

Probation officers in Turkey

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Probation officers in Turkey:

The relevance of attitudes toward offenders

Ayşe Esra Ersayan

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**Probation officers in Turkey:
The relevance of attitudes toward offenders**

DISSERTATION

To obtain the degree of Doctor at the Maastricht University,
on the authority of the Rector Magnificus, Prof. dr. Pamela Habibović
in accordance with the decision of the Board of Deans,
to be defended in public on,
Wednesday 21 September 2022, at 10:00 hours

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To my dearest Ece and Ata

Preface

This dissertation is based on the following papers:

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Tuncer, A. E., Broers, N. J., Ergin, M., & de Ruiter, C. (2018). The association of gender role attitudes and offense type with public punitiveness toward male and female offenders. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice, 55*, 70-79.
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¹ Formerly Tuncer, A. E.

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List of Abbreviations

ATP	Attitudes Toward Prisoners Scale (Melvin et al., 1985)
DENGE	Denetimli Serbestlik Gençlik Programı-Youth Probation Program
JPO	Juvenile probation officer
MBI	Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981)
MI	Motivational Interviewing
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PO	Probation officer
RNR	Risk-Need-Responsivity
SIT	Stress Inoculation Training
TMJ	Turkish Ministry of Justice



Chapter 1

General Introduction

Probation is a community-based sanction that was originally designed as an alternative to incarceration (Phelps, 2013). It became part of the criminal justice system in many countries in North and South America, Europe, Asia and Africa in the early 1900s, but its history can be traced back to the voluntary activities of Augustus in the United States and Hill in the United Kingdom in the mid-1800s (Vanstone, 2008). Their humanistic approach to delinquent children and adults formed the basis of probation as an alternative to punishment. The first formalization of probation services was introduced by the *Probation of Offenders Act 1907* of the UK parliament. For offenses with a trivial nature, the Act allowed the court to release an offender on probation. The Act stated that the court could also appoint a probation officer (PO) who would “advise, assist or befriend” the offender. As such, the Act was the first to formally introduce probation officers to courts (Gard, 2007). Today, as generally practiced, probation is a community-based program under the supervision of a probation officer that is mostly applied following or instead of imprisonment.

John Augustus is acknowledged as the first probation officer (both adult and juvenile) in history (Latessa & Allen, 1997). What started with him as a rehabilitation-oriented practice has gone through major reforms over the decades. With the rising “get tough” movement in the early 1990’s, as a response to the criticism of rehabilitative ideals, POs’ role shifted from rehabilitation toward law enforcement (Hsieh et al., 2015). Rigorous research documenting the ineffectiveness of punitive interventions in reducing recidivism, and the successful implementation of a number of rehabilitation-based programs in the following years, initiated another shift toward a combined role (Lowenkamp et al., 2010; Taxman, 2002). Today, most POs are “hybrid officers” who blend social work and law enforcement in their practices, showing an orientation toward rehabilitation and punishment, respectively (Klockars, 1972; Grattet et al., 2018).

Measuring the effectiveness of probation services on reducing reoffending has been difficult, because there was no standardization in the methods and philosophies of their implementation (Pearson et al., 2011). Earlier findings demonstrated the ineffectiveness of intensive probationary supervision practices on reducing reoffending (Petersilia & Turner, 1993). The introduction of the risk-need-responsivity (RNR)

approach to offender rehabilitation showed promising effects, with an emphasis on supervision according to the risk level of the probationer while targeting criminogenic needs in a way that matches his/her learning style (Andrews et al., 1990; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Intensive supervision practices targeting high-risk offenders resulted in 10-30% reduction in recidivism rates (Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005). There is now agreement among scholars on the effectiveness of evidence-based intervention programs on criminal recidivism rates (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Lipsey, 2009; Piquero et al., 2010).

Juvenile Probation

Initially, the US juvenile justice system rested on the principle of “state as parent” (Sanborn, 2001), with an emphasis on the education, treatment, and skill building of juvenile offenders (Small & Torres, 2001). With the general shift in the philosophy of the system and the perceived increase in juvenile crime rates in the 1980s and 1990s, the “rehabilitation” model of the juvenile justice system moved to a more punitive one (Butts & Mears, 2001). In many states, juveniles were transferred to adult courts for trial with an increased probability of severe sanctions, such as incarceration (Butts & Mears, 2001). Many studies have shown that incarceration of juveniles is highly ineffective and actually increases recidivism rates (Lambie & Randell, 2013). While some states still adhere to the strict laws that allow for harsh sanctions for juvenile offenders, most juvenile justice systems maintain rehabilitation as their main goal (Juvenile Law Center, 2019). Contemporary juvenile probation has embraced a balanced approach by protecting public safety and rehabilitating the youth, while holding them accountable for their offenses (Howell, 2003).

The literature on the effectiveness of juvenile probation on reducing reoffending reveals mixed findings. For first-time offenders, in-home probation is found to be twice as effective as probation camps (Ryan et al., 2014). A study with 264 juvenile delinquents in Spain has shown that probation is more effective than incarceration in reducing recidivism as an adult (Villanueva & Cuervo, 2018). However, several other studies have found very little effect of standard probation or no effect of intensive probation on the reduction of juvenile recidivism rates (for a review, see Lane et al, 2005). Further research has revealed that the most salient factor in the success of a

probation program is the use of evidence-based practices (Ryan et al., 2014; Villanueva & Cuervo, 2018), especially those based on a rehabilitative ideal (Lipsey, 2009). In the meta-analysis with 548 juvenile offenders, mostly from the US, Lipsey (2009) found an 8% increase in recidivism rates when punitive approaches were employed. On the other hand, rehabilitation-oriented interventions, such as counseling and skill-building, resulted in a 10–13% reduction in recidivism. Negative effects of deterrence and disciplinary strategies have also been found in other studies (MacKenzie & Farrington, 2015).

Juvenile Probation Officers (JPOs) play a critical role in the success of a juvenile's probation period. Consistent with the historical journey of the probation system, JPOs' primary goal started with rehabilitation of the juvenile offenders. This philosophy took a sharp turn with the rise of the "get tough" movement in the early 1970s (Cullen et al., 1993). The approach of the juvenile justice system shifted from helping young people to punishing them (Butts & Mears, 2001). The number of juveniles incarcerated in adult prisons in the US more than quadrupled from 1983 to 1998 (Austin et al., 2000). In accordance with this shift, JPOs started embracing more punitive methods to prevent juveniles from reoffending (Fulton et al., 1997). Today, JPOs embrace a balanced approach, giving both rehabilitation and punishment equal weight (Lopez & Russell, 2008). However, punitive programs, such as 'Scared Straight' and 'military style boot camps', continue to remain popular among the general public (Maahs & Pratt, 2017).

Attitudes Toward Probationers

Negative attitudes towards offenders among the general public and criminal justice actors have been documented in several studies (Kjelsberg et al., 2007; Kugler et al., 2013; Melvin et al., 1985). Negative public attitudes toward offenders have been found to have links with how governmental criminal justice policies inclined toward more punitiveness (Welch, 2011). How strictly POs treat probationers (Ricks et al., 2016), how leniently prison staff deal with prisoners (Kelly, 2014), or how harshly offenders are sentenced in courts (Goodman-Delahunty & Sporer, 2010) is associated with attitudes of these actors towards offenders.

Limited research on PO and JPO attitudes towards probationers has shown that some officers prefer either a more punitive or a more rehabilitative role over the other, while some balance both (Ricks & Eno Loudon, 2015; Skeem & Manchak, 2008). Evidence has shown more favorable outcomes of rehabilitative than punitive strategies for juvenile (Lipsey, 2009; MacKenzie & Farrington, 2015) and adult probationers (Harper & Hardy, 2000), while a balanced approach has been shown to result in lower recidivism rates than a punitive or rehabilitative role in adult (Skeem et al., 2007) and juvenile (Griffin & Torbet, 2002) probation settings.

The Turkish Probation System

The criminal justice system in Turkey has gone through major reforms since the mid-2000s, including the enactment of the Turkish New Criminal and Criminal Procedures Codes, followed by judicial reform packages, in an attempt to meet EU requirements (Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, 2021). The final one of these reforms was the introduction of the probation system. The basic aim of the Turkish probation system is to provide a community-based rehabilitation alternative to incarceration in order to prevent reoffending and protect society (Turkish Ministry of Justice [TMJ], 2019). It also serves the duties of monitoring compliance to the court orders and assisting courts in the decision process by preparing social investigation reports that include information about the defendant and suggestions for the services appropriate to his/her needs (Eryalçın et al., 2021; Kamer, 2008; Mandıracı, 2015; Yavuz, 2012). Collaboration of the probation system with NGO's and public institutions in providing rehabilitative services for and the reintegration of the probationers aims at reducing recidivism. While doing so, the main principles of probation (i.e., respect for human dignity, confidentiality, and impartiality) must be adhered to (Eryalçın et al., 2021).

Probation services are provided by the Probation Department, established as part of the General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses of the Ministry of Justice, which is the headquarter under the direct control of the Turkish Ministry of Justice. There are an Advisory Board, protection boards and 143 affiliated local probation offices under the Probation Department (Eryalçın et al., 2021). The main

duties of the Probation Department are execution of judicial supervision measures, for example, sanctions alternative to short term prison sentences, conditions enforced in case of suspension of a prison sentence, decisions of disqualification from the use of certain rights, treatment and probation decisions, conditional early release, decisions on community service instead of judicial fines, decisions on the execution of house arrest, and placement of juvenile (aged 12-18) under supervision (TMJ, 2019). The Advisory Board has been established “as an advisory body for probation and assistance and protection services” (Probation Services Law, 2005, Article 6). Protection boards are established in places where a justice commission is located. They are expected to cooperate with public institutions, foundations and associations in order to help released convicts find a job or support those who would like to open a business (Probation Services Law, 2005, Article 17).

As of October 2020, there are more than 400,000 case files managed by 4,467 probation experts (e.g., psychologists, sociologists) and Juvenile and Adult Probation Officers (J/PO)² working in Turkish probation offices (TMJ, 2020b). These staff members are selected after an exam and individual interviews. After the selection process, successful completion of in-service trainings is required before appointment. Pre-service and candidate civil servant trainings as well as subject-specific trainings, such as on alcohol and drug abuse, are provided to staff members in the early days of their position as probation experts or officers.

The execution of a probation measure starts with a risk assessment of the offender. The adult (YARDEF; Ögel et al., 2014) and juvenile forms (ARDEF; Ögel et al., 2011) of a risk assessment questionnaire are employed by J/POs for assessing the risk of probationers in Turkey. The forms consist of 271 (adult version) and 183 (juvenile version) multiple choice questions, which aim to assess risk in different domains, such as substance use, mental health, and criminal history, on a scale from 0 (*low*) to 2 (*high*). However, these forms have been developed for offenders in

² I use J/PO as an abbreviation for juvenile and adult probation officers throughout the thesis. The term “juvenile probation officer” was not used in the Turkish probation system until very recently. The officers worked with both juvenile and adult probationers.

correctional facilities, not specifically for probationers. The adult form has been adapted for use with adult probationers. To our knowledge, no validation studies have been conducted with this form. Thus, Turkish J/POs mostly use their clinical judgement to assign the probationer to one of three risk levels: low, medium and high. Then, they collaborate with the probationer to better understand their needs and formulate a case plan that covers the one-year course of probation. A case plan is a personalized rehabilitation intervention program that may include seminars, community work, individual sessions or group work that the probationer must attend as planned. For an offender on probation instead of imprisonment, failure to comply may result in the revocation of the probation measure and the execution of the prison term.

Juvenile Probation in Turkey

Since the 1990's, several steps have been taken to protect children's rights in Turkey. The constitution of Juvenile Protection Law in 2005 marks the foundation of a separate justice system for individuals under 18, with children's police units, juvenile courts and a juvenile probation system (Çoban, 2015). A juvenile under investigation or a juvenile prosecuted for committing a crime has been defined as "a juvenile in contact with the law" (Juvenile Protection Law, 2005, Article 3) instead of "offender" or "criminal". Since then, considerable effort is put in the rehabilitation of children who have offended without resorting to incarceration (Çoban, 2015).

As of October 2020, there are approximately 10,000 juveniles between the ages 12-18 under probation. Most of them are convicted for drug use and a multidisciplinary approach that includes collaboration with families is needed for their rehabilitation (Kocagazıoğlu et al., 2016). Until the end of 2018, juveniles under probation were supervised by POs who work mainly with adults. Approximately 1,600 out of around 4,000 POs attended trainings on substance abuse and anger management to be as designated JPOs. However, these trainings were insufficient to meet the unique needs of juvenile probationers (Erdem et al., 2019). In order to empower JPOs, the Turkish Ministry of Justice initiated the DENGİ (Denetimli Serbestlik Gençlik Programı-Youth Probation Program) project with funding from the EU, the Turkish

government and UNICEF in 2015. The aim of the project was to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the juvenile justice system in Turkey. The central aim was the establishment of an effective, preventive and rehabilitative intervention system for juveniles under probation. To this end, the author of the present dissertation took the role as project investigator and formed a team of seven experts to prepare and implement an evidence-based intervention program for juvenile offenders. The program was built on the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) framework (Andrews & Bonta, 2010) and focused on four major topics: Interviewing skills with juveniles and risk assessment, anger management, interpersonal communication and mindfulness. As a first step, 36 trainers were selected from various probation directorates to attend the *train the trainer* program. They were also provided with trainer manuals that included the presentation slides, notes, and several tips that could be used during trainings they would give to JPOs on the four program topics. Supervision by the project team was provided to 36 trainers throughout the project. Between 2016 and 2018, more than 500 selected POs were given trainings on working with juveniles by this group of trainers. Subsequently, JPOs who had access to the program manuals started working only with juveniles. The effectiveness study of the project is still ongoing at this time (September 2021).

In parallel to the implementation of the program, several seminars and meetings were organized for stakeholders in the juvenile justice system, including municipalities, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, and the Children's Court Bar Association. These meetings were intended to increase communication between parties as well as explain the recently implemented rehabilitation-based intervention system. Several steps have been taken by the Probation Services following the DENGİ project, such as building separate facilities for juvenile and adult probationers, where possible. If this was not feasible, the entrances to the buildings were separated in such a way that juveniles and adults would not meet each other. Another important change was only designating officers who completed the trainings as JPOs. They were not expected to manage adult cases anymore, so they could specialize in supervising juvenile cases. Collaborations with universities were sought to make sure JPOs could receive ongoing training on working with juveniles.

We have limited information on the effectiveness of juvenile probation interventions in Turkey. First of all, no juvenile or adult recidivism data have been collected since the implementation of probation services in Turkey. Second, there are no organizations that monitor the juveniles' course of life after the completion of their probation period. We can only guess that many juveniles who complete their probation period go back to the same family, circles of peers and neighborhood where they again face poverty and drug exposure (Çoban, 2015). Çavdar (2006) has reported that most juveniles who have been in contact with the justice system start working instead of completing their education out of fear of exclusion by teachers and friends.

The current thesis project was an adjunct research project to the larger DENG project. A number of research questions were formulated that could assist in providing insight into the attitudes of POs and JPOs towards their probationers, the role of these attitudes in predicting job burnout among POs, and the short-term effectiveness of an RNR-based training on JPOs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes. We were also interested in the role of gender of the offender as a predictor of punitiveness towards offenders among the general public and probation officers. We will now briefly review the theoretical and empirical literature on these topics.

Attitudes Towards Offenders

Recent decades have witnessed an unprecedented surge in punitiveness toward offenders not only in the US (Costelloe et al., 2009), but also in European countries, such as the Netherlands and Spain (Aebi et al., 2014). The most salient indicator of this trend can be found in the incarceration rates; i.e., the six-fold increase of US prison population since 1970s (Walmsley, 2013). Enns (2014) has argued that the steady increase in public punitiveness since the mid-1970s accounts for 20% of the US prison population today.

The impact of punitiveness that reveals itself in longer and/or harsher sentences is costly, not only to the individual, but also to society at large. Studies show that incarceration is not only an ineffective and expensive mode of punishment (Kornhauser & Laster, 2014), but it also is a factor in wage inequality (Western, 2002), personal and societal health problems (Massoglia, 2008) and childhood disadvantages, such as poverty (Wildeman, 2009), and internalizing and externalizing problems in

children who grow up with a detained father (Wakefield & Wideman, 2011).

According to Schnepel (2016), incarceration may also serve as a means to expose an individual to more criminal peers, thus increasing future crime rates.

Job Burnout among Probation Officers

Job burnout is a prolonged response to the emotional and interpersonal stressors of a job and it has been conceptualized as comprising three interrelated core components (Maslach et al., 2001). *Emotional exhaustion* is identified by a lack of enthusiasm for work and being emotionally depleted and fatigued. *Depersonalization* refers to distancing oneself from work and treating clients as objects. *Reduced personal accomplishment* is a sense of inefficacy in one's personal and professional life.

There are only a few studies on job burnout among criminal justice professionals (Gallavan & Newman, 2013; Griffin et al., 2010; Schaefer & Williams, 2018). In a study with 101 correctional mental health professionals, favorable attitudes toward prisoners were found to be related to positive work experience, which was defined by professional accomplishment and feelings of pleasure associated with work (Gallavan & Newman, 2013). The findings of Griffin et al. (2010) showed that emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment were inversely related to job satisfaction among 200 prison staff members. The only study that we know of with POs ($N = 75$) was conducted in Australia. Schaefer and Williams (2018) found associations of negative attitudes toward offenders with increased exhaustion, increased depersonalization, and decreased personal accomplishment.

The Role of Offender Gender

Gender of the offender is an extralegal factor that has an impact on how offenders are viewed and treated in the criminal justice system. Several studies have documented differential treatment toward men and women who have committed the same offenses (Franklin, 2008; Koons-Witt, 2002). Similar results have been found in studies with juvenile offenders (Belknap, 2001; Tracy et al., 2009). Theoretical explanations of these findings have focused on two perspectives. According to the *chivalry perspective*, female offenders are treated more leniently than males during the criminal justice process because they need protection as the weaker gender (Visher,

1983). The counter perspective is called the *evil woman hypothesis*. This perspective predicts that when the motive for the offense (Kim et al., 2018) or the woman's criminal history (Tillyer et al., 2015) deviate from traditional gender role norms, female offenders will be punished more harshly than for male counterparts (Daly & Tonry, 1997; Spohn & Beichner, 2000).

The *Sentencing Reform Act of 1984* was introduced in the US as one of the major reforms to reduce sentencing disparities associated with several offender related factors, including gender. This development raised questions as to the desirability of gender-equal treatment in the criminal justice context (Nagel & Johnson, 1994). The advocates of the special-treatment model suggested that "special treatment" should take priority over "equal treatment", because men and women are biologically different (for a review, see Littleton, 1987). On the other side of the spectrum are theorists who argue that special treatment of women would unduly justify the *weak* and *in need of protection* position of women in the eyes of society (Nagel & Johnson, 1994).

Changing Attitudes Toward Offenders: Could the RNR- Approach be Relevant?

Attitudes toward offenders appear to influence how they are punished and how they are treated in the criminal justice system. Negative attitudes toward them do not only affect the probationers, but they can also impact the job performance and job satisfaction of POs. A number of studies document the importance of attitudinal change among POs in achieving desirable probation outcomes. Paparozzi and Gendreau (2005) have shown that POs with balanced law enforcement/social casework orientations have a better chance of providing services that reduce recidivism in community-based supervision programs. A study by Kennealy et al. (2012) with 109 parolees supports this view by revealing that probation officer attitudes make a difference in recidivism outcomes.

Research on changing attitudes toward probationers in POs provides evidence for the effectiveness of the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) framework (Bonta et al., 2010; Fulton et al., 1997). The RNR framework rests on three principles: risk, need and responsivity. The risk principle states that the intensity of services offenders get should match their risk levels. According to the need principle, criminogenic needs

that are causally related to criminal behavior should be targeted by interventions. The responsivity principle suggests that the style and mode of intervention should match the abilities, motivation, and learning style of the offender. Fulton et al. (1997) found that POs who are trained in the principles of effective intervention gained a more rehabilitative attitude and had more successful supervision discharge rates.

The Aims of This Thesis

The aims of the present thesis are:

- To explore the professional experiences and training needs of Turkish POs and create a dialogue between officers and their directors. By bridging the gap between officers and directors in the probation system, we intended to generate insights into the occupational needs of POs and to suggest improvements (Chapter 2).
- To examine the association of individual factors, specifically negative and positive attitudes toward probationers with job burnout in Turkish POs by investigating the link between attitudes toward probationers and three dimensions of job burnout: Emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and professional accomplishment. Insight into these characteristics could be relevant for PO recruitment and may have implications for burnout prevention at the individual level. This insight could be especially relevant in a more recently established probation system, such as the one in Turkey (Chapter 3).
- To examine the link between gender of the juvenile offender, punitive and rehabilitative attitudes of Turkish JPOs, and their recidivism risk perceptions. Insight into these associations is important within the context of the Turkish probation system, especially because at present there is no structured, evidence-based risk assessment tool in use. Turkish JPOs estimate juvenile delinquents' recidivism risk based on their unstructured professional judgment. Whether they take evidence-based risk factors, such as the gender of the juvenile offender, into account is unknown. Second, Turkish probation officers have been shown to struggle with the implementation of rehabilitative services in an increasingly punitive Turkish criminal justice system (Erdem et al., 2019). Examining the role of JPOs' attitudes on their recidivism risk perceptions is relevant for the juvenile probation system in Turkey (Chapter 4).
- To investigate if gender role attitudes impact individuals' punitiveness judgements by examining how they moderate punitiveness toward male and female offenders, for

violent and non-violent offenses. This study belongs within the limited research literature on the punitiveness of a “patriarchal society”, and the hypothesized constructs of chivalry and evil woman. Turkey is an interesting context for this study because it is still a patriarchal society as endorsed by Turkish law. Our findings could contribute to our understanding of the relatively higher increase in female prisoners compared to male prisoners in Turkey in the past two decades (Chapter 5).

- To examine the effect of a brief RNR training on JPO’s attitudes and recidivism risk perceptions, we introduced a rehabilitation-oriented probationary supervision approach for Turkish youth under probation in Chapter 6. The Turkish probation system currently lacks an evidence-based intervention and training framework and this study is a first step to address this need.

Setting of the Present Studies

The data for the study that explored public attitudes were collected via a web survey. Participants of the other four studies were POs and JPOs recruited with separate permissions from the TMJ in different settings. Because of the heavy workload on POs, we needed to make arrangements for data collection outside their work settings and work schedules. All of the three probation offices in Istanbul—Anadolu, Istanbul, and Bakırköy—were contacted for the three studies in Chapters 2, 3, and 6. For one study (Chapter 4), the author travelled to Çeşme, İzmir where JPOs from several probation offices in Turkey were gathered for training.



Chapter 2

The Professional Experiences and Training Needs of Probation Officers in Turkey

This chapter is based on the following paper:

Erdem, G., Tuncer, A. E., Safi, O. A., Çankaya, B., Ergin, M., & Aydoğan, R. (2018).
The professional experiences and training needs of probation officers in Turkey.
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Abstract

The current study uses a series of focus groups and participatory methodology to investigate the work experiences and needs of Turkish probation officers and their directors. All participants were employed at an Office of Parole and Probation in Istanbul, Turkey. During the concurrent focus groups, officers ($n = 57$) discussed their daily work experiences and needs (Phase I). A follow-up focus group was conducted ($n = 25$) to discuss potential interpretations of the themes and generate solutions (Phase II), followed by a mini-focus group with the directors ($n = 5$) to explore their experiences with the probation system and officer training (Phase III). Officers identified needs for training, improvements of the work environment, professional support, and more thorough risk assessment tools. The follow up focus group revealed that officers were highly motivated to improve their rehabilitative skills, but felt constrained in supervising offenders in the punitive justice system. Several solutions generated through focus groups included mentoring programs to support novice officers, training programs to acquire interviewing skills, and team building activities and events to increase morale. The current study bridges the gap between officers and directors in the probation system and generates solutions to the occupational needs of officers. Researchers communicated those needs to the directors and the study initiated action towards implementing rehabilitative training programs for officers with a particular focus on risk assessment and basic clinical skills. The study has direct implications in improvement of probation practice and supervision in Turkey.

Introduction

Probation is defined as a correctional practice that supervises and rehabilitates convicted criminal defendants to serve their sentences in the community (Phelps, 2013). Contrary to incarceration and other traditional punitive and deterrent approaches, such community-based programs are designed to decrease recidivism rates by providing resources for offenders to promote positive behavioral change (Walters et al., 2007). Probation has been implemented in the UK and the US since the early twentieth century (Mair & Burke, 2013) and those systems have gone through rigorous reforms and systematic evaluations (Walters et al., 2007). By comparison, the probation system was adopted by the Turkish criminal justice system only in 2005 (Kamer, 2008) and little research to date has been undertaken to explore the unique experiences and needs of probation officers (POs) while navigating the challenges of this relatively new system in Turkey. Furthermore, no research to date has examined how best to improve probation practices and the occupational well-being of the officers in the Turkish correctional system.

As a developing country, Turkey poses unique challenges for the probation system to be implemented effectively, such as pro-punitive attitudes in the general public (Karakuş et al., 2011; van Kesteren, 2009), few opportunities for rehabilitative services for the convicted offenders (Tuncer & Duru, 2013), and a lack of evidence-based training programs and risk assessment tools for POs (Altın et al., 2015). The current study, therefore, aims to identify unique needs of POs in that context and address this gap in the literature using participatory methodology.

POs play an important role in the criminal justice system. They exercise direct supervision of offenders, compile investigative reports for defendants, and/or provide information to the courts to assist in sentencing (Phelps, 2013). Such tasks often require POs to fulfill multiple and often conflicting roles which create a tension between their responsibilities to offenders (helping, supervision and rehabilitation functions) and their responsibilities to the courts and the public (monitoring functions and compliance with the order of court) (White et al., 2005). POs experience significant stress related to the demanding nature of their work with increasing

caseloads, excessive paperwork, and deadlines (Wirkus, 2015). Furthermore, POs also face role ambiguity and role conflict as part of probation work (Stephens & O'Donnell, 2001; White et al., 2005). POs often report problems with organizational management factors, such as a lack of supervision, lack of promotional opportunities, low salaries, changing or conflicting policies and procedures and a less empowering, non-participatory environment that also adds to their stress (Lee et al., 2009; Wirkus, 2015).

These task and organizational related stress factors are associated with high levels of job dissatisfaction and burnout (Salyers et al., 2015; White et al., 2015; Wirkus, 2015). A lack of supervision and trust in supervisors can lead to mistrusting the organization, which can further increase job dissatisfaction and turnover (Lambert et al., 2008). Burnout and job stress have also been seen to have adverse effects on POs' physical health (i.e., hypertension, heart disease, suppression of the immune system, upper respiratory problems, peptic ulcers, and migraines) and mental health issues (i.e., alcohol and substance abuse, major depressive disorder) (Gayman & Bradley, 2013; Maddock & Pariente, 2001; Thoits, 2010). POs may also face vicarious trauma and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder-like symptoms while dealing with offenders of crimes that result in trauma (Catanese, 2010; Severson & Pettus-Davis, 2013).

POs often report cynical attitudes towards high-risk offenders especially when they devote a lot of time, resources, and efforts to rehabilitate such offenders (White et al., 2015). To address these problems, the POs require certain skills and additional training opportunities to improve their work efficiency and occupational well-being. Thus, there is a need for targeted programs tailored to meet the needs of the POs in their respective work environments.

Efficacy and effectiveness of PO training programs

Programs targeting POs have largely focused on teaching professional skills ranging from building rapport with offenders and effective interviewing to intervention practices and strategies to change criminal behavior (Bonta & Andrews, 2007; Purvis

et al., 2011; Walters et al., 2007). Studies have documented several evidence-based interventions tailored to meet the needs of POs while working with offenders. Such programs include, but are not limited to, the Risk-Need-Response (RNR) model of rehabilitation (Bonta et al., 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2007), the Good Lives Model of Offender Rehabilitation (Purvis et al., 2011), the Stress Inoculation Training (SIT; Novaco, 1980), and Motivational Interviewing (MI) training (Anstiss et al., 2011; Raynor et al., 2014). Those programs focus on teaching POs interviewing and professional skills in their work with offenders with the ultimate goal to decrease offender recidivism. However, only a few of those programs have focused on the work-related stress of POs or included components tailored to cope with stress, anger, and burnout. One exception is the SIT, which helps individuals to reconceptualize their stressful experiences and reactions as not being uncontrollable and removing feelings of hopelessness by helping them become aware of their own coping resources (Meichenbaum, 2007). Considering the lack of intervention programs that are tailored specifically for POs, there is a need for new programs to be developed and tested in order to better help the occupational well-being of POs.

Nevertheless, the majority of the empirical research on the probation system has been conducted in the contexts of North America and Western Europe, where the probation system has a longer history of implementation with available training practices and resources as well as solid empirical research practices. Turkish POs also report high levels of burnout, job related stress, and role conflict, similar to their counterparts abroad (Altın, 2015; Kamer, 2008). Yet, Turkish POs face unique challenges related to cultural, organizational, and structural issues. For instance, POs experience immense problems in successfully implementing rehabilitative practices due to the societal stigma surrounding offenders, as well as few employment opportunities for young offenders due to the ongoing economic crisis and high youth unemployment rates in Turkey (Tuncer & Duru, 2013). Studies have shown that the general public has punitive attitudes towards offenders (Karakuş et al., 2011; van Kesteren, 2009) and employers are resistant to hire probationers (Engin, 2012), despite the legal requirements. In addition, the probation system is so novel that there are no evidence-based training programs for POs, nor are there any established standard

practices for professional development. Tuncer and Duru (2013) have shown that POs are usually overqualified for the job they do, as compared to other officers in the Turkish criminal justice system. Indeed, Altın (2015) reported that officers in the probation system usually have higher educational degrees (college or above), but have limited opportunities and resources to use their expertise in supervising offenders – and there is an urgent need for advanced trainings. As a developing country, Turkey appears to be a challenging context for the probation system. The current study addresses the unique needs of POs in this particular context.

The present study and Participatory Action Research

The present study was designed to assess the professional experiences and training needs of Turkish POs and create a dialogue between officers and their directors. To that aim, the research design was adapted from Freire's (1970) Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology; POs were not only participants in the research project but were also actively involved in all phases of the research-action process. The participant-researchers collaborated with the researchers in the interpretation and discussion of the study findings (i.e., giving feedback on findings and analysis) and suggested further training opportunities and solutions to problems.

