that several research studies have found that AWA offense-based tiers are poor indicators of risk or recidivism, and that empirically derived assessment protocols are more accurate in screening RSOs into relative risk categories and predicting recidivism (Freeman & Sandler, 2010; Zgoba et al., 2015). Furthermore, many of the

states that elected not to implement AWA (even while facing funding penalties) cited, as a rationale, that their own state systems were more evidence-based, effective, and efficient for identifying and managing risk (Harris, 2011; Harris & Lobanov-Rostovsky, 2010).

The pre-sentencing use of empirically-based risk assessments based on factors known to correlate with recidivism can assist fact-finders and advocates to identify those who pose the greatest threat to public safety, whereby individualized case-management decisions can be made according to objectively defined criteria that consider the characteristics of the offender and his criminal history. The assessment should evaluate static and dynamic risk factors associated with recidivism and determine whether the subject meets criteria for a paraphilic or personality disorder that renders him likely to act on deviant sexual impulses (Doren, 2002; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005, 2009; Seto, 2008). Risk assessment tools such as the Static-99R are designed for inter-disciplinary use with minimal training, and psychosexual assessments provided by clinicians with special expertise in this area could be very helpful in pre-sentencing decision-making. Some discretion should be afforded to judges in decisions about registration requirements, and in some cases, diversion programs would be appropriate. The U.S. D. O. J. SMART Office recommends that management strategies and treatment plans be tailored to match each sex offender's risk level and criminogenic needs, and they advise using science-based, actuarial methods for assessing risk, along with specialized supervision with a rehabilitative component (Lobanov-Rostovsky, 2015).

5. Residence Restrictions should be Abolished

Residence restrictions demonstrate no evidence of preventing recidivistic sex crimes. It is clear that they diminish housing availability and increase the likelihood of transience and homelessness (Levenson et al., 2015). Housing instability exacerbates risk factors for recidivism and therefore residence restrictions create more problems than they solve. In fact, the U.S. D.O.J. SMART Office recommends against residence restrictions (Lobanov-Rostovsky, 2015), and a grand challenge for social work is to end homelessness (Henwood et al., 2015).

Sex offenders do not abuse children because they live near schools or parks; rather, they create opportunities for sexual molestation by cultivating relationships of trust or authority with children and their families (Colombino, Mercado, Levenson, & Jeglic, 2011; Duwe, Donnay, & Tewksbury, 2008; Mogavero & Kennedy, 2015; Zandbergen, Levenson, & Hart, 2010). There is no evidence that residential proximity to a school is a risk factor for recidivism, or that housing restriction laws prevent reoffending (Duwe et al., 2008; Huebner et al., 2014; Rydberg, Grommon, Huebner, & Bynum, 2014; Socia, 2014; Zandbergen et al., 2010). Some researchers have argued that policies restricting where sex offenders live, rather than where they go and what they do, ignore empirical evidence and misdirect prevention strategies (Colombino et al., 2011). Though ostensibly logical, they regulate only where sex offenders sleep at night and do nothing to prevent sex offenders from visiting child-oriented venues during the day. Alternatives such as child safety zones, which do exist in some states and prohibit sex offenders from loitering within close proximity to child-oriented sites, are better designed to accomplish the goal of reducing sex offenders' access to children without compromising their housing needs (Broward County Commission, 2009; Colombino et al., 2011).

Homeless sex offenders are most likely to be found in metropolitan areas with higher housing costs and more extensive SORR laws, facilitating elevated levels of sex offender homelessness (Levenson et al., 2015). Treatment providers and probation officers observe that housing problems disrupt stability and exacerbate the psychosocial problems that impede successful reintegration and contribute to risk for criminal behavior and non-compliance. In the absence of evidence demonstrating effectiveness of residence restrictions in protecting children, preventing sexual violence, or reducing recidivism, such laws hinder rather than advance efforts toward child protection and community safety goals.

Implications for Social Work and Social Justice

The social experiment of sex offender registries has not been as successful as expected. The good news is that a more

vociferous public dialogue about sexual assault is finally leading to improved responses to sex crimes, and we are now taking them more seriously. Though we still have a long way to go in changing the culture that promotes objectification, sexualization, and exploitation, children and adult victims are more apt to be believed, services have improved, and survivors have fewer obstacles when seeking justice. On the other hand, the consensus of research about SORN policies demonstrates weak (if any) effects on recidivism. The collateral consequences to offenders and their families exacerbate the very factors highlighted by criminologists as increasing risk of recidivism. And registries—which were intended to help police, concerned citizens, and parents prevent victimization by listing predatory, violent, repetitive, and pedophilic offenders who pose a true threat to our communities—now contain so many individuals that the ability to identify truly dangerous persons is significantly compromised. The NASW code of ethics (2008) requires social workers to advocate for practices and policies that are informed by empirical literature.

Sexual victimization is an egregious act, and preventing sexual violence is an important goal. Indeed, the response to sex offenders over the past 20 years sends an important message of zero tolerance for sexual assault. Sex offender management laws have been passed, however, with little anticipation of the consequences they might bring, and with little concern for those affected. Sociologist Robert Merton warned nearly a century ago that the unforeseen negative consequences of well-intended policies passed in response to a perceived threat may outweigh their benefits (Merton, 1936).

American social policies historically have been reactive to problems of child maltreatment, strongly emphasizing the role of offender punishment and child placement rather than primary prevention. There is a compelling body of research indicating that children who experience early adversity are at increased risk for poly-victimization and subsequently for complex and pervasive trauma symptoms, as well as other medical and psychosocial maladies (Cloitre et al., 2009; Felitti et al., 1998; Finkelhor, Turner, Hamby, & Ormrod, 2011; Larkin, Felitti, & Anda, 2014). Children who experience chronic maltreatment and family dysfunction are at higher risk than

non-abused youngsters to become the addicts and criminal offenders of the future (Baglivio et al., 2014; DeHart, 2009; Harlow, 1999; Mersky, Topitzes, & Reynolds, 2012; Topitzes et al., 2012; Widom & Maxfield, 2001).

There is little resistance to funding criminal justice initiatives, yet prevention programs and social services are generally among the first to be cut from American legislative budgets, even though they have demonstrated that behavioral health problems can be averted (Hawkins et al., 2015). Consistent with the social work grand challenge of prevention, investing in a comprehensive array of early intervention services for abused children and at-risk families is an important step in halting the intergenerational cycle of interpersonal violence in our communities (Anda, Butchart, Felitti, & Brown, 2010; Hawkins et al., 2015; Larkin et al., 2014).

Laws are likely to be most successful when they incorporate scientific data into their development and implementation. A more reasoned approach (Tabachnick & Klein, 2011) to sex offender management policies would utilize empirically-derived risk assessment tools to create classification systems that apply more aggressive monitoring and tighter restrictions to those RSOs who pose the greatest threat to public safety. In this way, a more cost-effective allocation of fiscal and personnel resources could be achieved. As well, by tailoring application of these laws to risks and needs, labeling effects could be minimized and sex offenders could be better enabled to engage in law-abiding and prosocial lifestyles. Most sex offenders will ultimately be returned to the community, and when they are, it behooves us to facilitate a reintegrative and rehabilitative approach that relies on research to inform community protection strategies. After all, when people have nothing to lose, they begin to behave accordingly.

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld sex offender registration laws in two cases in 2003, opining that such laws were regulatory but not punitive and therefore did not violate *ex post facto* protections, and that they did not violate rights to privacy because the information contained on registries was already publicly available in court records ("Connecticut Dept. of Public Safety," 2003; "Smith v. Doe," 2003). Much has changed in the intervening years, however, as ubiquitous access to online

registries has empowered a new scarlet letter (Levenson, 2007). Other scholars describe how "egregious misinformation" (p. 1), misrepresentation of data, and sometimes blatant inaccuracies have been extremely influential in shaping sex offender public policy (Ackerman & Burns, 2016). It may be time to revisit the constitutional and human rights injustices of SORN.

The innumerable collateral sanctions now associated with registration status include housing restrictions, employment barriers, banishment from educational facilities, exclusion from social media, and even limits on participating in holiday festivities such as trick-or-treating. The new International Megan's Law, signed by President Obama in early 2016, will require a special designation posted on the passport cover of any registered person—the first of its kind in America. Some argue that these civil sanctions have become punitive, as they severely interfere with the ability of many RSOs to build meaningful and lawful lives post-conviction, even when evidence of continued criminal intent or behavior is absent. Legal scholars (Ellman & Ellman, 2015) have opined that the Supreme Court's 2003 decision was disturbingly flawed, relying on false facts and misrepresentation of the science on which the decision was grounded, "infecting an entire field of law" (p. 1) and transforming political rhetoric into "definitive studies offered to justify law and policy, while real studies by real scientists go unnoticed" (p. 11).

If social workers believe in social justice, we cannot pick and choose to whom it applies. The racial and economic disparities rampant throughout the criminal justice system are seen in sex offender sentencing, management, and registration schemes as well. The grand challenge of social justice requires us to step forward and speak on behalf of those without a voice, especially those most marginalized in our communities—and these include criminal offenders. Pettus-Davis and Epperson (2015, p. 4) challenged social workers to find "proactive, trans-disciplinary, and empirically driven" solutions to the criminal justice system, adding that we are well positioned to address this challenge, due to our long history of advocating for social reform and our commitment to eradicating social injustices.

