

The Pursuit



The Journal of the Criminal Justice Association of Georgia

“You are to appoint judges and officers for all your gates [in the cities] your G-d is giving you, tribe by tribe; and they are to judge the people with righteous judgment. You are not to distort justice or show favoritism, and you are not to accept a bribe, for a gift blinds the eyes of the wise and twists the words of even the upright. Justice, only justice, you must pursue; so that you will live and inherit the land your G-d is giving you.”

Deuteronomy 16:18 – 16:20



About *The Pursuit* Journal

The Pursuit, a publication of the Criminal Justice Association of Georgia (CJAG) is a peer-reviewed journal that focuses on the broad field of criminal justice. *The Pursuit* publishes scholarly articles relevant to crime, law enforcement, law, corrections, juvenile justice, comparative criminal justice systems and cross-cultural research. Articles in *The Pursuit* include theoretical and empirically-based analyses of practice and policy, utilizing a broad range of methodologies. Topics cross the spectrum of policing, criminal law and procedure, sentencing and corrections, ethics, juvenile justice and more, both in the United States and abroad.

Authors interested in submitting manuscripts for consideration should use the link on the CJAG website (<http://cjag.us>) or email the Editor of *The Pursuit* at cjagjournal@gmail.com

Acknowledgments

This is the second issue of “*The Pursuit*”, the journal of the Criminal Justice Association of Georgia. The concept for a journal was first broached by Fred Knowles at Valdosta State University. Dr. Knowles encouraged the Association to publish works of faculty, students and criminal justice professionals that advanced our field of practice and its pedagogy. After many years of work, his concept finally reached fruition, thanks in no small part due to the efforts of Steven Hougland of Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College.

We are grateful to the many contributors to “*The Pursuit*”, including those who have submitted manuscripts for consideration and the many others who have served as reviewers. This journal would not exist without their efforts.

The Criminal Justice Association of Georgia maintains a robust website at <http://cjag.us> and has a presence on Facebook at <https://www.facebook.com/CriminalJusticeAssociationofGeorgia>. We hope that our readers will visit the website and “like” us on Facebook as part of their efforts to keep abreast of our activities.

After many years collaborating with the Georgia Political Science Association, this fall we will be hosting our sixth stand-alone conference. Please join us on Thursday, October 11 and Friday, October 12, 2018 at Valdosta State University. Our Conference Chair, R. Neal McIntyre, is preparing an outstanding event. Conference pre-registration for faculty and professionals, including annual dues, remains a modest \$90, while student registration, including annual dues, is a mere \$25. We encourage all to attend, and to consider presenting at the conference. The deadline for submissions is August 31 and pre-registration ends September 15. There are links for both on the Association’s website.

Fondly,

Michael B. Shapiro
Georgia State University
Immediate Past President, Criminal Justice Association of Georgia
Editor, *The Pursuit*



About the Criminal Justice Association of Georgia

The Criminal Justice Association of Georgia is a not-for-profit organization of criminal justice faculty, students and professionals. It exists to promote professionalism and academic advancement in all areas of inquiry related to the criminal justice field.

The Association holds its annual meeting in October. Those interested in presenting at the conference should contact Professor Lorna Alvarez-Rivera (llalvarezrivera@valdosta.edu).

Readers are encouraged to “like” us on Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/CriminalJusticeAssociationofGeorgia/>) and visit our website (<http://cjag.us>).

President
Melchor de Guzman
Georgia Gwinnett College

Vice President
Karen Wheel-Carter
Georgia State University

Communications Director
Lorna Alvarez-Rivera
Valdosta State University

Treasurer
Roger Neal McIntyre
Valdosta State University

Immediate Past President
Michael B. Shapiro
Georgia State University

Criminal Justice Association of Georgia
Post Office Box 3501
Valdosta, Georgia 31604

Table of Contents

About <i>The Pursuit</i> Journal	3
Acknowledgments.....	5
About the Criminal Justice Association of Georgia.....	7
Job Stress and Its Outcomes among Public Defenders.....	11
Tae Choo, Ph.D.	
The People vs. the Mafia: The Addiopizzo movement in Sicily.....	39
Peter W. Fenton, J.D.	
Five Public Policy Steps for Promoting Prisoner Reentry and Safe Communities	62
Chad Posick, Ph.D. and Haley Shutley	

Job Stress and Its Outcomes among Public Defenders

Tae Choo, Ph.D.

University of North Georgia

Abstract

One of the main purposes of the present study is to identify job stressors, stress strain, and coping mechanisms among public defenders. This study also evaluates the effect of job stress and strains towards job satisfaction and job turnover intention. In addition, this paper attempts to test the role of coping mechanisms as a mediator to a relationship between stress and strain and the effect of coping mechanisms on job satisfaction and job turnover intention. The findings show that emotion and resource stressors were main sources of job stress, and cynical attitude was the most common strain among public defenders. The study results support a negative linear relationship between stress and job satisfaction and a negative linear relationship between job satisfaction and job turnover intention. The relationship between stress and job turnover intention, however, is not significant. The test outcome also report that alienation, an unhealthy coping mechanism, is a partial mediator to a relationship between stress and strain and found a moderate effect on predicting job satisfaction and job turnover intention.

Introduction

The criminal justice system has three components – law enforcement, courts, and corrections. Even though professions in law enforcement and corrections have garnered attention from occupational stress researchers since the 1970s, the scholarly stress research on public defenders’ work stress has been almost non-existent. Public defenders’ work is an integral part of the criminal justice system. Considering the vital role of public defenders in serving justice, there is an urgent need to discover public defenders’ work related stressors and how those are affecting their job performance through outcomes of stress, job satisfaction, and job turnover intention. The impact of low job satisfaction and high turnover intention reaches beyond the individual level; it would be unfair to clients and could discredit the effectiveness of the criminal justice system as well. Therefore, it is vital to produce studies that focus on identifying stressors and outcomes and recognizing the relationship between stress, job satisfaction, and job turnover among legal professionals. The current study, therefore, attempts to respond to these needs.