PAR is an alternative approach in social sciences with pioneers including Kurt Lewin (1946), William Whyte et al. (1989) as well as Paulo Freire (1970). Action researchers believe that the empirical inquiry is initiated by presenting a problem shared, owned, and influenced by group and/or community members (Glassman & Erdem, 2014). Researchers conduct empirical studies with the ultimate goal to solve a particular problem and meet a certain need in the community. The research process is *participatory* in the sense that researchers bring together the different players involved in the situation, collecting critical information from a number of parties, but especially from those who are actually facing the problems.

Another component of the research process is being *action-oriented* towards solutions. Researchers collaborate with the community to bring change; more specifically, to develop problem-solving strategies and solutions that can be applicable, acceptable, and sustainable. As presented in Figure 1, our research process

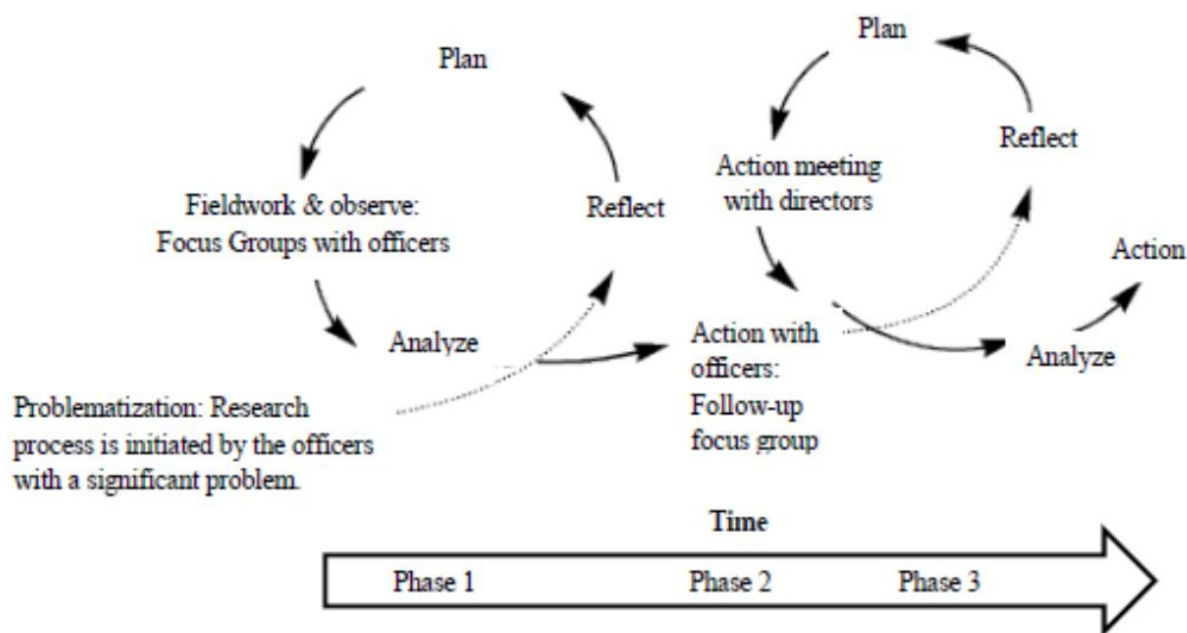


Figure 2.1. Study design and participatory action research process

unfolded in three cyclical stages with a series of separate focus groups involving both officers and their directors using the PAR theoretical and methodological approach. Details of the focus groups are outlined below.

Method

Participants

The officers and their directors were recruited from the same probation bureau in Istanbul from April through June 2015. All staff, regardless of their rank, title, or assigned department, were invited to participate in the study. Those who agreed to participate both in the brief assessment and the series of focus groups were selected. Of 220 officers employed at the agency, 57 officers as well as all five directors were recruited for the study.³

³ In an attempt to test for self-selection bias, a brief survey was distributed to all officers; 117 officers agreed to participate. Focus group participants ($n = 57$) and nonparticipants ($n = 60$) were compared in their demographic characteristics prior to the study. Participants and nonparticipants did not differ in terms of their marital status, age, income level, number of active caseload, and years of experience at the criminal justice system. The only difference was gender, with female POs more likely to participate in the focus groups than males [$\chi^2(1) = 5.2, p < .05$].

Table 2.1. Characteristics of the sample

		Officers (<i>n</i> = 57)	Directors (<i>n</i> = 5)
Gender			
Female	f (%)	20 (35.1%)	1 (20%)
Male	f (%)	37 (64.9%)	4 (80%)
Age	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	28.04 (4.65)	40.2 (11.43)
Education status			
High school diploma	f (%)	13 (23.2%)	0
College/University degree	f (%)	40 (71.4%)	4 (80%)
Graduate degree (MA or PhD)	f (%)	3 (5.4%)	1 (20%)
Marital status			
Single, not in a relationship	f (%)	26 (46.4%)	1 (20%)
Single, in a relationship	f (%)	12 (21.4%)	0
Married	f (%)	15 (26.8%)	4 (80%)
Divorced	f (%)	3 (5.4%)	0
Years of work experience in probation			
Less than a year	f (%)	4 (7.1%)	0
1-2 years	f (%)	33 (58.9%)	1 (20%)
3-4 years	f (%)	10 (17.9%)	1 (20%)
5 years or more	f (%)	9 (16.1%)	3 (60%)
Prior work experience in the criminal justice system			
Yes	f (%)	10 (17.9%)	4 (80%)
No	f (%)	46 (82.1%)	1 (20%)
Number of cases currently supervised	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	207.39 (66.71)	n/a
Received additional professional training on probation			
Yes	f (%)	42 (75%)	5 (100%)
No	f (%)	14 (25%)	0

Sample characteristics. The demographics of the focus group participants are presented in Table 2.1. Of the 62 participants, 57 (92%) were POs and 5 (8%) were directors. The mean age of the POs was 28.04 years ($SD = 4.65$) and 20 (35.1%) were female. Approximately two thirds of the officers were single or never married (67.8%). All POs had completed a high school education, with 71.4% also having received a college degree.⁴ The duration of work experience in probation varied from 6

⁴ The POs in Turkey are appointed at two different ranks and each position has a different educational requirement. POs who conduct interviews with offenders, oversee their cases, and follow them through their probation period are mandated to have at least a bachelor's degree in Psychology, Sociology, Social Work, or Educational Sciences. POs whose primary responsibilities are conducting the initial assessment (e.g., ARDEF), treatment planning, archiving, and documenting the probation process, are required to have at least high school degree and their college degree can be in any major.

months to 10 years among the officers, with 66% reporting having worked in the probation system for 2 years or less. The average current caseload was 207.39 cases ($SD = 66.71$) for each officer. In addition, 10 (17.9%) POs had prior experience working in jails or prisons and 42 (75%) had previously received training related to the rehabilitation of offenders or legal procedures or compliance with court orders.

The majority of the directors was male and married (80%). The directors were highly educated, having either a college (80%) or a graduate degree (20%). In addition, 80% of the directors had been employed in the probation system since its initial implementation in 2005 and all were extensively trained in probation practices, the criminal justice system, and rehabilitation services. One director, in particular, reported having had site visits in European countries through his professional training.

Procedure

Consistent with the PAR methodology (Freire, 1970), the research process was initiated by the officers themselves who contacted the first author regarding their training needs, mainly in the areas of communicating with offenders (also termed *problematization*). Freire (1970) argues that the role of the researcher is to facilitate discussion, the act of knowing, authentic critical thinking and reflection on problems through the inclusion of all key players in the solution process. Therefore, throughout the research process, we conducted interviews with POs and directors who were currently affiliated with the Bureau of Probation and Parole. The research process was flexibly designed to understand the daily experiences of the officers, their attitudes towards and strategies in working with offenders, their available resources and needs for further training.

During Phase 1, the officers gave written consent to participate in the study and completed a brief survey. The assessment battery included a demographic questionnaire and a work experiences form which took 5 to 10 minutes to complete. After the assessment, the officers participated in a focus group interview at the first

author's affiliated university campus.⁵ The purpose of the initial focus group was to identify the daily work experiences, challenges, and resources of the POs and assess their needs for further professional training. Each group was balanced in terms of the participants' age, gender, and years of experience in the criminal justice system in order to ensure heterogeneity. This aspect of group heterogeneity was carefully planned to prevent a groupthink process (unipolarization of ideas throughout the interview) as well as to promote diversity of ideas (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009).

Table 2.2. Focus group protocol and semi-structured interview questions in Phase 1

Process: Co-facilitators and note-taker welcome participants, introduce themselves, and explain their roles and the group procedures.

Introduction protocol: "We have organized this meeting to get to know you and hear about your experiences as probation officers. I would like to remind you once again that all personal information you disclose here today will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shared with your agency or employers with any identifiers."

Questions:

1. Please describe your typical work day as a probation officer.
2. What kind of characteristics do you think are vital to become a probation officer? (*Probe:* Ideal probation officer)
3. How do you define the offenders you supervise currently? What are the strategies you use to engage with them? (*Probe:* Have you ever supervised a relatively more difficult case? When? Can you describe why and how it was challenging for you?)
4. Let us assume that there is a new probation officer who is just starting his/her position. What advice would you give this person? What kind of trainings do you think he/she should receive to get better prepared for the job?
5. Considering your experiences in working with offenders, what strategies have worked well for you? Which strategies were not effective?

The interview protocol was semi-structured with five main questions and related probes. As presented in Table 2.2, questions were designed to investigate a daily work script of the officers, the types of offenders they work with, potentially difficult cases they have handled so far, the ways in which officers have coped with challenging demands of their job, and professional training areas to meet those needs.

⁵ Several officers expressed interest in participating in the study if the initial interviews were conducted outside of their agency.

Three concurrent focus groups were conducted in early June 2015 and another three concurrent groups were completed during the last week of June 2015.

Each group included 8 to 10 officers. Group discussions were facilitated by two moderators and a note taker. In total, six clinicians (including the principal investigator) served as moderators. Three senior clinicians with extensive experience in running focus groups were paired with three trained clinical psychologists and counselors to moderate the discussions. Prior to the group meetings, all clinicians were informed about the study procedures and rationale of the focus groups. In an attempt to ensure standardization across groups, clinicians were also provided with a written

Table 2.3. Follow up focus group protocol and semi-structured interview questions in Phase 2

Process: The facilitator and a note-taker meet officers, explain officer's roles as participant-researchers, and discuss reflections on and interpretation of Phase I focus groups

Introduction protocol: "We scheduled this follow-up meeting to talk about your experiences in the focus groups last Summer. We believe there was a lot of fruitful discussion about your needs and experiences as probation officers. In that meeting, we would like to understand which themes you believe emerged from those meetings and what your take home message is for future solutions to those concerns. We will organize a meeting with the directors and stakeholders and we would like to see how we can resolve those issues. Before we start, I would like to remind you once again that all personal information you disclose in this research process will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shared with your agency or employers with any identifiers. "

Questions:

6. What was it like for you to participate in the focus groups? How would you describe this experience?
7. Do you think the initial focus groups had an impact on your probation practices or daily needs as an officer? (Yes/No) (*Probe:* Potential negative or positive effects) How? Can you give examples?
8. Which topics do you think stood out most in the focus groups? What do you think appears to be the most important issue to consider for future solutions?
9. As facilitators, we observed several themes around training needs, work conditions, assessment tools, and desire to be acknowledged. What do you think about those themes? (*Probe:* Are they relevant? Do you have any suggestions on other topics & themes?)
10. Do you have any concerns or needs that you want your directors to know about and take action to solve? Why/why not?

script and notes (see Table 2.2 for a sample). Three senior undergraduate students served as note-takers. Students were trained in focus group methodology and participatory research through didactic training, readings, and handouts prior to the study. The primary responsibilities of the note takers were to document discussions verbatim, observe the group interaction processes, and ensure fidelity to the research protocol.

The facilitators welcomed the participants, introduced themselves and the note takers, and initiated light conversation with the officers while snacks and refreshments were being served. Following that introduction/warm-up phase, facilitators explained the focus group methodology, the importance of confidentiality, and the goals of the study. The interviews took approximately 1.5 hours to complete. Both note takers and moderators submitted reflection notes and memos to the principal investigator after completing the interviews. Consistent with the need for multiple informants in critical qualitative research (Lather, 1986), the moderator's memos were utilized not only to validate, but also enrich the note takers' observations (triangulation).

During Phase II of the study, the research team met to identify the themes across the focus groups and to summarize the findings (see analysis for further details; Table 2.3). Next, the principal investigator met with the POs, shared content analysis findings, and discussed with the officers interpretations and reflections. This second meeting included 25 participants from the initial focus groups which took place in a private room at the local probation agency. The meeting was accompanied by two note takers and participants were served lunch and refreshments. This meeting was pivotal not only to ensure the participation of the officers in the research process, but also to validate, discuss, and interpret the qualitative findings.

In the final phase (Phase III) of the study, the research team conducted an action meeting with five directors to facilitate dialogue on the experiences, attitudes, and training needs of the POs. The group was a very small focus group, consistent with Krueger's (2014) call for a "mini-focus group" of four to five participants, in which participants have specialized knowledge and/or experiences to discuss with the group. Given the PAR nature of the study, the process was tailored to be solution-

focused and practical to address the major concerns of the officers. Five directors, research team members, and note takers participated in the meeting. No identifying information about the focus group participants was shared with the directors. Several themes and suggestions for further training opportunities were discussed with the directors during Phase III only if the POs had given consent to do so.

Qualitative data analysis

All focus group notes, as well as facilitator reflections and memos, were gathered and condensed for qualitative content analysis. Research team members read the notes individually and met to discuss their reflections on the interviews. The initial analysis identified major themes and categories for the officers' experiences, attitudes, and needs for additional training. The main analysis was completed by the first author and the process followed the Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) methodology which prioritized immersion of themes from the data without *a priori* hypotheses. Using the constant comparison method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), notes were read verbatim to derive meaning units and concepts (*open coding*). Those units were placed together to form categories (*axial coding*). In the final step, related categories were conceptually organized to form overarching themes (*selective coding*). As noted earlier, the analysis continued in a cyclical manner with active participation by the POs discussing the categories and themes.

Results

Phase I: Themes and categories from concurrent focus groups with POs

Four major themes were revealed during the qualitative analysis of six focus groups during Phase I: (a) training needs to enhance basic clinical knowledge and interviewing skills, (b) needs to improve the physical work environment for rehabilitative services, (c) need for professional support, and (d) needs for more thorough risk assessment tools to plan for supervision of offenders.

Training needs. In the current sample, most POs had an educational background in Psychology, Sociology, Social Work, and Educational Sciences and none of the POs had a graduate degree in Forensic Clinical Psychology or

Criminology. Understandably, POs reported an urgent need for more comprehensive and hands-on trainings in two domains: (a) basic clinical knowledge to provide psychological support for offenders (including clinical assessment, diagnosis, and psychopathology) and (b) interviewing skills and clinical techniques to work effectively with resistant offenders. POs stated that they received compulsory professional training in the first 6 months of their appointment through the Ministry of Justice, yet that training was mostly geared towards legal procedures, compliance with court orders, and education on hard drugs and their biopsychosocial effects.

Many POs reported that trainings about understanding psychological disorders and communicating with probationers were necessary to make appropriate judgements about probation plans. Several POs believed deeply in their role as supervisors and were motivated to work with offenders towards rehabilitation. Some POs even self-identified as ‘mentors’ and wanted to go above and beyond case management or follow up on legal procedures and compliance with court orders. POs wanted to have hands-on training so that they could detect potential mental illness among offenders in order to make appropriate referrals for psychiatric treatment. One participant confirmed by saying “identifying mental problems, like schizophrenia or depression, is important for us, because probationers with such problems rarely benefit from standard procedures. They will not respond [well] to simple interventions.”

On the other hand, POs acknowledged that there were several training opportunities for them before and after they were hired. Some of those trainings focused on implementation of a standardized substance abuse intervention program (aka *SAMBA Program* in Turkey), yet only a few selected officials were invited to attend those trainings. Officers in general complained about the train the trainer models because such programs limit their access to ‘real’ experts in the field. One PO explained “trainings should be delivered by experts in other institutions. Our probation system is very young and we have not yet acquired that ‘know-how’ in our institutions” and emphasized her preference to be trained by professional clinicians or experts directly, rather than her own peers or colleagues.

The need for training in the psychological domain was also related with acquiring skills to overcome feelings of burnout and inadequacy. POs reported

experiencing burnout due to the excessive number of assigned cases. One participant said “we are document oriented, not human oriented”. While some of them questioned their actual role (law enforcement vs. rehabilitation), some were quite clear that compliance with the court order and following up on cases on the offenders’ sentences were their prevailing role because of the paperwork and the bureaucratic requirements they were expected to carry out.

Interpersonal communication skills were also warranted to better know how to relate with probationers, set boundaries, and balance the POs’ roles in supervising the offenders’ sentence and its execution as well as referring the offender for further rehabilitation. POs reported their struggle with some offenders who were testing their boundaries or were too needy for services. Yet, POs also valued building a trusting relationship with the probationers; one officer stated “building an alliance with the probationer is rehabilitative by itself. If he/she feels listened to and valued, he/she sticks to the plan and is keener on working toward his/her well-being”. As such, the officers demanded training tailored to their needs to relate to offenders, especially in working with resistant and difficult cases (interviewing skills, reframe skills, setting boundaries of the meetings etc.).

Needs related to the physical work environment. Officers, especially those who stressed their responsibilities for rehabilitation, expressed a desire for private office space to ensure offender confidentiality. Shared office space in cubicles also appeared to be distracting for the probationers. POs reported that sometimes the probationers listened to the conversation in the other cubicle. The location of the directorate was also reported as a major problem. The building was located on a highway side road with limited public transportation for the probationers. POs also felt isolated due to location of the building and there were no opportunities for leisure, lunch, or shopping in the area. POs had to spend the whole day in the building and eat in the basement which provided no opportunities for relaxation.

Desire for professional support. POs reported an imminent need for acknowledgment as well as guidance related to their job performance. Some officers noted that there were few experienced POs who were supportive and helpful to assist them in challenging times. But overall, supervision was available when required,

usually informally, rather than in a structured manner using regular staff meetings. Officers reported that it would be very helpful if they could obtain some feedback from experienced personnel on their job performance from time to time.

POs also expressed a need for information on the effectiveness of probation practices. Some officers wanted to know the extent to which they initiated change in the offender's life. Officers noted that there was a need for follow-up assessment tools to screen the offender's progress over time. POs explained that lack of follow up assessments also generated feelings of inadequacy and being lost, as one reported, "I sometimes feel like I am wasting my time." Another officer said "nothing will change no matter what I do".

Needs for a more thorough risk assessment tool. POs explained that they were using a standardized assessment tool to identify the risk level of each offender (referred to as *ARDEF*). The risk score obtained from using this method guides the probation practices for the offender (i.e., number of sessions, seminar requirements, additional referral for detox services, etc.). The POs reported several needs related to this assessment tool and its implementation. First, the risk assessment tool was designed to be completed in 20-25 minutes, but the POs reported that the items were very detailed, sometimes not even relevant with the offender, and could take up to 90 minutes. Given their busy work schedules, the POs realistically have only 15 to 20 minutes for the initial assessment session. There is a definite need for a more concise assessment tool.

Officers also raised serious concerns about the validity of the *ARDEF* risk assessment tool. They confirmed that some repeated offenders were familiar with the tool and they had learned how to respond to the items in a socially desirable manner. One officer explained "the probationers learn how to answer the questions in order to have a light probation plan and [they also] teach others before they come for their first [probation] session. This way a probationer with a history of homicide may end up with fewer sessions and seminar requirements than someone who has come with a minor offense". Among the solutions offered for this problem, the most significant recommendations were to totally remove the risk assessment tool or to administer it

following a few sessions which would allow the PO to get to know the probationer better.

Phase II: Follow up focus group meeting with the POs

Meeting with the participant-researchers to discuss and interpret the focus group findings was an essential component of the PAR research process. The follow-up focus group was scheduled in October 2015 at the POs' institution during working hours. The meeting place and time were conveniently scheduled for the officers especially because their workload had significantly increased in early fall (after the judicial term started).

The POs were very enthusiastic to participate in the meeting. The meeting started with a brief discussion of the officers' reflections on the prior focus groups. Overall, officers expressed gratitude over being heard and acknowledged for the hard work they do as POs. They felt free to voice their concerns and needs in an honest manner and they feared no repercussions or judgments. One officer emphasized that the focus groups increased morale among his colleagues and felt like it was time *off* from all that stress. Several officers highlighted the fact that the focus groups also enabled them to get to know each other better and realize that they were not alone. Indeed, group cohesion was also observed by the note takers and some focus group facilitators during Phase 1 of the study.

Next, the officers were asked what themes they thought dominated the focus group meetings. Most of them identified their training needs as the top priority to be addressed urgently. They emphasized that regular and comprehensive training programs (i.e., motivational interviewing, clinical diagnosis) along with high quality risk assessment tools would be extremely helpful to improve their probation practices. Some officers noted that improved training would enable them to grow both professionally and personally (i.e., interviewing skills with offenders also helps them to apply listening skills in their daily lives with significant others). Others added that training programs would be helpful to balance professional demands with better skills and competence.

The follow-up focus group also re-examined the same four major themes identified in the Phase 1 of the study. The first author discussed these themes with the

officers (training needs, needs to improve work conditions, desire for acknowledgment and feedback, and needs for a revised risk assessment tool). The officers recommended that the action items for future meetings should be focused more on training programs and assessment tools, rather than more structural and organizational problems. In other words, they wanted to focus on what could be done and achieved in the short-term, rather than what they ideally desire to achieve in the long-term. One officer said there were many other needs they had as officers, but some problems were so ingrained in the system that there was no use in discussing them further. The meeting concluded with the officers' approval of action items (trainings and assessment tool) as well as suggestions for solutions. The officers consented that their meeting conclusions and solution suggestions could be shared with the directors.

Phase III: Mini focus group with the directors

The meeting with the directors was organized in November 2015 to discuss major issues that officers were facing as well as potential solutions. First, facilitators presented the four major themes as action items (training needs, needs to improve work conditions, desire for acknowledgment and feedback, and needs for a revised risk assessment tool) and emphasized that the POs identified the need for basic clinical training and a more thorough risk assessment tool as top priorities for intervention. The facilitators shared their own and the POs' reflections on these issues along with potential solutions and suggestions. Overall, the directors agreed with the research team on study findings and stated that experiences outlined in the focus groups were consistent with their own professional experiences in the probation system as senior staff. Two participants in particular emphasized that the needs and concerns POs were raising were not new and they already knew it, but they believed there is a need for more structural solutions to address those issues. The directors' input on the POs' needs and ideas for solutions are outlined as follows:

Reflection and action towards training needs: The directors explained that train-the-trainer model was still preferable, given its efficiency and low cost for implementation. Yet, they were motivated for future collaboration with the facilitators to run training programs to improve the interviewing and assessment skills of the officers. The directors also offered to clarify the POs' job descriptions. Directors

questioned whether probation should be classified as an institution for punishing the crime or rehabilitating the offender and emphasized that both the probationers and the POs need to know this clearly. This issue was especially important because the directors thought that some POs were going above and beyond their role and had unreal expectations for the probation system. Instead, the directors suggested collaborating with the other state institutions (i.e., psychiatry departments of state hospitals, substance abuse treatment centers), non-governmental organizations (i.e., agencies serving impoverished communities), and universities (i.e., professors conducting research and trainings) to create a network of judicial care and rehabilitation. Two different directors noted that they were currently working on minimizing bureaucracy during referrals. Yet, a well-established and an organized network of collaborative rehabilitation of offenders would take a few years to develop and implement.

Reflection and action towards the risk assessment tool. The directors were well aware of the need to revise the assessment tool and acknowledged that they had already initiated a research study on improving the tool. One alternative solution was to adapt the available evidence-based risk assessment tools and tailor them for use in the Turkish judicial system. The work on implementing this information system is proceeding. Some directors explained that the documentation of recidivism rates was not yet standardized in the system. The facilitators shared the utility of keeping recidivism records to examine the success rate of the probation system as well as the efficiency of the risk assessment tool. Another facilitator explained that recidivism rates and other institutional statistics were also important to give the POs some feedback on potential outcomes of their work with probationers (another need identified in the focus groups). Although they agreed with the suggestions, directors explained several bureaucratic problems to implement such structural changes.

Needs related to the physical work environment. The directors acknowledged several problems that were noted by the POs, including the disadvantages about the location of the directorate and the lack of privacy during

sessions. They are planning to relocate in the near future to a more central building with individual session rooms.⁶

Needs for professional support. The facilitators also discussed the POs' needs for acknowledgement and feedback on their own job performance as well as the effectiveness of probation practices. One potential solution was to implement mentoring within the institution (a new PO being paired with a senior officer during the initial recruitment). The directors confirmed the POs' reports that supervision was given in an informal manner and a more structured mentoring system and continuous assessment of job performance would be helpful. The directors also acknowledged that the POs' needs for feedback and support may arise due to potential burnout and a lack of motivation. They suggested plans for social activities to provide the POs with a chance for relaxation. "This will also create a team environment and increase motivation", one director reported. "It [the social activity] should be a gender-neutral one. [For instance] we organized a football tournament, but female officers did not participate [in it]". The directors also discussed whether a mental health professional could be hired to refer POs to as needed. They acknowledged that the POs' confidentiality is crucial, and it would be more effective to refer POs, rather than hire an onsite clinician. The directors added that they would add this appointment to the budget for the upcoming year.

Discussion

Studies document that POs report high levels of job burn-out, role conflict, and work overload (Stephens & O'Donnell, 2001; White et al., 2005) which are associated with lower job performance and satisfaction as well as high turnover rates (Salyers et al., 2015; White et al., 2005, 2015; Wirkus, 2015). The unique characteristics of the newly established Turkish probation system add another dimension to the challenges POs experience in their work with offenders. The Turkish criminal justice system has traditionally been more inclined towards a punitive approach to the offenders. Recently implemented "tough-on crime" incarceration policies have resulted in an

⁶ Indeed, a year after completion of the current study, the office was relocated in a different building with personalized spaces for the POs.

acceleration of the prison population in Turkey with incarceration rates being one of the highest per capita in Europe (Walmsley, 2016). This is complemented with a general public opinion that appears to be firmly propunitive and antiprobation (Karakuş et al., 2011; van Kesteren, 2009). Although the newly instituted probation system seems to ease pressure on the skyrocketing prison population in Turkey (as was the case in the US earlier, Pontell & Welsh, 1994), the rehabilitation services offered in the probation system have been limited to be a true alternative to incarceration (Altın et al., 2015; Kamer, 2008).

This dilemma puts the probation system on an uncertain terrain and the POs in Turkey acutely feel the sense of ensuing role conflict. As such, POs in the current study reported being confused about their role in rehabilitation as opposed to law enforcement and felt overwhelmed with uncertainty. The role conflict of POs between helping the offenders and serving the public has been reported in other contexts as well (Stephens & O'Donnell, 2001; White et al., 2005). The Turkish POs in the current study also experienced problems with their physical work environment, increasing caseloads, and unmet training needs. Those needs are possibly due to the available funds being funneled into more punitive tasks in the criminal justice system, (as consistent with other cases in the literature; Wirkus, 2015), as opposed to improving conditions and services of the probation system.

Within that context of role conflict and dilemma, the POs identified four major areas of needs for future intervention efforts: (a) training needs (mainly in clinical assessment, diagnosis, and interviewing skills); (b) needs to improve physical work environment to ensure safety and confidentiality of the offenders as well as accessibility of probation services; (c) needs for professional support (mainly in evaluation and supervision of job performance and effectiveness of probation practices); and (d) needs for a more thorough risk assessment tool. Among these needs, the officers requested urgent action on needs for training programs and implementation of risk assessment tools. Action items were geared towards implementing regular training programs by expert clinicians and researchers in psychopathology and motivational interviewing, launching a mentoring system for new POs as a type of informal supervision, tracking recidivism rates in the

organization to examine offender outcomes, and improvements in the risk assessment tool. Overall, the directors acknowledged the utility of these urgent needs and practical solutions and suggested that there is a need to build a larger referral network and organizational structure so that probation services could be implemented through collaboration with treatment services/hospitals, schools, community-agencies, and universities.

The needs and practical solutions identified in the current study appear to be more relevant to rehabilitation services in probation, rather than punitive approaches to criminal behavior. For instance, the officers need a more concise and a user-friendly assessment tool to identify offenders' levels of risk and identify their needs for rehabilitative services. Officers also need training in clinical diagnostic skills, interviewing skills, and risk assessment tools to detect potential mental disorders among probationers and refer them to further mental health services. Furthermore, the directors are more focused on the solutions involving collaboration with other governmental and non-governmental agencies for rehabilitative services such as job placement, psychiatric services, or substance abuse treatment. The findings of this study reveal that POs and directors experience these institutional struggles to a great extent. More significantly, the findings also indicate that they have pro-rehabilitation attitudes as documented in their needs for training, assessment, and practice, contrary to general public opinion.

The findings of this study are consistent with previous research with POs regarding training needs (i.e., Haqanee et al., 2015). We found that officers preferred brief training programs and assessment tools to incorporate in their daily probation practice and regular refresher courses or workshops along with ongoing supervision to improve their skills. Those needs appear to be a good fit with the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2007) and related risk assessment tools in the probation literature. The RNR model states that interventions and rehabilitative services should be (a) matched to the offender's level of risk (*risk*); (b) current needs (*need*); and (c) learning styles and the abilities (*responsivity*). Future research could examine the ways in which the RNR model (Bonta & Andrews, 2007) can be used in

the Turkish criminal justice system to meet the training and assessment needs of the officers.

Furthermore, the POs in the current study seemed motivated to make an impact on the lives of offenders and be open to the idea of collaborating with other professionals and agencies. It also appeared that officers were optimistic about the utility of probation services, but needed support and encouragement. Implementing supportive mentoring programs for new officers and structured supervisory meetings may be helpful to boost morale among probation staff. Lambert et al. (2010) identified that co-worker support, management support, and supervisor support were effective strategies in reducing emotional exhaustion and the depersonalization aspects of job burnout among POs. Consistent with prior studies, another important dimension for officers appears to be a collegial work environment. The impact of simply participating in focus groups, although not intended, boosted group cohesion and connection among officers in the current study. Team building social activities that involve officers of all ranks would arguably be crucial to promote peer support for officers.