The goals of sex offender registries are certainly laudable, but the quest for public safety can come at a cost of human

rights and social justice. It is clear that sex offender registries are popular with the public and with politicians and that they are here to stay. But sexual violence prevention advocates must acknowledge the fiscal and social costs of a system that is overly-inclusive and over-burdened. Most sex offenders do not fit the stereotype of the monster we imagine. Some are repetitively violent or sexually deviant and likely to reoffend, but most pose low risk and show genuine remorse and a desire to rehabilitate themselves. It is time for a public dialogue that can speak honestly and directly about the simultaneous need for offender accountability and retribution for victims, while acknowledging that second chances are possible.

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The Construction of a Class with a "Sense of Entitlement": A Case Study on Political Rhetoric as Symbolic Violence in Denmark

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Taking a Bourdieusian perspective, this paper illustrates how one politically-staged TV broadcast on a receiver of benefit payment has triggered political scapegoating in Denmark. The case has challenged the prevailing welfare state discourse and fostered the construction of a low class with a "sense of entitlement" by the media. We show that the media adopted the notion of a "sense of entitlement" originally used by politicians. Welfare state critical phrases and proverbs experienced a revival. We claim that this one-sided rhetoric abstracts from political responsibility and that power, agenda-building, and rhetoric act as symbolic violence.

Key words: blame avoidance, Bourdieu, scapegoating, symbolic power, welfare

Political rhetoric, and political scapegoating in particular, has been argued to be socially powerful and to influence media and public opinion (Bos, Van Der Brug, & De Vreese, 2013; Cochrane & Nevitte, 2014; Fasenfest, 2011; O'Flynn, Monaghan, & Power, 2014). Additionally, the concept of agenda-building has demonstrated the influence of political agents on media news selection and coverage (Lang & Lang, 1981; Scheufele, 2000; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004; Wirth et al., 2010). Via the second level of agenda-building, framing, political agents

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can create meaning by contextualizing and connoting certain topics (Goffman, 1973; Hallahan, 1999). These empirical and conceptual observations seem to find an appropriate overarching framework within the theory of constructivist structuralism by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1989), which bridges the dichotomy of agency and structure.

Bourdieu's considerations of language, symbolic violence, and the media, when combined, have the potential to explain the power and consequences of political utterances. Following Bourdieu's and Wacquant's logic, language and media representatives can perpetrate violence by excluding and marginalizing social groups. The most crucial angle—going beyond the explanatory power of scapegoating and agenda-building concepts—of a Bourdieusian approach is that the oppressed unknowingly consent to this violence (for more on the concept of symbolic violence, see Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This perspective will serve as a theoretical framework for this case study on political language as symbolic violence.

This case study is situated in Denmark and is associated with an ongoing debate regarding the efficiency of the country's extensive welfare state (Kildal & Kuhnle, 2005). We analyze the political and media deployment of the notion of "sense of entitlement" ("krævementalitet") that refers to welfare receivers. The notion—arguably new in Danish media and political rhetoric—is the outcome of a TV broadcast on a Danish recipient of welfare benefits that found its way into Danish language use as the "Carina case," the "Carina effect," or "Poor Carina" (Goul Andersen, 2012; Kingsley, 2014; Lund, 2012). Carina, a single mother on social welfare, was selected by a politician to demonstrate that poverty in Denmark exists. The broadcast triggered a heated debate on cash benefit recipients, mainly centering on the incriminating notion of a "sense of entitlement."

This analysis takes the form of a case study of the media coverage of this initial broadcast. We argue that both politicians and the media constructed a previously unknown low stratum of social welfare recipients with the image of greedy welfare freeloaders. The debate was kept alive, despite declining public interest, and was harnessed to legitimize tax reforms (Goul Andersen, 2012). We demonstrate how political rhetoric functions as symbolic violence and how the media

condone this type of violence by adopting and spreading political phrases. Our results should make politicians and the media aware of the hidden symbolic power of language and the character of stereotyping.

The "Carina Case"

In October 2011, the Socialist People's Party (SF, "Socialistisk Folkeparti") suggested that economically-disadvantaged Danish citizens who cannot afford Christmas gifts for their children should receive financial aid from the state. This suggestion was part of the Danish government's attempt to advance awareness of poverty. A representative of the opposition Liberal Alliance (LA) party, Joachim B. Olsen, immediately reacted by posting a statement on Facebook, stating that this suggestion made him throw up ("Jeg brækker mig") (Hvass, 2011). In response, Özlem Cekic (a member of Parliament for SF) invited Olsen to participate in a debate with her at the home of a poor Danish female citizen to prove that there are poor people in Denmark. The meeting took place on November 28, 2011, and was broadcast on Denmark's "The Evening Show" ("Aftenshowet") the same day. According to OECD standards (Goul Andersen, 2012; *Jyllands-Posten* [JP], 2011a), however, "Carina," the poor Danish woman, was not poor. As Goul Andersen stated, the case could have ended after the initial broadcast as an example of a poorly prepared political stunt. Andersen assumed that the case would not have a lasting effect on Danish attitudes. However, political comments proceeded to pour in and find media coverage.

The day following the TV broadcast, the Minister for Social Affairs, Karen Hækkerup of the Social Democrats ("Socialdemokraterne"), stated in *JP* that it was difficult for her to see how a recipient of welfare benefits such as Carina could be poor. Karen Hækkerup felt that it was time for a political discussion of the "sense of entitlement" of the Danes (Cordsen, 2011a). The phrases "Carina case" and "Carina effect" have become established phrases as a result of this discussion. Even the common Danish name "Carina" has been used synonymously with "welfare freeloaders" by politicians: "For a very long time it has been taboo to talk about the Carinas" (Joachim B. Olsen, cited in Daley, 2013). Carina-sag and similar notions,

such as "poor Carina" ("fattig-Carina") have entered the Danish language since 2011 as established phrases with derogatory connotations.

Theoretical Background: Bourdieusian Theory

In this article, we aim to observe and interpret the notion of "sense of entitlement" from a Bourdieusian perspective. Overall, we take Bourdieu's constructivist structuralism as a point of departure (Bourdieu, 1989). The shaping of reality is described as a process integrating agency and structure and, thus, individuals, society, and culture.

To approach the main aspects of language, the role of the media, and symbolic violence, we must first turn to the concept of capital. As outlined in earlier works (Lueg, 2014; Lueg & Lueg, 2015), Bourdieu (1997) distinguishes three types of capital: physical assets that can be converted to cash (economic capital), the possession of a durable network or membership in a social group (social capital), and cultural capital. Cultural capital can be classified into three further types. It exists in the embodied form. As such, it covers class-specific competencies and knowledge. Furthermore, cultural capital exists in an objectified form (in books or instruments), and in an institutionalized form (as credentials from authorized institutions) (Bourdieu, 1997).

Bourdieu depicts society as a class society, in which the "class situation" is "the point from which all possible views unfold" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 89). Thus, an agent's capital is more legitimate the higher he or she ranks in society's class system: "The kinds of capital, like trumps in a game of cards, are powers which define the chances of profit in a given field" (Bourdieu, 1991e, p. 230).

Language, in Bourdieu's view, is an example of a "structuring structure" (Bourdieu, 1991a, p. 164) in the sense that it is constructed and has the power to construct and create. Language, to Bourdieu, is not only a means of communication, but also a means of social interaction, power, and dominance. His notion of "linguistic legitimacy" (Bourdieu, 1991c, p. 69) can be applied to the social right to speak in general; to Bourdieu, linguistic interaction is a "linguistic market" in

which "certain agents are incapable of applying [to] the linguistic products offered" (Bourdieu, 1991b, p. 69). Linguistic exchanges and utterances are "also signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and signs of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed" (Bourdieu, 1991b, p. 66).

Adapting this notion and the overarching idea of a class-determined society to the media's political debates, it is elucidated that public debates conducted via the media are not open for participation by everybody; rather, participation is reserved for politicians, journalists and, sometimes, scholars. The power of language lies in the fact that only certain agents have the opportunity to use—and create—legitimate language as "speech that is accredited, worthy of being believed" (Bourdieu, 1991b, p. 70). Authorities, such as the aforementioned politicians, journalists or scholars, are given a platform on "formal occasions," such as in a TV show or a newspaper interview, and thereby rewarded with "legitimate competence." Again, mainly referring to pronunciation and vocabulary, Bourdieu indicates that the more formal a situation is, the more likely listeners are to "recognize the legitimacy of this mode of expression, even outside the constraints of the formal situation" (Bourdieu, 1991b, p. 70).

We argue that this phenomenon applies to our case as well, in which the notion of "sense of entitlement" spiraled out of the political rhetoric into media and the rhetoric of everyday life. Thus, agents such as those previously described have the "power to name and to create the world through naming" (Bourdieu, 1991d, p. 105). This power can transform into dominance or more drastic, symbolic violence; indeed, symbolic violence challenges the "usual dichotomy of freedom and constraint" (Bourdieu, 1991c, p. 51). Symbolic violence is "exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 272). Even those agents who do not explicitly comply with this power relationship are subject to its structure: they are forced to express themselves within the framework of the power structure. This relationship to symbolic violence is misrecognized by the agents involved.

The most important means of symbolic violence is language, because it creates meaning and classifies, recognizes and devaluates (e.g., insults) (Bourdieu, 1991d), thus allowing

one class to dominate the other (Bourdieu, 1991a). Symbolic violence, unfolded via ideology, can be an essential part of political domination (Bourdieu, 1991a).