Literature Review

Definition of Stress

One obstacle to successful research on job related stress stems from a lack of a uniformly accepted definition of stress. The lack of consensus among scholars on the definition has resulted in several different interpretations of the term. Occupational stress is associated with the negative feelings that employees have about their work (Jex, Beehr & Roberts, 1992). One study defines stress as the “perceived imbalance between societal demands and individual perceived response capability in which failure to meet the demands produces dysfunction that results in reduced performance” where stressors are defined as “those life events which are likely to cause

stress” (Sigler, Wilson, & Allen, 1991, p. 364). Finn and Tomz (1997) establish a definition of stress as “a mentally or emotionally disruptive and upsetting condition occurring in response to adverse external influences, and a stimulus or circumstance causing such a condition” (p. 5). To avoid the confusing and complex definition of stress, some researchers use the term “stressors,” or “stressful events,” for the stimulus and “strain,” or “stress response” for the response (Ellison, 2004). Stressors are commonly defined as the “antecedent conditions within one job or the organization which require adaptive responses on the part of employees” (Jex & Beehr, 1991, p. 312). Stressors include both physical and mental stressors; “people react not only to the actual existence of dangers, but also to threats and symbols of danger experienced in the past.”(Territo and Sewell, 1999, p. 7) Job strain is “a reaction or outcome resulting from the experience of stressors and may be classified into three areas: psychological/emotional, physical, and behavioral” (Jex & Beehr, 1991, p. 312). Jaramillo, Nixon, & Sams (2005) explained that stressors are the antecedents or the stimuli of job strains, and can be conceived at both the individual and organizational level. This study uses the terms stressor and job strain.

Stress and Outcomes

Occupational stress researches have explored to identify the causes of stress or to investigate the relationship between stress and its outcomes. The stress research targeting legal professionals has been scarce (Lim, Chan, & Ko, 2008; Tsai & Chan, 2010) since most existing occupational stress research in the criminal justice field has focused mainly on law enforcement and correctional officers (Malloy & Mays, 1984; Cullen, Link, Wolfe, & Frank, 1985; Robinson, Porporino, & Simourd, 1997; Lambert, 2004; Lambert, Cluse-Tolar, & Hogan, 2007). A stress study conducted on judges and procurators in Taiwan (Tsai & Chan, 2010) suggested that high psychological demand was significantly associated with work-related burnout and low workplace

social support was associated with client-related burnout among judicial officers. Another study that examined lawyers in Singapore (Lim, Chan, & Ko, 2008) found that time pressure and work overload were main stress sources as well as interpersonal relations. Even though these studies were conducted to criminal justice professionals working under a different criminal justice system, these findings provide an important insight when planning and a research and conducting a data analysis for the criminal justice professional in the United States.

Since this study examined organizational stressors among public defenders, the stress researches on other criminal justice related professions are also reviewed here as a comparative examination inherent in organization. In general, there has been the belief that police work is stressful because of the inherent danger involved with the profession and the unsavory tasks officers face daily (Siegler & Wilson, 1988). However, some studies found that organizational stressors were stronger factors than workplace problems (Reiser, 1974; Graf, 1986; Norvell, Belles, & Hills, 1988; Martelli T., Walters, & Martelli J., 1989; Brown & Campbell, 1990; Violanti & Aron, 1993; Hart, Wearing, & Headey, 1995; Violanti, 1995). Organizational (internal) stressors in law enforcement included rotating shifts, changing schedules, promotional practices, work schedule and administrative support, conflicting policies, poor supervision, and disciplinary actions. Violanti and Aron's study (1993) reported the top fifteen stressors among officers in a large police department in New York State. Eight of the top 15 stressors were related to dangerous situations, and other stressors included organizational issues such as shift work, inadequate department support, insufficient personnel, and excessive discipline. Another study on a mid-sized police department (Crank & Caldero, 1991) examined stressors from five categories: organization, task or street environment, judiciary, personal and family stressors, and city government. Organization was the most cited stressor in their study. Among organizational

stressors, superior officers were the most frequently identified source of stress, followed by shift work, promotions, and assignments. Danger, or perception of danger, scored low. Finney, Stergiopoulos, Hensel, Bonato, & Dewa (2013) reviewed existing articles for the relationship between organizational stressors and job stress and burnout among correctional officers. The results indicated that organizational stressors were associated with job stress and burnout among correctional officers.

Studies focused on the relationship between job stress and its outcomes (for example, strains, burnout, job satisfaction, and job turnover intention) have been another major stream in stress research (Gupta & Beehr, 1979; Jamal, 1984, 1985, 2011; Julseth, Ruiz, & Hummer 2011; Sullivan & Bhagat, 1992; Westman & Eden, 1996; White, Aalsma, Holloway, Adams, & Salyers, 2015). Within this stream of research, the prevalent premise has been hypothesizing and testing for negative linear relationship between stress and outcomes (Jamal, 1985; Westman & Eden, 1996). This approach stated that stress was extremely aversive to most employees and created a noxious situation in the work environment. Employees, therefore, tended to spend more time and energy on coping with job stresses, thus adversely affecting their performance (Jamal, 2011). Vroom (1964) explained the negative linear approach that: 1) high levels of stress caused the individual to ignore important information and that results in an impairment of performance; and 2) stress caused involuntary physiological responses that interfere with performance.

Stress and Coping Mechanisms

Some other studies have examined the relationship between stressors and coping mechanisms (Anderson, 1976; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Norvell & Belles, 1993; Beehr Johnson, & Nieva, 1995; Aaron, 2000; Anshel, 2000; Oliver & Meier, 2009; Can & Hendy,

2014). These studies generally sought the types of coping mechanisms and the association with stress outcomes such as job strains. The importance of these studies is that the results would guide effective strategies to fight stress. Examples of healthy coping mechanisms identified by these researches are exercise, healthy diet, adequate sleep, or getting support from family or religion while unhealthy coping mechanisms include drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes, eating high fat or high sugar food, expressing emotions with angry outbursts, or repressing anger.