It should be noted that the officers and directors had different priorities for meeting intervention needs. While the officers demanded short term solutions (i.e., training programs and new risk assessment tools), the directors were more concerned about the ‘big picture’; they set long term structural goals such as clarifying the job description of POs and building a network of providers for rehabilitative services. One explanation for this finding is the hierarchical nature of the probation system in Turkey (McFarlane & Canton, 2014). The low- ranking officers in the system are expected to follow the institutional rules and regulations, report to the higher authorities, but do not have any power over implementing systemic changes. In that regard, the officers seem to have internalized their roles in following orders and feel powerless to exert any structural change. Therefore, they request solutions toward improving their daily work routines. Indeed, we believe that identifying the aim of the system as “rehabilitation” or “law enforcement” by policy makers is a crucial step to give way to other changes. Without this clarity, even the trainings to enhance rehabilitative

attitudes of POs fail because of the incompatibility between the aim of these efforts and the expectations of the system (Tuncer, Erdem et al., 2018). It may also be the reason for the hierarchical nature of the probation system because the lack of clarity of expectations impedes POs' attempts to take the initiative and increase the likelihood of relying on their supervisors' decisions about their cases.

Our PAR study has revealed that the next steps to improve the quality of PO training and practice in Turkey should include a more in-depth evaluation of international best practices and exploring the ways in which they can be implemented in the Turkish probation system. Further collaboration with other governmental agencies and nongovernmental organizations to increase the variety of services that juveniles get is imperative for a community-based service to serve its purpose. Outdoor sports activities, arts, vocational trainings can be implemented in the probation plans. Therefore, POs—among other needs they have specified—need interventions for attitudinal change, overcoming stigmatization and being informed about the practices in other countries.

Strengths and limitations of the study

One of the strengths of the current study is its participatory approach in its design, implementation, and process. In that manner, the current study indicates an innovative approach to an old problem, using Freire's (1970) participatory methodology. Rather than simply transferring US and UK-based training modules, probation practices, or solutions to the Turkish probation system -as a mere reflection of one size fits all approach- we collaboratively worked with the POs in understanding their unique needs and building solutions within their immediate work context. The POs were considered as co-researchers with “expert” knowledge of their own professional lives and provided insights into their occupational needs from their own unique perspectives. The research process was initiated by the POs themselves and POs participated in problematization, reflection, and action phases of the research. The researchers attempted to build a communicative bridge between the directors and the officers through a series of focus groups and action meetings. The research findings, therefore, take into account the perspective from both sides about needs which may

guide future efforts to develop evidence-based, culturally-sensitive training and support programs as well as risk assessment tools that are useful for the Turkish POs.

Limitations

Several limitations of the study should be noted while interpreting the findings. One limitation is that the sample (both POs and directors) was recruited exclusively from only one probation office in Istanbul. Probation staff from other offices in Istanbul or other cities in Turkey may have reported different needs and experiences than those in the current study. In addition, we focused primarily on the perspectives of POs and directors, without also researching the perspectives of probationers and their experiences within the probation system in Turkey. Future research should engage all active agents within the probation system (probationers, lawyers, higher administrative personnel and stakeholders) to examine the challenges of the system in a more holistic way.

In addition, the sampling process of the current study was as inclusive as possible; all staff in the probation office, regardless of the unit they were working in, were invited to participate in the study. The focus groups for both Phase 1 and Phase 2 were diverse with the inclusion of security personnel, administrative staff, archive workers, and case managers. Moderators ensured that all staff were engaged in group discussions and were encouraged to voice their opinions. For these reasons, even though the findings of the current study are not generalizable to other probation offices across Turkey, they are comprehensive enough to capture the organization structure, practices, and needs of the participating probation office in significant detail and depth.

Conclusions

The current study is the first PAR study ever conducted in the Turkish criminal justice system – a system known to be strictly hierarchical in nature. Throughout the three phases of this study, we observed that officers, even those with low rank titles, limited power and authority, questioned their role in the probation system. The focus groups stimulated discussions around recurring themes of role conflict and sense of powerlessness among the POs. Thus, the participatory nature of the study contributed to the *conscientization* of the POs.

Furthermore, POs actively participated in the discussions to create practical solutions to meet their occupational needs in the future. Actively working towards building solutions implied an action phase (praxis) in Freire's terms. Yet, action process was constrained with the hierarchical nature of the probation system in Turkey.

PAR appears to be a promising methodology for studying governmental organizations that are still undergoing changes and revisions. PAR research methodology facilitated a sense of *conscientization* among the low ranked POs, but empowerment and praxis would need more structural changes at policy and institutional level. The present findings formulate strong practical recommendations for the probation system in Turkey, but a more persistent change is possible through clarifying probation systems goals, defining PO roles, and implementing best practices in research and training.



Chapter 3

The Link Between Attitudes Toward Probationers and Job Burnout in Turkish Probation Officers

This chapter is based on the following paper:

Ersayan, A. E., Çankaya, B., Erdem, G., Broers, N. J., & de Ruiter, C. (2021). The link between attitudes toward probationers and job burnout in Turkish probation officers.

Journal of Community Psychology, 50(2), 727-741. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22673>

Abstract

The goal of the current study was to investigate individual-level factors associated with job burnout among probation officers (POs) and, specifically, to examine if attitudes towards probationers were linked with job burnout in the context of the recently established probation system in Turkey. Participants ($N = 115$) were recruited from a probation office in Istanbul. Job burnout was assessed via three components: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and professional accomplishment. Results of structural equation modeling indicated that more favorable attitudes toward probationers were related to a lower sense of depersonalization and higher experience of professional accomplishment. However, POs' attitudes toward probationers were not associated with emotional exhaustion. Our findings are discussed in light of the present empirical literature on the contextual factors influential in job burnout. Practical implications for burnout prevention point to the potential effectiveness of working on attitudes among POs toward the people they supervise.

Introduction

Probation officers (POs) play a critical role in the probation system. They are expected to fulfill competing public safety, punishment, and rehabilitation goals while managing large caseloads, often with limited training opportunities for a professional qualification (Pitts, 2007). Given the demands of their work and limited resources in meeting the workload, POs are vulnerable to job burnout (White et al., 2015; Whitehead, 1985). Over the past four decades, several studies have investigated the job-related factors that are associated with job burnout in POs, including role conflict (Allard et al., 2003), job stress (Griffin et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2013), and organizational climate (Gayman & Bradley, 2013).

Fewer studies have focused on the individual characteristics of the POs concerning job burnout compared to studies on job-related characteristics. The impact of socio-demographic factors, such as age (Gayman et al., 2018), work experience (Andersen et al., 2017), and education level (Keinan & Malach-Pines, 2007) has been reported in several studies, but results have been mixed. Among the few studies focusing on the link between individual characteristics and job burnout among POs, attitudes have attracted the least attention albeit being a modifiable target of intervention. Only two studies (Gallavan & Newman, 2013; Schaefer & Williams, 2018) —to our knowledge — have been conducted to understand whether attitudes toward adult probationers are linked to PO burnout.

One of the two studies was conducted with 101 correctional mental health professionals (Gallavan & Newman, 2013). Favorable attitudes toward prisoners were found to be related to positive work experience, which was defined by professional accomplishment and feelings of pleasure associated with work (Gallavan & Newman, 2013). On the other hand, dis/favorable attitudes toward prisoners were not related to negative work experience defined by depersonalization, emotional exhaustion, and secondary traumatization (Gallavan & Newman, 2013). Another study with 75 parole and probation officers in a metropolitan city in Australia examined associations of attitudes toward probationers with burnout (Schaefer & Williams, 2018). Results indicated associations of negative attitudes with increased exhaustion, increased depersonalization, and decreased personal accomplishment.

The aforementioned studies examined job burnout in a Western context where the probation systems are well established, decentralized, provide supervision and other resources to the officers. In the current study, we aim to examine both socio-demographic characteristics and attitudes toward probationers as potential correlates of PO job burnout in the Turkish criminal justice system. The Turkish probation system was established in 2005 (Yavuz, 2012) in response to the accelerating incarceration rates across the country. The novelty of the probation system, the ongoing ambiguity of role definitions as well as procedures (Aslanyürek Zorlu, 2014), the centrality of the system with direct control by the Ministry of Justice and the Turkish state (Kavur, 2020), and the lack of resources for rehabilitation services (Erdem et al., 2019; Tuncer et al., 2020) make the Turkish case a unique context to explore burnout and attitudes towards probationers.

Job Burnout

Job burnout is a state of physical and psychological stress in response to the emotional and professional demands of a job. It has been conceptualized as comprising three interrelated core components (Maslach et al., 2001). *Emotional exhaustion* is the stress component of burnout; it is identified by a lack of enthusiasm for work and emotional depletion. *Depersonalization* refers to distancing oneself from work and the clients one serves. *Reduced personal accomplishment* is characterized by feelings of inefficacy in one's personal and professional life.

Maslach et al. (2001) reviewed numerous studies on correlates of job burnout across different helping professions and suggested that correlates can be categorized into *situational* and *individual* factors. In an attempt to understand situational factors, the authors defined three subfactors: *job characteristics*, *occupational characteristics*, and *organizational characteristics*. A wealth of research, conducted over 40 years, has provided consistent results on situational factors as correlates of job burnout. Job characteristics, such as role ambiguity, role conflict, absence of social support, lack of feedback, limited control, and autonomy were correlated with emotional exhaustion (Pitts, 2007; White et al., 2015). In a study of 825 probation and parole officers, Gayman and Bradley (2013) found role ambiguity, role conflict, role overload, and work stress to be significant predictors of job burnout. Among occupational

characteristics, for example, emotional challenges at work accounted for 12% of the variance in emotional exhaustion in a sample of 1242 adults with various service occupations, such as nurses, waiters, call center employees, and social workers (Zapf et al., 2001). Gayman et al. (2018) found that having more supervisees with mental health problems predicts more emotional exhaustion among probation and parole officers ($N = 798$). Organizational characteristics, such as not being allowed to provide input for decision making were also significantly correlated with increased burnout among 272 prison staff (Lambert et al., 2010).

In their model, Maslach et al. (2001) proposed that individual factors also play a role in burnout and these are composed of *demographics*, *personality characteristics*, and *job attitudes*. There has been limited research on what individual-level factors are associated with burnout among probation officers (Gallavan & Newman, 2013). In an attempt to address this gap, the current study focuses on an individual-level factor that may be linked to POs' job burnout, that is, their attitudes toward probationers (Gallavan & Newman, 2013). We investigate attitudes toward adult probationers in relation to PO job burnout. We incorporate demographic factors in our study as control variables given mixed findings regarding their associations with burnout in previous studies across various countries (e.g., EU countries, Canada, Australia, and the US; Purvanova & Muros, 2010).

Attitudes toward Service Recipients and Job Burnout

An attitude is a subjective evaluation that encompasses emotions, thoughts, beliefs, and behaviors toward something, someone, some issue, or some event (Breckler, 1984; Petty et al., 1997). Human service professionals' attitudes toward service recipients have been investigated concerning job burnout, but these studies are few in number in a criminal justice system context. In studies among other human service professionals, negative attitudes toward patient care were examined in association with burnout levels among pediatric residents (Baer et al., 2017) and medical students (Dyrbye et al., 2010). Findings indicated positive associations between negative attitudes toward patients and burnout levels (Baer et al., 2017; Dyrbye et al., 2010). Another study on community service providers' attitudes toward intellectual disability and mental illness (Tartakovsky et al., 2013) revealed that

empowerment-oriented attitudes, reported sense of similarity, and negative attitudes toward social exclusion, predicted low burnout in service staff, including managers, social workers, and support workers. In tutors of children with autism, high levels of negative attitudes towards autism, assessed with both implicit and explicit measures, were associated with higher burnout (Kelly & Barnes-Holmes, 2013). Holmqvist and Jeanneau (2006) found that more negative attitudes toward psychiatric patients were related to increased burnout among mental health professionals.

Studies have documented that negative attitudes towards prisoners are common in the correctional system, mainly among correctional officers, attorneys, and prison rehabilitation teams (Melvin et al., 1985; Ortet-Fabregat et al., 1993). The predictors of negative attitudes (i.e., years of work experience, empathic concern) have been explored in a few studies. For example, JPOs with less than one year of work experience had significantly higher negative attitudes than those with more than 10 years of work experience (Ersayan et al., 2021). Decreased empathic concern (Copley et al., 2014) has been associated with negative attitudes. Negative attitudes toward offenders have also been found to influence POs' supervisory strategies and, therefore, recidivism outcomes. Specifically, POs with more negative attitudes toward offenders employ stricter supervisory strategies for low risk offenders (Ricks et al., 2016). Such strict strategies have been documented as increasing recidivism risk (Oleson et al., 2011). In another study, punitive attitudes of JPOs were associated with increased recidivism risk perceptions (Ersayan et al., 2021). However, studies on the effects of these attitudes on these service professionals' burnout symptoms are rare, except for the studies by Gallavan and Newman (2013), and Schaefer and Williams (2018) mentioned before.

Demographic Factors and Job Burnout: A Mixed Picture

Some research supports the relevance of years of work experience in explaining job stress and burnout symptoms. For instance, among 1741 Danish prison and probation service personnel, Andersen et al. (2017) found a negative linear association between years of work experience and job burnout. As seniority in the job increased, job burnout decreased. Contrary to this finding, Gayman et al. (2018) found positive correlations between years of job experience and emotional exhaustion among 893

parole/probation officers working for the North Carolina Department of Community Corrections. Interestingly, an earlier study by Whitehead (1985) corroborates this relationship pattern, because he found a curvilinear relationship between work experience and burnout in POs: the least and the most experienced POs reported lower burnout levels than those in the middle range of work experience.

Findings on the association between age and burnout are mixed as well. Age has shown both positive (Keinan & Malach-Pines, 2007), and negative correlations (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) with job burnout among various human service professionals. Education level has also not been consistently correlated with burnout in correctional settings (Gayman & Bradley, 2013; Keinan & Malach-Pines, 2007).

For a gender-burnout link, prior research also provided little consistency in findings, although there appear to be differences in how men and women experience and/or express their job stress and burnout. In a study with 1,025 human service workers (i.e., nurses, police officers, psychiatrists), Maslach and Jackson (1978) found that women experienced emotional exhaustion more frequently and more intensely than men. On the other hand, women scored lower than men on the frequency and intensity of the depersonalization and personal accomplishment dimensions of burnout. Purvanova and Muros (2010), in their meta-analysis of gender differences in burnout, came to a similar conclusion, with women tending to experience higher levels of emotional exhaustion and men tending to experience higher levels of depersonalization.

The Current Study

The Turkish probation system was implemented in 2005 (Yavuz, 2012), and approximately 4,000 POs manage more than 700,000 cases as of January 2020 (Turkish Ministry of Justice, 2020a). A previous study documented medium to high levels of burnout among Turkish POs (Aslanyürek Zorlu, 2014). In a recent qualitative study, Turkish POs reported job burnout due to situational factors, such as too much paperwork, excessive caseloads, and role ambiguity (Erdem et al., 2019).

Thus far, the link between individual characteristics of POs and job burnout has not been studied in Turkey. Insight into these characteristics could be relevant for PO recruitment and may have implications for burnout prevention at the individual level.

This insight could be especially relevant in a more recently established probation system, such as the one in Turkey because there is not yet a strong rehabilitative tradition in the probation service (Tuncer et al., 2020). The present study examines the association of individual factors with job burnout in Turkish POs. Specifically, we will investigate the link between attitudes toward probationers (ATP) and three dimensions of job burnout: Emotional exhaustion (EE), Depersonalization (DEP), and Professional accomplishment (PROF). In line with previous research among human service personnel, we hypothesize that more positive attitudes toward probationers will be related to less burnout reported by POs. Based on the available evidence (Gallavan & Newman, 2013; Schaefer & Williams, 2018), we presume that POs with less favorable attitudes toward their probationers will experience more struggle under their work conditions.

In light of the mixed findings concerning the association between demographic characteristics and job burnout (Andersen et al., 2017; Gayman & Bradley, 2013; Gayman et al., 2018; Keinan & Malach-Pines, 2007; Maslach & Jackson, 1978; 1981; Purvanova & Muros, 2010; Whitehead, 1985) and the scarcity studies in non-Western contexts, we will also explore the associations between gender, age, years of work experience, education level, and job burnout.

Method

Participants and Procedure

We conducted the study in the Istanbul Probation Office, the largest probation office in Turkey. The criminal justice system in Turkey is centralized and the research site (as all other probation offices across the country) is managed by the Ministry of Justice. After obtaining official permission from the Turkish Ministry of Justice, we contacted the probation office and informed all staff about the study. Of 220 POs invited to the study, 116 agreed to participate (53% response rate). Those who did not participate in the study reported they were either on annual or maternity leave or had too much work.

Data were collected from June through October 2015. In order not to interfere with the busy work schedules of probation officers, we coordinated data collection

with a site coordinator to schedule days for data collection and announce time, day, and room for the survey study ahead of time. Two research assistants visited the probation office once a week, informed officers about the study, and screened for eligibility. To be eligible for the study, the officers had to be working in the probation system for at least six months and have direct contact with probationers. After giving written consent, the officers filled out the questionnaires in a quiet room. The surveys took 20-25 minutes to complete. Because the participants were employed at a government institution, it was against the protocol to compensate them by monetary incentives. Instead, the participants had the option to attend either a social event with food and refreshments during lunch or a seminar about communication skills and stress management training as incentives. The present study was approved by the Turkish Ministry of Justice with protocol number 46985942-773-E.146/22516 and approved by Koç University's Institutional Review Board.

The sample included 30 (26%) women and 86 (74%) men. The mean age of officers was 28.14 years ($SD = 4.89$; range = 20-46). The average work experience in the probation system was 2.40 years ($SD = 1.05$; range: 1-5 years). The majority of the participants had at least a college degree ($n = 70$, 72%). The sample recruited through the Istanbul probation office in 2015 resembles the sex distribution of the Ministry of Justice staff nationwide. Turkish Ministry of Justice (2017) states that 27% of all probation and correctional staff are women. Of note, official statistics regarding the age and education level of POs have not been available since 2011.

Measures

Participants filled out a brief demographic form and reported their age, gender, educational level, and years of experience in the probation service.

Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1981). The MBI is a 22-item 5-point Likert type scale with three subscales. The *Emotional Exhaustion* subscale (EE; 9 items) assesses the individual's level of depletion of emotional resources and inability to give to others. The *Depersonalization* subscale (DEP; 5 items) measures the aversion toward work, and the extent of negative feelings toward those one serves, in this case, probationers. The *Professional Accomplishment* subscale (PROF; 8 items) taps into the feeling of effectiveness at work. Sample items are 'I feel

emotionally drained from work (EE), 'I don't really care what happens to my recipients' (DEP), and 'I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job' (PROF). The internal consistencies (Cronbach's α) of the EE, DEP, and PROF subscales of the MBI were .83, .65, and .72 when adapted and tested in Turkish health care workers (Ergin, 1996). In the current sample, subscale internal consistencies were .89, .74, and .78, respectively. A combination of high scores on EE and DEP and a low score on PROF corresponds to a high level of burnout.

Attitudes Toward Prisoners Scale (ATP; Melvin et al., 1985). The ATP is a 36-item measure that assesses the strength of a person's negative attitudes toward prisoners. The items are rated on a 5-point Likert type scale (from 1 = *disagree strongly* to 5 = *agree strongly*) with lower scores indicating more negative attitudes. Example items include 'I wouldn't mind living next door to an ex-prisoner.' and 'Prisoners are no better or worse than other people.' The scale has been widely used to assess how different populations (i.e., social work students, correctional officers) perceive prisoners. It has shown high internal reliability (range = .84-.92) and test-retest reliability (.82; Melvin et al., 1985) when used with psychology students in the US. The Turkish translation and psychometric studies of the ATP scale were conducted by Akdaş Mitrani et al. (2012) and showed high internal reliability (α = .92). For the current study, the scale was adapted to assess probation officers' attitudes towards their clients by replacing the word "prisoner" with "probationer." The scale demonstrated high internal consistency in the current sample (α = .87).

Data analysis

We decided to perform Structured Equation Modeling to test out hypotheses and to probe the possible complexity of the interrelationships by exploring several path models that would allow us to examine the role of attitudes in relation to the various dimensions of job burnout while keeping demographic variables under control. For recursive models like ours, path analysis consists of a system of regression equations that can be solved with ordinary least squares estimation. Using Mplus version 7.2 for our path analyses, we obtained various fit indices that allowed us to identify the model that best described the observed covariance matrix. Model selection was based on an examination of the overall Chi-square goodness-of-fit test, the value of the root mean

square error of approximation (RMSEA; conventionally required to be smaller than .08 for a fair fit, and lower than .05 for a close fit), the Tucker Lewis Index (TLI; must be larger than 0.90 for an acceptable model) and the standardized root mean square residual for a direct indication of how well the original covariance matrix has been described by the model (SRMR; must be smaller than .08 for a close fit; Shi et al., 2019). Finding this optimal model also enabled us to attempt a replication of earlier results on the role of the demographic variables (PO's gender, age, years of work experience, and education level). In all path models, we examined the interrelationships between the three dimensions of job burnout as proposed by Taris et al. (2005) and based on an integration of earlier models proposed by Leiter and Maslach (1988), and Lee and Ashforth (1993). Guided by an analysis of longitudinal research with service providers, Taris et al.'s (2005) integrative model asserts a causal link with two main pathways: $EE \rightarrow DEP \rightarrow PROF$ and $EE \rightarrow PROF$. In addition to Taris et al.'s (2005) empirical research, we have conceptual reasons to expect such a causal model of three dimensions of burnout. Leiter and Maslach (1988) argue that EE is the main dimension, which triggers the burnout process, while DEP is a reactive and negative response to the exhaustion resulting from the overly demanding circumstances related to the job itself and the people within. PA, on the other hand, requires an overall evaluation of the work experience with direct and indirect links to the EE. We hypothesized that these pathways would be statistically significant in our models.

Results

Table 3.1 gives an overview of mean scores and standard deviations for all variables in the model and their intercorrelations. For path models, outcome variables are assumed to be normally distributed (Bollen, 1989). Neither EE nor DEP showed significant skewness or kurtosis values. PROF was mildly left-skewed (*skewness* = -0.48; *SE* = 0.23). Given the sample size, this was not considered problematic.

Figure 3.1 shows the original path model that we used to describe the observed covariance matrix. Because EE is considered the key dimension of job burnout (Leiter

Table 3.1. Mean Scores (with Standard Deviations in Brackets) and Pearson Correlations among Predictor Variables and Three Dimensions of Job Burnout

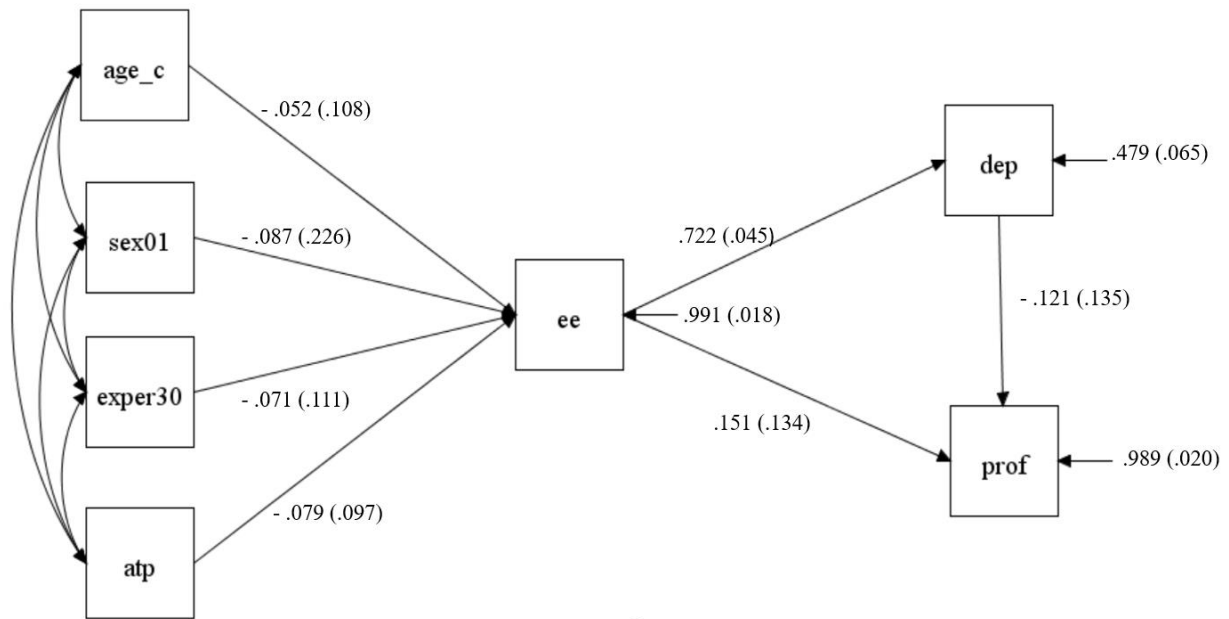
	Mean (<i>SD</i>)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Age	28.14 (4.89)							
2. Sex ^a	0.74 (.44)	-.08						
3. Work exp. ^b	2.29 (.80)	.48^c	-.20					
4. ATP	3.38 (.39)	-.06	-.22	.16				
5. EE	1.81 (.75)	-.01	-.01	.06	-.06			
6. DEP	1.35 (.76)	-.03	.08	.02	-.27	.74		
7. PROF.	1.32 (.61)	-.02	-.17	.04	.22	-.04	-.08	

^aSex is coded 0 for women and 1 for men. Mean of Sex reflects proportion of males in sample. Correlations with Sex are point-biserial correlations. ^bWork experience proved very right skewed. We therefore merged the two most extreme categories '5 years' and 'more than 5 years'. Means and correlations relate to the modified scale of work experience. ^cCorrelation values printed in bold italics are significant at .01, values printed in bold but not in italics are significant at .05.

ATP = Attitudes Towards Probationers; DEP = Depersonalization; EE = Emotional Exhaustion; PROF = Professional Accomplishment

& Maslach, 1988), all demographic variables, as well as ATP, were modeled to have an effect on EE, which [following Taris et al.'s (2005) model] was hypothesized to have an effect on both DEP and PROF. In addition, DEP was hypothesized to have a negative effect on PROF. Standardized path coefficients plus their corresponding standard errors are shown in Figure 3.1. Table 3.2 gives an overview of the fit indices for this model and for the two models that resulted from subsequent, sequential modifications.

Dividing the standardized coefficients by their standard errors approximately yielded normally distributed z-scores, with ratios larger than 2 (or smaller than -2) showing significant results. Model 1 provided a bad fit according to all goodness-of-fit indices [$\chi^2(8) = 22.41, p = .004$; $TLI = .732$; $RMSEA = .125$; $SRMR = .062$; see Figure 1]. Modification indices, which are chi-square distributed with 1 df, showed the observed covariance between ATP and DEP to have been poorly reproduced. This led to the inclusion of ATP's direct effect on DEP in Model 2, resulting in an acceptable

Figure 3.1. Model 1

All direct effects of continuous variables are standardized, with SE shown within parentheses. The effect of Sex01 is partially standardized.

Note: Age has been expressed on a centered scale, Sex is a binary variable coded 0 for females and 1 for males, and Exper30 (referring to Work Experience) has been reverse-coded with the most experienced group (≥ 5 years experience) as the reference category.

ATP = Attitudes Towards Probationers; DEP = Depersonalization; EE = Emotional Exhaustion; PROF = Professional Accomplishment

Table 3.2. Fit Indices for Three Path Models

	Chi square (<i>df</i>)	<i>p</i>	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Model 1 ^a	22.41 (8)	.004	.732	.125	.062
Model 2 ^b	8.05 (7)	.328	.978	.036	.043
Model 3 ^c	3.78 (7)	.804	1.000	.000	.027

^aModel shown in Figure 1; ^bAs Model 1, with addition of a direct effect of ATP on DEP; ^cAs Model 2, with addition of a direct effect of ATP on PROF, and deletion of direct effect of ATP on EE, shown in Figure 2.

goodness-of-fit [$\chi^2(7) = 8.05, p = .328; TLI = .978; RMSEA = .036; SRMR = .043$;

Figure not shown]. However, an inspection of the observed covariance matrix

indicated further improvement by sequentially adding a direct effect of ATP on PROF

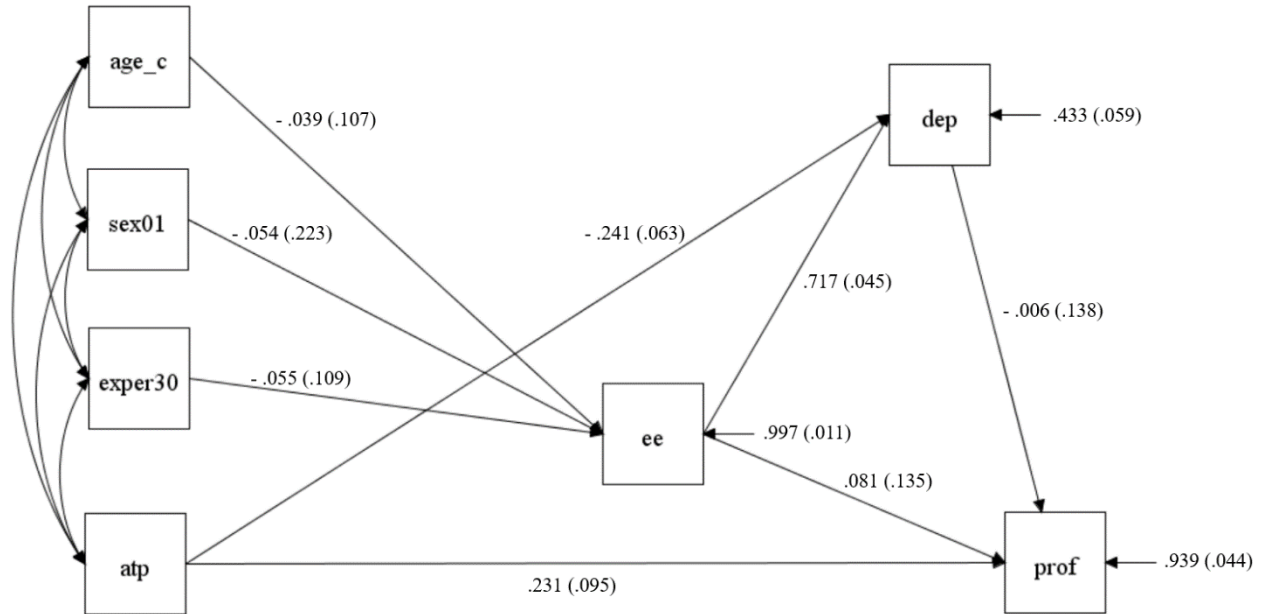
and deleting the non-significant effect of ATP on EE. These additional modifications

resulted in the final model, which indicated an almost perfect fit [$\chi^2(7) = 3.78, p =$

.804; $TLI = 1.0; RMSEA = .000; SRMR = .027$; see Figure 3.2]. The final model shows

that virtually none of the variance in EE can be explained by any exogenous variables (ATP and demographic variables).