The ideal means for such domination is television, according to Bourdieu. Apart from his criticism of television, Bourdieu is further critical of journalism in general. In his media-related, non-systematic essays published as *On Television*, Bourdieu declares television as a specifically destructive form of symbolic violence. In his view, journalists are both manipulated and manipulating. Journalists, according to Bourdieu, wear glasses that determine what and how they see and evaluate social phenomena. Thus, the thematic selection of journalists constructs social reality. Journalists' power to broach certain issues can constitute perceptions, thought, and entire social groups (Bourdieu, 1996). In this study, we demonstrate how politicians and the media have perpetrated symbolic violence by using ideological rhetoric.

Connection to Other Theories

For reasons of theoretical consistency, the outlined Bourdieusian perspective will briefly be aligned with other concepts referred to in this paper. Because Bourdieu's exploration of the media has been merely conceptual, taking the forms of essays and speeches, adopting compatible concepts from the field of media and communication studies is necessary. Conversely, the media theories outlined here lack emphasis on the subtle character of symbolic violence, as well as the important perspective of oppressed and disadvantaged agents consenting to the violence executed.

First, the concepts of agenda-building and framing can be linked to Bourdieu's perspective on the homogeneity of thematic media selection and journalists' perception and construction of social phenomena. Agenda-building refers to the influence of sources—here, politicians—on the media (Bennett, 1990; Berkowitz, 1992). The visible source impact, such as the number of quotations of a certain political statement, refers to the first level of agenda-building.

The concept of framing occupies the second level of agenda-building. Framing focuses on the qualitative "how" of media coverage, on the way meaning is created by

contextualizing and connoting certain topics (Hallahan, 1999) by sources and journalists. This idea departs from the sociological frame-building concept (Goffman, 1973) and therefore follows a social constructivist perspective of the media (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Tuchman, 1978). These perspectives consider agency (journalists) and structure (organizations and perception patterns) sufficiently such that they align with Bourdieu's constructivist structuralism.

Second, we can directly connect the concepts of scapegoating and blame avoidance to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence. Weaver (1986) views political blame avoidance as a response to voters' negativity bias, a "tendency to be more sensitive to real or potential losses than they are to gains" (Weaver, 1986, p. 371). In other words, voters care more about "what has been done to them than to what has been done for them" (Weaver, 1986, p. 373). This situation creates an incentive for politicians to avoid blame.

As observed during the Carina case, avoiding blame for a public mishap can be strategically more important than announcing positive achievements. Weaver defines eight blame avoidance strategies; among them are "redefine the issue," meaning "developing new policy options which diffuse or obfuscate losses," and "find a scapegoat," which simply means to "deflect blame by blaming others" (Weaver, 1986, p. 385). Although these strategies are adopted to the detriment of the voters' autonomy and information, the negativity bias prevails. This is where the Bourdieusian perspective adds to the traditional approaches: the (likely unconscious) complicity behavior is an example of symbolic violence par excellence (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The Case Study Design

This paper employs an exploratory case study approach—a method deemed appropriate when research focuses on contemporary situations and does not require control over events (Yin, 2008). Case studies are well suited to investigating media coverage (Gramling, 2011; McGregor, 2013; Perez de Fransius, 2014). Within the framework of the case study, we employ mixed methods. In addition to hybrid textual analysis,

further contextual observations (e.g., on the publishing strategies of the media involved) will help explore and explain the case. Our purpose is not to obtain statistical generalizations but to qualitatively explore how one social phenomenon (political rhetoric) may affect others (media coverage and rhetoric) through the lens of a contemporary theory within a specific context (Harland, 2014). Single case studies such as ours may contribute to generalized findings when applying a "cumulative" approach that uses comparative, multiple case studies (Harland, 2014; Yin, 2003).

Qualitative and Quantitative Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is understood as "a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world" (McKee, 2003, p. 1). When conducting textual analysis, researchers "make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text" (McKee, 2003, p. 1). To make interpretations, we consider text as data that contain "both qualitative and quantitative aspects" and thus have a "hybrid" character (Raich, Müller, & Abfalter, 2014 (p. 740). We align our analysis with this perspective on text by offering an "intertwined" approach of selected methods, meaning that we attempt—within the modest framework of this case study—to use the results obtained from one method as inspiration or a starting point for the next method.

First, we conducted a quantitative keyword frequency study that focused on the numerical distribution of the notion of a "sense of entitlement." Second, we applied explorative qualitative textual analysis by exploring the keyword context and language of the articles that refer to a "sense of entitlement." We aimed to identify other phrases with a similar character, followed again by frequency count. Third, we conducted an analysis of textual language functions in two selected lead articles in which some of these phrases were initially used.

According to Bühler, a text performs three functions that can be more or less dominant, but nonetheless are always present. These functions are the conative, the representative, and the expressive functions (Bühler, 1992). By applying these functions to texts, it is possible to make general descriptions of the overall purposes that senders attempt to pursue with the

production of the texts, tying in with our notion of framing and language as symbolic violence. The function and purpose of texts are strongly interrelated. Function relates to the manner in which a text is used in a communicative situation, whereas purpose refers to the desired goals a sender wishes to accomplish by using a text in a communicative situation.

Sample Selection

Our sources are articles in six Danish newspapers (*Berlingske*, *BT*, *Ekstra Bladet*, *Information*, *Jyllands-Posten*, *Politiken*). These newspapers were selected because they cover a wide range of editorial policy and formats, despite being mainly owned by two publishing houses. This range encompasses the tabloid and immigration-skeptical *Ekstra Bladet* and the liberal and independent *Information*. *BT* and *Ekstra Bladet* are tabloid newspapers with short and provocative news stories. *Information* and *Politiken* are viewed as politically liberal newspapers, whereas *Berlingske* is considered more conservative (for an in-depth analysis of the political Danish press see Hjarvard, 2007). *Jyllands-Posten* has been criticized for its anti-immigrant news coverage (Ourashy, 2011) and has triggered global discussions on "the right to offend" and "freedom of speech" by publishing cartoons of the prophet Muhammad (Tomlins, 2015). All newspapers provide country-wide media coverage.

Data Collection

We collected data using infomedia.dk, a database of Danish news coverage, in June 2012. To investigate potential changes in journalistic rhetoric, it is appropriate to consider media coverage of the notion of a "sense of entitlement" six months before and six months after the TV broadcast that triggered the debate (for a similar approach, see Guojun, Go, & Kolmer, 2011). The TV show was broadcast on November 27, 2011, thus the two comparative periods included are May 27, 2011, to November 27, 2011, and November 28, 2011, to May 27, 2012.

In a second step, we browsed case-related articles in a qualitative search for expressions that related to the scapegoating rhetoric of a "sense of entitlement" and those

that took the form of set phrases to identify the persistence of the attitude. In a third step, we focused on two politically dissimilar newspapers, *Information* and *JP*. We chose the two lead articles responding to the broadcast in order to have comparable formats. *Information* published its lead story on the incident on November 30, immediately after the interview. *JP* followed suit one day later and published its leading article on December 1.

Results

The Context of a "Sense of Entitlement" During the Six Months Preceding the Broadcast

In all six newspapers, the notion of "krævementalitet" only appears eight times. In four of those cases, the notion is used without referring to a concrete relationship to Danish society, leaving four references to be considered for a contextual understanding of the notion's use (see Table 1). It appears to be a notion that was used by politicians and non-journalistic agents. The first time the notion was used in this period (June 15, 2011), it was employed by the former Minister for Science, Technology and Innovation, Charlotte Sahl-Madsen. In an article on the financial situation of Danish students (monthly student support is relatively generous by European standards), Sahl-Madsen is quoted as saying that, "It is extremely important to finance education. But now we have to get over the sense of entitlement and reflect if our resources can be put to better use" (Saietz, 2011, p. 5).

The second article refers to a dated New Year's speech by former Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen. In Rasmussen's speech, a "sense of entitlement" is purposefully dismissed in favor of the politicians' "big spender mentality" ("gavementalitet"). However, it is noteworthy that the author interprets this and related statements as "classically right wing oriented" ("klassisk højreorienterede") (Kastrup, 2011). People are criticized for using the notion of a "sense of entitlement" to justify social budget cuts, such as cuts to disabled populations, as a representative of a handicapped association notes (Article no. 3). The notion is used as a criticism of Danish society and the political system in the fourth article, but it is noteworthy

as a sociological criticism that does not marginalize one social group.