The unhealthy coping mechanisms raised concerns because, even though these methods may provide an immediate relief, they may increase risks for later problems. Can and Hendy (2014) investigated whether healthy or unhealthy coping mechanisms would mediate the association between police stressors and negative outcomes (strains). The results suggested that repressed anger was the most significant coping mechanism associated with police stressors and had a mediator role. Other coping mechanisms reported to have an association with police stressor were exercise (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995), religiosity and alcohol consumption (Beehr et al., 1995), and repressing emotions (Anderson & Lo, 2011).

Current Study

As the first step, this paper summarizes the general descriptive data of stressors, strains, coping mechanisms, job satisfaction, and job turnover intention. The next step involves the analysis of association among these variables to discover the outcome of job stress and their relations. Additionally, this study investigates the role and effect of coping mechanisms on stress and its outcomes. This paper attempts to examine the following study objectives.

1. Identifying public defenders' job stress, strains, and coping mechanisms is the first step in this research since little study exists on these subjects. As discussed in the literature

review, interpersonal stress, workload related stress, and organizational stress were main sources of occupational stress in criminal justice field. This study would examine whether interpersonal, workload, and organizational stress would be the most common source among public defenders.

2. As the next step, this study tests the relationship between stress, strain, job satisfaction, and job turnover intention. This study follows the mainstream theory that the relations would be negatively linear between overall job stress and outcome variables. There would be a significant and negative relationship between job stress and job satisfaction but a significant and positive relationship with job turnover intention. Job satisfaction would have a significant and negative relationship with job turnover intention.
3. The role of coping mechanism on the relationship between stressors and strains is tested on the hypothesis that both healthy and unhealthy coping mechanisms would have a mediating role between stressors and strains.
4. This study investigates the effect of coping mechanisms on job satisfaction and job turnover intention. Unhealthy coping mechanisms would have a positive effect on job turnover intention and negative effect on job satisfaction. Healthy coping mechanisms, on the other hand, would have an opposite effect on job satisfaction and turnover intention.

Method

Sample

The survey was conducted as a self-report web-survey in 2012. An invitation email which explains the purpose of the study and an instruction to complete the questionnaire was sent out to public defenders employed by a public defender organization in Georgia. The organization employs a total of 464 full-time public defenders working at the state level. Among

them, 202 (43.5%) are female, 357 (76.9%) are white and 92 (19.8%) are black. The survey website was open for a month and 171 of public defenders submitted the survey and 138 of them completed most of questions in the survey, which resulted in 29.7% return rate. Due to a low return rate and the fact that the participation was voluntary, this study sample may not represent the general population of public defenders.

Table 1 Demographic Characteristics

Variable	N	%
Gender		
Male	60	48.8
Female	63	51.2
Race		
White	91	75.2
Non-whites	30	24.8
Marital status		
Married	80	65.0
Not married	43	35.0
Age		
30 or vounaer	34	27.0
31-40	43	34.1
41-50	30	23.8
51 or older	19	15.1
Office size		
1-10	48	37.8
11+	79	62.2
Tenure (years)		
3 or less	41	32.5
4-10	56	44.4
11+	29	23.0

The demographic characteristics of participants showed that almost equal number of male (49%) and female (51%) public defenders completed most of the survey questions. The majority of participants were white (75%), married (65%), and working at a large office with 11 or more public defenders (62%). More than half (61%) of them were 40 years old or younger and about one-third (33%) were inexperienced (3 years or less) as a public defender. It seemed that large

offices had more racially diversified and younger public defenders than those in small offices: 80% of minority participants and 55% of white participants worked in a large office; 71% of young participants (30 or younger) and 42% of old participants (51 or older) were working in a large office (Table 1). Even though the return rate was low, the gender and racial rate of participants were similar to all public defenders working at the GPDC.

Measures

The questionnaire contained six parts: stressors, strains, coping mechanisms, job satisfaction, job turnover intention, and demographics. Stressor items were categorized into 8 indexes – client, prosecutor, judge, public, co-workers, resource, organization, and emotion (see Appendix 1 for more information on question items). Strains participants experienced from job stress were measured with five items – strained social activity, family/marital problems, depression, cynical attitude, and health problems. The questionnaire included seven coping mechanisms – alcohol, medication, alienation, religion, recreation, counseling and exercise.

Stressor items were measured with 5-point Likert scale (1=not at all, 2=a little bit stressful, 3=stressful, 4=very stressful, and 5=extremely stressful). Stress strains, job turnover intention, and coping mechanisms were also measured with 5-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree). Another 5-point Likert scale was used for job satisfaction items (1=very dissatisfied to 5=very satisfied).

Demographic items included gender (1=male; 2=female), race, age, marital status, tenure (years as public defender), and office size. In analysis, some demographic variables are recoded into a dichotomous variable or an ordinal variable: race (1=White; 2= Non-white); office size

(1=small (1-10); 2=large (11+)); tenure (1=3 or less years; 2=4-10 years; 3=11 or more years); and age (1= 30 or younger; 2=31-40; 3=41-50; 4= 51 or older).

Findings

Job Stress

To identify the most common stressors, the average score of each stressor was compared. Among 36 stressors, the top five stressors with the highest average score were “emotionally draining,” “too many cases,” “low pay,” “not enough time to prepare a case,” and “judge’s pressure to handle cases quickly.” The lowest stress scores were found in the items related to superiors/coworkers. When stress indexes were compared, resource ranked the highest score followed by emotion and judge. The overall stress index was also created by calculating a mean score of all 36 stressor items. This presented a mixed result for testing hypothesis 1. The hypothesis was partially supported with findings that the most critical sources of stress were workload and psychological demand, but interpersonal and systematic/organizational factors were not significant sources of stress in this research. Regarding interpersonal relations, judge stress was ranked high among stress indexes, but superiors/coworkers stress was the lowest among stress categories.