Figure 3.2. Final model



Consistent with Taris et al.'s (2005) burnout model and prior empirical findings, most of the variance in DEP can be explained by its positive relationship with EE ($b = .717$; $SE = .045$) in our study. That is, EE tends to come with DEP. However, other hypothesized pathways are not statistically significant in our sample. Specifically, neither EE ($b = .081$; $SE = .135$) nor DEP ($b = -.006$; $SE = .138$) shows a relationship with PROF.

Our results show that positive attitudes towards probationers tend to be associated with less DEP ($b = -.241$; $SE = .063$) and show a clear positive relationship with PROF ($b = .231$; $SE = .095$). Contrary to our hypothesis, there is no association between ATP and EE (see Figure 3.2).

Discussion

This study fills a gap in the current research field by examining several individual factors concerning job burnout levels experienced by POs within a non-Western society. Among many challenges inherent in working within a correctional

system, POs often carry a demanding caseload, receive poor support services, and often work toward unclear rehabilitative objectives (Holloway et al., 2013; Pitts, 2007; Steiner et al., 2004). Evidence to date suggests that such work conditions would increase the likelihood of job burnout (White et al., 2015; Whitehead, 1985). Similar to North American and European contexts, burnout, job stress, and role ambiguities are prevalent among Turkish POs (Altın, 2015; Erdem et al., 2019; Kamer, 2008), yet we know little about factors that contribute to burnout in POs. Such knowledge could help in designing interventions that would target system level, organizational changes, and perhaps more easily modifiable individual-level changes, to support the mental health needs of POs.

Maslach et al. (2001) state that burnout is influenced by a multitude of factors that include not only work-related conditions, but also individual-level factors, such as attitudes. In this study, we investigated the association of attitudes toward probationers with the three separate components of job burnout. We hypothesized that unfavorable views about the people they serve (i.e., negative attitudes towards probationers) would significantly contribute to all dimensions of burnout, including emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and professional accomplishment. Our hypotheses were confirmed for the associations of attitudes with depersonalization and personal accomplishment, but not emotional exhaustion.

Consistent with our expectations, more negative attitudes toward probationers were related to higher depersonalization. That is, officers seem to be more aversive to work and detached from probationers when they have such attitudes. The co-occurrence of negative attitudes and depersonalization in our study may point at stigmatization of probationers. Goffman (1963) defines stigma as negative attitudes, emotional reactions, and behaviors toward a specific group based on its perceived characteristics. Distancing, detachment, and social exclusion are reported as indicators of stigma (McGinty et al., 2015; Nieweglowski et al., 2018). As such, negative attitudes toward and detachment from probationers may be indicators of stigma. Future studies could explore the experiences of probationers in the Turkish criminal justice system and examine potential indicators of stigmatization.

Another interpretation of the empirical link between depersonalization and negative attitudes could be found in the concept of coping with burnout. Depersonalization in itself may be viewed as a strategy to cope with the emotional burden of the work and thereby exacerbate negative attitudes toward probationers. Prior research has shown that Turkish probation officers, despite many complaints, feel hopeless about changing the probation system and report a lack of access to resources (Aslanyürek Zorlu, 2014; Erdem et al., 2019; Tuncer et al., 2020). That is, officers have little input into decision making and lack opportunities for training and supervision, factors that are significantly associated with depersonalization (Rhineberger-Dunn & Mack, 2020). Within a context where POs do not see any alternatives to improving the services they provide, it is likely that they develop coping strategies that help them detach from probationers (in this case, depersonalization). Indeed, a similar study with POs (Wirkus et al., 2021) found that person-averse and avoidant coping strategies were preferred to cope with burnout and was perceived as adaptive, especially when opportunities such as career advancement were limited.

Additionally, we found that more positive attitudes toward probationers were linked to an increased sense of professional accomplishment among POs. This finding may indicate, though obviously speculative, that positive attitudes may function as an ‘intrinsic reward’ for officers. In a similar vein, Finney et al. (2013) reported in a systematic review on burnout in correctional officers the important role of intrinsic rewards within the criminal justice system context, where extrinsic rewards are often limited.

Contrary to our hypothesis and prior research (e.g., Schaefer & Williams, 2018), we found attitudes toward probationers to be unrelated to emotional exhaustion. That is, negative attitudes were not associated with the depletion of emotional resources among POs. This finding could perhaps be attributable to the demographic makeup of our sample, which consisted mainly of men. There is evidence suggesting that men experience emotional exhaustion less frequently and less intensely compared to women (LaFaver et al., 2018; Maslach & Jackson, 1978). On the contrary, women experience depersonalization (Morgan et al., 2002; Savicki et al., 2003) and personal accomplishment less frequently and less intensely than men (Lambert et al., 2012).

Thus, the lack of an association between negative attitudes and emotional exhaustion in the current sample might be due to our predominantly male sample (74%) as opposed to the study conducted by Schaefer and Williams (2018), where the majority of the sample was female (86%). These findings point to the relevance of gender in explaining job burnout symptoms. Besides, this finding also illustrates the utility of examining burnout in different countries due to potentially different staff demographic characteristics. The Turkish Ministry of Justice (2017) reports that 73% of staff are male in Turkey, contrary to its counterparts in Western countries.

Gender is not the only factor that could make a difference in what constitutes burnout across different contexts. According to the meta-analysis of Purvanova and Muros (2010), the variation in the gender-burnout link may be partially accounted for by differences in the work context, related to (conservative versus progressive) labor policies. Accordingly, the female gender-emotional exhaustion association was stronger for samples derived from countries with conservative labor policies⁷ (e.g., US) compared to samples derived from countries with progressive labor policies (e.g., Canada, EU). Turkey's labor policies belong to a neoliberal model closer to conservative labor policies (Sarimehmet Duman, 2014), and probation officers in the Turkish criminal justice system do not have unions to advocate for their labor rights (Yücel, 2017). Future research is needed to evaluate the link between labor policies and gender-specific burnout symptoms in Turkey. Female POs constitute a minority of staff in the criminal justice system (Yücel, 2017); however, it would be pertinent to conduct a replication of our study in a predominantly female sample of Turkish POs, to investigate the replicability of our findings in female POs.

Another potential explanation for the lack of findings between exhaustion and burnout may relate to the overlap between reports of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization in the current sample ($r = .74$), showing that depersonalization may suppress a potential link between emotional exhaustion and attitudes. Gallavan and

⁷ The United Nation International Labor Office (ILO) asks the member-countries to adhere to the following policies: no more than 10 hours of work per day including overtime, a weekly rest period of at least 24 h, at least six working days of annual paid vacation, which exclude public holidays, no less than six weeks of paid maternity leave per child, and compulsory health insurance for all employees. Whereas some countries such as the EU adopt policies that exceed the ILO standards, other countries such as the US only meet the minimum recommended standards. The countries in the former group could be defined as countries with progressive labor policies. In contrast, countries in the latter group could be defined as countries with conservative labor policies (Purvanova & Muros, 2010).

Newman's (2013) findings with correctional officers also hint at a conceptual link between emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. In their study, principal components analyses were conducted to operationalize burnout using the factors within the Maslach Burnout Inventory and Professional Quality of Life Survey (Stamm, 2009). In their analyses, emotional exhaustion and depersonalization along with secondary trauma stress loaded onto a component (named negative experience of work) whereas personal accomplishment and compassion satisfaction loaded onto another component (named positive experience of work). This finding indicates that emotional exhaustion and depersonalization share a more common variance compared to the variance between either of these dimensions and personal accomplishment. In Gallavan and Newman's study (2013), attitudes toward prisoners were associated with positive experiences of work, but not with negative experiences of work. In sum, the operationalization of burnout, gender-specificity, and context-specific factors all play a role in the influence attitudes have on different dimensions of work-related stress. Future research is warranted to inquire the role of these influential factors in our understanding of burnout.

We also examined socio-demographic correlates of burnout among POs. Hypotheses were not provided for the associations between socio-demographic characteristics and levels of burnout because of conflicting findings in the literature (Andersen et al., 2017; Gayman & Bradley, 2013; Gayman et al., 2018; Keinan & Malach-Pines, 2007; Maslach & Jackson, 1978; 1981; Purvanova & Muros, 2010; Whitehead, 1985). Our results pointed to a lack of associations between job burnout and demographic features.

In sum, the present study adds to the limited empirical knowledge base on how attitudes toward probationers relate to POs' psychological distress (Gallavan & Newman, 2013; Schaefer & Williams, 2018). Our results, except for the link between attitudes and exhaustion, are in line with those of Schaefer and Williams (2018), who found that positive attitudes were related to a reduced sense of depersonalization and an increased feeling of personal accomplishment.

Implications for future practice

Our findings may be of practical relevance in that interventions aimed at improving POs' attitudes toward probationers could help in enhancing the mental well-being of POs. Correctional departments could take specific actions in order to increase resources for training and supervision for POs. First of all, these trainings could aim to increase mental health awareness and literacy among officers, to increase their understanding of the risk of burnout (White et al., 2015). According to our findings, POs' attitudes toward probationers may be an individually modifiable target in reducing specific components of burnout. Having more positive attitudes toward probationers could help ensure a more positive work environment for POs (White et al., 2015), which according to our findings could not only help in increasing POs' sense of professional accomplishment but also in decreasing their sense of detachment from probationers. The importance of attitudes toward probationers and their association with risk of burnout could be a theme in professional educational training, individually tailored psychological interventions for POs and in supportive supervision to POs. Among psychological interventions, improvements in communication and interpersonal skills with probationers (Krasner et al., 2009), increasing coping skills, and cognitive behavioral treatments have been used in targeting burnout symptoms (Krasner et al., 2009; Maslach et al., 2001; Schaufeli & Peeters, 2000). In cognitive behavioral treatments, cognitive restructuring could be a viable target in decreasing dysfunctional and negative beliefs about probationers. In addition, an acceptance and values-based workshop informed by Acceptance and Commitment Therapy has been shown to be effective in decreasing negative attitudes of counselors toward their substance-abusing clients along with decreasing burnout rates (Hayes et al., 2004). White et al (2005) suggested that this approach might be translated to workshops with POs. In light of the link between burnout and attitudes, we recommend that correctional departments consider organizational arrangements to allocate time and resources for educational and preventive workshops helping POs reformulate their perspective on their clients. This could not only improve the mental health burden of the work for POs but also improve the prospects of the probationers they serve.

Empirical evidence shows that attitudinal change in POs about their role in rehabilitative practices results in desirable outcomes for their probationers, such as reduced recidivism rates (Bourgon et al., 2012; Lowenkamp et al., 2013). The implementations of these interventions could be extended by attitudinal change theories (Wood, 2000), to target not only a shift in supervisory goals from repression to rehabilitation, but also perceptions of probationers. Previous research has shown positive associations between probationer success and improved interpersonal relationships between POs and probationers (e.g., collaborative communication; Kleinpeter et al., 2011; positive alliance; Clark et al., 2006). Future research could examine whether interventions that improve the quality of relationships between POs and probationers translate to more favorable attitudes toward probationers and decreased levels of job burnout (Gayman et al., 2018; Tuncer et al., 2020).

Limitations

The current study has several limitations. First, our study is cross-sectional. Thus, causal interpretations cannot be made. Second, participants' responses were based on self-report about their attitudes, personal and work characteristics, and experiences of burnout. Although confidentiality was ensured, we do not know whether participants answered honestly and/or whether fears of appearing incompetent impacted their responses. Third, our sample was composed of POs serving their duties in a metropolitan area in Turkey. For generalizable conclusions, future research needs to include a more extensive network of offices in the city or across the country. Fourth, most of the participants in our study were male. The majority of Turkey's probation officers are men (Yücel, 2017), and less is known about the work experiences of female staff in the probation system. Future research needs to cross-validate our findings in a randomly selected sample of POs from different urban and rural regions of Turkey.

Conclusions

In comparison with relevant other research findings, our study did not provide evidence for the association of attitudes with all three dimensions of burnout. Our study demonstrates that there is a link between attitudes towards probationers and two dimensions of job burnout: depersonalization and professional accomplishment, but

not emotional exhaustion. The current study contributes to the community psychology literature in several ways. Our study concerns the attitudes of officers employed in community-based probation programs and their attributions about work experiences with probationers, a vulnerable and marginalized group in Turkish society. Additionally, the findings suggest areas of intervention to diminish negative attitudes toward probationers and the risk of job burn out in these community service workers. Future research could examine contextual and community-level factors that contribute to or intersect with officers' mental health as well as attitudes toward probationers. Given the inconsistencies across findings from the few studies in this area and variations in measurement, there is also a need for future research that clarifies the psychological consequences of holding dis/favorable attitudes toward probationers in different countries.



Chapter 4

Turkish Juvenile Probation Officers' Punitive and Rehabilitative Attitudes and Recidivism Risk Perceptions about Male and Female Juvenile Delinquents

This chapter is based on the following paper:

Ersayan, A. E., Broers, N. J., & de Ruiter, C. (2021). *Turkish juvenile probation officers' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes and recidivism risk perceptions about male and female juvenile delinquents* [Manuscript under review]. Faculty of Psychology and Neuroscience, Maastricht University.

Abstract

Juvenile probation officers (JPOs) are responsible for the accurate assessment of risk and the planning of the most effective rehabilitation interventions for juvenile delinquents. Prior research in the US has shown that JPOs tend to use their subjective judgements rather than risk assessment tools to assess risk. The factors that influence these judgments are not well known. The present study examined the link between Turkish juvenile probation officers' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes and their recidivism risk perceptions about male and female juvenile delinquents. We randomly presented 252 Turkish JPOs from 24 probation offices with a case vignette that included an armed robbery perpetrated by either a male or a female juvenile offender. They were asked to provide recidivism risk perception scores. They also completed a self-report questionnaire on punitive and rehabilitative attitudes toward juvenile probationers. Results revealed that gender of the juvenile offender and punitive attitudes interacted in the prediction of recidivism risk perceptions. Specifically, only for male juvenile offenders, more punitive attitudes of JPOs were related with higher recidivism risk perceptions. Interventions aimed at diminishing punitive attitudes among JPOs could foster a focus on rehabilitation in the Turkish approach to juvenile offender recidivism reduction.

Introduction

Juvenile probation systems in most countries rest on the premise that community-based rehabilitation assists in reducing juvenile recidivism. Criminal recidivism in juvenile offenders is not only a serious public health concern (Ryan et al., 2013), but it also brings substantial costs to the correctional system and society in general (Cohen et al., 2010; Day & Koegl, 2019). There is evidence that chronic young offenders are highly likely to continue their offending careers into adulthood (Loeber & Farrington, 2001; de Ruiter & Augimeri, 2012). Several individual risk factors for juvenile recidivism have been established, i.e., callous-unemotional traits (e.g., Frick & White, 2008), hyperactivity (e.g., Pardini et al., 2006), and low resting heart rate (e.g., Raine et al., 2014). Contextual risk factors include poor parenting (e.g., Mulder et al., 2011), deviant peer association (e.g., Shapiro et al., 2010) and low socioeconomic status (SES; Jarjoura et al., 2002). Furthermore, offender gender is an important moderating factor, because research has shown that risk factors for recidivism for male and female juvenile offenders only partially overlap (Scott & Brown, 2018).

Several evidence-based risk assessment tools including the above-mentioned risk factors have been developed and implemented over the past few decades (see, e.g., Baglivio & Jackowski, 2013; Bechtel et al., 2007; Childs et al., 2013). The aim of these tools is to accurately identify youth at risk and match them with appropriate interventions in order to lower recidivism rates. In spite of sustained efforts to implement these tools (Vincent et al., 2012), research has shown that youth justice professionals, such as social workers and juvenile probation officers (JPOs), have been using them irregularly or with professional overrides (Miller & Palmer, 2020; Shook & Sarri, 2007; Vaswani & Merone, 2014). This is critical because JPOs play a major role in the success of the juveniles' probation period. They serve as a link between punishment and rehabilitation with the major responsibility of accurately addressing juvenile delinquents' risk of recidivism. Research shows that correct identification of risk factors is the key to reducing juvenile offender recidivism (Vincent et al., 2012). In case of overestimation or underestimation of risk, the juvenile may become more

prone to criminal behavior than if he/she had been handled correctly (Gatti et al., 2009). There is little empirical research on which factors play a role in these critical decisions JPOs' make (Gottfredson, 1987; Miller & Palmer, 2020; Sanborn, 1996).

A study with 100 juvenile court workers, including JPOs, showed that prior offense record, type and severity of the offense, youth's personality, school record and history of failed treatment were influential factors in the decision-making process (Sanborn, 1996). Similar findings were recently reported by Miller and Palmer (2020). A study of 638 juvenile case files from the New York City Family Court System showed that JPOs seemed to focus on respect for and compliance with legal rules in their dispositional recommendations to the presiding judge (Lin et al., 2008). None of these studies explored juvenile delinquents' gender as a potential factor in JPO's risk assessments despite its relevance to juvenile recidivism (Scott & Brown, 2018).

For example, in a sample of 1396 Dutch delinquents—1156 boys and 240 girls—aged between 12 and 18, Van der Put et al. (2014) found that the recidivism rate was 53% for boys and 30% for girls over a two-year follow up. A study in New South Wales among 8,797 juvenile offenders aged 10-17 years showed that male delinquents recidivated significantly more than female delinquents over a 10-year follow up period (Payne & Weatherburn, 2015). Twenty-eight percent of 402 delinquents between ages 11-17 recidivated in the North Eastern US over a period of 12 months and the proportion of male recidivists (32%) was significantly higher than the proportion of female recidivists (22%) (Conrad et al., 2014).

The current study attempts to contribute to the limited juvenile justice literature by exploring gender as a potential factor in JPOs' risk perceptions. In addition, we will extend our investigation to JPOs' characteristics. As Gottfredson (1987) has argued, JPOs might give inappropriate weight to non-evidence-based factors because of perceptual biases and cognitive errors. One previous study found support for a link between adult probation officers' (PO) characteristics and their recidivism risk perceptions (Ricks et al., 2016). Findings show that the more emphasis POs put on their punitive role, the higher their recidivism risk estimates. No studies—to our knowledge—have been performed within the juvenile justice system, to explore how

JPOs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes are linked to their recidivism risk perceptions.

Juvenile Probation Services in Turkey

There are currently 14,836 juveniles between the ages of 12 and 18 under probationary supervision in Turkey (Turkish Ministry of Justice; TMJ, 2020a) and the majority of them are convicted for drug possession (Kocagazioğlu et al., 2016). The number of juveniles referred to probation has quadrupled over the past decade (TMJ, 2020a). Approximately 1,600 Turkish JPOs are expected to fulfill their combined roles of helping juvenile offenders' rehabilitation while monitoring their compliance with the court order (White et al., 2015). Most JPOs are primarily POs who have attended a few seminars or workshops on juvenile delinquency and supervise both adults and juveniles.

When a juvenile is referred to the probation service by the Turkish court, a JPO interviews them to assess recidivism risk on a three-point scale (low, medium, high). This assessment is conducted on the basis of the JPOs' impression of the juvenile offender, without the aid of a structured risk assessment tool. The higher the risk of reoffending is estimated, the more intensive the formulated case management plan will be. These case management plans typically include group programs and seminars (e.g., how to avoid alcohol and drug abuse, aggression management) in the probation offices, scheduled throughout one year of probation supervision. Up to 12 individual sessions may be required for medium and high-risk youth in addition to the group programs and seminars. If the JPO estimates the youth to be at low risk, they will likely not ask for further attendance of individual sessions or other programs.

Individual sessions aim to strengthen the relationship between the JPO and the juvenile, to collaborate to keep them motivated. Two structured group programs are implemented: *SAMBA-Jr* (Overcoming Cigarette, Alcohol and Drug Addiction for Juveniles); and *Step by Step*, a Cognitive Behavioral Therapy program intended to increase juveniles' awareness of their dysfunctional thoughts (for instance, "I harmed someone. I will be damned for the rest of my life"; "I could not control my temper. I am a total failure") and to change them. Both programs include lectures, videos, role

plays and experiential exercises and comprise 12 weekly 45-60-minute sessions with a group of 8 to 10 juveniles. A juvenile may have one or both of these programs in their case management plan, depending on his/her needs assessed by the JPO.

Home visits and leisure time activities are also part of the juvenile probation program. JPOs collaborate with other governmental and non-governmental institutions to plan activities such as football, painting and playing musical instruments in accordance with the juveniles' interests and needs. Additionally, reporting their whereabouts to the JPOs and submitting urinalyses is generally required. Juveniles' failure to comply with the case management plan requires the JPO to terminate the rehabilitation program and refer the juvenile back to the juvenile court where their probation term is revoked. In such a case, depending on the availability of space, they may be imprisoned in a juvenile or adult detention facility.

The Present Study

At present, little is known about the factors that are associated with JPOs' recidivism risk perceptions. Insight into this is important within the context of the Turkish probation system, especially because at present there is no structured, evidence-based risk assessment tool in use. Turkish JPOs estimate juvenile delinquents' recidivism risk based on their own unstructured professional judgment. Whether they take evidence-based risk factors, such as the gender of the juvenile offender, into account is unknown. Second, Turkish probation officers have been shown to struggle with the implementation of rehabilitative services in an increasingly punitive Turkish criminal justice system (Erdem et al., 2019). Examining the role of JPOs' attitudes on their recidivism risk perceptions could be relevant for the juvenile probation system in Turkey. Specifically, we will explore the link between gender of the juvenile offender, punitive and rehabilitative attitudes of Turkish JPOs, and their recidivism risk perceptions.

In light of empirical studies in the adult probation literature that have documented male offender gender as a factor that predicts harsher punishment

compared to their female counterparts (Frazier et al., 1983; Leiber et al., 2018), we first hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1: JPOs will have higher recidivism risk perceptions for male compared to female juvenile offenders.

Although punitive and rehabilitative attitudes are seemingly at two ends of a continuum, there is evidence they are not mutually exclusive, and can co-exist (Tuncer et al., 2020). In the latter study, a brief Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR)-based training was effective in reducing punitive attitudes, but not in promoting rehabilitative attitudes among JPOs. Thus, we have formulated separate hypotheses for punitive and rehabilitative attitudes. In light of Ricks et al. (2016), we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 2: JPOs with more punitive attitudes have higher risk perceptions than JPOs with less punitive attitudes.

Hypothesis 3: JPOs with more rehabilitative attitudes have lower risk perceptions than JPOs with less rehabilitative attitudes.

Next to testing the existence of the predicted bivariate relationships, we will exploratively examine unique main and interaction effects of offender gender and rehabilitative and punitive attitudes on the perception of recidivism risk. In addition, we will also explore if JPO's gender, age, years of work experience, and educational level are associated with JPOs' recidivism risk perceptions. Finally, we will explore whether these background variables together can be used for predicting the level of rehabilitative and punitive attitudes in a JPO.

Method

Recruitment and Participants

Recruitment started after obtaining initial permission from the Turkish Ministry of Justice. The prospective participants were approximately 400 JPOs from 24 different probation offices in 21 cities in Turkey. They were invited by the Ministry of

Justice to complete a five-day training on juvenile delinquency and rehabilitation. Training programs were conducted by trainers from the Department of Probation between July 16 and 27, 2018 and November 12 and 30, 2018. Three groups of 20 to 25 participants were invited to the training each week. Data were collected on the first day of each training. Participation was voluntary. No incentives were offered.

Of the 252 participants who participated, the majority were women ($n = 136$, 54%). Most ($n = 193$, 77%) had a college degree and 59 (23%) had completed graduate studies. Their mean age was 34.81 years ($SD = 5.69$; range = 24-60). Thirty-nine percent ($n = 99$) of the participants reported between 5 to 10 years of work experience within the criminal justice system.

Procedure

Upon obtaining written informed consent, participants started the assessment procedure. The survey included a demographic questionnaire, scales for punitive and rehabilitative attitudes and an item to rate the perceived recidivism risk of the juvenile in a case vignette. Participants spent approximately 10 minutes completing the assessment.

The present study was approved by the Turkish Ministry of Justice with protocol number 46985942/598/103366. Ethical approval was obtained from Koç University Ethical Committee with protocol number 2018.232.IRB.65.

Study Design

Previous research has demonstrated that participants provide more reliable and valid responses to vignettes than to abstract questions (Alexander & Becker, 1978). In light of this finding, we prepared a vignette with 16-year-old male or female, in which the girl/boy enters a store and asks for money. When the cashier refuses, s/he grabs a pocketknife from the shelf to threaten the cashier. S/he grabs the money from the cash register and runs away. Participants were asked to rate the recidivism risk of the juvenile. They were randomly assigned to either the male ($n = 116$) or the female ($n = 136$) version of the vignette. We emphasized that their answers should reflect their actual discretion.

Measures

Participants filled out a brief demographic information form on which they reported their age, gender, educational level and years of experience in the criminal justice system.

Recidivism risk perception. Recidivism risk perception was assessed by one question. “*How would you rate the recidivism risk of the juvenile in the vignette?*” It was intended to gauge participants’ recidivism risk perception on three response categories as 1 (*low*), 2 (*medium*) or 3 (*high*). Preliminary analyses revealed that the distribution of the recidivism risk perception outcome variable was severely skewed. The vast majority of participants rated the juvenile in the vignette as high risk. Therefore, we dichotomized the variable by collapsing the first two values (1 and 2) and the third value (3). The two remaining categories were coded as 1 (high) and 0 (low to medium).

Correctional Goal Scale. This is a 7-point Likert-type scale with six items aiming to measure attitudes toward the criminal sanctioning of adults (Cullen et al., 1985). For the present study, we used the 5-point Likert-type version ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) to measure punitiveness toward justice-involved youth (Vincent et al., 2012). The internal consistency Cronbach’s α for this version was .70 in a prior study (Tuncer et al., 2020). The internal consistency in the current sample was .59.

Support for Rehabilitation Scale. Six items are rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale to assess support for rehabilitation of justice-involved youth (Bazemore & Feder, 1997). It yielded a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .79$ in the original study (Bazemore & Feder, 1997). We used the adapted version (Vincent et al., 2012) with a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) for the present study. A reliability coefficient of .62 was reported in a previous study (Tuncer et al., 2020). The internal consistency in the present sample was .62.

Data Analysis

We first examined the distributions of our background and predictor variables. Then we focused on the predicted bivariate correlations as specified in our hypotheses.

We then performed a logistic regression analysis in order to explore unique main and interaction effects of offender gender, rehabilitative and punitive attitudes of JPOs on perceived recidivism risk. For an exploratory analysis, linear regression was used to examine the predictive value of the background variables on rehabilitative and punitive attitudes.

Results

Distributions of Predictor Variables

Both punitive and rehabilitative attitudes were approximately normally distributed. Since both attitudes were measured with a collection of 5-point Likert scales and the scores were computed as the averages of these Likert scales, it is noteworthy that the mean punitiveness score of our JPO participants was equal to 2.02 ($SD = 0.55$), one point below the neutral middle of the range of the scale, suggesting that our participants as a group did not have a strong punitive attitude. Conversely, the mean rehabilitative score for our participants was 3.90 ($SD = 0.55$), or approximately one point above the neutral middle of the scale, suggesting that as a group our participants tended to have a favorable attitude to rehabilitation.

Main Analyses

We had three hypotheses. First, we predicted that JPOs will have higher recidivism risk perceptions for male compared to female juvenile offenders. Second, we expected JPOs with more punitive attitudes to have higher risk perceptions than JPOs with less punitive attitudes. Third, we hypothesized that JPOs with more rehabilitative attitudes have lower risk perceptions than JPOs with less rehabilitative attitudes.

Our hypotheses were not confirmed. There was no significant association between JPO's recidivism risk perception and gender of the offender ($\chi^2(1) = .027, p = .870$, OR for recidivism risk perception = 1.042). As shown in Table 4.1, JPOs' punitive attitudes were not correlated with recidivism risk perceptions ($r = .06, p =$

.385). There was a significant relationship between JPOs' rehabilitative attitudes and recidivism risk perceptions ($r = .13, p = .045$), but it was in the opposite direction from what we had predicted.

Table 4.1. Bivariate Correlations between Outcome Variables and their Potential Predictors

	RR ^g	Pun	Reh
Ppt_gender ^a	-.17**	.12	-.23**
Age	-.02	.09	-.18**
Exper ^{b, h}	.03	-.14*	-.10
Graduate ^c	.12*	-.02	.15*
Off_gender ^d	.01	-.15*	.10
Pun ^e	.06		
Reh ^f	.13*		

^a Pptgender = gender of the participant, coded 0 if female and 1 if male; ^b Experience of the participant, rated from 0 (less than 1 year) to 4 (more than 10 years); ^c masters or above = highest education, coded 0 if university and 1 if masters or above; ^d Off_gender = gender of the offender, coded 0 if female and 1 if male; ^e Pun = quantitative score on the Correctional Goal Scale; ^f Reh = quantitative score on the Support for Rehabilitation scale; ^g RR = perceived recidivism risk, coded 0 if JPO believed the offender will probably not recidivate and 1 if the JPO believed the offender will probably recidivate; ^h Correlations with Exper are rank order.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Tables 4.2a and 4.2b show the results of the logistic regression analysis where we aimed to predict perceived recidivism risk on the basis of gender of the offender, and punitive and rehabilitative attitudes. The results in Table 4.2a show the interaction between punitive attitudes and gender of the offender to be significant. This required us to delete the non-significant interaction term leading to the final result displayed in Table 4.2b.

Punitive attitudes impact JPOs' perception of recidivism risk only for male juvenile offenders (Wald $\chi^2 = 5.043, p = .025, B = .772, OR = 2.165$), showing that the predicted odds of a JPO perceiving a male offender at high risk of recidivating increases by a factor of 2.2 units for each unit increase in punitive attitudes. If the offender is female, having a punitive attitude has no statistically demonstrable impact on JPOs' judgement of recidivism risk (Wald $\chi^2 = .030, p = .863, B = .045, OR = 1.046$).