Table 1. The Employment of the Notion of a "Sense of Entitlement" Preceding the Initial Broadcast

No.	Date <i>Newspaper</i>	Topic of article	Quote <i>Source</i>
1	June 15, 2011 <i>Politiken</i>	Financial situation of students	It is vital to finance education. But now we have to put a stop to the sense of entitlement and to consider if the resources could be used better. ("Det er enormt vigtigt at finansiere uddannelse. Men nu må krævementaliteten aflives, og vi må overveje, om ressourcerne kan bruges bedre") <i>Politician</i>
2	August 28, 2011 <i>Berlingske</i>	Article on current politics and elections	Is this an attack on the so called sense of entitlement? No, I am after the politicians' sense of giving. ("Er det et opgør med den såkaldte krævementalitet? Nej, det, jeg er ude efter, er vores - politikernes - gavementalitet," sagde Løkke.) <i>Politician</i>
3	September 15, 2011 <i>Politiken</i>	Critical article on the political rhetoric against disabled populations to justify budget cuts	A couple of politicians have exposed both "expensive" individuals and entire social groups to the media. Without much opposition these politicians were allowed to provoke with paroles such as [...] the sense of entitlement has to be stopped. ("En række kommunalfolk har hængt både 'dyre' enkeltpersoner og hele grupper ud i medierne, og de har stort set uimodsagt fået lov til provokere under paroler som 'udgifterne til det specialiserede socialområde er eksploderet', ' [...] og 'krævementaliteten må stoppes'.) <i>Other</i>
4	October 4, 2011 <i>Information</i>	Critical commentary on the perceived Danish sense of entitlement	The Danes' sense of entitlement has to be exchanged for a spirit of citizenship, in order for achievements to the benefit of the society to become a matter of course. ("Danskernes krævementalitet skal skiftes ud med en borgereidentitet, så det bliver en selvfølge at yde noget til fællesskabet Danmark") <i>Other</i>

The Context of a "Sense of Entitlement" During the Six Months Following the Broadcast

It is evident that the broadcast sparked a heated debate and had a significant impact on the use of the newly revived notion of a "sense of entitlement" (krævementalitet). We identified 145 texts in the six sampled newspapers in which this notion is employed (see Table 3). These texts were mainly written by the respective newspapers' journalists (86), followed by other agents (such as officials, students, and public figures) commenting on

contemporary issues (50). Politicians have written texts employing the notion nine times. Among those texts, there are three identical texts by Karen Haekkerup, the social minister who coined the notion. *Politiken* and *JP* published the most articles containing the notion, which is not surprising given that both publications featured series on the subject.

It is relevant to distinguish the way the notion was employed. We can identify the notion 272 times in the given 145 articles. Out of these 272 times, the phrase "sense of entitlement" is used as a quote or in single quotation marks 53 times. In cases in which the phrase is used as a quote, the authors almost exclusively refer to Karen Hækkerup. When used in single quotation marks, the notion is largely used without a concrete source, but the articles often allude to Karen Hækkerup.

Table 2. Appearance of "Sense of Entitlement" ("Krævementalitet") Six Months after the Broadcast

Newspaper	Text written by:			Total
	Journalist	Politician	Others*	
<i>Berlingske</i>	12	0	7	19
<i>BT</i>	9	0	3	12
<i>Ekstra Bladet</i>	2	1	6	9
<i>Information</i>	10	1	3	14
<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>	24	1	15	40
<i>Politiken</i>	29	6	16	51
Total	86	9	50	145

*Mainly commentaries by students, officials, public figures, and selected user comments and letters to the editor.

The two newspapers with the most "sense of entitlement"-centered articles, the conservative *JP* and the more liberal *Information*, published special thematic sections relating to the topic. *Information* reacted immediately after the broadcast (November 29, 2011) and named its special thematic sequel "Need help? Ask the state" ("Behov for hjælp? Spørg staten"). One day later (November 30, 2011), *JP* published its thematic issue on "Poverty" ("Fattigdom," *Jyllands-Posten*, 2011b). In *Information's* sequel, various authors published articles referring to the Carina case and other cases perceived to be similar. Most of the articles featured interviews with politicians or

scholars. The articles contained expressions such as "social fraud" ("socialt bedrageri"), "entitled society" ("krævesamfund"), "obligations" ("pligter"), and "personal responsibility" ("personlige ansvar"). Politicians pointed to the need for more control over the benefits-receiving individuals (*Information*, 2011). However, as textual analysis will show, the overall political tone was skeptical toward the scapegoating wave.

A similar pattern of notions can be observed in *JP*. Responsibility ("ansvar") is contextualized with receivers of social welfare ("kontanthjælpsmodtager"). Social Democratic Minister for Social Affairs Karen Hækkerup hypothesized in *JP* fatal consequences for the welfare state "if people only demand their rights, but don't fulfill their obligations" ("hvis folk kun kræver deres ret, men ikke gør deres pligt") (Cordsen, 2011a), thereby manifesting the notion "sense of entitlement."

Qualitative content analysis shows that three notions were employed particularly often in the aftermath of the broadcast on the evening show. We observed the rhetoric in the first days following the interview because the discussions provided an indication of the immediate reaction to the case. Most importantly, the dated Danish proverb "Do your duty, demand your right" ("Gør din pligt, krav din ret") stood out. Another similar notion that has been used by various politicians and media in relation to the case is "You have to give before you get" ("Man skal yde, før man kan nyde"). Both proverbs were used by Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt in a statement referring to the case (Cordsen, 2011b). A third unit is "self-service society" ("Samfundet som et tag-selv-bord"), which was initially coined by Hækkerup (Cordsen, 2011a). To tie in with the quantitative analysis again, we found 144 mentions of these three notions during the first few days following the broadcast (November 28 - December 3, 2011). We identified "Gør din pligt, krav din ret" 56 times, "Man skal yde, før man kan nyde" 59 times, and "Samfundet som et tag-selv-bord" 29 times, mainly containing the quote from Hækkerup.

The textual analysis of two newspaper articles from two politically different newspapers provides insights into the textual functions. On November 30, the day following the Carina interview, *Information* published a leading article regarding its evaluation of the possible consequences of the interview (Thorup, 2011). The tone evoked by the headline

"Welfare Junkies" (Velfærdsjunkier) is provocative. However, the article clarifies that this expression is not aimed at welfare receivers but instead at the Danish middle class. Following the headline's pattern, the first three sentences of the article are filled with expressive language. Sentences such as "Let's not hope that SF's spokesperson for social affairs, Özlem Cekiz, has managed to completely mess up the debate on poverty in Denmark with her hopelessly poorly prepared media stunt involving social welfare receiver Carina" reveal the sender's advocacy.

Table 3. Use of Related Expressions in Selected Newspapers Following the Initial Broadcast (Nov. 28 - Dec. 3, 2011)

Newspaper	Do your duty, demand your right ("Gør din pligt, kræ v din ret")	You have to give before you get ("Man skal yde, før man kan nyde")	Self-service society ("Samfundet som et tag-selv-bord")	Total
<i>Berlingske</i>	11	2	2	15
<i>BT</i>	1	2	2	5
<i>Ekstra Bladet</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Information</i>	1	1	0	2
<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>	12	2	1	15
<i>Politiken</i>	8	0	0	8
Other newspapers	22	52	24	98
Total	56	59	29	144

The next sentences are devoted to informative language by briefly introducing facts about poverty in Denmark (representative function). However, the focus quickly changes to the conative language function when the reader is urged to "take a look" ("tag blot et kig") at some of the concrete examples of poverty in Denmark. Unlike the expressive language function, the conative language function focuses on the readers of the article. The core of the article proposes a change in perspective. Instead of accusing the lower stratum of freeloading, the focus should be on the "welfare junkies" of the middle class. The specific case of Carina may be a misinterpretation of poverty, but it should not obfuscate the real issue.

It is from this perspective that the following series by *Information*, "Need help? Ask the state" (Behov for hjælp? Spørg staten), can be explained. The series can be interpreted as a play with the conative text function, because *Information* ironically prompts its middle class readers to freeload off the welfare state. The article's function can be categorized as destabilizing (Rolf, 1993). Destabilizing texts are intended to cause emotional irritation and attempt to change a certain matter of debate. In this case, *Information's* attempt to protest the hitherto dominant interpretation of the case and to focus on the middle class can be interpreted as a declaration of protest (Rolf, 1993) or even as a reprimand of the agents involved, including the readers. In this case, the one-sided interpretation of the TV debacle suggests that society, including the readers, is held responsible by the sender.

The second article analyzed was published in the more conservative *JP*. It was *JP's* first lead article reacting to the Carina broadcast, titled "The Poor" ("De fattige", *Jyllands-Posten*, 2011c). The language of the introduction is informative (representative function) because it provides the reader with an idea of some of the main features of the case and the politicians involved. The introduction also makes use of ironic expressive language, e.g., when addressing the "extreme penury" ("den yderste nød") in the "real world" ("den virkelige verden"). Expressive language provides a window of opportunity through which the sender can add a subjective attitude about a certain issue.

In this context, the language is used to clarify that the author does not condone the failed media initiative of introducing an allegedly poor single mother. The sender believes that "among certain people on welfare exists a sense of entitlement" (para. 6). The author appears to intend to remind people on welfare that they cannot demand their rights without performing their duties. The language function is conative, though non-binding, for the reader (Rolf, 1993); the reader engages voluntarily in the discussion out of curiosity. Overall, the article performs a stabilizing influence function (Rolf, 1993).

Stabilizing texts react to social irritation that causes distress among readers. The senders' intention is to compose unsettled readers. We argue that *JP's* lead article is stabilizing because it prompts the reader to accept that an

inefficient welfare state is prone to provide advantages to welfare receivers. The subtle appeal is for politicians to change this situation and to bring justice back to the upright, tax-paying man on the street. This approach, at least in the short term, may have a calming effect on readers and does not challenge the previous focus of the debate. Thus, the article cannot be viewed as a behavior-related text, because this type of text challenges its readers to abandon their "smugness" ("Selbstgefälligkeit", Rolf, 1993, p. 286). Despite the critical approach adopted by the article, it might have a soothing, affirmative effect on a merely conservative worldview. Overall, the article is framed differently from the one published in *Information*.

Discussion and Conclusion

We investigated whether the political and media linguistic interaction concerning the so-called "Carina case" can be interpreted as symbolic violence. Within the frame of this Bourdieusian concept, we argue for this perspective on the following grounds. Before the incident, in all six newspapers, the notion of "sense of entitlement" only appears four times in a Danish context. Furthermore, our frequency count identified the use of the notion of "sense of entitlement" in 272 cases in 145 published texts. We interpret this result as a sign that both media and political rhetoric has focused on citizens, more precisely, on a group of welfare-receivers perceived to be free-loading. This groups' representative, as chosen by politicians, was Carina. However, the notion of "sense of entitlement" implies that Carina and the group of people she represents sought the spotlight and attention for themselves, whereas in reality she became "a symbol for sense of entitlement without ever having asked for something in the press on her own initiative" (Lahme, 2012, para. 7).