Table 2 Stress Score

Variable	Cronbach's α (n)	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Overall stress index	.92 (36)	96	2.40	.56	1.06	4.03
Resource	.82 (4)	131	3.31	.87	1.00	5.00
Emotion	.83 (2)	124	3.23	1.11	1.00	5.00
Judge	.66 (3)	129	2.93	.95	1.00	5.00
Prosecutor	.68 (3)	130	2.71	.91	1.00	5.00

Client	.77 (3)	134	2.58	.84	1.00	5.00
Organization	.68 (8)	115	2.52	.63	1.25	4.13
Public	.83 (5)	116	2.13	.82	1.00	4.60
Coworker	.89 (8)	119	1.47	.66	1.00	4.25
Resource + organization	.83 (12)	115	2.76	.67	1.17	4.25

SD= standard deviation

The analysis of association between stressors and demographic variables was conducted using t-test and ANOVA. The result revealed five statistically significant differences – three for gender, one for office size, and one for age. Females ($M=2.52$, $SD=.56$) reported significantly higher levels of overall stress than males ($M=2.27$, $SD=.56$), $t(92)=-2.11$, $p=.037$. Females ($M=2.78$, $SD=.85$) also reported significantly higher level of client stress than males ($M=2.30$, $SD=.77$), $t(117)=-3.22$, $p=.002$ and higher level of system/organization stress ($M=2.63$, $SD=.65$) than males ($M=2.39$, $SD=.61$), $t(106)=-2.00$, $p=.048$. In addition, public defenders working in a small office ($M=2.33$, $SD=1.00$) were found to have higher level of public stressors than their counterparts ($M=1.99$, $SD=.65$), $t(66)=2.01$, $p=.049$. The organization stress index score reported that younger public defenders ($M=2.67$, $SD=.68$ for <30; $M=2.66$, $p=.53$ for 31-40) seemed to have higher level of organizational stress than older counterparts ($M=2.34$, $SD=.63$ for 41-50; $M=2.22$, $SD=.62$ for 51+), $F(3,107)=3.36$, $p=.022$.

Strains from Stress

The overall strain index was created by calculating a mean score of all five strain items. The mean score of individual strain variables showed (Table 3) that cynical attitude ($M=3.32$, $SD=.88$) was the most reported strain followed by depression ($M=2.11$, $SD=.90$). The lowest score was found in health problems ($M=1.56$, $SD=.80$). The unusual finding in this study was the small percentage of health problems reported by participants. The public defenders seemed to

suffer more of mental strain than physical health problems from job stress. Further analysis on health problems associated with demographic variables reported a statistically significant difference by tenure ($Welch(2,69.12)=5.52, p=.006$). Due to a violation of homogeneity of variance, the Welch test was used for this analysis. The mean score reported that group 1 (3 years or less) had the lowest mean score ($M=1.72, SD=.97$) and group 2 (4-10 years) showed the highest score ($M=2.48, SD=1.28$), while group 3's (11 or more years) score was in the middle ($M=2.18, SD=1.12$). Games-Howell post hoc test indicated that the difference between group 1 and group 2 was significant, $p=.004$. Considering that the difference of stress index scores as well as overall stress score were insignificant among these groups, further investigation would likely to present the influence of other factors.

Table 3-1 Descriptive for Stress Strains

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Strain index $\alpha=.80$ (5)	121	2.69	.95	1.00	4.80
Cynical attitude	124	3.38	1.31	1	5
Depression	123	2.98	1.36	1	5
Social activities strained	124	2.62	1.32	1	5
Family/marital problems	123	2.34	1.21	1	5
Health problems	124	2.19	1.20	1	5

SD=standard deviation

Coping Mechanism

The mean score of seven coping variables reported that most participants were engaged in healthy coping mechanisms to relieve stress, such as recreation and exercise (Table 4-1).

Table 4-1 Descriptive of Coping Mechanism

Variable	N	M (SD)	SD/ D	N	A/SA
Recreation	124	4.03 (.86)	7 (5.6%)	13 (10.5%)	104 (83.9%)
Exercise	125	3.78 (1.16)	17 (13.6%)	22 (17.6%)	86 (68.8%)
Alcohol	123	2.70 (1.49)	61 (49.6%)	11 (8.9%)	51 (41.5%)
Religion	123	2.70 (1.51)	60 (48.8%)	14 (11.4%)	49 (39.8%)

Alienation	123	2.00 (1.09)	86 (70.5%)	18 (14.8%)	18 (14.8%)
Counseling	120	1.93 (1.13)	90 (75.0%)	12 (10.0%)	18 (15.0%)
Medication	123	1.78 (1.24)	101 (82.1%)	2 (1.6%)	20 (16.3%)

M=mean; (SD)=standard deviation

SD=strongly disagree; D=disagree; N=neither disagree nor agree; A=agree; SA=strongly agree

Statistical tests were conducted to examine whether there was an association between coping mechanisms and demographic variables (Table 4-2 and 4-3). Significant differences found were: 1) counseling between male ($M=1.68$, $SD=1.01$) and female ($M=2.14$, $SD=1.18$), $t(116)=-2.26$, $p=.025$; religion between White ($M=2.56$, $SD=1.43$) and Non-white ($M=3.25$, $SD=1.65$), $t(116)=-2.16$, $p=.033$; and religion among age groups, $F(3, 119)=3.74$, $p=.13$. Tukey's HSD (honest significant difference) indicated that religious activity between the youngest and oldest group were significant with a mean difference of 1.21 ($p=.01$). The mean score reported that the youngest group had 2.27 ($SD=1.46$), while the oldest group scored 3.48 ($SD=1.31$).