Table 4.2a. Results of Logistic Regression Analysis with Recidivism Risk as Outcome

<i>Predictor</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
Pun ^a	-.21	.34	.55	.81	[.42, 1.59]
Reh	.32	.33	.33	1.38	[.72, 2.62]
Off_gender	.04	.27	.89	1.04	[.62, 1.74]
Pun_Offgender ^b	1.05	.50	.03	2.86	[1.08, 7.56]
Reh_Offgender ^c	.52	.51	.31	1.68	[.62, 4.58]

^a Pun, Reh and Offgender express simple effects; ^b Product term, interaction between Pun and Offgender; ^c Product term, interaction between Reh and Offgender

Table 4.2b. Results of Logistic Regression Analysis with Recidivism Risk as Outcome

<i>Predictor</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
Pun ^a	.77	.34	.03	2.17	[1.10, 4.25]
Reh ^b	.55	.25	.03	1.72	[1.06, 2.81]
Offgender ^c	.05	.26	.86	.96	[.57, 1.60]
Pun_Offgender ^d	-.94	.48	.05	.39	[.15, 1.00]

^a Pun and Offgender express simple effects; ^b Reh expresses main effect; ^c Offgender for men ^d Product term, interaction between Pun and Offgender

Exploratory Analyses

In the follow-up analysis, we used linear regression to examine the predictive value of the demographic background variables (i.e., gender, work experience, education and age of JPOs) on punitive and rehabilitative attitudes (Table 4.3). Controlling for work experience, age was positively related to punitiveness ($B = .019$, $p = .001$). Work experience was also a significant predictor of punitive attitudes (see Table 4.3). Our results showed JPO's with less than one year of work experience to have higher mean punitive attitudes than more experienced colleagues, with a significant difference with the most experienced group that has 10 or more years of work experience ($B = -.477$, $p = .005$). In our model, only JPOs' gender significantly predicted rehabilitative attitudes. Male JPOs scored lower on the rehabilitative attitude scale than female JPOs ($B = -.210$, $p = .005$).

Table 4.3. Regression Analysis of Punitive and Rehabilitative Attitudes on Demographic Variables

	PUN			REH		
	B	se	p	B	se	p
Ppt_gender	.089	.077	.247	-.210	.074	.005
Education	-.008	.084	.920	.156	.080	.053
Age	.019	.007	.011	-.004	.007	.606
3yrs ^a	-.110	.178	.537	-.099	.170	.560
5yrs ^b	-.303	.174	.084	-.256	.167	.127
10yrs ^c	-.201	.158	.204	-.064	.151	.670
> 10yrs ^d	-.477	.170	.005	-.269	.163	.100

^aDummy variable coded 1 if JPO had between 1 and 3 years work experience and 0 if otherwise; ^bDummy variable coded 1 if JPO had between 3 and 5 years work experience and 0 if otherwise; ^cDummy variable coded 1 if JPO had between 5 and 10 years work experience and 0 if otherwise; ^dDummy variable coded 1 if JPO had over 10 years work experience and 0 if otherwise.

Discussion

Many risk assessment tools have received empirical support for their ability to predict juvenile recidivism (Schwalbe, 2008). However, research shows that JPOs largely prefer using their own professional discretion in risk assessment rather than structured tools (Guy et al., 2014). Which factors contribute to this preference and the process underlying unstructured professional judgment on recidivism risk is largely unknown. The primary purpose of this study was to add to the literature on risk assessment in juvenile justice by exploring how gender of the juvenile offenders, and punitive and rehabilitative attitudes of JPOs were linked to JPOs' recidivism risk perceptions. We first hypothesized that JPOs would have higher risk perceptions for male compared to female juvenile offenders. Our second hypothesis was that JPOs with more punitive attitudes had higher risk perceptions than JPOs with less punitive attitudes. We also predicted that JPOs with more rehabilitative attitudes had lower risk perceptions than JPOs with less rehabilitative attitudes. Our hypotheses were not confirmed. However, exploratory analyses revealed a number of interesting findings. Gender of the offender and punitive attitudes of the JPOs interacted in predicting recidivism risk perceptions. Only for male juvenile offenders, more punitive attitudes

of JPOs were related to higher recidivism risk perceptions in JPOs. Female juvenile offenders were not perceived as posing a higher risk even when the JPOs scored high on punitive attitudes. In order to understand the implications of this finding, we briefly reviewed the literature on the differential treatment of male and female juvenile offenders in the criminal justice system.

Offender gender is a factor that influences how delinquents are managed in the criminal justice system. The differential treatment toward male and female juveniles has been documented in several studies (Koons-Witt, 2002; Koons-Witt et al., 2014). Some studies observed that women in juvenile corrections are treated more punitively than their male counterparts, i.e., being more frequently admitted to juvenile prison at a younger age than males for status offenses (Tracy et al., 2009). There is also ample evidence that female juvenile offenders are treated more leniently than males if the offense they committed does not violate gender norms (Belknap, 2001). Even after controlling for other factors, such as offense type, the likelihood of women being incarcerated was much lower than men (Spohn & Beichner, 2000). Chivalry theory explains this leniency as a result of protective attitudes toward women, because they are submissive and weak and, therefore cannot be held responsible for their actions (Edwards, 1989). In light of this discussion, it is possible that JPOs' risk perceptions in our study were influenced by chivalry, because Turkey has become increasingly patriarchal since the 1990s (Engin & Pals, 2018). Furthermore, a 16-year-old girl who first asked for money from a grocery store may have been perceived as needy and grabbing a pocketknife from the shelf may even have emphasized her neediness. Therefore, a chivalrous perspective may have been inadvertently induced in JPOs, even in those with more punitive attitudes, resulting in lower recidivism risk perceptions for the female offender. On the other hand, for the male juvenile offender vignette, risk perception scores increased as punitiveness increased. Studies have shown that level of punitiveness is linked to gender traditionalism (Ahlin et al., 2017; Tuncer, Broers et al., 2018) where the male is seen as the breadwinner and neediness is unacceptable for males. Therefore, asking for money by a male offender may have

generated rejection instead of pity. Obviously, this hypothesis would need to be tested further.

Our findings on the interaction of JPOs' attitudes and offender gender on the perception of recidivism risk are consistent with Ricks and colleagues' (2016) findings. They found that adult probation officers that put more emphasis on a punitive professional role made higher recidivism risk estimates (Ricks et al., 2016). However, the offenders in their vignettes were all males as the pronouns suggest, i.e., "Have a discussion with *him* ...". Therefore, we do not know from this study how attitudes toward probationers would have impacted recidivism risk perceptions toward female juveniles. The lack of a link between rehabilitative attitudes and recidivism risk perceptions in our study may be due to the differences in assessment with Ricks et al. (2016)'s study. They used a scale in semantic differential format that measured punitive and rehabilitative attitudes as two ends of one dimension. We used two separate scales based on previous findings showing that punitive and rehabilitative attitudes can actually co-exist (Tuncer et al., 2020).

We found that more work experience as a JPO was related to more punitive attitudes. This finding is inconsistent with Ward and Kupchik (2010)'s hypothesis that as JPOs' professional experience increased, they would be less likely to show a punitive orientation. Our finding is more consistent with the literature on adult probation officers where scholars argue that older age comes with more conservatism and, therefore, more punitive attitudes among justice system personnel (Kautt & Spohn, 2007). It is possible that, over the years, negative interactions with the offender population, could result in more negative attitudes about their clients among POs. This would be in line with social psychological theories and empirical findings that demonstrated that negative contacts with an 'outgroup' typically predicts prejudice towards that group (e.g., Pettigrew et al., 2007; Pettigrew, 2008).

The lack of association between punitive attitudes and JPO's gender is consistent with previous findings (Leiber et al., 2002). We did not find an association of punitive attitudes and education level as opposed to other studies showing that increases in education level were related to decreased punitive attitudes (Leiber et al.,

2002). In terms of the association between rehabilitative attitudes and demographic variables, we found no association with age, education level and work experience, which is consistent with previous findings (Lopez & Russell, 2008). Our findings showed an association between rehabilitative attitudes and JPOs' gender. Female JPOs were more rehabilitation-oriented compared to male JPOs. Among a few related studies, one supports this finding (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2011), and one does not (Lopez & Russell, 2008).

Limitations

Several limitations of this study should be noted. The vignettes provided no background information on factors that might be predictive of recidivism risk, such as offense history. Second, as gender seems to be a key factor in JPOs' recidivism risk perceptions, vignettes with both non-violent and violent crimes could have been used to better understand the potential effect of gender role expectations. Third, we do not know if our sample is representative of Turkish JPOs. The Turkish Ministry of Justice (2017) states that 27% of all probation and correctional staff are women, however, official statistics regarding the age and education level of JPOs have not been made available since 2011. There are no official demographic data regarding Turkish JPOs. Because this was a cross-sectional study, we cannot make causal interpretations. The low internal reliability of the Support for Rehabilitation Scale was another limitation. Lastly, even if confidentiality was ensured, we do not know if the JPOs were honest in answering the questions.

Implications for future research and practice

Overall, the findings of the present study suggest a relationship between JPOs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes, recidivism risk perceptions, and gender of the juvenile offender. Future studies could further elucidate this relationship by using case vignettes with different offense types and more risk factors related to recidivism.

Our findings may be of practical relevance for interventions aimed at improving JPOs' attitudes toward juvenile probationers. According to the RNR framework, failure to accurately estimate recidivism risk—mostly overestimation in the case of

unstructured assessments—and thereby planning more intensive supervision than needed for the individual offender increases juvenile offender recidivism (Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004; Oleson et al., 2011). Implementation of RNR-based training has shown to decrease punitive attitudes in Turkish JPOs (Tuncer et al., 2020).



Chapter 5

The Association of Gender Role Attitudes and Offense Type with Public Punitiveness toward Male and Female Offenders

This chapter is based on the following paper:

Tuncer, A. E., Broers, N. J., Ergin, M., & de Ruiter, C. (2018). The association of gender role attitudes and offense type with public punitiveness toward male and female offenders. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 55, 70-79.

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Abstract

Disparate sentencing of female offenders has been the focus of several studies. Theoretical explanations for this phenomenon have focused on two perspectives subsumed under the gender traditional model: the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses. The present study tests these hypotheses in relation to public punitiveness. The gender role attitudes of four hundred Turkish adults were assessed. Preferences of the participants for *how*, *how severely* and *why* offenders needed to be punished were examined in response to brief vignettes depicting violent and non-violent offenses while varying offender gender and controlling for respondent gender. We did not find support for the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses. No significant differences in punitiveness were observed toward male and female offenders among participants with lower gender egalitarian attitudes. More gender egalitarian participants recommended longer sentences for male offenders who committed murder than female murderers. Gender role attitude of the participant was found to be a significant predictor of support for incarceration, support for rehabilitation and the choice for aim of incarceration toward different offense types regardless of offender gender. Our findings point at the relevance of gender role attitudes as a determinant of public punitiveness, more so than offender gender per se.

Introduction

In recent decades, the increase in the prison population around the world has brought a rise in punitiveness toward offenders into focus. With a six-fold increase since the 1970s, the United States has the highest incarceration rate with almost one out of every 100 inhabitants in prison (Walmsley, 2013). The inception of “tough on crime” policies in the United States influenced other Anglo-Saxon jurisdictions such as Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Similar developments can be observed in a number of Continental European countries (Roberts & Indermaur, 2007). For instance, according to the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (Aebi et al., 2014), the prison population in the Netherlands grew five-fold from the 1970s to 2011. During the same period, Spain has witnessed an almost quadrupled rate from 40 to 156 inmates per 100,000 inhabitants (Aebi et al., 2014).

Welch (2011) has reviewed several explanations for this increased punitiveness, such as increased crime rates, population growth and harsher criminal justice policies. Many scholars argue that an increasingly punitive public opinion is the most straightforward explanation for greater punitiveness in sentencing policies (Green, 2009; Kury & Ferdinand, 1999; Mandracchia et al., 2013; Welch, 2011), as well as judges’ harsher sentencing decisions (Brace & Boyea, 2008; Roberts et al., 2011). According to Page and Shapiro (1983), the influence of public opinion on policies is greater than the effect of policies on public opinion. It has been argued that, if public punitiveness had not increased steadily since the mid-1970s, 20% fewer American citizens would have been in prison today (Enns, 2014).

In light of these trends, it can be argued that public opinion is a crucial factor in explaining the surge in punitiveness; therefore, it is important to understand the possible causes and determinants of public punitiveness. A wide array of public opinion studies has examined determinants of public punitiveness, such as participant characteristics (Applegate et al., 2002; Chiricos et al., 2004; Unnever & Cullen, 2009; Payne et al., 2004), victim characteristics (Saucier et al., 2006) and offense characteristics (Wermink et al., 2015). However, gender role attitudes have thus far received little empirical attention despite theoretical focus on its impact on public

punitiveness (Herzog & Oreg, 2008). In an attempt to address this gap in the literature, our empirical study focuses on gender role attitudes as a possible determinant of public punitiveness toward male and female offenders who have committed similar offenses.

Public Punitiveness

Although widely studied in criminology as one of the major determinants of punishment of offenders, the concept of punitiveness is still underdeveloped theoretically. A review of the literature reveals various definitions of punitiveness that refer to both public and government level punitiveness (Hamilton, 2014; Lappi-Seppälä, 2008; Matthews, 2005). The focus of the current study is exclusively on public punitiveness.

King and Maruna (2006) define punitiveness as the desire to see more people being imprisoned for longer durations and with increased severity (i.e., harsh conditions). Reed (2011) emphasizes severity and describes punitiveness as the harshness of punishment people want for offenders. Another definition conceptualizes punitiveness in terms of the rationale for punishment. Accordingly, punitiveness is “an attitude toward sanctioning and punishment that includes retribution, incapacitation, and a lack of concern for offender rehabilitation” (Mackey & Courtright, 2000, p. 430). Each definition of the construct requires the use of one or a combination of appropriate measures to explore how, how severely and why offenders should be punished (Payne et al., 2004).

The inconsistencies in its definition and variations in measurement make it difficult to compare research findings related to public punitiveness (Matthews, 2005). A common measure of *how* offenders should be punished consists of asking sentencing preferences from a list of alternatives, such as imprisonment, community service, probation and monetary fine. The choice for a number of years of imprisonment on a sliding scale has been used to measure *how severely* one prefers to see offenders punished. A preference for imprisonment rather than non-prison alternatives and recommending longer sentences are considered more punitive (Durham et al., 1996; Kugler et al., 2013; Reed, 2011). Researchers have also attempted to gauge punitiveness by exploring *why* offenders should be punished. They

have asked participants to choose from alternatives that represent punishment, deterrence, incapacitation or rehabilitation (Applegate et al., 2002; Spiranovic et al., 2011). Tajalli et al. (2013) consider rehabilitation and punishment as two ends of a spectrum rather than an “either/or” dichotomy and more support for rehabilitation indicates less support for punishment.

A number of studies have explored the determinants of public punitiveness toward offenders. Research on participants’ age (Indermaur & Roberts, 2005; Kury & Ferdinand, 1999) and income (Kury & Ferdinand, 1999) has produced mixed results. Female participants are reported to be more lenient than males (Applegate et al., 2002; Kury & Ferdinand, 1999). Educational level is inversely related to punitiveness (Indermaur & Roberts, 2005; Kury & Ferdinand, 1999). Crime salience, economic insecurity (Costelloe et al., 2009) and fear of crime (Sprott & Doob, 1997) have been found to strongly predict punitiveness. While the belief that the crime rate is increasing is related to increased punitiveness (Indermaur & Roberts, 2005), Roberts and Indermaur (2007) suggested that increased knowledge about actual crime rates is negatively related to punitiveness among the public. Overall, research findings reveal the complex influence a number of factors—either individually or interactively—have on public punitiveness. This study aims to extend previous research by studying the impact of gender role attitudes on public punitiveness.

Gender Role Attitudes

Gender role attitudes are the beliefs about the typical role behaviors expected from men and women (King & King, 1997). The two ends of the gender role attitude spectrum are gender traditional and gender egalitarian perspectives (King & King, 1997). Gender traditional attitudes endorse men’s use of power and aggression in order to sustain their dominance (Eaton & Rose, 2011). Gender egalitarianism is defined as freedom from gender bias, whether the object of the attitude is male or female (King et al., 1994). A gender egalitarian individual values gender role equality, as opposed to gender traditional individuals who expect men and women to perform stereotypical gender roles, such as earning the family income for men and homemaking and child rearing for women (Little & Panelli, 2003).

Gender egalitarianism has risen following a collective struggle by the Women's Liberation Movement or second wave feminism, which was most active in the 1960's and 1970's. While first wave feminism focused on basic legal rights (i.e., right to vote), second wave feminism was concerned with women's economic activities and their right to decide on reproduction, aiming to eliminate unequal sex roles from society (Burkett, 2016). In many countries, the movement was successful in passing laws to protect women's benefits such as maternity leave, anti-discrimination in the workplace based on women's marital status or pregnancy. However, current research shows that gender traditional attitudes still have an impact on how women are treated differentially in the work place (Aycan, 2004; Eagly & Karau, 2002). According to "The Gender Pay Gap" (2017) occupations dominated by women have lower status and pay, and only a fifth of senior executives in G7 countries are female. Gender traditional values are even more prominent in many Eastern countries including Turkey (World Economic Forum, 2017).

In the case of Turkey, only 4% of top management positions are occupied by women (Aycan, 2004). Although the country's 200-year-long modernization has considered gender as a central issue in the country's transformation (Kandiyoti, 1997), top-down efforts aiming at formal gender equality have had only mixed results in improving women's actual position in society. In terms of attitudes, support for gender equality has shown a steady 1% increase annually between 1981 and 2008 (Spierings, 2015). The country's EU membership candidacy has led to the revision of laws toward more gender equality, but Turkey is still a patriarchal society in which traditional gender roles are widely endorsed by the public as well as by Turkish law (Hortacsu et al., 2003).

The differential treatment toward women is not limited to social life and employment, but can also be observed in the criminal justice system (Daly & Bordt, 1995; Franklin, 2008; Koons-Witt, 2002; Mustard, 2001). Theoretical explanations related to the disparate views on male and female offenders within the criminal justice context have focused on two perspectives, both subsumed under a patriarchal or gender traditional model. According to the *chivalry perspective*, female offenders

receive preferential treatment during the criminal justice process because they need protection as the weaker sex (Visher, 1983). However, this protection is dependent on a number of other factors related to the offense and the offender. Female offenders are granted leniency as long as the offense they have committed is non-violent (e.g., fraud) and they comply with traditional norms of femininity. In the case of a violent offense committed by a woman (e.g., murder, robbery), a complementary perspective, *the evil woman perspective* (Crew, 1991; Nagel & Hagan, 1983) is applied. The woman who commits a violent offense is considered to have violated traditional gender roles and she is punished more harshly than a man who has committed the same offense (Koons-Witt et al., 2014).

Many studies have attempted to explain differential treatment of female offenders in the criminal justice system by the presence of chivalry (Embry & Lyons, 2012; Demuth & Steffensmeier, 2004). In a study that examined the impact of offender gender on the decision to incarcerate, Kruttschnitt and Savolainen (2009) have explained the absence of differential treatment by the absence of chivalry, a finding that would be expected in a society characterized by gender equality. On the other hand, some studies have not only failed to find leniency toward female offenders, but they have discovered that they are treated more harshly than male offenders (Daly & Tonry, 1997; Spohn & Beichner, 2000).

This selective treatment has theoretically been based on the evil woman hypothesis. The evil woman hypothesis has been supported by findings showing that the motive for the offense (Kim et al., 2018) or criminal history (Tillyer et al., 2015), which deviates from traditional gender role norms result in more severe sentences for female offenders than for their male counterparts. However, studies that have addressed offense type as a factor have not been able to provide support for differential treatment (Mustard, 2001; Rodriguez et al., 2006).

Current Study

The present study will examine if gender role attitudes impact individuals' punitiveness judgements. Specifically, we investigate how gender role attitudes

moderate punitiveness toward male and female offenders, for violent and non-violent offenses. As such, our study belongs within the limited literature on the punitiveness of a “patriarchal society”, and the constructs of chivalry and evil woman.

This study is conducted in Turkey, which is an interesting context for several reasons. First, prisons in Turkey have witnessed a steady increase in incarceration rates in the last few decades, and in the post-2000 period, in particular. Today, Turkey has the second highest incarceration rate in Europe: 224 per 100,000 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2015). This rate is almost 40% higher than in 1970. Female offenders constitute 4% of the current Turkish prison population which is almost twice the rate of the 1970s (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2015). Although the absolute number of female offenders is still limited, there has been a relative increase in their imprisonment rate, compared to male offenders in the last 15 years (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2015). No study to date has examined the relationship between gender role attitudes and public punitiveness in Turkey.

In this study, punitiveness is defined as people’s preferences regarding the type, severity and the aim of punishment toward offenders. We use separate instruments that measure *how*, *how severely* and *why* offenders should be punished. Choosing to support incarceration, longer recommended sentences, and less support for rehabilitation, will be considered as evidence for greater punitiveness.

We predict that while controlling for the effects of participant gender, the severity of punitiveness toward female offenders will depend on the violent or non-violent nature of their offenses which show a deviance or non-deviance from their traditional gender roles, respectively. Furthermore, we expect that differential treatment toward male and female offenders will be observed only in more gender traditional participants. Specifically, we formulate the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Lower scores on gender egalitarianism will predict lower punitiveness toward female offenders than toward male offenders for non-violent offenses (conforming to the chivalry hypothesis).

Hypothesis 1b: Lower scores on egalitarianism will predict higher punitiveness toward female offenders than toward male offenders for violent offenses (conforming to the evil woman hypothesis).

Combined, this means that for all outcome variables we are hypothesizing a three-way Gender x Offense Type x Gender Roles interaction. In our Results section, we will start with explicitly evaluating the hypothesized three-way interaction for all outcome variables.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 400 adults who completed a survey in response to invitations via text messages and e-mailings. Snowball sampling was employed. The messages and mailings started with a short list of first and fourth authors' professional and social contacts (i.e., neighbors, bank clerks, car wash employees, etc.) and they were asked to pass the invitations on to their contacts. Open social media postings were not preferred because of possible comments or discussions on the vignettes that would impact potential participants' responses. Of the participants, 172 (43%) were male and 228 (57%) were female. The majority of the sample were university graduates (72%), which is a significantly higher rate than that of the Turkish population (11%). The demographic characteristics of the sample can be considered representative of the Turkish population such as marriage with 61% in the population and 57% in the sample. The average age of the sample was 37.32 years ($SD = 10.55$) with a range between 18 and 78 years which is comparable to the 29.6 of the Turkish population.

Procedure

The data were anonymously collected over the internet using Qualtrics software. Participants were provided with a hyperlink directing them to the online survey. They were given detailed information about the study on the opening page.

They were also informed that after completing the survey those who wished to enter a raffle had a chance of winning one of 20 gift vouchers of 50 Turkish Lira (then equivalent to 18 USD) from a Turkish department store. Subsequently, informed consent was obtained. The survey started with questions about demographic characteristics. Then, participants were asked to read three offense vignettes. After each vignette, participants answered four questions. The survey concluded with the Sex Roles Egalitarianism Scale (SRES-BB; King & King, 1990). Each participant spent around 15 to 20 minutes to complete the survey. After they submitted their responses, participants were asked if they wished to be redirected to another site where they could provide their names and postal addresses in order to participate in the drawing for a gift voucher.

Ethical approvals for this study were obtained from the Maastricht University Ethics Committee Psychology with protocol number ECP-158 01 11 2015 and the Koç University Ethics Committee for Social Sciences Research with protocol number 2015.194.IRB3.103.

Study Design

The use of vignettes is preferable to simple, abstract questions that participants answer subjectively because vignettes produce more reliable and valid responses (Alexander & Becker, 1978). Numerous studies have employed vignettes to measure public punitiveness by systematically varying the variable to be tested in the scenarios, such as offense type (Michel, 2015), offender's ethnicity (Singh & Spratt, 2017) and offense characteristics (Applegate & Davis, 2006). In light of these studies, we prepared three vignettes that depicted three different offenses with male and female offender versions (Appendix A). The choice of offense types was made so that enough variance could be obtained in participants' punitiveness preferences. The vignettes depicted a violent offense with two murdered victims, a violent offense where no one was injured and a non-violent economic offense. More specifically, participants were asked to report their punishment preferences for:

- (1) An offender killing his/her spouse and his/her and spouse's lover (violent offense—murder);
- (2) An offender threatening a cashier with a gun and running away with all the money in the cashier's desk (violent offense—robbery);
- (3) An offender getting access to a person's credit card information under a pretext, thereby transferring the victim's money into his/her own bank account (non-violent offense—fraud) (see Appendix A for the crime scenarios).

The offenders in the vignettes were given names that clearly indicated their gender, because pronouns are gender-neutral in the Turkish language. Offenders' ages were given in parentheses as 30, 31 and 32 in order to avoid them being perceived as juveniles, which might affect level of punitiveness. Each participant was randomly assigned to either the male ($n = 192$) or the female ($n = 208$) version of the three vignettes, which were otherwise exactly the same. The appearance of the vignettes was randomized among participants to avoid order effects.

Variables

Dependent Variables. In light of variations in the measurement of punitiveness in previous studies, four different punitiveness instruments were employed. These intended to explore *how*, *how severely* and *why* the participants wanted to see the offenders punished.

The *how* question (INC) was: "How much do you agree that (offender's name) should be incarcerated?" It was intended to gauge the level of support on a 4-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly Agree*) with higher values indicating more support for incarceration, thus signifying more punitiveness. Preliminary analyses revealed that the distribution of the INC outcome variable per combination of offense type and offender gender was severely skewed. The vast majority of participants felt that the perpetrators in the vignettes should be incarcerated. Therefore, we dichotomized INC by taking the first three scale values (1 to 3) and the fourth scale value separately. The two categories were coded as 1 (strongly agree) and 0 (other).

How severely participants wanted to punish the offender (SEN) was measured by the question: “If you were the one to decide, how long a sentence in prison would you find appropriate for (offender’s name)?” As our focus was on punitiveness rather than the specific sentences imposed, the responses were collected on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*No imprisonment*) to 9 (*Life without parole*) which is the most severe sentence in Turkish criminal law. Higher scores were indicative for longer sentences and more punitiveness.

In order to examine what participants thought about *why* offenders should be punished (AIM) we first asked: “What do you think should be the most important aim of incarcerating (offender’s name)?” The participant was asked to choose one of five propositions: “give them the punishment they deserve; teach them a lesson; make an example of them; rehabilitate them; keep them off the streets”. These propositions were used as nominal scale points to describe retribution, individual deterrence, general deterrence, rehabilitation, and incapacitation, respectively (Spiranovic et al., 2011). This variable was analyzed to understand how response categories were related to the underlying punitiveness construct. We used Bock's (1972) nominal item response theory model again to examine the item characteristic curves for each severity level. For each item a distinct cluster in the negative continuum range (labeled by the authors as punitiveness) between deterrence and retribution (with retribution capturing the continuum below -1.5 and deterrence capturing the distribution between -1.5 and 0) was observed. The positive continuum range was dominated entirely by rehabilitation. This lends support to the categorization of punitiveness as either rehabilitative in nature or retributive/deterrent based (Vidmar & Miller, 1980). For subsequent analyses, a dichotomization of punitiveness into punishment type categories (general deterrence, individual deterrence, incapacitation, and retribution) and rehabilitation was employed. As a result, any answer other than rehabilitation was coded as punitive, to create a binary variable.

The last question was also related to *why* offenders should be punished (REH). The participants had to provide a response on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*To a great extent*) on the question: “How much would you support the rehabilitation (for instance, by means of counseling or education) of (offender’s

name)?” Increased support for rehabilitation was indicative for less punitiveness. Preliminary analyses revealed that the distribution of the REH outcome variable per combination of offense type and offender gender was severely skewed. The vast majority of participants felt that the prime importance of punishment had to do with an effort to rehabilitate the offenders. Therefore, we dichotomized REH by coding the first four scale values (1 to 4) and the fifth scale value separately. Two categories were coded as 1 (strongly agree) and 0 (other).

Independent Variables. The three independent variables of this study were gender of the offender and offense type in the vignette, and self-reported gender role attitudes of the participant.

Sex Roles Egalitarianism Scale. Gender role attitudes were measured with the 25- item short-form of the Sex Roles Egalitarianism Scale (SRES-BB; King & King, 1990). The items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*) with higher scores representing more gender egalitarian attitudes. There have been internal consistency coefficients reported as high as .94 for the total scale (Brutus et al., 1993).

For the present study, the original scale was translated into Turkish by the first author, then back translated to English by a bilingual translator. A final Turkish translation was reached by consensus between the translators. A pilot test with five subject matter experts was conducted with the translated scale. Participants were asked to rate the quality of the items. The items were rated as well-formulated and items that needed modifications were fixed before the actual study was conducted. The scale demonstrated high internal consistency ($\alpha = .90$) in our study sample.

Statistical Analyses

Given the mixed findings in the literature on the structure of public punitiveness, a correlational analysis was first conducted to examine how the different forms of punitiveness were related. We checked the correlations between INC, SEN, AIM and REH for each offense type and offender gender combination, separately. Correlations ranged from .03 to .62, supporting our decision to consider these

variables as separate outcome variables (Table 5.1). Thus, the variables were not combined to form a single outcome variable. Studying the bivariate correlations, we observed that the INC variable showed substantial correlations (Table 5.1) with the SEN variable. This, together with the fact that the distribution of INC was highly skewed, prompted us to omit the INC variable from the statistical analyses. The original idea to make use of a binary version of the INC variable (using ‘strongly agree’ against ‘other’ as alternatives) was discarded, because the conceptual idea of attaching importance to incarceration was also captured by the SEN variable: subjects who accorded zero or a very small number of years of imprisonment to the perpetrator,

Table 5.1. Correlation Matrix of Study Variables				
		1	2	3
FemFra	1.INC			
	2.SEN	.41		
	3.REH	.21	-.03	
	4.AIM	.05	.17	-.33
FemMur	1.INC			
	2.SEN	.59		
	3.REH	.10	.11	
	4.AIM	.19	.31	-.21
FemRob	1.INC			
	2.SEN	.43		
	3.REH	.21	-.12	
	4.AIM	.13	.32	-.18
MaleFra	1.INC			
	2.SEN	.38		
	3.REH	.06	-.03	
	4.AIM	.03	.18	-.37
MaleMur	1.INC			
	2.SEN	.62		
	3.REH	.04	-.08	
	4.AIM	.16	.31	-.39
MaleRob	1.INC			
	2.SEN	.38		
	3.REH	.10	-.15	
	4.AIM	.11	.18	.24

Note. FemFra=Female Fraud, FemMur= Female Murder, FemRob=Female Robbery, MaleFra=Male Fraud, MaleMur=Male Murder, MaleRob=Male Robbery, INC=Incarceration, SEN=Length of Sentence, REH=Rehabilitation, AIM=Aim of punishment.

implicitly attached low importance to incarceration, as opposed to subjects who accorded longer prison sentences to the perpetrator. We used the three remaining punitiveness measures separately in the analyses. We controlled for participant gender and education.