We conclude that the notion has received public approval via its adoption by the media. Furthermore, we observe that *JP* and *Information* published special thematic sections relating to the topic. We conclude that newspapers from both sides of the political spectrum followed the political agenda to focus on welfare and a discussion—however critical that discussion may have been—of citizens' "sense of entitlement."

Qualitative content analysis shows that notions pointing to citizens' obligations toward the welfare state were used often in the aftermath of the evening show broadcast. The phrases "Do your duty, demand your right," "You have to give before you get," and "self-service society" all have a clearly accusatory tone; they imply that somebody does not do his duty, does not "give" but instead abuses the welfare state in a "self-service" manner. Because these notions are employed in discussions referring to the evening show broadcast, it becomes clear that they contribute to constructing a lower class with an attitude of entitlement. We further demonstrate how "Carina" and the "Carina case" have found their way into commonly used language as signifiers for welfare criticism. This example of political phrase-making is outstanding: "For a very long time it has been taboo to talk about the Carinas" (Joachim B. Olsen, cited in Daley, 2013). In this case, a citizen's first name is reinterpreted as a synonym for welfare beneficiaries, even welfare cadgers. It is noteworthy that a slightly alternative rhetoric is possible: *Politiken* refers to the incident as "Carinagate" (Rothenborg, 2011), thereby shifting the focus to the poorly prepared politicians.

Except for this attempt, by creating a "devil figure" the wording referring to the media incident and the following debate on welfare is classic scapegoating and blame avoidance rhetoric (Weaver, 1986, p. 374). The invoked problem is constructed as a problem of the people, more precisely, a greedy low stratum, rather than as a political problem. It could be argued that scapegoating was particularly easy in the given case because the representative agent (Carina) stood not only for a class with low capital but for gendered attitudes toward single mothers (for the concept of negative female capital, see Djerf-Pierre, 2005).

In their lead stories, *Information* and *JP* take opposing framing approaches to the case. *Information* reframes the discussion into a discussion of the middle classes as beneficiaries of the welfare state. This attempt to resist the dominant interpretation strengthens our stance on the discourse as symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is "exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 272). Even those agents (in this case, selected media, selected

scholars) critically opposing the mainstream interpretation of the events had to navigate within the given rhetoric (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and hence, the conservative stance that directed blame at the welfare receivers remains more powerful.

Language, in this case, is not only a means of communication but also an instrument of power and dominance; the creation of the notion of a "sense of entitlement" and the accompanying derogative "Carina"-related rhetoric used by politicians can be viewed as "signs of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed" (Bourdieu, 1991bc, p. 66). The types of people who participate in this public linguistic exchange should also be noted: politicians, journalists, and some (also critical) scholars, who negotiate the Carina-related lingo among themselves. The group in question, welfare receivers, is denied a platform for articulation. Indeed, it is a discussion about them, instead of with them.

We argue that this construction of freeloader lingo and the acceptance of such notions and expressions in journalistic and everyday language is symbolic violence. The reminder of the discussion is not its nuances and political facets but a collective memory of how a class of (legal but shamed) welfare receivers was exposed. Carina elaborates: "I would not have thought it would be like that, that people would write really mean things about a person they don't know. [...] I think this is crossing a line" (Bonde, 2011, p. 15). Because the spotlight on Carina's situation was used by politicians to discuss budget cuts, we can speak of successful agenda-building leading to class domination by politicians (Bourdieu, 1991a).

Limitations and Avenues for Future Research

The purpose of this article was to demonstrate the mechanism of symbolic violence in a research case at the interface of political rhetoric, agenda-building and framing. Selective evidence, as presented herein, was sufficient for this purpose. For an in-depth analysis of political source impact and the political within-field-differentiation between newspapers, a thorough, structured qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000) would be an appropriate tool. Future research may focus on how and by what medium scapegoating processes are perpetuated, supported, or encountered. Another important issue for future

research could be the potentially gendered dimension of this case. The fact that a single mother was targeted and that, consequently, the female name "Carina" has been ascribed a derogatory meaning may provide reason for closer inspection. Prior studies (originating outside of Denmark) have noted critical attitudes toward single mothers (DeJean, McGeorge, & Stone Carlson, 2012), and single-parent interest groups have criticized media for stigmatizing single parents (Gingerbread, 2014). The strong reaction toward the media incident described herein may be related to the involuntary protagonist's gender and gendered attitudes toward her social status.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Our analysis provides implications on a theoretical level and on a practical level. We demonstrated that the Bourdieusian perspective is appropriate for exploring rhetorical political agenda-building and scapegoating. Specifically, the combination of the concept of symbolic violence and Bourdieu's elaborations on the media and language were adequate for exploring our case. Although these parts of Bourdieu's work have not been explicitly connected, we demonstrate that they can be aligned. To paraphrase an expression by Bourdieu on language, we find that the politicians involved in this case assumed the roles of "judges" who "need say no more than 'I find you guilty,'" and we find the media to be the "agents and institutions which guarantee that the sentence will be executed" (Bourdieu, 1991b, p. 75).

On a practical level, we highlight the relevance of media ethics. Based on the insights of agenda-setting approaches (McCombs, 2014), we can assume that this coverage affects the audience perception of the national image of welfare receivers and the status of the welfare state in general (for similar assumptions, see Guojun et al., 2011). Refraining from adopting citizen-debasing notions such "Carina case" or "Carinas" to refer to welfare freeloaders is recommended. Once such expressions are connoted, it will be challenging even for critical media to question or even reinterpret them. Thus, every use will contribute to the spread of the expression and the further manifestation of its derogatory meaning. Similarly, expressions such as "sense of entitlement" and the associated

proverbs should be critically examined for their accusatory and blame-avoiding meaning before they are echoed.

In sum, we present a case of symbolic violence perpetrated by media and politicians. This paper contributes to the theoretical expansion of Bourdieusian theory and to the further discussion of the power of political language, as well as brings attention to the importance of media and communication ethics.

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Guardians of Chastity and Morality: A Century of Silence in Social Work

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Reflecting the social norms of the late 1800s and early 1900s, much of social work practice aimed to promote moral sexual behavior and penalize deviance. Even following the widespread adoption of psychoanalytic theory in the United States, social work persisted in having a poorly defined role with regard to issues of sexuality. In the 21st century, the profession continues to largely limit its involvement in matters of sexuality to those practice situations where deviance and public health concerns predominate. Limited topical exposure in peer-reviewed publications and the lack of broad-based human sexuality education for social workers perpetuate the invisibility of sexuality in the social work profession.

Key words: Sexuality, social work, history, prostitution, public health

Since social work's inception in the late 1800s, the profession has struggled to integrate sexuality as a normal part of the human condition. The social norms of the late 1800s and early 1900s promoted the preservation of chastity until marriage for both men and women, but such preservation was "indispensable in women and [only] desirable in men" (Addams, 1912, p. 210). Sexuality was viewed as private, but the societal concern that children might learn deviant behaviors led to misplaced efforts for changes in a woman's behaviors based on social morals. Early social workers were especially focused on a woman's participation in prostitution, extra-marital sex, and employment.

Following the emergence of Freud's psychodynamic theory

in the United States, and the eventual successful public health campaign regarding venereal disease, discussions related to sexuality assumed a more prominent place in society. Freud's influence could be noted in the writings and practices of many professions, however social work continued to struggle to fully integrate sexuality into practice with individuals, couples, families, groups, and communities.

Recent public discussions of sexuality in the United States have prompted political and social debates regarding what are considered "acceptable" sexual practices, be they personal, social, or educational. Nonetheless, content related to human sexuality is not well integrated into social work education and practice, and research and scholarly writings related to sexuality have had limited visibility in the profession's peer-reviewed journals. Beginning with the early writings of Jane Addams and Mary Richmond, this manuscript traces the profession's relationship with matters of human sexuality and links its history to current social work practice, research, and education. In the end, the argument is made for social workers to advance their knowledge of human sexuality, make human sexuality a matter of social work research, advocate for policies and practices that promote sexual health, and embrace sexuality as the timeless essential component of a healthy population.

Sexuality in the Time of Positive Environmentalism

Much discussion in the social work profession has focused on the competing philosophies of Jane Addams and Mary Richmond (Abramovitz, 1998; Franklin, 1986; Lundblad, 1995). However, analysis of their early writings reveals a shared philosophy regarding sexuality. Aligning with the societal view of sexuality as a private matter, the topic was rarely openly discussed during the course of their work (Addams, 1912, 1914; Richmond, 1912, 1922; Richmond & Hall, 1974). When sexuality was discussed, it was in the context of the perceived immoral behaviors that needed to be changed for the benefit of the individuals, their children, and the young people of the community. Discussions with clients (primarily women) also centered around risks for venereal disease, and other communicable diseases, perceived as being the result of immoral sexual behavior. Both Addams and Richmond used their

influence and skill to control the opportunities and resources available to their clients in effort to shape sexual and caregiving behaviors.