Table 4-2 Stress Strains and Gender

Variable	N	Counseling		t-test
		M	SD	
Gender				$t(116)=2.26^*$
Male	59	1.68	1.01	
Female	59	2.14	1.18	

SD=standard deviation

Table 4-3 Stress Strains and Demographic Variables

Variable	N	Religion		test
		M	SD	
Race				$t(116)=2.16^*$
White	90	2.56	1.43	
Non-whites	28	3.25	1.85	
Age				$F(3,119)=7.99^*$
30 or younger	33	2.27	1.49	
31-40	32	2.69	1.62	
41-50	34	2.48	1.39	
51 or older	27	3.48	1.31	

SD=standard deviation

Job Satisfaction

The mean score of overall job satisfaction was computed by averaging nine items which were measured using a 5-point Likert scale (1=very dissatisfied to 5=very satisfied). The mean score of 3.66 ($SD=.61$) implied that respondents were somewhat satisfied with their job. Among nine job satisfaction items, interaction with other public defenders ranked the highest with 4.56 average score and the least satisfied area was salary ($M=2.18$). The result reflected the report on stressor that low pay was the third highest stressor, and coworker items ranked the lowest stressor scores among 36 items. The overall job satisfaction index did not significantly differ across any of demographic variables.

Table 5-1 Job Satisfaction Score

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Satisfaction index Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$ (9)	116	3.66	.61	2.11	4.89
The way you are treated by fellow public defenders	122	4.56	.69	2	5
The amount of job security	122	4.17	.95	1	5
Opportunities to accomplish something worthwhile	124	3.93	1.01	1	5
Opportunities to do something makes you feel good	124	3.91	1.07	1	5
Opportunities for taking part in making decisions	118	3.87	1.05	1	5
The way you are treated by court judges	125	3.65	1.17	1	5
The way you are treated by prosecutors	1247	3.56	1.08	1	5
The way you are treated by police officers	124	3.14	1.05	1	5
Amount of pay	124	2.18	1.19	1	5

SD=standard deviation

Analysis was also performed to determine whether the level of individual job satisfaction was equally observed by demographic characteristics. The result showed that satisfaction with salary was significantly different by tenure ($X^2(4) = 10.40, p=.034$). A majority of public defenders who had 10 or less years of experience (over 70%) was dissatisfied with the amount they get paid, while 43% of veteran public defenders reported the dissatisfaction of their salary.

Regarding satisfaction with opportunities to take part in decision making, more participants from Non-Whites ($X^2(2) = 7.03, p=.30$) and females ($X^2(2) = 6.31, p=.043$) were dissatisfied than their counterparts. Public defenders working in large offices were not as satisfied with the way they were treated by police ($X^2(2) = 9.16, p=.01$) and the way they were treated by prosecutors ($X^2(2) = 6.90, p=.032$) than their counterparts working in small offices. On the other hand, public defenders working in small offices were more dissatisfied with opportunities to do something that make them feel good ($X^2(2) = 6.99, p=.030$).

The t-test and ANOVA, as shown in Table 5-2, reported a significant difference of some individual satisfaction items by office size, race, and tenure. Examining results on tenure reported significance on several satisfaction items. The significant difference on accomplish was found between group 1 (3 years or less) and group 2 (4-6 years) ($p=.026$), salary between group 1 and group 4 (11 or more years) ($p=.028$), feel good between group 1 and group 3 (7-10 years) ($p=.013$), and the way treated by prosecutors between group 1 and group 4 ($p=.039$). The analysis on the way treated by prosecutors used the three-group recoded tenure variable by combining group 2 and group 3.

Table 5-2 Job Satisfaction Score and Demographics

	Accomplish	Salary	Feel good	The way treated by prosecutor	The way treated by police	The way treated by fellow	Decision-making	N
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	
Office size								
Small				3.83 (1.05)*	3.41 (1.07)*			7
Large				3.40 (1.07)	2.97 (1.01)			7

Turnover index was created by calculating a mean score of five turnover variables, using the reversed public defender retire score. The index excluded the variable “remain in legal practice until retirement” so that the test could focus on turnover for a career as public defender (Table 6-1).

Table 6-1 Job Turnover Intention Score

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Turnover index $\alpha=.78$ (5)	118	2.57	.83	1	4.60
Intend to remain in legal practice until retirement	124	4.13	.97	1	5
Intend to remain as a public defender until retirement	124	3.14	1.24	1	5
Quit the current position for a new job with large increase in pay	121	3.45	1.20	1	5
Quit the current position for a new job with slight increase in pay	122	2.56	1.16	1	5
Quit the current position for a new job with no increase in pay	121	2.08	1.09	1	5
Quit the current position for a new job with slight decrease in pay	120	1.94	1.13	1	5

SD=standard deviation

To determine whether there would an association between intention to retire as a public defender (public defender retire) and “remain in legal practice until retirement” and demographic variables, Welch test and Chi-square test were constructed (Table 6-2). For this test, all job turnover intention variables were regrouped into three (strongly disagree/disagree (D), neutral (N), and agree/strongly agree (A)). Test results reported a statistically significant strong association between public defender retire and remain in legal practice. Among participants who wanted to remain in legal practice until retirement, about 20% did not want to retire as a public defender. The Games-Howell test indicated that the mean scores of all three groups were significantly different than each other ($p=.001$).

Regarding the association between job turnover intention and demographic variables, public defender retire was statistically significant with three variables – age, tenure, and marital status. The strongest relationship was found in tenure according to *Welch* and Kendall’s *tau c*

statistics. The results suggested that those who were older, married, and veteran public defenders seemed to want to retire as a public defender.