To analyze our hypotheses for the SEN variable, we conducted a linear mixed model analysis while controlling for participant's gender and education. For the other dependent variables, AIM and REH, we performed Generalized Estimating Equations (GEE) analyses for the full model, after controlling for participant's gender and education, then sequentially removed non-significant higher- and lower-order terms for further analyses. Below we report the results for each hypothesis per dependent variable separately.

Results

Length of sentence (SEN).

A linear mixed model analysis with an unstructured covariance matrix for the residuals was conducted to examine if the interaction of offender gender, offense type and gender egalitarianism was significant for recommended length of sentence while controlling for participant's gender and education. Gender egalitarianism was included as a between-subjects covariate in the model. The three-way interaction of offender gender, offense type and gender egalitarianism was significant, $F(2, 396) = 3.621, p = .028$. A subsequent simple slope analysis showed no significance for the offender gender and offense type interaction for participants with lower gender egalitarianism scores, $F(2, 396) = 1.289, p = .227$. Our predictions based on the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses were not confirmed. The findings revealed that participants with higher gender egalitarianism scores on average recommended equally long sentences for male and female offenders who committed either fraud or robbery, but recommended significantly longer sentences for male offenders who committed murder than for female offenders who committed murder, $F(2, 396) = 4.265, p = .015$.

Aim of Incarceration (AIM).

A GEE analysis with higher order terms in the model revealed no significant three-way interaction of offender gender, offense type and gender egalitarianism on participants' choice for incarceration while controlling for participant's gender and education, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 3.550, p = .169$. Our predictions based on the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses were not confirmed. The results of the sequential GEE analysis, removing the three-way interaction and other non-significant higher- and lower order terms, revealed that the best description of our data contained gender egalitarianism, offense type and the interaction of offense type with gender egalitarianism. Parameter estimates for this model can be found in Table 5.2. For each unit increase in gender egalitarianism, the odds of aiming punishment for someone who committed murder to the odds that they aim punishment for someone who committed fraud increases by 1.77. Results reveal that for each unit increase in gender egalitarianism scores, the ratio of the odds that they choose incarceration rather than rehabilitation for someone who perpetrated robbery are 0.68 as large as the odds that they choose this punishment for someone who perpetrated fraud.

Table 5.2. GEE Estimates of Study Variables.

	REH			AIM		
	OR (95% CI)	SE	Sig.	OR (95% CI)	SE	Sig.
Male	.81 (-.55, .13)	.17	.218	1.27 (-.07, .54)	.15	.125
GE	2.13 (.41, 1.12)	.18	.000	.70 (-.72, .01)	.19	.056
Robbery	1.11 (.07, .26)	.09	.263	.68 (-.70, -.07)	.16	.018
Murder	1.19 (-.03, .37)	.10	.101	.75 (-.69, .11)	.23	.149
Robbery GE	-	-	-	.99 (-.38, .36)	.19	.946
Murder GE	-	-	-	1.77 (.07, 1.06)	.25	.026

Note. REH = rehabilitation (1=rehabilitation support), AIM = aim of incarceration (1=punishment), Male=1, GE = Gender egalitarianism (centered plus 1*SD), Robbery (1 if robbery), Murder (1 if murder). 95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval. Significant results are presented in **bold**.

Support for Rehabilitation (REH).

A GEE analysis with higher order terms in the model revealed no significant three-way interaction of offender gender, offense type and gender egalitarianism on participants' support for rehabilitation while controlling for participant's gender and education, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 1.726, p = .422$. Our predictions based on the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses were not confirmed. Follow-up analyses in which non-significant higher- and lower order terms were removed sequentially, returned a model containing only gender egalitarianism as a significant predictor of REH, as there were no significant interactions or main effects for either offender gender and offense type. Parameter estimates for this model can be found in Table 5.2. Results reveal that one-point increase in gender egalitarianism scores increases the odds of support for rehabilitation by 2.14 times.

Discussion

The present study tested two hypotheses derived from chivalry and evil woman perspectives. We operationalized public punitiveness using four distinct measures corresponding to conceptual models of *how*, *how severely* and *why* individuals want to see offenders punished. We predicted that less gender traditional participants would be less punitive toward female compared to male offenders who committed non-violent offenses (fraud) and more punitive toward female than male offenders who committed violent offenses (murder and robbery). These hypotheses are in line with the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses, respectively.

We did not find support for the viability of the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses in our study. No significant differences in the recommended length of sentence, choice for aim of incarceration, or support for rehabilitation toward male and female offenders were observed among participants with less gender egalitarian attitudes for violent versus non-violent offenses.

Participants with higher gender egalitarianism scores recommended longer sentences for male than female offenders who committed murder, a finding we had not predicted. We believe this finding may be linked to the specific murder scenario we provided—a spouse

killing his or her partner in a bout of jealousy. It is not very common, at least not in a more traditional society such as Turkey, to see males as victims in a jealousy scenario (Cetin, 2015). The scenario with the male offender/female victim is the one that has occupied a prominent place on the public agenda for the last few years in Turkey because of the exponential increase in femicide by intimate partners (Alat, 2006; Cetin, 2015). Considering research that indicates media coverage of crimes can result in more punitive responses (Staggs & Landreville, 2017), this may explain that participants showed more punitiveness toward male perpetrators than female perpetrators in our murder scenario. However, this difference was observed only in more gender egalitarian individuals, as consistent with other findings suggesting gender egalitarian individuals avoid minimizing the severity of male violence to a greater extent than gender traditional individuals (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005).

Further findings highlight the relevance of gender role attitudes for different aspects of punitiveness. On the aim of punishment measure, regardless of offender gender, lower gender egalitarian participants were more punitive toward fraud compared to robbery and equally punitive toward fraud and murder. As Herzog and Einat (2016) point out, participants' severity judgments may be influenced by their moral judgments regarding the particular criminal conduct. The denunciation of fraud in our sample may be linked to a collective sense of moral outrage which considers the violation of a person's lifelong material achievements and efforts ("labor", the term used in Turkish is "emek") a serious moral breach. In our fraud vignette, a large amount of money was stolen by manipulating people under the pretext of a helpful bank employee. This may have been perceived as serious wrongful intent and may have caused a moral outrage. Additionally, recent media coverage of fraud cases involving public figures in Turkey may have also contributed to this finding (Kulaksız, 2015).

In terms of support for rehabilitation, more gender egalitarian participants demonstrated more support for rehabilitation relative to less gender egalitarian participants, regardless of offense type and offender gender, and this is consistent with studies revealing the positive correlation between traditionalism and punitiveness (Ahlin et al., 2017; Huang et al., 2011).

Limitations

The results of this study should be considered in light of several limitations. The non-random snowball sampling technique may have resulted in an unrepresentative sample, an

inherent limitation of this technique (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). There might also be a sampling bias that results in a sample that shares the same traits. Furthermore, the underrepresentation of individuals with no internet access that arises from online data collection may also have biased our sample (Couper, 2007). Our sample represents a highly educated part of the population and is not representative of Turkish society as a whole. Participants held predominantly gender egalitarian beliefs, consistent with the literature suggesting that a college education is positively correlated with gender egalitarianism (Campbell & Horowitz, 2016). Future research needs to assess the impact of gender egalitarianism on public punitiveness in a more diverse sample in order to increase variance and generalizability.

Second, our vignettes may not have been ideal. In particular, the relational nature of our murder scenario may have unintentionally impacted our findings regarding punitiveness. Future research with a non-relational (i.e., stranger) murder scenario may provide a more suitable test of gender role attitudes' influence on punitiveness toward offenses that do not align with social gender roles in participants' minds.

Although variables relevant to the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses—gender, offense type and gender role attitudes—were included in the study, we did not control for a number of other variables that have been shown to influence public punitiveness, such as participant's ideology, marital and parental status (Koons-Witt, 2002; Tajalli et al., 2013; Unnever & Cullen, 2009; Welch, 2011). In order to control for these factors in future research, larger samples are needed.

Conclusion

The present study provides an interesting contribution to our understanding of public punitiveness. It was conducted in a non-Western society. It points at the relevance of gender role attitudes as a determinant of public punitiveness, more so than offender gender per se. Our study needs to be replicated in different samples in order to explore further how gender role attitudes influence punitiveness. A relevant next step in this line of research will be to repeat this study with criminal justice actors such as judges, prison guards and probation officers, to understand the impact of gender role attitudes on their decision making and sentencing. Future studies could also examine punitiveness toward offenders who killed a stranger, for instance, in the context of a robbery.



Chapter 6

The Impact of a Brief RNR-Based Training on Turkish Juvenile Probation Officers' Punitive and Rehabilitative Attitudes and Recidivism Risk Perceptions

This chapter is based on the following paper:

Tuncer, A. E., Erdem, G., & de Ruiter, C. (2020). The impact of a brief RNR-based training on Turkish juvenile probation officers' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes and recidivism risk perceptions. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 48(3), 921–931.

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Abstract

The present quasi-experimental study examined the impact of a brief training program based on the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model on Turkish Juvenile Probation Officers' (JPOs) punitive and rehabilitative attitudes toward justice-involved youth and recidivism risk perceptions. Fifty-nine JPOs were recruited through three probation offices in Istanbul, Turkey. Thirty-six JPOs, who received a one-day training in the RNR model of offending behavior, were compared to JPOs in a wait-list control condition ($n = 23$). Participants in both conditions completed surveys at baseline and one-week post-training. Mixed factorial ANOVAs revealed a significantly higher decrease in JPOs' punitive attitudes from pre- to post-test, in the training condition compared to the control group, with a medium effect size. Rehabilitative attitudes decreased in both conditions, while recidivism risk perceptions did not change from pre- to post-test in either condition. Future research could expand on these promising results using a more intensive training program and a randomized controlled design in a larger sample of JPOs.

Introduction

The probation system in Turkey was established in 2005 (Yavuz, 2012) and the number of youth sentenced to probation has shown a sharp increase since then. According to the Turkish Ministry of Justice (TMJ, 2018), there are currently around 200,000 cases under probationary supervision, 13,646 of which are youth between ages 12 to 18 years. The majority of justice-involved youth in Turkey are convicted of drug offenses (primarily drug possession) and show significant needs for treatment and rehabilitation (Kocagazioğlu et al., 2016).

Currently, around 4,000 probation officers (POs) supervise the increasing number of probationers in Turkey (Işık, 2016). Youth under probation are primarily assigned to 1,600 POs who have attended a limited number of brief professional training programs on substance abuse, anger management, and motivational interviewing. These POs are referred to as Juvenile Probation Officers (JPOs), although none of their training programs are specifically designed to address the unique needs of youth under probation, nor are they based on research evidence regarding effective methods in reducing recidivism (Işık, 2016). Next to a lack of specific evidence-based training, officers face the inherent challenges of being a probation officer, including conflict between their rehabilitation and law enforcement role (Miller, 2015). Meanwhile, JPOs are the backbones of the probation system that strives to offer community-based services in order to decrease youth's risk of recidivism. The JPOs oversee the correctional plan of the youth as ruled by the juvenile court. The standard probation period for youth lasts one year, during which youth are mandated to attend individual sessions, group sessions, and seminars. Depending on the individualized correctional plan of the youth, the frequency and duration of these sessions vary from 3 to 12 meetings over a year, with additional home visits or community service. The ultimate goal of the juvenile probation system is to execute youth's sentence in the community and to lower the risk of future offending (TMJ, 2018).

Given that the probation system is relatively new in Turkey, there is a lack of research on youth recidivism rates as well as antecedents to youth justice involvement. In other countries, including the US and European countries, a wide array of research

has been conducted to identify the risk factors for re-offending. Moffitt (1993) has proposed a distinction that has implications for understanding these factors and developing effective interventions. According to Moffitt (1993), the first category is individuals who show antisocial behavior only during adolescence and do not repeat the behavior. The second category of individuals shows a lifetime persistent offending pattern as a result of the interaction between exposure to criminogenic environments as a child and childhood neuropsychological problems. (Moffitt, 1993). Longitudinal research has also shown that individuals with a relatively early onset of aggression, delinquency, and substance use and are more likely to continue offending into adulthood (de Ruiter & Augimeri, 2012). The distinction between adolescence-limited and lifetime persistent offending patterns is a valuable tool for JPOs to decide the type, duration, and intensity of intervention programs to prevent youth re-offending.

Several studies focused on the implementation of intervention programs for youth in probation and have widely documented the ineffectiveness of punishment-oriented approaches in reducing youth recidivism (Lipsey, 2009; MacKenzie & Farrington, 2015; Nagin et al., 2009; Petrosino et al., 2010; Rhine et al., 2006). In a meta-analysis of 548 intervention studies, Lipsey (2009) found an 8% increase in recidivism rates when punitive approaches were employed. On the other hand, rehabilitation-oriented interventions such as counseling and skill-building have resulted in a 10% to 13% reduction in recidivism. MacKenzie and Farrington (2015) examined the findings of Randomized Controlled Trials (RCTs), systematic reviews, and meta-analyses performed between 2005 and 2015 on justice-involved youth, and found that interventions based on punitive approaches, such as deterrence and discipline, are ineffective while rehabilitative approaches are effective in preventing future offending (Koehler et al., 2012). Among these rehabilitative programs, the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) framework, that uses a collaborative supervision model focused on individualized treatment plans for the youth involved in crime, has the most empirical support (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Vincent et al., 2016; Vitopoulos et al., 2012). In a meta-analysis study to examine the effects of young rehabilitation programs on 7,940 justice-involved youth, Koehler et al. (2012) found the most

substantial mean effect in RNR groups (OR=1.90) indicating a 16% decrease in recidivism against a baseline of 50%.

The Turkish probation system currently lacks an evidence-based intervention and training framework, and the current study is a first step to address this need. In an attempt to introduce a rehabilitation-oriented probationary supervision approach for Turkish youth under probation, we designed a one-day RNR-based training to initiate an attitudinal change in JPOs. It was especially important to target the JPOs and engage them in a training program because they serve as active agents of change and their values and attitudes contribute to the goal of the probation system (Werth, 2013). It has been consistently found that officer attitudes make a difference in recidivism outcomes (Kennealy et al., 2012) and their importance has been emphasized by the RNR framework (Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Therefore, the content of the one-day program was built on the premise that the first step toward changing juvenile delinquent behavior lies in changing JPO's attitudes (Vincent et al., 2012). The content focused on emphasizing the effectiveness of rehabilitative approaches in decreasing youth recidivism, adolescence-limited vs. lifetime persistent offending, review of RNR principles, intervention techniques targeting criminogenic risk factors, such as anger management and substance abuse, and basic communication skills for the JPOs (see below for more detailed information on the content of the training program). Consistent with Vincent et al.'s (2012) study, we expected that informing the JPOs about the trajectories of juvenile offending would help JPOs understand that youth recidivism risk is low. Therefore, we expected their recidivism risk perceptions would decrease.

The current study examined the effect of a brief RNR-training on JPO's attitudes and recidivism risk perceptions. We hypothesized that the difference between pre-test and post-test scores on attitudes and recidivism perceptions would be significantly higher in the RNR training group than the control group. That is, JPOs in the intervention condition would show significantly less punitive attitudes, more rehabilitative attitudes, and lower recidivism risk perceptions from pre- to post-test than those in the control condition.

Method

Study Design

The study was designed as a pilot study (Stage I nonrandomized trial; Rounsaville et al., 2001) to develop and test the immediate impact of the RNR-based training program for JPOs in Istanbul, Turkey. The Stage model of behavioral interventions provides guidelines for intervention development and program evaluation in human subjects with specific design considerations for each phase of the intervention's development. Consistent with the recommendations of Rounsaville et al., (2001), as well as the Standards of Evidence of the Society for Prevention Research (Gottfredson et al., 2015), our Stage I study focused on the needs assessment of participants via qualitative focus groups, development of a standardized manual and training material, followed by a quantitative, quasi-experimental study of the initial impact of the program using a small sample. A Stage I design was preferred over a Stage II design because there were no Turkish training materials available for an RNR-based intervention program nor any empirical studies examining the effects of RNR-based training in the Turkish criminal justice system. The needs assessment and program development phases of the study are available elsewhere (Erdem et al., 2019) while the current paper focuses on the quantitative aspects of the quasi-experimental study.

Recruitment and Participants

Sampling and recruitment procedures started after obtaining official permission from the Turkish Ministry of Justice as well as from the directors of three probation directorates in Istanbul. Data were collected in May 2017 through three probation offices in Istanbul. Study sites were located in the urban areas of Istanbul, covering three regions of the city (i.e., Asian side, European side, and the historical peninsula), serving both adults and youth under probation. They were comparable in terms of staff numbers and size (33, 29, and 34 JPOs per probation office, respectively).

Participation in the research project and the training was voluntary. In order to be eligible, participants had to be currently working with at least one youth under

probation and be committed to complete both assessments at pre-test and post-test⁸ Eligible JPOs willing to participate in the study were recruited upon providing written informed consent. In order to ensure voluntary participation, supervisors were not involved in the recruitment process. Besides, the participants were informed about their right to skip survey questions and to withdraw from the study at any time.

The study employed a quasi-experimental pre-test post-test intervention design with a waitlist (no-training) control group. All JPOs across three sites ($n = 96$) were invited to the study and fifty-nine officers agreed to participate (participation rate: 64.1%). The most common reasons for not participating were annual or maternity leave, having to attend another training, and a high workload. The total sample included 59 JPOs with 22 participants from Office 1 (training condition), 14 participants from Office 2 (training condition), and 23 participants from Office 3 (control condition).

The demographic characteristics of the sample are available in Table 6.1. Of the 59 participants, the majority were women ($n = 49$, 83.1 %,.) and had a college degree ($n = 40$, 67.8%). The average age was 31.31 years ($SD = 4.37$; range = 26 – 44). Participants reported 5.9 years ($SD = 2.93$; range = 1 – 15) of work experience in the

Table 6.1. Descriptive Features of the Training and Control Groups (Percentages, Means and Standard Deviations)

Variable	Total $N = 59$		Training condition $n = 36$		Control condition $n = 23$	Test
	n (%)	Mean (SD)	n (%)	n (%)		
Gender						
Male	10 (16.9%)		4 (11.1%)	6 (26.1%)	$\chi^2 (1) = 2.24, p = .13$	
Female	49 (83.1%)		32 (88.9%)	17 (73.9%)		
Education level						
Bachelor degree	40 (67.8%)		28 (77.8%)	12 (52.2%)		
Graduate degree	19 (32.2%)		8 (22.2%)	11 (47.8%)	$\chi^2 (2) = 4.14, p = .04$	
Age		31.31 (4.37)	31.42 (4.67)	31.13 (3.96)	$t (57) = -.24, p = .81$	
Years of experience in criminal justice		5.90 (2.93)	5.55 (2.54)	6.43(3.43)	$t (57) = 1.13, p = .26$	

⁸ Participants who confirmed their availability to complete both assessments and the training were recruited for the study because there was significant mobility of probation officers across sites and cities at the time of data collection.

criminal justice system on average. The two conditions did not differ in terms of gender, age, and years of work experience in the probation system. All participants in the training condition attended all RNR modules (100% attendance rate) and completed the surveys. All participants in the control condition completed the pretest while three of the 23 participants missed the post-test survey (13% attrition rate).

Procedure

Upon obtainment of written informed consent, participants continued with the pre-test assessment. The survey included a demographic questionnaire, scales that assessed attitudes toward justice-involved youth, and JPOs' perceptions of the likelihood of recidivism. Participants in both conditions spent approximately 10 minutes completing the survey. After the initial assessment, the JPOs in the training condition received the one-day RNR-based training while those in the control condition were wait-listed. Both groups completed the post-test survey one week after the pre-test. Participants in the control condition received the RNR-based training after the study was completed. The Turkish Ministry approved the present study with protocol number 46985942/151/18410. Ethical approval was obtained from the IRB of Koç University with protocol number 2017.009.IRB3.005.

The RNR-based training

The principles of the training conformed with Bonta et al.'s (2011) and Vincent et al.'s (2012) recommendations. The training exercises, cases, and other materials were tailored to match the needs of Turkish probation officers, based on the findings of a prior qualitative study conducted by the first and second authors (Erdem et al., 2019). A series of focus groups with a separate sample of probation officers and administrative staff in Istanbul revealed primary needs for training in interviewing skills and risk assessment as well as preference for brief interventions. While the training adhered to the RNR model and principles in the current study, the curriculum was limited to one day, as opposed to the three-day training program of the original RNR approach. Our training consisted of four, 90-minute modules and it was conducted in the Istanbul Office of Probation by the first author (a clinical psychologist with more than 15 years of clinical and supervisory experience).

The first module comprised a review of the rationale for the training and an introduction to empirical research on rehabilitative vs. punitive approaches to probation. The focus of the first module was to challenge common misconceptions (i.e., “once an offender, always an offender”) about justice-involved youth by presenting findings from current research on youth delinquent behavior. In addition, the JPOs were informed about findings on the criminal trajectories and reoffending risk of justice-involved youth (e.g., Constantine et al., 2013). The module emphasized that delinquent behavior might be a passing phase in adolescence (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001). Youth recidivism statistics from the US and Europe were shared, because there were no data yet regarding youth recidivism rates in Turkey. Providing youth-specific information was necessary because most Turkish JPOs are working with adults as well as youth in probation. We wanted to make clear that the needs of youth under probation are not just different in quantity from adults, but also in quality.

The second module consisted of a review of the RNR principles and group work on brief case descriptions that the JPOs had been asked to bring to the training. Participants practiced intervention skills to address the needs of justice-involved youth, such as anger management, substance abuse, and self-regulation. The third module focused on the responsivity factor and the working alliance and collaboration with justice-involved youth. Participants were engaged in role-play activities in order to practice active listening, reflection, and empathic confrontation skills as well as other communication skills to overcome resistance among the youth. The Cognitive Behavioral Therapy Model of the link between thoughts and emotions (Beck & Beck, 2011) was the focus of the fourth module. According to this model, our thoughts have an impact on how we feel and behave. Therefore, by changing the way we think, we can manage our emotions and behavior. To this end, we practiced clinical skills such as generating alternative thoughts, guided discovery, and Socratic questioning with the JPOs.

Measures

Outcome Variables. The dependent variables of this study were punitive attitudes, rehabilitative attitudes, and recidivism risk perceptions, assessed by The Correctional Goal Scale, The Support for Rehabilitation Scale, Recidivism Risk

Perception Score, respectively. The first author translated all measures from English into Turkish and a bilingual translator subsequently back-translated to English. The two translators finalized the Turkish translation after reaching consensus.

The Correctional Goal Scale. This is a 7-point Likert-type scale with six items, developed to measure attitudes toward the criminal sanctioning of adults (Cullen et al., 1985). The internal consistency was reported .63 in a prior study (Cullen et al., 1985). The version used in the present study employed a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*) to measure punitiveness toward justice-involved youth, derived from Vincent et al. (2012). The internal consistency in our sample was .70 at the pre-test.

The Support for Rehabilitation Scale. The scale comprises six items rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale to assess support for rehabilitation of justice-involved youth (Bazemore & Feder, 1997). It yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .79 in the original study (Bazemore & Feder, 1997). For the present study, the adapted version with a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*) was used (Vincent et al., 2012). The reliability coefficient was .62 for our sample at the pre-test.

Recidivism Risk Perception Score. Recidivism risk perception was assessed with one question from Vincent et al.'s (2012) study: "What percentage of the youth you work with do you think are likely to re-offend?" Participants were asked to give a number ranging from 0 to 100.

We used the scales adapted by Vincent et al. (2012) because our study was similar in terms of the measured dependent variables (punitive attitudes, rehabilitative attitudes, and recidivism risk perceptions). Additionally, there were no standardized measures for Turkish youth probationers and we decided to employ validated measures from a similar study for comparative purposes. There are no external validity studies for the original scales.

Data Analysis

Initial analyses focused on the comparison of demographic characteristics and outcomes of training and control groups at baseline, to examine the compatibility of the two groups. Independent samples *t*-tests were run to compare continuous variables (years of experience in the criminal justice system, punitive and rehabilitative

attitudes, and perception of recidivism), and Chi-Square tests were conducted for categorical variables (gender, education level) to examine group differences at baseline. For the main analysis, our goal was to examine the amount of change in punitive attitudes, rehabilitative attitudes, and recidivism risk perception from pre- to post-test as a function of intervention condition. Therefore, we ran Mixed Factorial ANOVAs for each dependent variable with time (pre-test vs. post-test) as a within-subjects factor and group (intervention vs. control) as a between-subjects factor. The analysis examined the main effects of time (pre-test and post-test), main effects of condition (intervention vs. control), and interaction effects (time x condition). The interaction effects on the dependent variables were the main analyses of interest, because we expected a higher impact of the intervention condition, as compared to the control condition. Cohen's d was calculated as a measure of effect size.

Results

Comparison of Groups at Baseline

Demographic characteristics of the training and control groups were compared at pre-test (Table 6.1). There were no significant differences between groups in participants' gender [$\chi^2 (1) = 2.24, p = .13$], age [$t (57) = -.24, p = .81$], years of work experience [$t (57) = 1.13, p = .26$], or size of caseload [$t (48) = .86, p = .39$]. An exception was education level; a higher proportion of participants in the control condition had a graduate degree, compared to those in the training group [$\chi^2 (1) = 4.14, p = .04$] (Table 6.1). We subsequently conducted independent t -tests to examine whether officers with a college vs. graduate degree differed on the dependent variables of interest. There were no differences between groups in punitive attitudes [$t (57) = .15, p = .88$], rehabilitative attitudes [$t (57) = -.96, p = .34$], or recidivism perception at baseline [$t (57) = .76, p = .45$]. Therefore, educational level was not included in subsequent analyses as a control variable. Independent samples t -tests revealed no significant differences between training and control groups in punitive attitudes [$t (57) = 1.31, p = .20$], rehabilitative attitudes [$t (57) = .40, p = .69$], and recidivism risk perceptions [$t (57) = .15, p = .89$] at pre-test.

Main Analyses

Punitive Attitudes. We present Mixed Factorial ANOVA results in Table 6.2. The interaction of group and pre-post test scores was our main target of interest, but we first tested for main effects. We did not find a main effect for time [$F(1, 54) = 2.35, p = .13$] nor for condition [$F(1, 54) = .59, p = .44$] on punitive attitudes. We

Table 6.2. Means and Standard Deviations on Punitive Attitudes, Rehabilitative Attitudes, and Recidivism Risk Perception for Training and Control Groups at Pre- and Post-Test and The Mixed Factorial ANOVA Interaction Effects

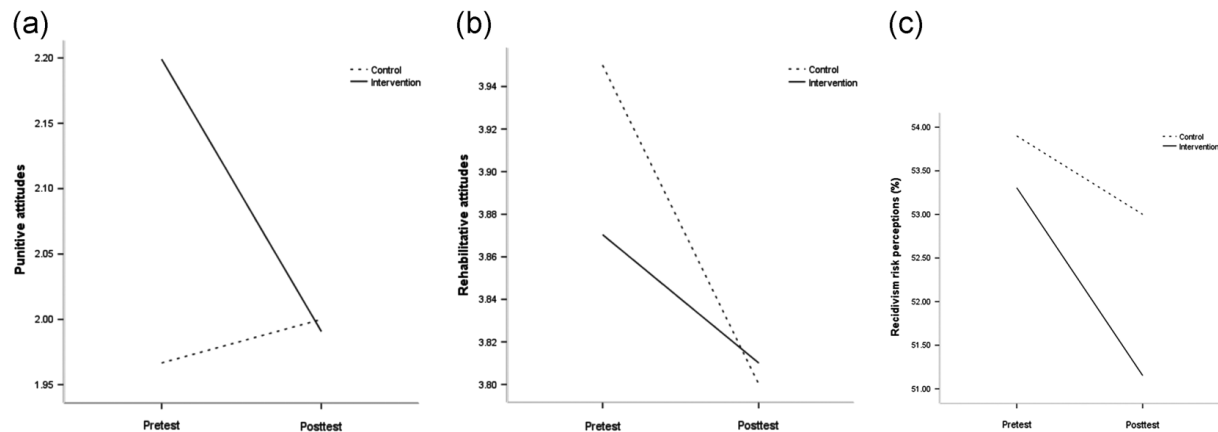
	Training condition		Control condition		Interaction effect (Time x Group)	p	Cohen's d
	Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest			
Punitive attitudes	2.19 (.42)	1.99 (.49)	1.98 (.73)	2.00 (.70)	$F(1, 54) = 4.48$.04	.60
Rehabilitative attitudes	3.87 (.41)	3.81 (.47)	3.92 (.55)	3.80 (.46)	$F(1, 54) = .80$.37	.25
Recidivism risk perception	53.30 (12.57)	51.15 (10.64)	52.52 (23.71)	53.00 (21.73)	$F(1, 54) = .20$.65	.13

found a significant interaction effect on punitiveness [$F(1, 54) = 4.48, p = .04$, Cohen's $d = -.60$], revealing that JPOs in the training condition reported a significantly larger decrease in punitive attitudes than JPOs in the control condition.

Rehabilitative Attitudes. Regarding rehabilitative attitudes, we found a significant main effect of time [$F(1, 54) = 4.41, p = .04$], but not condition [$F(1, 54) = .08, p = .77$], indicating that rehabilitative attitudes significantly decreased in both groups, but the decrease was not significantly different between training and control conditions. There was no significant interaction effect for rehabilitative attitudes [$F(1, 54) = .80, p = .37$, Cohen's $d = .25$].

Recidivism Risk Perception. There was no main effect of time [$F(1, 54) = 1.21, p = .27$], nor a main effect of condition [$F(1, 54) = .08, p = .78$] or interaction effect [$F(1, 54) = .20, p = .65$, Cohen's $d = .13$] for recidivism risk perception. Figure 6.1 illustrates the means for punitive attitudes, rehabilitative attitudes, and recidivism risk perceptions by time (pre-test and post-test) and condition (intervention vs. control).

Figure 6.1. The interaction between RNR-based training and (a) punitive attitudes, (b) rehabilitative attitudes, and (c) recidivism risk perceptions. RNR, risk–need–responsivity



Discussion

The training was based on the RNR framework that offers a rehabilitative approach to supervision and was implemented in the primarily punitively oriented criminal justice system of Turkey with the second-highest incarceration rate in Europe (World Prison Brief, 2018). We expected that exposure to an evidence-based rehabilitative framework would impact JPOs' attitudes and recidivism risk perceptions. The JPOs in the RNR-based training group reported significantly higher reductions in their punitive attitudes from pre- to post-test, compared to the control group. Contrary to our expectations, rehabilitative attitudes decreased from pre- to post-test in both groups, but groups did not differ by condition. There was also no interaction effect of training and time on recidivism risk perceptions.