Both Addams and Richmond pointed to recreation as a mode for shaping appropriate behaviors. Recreation is a key component of the theory of positive environmentalism, which sought to implement changes in the environment to encourage proper moral development (Boyer, 1992). This philosophical approach was very popular among a variety of academic disciplines at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, including both Settlement House and Charity Organization Society leaders (Boyer, 1992). Those who considered themselves to be positive environmentalists sought to create a city where "objectionable patterns of behavior ... would gradually wither away" (Boyer, 1992, p. 221). Followers sought to create opportunities for positive recreation, such as parks and dance halls serving non-alcoholic beverages, and gently guide community members towards those activities. Extreme measures such as prohibition were to be avoided; the preferred strategy was to provide options that would be viewed as equally desirable and then naturally and eventually lead to the closure of saloons and brothels (Boyer, 1992; Calkins, 1919).

Addams and Richmond shared the view that sexual immorality could be unlearned (Addams, 1912; Richmond & Hall, 1974). As a result, these women purposely set out to prevent the next generation from participating in immoral sexual activities. Holding to their differences in their separate efforts, Addams tended to focus her work on the community and Richmond on individual behavior.

Jane Addams' Approach to Shaping Appropriate Recreation

Jane Addams advocated for the creation of "small parks, municipal gymnasiums, and schoolrooms open for recreation" in an effort to prevent young people from participating in inappropriate activities (Addams, 1914, p. 351). She acknowledged the human being's innate need for companionship, affection, and adventure, which she believed could be easily misguided in urban cities that more often offered moral isolation (Addams, 1912). Addams called for the creation of

appropriate outlets for the expression of these innate needs in an effort to shape moral behavior and reduce the opportunity for moral isolation.

Addams described the dangers lurking in public dance halls "and even darker places" where immoral behavior was encouraged through the guise of innocent enjoyment of music and dancing (Addams, 1914, p. 350). Addams advocated for change in the regulation of alcohol in saloons and the prohibition of alcohol in dance halls, believing that alcohol increased the likelihood for immoral sexual activity and for a woman's entry into prostitution, and she advocated for a public education campaign to warn of the strong connection between the two (Addams, 1912). Addams believed it is the responsibility of society to regulate an individual's alcohol consumption, a sentiment representative of the positive environmentalism framework for which Addams is known (Addams, 1912).

Settlement Houses, typically located in areas with large immigrant populations, were designed to provide an outlet for appropriate recreation and adventure, offering opportunities for education, employment, and appropriate fellowship with neighbors. Social workers were concerned about young people's interest in "cheap pleasure" and attraction to immoral establishments; as a result, one of the primary functions of Hull House was to provide "opportunities for clean recreation ... [including] dancing parties with soft drinks established in its foyer" (Addams, 1914, p. 349). Addams operated under the assumption of there being a strong link between inappropriate recreation and immoral sexual activities. The relationship of this "clean recreation" to appropriate moral activities is clear in her description of the rules guiding the dancing events: excluding anyone under the influence of alcohol, forbidding dancing that could lead to sexual activity, and setting a closing time that discouraged late night, immoral, activities (Addams, 1914).

While Addams' approach may now be viewed as manipulative and perhaps even paternalistic, in her time it was viewed as a necessary means of assuring social control and justice in a very crowded, urban community, characterized by chaos (Trattner, 1999). Her approach was also a preventive community-based approach, where social work services were

provided to large groups of people at the same time and where opportunities for neighbors to form natural support systems were presented (Trattner, 1999).

Jane Addams' Focus on the "White Slave Trade"

Although forthright discussions of sexuality issues were not part of Addams' practice, she clearly felt a particular passion for preventing young women from becoming victims of the white slave trade. In her book, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, Addams detailed her beliefs about the "white slave trade(r)" (1912, p. 21) and the "commercialized vice" (p. 9) of prostitution. Addams (1912) wrote of young immigrant women "imported from abroad" (p. 17), non-English speaking, unable to navigate the city, and unaware of U.S. customs. She also wrote of young "country girls" who came to the city from rural communities and who were quickly "recruited into a disreputable life" (Addams, 1912, p. 145).

Addams did not place the blame for these innocent victims' entry into commercialized sex solely on individual choices and pathology, noting the "revelation of the dangers implicit in city conditions and of the allurements which are designedly placed around many young girls in order to draw them into an evil life" (Addams, 1912, p. ix). Her writings indicate a belief that these girls are innately moral, but are unable to resist temptation due to their innocent rural upbringing. She remarks on their lack of "social restraint," and when living in a smaller community their understanding that "any suspicion of immorality would quickly ruin [their] social standing" (Addams, 1912, p. 213). To save the innocent victims of commercialized sex, Addams committed to changing the environment to eliminate the moral isolation that the city offered and called on society to impose stricter regulations on alcohol (Addams, 1912).

Addams identified a difference between the innocent victims of the white slave trade and street prostitutes who were "hardened by long practice" and no longer victims (Addams, 1912, p. 47). Addams additionally viewed prostitution as a learned behavior: street prostitutes make young girls more susceptible to being recruited into the white slave trade and young men learn to perpetuate the demand. As a remedy, she called for the streets to be cleared of the women choosing to

engage in street prostitution, as a way of preventing innocent young boys and girls from being exposed to the behavior: "At least this obvious temptation to young men and boys who are idly walking the streets might be avoided.... Were the streets kept clear, many young girls would be spared the familiar knowledge that such a method of earning money is open to them" (Addams, 1912, p. 48).

Mary Richmond on Sexuality

Mary Richmond, distinguished for her leadership within the Charity Organization Society (COS) movement, charged her "friendly visitors" with providing monetary relief to poor widows through the Aid to Dependent Children program (Handler & Hasenfeld, 2007). In line with the Christian moral underpinnings of the era, virtuous behavior was expected in exchange for the receipt of aid. The burden of proof to substantiate the judgment of immorality was very low, and even perceived immoral behavior could threaten a family's benefits. The belief that immoral sexual behavior should be curtailed was so strong that at times neighbors were recruited to monitor the behavior of unmarried women who were to be discouraged from engaging in sex (Wahab, 2002).

Like Addams, Richmond wrote about the importance of recreation in the enjoyment of life, and stressed to the friendly visitors that recreation be included in their family assessments. Richmond advocated for manipulation of a person's recreational activities in the effort to improve their social condition (Richmond, 1912), an effort that stems from Richmond's belief that improper recreation, such as trips to the saloon and gambling, is common among the poor, whose "down-trodden, sordid life ... wastes itself upon unworthy and degrading pleasures" (Richmond, 1912, p. 127). While her push for recreational activities is in line with the ideals of positive environmentalism, Richmond tended to focus her interventions on individuals and families, not on the recreation available in the community.

Richmond's attitudes regarding sexuality and the mother's role in shaping appropriate moral character are evident in her work with families. As part of the assessment process when working with widowed mothers, friendly visitors were

to include discussions about work hours and taking in boarders. Women were directed by their friendly visitors to avoid early morning and late evening office cleaning as a form of employment, because it "leads them by saloons and other temptations" (Richmond & Hall, 1974, p. 21). Concerns were expressed that women would either be tempted to engage in immoral activity, or that merely being seen walking near such a business would be perceived by others as being immoral. In fact, financial assistance could be made conditional on quitting such a job (Richmond & Hall, 1974). If alternative employment was not immediately available, or if the friendly visitor found through her assessment that it would be more beneficial for the woman to be at home with her children, additional financial relief would be provided to lessen the woman's burden (Richmond & Hall, 1974).

Richmond and the COS closely monitored any boarders that lived in the homes of single and widowed women. Richmond writes, "for moral reasons it has been the general policy of the Societies to discourage the keeping of male boarders or lodgers other than relatives" (Richmond & Hall, 1974, p. 29). A woman's natural sexuality and desire for intimacy and companionship were not acknowledged by Richmond, and in fact a widowed woman was penalized through the withholding of financial relief if it was perceived that she was engaged in a sexual relationship, since by definition she was no longer married. Richmond additionally wrote of the need for the COS to remove children from the home of women determined to have engaged in sexually immoral behaviors because they were "exerting a very bad influence over [their] children" (Richmond & Hall, 1974, p. 34).

Katharine Bement Davis' Sexuality Research

Addams and Richmond were not the only professionals endeavoring to shape or perhaps even control women's sexuality in the early 1900s; at this same time female prison administrator and political figure Katharine Bement Davis was also actively engaged in research and practice related to human sexuality. Though referred to by some as a social worker, Davis is more often identified as a sociologist and criminologist (Deegan, 2003) and is known for her

contributions to sexuality research during this same time. Her entry into social service work began in 1892 when she assumed the head worker position at Denison House, a settlement house in Philadelphia (Deegan, 1988, 2003). Soon after, Davis returned to school and earned a doctoral degree in political economy and sociology (Deegan, 2003), and immediately after, Davis was appointed superintendent of the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills, which provided an alternative to traditional incarceration for young women between 16 and 30 years of age who were capable of reform and had not previously been convicted of a felony (Deegan, 2003; Kneeland & Davis, 1913).

Many of the young women inmates at Bedford Hills during this time had been arrested for prostitution, which at the time only had to be suspected and might include behaviors such as flirtatiousness and premarital sex (Bowler, Leon, & Lilley, 2013). Davis believed young women in the reformatory could be re-educated through "progressive education" (p. 22) to change behaviors that resulted in their incarceration (Deegan, 2003). These young women were engaged in curative outdoor work, reflective of the positive environmentalism movement of the time, and also received basic academic education and sex hygiene instruction, and they were required to participate in religious activities (Bowler et al., 2013; Deegan, 2003; Kneeland & Davis, 1913).