Table 6-2 Relationship Between PD Retirement and Demographics

	Retire as a public defender				N
	Mean (SD)	Strongly Disagree/Disagree	Neutral	Agree/Strongly Agree	
Remain in legal field					
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	1.14 (.38)	7(100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	7
Neutral	2.43 (.98)	9 (42.9)	10 (47.6)	2 (9.5)	21
Agree/Strongly Agree	3.44 (1.13)	18 (18.8)	31 (32.3)	47 (49.0)	96
$\chi^2 (4) = 31.30^{***}$	$W(2,23.79)=75.99^{***}$	$Sd = .54^{***}$			
Tenure					
0-3	2.60 (1.13)	16 (40.0)	17 (42.5)	7 (17.5)	40
4-6	2.73 (1.13)	14 (42.4)	11 (33.3)	8 (24.2)	33
7-10	3.52 (1.34)	4 (17.4)	7 (30.4)	12 (52.2)	23
11+	4.07 (.72)	0 (0.0)	6 (21.4)	22 (78.6)	28
$\chi^2 (6) = 34.41^{***}$	$W(3,60.76)=18.44^{***}$	$T_c = .43^{***}$			
Age					
30 or younger	2.71 (1.14)	11(32.4)	18 (52.9)	5 (14.7)	34
31-40	2.81 (1.14)	17 (39.5)	11 (25.6)	15 (34.9)	43
41-50	3.55 (1.01)	3 (10.3)	11 (37.9)	15 (51.7)	29
51 or older	4.06 (1.26)	3 (16.7)	1 (5.6)	14 (77.8)	18
$\chi^2 (6) = 28.86^{***}$	$F(3,120)=7.86^{***}$	$T_c = .33^{***}$			
Marital status					
Married	3.36 (1.24)	17 (21.8)	22 (28.2)	39 (50.0)	78

Not married	2.74 (1.18)	16 (37.2)	18 (41.9)	9 (20.9)	43
$\chi^2 (2) = 9.88^{**}$	$t(119)=2.66^{**}$	$T_c = .28^{**}$			

(SD)=standard deviation

W=Welch test; F= F statistic; t=

t statistic; Sd=Somers' d; Tc=tau c

*p<.05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

The Relationship between Stress, Strains, Job Satisfaction, and Turnover

The Pearson's correlation coefficient was calculated to examine a bivariate correlation between stress, strains, satisfaction, and turnover (Table 7). The correlation table showed that stressors and satisfaction had a strong negative correlation. As expected, job satisfaction also had a significant and negative correlation with job turnover intention. Job turnover intention, however, showed an opposing result to hypothesis 2. Stress index did not present a significant correlation with turnover, but three categorical stress indexes did: judge, prosecutor, and coworker. One puzzling finding here is that, even though the relationships were weak, both judge and prosecutor indexes reported a negative correlation with job turnover intention. Having a better relationship with judges and prosecutors implied by the lower stress index score might signal a more promising career to practice law when leaving the public defender position.

Table 7 Bivariate Relationship

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Stress index	1											
2. Satisfaction index	-.61**	1										
3. Turnover index	.09	-.31**	1									
4. Client	.72**	-.35**	.008	1								

5.	Judge	.66**	-.42**	-.21*	.36**	1							
6.	Prosecutor	.58**	-.29**	-.27**	.34**	.52**	1						
7.	Public	.71**	-.34**	.03	.56**	.38**	.20*	1					
8.	Coworker	.61**	-.36**	.20*	.21**	.20*	.16	.35**	1				
9.	Emotion	.77**	-.47**	.095	.60**	.45**	.37**	.54**	.30**	1			
10.	Resource	.80**	-.38**	.087	.54**	.51**	.47**	.47**	.29**	.73**	1		
11.	System	.84**	-.46**	.16	.53**	.48**	.54**	.43**	.39**	.54**	.67**	1	
12.	Strain index	.61**	-.50**	.16	.37**	.42**	.32**	.50**	.23*	.65**	.53**	.44**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

To find out whether there would a difference of coping mechanism on stress, strains, job satisfaction, and job turnover intention, ANOVA test was conducted. We used an independent-samples t-test for medication because there were only one or two participants in Group N. The strain index was created by calculating a mean score of all five strain variables. The result of the analysis reported that most coping mechanisms had a significant effect on stress. Table 8 also showed a main effect of alienation on strain ($F(2, 117) = 16.27, p < .000$). Post-hoc analyses using Tukey's HSD test indicated that strain score was lower for participants who disagreed that they alienated themselves than for participants who agreed ($p < .000$) and those who reported neutral ($p = .001$), but the strain score did not differ significantly between participants who reported neutral and those who agreed ($p = .51$).

Table 8 ANOVA test for coping mechanisms on stress, strains, job satisfaction, and job turnover intention (Mean and Standard Deviation)

Coping	Stress	Strain	Satisfaction	Turnover
Alcohol	$F(2, 91) = 5.84^{**}$	$F(2, 118) = 3.50^*$	$F(2, 113) = 2.24$	$F(2, 115) = .56$
Group D	2.29 (.55)*	2.52 (.97)*	3.74 (.63)	2.53 (.86)
Group N	2.05 (.50)*	2.40 (.96)	3.85 (.50)	2.40 (.81)
Group A	2.62 (.56)	2.95 (.88)	3.52 (.59)	2.66 (.81)
Alienation	$F(2, 90) = 6.58^{**}$	$W(2, 41.51) = 33.14^{***}$	$F(2, 112) = 9.85^{***}$	$F(2, 114) = .14$
Group D	2.29 (.52)	2.41 (.95)	3.82 (.56)	2.54 (.86)
Group N	2.72 (.56)*	3.21 (.67)**	3.38 (.68)*	2.66 (.71)
Group A	2.74 (.57)*	3.53 (.38)**	3.23 (.49)**	2.58 (.82)
Counseling	$F(2, 88) = .50$	$F(2, 115) = 6.83^{**}$	$F(2, 110) = 2.60$	$F(2, 112) = 1.06$
Group D	2.39 (.60)	2.53 (.91)**	3.73 (.59)	2.54 (.77)
Group N	2.45 (.35)	2.80 (.90)	3.49 (.56)	2.57 (.86)
Group A	2.56 (.53)	3.42 (.94)	3.39 (.67)	2.86 (1.06)
Exercise	$F(2, 92) = 3.57^*$	$W(2, 30.58) = .98$	$F(2, 113) = 3.16^*$	$F(2, 115) = .12$
Group D	2.41 (.78)	2.46 (1.25)	3.88 (.69)*	2.52 (.87)
Group N	2.73 (.51)*	2.91 (.84)	3.40 (.59)	2.52 (.83)
Group A	2.33 (.51)	2.67 (.91)	3.69 (.58)	2.60 (.83)
Medication	$t(90) = 1.63$	$t(116) = .71^*$	$t(111) = .81$	$t(113) = .15$
Group D	2.38 (.57)	2.60 (.90)	3.66 (.60)	2.58 (.82)
Group A	2.64 (.51)	3.12 (1.04)	3.63 (.71)	2.54 (.92)
Recreation	$W(2, 9.21) = 3.99$	$W(2, 12.13) = 5.04^*$	$F(2, 112) = 5.14^{**}$	$F(2, 114) = .04$
Group D	2.30 (1.00)	2.23 (1.35)*	3.79 (.96)	2.54 (.93)
Group N	2.85 (.47)*	3.37 (.79)*	3.15 (.63)	2.65 (.89)
Group A	2.37 (.52)	2.63 (.91)	3.72 (.56)**	2.57 (.83)
Religion	$F(2, 91) = .37$	$F(2, 118) = 1.46$	$F(2, 113) = .03$	$F(2, 115) = .46$
Group D	2.40 (.61)	2.55 (.96)	3.66 (.64)	2.54 (.80)
Group N	2.55 (.48)	2.95 (.88)	3.70 (.50)	2.43 (.78)
Group A	2.40 (.53)	2.79 (.95)	3.66 (.61)	2.66 (.89)