A previous study with Turkish probation officers (some JPOs at the same time) found that officers struggled to implement a rehabilitative approach within the probation service due to barriers in coordination with other governmental agencies in referrals and limited availability of learning and rehabilitative programs for justice-involved youth (Erdem et al., 2019). Therefore, officers stated they were primarily focused on short-term, practical solutions to youth's needs, rather than coordinating rehabilitative services. Our current findings align with and expand on those of Erdem et al. (2019), suggesting that a brief RNR-based training has promising effects on reducing punitive attitudes, but not on promoting rehabilitative attitudes among JPOs.

Unexpectedly, there was a decrease in JPOs' rehabilitative attitudes from pre- to post-test in both conditions. It appears that our RNR-based training presented officers an opportunity to develop less punitive attitudes towards justice-involved youth.

However, the actual promotion of rehabilitative attitudes may have been less effective given the punitive orientation of the Turkish criminal justice system, coordination issues, and limited availability of rehabilitative programs. The finding may also be related to the low internal reliability of the Support for Rehabilitation Scale.

Contrary to Vincent et al. (2012)'s findings, our RNR-based training had no favorable impact on JPO's recidivism risk perceptions from pre- to post-test, as compared to the control condition. This finding could be due to differences in the research design of the two studies. Vincent et al.'s (2012) study was focused on the effects of the implementation of Risk Need Assessment tools (specifically, the Structured Assessment of Violence Risk in Youth and the Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory) in six youth probation offices and did not include control sites. The current study, on the other hand, focused on introducing the RNR framework as a rehabilitative framework in a justice system that currently lacks a standardized, evidence-based risk-need assessment tool. The implementation of a structured risk assessment instrument might be a key factor for actual changes in rehabilitative attitudes and service provision to take place (Schwalbe, 2008).

Limitations of the Present Study

The findings of the current study should be interpreted with caution due to several limitations. The current study implemented a pre-test post-test wait-list control group design with small sample size. The current study is underpowered, given that the minimum sample size to achieve .80 power at alpha .05 is 100 participants, as suggested by Machin et al., (2011). However, this is a Stage I study that examined the immediate effects of the RNR based training program on JPOs' attitudes and it is a common practice to test immediate effects in a small sample. Therefore, power is not the primary concern (Rounsaville et al., 2001). Given the promising effects of the pilot intervention on reducing punitive attitudes of JPOs, future research should employ a Stage II efficacy trial design, using a larger sample size ($N > 100$) and randomization, with longer-term follow up post-intervention.

Another limitation was the low internal reliability of the Support for Rehabilitation Scale, indicating potential measurement error in assessment. Additionally, the absence of actual recidivism data of justice-involved youth is a significant issue in the current study. We used outcome measures focused on change in JPOs' attitudes and recidivism risk perceptions only, rather than a change in behavioral outcomes of the justice-involved youth. Additionally, the JPOs in the Turkish criminal justice system have high mobility (i.e., officers were re-appointed to different units or institutions after training), limiting the opportunity to conduct long-term follow-up assessments. Thus, the current design does not examine the long-term sustainability of program effects on punitive attitudes.

Implications for future research and practice

Overall, the findings of the current study suggest that the interplay between punitive vs. rehabilitative attitudes towards justice-involved youth is complex. It appears that punitive and rehabilitative approaches may not necessarily be mutually exclusive in the Turkish context because they may not be opposite ends of the same spectrum. That is, training that reduces punitive attitudes may not promote rehabilitative attitudes to the same extent. Prior research has also shown that probation officers may integrate rehabilitative and punitive attitudes in their supervision practices at varying levels (Miller, 2015). Still, RNR-based training appears to have a promising effect in terms of reducing punitive attitudes among JPOs. Such training programs can provide JPOs with skills and resources to work with justice-involved youth and promote less punitive approaches. Given the favorable outcomes of rehabilitative programs in reducing crime and recidivism rates among justice-involved youth (MacKenzie & Farrington, 2015), future research should examine the ways in which training programs could enhance actual rehabilitative probation interventions, and ultimately recidivism rates in Turkey.

Further, it was unexpected that rehabilitative attitudes decreased among the JPOs in both conditions. This finding may be pointing at a measurement problem. Thus, it calls for more research on how best to measure rehabilitative attitudes and endeavors for the development of more precise measures.

The current study has implications for youth probation practices in Turkey. The RNR-based training was tailored to meet the needs of Turkish JPOs and materials are available for the JPOs to execute a more collaborative approach in their work with youth on probation. Our project also sparked the interest of UNICEF Turkey and the Turkish Ministry of Justice to expand and implement an RNR-based approach in the youth probation system. In 2018, we launched a large-scale, country-wide project to develop an RNR-informed risk assessment protocol and a new rehabilitation system targeting 12- to 18-year old youth on probation. The program is currently implemented in 24 probation offices across 21 cities in Turkey (TMJ, n.d.).

Conclusion

Our study was the first to implement and evaluate RNR-based training in the Turkish youth probation system. With limited means, we managed to demonstrate that Turkish JPOs' punitive attitudes could decrease via brief intervention. Future studies should explore the long-term impact of RNR-based training on JPO's attitudes, their real-world interactions with justice-involved youth, and the possible impact on recidivism reduction.



Chapter 7

General Discussion

Since the implementation of the Turkish probation system, the number of case files has shown a sharp increase from 7,185 in 2006 to nearly 400,000 by the end of 2020 (TMJ, 2021). There are around 4,000 juvenile and adult probation officers (J/POs) managing these cases (Işık, 2016). However, limited research is available to understand these officers' job experiences, needs, and attitudes. The studies in this thesis focused on the role of punitive and rehabilitative attitudes of J/POs and their impact on risk perceptions of probationers as well as a test of a brief intervention to test if these attitudes can be changed. This dissertation project is also an attempt to contribute to the research literature on probation officers with empirical findings from a non-Western culture where such research is scarce. In this final chapter, I will summarize and discuss the main findings of the studies presented in Chapters 2 through 6. Next, I will suggest theoretical implications of this research and practical implications for the probation system. Finally, I will present some limitations and propose potential avenues for further research and practice.

Main Empirical Findings

Before we focused on J/PO attitudes, we first aimed to understand Turkish J/POs better by questioning their professional experiences and needs. In our first study (Chapter 2), J/POs reported needs for training (i.e., assessment, interviewing skills), improvement of the physical work environment to ensure confidentiality of probationers, professional support (mainly in the evaluation of job performance and effectiveness of probation services), and a risk assessment tool. They also reported feeling overwhelmed by increasing caseloads and the conflict between their law enforcement and rehabilitation roles. This study revealed the prevalence of unclear objectives, poor support and demanding caseloads among Turkish J/POs. In other studies, all these factors were found to increase the likelihood of job burnout (White et al., 2015).

In the next study (Chapter 3), we investigated the link between attitudes toward probationers and three dimensions of job burnout in probation officers: Emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and professional accomplishment. Our findings showed that overall job burnout was related to less favorable attitudes towards their clients.

Specifically, more favorable attitudes toward probationers were related to less depersonalization and more professional accomplishment. J/POs' attitudes toward probationers were not related to emotional exhaustion, which is often seen as the core aspect of job burnout (Brenninkmeijer et al., 2001).

Attitudes toward juvenile probationers played a role in J/POs' recidivism risk perceptions (Chapter 4). The results revealed that gender of the juvenile offender and punitive attitudes interact in how J/POs perceive recidivism risk. Specifically, only for male juvenile offenders, more punitive attitudes of J/POs were related to higher recidivism risk perceptions. This was an important finding because there is currently no evidence-based risk assessment tool in use for Turkish adult or juvenile probationers. J/POs use their subjective judgment to estimate probationers' recidivism risk. This could be an interesting avenue for future research. We know that boys are much more likely to recidivate than girls, but part of the higher recidivism could also be related to the fact that J/POs, and society in general, are much more punitive toward boys than girls. Furthermore, we know that punishment alone (without rehabilitation efforts) does not reduce recidivism (Koehler et al., 2012). Training J/POs about what are the actual, empirically based risk factors for recidivism in boys is very important, as well as the implementation of a structured risk assessment instrument in Turkish juvenile probation (Vincent et al., 2012). Of note, as we have established in Chapter 2, J/PO's themselves have indicated a need for a risk assessment tool. Thus, they appear to be aware that their current subjective way of assessing risk may lead to biased judgments.

In Chapter 5, we investigated the role of public attitudes toward male and female offenders. Public attitude is considered one of the most prominent factors of increased governmental punitiveness and the surge in incarceration rates (Enns, 2014; Page & Shapiro, 1983). Our study attempted to understand the factors that impact public punitiveness. We explored if offense type, gender of the offender and gender role attitudes of the public are associated with public punitiveness. Specifically, we investigated how gender role attitudes moderate punitiveness toward male and female offenders, for violent and non-violent offenses. Gender role attitude was a determinant

of public punitiveness, more so than offender gender per se. More gender egalitarian participants recommended longer sentences for male offenders who committed murder than for female murderers. Gender role attitude of the participant was linked with support for incarceration, support for rehabilitation and the choice for aim of incarceration (retribution, individual deterrence, general deterrence, rehabilitation, and incapacitation) toward different offense types regardless of offender gender. In light of this finding, we believe research on public punitiveness—especially in gender traditional societies—would be incomplete without including gender role attitudes as a determinant.

In the last chapter (Chapter 6), we examined the impact of a brief RNR training on J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes. We found a significantly higher decrease in J/POs' punitive attitudes from pre-to posttest, in the training condition compared to the control group. Rehabilitative attitudes decreased in both conditions, while recidivism risk perceptions did not change over time in either condition. There was no interaction effect of training and time on recidivism risk perceptions.

Attitudes toward Offenders

Our findings are consistent with Miller (2015) who showed that punitive and rehabilitative attitudes of J/POs may not be the two ends of the same continuum, but rather two separate dimensions (Chapters 4 and 6). Therefore, both attitudes can simultaneously impact their supervision practices to different degrees. According to Klockars (1972), when the PO embraces the law enforcement aspect of the job more, s/he believes her/his main duty is to make the probationer comply with the court order by asserting the authority delegated to her/him by the court. If s/he identifies more with social work role, s/he tries to use constructive methods by analyzing her/his situation socially and psychologically to help the probationer lead a better life. Who Klockars (1972) called “synthetic officers” recognize the critical role of both approaches and combine them in probation supervision. They build rapport with the probationer in an attempt to create behavioral change while using enforcement as required. According to Klockars (1972), this approach may be one way of solving the “either-or” dilemma of corrections. Easing the conflict J/POs experience between their

law enforcement and social work/rehabilitative roles may be a way of decreasing job burnout, which is linked with better supervision outcomes for probationers (Paparozzi & Gendreau, 2005; Skeem et al., 2007). Studies show that either a rehabilitative approach or a punitive approach alone is not effective (Skeem et al., 2007). An effective treatment-oriented model can be achieved by the combination of such rehabilitative-based programs and surveillance functions (Taxman, 2008).

We believe this can be achieved by giving the J/POs the flexibility of applying probation guidelines according to the need-risk-responsivity principles. We know that some probationers have to work and taking a leave of absence to attend a session with their J/PO is impossible if they do not want to lose their jobs. In such cases, with the expectation of strict adherence to the probation rules by the probation office, J/POs may experience stress in applying these rules even though they have a rehabilitative ideal (in this specific case job maintenance for their probationer). In a system that imposes punitive sanctions for not meeting probation rules, J/POs do not have the flexibility to judge and decide each specific case individually and to balance rehabilitative with supervision goals.

Such a synthetic approach requires advanced interpersonal skills of J/POs, which makes caseload a crucial factor to consider (Taxman, 2008). J/POs need the time to use necessary tools, advance their knowledge, and to attend to probationers' criminogenic needs. As mentioned in our study (Chapter 2) and elsewhere (Finn & Kuck, 2003), increasing caseloads, excessive paperwork, and deadlines are significant stressors for J/POs and this may be contributing to the increased use of law enforcement guidelines rather than addressing probationers' rehabilitative needs.

The most crucial component of a synthetic approach is the systematic use of evidence-based tools, such as risk assessment instruments and case management plans (Taxman, 2008). Lack of such tools results in subjective evaluations of the J/POs, which mostly lead to the overestimation of risk and therefore more intensive supervision than needed (Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004). A J/PO could consider limited supervision as too risky, even for a low risk probationer because s/he may think the possible consequence, i.e., recidivism, would be too costly to the probationer,

the general public and the J/PO her/himself (Ansbro, 2010). The findings reported in Chapter 6, regarding the decrease in rehabilitative attitudes in both the training and control groups and the failure to find a change in recidivism risk perceptions, in contrast to Vincent et al. (2012), could be related to the lack of using a structured risk-need assessment tool. This lack of a risk assessment instrument was also identified by J/POs in previous research in the Turkish probation system (Altın et al., 2015). The urgent need for the implementation of such a tool is also supported by our finding on the susceptibility of J/POs' recidivism risk perceptions to extra-legal factors, such as the gender of the offender (Chapter 4). Furthermore, the implementation of a risk assessment tool will help with the implementation of the RNR-model, which is a synthetic model, with both risk-focused (risk principle) and rehabilitation-focused (need principle) aspects.

Risk assessment implementation requires extensive time and effort. Translating instruments into Turkish, demonstrating their validity in the Turkish context, the training of trainers, and the subsequent training of J/POs and the evaluation of the implementation is a multi-year investment. Research has pointed at several barriers to this effort, such as staff resistance, insufficient awareness of potential pitfalls, physical environment and hierarchy (De Beuf et al., 2020; Schlager, 2009; Webster et al., 2006). In their qualitative study, De Beuf et al. (2020) show the importance of several factors as crucial elements of a successful implementation. For example, inclusive and transparent communication (i.e., sharing the rationale for introducing structured risk assessment, providing practical information about the tool's workflow, and updating staff on the implementation progress) was mentioned as creating enthusiasm and encouraging staff involvement in the process. Consistency among leaders was another important element, because conflicting messages (one manager finds the tool valuable while the other questions it) was frustrating and confusing to staff members. Adequate allocation of time and financial resources, and proper training and supervision are also listed as necessary ingredients for a successful implementation (De Beuf et al., 2020).

Risk assessment does not only aim to assess risk of future offense, but also to provide an intervention guideline to prevent future offending (Viljoen et al., 2018). Research shows that careful implementation, staff training, and risk management guidelines improve the utility of a risk assessment tool (Viljoen et al., 2018). There is both supportive (Vincent et al., 2012) and non-supportive evidence (Vincent et al., 2016) on the effectiveness of a risk assessment tool for the reduction of recidivism. Adoption of a risk assessment tool helps generate monetary savings (Andersen et al., 2014), improves communication and teamwork among users, because of a better understanding of the offender (Sher & Gralton, 2014).

Job burnout among probation officers

Burnout has several negative consequences for J/POs, including reduced job engagement, health problems, and intentions to leave the job (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004), work-family conflict (Lambert et al., 2010) for adult probation officers, and reduced quality of communication between youth and juvenile probation officers (Salyers et al., 2015). Therefore, it is important that probation organizations attend to solve this problem for the well-being of the individual, the organization, and the society. Our findings indicate the relevance of J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes for their experience of job burnout (Chapter 3). In another study (Chapter 6), we found that a brief RNR-based training program showed some promising results in terms of decreasing punitive attitudes toward probationers in JPOs. Thus, punitive (and rehabilitative) attitudes could be a target in dealing with, and possibly preventing, job burnout in J/POs. Conceptualizing these attitudes as two separate dimensions rather than two ends of a continuum gives the J/PO the freedom to embrace and use both, according to the risk, need and responsivity of the individual probationer. This requires intensive J/PO training in the use of an evidence-based risk assessment tool. In this context, J/POs can take the initiative and make informed decisions for the individual probationer without the pressure to apply a "one size fits all" policy.

Additionally, we believe the ability of J/POs to realize reduction in recidivism is overestimated. A community-based rehabilitation model includes the responsibility of schools, families, NGOs, and government agencies because there are many factors

that assist in attaining lower recidivism rates, such as maintaining social order (Gibson & Ventura Miller, 2009), providing public assistance (Yang, 2017), and offering (college) education (Stevens & Ward, 1997). Thus, the J/POs should act as case managers who oversee the inclusion of relevant partners in the effort to help the probationers integrate in society and pursue a prosocial lifestyle. If the J/POs are positioned as the sole responsible agents in reducing recidivism, this would be unfair, unrealistic and inefficient and would increase job stress, and ultimately job burnout.

The role of offender gender and gender role attitudes

Gender role attitudes among the public have been shown to be more relevant to punitive attitudes toward offenders than offender gender (Chapter 5). Our findings concerning the interaction of offender gender and J/POs' punitive attitudes with their recidivism risk perceptions also point at a potential influence of J/POs' gender role attitudes (Chapter 4). As a result, we believe a study on punitive and rehabilitative attitudes needs to include gender role attitudes.

One major problem in studying gender of the offender, as we did, is its overly reductive categorization. This approach is far from capturing the diverse experiences of many individuals (Matsuno & Budge, 2017). It excludes individuals who may not fall into either a male or a female category, but identify as *nonbinary*, *transgender*, or *intersex*. Non-binary gender identities report widespread discrimination in several areas of life, including health care (Harrison et al., 2012), so they prefer to avoid such treatment by either hiding their gender identity or by moving away from the threat (e.g., quitting a job) (James et al., 2016). Although research shows there is an increasing visibility following the legal recognition of non-binary people in countries such as Australia, Pakistan, and Thailand (Yeadon-Lee, 2016), available data may underestimate the number of non-binary individuals. A recent review of 43 studies conducted in the last five decades in 17 countries estimates that 0.1% to 2.0% of individuals from the general population self-identify as transgender and gender non-conforming (Goodman et al., 2019). In the US, approximately 1.2 million LGBTQ people identify themselves as non-binary (Wilson & Meyer, 2021). From this perspective, the generalizability of any study that includes gender as a binary variable is imperfect at best.

The evidence in our Chapter 5 study points at gender role attitudes rather than gender as a determinant of public punitiveness. However, we found no support for *chivalry* and *evil woman* perspectives. Otto Pollak (1950) was the first to introduce the term in the criminal justice literature, suggesting that women within the criminal justice system are treated much more leniently than men due to “chivalry” toward women. Smith (2012) argues that what arose as a response of men toward violence in the Middle Ages in to protect weak and defenseless women—chivalry—is now on the decline. For decades, women were oppressed in several arenas. For example, they could not have a bank account without a man’s consent or they could not go the public places without an accompanying male (Enke, 2007). In her groundbreaking book, the *Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir (2015) argued gender to be a socially constructed concept rather than a biologically determined trait. Her ideas paved the way for the development of feminist theories and subsequently the women’s liberation movement in the 1960’s. The “weaker sex” argument of the chivalry perspective has been frowned upon by many women since then. So, one potential explanation for lack of support for the chivalry perspective in our study may be that most people in the (post)modern era do not see women as “weak and in need of protection” anymore. Another possible reason might be that the shift in society toward equality may also confuse men about how to treat women “appropriately”.

A similar argument can be made for the evil woman perspective. Equal treatment would require accepting that women are as capable as men to commit serious crimes. The degree to which the chivalry and evil woman perspectives are still current in today’s society should be investigated. It is important to note that my review of previous literature revealed that these two perspectives are more theoretical rather than empirical. Many studies with findings that support these perspectives have not measured the gender role attitudes of the participants. Still, the findings that were consistent with the perspectives have been reported as supportive evidence (Embry & Lyons, 2012; Spivak et al., 2014). However, many other factors (e.g., race, cultural background) may play a role in the differential attitudes toward male and female

offenders. Clearly, more research is needed to understand which other factors are related to disparities in the treatment of male and female offenders.

Our findings on the relevance of punitiveness toward men and women reveal the need for interventions that target change in gender role attitudes of the general public. This finding is consistent with previous research that shows adherence to traditional gender roles contributes to gender inequalities over the life course, for example, on the labor market (Corrigall & Konrad, 2007) and in family life (van Gameren, 2013). Research on couples suggests that men's gender role attitudes have become more egalitarian if they relocated for their female partners' job (Vidal & Lersch, 2019). Carter et al. (2009) found that women's increased participation in the work force was a factor in the ideological shift of US society toward more egalitarianism.

Overall, research suggests that a shift in gender role attitudes toward more egalitarianism is possible through interventions at the societal rather than the individual level. According to the Japanese Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office (n.d.) the realization of a gender-equal society is possible only when men and women can equally participate in political, cultural, and economical platforms and share responsibilities. Such an endeavor can be achieved through governmental policies, laws, and regulations that allow all individuals to pursue their inspirations without the boundaries of their biological identity.

Changing attitudes toward probationers: Could the RNR-approach be relevant?

Our finding on the relevance of a brief RNR-based intervention in reducing punitive attitudes among J/POs is promising. Our study measured only short-term effects, on a limited number of outcomes. Studies with longer follow-up periods need to be conducted to see if the effect of interventions on J/PO attitudes is stable. The ultimate test of the RNR-based intervention lies in its effect on the reduction of recidivism. A more extensive RNR-based training program with the implementation of an evidence-based risk assessment instrument and risk reduction interventions would be the ideal follow-up to our project.

We also note that efforts at the individual level are not sufficient for attitudinal change. In a punitively oriented probation system, J/POs do not have much flexibility to apply rehabilitation-based interventions. Even if J/POs manage to establish rapport and a genuine working relationship with the probationer, in the end their decisions are based largely on law enforcement policies. For the successful implementation of an RNR-based perspective, the agencies, their managers and the J/POs should share a common vision and work procedures.

Strengths and Limitations of This Thesis

This thesis describes a number of studies in individuals from the general public and J/POs to explore punitive and rehabilitative attitudes toward offenders in general, and probationers in specific. To put our findings in perspective, a number of strengths and limitations of the thesis should be discussed.

Strengths

Research conducted in Turkey provides a unique contribution to psychological science dominated by research in samples from western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) nations (Muthukrishna et al., 2020). Research shows there is a considerable cultural difference, even between countries classified as WEIRD, so a cultural distance check is encouraged for generalizability (Muthukrishna et al., 2020). Our findings make a small, but significant preliminary contribution to relevant attitudes of J/POs in a non-WEIRD country, namely Turkey (Doğruyol et al., 2019).

Specifically, research on probation and probation officers has largely been conducted in the US and Europe where the probation systems date back almost 150 years. These systems are well established, decentralized, provide supervision and other resources to the probation officers. On the other hand, the Turkish probation system was established in 2005 (Yavuz, 2012) and there are only a few studies on the Turkish J/POs (Kocagazioğlu et al, 2016; Tuncer & Duru, 2013). This research project—to our knowledge—is the first to add to this limited literature by exploring Turkish J/POs' attitudes toward probationers and evaluating the effectiveness of a brief intervention with Turkish J/POs.

Our focus on the influence of offender gender and gender role attitudes is a small, but significant step toward understanding two widely neglected potential influences on punitive and rehabilitative attitudes. Our findings show the complexity of their impact and the implications for designing interventions that target punitive and rehabilitative attitudes. Our findings further highlight the urgent need for an evidence-based risk assessment tool for the Turkish probation system. This is critical for matching the level of services with probationers' risk level and needs, and this practice will result in reductions in recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

Limitations

Except for the last study (Chapter 6), our J/PO samples were from Istanbul, which is a large metropolis that differs in many ways from Turkey as a whole. Its population approximates 16.5 million people at any given time when tourists are included. It hosts approximately 19% of the Turkish population with more than 15 million people registered as residents (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2020). The population density is 2,523 people per square kilometer, while the average population density in Turkey is 102 people. The SES of the population of Istanbul is quite different from that of Turkey as a whole. The upper income groups (A+B) represent 40% of the population in Turkey, while this number is 64% in Istanbul. On the other hand, Istanbul is the city with the highest price level index (114.8) in Turkey, which means Istanbul is 14.8% more expensive than Turkey's average.

Given these statistics, the demographic make-up and the experiences of the J/POs in Istanbul are likely to be different from the entire Turkish J/PO population. The everyday challenges of making a living in this city undoubtedly add to the inherent job stress of J/POs. The limited access to government information on the Turkish J/PO population has hampered the generalizability of our results. Additionally, the lack of recidivism data on probationers in the Turkish criminal justice registers resulted in the use of outcome measures that we collected from the J/POs themselves. Lack of information on the outcome of probation work is not only an obstacle for the evaluation of our findings, but also a potential moderator of J/POs' job stress. The

evidence that shows an association between lack of feedback and burnout supports our argument (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004).

Our unconfirmed hypotheses in Chapters 4 and 6 could be related to measurement error due to the low internal reliability of the rehabilitative attitudes scale. Another reason might be—as discussed above—that our literature reviews and hypotheses are mostly based on findings from research conducted in WEIRD countries (predominantly the US), for lack of previous research in Turkey or other Asian countries. Therefore, there might be other, unknown factors that more accurately explain our discrepant findings. For example, despite ensured confidentiality, J/POs might have given socially desirable answers rather than providing their actual thoughts and behaviors. Collecting data in their offices and training sites due to time and logistical constraints may have influenced their responses. In future research, including a measure of socially desirable or defensive responding could help control for this.

Implications for Future Research

Three out of four studies with J/POs were conducted with participants from Istanbul and most of our participants were men. Future research needs to cross-validate our findings in a randomly selected sample of J/POs from different urban and rural regions of Turkey, for more generalizable conclusions.

Independent replication studies should be performed to better understand the complex interplay between punitive and rehabilitative attitudes with offender gender and J/POs' gender role attitudes. The scarcity of findings in gender-traditional societies makes it difficult to make generalizations in this realm. The two most prominent perspectives—chivalry and evil woman—that attempt to explain the link between how women are treated in the criminal justice system and gender role attitudes of the system actors should be tested for their currency.

Our brief RNR-based rehabilitation intervention revealed some promising results in terms of reducing punitive J/POs' attitudes in the short term. Researchers should examine the degree to which these changes can be sustained (or improved) over

time. The impact of these changes on recidivism rates of probationers should also be examined.

To assist in research on punitive and rehabilitative attitudes, more reliable tools to measure rehabilitative attitudes should be developed.

Practical Implications

Our findings reveal the imminent need for the implementation of an evidence-based risk assessment tool to more accurately identify Turkish probationers' rehabilitative risks and needs. J/POs also need training in clinical diagnostic knowledge and interviewing skills to detect potential mental disorders among probationers to refer them to mental health and/or substance use treatment services. Collaborations between the probation services and other governmental agencies, institutions and NGOs should be developed so that such referrals could be made smoothly.

Our attempt to provide an RNR-based training to JPOs has become a gateway for several changes in the juvenile probation system. These changes target specific services that are tailored to juvenile offenders' needs. More trainings on juvenile probationers should be offered to JPOs, emphasizing the characteristics of the developmental phase of adolescence. Most juveniles will not be engaged in criminal acts again, so they should be kept out of the justice system as much as possible. No intensive supervision is needed for this group, as they can be considered low risk.

It should be noted that the success of a probation period is not only the responsibility of J/POs, but also other agencies such as NGOs, municipalities, governmental institutions, families, and schools. Inclusion of these bodies in the probation period by consistent information flow and training about the probation system and its goals would reduce stigmatization of juvenile probationers and is critical to increase the success of community-based rehabilitation.

On the other hand, policy makers should clarify the aim of the probation system: Rehabilitation and/or law enforcement. The conflict between the expectations and aims of the criminal justice system as a whole and the promise of the probation

system as a rehabilitative service makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to enhance the rehabilitative attitudes of J/POs.

Future interventions on job burnout should target creating a balance between punitive and rehabilitative approaches, tailored to the risk, need and responsivity principles.

Specific to the Turkish probation system, availability of recidivism data and J/PO demographics is crucial for achieving more generalizable empirical findings and for developing effective intervention programs for probationers.



Chapter 8

Impact

Probation is a community-based criminal justice intervention that was originally designed as an alternative to incarceration (Phelps, 2018). It became part of the criminal justice system in many countries in North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa in the early 1900s. The probation system in Turkey was implemented in 2005 as one of the major reforms in the Turkish criminal justice system. As of October 2020, there are more than 400,000 cases managed by 4,467 probation experts (e.g., psychologists, sociologists) and juvenile and adult probation officers (J/POs) working in probation offices across Turkey (TMJ, 2020).

Turkey poses unique challenges for the implementation of probation services, such as lack of evidence-based risk assessment tools and intervention programs (Altın et al., 2015), high caseloads, and punitive attitudes of the general public (Karakuş et al., 2011). As always, J/POs play an important role in the successful outcome of probation interventions. They struggle to balance their law enforcement and rehabilitation roles toward probationers while handling increasing numbers of cases with limited opportunities for training, feedback, and supervision. These circumstances put J/POs under a lot of stress and uncertainty within a predominantly punitive criminal justice system.

The aim of this dissertation was to explore the professional experiences and training needs of Turkish J/POs and to examine the relevance of J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes for (i) one of the most common mental health problems J/POs experience (job burnout), and (ii) recidivism risk perceptions regarding probationers. We further aimed to develop a brief RNR-based intervention program and examine its impact on J/POs punitive and rehabilitative attitudes. Lastly, we investigated if gender role attitudes impact individuals' punitiveness judgements by examining how they moderate punitiveness toward male and female offenders, for violent and non-violent offenses. This study aimed to better understand the Turkish context in which probation services are spreading rapidly.

Scientific Impact

Turkish probation services have been introduced only recently. This dissertation contributes to the limited empirical knowledge on the Turkish probation system, more specifically punitive and rehabilitative attitudes of Turkish J/POs and the general public. Research on probation services in Turkey is still in its infancy and I hope the studies in this dissertation pave the way toward more evidence-based practices to probation in Turkey. How J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes play a role in J/POs' burnout and recidivism risk perceptions is relevant not only for practitioners in this field, but may inspire researchers to study other factors that may be linked to J/POs' mental health, how they treat probationers and how these factors impact recidivism rates.

In order to reach the (probation) research community, four studies were published in international, peer-reviewed journals, as well as presented at international conferences. One study is still under review. All published articles (except for Erdem et al., 2018) were published open access to increase their reach. Preliminary findings of four studies (except for Ersayan et al., 2021) were presented in international conferences (European Association of Psychology and Law in Turku, Finland and Mechelen, Belgium) and at a national symposium in Turkey (10th Year in Turkish Probation Services Symposium).