In an attempt to understand the physical, mental, moral, and social makeup of the women sentenced to Bedford Hills, the Bureau of Social Hygiene, of which Davis was a member, established the Laboratory of Social Hygiene adjacent to the reformatory (Kneeland & Davis, 1913). Observations, case records, and indirect reports formed the basis for Davis' first sexuality study of 647 women who had been engaged in prostitution and committed to Bedford Hills (Kneeland & Davis, 1913). The study sought to comprehensively describe the women's familial and personal backgrounds, physical and mental health status, sexual offense history, and motivations for entering into prostitution. Interestingly, Davis' findings (Kneeland & Davis, 1913) were contradictory to statements made by Addams: she identified alcohol use as a "consequence rather than a cause of a life of prostitution" (p. 185) and refuted

the belief that "the ranks of prostitution are recruited from country girls brought to the city for the purpose of immorality" (p. 183).

Following her tenure at Bedford Hills, Davis began a large study that focused on the physical and mental aspects of sex in "normal" (p. ix) women (Davis, 1929). This large sexuality study was both controversial and novel, as it targeted sexual behaviors traditionally regarded to be private, and included both married and unmarried women (Deegan, 2003). The questionnaire included the topics of contraception, masturbation, sexual desire, frequency of sexual activity, homosexuality, and fertility (Davis, 1929). This was the first known study of sexual behavior in women that focused on normalizing sexuality and is evidence of the movement from a moralistic approach to a more scientific one. Her work has been cited by hundreds of scholars, including notable sex researcher Alfred Kinsey and psychologist Abraham Maslow.

Prostitution as a Public Health Concern

An increased focus on personal cleanliness, inoculation, cures, and identification and segregation of carriers of illness followed the discovery of the "germ" in the 1870s (Trattner, 1999). The complicated relationship between poverty and communicable disease did not go unnoticed and was the focus of both public health and social work efforts (Trattner, 1999). A syphilis diagnosis carried additional moral implications due to sex being regarded as a private matter, and this emphasis on privacy made it difficult to launch a widespread campaign in the early 1900s to reduce the spread of venereal diseases. Instead, doctors, nurses and social workers provided individual education about these conditions, and consequently, both Addams and Richmond began to consider this public health threat in shaping their practice strategies.

Addams stressed the existence of a strong link between prostitution and communicable diseases. She remarked "the social evil is directly responsible for germ diseases more prevalent than any of the others," and that the medical profession had been called throughout history to "control the diseases resulting from the commercialized vice" (Addams, 1912, p. 182).

While Addams herself regarded sex as private, she blamed the various institutions in society for refusing to discuss the matter publicly, thereby contributing to the spread of disease. It may be that her desire to protect innocent people from contracting venereal disease was an exception to sexual privacy, seen when Addams spoke of young children infected as a result of incest and women infected as a result of their husbands' extra-marital sex (Addams, 1912).

Mary Richmond said very little about syphilis in her early writings, with one notable exception, when she described a discussion had with a young woman with syphilis. Richmond applauds a friendly visitor's willingness to be "honest and frank" in informing this young woman about the frequent reasons behind a syphilis infection (Richmond, 1922, p. 40). Like Addams, the friendly visitor linked syphilis infection to "promiscuity" (Richmond, 1922, p. 41).

During the last decades of the 1800s and first decades of the 1900s, syphilis was primarily identified as a disease related to promiscuity and prostitution, and a disease that persisted among the poor, who were thought more likely to engage in immoral behavior. The public did not fully accept a public health campaign regarding venereal disease until decades later, but small strides were made along the way, in part because of Freud's influential theory of psychosexual development and the more frequent appearance of the disease in the middle and upper classes.

The Influences of Psychodynamic Theory on Sexuality

Sigmund Freud was the first to explore the role of the unconscious and childhood experiences on behavior, as well as the connection between external experiences and a person's inner psyche (Goldstein, 1995; Perlman, 1957). His psychosexual development theory and his hypotheses about the impact of sexual experiences on personality development, and the role of psychosexual development in children, provided an opportunity for the development of a new view of sexuality in the United States (Cannon, 1952; Jones, 1910).

In the public health arena, Freud's work provided impetus for discussions of sexuality and opened the way to a successful

public education campaign about syphilis. After an educational public health talk show was cancelled due to the proposed topic being syphilis, the New York Commissioner of Public Health was finally successful in his efforts to force the discussion of syphilis through the publication of a series of articles in the *Reader's Digest* in 1936 (Cannon, 1952). At nearly the same time syphilis was featured in an issue of *The Ladies Home Journal*, and the *Journal* also used its coverage of the disease in advertisements as a way to bring in subscriptions (Locke, 1939). These examples may indicate society's increased tolerance for discussions about syphilis, and it is similarly likely this tolerance was related to the emerging practice of psychoanalysis, the war-time sexual exploits of soldiers, and the unavoidable realization that syphilis could no longer be considered a disease of the poor. Ultimately, a successful public education campaign ensued and resulted in an awareness of venereal diseases that encouraged treatment and the generation of risk reduction strategies.

In the field of education, some practitioners foresaw the usefulness of shaping the sexual development of young children to prevent future deviance and used psychosexual theory as an argument for providing sex education in the school setting (Foster, 1911; Jones, 1910). Jones (1910) suggested that shaping the sexual development of children in the classroom should be a primary role of a teacher. Foster advanced the idea that "healthy mental life depends upon proper enlightenment and training in sexual matters, especially in very early life" (Foster, 1911, p. 441). Both called for sexuality to no longer be framed negatively, and for educators to include sexual education in their curricula to impress proper sexual development upon children as young as kindergarten age. Their interest in psychodynamic theory and psychosexual development was early in the timeline of public acceptance, and there was much pushback from parents and the larger society that sex education would "corrupt the morals of youth" and encourage sexual activity (Carter, 2001, p. 225). This opposition peaked between 1913 and 1918, but then fell quiet, as education became a necessary function for combating venereal disease (Carter, 2001).

In assessing the determinants of sexual behavior that occurred outside of societal norms, some professionals in

psychology and psychiatry moved from viewing sexual behavior in the context of morality, to viewing any sexual deviance as resulting from unconscious childhood conflicts. Sociologist Harvey Locke (1939) wrote about this increased attention on sex, stating it "is an object to be looked at openly and discussed frankly" (p. 842). Social work, however, remained stoic in its approach to sexuality, a subject left largely unexplored in the field.

Social Work's Relatively Unchanged Views Regarding Sexuality

The social work literature up to and through the 1950s contains little reference to sexuality or sexual behavior. In one exception, the case of a prostitute "Rita" was presented in detail by one social caseworker, Ruth Openshaw Cowell (1946). Influenced by Freud, Cowell presents prostitution as the product of the "compromised adjustment of a disturbed person" and names it a "complicated personality problem" (Cowell, 1946, p. 525). Cowell includes an assessment of Rita's early psychosexual development and declares that her "unresolved Oedipal relationships" are responsible for her involvement in prostitution (Cowell, 1946, p. 529). In her detailed report, Cowell refers to Rita's first attempt at accessing services, when the original social worker avoided Rita's desire to discuss sexuality and instead suggested church membership (Cowell, 1946). This may represent the view of most caseworkers at the time, evidenced by the lack of literature acknowledging sexuality, even when working with prostitutes.

Another social worker, Jane Judge (1951), discussed the influence of psychosexual factors in casework with unmarried mothers in an article that appeared in the popular journal *Social Casework*, which she presented at the National Conference of Social Work in 1950. Judge presented "Miss A," and provided a detailed discussion of the sexual behaviors that resulted in Miss A's pregnancy, and the role that her early psychosexual development and education was thought to have played in it (Judge, 1951).

In the early 1950s, the attitude toward unmarried mothers was marked by harsh judgment. Most women concealed their

pregnancies and many would leave their small communities to escape judgment and seek help and anonymity in large cities (Judge, 1951). Judge suggested that social workers assess their own personal views regarding unmarried mothers, pointing to the difficulty many social workers faced in separating their moral views from their desire to help.

Even medical social workers, surrounded by psychiatrists who were firmly rooted in psychoanalytic thought, continued to view sexuality through a moral lens. Ida Cannon and other hospital social workers worked with patients to address the social aspects of their disease, but left discussions about sexual behavior and minimizing disease transmission to the purview of physicians or nurses (Cannon, 1938). This is not to say that social workers did not play an important role in the treatment of syphilis patients. Indeed, they were often responsible for linking patients to outside financial, employment, and housing resources, helping patients accept the limitations resulting from their illness, and working with patients who were not compliant with treatment (Cannon, 1938; Clapp, 1943). Any discussion about sexual behavior, though, was left to those in the medical profession.

One of the most interesting revelations about sex and social work between 1930 and 1950 is found in the Smith College *Studies in Social Work* journal, which provided a space for graduating MSW students at Smith College of Social Work to present their thesis work. Publication decisions were made by the editors rather than through a peer-review process, thus it is interesting to consider the number of theses related to sexuality that were written and published in this journal. Smith's focus at the time was on psychiatric social work, which was strongly influenced at the time by Freudian theory (Hartman, 1986). Of note is that the research student authors contributed to the journal is dissimilar in focus to publications of the same period that appeared in popular, peer-reviewed, social work journals. While these students' manuscripts were rarely cited in social work journals, they were cited frequently in journals belonging to psychology and psychiatry. Whether articles that delved into the roles of sexuality and psychosexual development were not favored in the social work peer review process or whether the students simply did not submit their writings to

those journals is unknown. What is known is that some social workers were writing about sexuality, but for one reason or another sexuality did not become a common focus of concern within the profession.

The Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality

The attempts to engage the profession in discussions about human sexuality, regardless of context, appear to have had few lasting effects on the profession as a whole. Gochros (1970) authored the first peer-reviewed journal article that called for the integration of human sexuality education as part of the regular social work curriculum. Following this monumental piece, Gochros and Schultz (1972) edited a book focused on the role of human sexuality in social work practice. The book contains twenty-six separate applications of human sexuality within a variety of social work settings, including policy development and analysis. This movement had some success in that by 1975, 55 graduate schools of social work offered courses in human sexuality (Shore, 1982).

In the first issue of the *Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality* in 1982, Shore premises its creation on the knowledge that social workers are "actively engaged" with clients who report sexual concerns, that there are issues regarding sexuality that are "particularly idiosyncratic to the field of social work," and that there is a "dearth of material" available to social workers on issues dealing with human sexuality (Shore, 1982, p. xi). Shore additionally points to the lack of scholarly literature available in the social work journals regarding sexuality and questions whether this is due to social workers not writing and submitting articles, or the refusal of journals to publish manuscripts with a sexuality focus.

The Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality included articles on topics including sexual abuse, HIV/AIDS, human sexuality education for social workers, sexuality across the lifespan, and sexuality among various populations (aging, disabled, institutionalized, women, etc.). The breadth of topic areas assured application to many areas in which social workers were working, but even after these works were made available there was little inclusion of manuscripts focused on

human sexuality in the larger, more highly regarded journals. In the end, the *Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality* did not survive; its last volume was released in 1993.

A search on Google Scholar for "*Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality*" reveals many citations of its articles in later research, which at first glance might indicate interest in sexuality within the social work profession, however the articles were generally only cited in journals belonging to psychology, psychiatry, and medicine. These articles are not available in full-text on Google Scholar, PsychInfo database, or all EbscoHost databases. In order to access its sexuality-rich content, one must have access to an academic library to secure print copies of the *Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality*.

This bold attempt to integrate human sexuality into the social work profession, and the timely but unfortunate emergence of HIV/AIDS in the United States, had an impact on the scholarly literature. Larger, more widely available social work journals began to publish articles discussing the social "problems" that emerge as a result of sexuality issues, namely prostitution, homosexuality, and AIDS. Still, sexuality as a normal, healthy, personal, relational, and positive part of every person, remains a topic largely neglected in the social work literature.

Human Sexuality and Social Work in the Last 30 Years

Over the last thirty years, social work's approach to human sexuality has been inconsistent. Manuscripts detailing the influence of sexuality on human behavior and social problems have been primarily published in journals focused on health or women's issues, but articles are beginning to be seen in generalist practice and research journals as well. While the National Association of Social Workers (2012) issued a policy statement regarding the need for policies and services related to teenage pregnancy prevention, HIV/AIDS prevention, and access to contraception, sexuality education is not required by the Council on Social Work Education, providing no standard for competence, or comfort, for social workers in discussing issues related to human sexuality with clients.

In practice, sexuality is not typically discussed as a normal part of the human condition, but rather more often from a

reactionary approach, as seen in the literature on prostitution, sexual offending, and HIV/AIDS (Williams, Prior, & Wegner, 2013). Not unlike the syphilis crisis in the early 1900s, the emergence of HIV and AIDS in the 1980s created a health crisis in the United States. Panic ensued for much of society, and fear and moral judgment guided the initial opinions regarding the disease and its victims (Shilts, 2007). Men who have sex with men (MSM) were blamed for the appearance of the disease, and there was widespread concern that these "deviants" would spread the disease to the morally appropriate members of society (Shilts, 2007). Societal responses ranged from panic to ignoring the problem, and social workers were among those divided in their approach.

In the first decade of HIV/AIDS, social workers were faced with fears related to HIV transmission, homosexuality, discomfort with death and dying, and moral conflict (Lockhart & Wodarski, 1989; Wiener & Siegel, 1990). A study of nearly 200 MSW and BSW hospital social workers demonstrated the strong moral dilemma faced by many who worked closely with those who tested positive for HIV. Study respondents reported feeling more comfort when working with a hemophiliac infected with HIV than with a person identified as homosexual (Wiener & Siegel, 1990). One respondent found it "hard to relate to the life-style of gays or drug addicts" and to "adequately offer [gays and drug addicts] emotional support" (Wiener & Siegel, 1990, p. 21).

During this same period, some social workers engaged in what was considered "radical" advocacy by providing education about cleaning IV needles and condom use, and the formation of a public education campaign that eroticized safe sex (Shernoff, 1990). Today, social workers and case managers funded through the Ryan White Care Act engage in similar practices, ranging from providing condoms and demonstrating appropriate use of them, to engaging in explicit discussions regarding sexual behaviors and risk reduction strategies. While the goal of the program is to increase treatment adherence and decrease transmission, it is done through a sex-positive approach (Williams, Prior, & Wegner, 2013) that normalizes sex and is accepting of different expressions of sexuality.

Commercialized sex work has elicited varied reactions from social workers. There are perceived differences

between human trafficking and prostitution, reminiscent of Jane Addams' distinctions between the white slave trade and street prostitution (Addams, 1912; Rand, 2014). In the 1970s, the violence against women movement included human trafficking as one of its issues, and public attention to it increased (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012). Victims of human trafficking are seen as needing to be rescued (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012). Conversely, society views the women and men who stand on street corners selling their bodies as deviants, drug addicts, and willing participants in immoral sexual behavior (Jenness, 1990). Weiner (1996) additionally describes "street girls" as "occupy[ing] the bottom rung in the hierarchy of prostitutes" (p. 98). Society's response is often to criminalize the behavior.

Many social workers view sex work as a form of oppression that enslaves women (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012), and social work with women who are engaged in prostitution is generally focused on providing the women with social services to help them exit the commercialized sex trade (Rand, 2014; Weiner, 1996). Weiner (1996) wrote of the obligation of social workers to help "reintegrate [prostitutes] into society" (p. 104). Alternatively, some efforts are made to empower men and women who voluntarily choose sex work, to be proud of their sexuality, and so advocate for decriminalization and protection of prostitutes' rights (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012; Jenness, 1990). Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE), a national advocacy group founded in 1973, advocates for the "repeal of all existing prostitution laws, the reconstitution of prostitution as a credible service occupation, and the protection of prostitutes' rights as legitimate workers" (Jenness, 1990, p. 403). Social workers are among those who are active participants in this campaign.

Wahab (2004), a social worker involved with COYOTE, completed a qualitative research study with women who are engaged in commercialized sex work. Participants in this study reported a desire for social workers to be supportive and empowering of sex workers, rather than judgmental and focused on changing their behavior (Wahab, 2004). Some social workers are beginning to experiment with a sex-positive approach that focuses on individual empowerment and strengths (Williams et al., 2013). Sexuality is rarely addressed in education and job training, leaving most social workers

unprepared for discussions that arise with clients. Social workers routinely have to deal with individual moral and value conflicts, creating uncertainty and discomfort in practice.

Moving Forward: Integrating Sexuality in Social Work Practice

One hundred years after the reign of the friendly visitors and the settlement houses, discussions of sexuality still largely spring from the place of moral judgment, dichotomized into what is right and what is wrong. Further, what is right in and about human sexuality continues to suffer short shrift in the equation. While ideas about what is morally appropriate have changed, society remains divided in its opinions about LGBT identity and, even though now a constitutional right (*Obergefell v. Hodges*, 2015), about same-sex marriage. Religious texts are used to present arguments for or against governmental policies regulating sexuality, including homosexuality, contraception, and abortion.

It is imperative that social workers appreciate and integrate human sexuality into their practice. Humans are sexual beings, and sex is not just about reproduction; nor should the focus of social work remain primarily on prostitution, disease transmission, and risk reduction. Normatively, much of what was once considered deviant is now socially acceptable or at least better tolerated (Finer & Philbin, 2014; Freud, 1999). Women are not "shunned" or forced to hide in institutions for engaging in premarital sex or having children outside of marriage. Masturbation is no longer blamed for causing a multitude of psychiatric disorders (Freud, 1999). Teenage pregnancy has found a place in popular reality TV shows. Parents may even express concern if their child, as a young adult, has not yet engaged in sexual relations (Freud, 1999).

As social workers, we must examine our own beliefs regarding sexuality, be prepared to expand our competence to work in this basic area of human need and expression, and integrate an emphasis on sexual health into our everyday practice. Organizational policies, state and federal laws, and the religious institutions that are dominant forces in the United States, may at times restrict social workers' ability to discuss

sexuality with clients. As such, social workers need education regarding integrating sexuality into their practice, acknowledging that moral and political norms may limit the extent of their interventions.

The inclusion of a course in human sexuality is not required by the Council on Social Work Education, though some undergraduate and graduate programs offer such a course as an elective. Social workers who work with populations where attention to sexuality is imperative in the treatment (e.g., persons living with HIV/AIDS, teenage parents) may receive sexuality education through on-the-job training, but sexuality is not unique to these client populations. Social workers in all settings are likely to find situations where knowledge of and comfort in exploring sexuality will be beneficial. The profession must acknowledge the impact of sexuality on our practice and indeed, on our society as a whole, and be prepared to fully engage in the conversations required to make healthy sexuality synonymous with healthy people in the 21st century.

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