SD=standard deviation

Group D=strongly disagree/disagree; Group N=neutral; Group A=agree/strongly agree

W=Welch test; F= F statistic; t= t statistic

Tukey's HSD or Games-Howell result is presented: M(I) in italic

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Concerning job satisfaction, the most significant effect was found on alienation. Analysis of variance showed a main effect of alienation on stress ($F(2, 91) = 5.84, p = .002$) and satisfaction ($F(2, 112) = 9.85, p < .000$). Coping mechanisms, however, did not have any effect on turnover intention.

Role of Coping Mechanism on the Relationship between Stress and Strain

As shown in Table 7, the strain index was correlated with stress indexes. Another bivariate correlation analysis was conducted for the correlation between strains and coping mechanisms (gray area in Table 9). The Spearman’s rho coefficient reported significant correlations between strains and unhealthy coping mechanisms. The relationships between healthy coping mechanisms and strains, however, were either insignificant or significant but weak. The strongest correlation was found on alienation and counseling.

Table 9 Bivariate Correlation between Coping Mechanism and Strain (Spearman’s Rho)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Alcohol	1												
2. Medication	.14	1											
3. Alienation	.29**	.30**	1										
4. Religion	-.03	.16	.12	1									
5. Recreation	-.09	-.09	-.33**	.10	1								
6. Counseling	.01	.43**	.40**	.32**	-.22*	1							
7. Exercise	-.07	.000	-.02	.08	.56**	-.009	1						
8. Social strain	.10	.16	.46**	.05	-.21*	.28*	-.02	1					
9. Family problem	.32**	.22*	.56**	.11	-.10	.34**	.03	.60**	1				
10. Depression	.15	.33**	.44**	.19*	-.07	.47**	.11	.40**	.54**	1			
11. Cynical	.31**	.21*	.37**	.05	-.10	.28**	-.10	.31**	.52**	.53**	1		
12. Health	.09	.22*	.36**	.13	-.24**	.32**	-.08	.42**	.40**	.51**	.32**	1	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

To further the analysis, the correlation between stressors and strains was constructed by three groups (Group D=strongly disagree/disagree; Group N=neutral; Group A=agree/strongly agree) based upon the participants' response on alienation and counseling. For alienation, the Pearson's coefficient reported that only Group D maintained the significant correlation between stressors and strains ($r=.65$, $p=.000$) but Group N ($r=.18$, $p=.54$) and Group A ($r=.02$, $p=.96$) were not significant. The result of counseling showed that Group D ($r=.62$, $p=.000$) and Group N ($r=.85$, $p=.004$) were significant, but the significance disappeared for Group A ($r=.51$, $p=.08$).

For mediation analysis, a regression analysis was constructed to test the role of coping mechanism to the relationship between stressors and strains. As shown in Table 10-1, four steps were taken for this analysis. Step 1 tested the effect of stressors on strains, step 2 tested the effect of stressors on alienation, step 3 tested the effect of alienation on strains, and step 4 tested the effect of both stressors and alienation on strains. Steps 1 through 3 reported a significant relationship, and the effect of stressors remained significant after controlling for alienation in step 4. The presence of mediation was shown in the change of R^2 between step 1 and step 4. The percentage of variance was decreased by 74% when alienation was removed. Therefore, the result supported hypothesis 3 that unhealthy coping mechanism had a partial mediation role to the relationship between stressors and strains.

Table 10-1 Mediation Analysis Using Regression Model

Step	Analysis	N	β	R^2	p
1	Stressors and strains	93	.609	.371	.000
2	Stressors and alienation	93	.379	.143	.000
3	Alienation and strains	120	.557	.310	.000
4	Stressors/alienation and strains	92		.504	.000

Stressors	.394	.000
Alienation	.460	.000

Table 10-2 Mediation Analysis Using Regression Model

Step	Analysis	N	β	R^2	p
1	Stressors and strains	93	.609	.371	.000
2	Stressors and counseling	91	.158	.025	.134
3	Counseling and strains	118	.406	.165	.000
4	Stressors/counseling and strains	90		.507	.000
	Stressors		.546		.000
	counseling		.378		.000

When the same test was conducted with healthy coping method of counseling, the mediating role seemed unlikely for the relationship between stressors and strains because in step 2, the effect of stressors on counseling was not significant. The result, therefore, did not support the hypothesis (Table 10-2). The assessment of hypothesis 3 produced a mixed result: the unhealthy coping mechanism of alienation was found to have a partial mediation to the association between stressors and strains, but the hypothesis was rejected for the healthy coping mechanism of counseling.