This research demonstrated that rehabilitation-based interventions might be useful in changing J/POs' attitudes toward probationers. In light of findings that show rehabilitative interventions are effective in reducing recidivism rates, future studies could explore how more rehabilitative attitudes of the J/POs influence recidivism rates. Furthermore, more studies on the impact of offender gender on J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes, and in turn, recidivism rates are warranted. These implications clearly show that research on Turkish probation interventions would greatly benefit from the availability of data on recidivism rates.

In terms of public attitudes, traditional/egalitarian gender role attitudes seem to play a significant role in punitive and rehabilitative attitudes toward offenders. Further

studies could explore how these punitive and rehabilitative attitudes translate into behavior toward offenders and probationers. Our findings show that gender role attitudes need to be included in public punitiveness studies as a potential determinant.

Societal Impact

The studies in this dissertation provide an indication of how rehabilitation-based training may be effective in changing J/POs' attitudes toward probationers. The effectiveness might be larger if the training is implemented with the use of an evidence-based risk assessment tool. This practice would likely enhance implementation quality, which in turn would increase the chances for a successful outcome of probation interventions. The introduction of evidence-based risk assessment tools and rehabilitation-based interventions for Turkish juvenile and adult probationers should be prioritized.

On a practical level, the findings in this dissertation are relevant to stakeholders involved in probation. Our results indicate the relevance of J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes for their experience of job burnout. This may guide policy makers in their decision making concerning whether more rehabilitation-based policies could be implemented within the probation service. Such efforts would not only result in more successful probation outcomes (i.e., decreased recidivism rates), but also increased well-being in J/POs (i.e., decreased job burnout).

The influence of gender role attitudes on public punitiveness sheds light on the importance of fostering egalitarian gender role attitudes on a societal level. This requires a top-down and a bottom-up effort, starting from law making to primary education. The impact of such an attitudinal shift in Turkish society would be important not only for equality in criminal justice, but also in education, family and work.

The studies in this dissertation sparked a collaboration with the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and UNICEF Turkey. We gave several trainings to J/POs as part of the data collection process or as incentives. The training in Chapter 6 was subsequently improved as part of the larger DENGİ (Denetimli Serbestlik Gençlik Programı-Youth

Probation Program) project. The Turkish Ministry of Justice initiated the DENGİ project with funding from the EU, the Turkish government and UNICEF in 2015. The aim of the project was to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the juvenile justice system in Turkey. An effective, preventive and rehabilitative intervention system for juveniles under probation was implemented in 21 pilot cities. The author of this dissertation functioned as the primary investigator and led a consultancy team of seven people from Koç University and elsewhere. The project took 18 months to complete.

The team started with reviewing the current situation of juvenile probation in Turkey and visited three European countries (Spain, Portugal and England) to explore best practices in juvenile probation systems. Juvenile law, risk assessment and intervention programs in these countries were studied thoroughly. Trainings on four topics (interviewing skills with juveniles and risk assessment, anger management, interpersonal communication and mindfulness) were delivered to 36 experts designated as future trainers. More than 500 probation officers attended subsequent trainings and the consultancy team worked as supervisors at each step. Manuals for the trainers and trainees were prepared for each training topic including theoretical background, practice questions and tips. These trainings paved the way to the designation of JPOs who became exclusively responsible for the probation period of juveniles. What was previously managed by different people at each step of the probation trajectory (first interview, risk assessment, individual sessions) was now handled by one JPO to establish better rapport with the juveniles. Another important change following our findings and consultancy was separating the juvenile and adult probation facilities. This was a major change in order to prevent contact that would increase juveniles' exposure to more criminal individuals. We mentioned the importance of including families for the successful integration of juveniles into the society and proposed family interventions. This was welcomed, but for budgetary reasons this project was postponed to a later date by the Ministry.

We conducted several regional meetings with the probation offices and stakeholders (municipalities, law enforcement, Ministry of Youth, Ministry of

Education, etc.) to enhance collaboration between them in order to ensure the success of the juveniles' probation period. Several reports for the Ministry of Justice and UNICEF were prepared at each step to communicate our work, the findings, and recommendations for the future of juvenile probation. While these changes were being introduced, we were approached by other officials for different projects. For example, we conducted focus groups to investigate the daily life experiences of incarcerated youth and prison staff, followed by social skill trainings to the juveniles in Metris Prison. The manuscripts about this work are in preparation.



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Summary

The Turkish probation services have been implemented in 2005 as one of the reforms to meet EU requirements (Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, 2021). The basic aim of the services is rehabilitating offenders in the community and preventing recidivism by providing an alternative to incarceration. It is also expected to ease the burden on the increasingly overpopulated correctional facilities. Today, there are almost 700,000 case files managed by approximately 4000 Juvenile and Adult Probation Officers (J/POs)⁹. They are responsible for monitoring probationers' compliance to the court orders, assisting courts in the decision process by preparing social investigation reports that include information about the offender and suggestions for the services appropriate to his/her needs. The studies in this thesis were primarily designed to add to the limited research literature on probation services, specifically on J/POs in Turkey.

Samples and Measures

Our samples for four of the studies were POs and JPOs. For logistical, time and permission reasons, we collected the data for each study separately. Except for Chapter 5, all studies included J/POs as participants. For each study, we were first required to obtain official permission from the Ministry of Justice. For the qualitative study reported in Chapter 2, we invited 220 employees from the Istanbul Bureau of Probation regardless of their rank and title. Fifty-seven J/POs and 5 directors were recruited. In the study in Chapter 3, our sample comprised 116 J/POs out of 220 J/POs who were invited from the same probation office. For the study in Chapter 4, we recruited 252 J/POs from 21 probation offices across Turkey. The sample included the J/POs who voluntarily agreed to participate on the first day of a training they were attending. Fifty-nine J/POs from three probation offices in Istanbul accepted our invitation for the study in Chapter 6. We employed snowball sampling to recruit participants from the general population for the study in Chapter 5 and collected these data over the internet.

⁹ I use J/POs as an abbreviation for juvenile and adult probation officers throughout the thesis. The term "juvenile probation officer" was not used in the Turkish probation system until very recently. The officers worked with both juvenile and adult probationers.

We used the *Correctional Goal Scale* (Cullen et al., 1985), the *Support for Rehabilitation Scale* (Cullen et al., 1985), and the *Attitudes toward Prisoners Scale* (ATP; Melvin et al., 1985) to measure punitive and rehabilitative attitudes toward probationers. We used the ATP in the very first study with J/POs (Chapter 3). This scale measures punitive and rehabilitative attitudes on a continuous scale. In the next study (Chapter 6), we used two separate scales to measure punitive and rehabilitative attitudes. We replicated findings from previous studies that found these could be viewed as two separate dimensions rather than the two ends of a continuum. In our last study (Chapter 4), this finding was once again supported.

We assessed recidivism risk perception by single items worded in accordance with the method of prior studies as “*What percentage of the youth you work with do you think are likely to re-offend?*” (Vincent et al., 2012) and “*How would you rate the recidivism risk of the juvenile in the vignette?*”. Job burnout was measured by means of the *Maslach Burnout Inventory* (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1981). In order to gauge the complexity of the concept of public punitiveness toward offenders, we used separate items to measure *how*, *how severely* and *why* the public wanted to see offenders punished. In that study, gender role attitudes were measured with the 25-item short-form of the *Sex Roles Egalitarianism Scale* (SRES-BB; King & King, 1990).

Results

The study in Chapter 2 was initiated by a group of J/POs who mentioned their training needs concerning several topics, including risk assessment and interview techniques. Thus, we first designed a study to assess their professional experiences and training needs. The research design was adapted from Freire’s (1970) Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology. POs were not only participants in the research project but were also actively involved in all phases of the research action process. The findings from interview and follow-up focus groups indicated that J/POs needed professional support, training on interviewing skills, improvements in their physical work environment for rehabilitative services, and a structured risk assessment tool. They reported not having enough knowledge to assist in the rehabilitation of offenders,

yet the intensity of their caseloads did not leave much room for professional development. They had to manage lots of paperwork, which tipped the scale of their job to law-enforcement although they were highly motivated to improve their rehabilitative skills. The four major needs they stated were in line with their pro-rehabilitative attitudes, that is, private spaces for interviews and individual sessions with probationers, risk assessment tools to assess probationers' needs and design of appropriate interventions for rehabilitation. We discussed the practical implications of our findings and suggested some strategies to improve the quality of probation services in Turkey.

Large caseloads and role conflict have been reported as factors in J/PO burnout in several prior studies (Stephens & O'Donnell, 2001; Wirkus, 2015). Chapter 3 focused on negative attitudes toward probationers as another potential factor in J/PO job burnout. Research has documented that negative attitudes toward offenders are quite common among criminal justice system professionals, however, there is a lack of such studies in probation officers. It was important to address this gap in the probation literature, because the findings could be relevant for J/PO recruitment and job burnout prevention. Our findings showed that more favorable J/PO attitudes toward probationers are related to a lower sense of depersonalization and stronger experience of professional accomplishment. Contrary to our hypothesis and prior research, we found attitudes toward probationers to be unrelated to emotional exhaustion. That is, negative attitudes were not associated with the depletion of emotional resources among J/POs. I discussed the possible reasons (e.g., demographic makeup of our sample, differences in the work context) for the lack of association between emotional exhaustion and J/PO attitudes and the implications of our findings for future research.

Chapter 4 elaborated upon J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes by examining their link to J/POs' recidivism risk perceptions. The J/POs were asked to estimate juveniles' recidivism risk on the basis of case vignettes, using their unstructured professional judgement. The factors that influenced their judgements are not known. The results of our study indicated that gender of the offender and punitive attitudes of the J/POs interacted in predicting recidivism risk perceptions. Only for

male juvenile offenders, more punitive attitudes of J/POs were related to higher recidivism risk perceptions in J/POs. Female juvenile offenders were not perceived as posing a higher risk of recidivism even when the J/POs scored high on punitive attitudes. The link between demographic factors and J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes presented a mixed picture, which is consistent with the existing literature. The role of extralegal factors (i.e., gender of the offender) and personal characteristics (i.e., punitive attitudes of the J/POs) on J/POs' recidivism risk perceptions once again emphasize the urgent need for an evidence-based tool for more objective risk assessment of probationers in Turkey and implementation of risk assessment tools at large. Furthermore, the relationship between J/POs' punitive and rehabilitative attitudes, recidivism risk perceptions, and gender of the juvenile offender may be of practical relevance for interventions aimed at improving J/POs' attitudes toward juvenile probationers.

In Chapter 5, we aimed at expanding our understanding of punitive and rehabilitative attitudes by studying them in a general population sample. We investigated if gender role attitudes impact public punitiveness by examining how they moderate individuals' punitiveness toward male and female offenders, separately for violent and non-violent offenses. We based our hypotheses on the *chivalry* and *evil woman* perspectives. Our results showed that the gender role attitudes of our participants were a determinant of public punitiveness. However, what we have found was not what we had predicted according to the chivalry and evil woman hypotheses. For example, participants with higher gender egalitarianism scores recommended longer sentences for male than female offenders who committed murder. That was an unexpected finding. On the other hand, no significant differences in the recommended length of sentence, choice for aim of incarceration, or support for rehabilitation toward male and female offenders were observed among participants with less gender egalitarian attitudes for violent versus non-violent offenses, so chivalry and evil woman hypotheses were not supported in our study. I discussed the relevance of these findings for the Turkish context where gender traditional values are relatively

prominent. The need for further studies in samples from other countries and other criminal justice professionals, such as judges, are noted.

The study in Chapter 6 aimed at examining the impact of a brief training program based on the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model on Turkish Juvenile Probation Officers' (JPOs) punitive and rehabilitative attitudes toward justice-involved youth and recidivism risk perceptions. Our findings suggested that a training that reduces punitive attitudes may not promote rehabilitative attitudes to the same extent. Therefore, punitive and rehabilitative attitudes may not be the two ends of the same spectrum, as some studies have suggested. Interventions should be designed so that punitive and rehabilitative attitudes are addressed separately. Our findings further show that punitive attitudes can be decreased via a relatively brief rehabilitative-focused training program, although the long-term effects of the program are still unknown.

General Conclusions and Recommendations

Probation services have been introduced as a community-based alternative to incarceration for the rehabilitation of offenders. Juvenile and adult probation officers (J/POs) play an important role in every probation system. They are expected to balance competing public safety, punishment, and rehabilitation goals while managing large caseloads. This thesis provides insight into Turkish J/POs' occupational needs and focuses on understanding the link of J/POs' attitudes toward probationers with J/POs' recidivism risk perceptions and job burnout. Our results suggest the relevance of punitive attitudes for J/POs' recidivism risk perceptions and experience of job burnout. Our findings also provide preliminary evidence for the positive effect of a brief rehabilitation-focused training on reducing J/POs' punitive attitudes. Gender of the probationer could be a factor that influences how J/POs treat probationers. Whether these results can be generalized to J/POs in other countries and to other professionals in the justice system should be examined. Gender role attitudes of the public seem to be playing a role in punitive attitudes toward offenders among the general public. Whether this also holds true for J/POs is an interesting area for further research.



Nederlandse Samenvatting

De reclasseringsorganisatie in Turkije werd in 2005 opgericht als een van de hervormingen om aan de eisen voor toetreding tot de EU te voldoen (Delegatie van de Europese Unie naar Turkije, 2021). Het primaire doel van de reclassering is de re-integratie van delinquenten in de samenleving en de preventie van recidive door een alternatief voor detentie te bieden. Reclasseringstoezicht kan ook de situatie verlichten in de steeds meer overbevolkte penitentiaire inrichtingen. Op het moment (reference needed to the source of these numbers here) zijn er bijna 700.000 cliëntdossiers die worden behandeld door ongeveer 4000 jeugd- en volwassen reclasseringswerkers (J/PO's). Zij zijn verantwoordelijk voor het toezicht op de naleving van de rechterlijke vonnissen door reclasseringswerkers, en helpen de rechtbanken bij het besluitvormingsproces door onderzoeksrapporten op te stellen met informatie over de dader en suggesties voor de begeleiding die geschikt is voor zijn / haar behoeften. De studies in dit proefschrift zijn in de eerste plaats bedoeld als aanvulling op de beperkte onderzoeksliteratuur over de reclassering in Turkije, in het bijzonder over J/PO's

Steekproeven en Meetinstrumenten

De steekproeven in vier van de onderzoeken bestonden uit PO's en JPO's. Om logistieke, tijd- en toestemmingsredenen hebben we de gegevens voor elk onderzoek afzonderlijk verzameld. Alleen in Hoofdstuk 5, waren de deelnemers geen J/PO's. Voor elk onderzoek moesten we eerst officiële toestemming verkrijgen van het Ministerie van Justitie. Voor het kwalitatieve onderzoek dat in Hoofdstuk 2 wordt gerapporteerd, hebben we 220 medewerkers van het Istanbul Reclasseringskantoor uitgenodigd, ongeacht hun rang of titel. Uiteindelijk namen 57 J/PO's en 5 managers deel aan de studie. In de studie in Hoofdstuk 3 bestond onze steekproef uit 116 J/PO's van de 220 J/PO's die waren uitgenodigd door hetzelfde reclasseringskantoor. Voor de studie in Hoofdstuk 4 hebben we 252 J/PO's gerekruteerd uit 21 reclasseringskantoren verdeeld over heel Turkije. De steekproef omvatte de J/PO's die vrijwillig toestemden om deel te nemen op de eerste dag van een training die ze volgden. Negenenvijftig J/PO's van drie reclasseringskantoren in Istanbul accepteerden onze uitnodiging voor het onderzoek in Hoofdstuk 6. Voor het onderzoek in Hoofdstuk 5 verzamelden we

gegevens via sociale media en gebruikten de sneeuwbaltechniek om deelnemers uit de algemene populatie te rekruteren

We gebruikten de *Correctional Goal Scale* (Cullen et al., 1985), de *Support for Rehabilitation Scale* (Cullen et al., 1985) en de *Attitudes towards Prisoners Scale* (ATP; Melvin et al., 1985) om punitieve en rehabilitatieve attitudes ten opzichte van reclasseringscliënten vast te stellen. We gebruikten de ATP in de eerste studie met J/PO's (Hoofdstuk 3). Deze schaal meet punitieve en rehabilitatieve attitudes op een continue schaal. In de volgende studie (Hoofdstuk 6) gebruikten we twee afzonderlijke schalen om punitieve en rehabilitatieve attitudes te meten. We repliceerden bevindingen uit eerdere onderzoeken waaruit bleek dat de twee soorten attitudes kunnen worden gezien als twee afzonderlijke dimensies in plaats van als twee uiteinden van een continuüm. In onze laatste studie (Hoofdstuk 4) werd deze bevinding opnieuw ondersteund.

We hebben de perceptie van het recidiverisico gemeten aan de hand van enkele items die conform de methode van eerdere onderzoeken zijn geformuleerd, zoals: "*Welk percentage van de jongeren met wie u werkt, zal volgens u opnieuw in de fout gaan?*" (Vincent et al., 2012) en "*Hoe schat u het recidiverisico van de jongere in het vignet in?*". Burn-out werd gemeten met behulp van de *Maslach Burnout Inventory* (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1981). In order to gauge the complexity of the concept of public punitiveness toward offenders, we used separate items to measure how, how severely and why the public wanted to see offenders punished. Om recht te doen aan de complexiteit van het begrip 'punitieve houding tegenover delinquenten bij het algemene publiek', hebben we met afzonderlijke items gemeten hoe, hoe zwaar en waarom het publiek wil dat delinquenten gestraft worden. In die studie werden opvattingen ten aanzien van genderrollen gemeten met de 25-item korte vorm van de *Sex Roles Egalitarianism Scale* (SRES-BB; King & King, 1990).

Resultaten

De studie in Hoofdstuk 2 is geïnitieerd door een groep J/PO's die hun opleidingsbehoeften met betrekking tot verschillende onderwerpen, waaronder

risicotaxatie en interviewtechnieken, uitten. Daarom hebben we eerst een kwalitatief onderzoek opgezet om hun professionele ervaringen en opleidingsbehoeften te inventariseren. Het onderzoeksontwerp werd afgeleid van Freire's (1970) Participatory Action Research (PAR) -methodologie. PO's waren niet alleen deelnemers aan het onderzoeksproject, maar werden ook actief betrokken bij alle fasen van het onderzoeksactieproces. De bevindingen uit de interviews en de follow-up focusgroepen gaven aan dat J/PO's professionele ondersteuning, training in interviewvaardigheden, verbeteringen in hun fysieke werkomgeving voor begeleiding bij re-integratie, en een gestructureerd instrument voor risicotaxatie nodig hadden. Ze meldden dat ze niet genoeg kennis hadden om te helpen bij de rehabilitatie van delinquenten, maar de grootte van hun caseload liet niet veel ruimte voor professionele ontwikkeling. Ze moesten veel papierwerk doen, waardoor hun baan meer neigde naar rechtshandhaving, hoewel ze zeer gemotiveerd waren om hun rehabilitatievaardigheden te verbeteren. De vier belangrijkste behoeften die ze noemden kwamen overeen met hun pro-rehabilitatieve houding, dat wil zeggen, privéruimtes voor interviews en individuele sessies met reclasseringscliënten, risicotaxatieinstrumenten om de behoeften van reclasseringscliënten te beoordelen en het ontwerpen van geschikte interventies voor rehabilitatie. We bespraken de praktische implicaties van onze bevindingen en stelden enkele strategieën voor om de kwaliteit van het reclasseringswerk in Turkije te verbeteren.

In verschillende eerdere onderzoeken werd gevonden dat grote caseloads en rolconflicten factoren zijn bij J/PO burnout (Stephens & O'Donnell, 2001; Wirkus, 2015). Hoofdstuk 3 richtte zich op de negatieve houding ten opzichte van reclasseringscliënten als een andere potentiële factor bij J/PO burn-out. Onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat een negatieve houding ten opzichte van delinquenten vrij vaak voorkomt bij professionals in het strafrechtstelsel, maar dergelijke onderzoeken zijn nog niet verricht bij reclasseringswerkers. Het was belangrijk om deze leemte in de literatuur te adresseren, omdat de bevindingen relevant kunnen zijn voor de werving van J/PO's en de preventie van burn-out op het werk. Onze bevindingen toonden aan dat een positievere attitude ten opzichte van reclasseringscliënten bij J/PO's verband

houdt met minder gevoelens van depersonalisatie en een hoger niveau van ervaren professionele effectiviteit. In tegenstelling tot onze hypothese en eerder onderzoek, vonden we dat de houding ten opzichte van reclasseringscliënten geen verband hield met emotionele uitputting. Ik besprak de mogelijke redenen voor de afwezigheid van een verband tussen emotionele uitputting en J/PO-attitudes ten opzichte van hun cliënten (bijv. de demografische samenstelling van onze steekproef, verschillen in de werkcontext) en de implicaties van onze bevindingen voor toekomstig onderzoek.

Hoofdstuk 4 ging dieper in op de bestraffende en rehabilitatieve houdingen van J/PO's door te onderzoeken of ze samenhangen met de perceptie van recidiverisico's bij J/PO's. De J/PO's werd gevraagd om op basis van casusvignetten het recidiverisico van jongeren in te schatten op basis van hun ongestructureerde professionele oordeel. De factoren die hun oordeel mogelijk beïnvloedden zijn niet bekend. De resultaten van ons onderzoek gaven aan dat de sekse van de dader en de bestraffende houding van de J/PO's een interactie lieten zien met de risicopercepties van recidive. Alleen voor mannelijke jeugdige delinquenten was een meer punitieve houding van J/PO's gerelateerd aan hogere risicopercepties voor recidive bij J/PO's. Bij vrouwelijke jeugdige delinquenten werd geen hoger risico op recidive ingeschat, zelfs niet wanneer de J/PO's hoog scoorden op punitieve attitudes. Het verband tussen demografische kenmerken en de bestraffende en rehabiliterende houding van J/PO's leverde een gemengd beeld op, wat consistent is met de bestaande literatuur. De rol van externe, niet-juridisch relevante factoren (d.w.z. de sekse van de dader) en persoonlijke kenmerken (d.w.z. de bestraffende houding van de J/PO's) bij de risicopercepties van de J/PO's benadrukken nogmaals de dringende noodzaak van een empirisch onderbouwd instrument voor objectieve risicotaxatie voor reclasseringswerkers in Turkije en de implementatie van risicotaxatieinstrumenten in het algemeen. Verder kan de relatie tussen de punitieve en rehabilitatieve houding van J/PO's, de perceptie van het recidiverisico en de sekse van de jeugdige dader van praktisch belang zijn voor interventies die gericht zijn op het verbeteren van de houding van J/PO's ten opzichte van jeugdige reclasseringscliënten.

In Hoofdstuk 5 wilden we ons begrip van bestraffende en rehabilitatieve opvattingen uitbreiden door ze te bestuderen in een steekproef uit de algemene bevolking. We hebben onderzocht of attitudes ten aanzien van sekserollen van invloed zijn op de mate waarin mensen punitieve opvattingen hebben ten opzichte van mannelijke en vrouwelijke delinquenten, afzonderlijk voor gewelddadige en niet-gewelddadige delicten. We hebben onze hypothesen gebaseerd op de zogenaamde ridderlijkheidstheorie (*chivalry*) en het perspectief van de kwaadaardige vrouw (*evil woman*). Onze resultaten toonden aan dat de sekserolattitudes van onze deelnemers een bepalende factor waren voor de mate van punitiviteit. Onze resultaten kwamen echter niet overeen met onze voorspellingen op basis van de theorieën over ridderlijkheid en de kwaadaardige vrouw. Zo adviseerden deelnemers met meer egalitaire opvattingen over sekserollen langere straffen voor mannelijke in vergelijking met vrouwelijke daders die een moord hadden gepleegd. Dit was een onverwachte bevinding. Aan de andere kant vonden we geen significante verschillen in de aanbevolen strafduur, het gekozen doel van de detentie of de steun voor rehabilitatie voor mannelijke versus vrouwelijke delinquenten onder deelnemers met minder sekse egalitaire opvattingen voor gewelddadige versus niet-gewelddadige delicten. De ridderlijkheid en kwaadaardige vrouw-hypothesen werden dus niet ondersteund in onze studie. Ik besprak de relevantie van deze bevindingen voor de Turkse context waar traditionele sekserol opvattingen relatief prominent aanwezig zijn. Er wordt gewezen op de noodzaak van verder onderzoek in steekproeven uit andere landen en met strafrechtprofessionals, zoals rechters.

De studie in Hoofdstuk 6 was gericht op het onderzoeken van de impact van een kort trainingsprogramma gebaseerd op het *Risk-Need-Responsivity* (RNR)-model op punitieve en rehabilitatieve opvattingen van Turkse jeugdreclasseringswerkers (JPO's) en hun oordelen over het recidiverisico van jeugddelinquenten. Onze bevindingen laten zien dat de training punitieve attitudes verminderde, maar rehabilitatieve attitudes niet in dezelfde mate bevorderde. Daarom kunnen punitieve en rehabilitatieve opvattingen niet beschouwd worden als twee uiteinden van eenzelfde dimensie, zoals sommige eerdere onderzoeken hebben gesuggereerd. Interventies moeten zo worden

ontworpen dat punitieve en rehabilitatieve attitudes afzonderlijk worden aangepakt. Onze bevindingen laten verder zien dat punitieve attitudes kunnen worden verminderd door middel van een relatief korte, op rehabilitatie principes gebaseerde training, hoewel de langetermijneffecten van de training nog onbekend zijn.

Algemene Conclusies en Aanbevelingen

Reclasseringsbegeleiding is geïntroduceerd als een alternatief voor detentie ten behoeve van de re-integratie van delinquenten in de samenleving. Jeugdreclasserings- en volwassen reclasseringswerkers (J/PO's) spelen een belangrijke rol in elk reclasseringssysteem. Er wordt van hen verwacht dat ze een evenwicht bewaren tussen concurrerende doelen op het gebied van openbare veiligheid, straffen en rehabilitatie, terwijl ze een hoge caseload hebben. Dit proefschrift geeft inzicht in de professionele behoeften van Turkse J/PO's en richt zich op het verkrijgen van inzicht in het verband tussen de houding van J/PO's ten opzichte van reclasseringscliënten, de perceptie van recidiverisico's en ervaringen van burn-out. Onze resultaten tonen de relevantie aan van punitieve opvattingen van J/PO's voor hun perceptie van het recidiverisico en hun ervaring van burn-out op het werk. Onze bevindingen leveren ook voorlopig bewijs voor het positieve effect van een korte, op het RNR model gebaseerde training op het verminderen van de bestraffende houding bij J/PO's. De sekse van de reclasseringscliënt kan een factor zijn die van invloed is op de manier waarop J/PO's reclasseringscliënten bejegenen. Er moet worden onderzocht of deze resultaten kunnen worden gegeneraliseerd naar J/PO's in andere landen en naar andere professionals in het rechtssysteem. Sekserolopvattingen van het algemene publiek lijken een rol te spelen in hun bestraffende attitudes ten opzichte van delinquenten. Of dit ook geldt voor J/PO's is een interessante vraag voor verder onderzoek.



Appendices

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Case vignettes (Chapter 4)

Appendix B: Case vignettes (Chapter 5)

Appendix A

Case vignettes (Chapter 4)

Male: A 16-year-old boy enters a store and asks for money. When the cashier refuses, he grabs a pocketknife from the shelf to threaten the cashier. He then grabs the money from the cash register and runs away.

Female: A 16-year-old girl enters a store and asks for money. When the cashier refuses, she grabs a pocketknife from the shelf to threaten the cashier. She then grabs the money from the cash register and runs away.

Appendix B

Case vignettes (Chapter 5)

Murder (Male offender): A and B have been married for four years.

Recently, A has been suspicious about his wife's behaviors. Finding intimate messages from a man on her phone confirmed his suspicions. He made a plan. He said to his wife that he would be visiting his parents in the countryside and would not be back that night. In the evening, he started waiting around the house. His wife and the other man arrived together and went inside the apartment. When the husband opened the front door after five minutes, his unexpected arrival shocked both. Before they could say anything, he shot both of them with a handgun.

Robbery (Male offender): C wanted money. The small grocery store on the corner was the perfect place for a theft. Just before they would be closing down, he went in as a customer noting there was only the cashier in the store. Threatening the cashier with a knife, C asked for all the money in the safe. The cashier was in shock and did what he said. C put all the money in a plastic bag and ran away. The cashier was unharmed.

Fraud (Male offender): D was calling people and telling them he was a bank employee. He was calling under the pretext of informing that their credit card had been used by someone else in a faraway country. He said the person could be reimbursed for the loss, because the card was insured but that he needed the card number and the login data to do this. In this way, D gained access to many persons' credit card accounts and made payments with these cards for almost a million Turkish liras.

Murder (Female offender): A and B have been married for four years. Recently, A has been suspicious about her husband's behaviors. Finding intimate messages from a woman on his phone confirmed her suspicions. She made a plan. She said to her husband that she would be visiting her parents in the countryside and would not be back that night. In the evening, she started waiting around the house. Her husband and the other woman arrived together and went inside the apartment. When the wife opened the front door after five minutes, her unexpected arrival shocked both. Before they could say anything, she shot both of them with a handgun.

Robbery (Female offender): C wanted money. The small grocery store on the corner was the perfect place for a theft. Just before they would be closing down, she went in as a customer noting there was only the cashier in the store. Threatening the cashier with a knife, C asked for all the money in the safe. The cashier was in shock and did what she said. C put all the money in a plastic bag and ran away. The cashier was unharmed.

Fraud (Female offender): D was calling people and telling them she was a bank employee. She was calling under the pretext of informing that their credit card had been used by someone else in a faraway country. She said the person could be reimbursed for the loss, because the card was insured but that she needed the card number and the login data to do this. In this way, D gained access to many persons' credit card accounts and made payments with these cards for almost a million Turkish liras.



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Curriculum Vitae

Ayşe Esra Ersayan was born September 17th, 1972 in Istanbul, Türkiye. She studied psychology at Boğaziçi University from 1990 until 1994. She subsequently started working in the HR department of an international marketing research company. Between 2005 and 2007 she completed her master's in clinical psychology at Doğuş University, İstanbul. She started working as a psychotherapist using cognitive behavioral techniques (CBT). Building on her CBT experience, she attended trainings in schema therapy and was certified as one of the first three supervisors/trainers of this form of psychotherapy in Turkey in 2009. She is currently providing supervision and training to several schema therapists. She was granted the European Certificate in Psychology (EuroPsy-Clinical) by the European Federation of Psychologists' Associations (EFPA) in 2014. She been delivering Academic and Life Skills courses as an instructor at Koc University since 2010. In 2016, she started working with Prof. Dr. Corine de Ruiter and a little later also with Dr. Nick Broers of Maastricht University, the Netherlands, on her dissertation research on Turkish probation officers.



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