The present study also constructed multiple regression models for each of these coping mechanisms (Tables 11-1 and 11-2) to find significant predictors. Predictors in this analysis also included dummy-coded demographic variables: male, white, married, and tenure (3 years or less). Three regression models were constructed for each coping mechanism and the result showed that both alienation and counseling were significant predictors for strains. For both analyses, stressors and tenure were also significant predictors for strains. Even though

counseling was not a mediator, it was a significant predictor (moderator) since introducing the variable increased the prediction power by 11% compared to model 1, which used the stressors alone.

Table 11-1 Multiple Regression Model for Stress Strains With Unhealthy Coping Mechanism

Variable	B	Model 1 SE B	1 β	B	Model 2 SE B	2 β	B	Model 3 SE B	3 β
Male	.33	.15	.17*	.02	.15	.01	.05	.17	.02
White	-.03	.18	-.01	-.03	.18	-.02	.05	.17	.02
Married	-.17	.16	-.09	-.28	.16	-.14	-.23	.15	-.12
PD Yrs. (<=3)	-.69	.17	-.34***	-.48	.17	-.23**	-.62	.16	-.31***
Stress	1.13	.13	.67***				.88	.14	.52***
Alienation Strain				.51	.07	.57***	.29	.08	.32***
Constant	.22	.41		1.99	.25		.27	.38	
R ²	.52			.38			.60		
F	17.62***		(5,82)	13.15***		(5,107)	20.00***		(6, 80)

*p<.05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table 11-2 Regression Model for Stress Strains With Healthy Coping Mechanism

Variable	B	Model 1 SE B	1 β	B	Model 2 SE B	2 β	B	Model 3 SE B	3 β
Male	.33	.15	.17*	.33	.17	.17	.43	.14	.23*
White	-.03	.18	-.01	-.16	.21	-.07	-.05	.17	-.02
Married	-.17	.16	-.09	-.27	.19	-.13	-.22	.14	-.11
PD Yrs. (<=3)	-.69	.17	-.34***	-.35	.20	-.17	-.51	.16	-.25**
Stress	1.13	.13	.67***				1.04	.12	.62***
Counseling Strain				.36	.08	.41***	.03	.06	.36***
Constant	.22	.41					-.23	.39	
R ²	.52			.22			.63		
F	17.62***		(5,82)	6.52***		(5,106)	22.05***		(6,79)

*p<.05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Relationship between Job Stress, Coping Mechanism, Job Satisfaction, and Turnover

Two multiple regression analyses were conducted to evaluate how well stress predicted the level of satisfaction and how well job satisfaction predicted the level of turnover intention (Tables 12-1 and 12-2). One outlier entry was removed for this analysis because it had an extremely low score on both satisfaction and turnover. For the first regression analysis for job

satisfaction, model 1 was constructed using stress index and dummy coded demographic variables: male, white, married, and public defender tenure (4-10). The result of model 1 regression was significant and indicated that these predictors explained 43% of the variance ($R^2 = .43$, $R^2_{adjusted} = .39$, $F(5,80) = 12.01$, $p = .000$). Stress index significantly predicted satisfaction ($\beta = -.64$, $t(80) = -7.33$, $p = .000$). For model 2, an unhealthy coping variable alienation (strongly disagree/disagree) was introduced to model 1, and the prediction power increased by 3% ($R^2 = .46$, $R^2_{adjusted} = .42$, $F(6,78) = 10.94$, $p = .000$). Model 3 had additional predictors: the healthy coping mechanisms of recreation and exercise (neutral). As shown in Table 11, the prediction power was increased by 5% compared to model 1 ($R^2 = .48$, $R^2_{adjusted} = .43$, $F(8,75) = 8.72$, $p = .000$) and only the stress index was a significant predictor.

Table 12-1 Regression Model for Job Satisfaction

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Male	-.17	.11	-.14	-.09	.11	-.08	-.12	.11	-.10
White	.16	.13	.11	.14	.12	.10	.10	.13	.07
Married	-.10	.10	-.08	-.10	.10	-.08	-.10	.11	-.08
PD Yrs. (4 -10)	-.09	.10	-.07	-.09	.10	-.08	-.11	.10	-.09
Stress	-.71	.10	-.64***	-.59	.11	-.54***	-.58	.11	-.53***
Alienation (D/SD)				.26	.13	.20*	.18	.14	.14
Exercise (N)							.03	.14	.02
Recreation (N)							-.36	.19	-.18
Constant	5.38	.28		4.91	.35		5.02	.36	
R^2	.43			.46			.48		
F	12.01***			10.94***			8.72***		

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

For the second regression analysis that evaluated the job turnover intention, two models were constructed. Model 1 included job satisfaction and dummy coded demographic variables. The model was significant and these predictors explained 25% of the variance ($R^2 = .25$, $R^2_{adjusted} = .21$, $F(5, 99) = 6.50$, $p = .000$). It was found that the job satisfaction index ($\beta = -.29$, $t(99) = -3.26$, $p = .002$) and public defender tenure (11 years or more) ($\beta = -.28$, $t(99) = -3.10$, $p = .003$) significantly predicted job turnover. Model 2 was constructed by introducing the coping variable

alienation to model 1 and it was significant, but only increased 1% of prediction power from model 1. The satisfaction index and public defender tenure were still significant predicting job turnover intention.

Table 12-2 Regression Model for Job Turnover Intention

Variable	B	SE B	Model 1 β	B	SE B	Model 2 β
Male	.04	.15	.03	.06	.15	.04
White	-.31	.18	-.15	-.38	.18	-.19*
Married	-.12	.15	-.15	-.07	.15	-.04
PD Yrs. (11 or more)	-.56	.18	-.28**	-.57	.18	-.29**
Alienation (A/SA)				-.33	.22	-.15
Job satisfaction	-.39	.12	-.29**	-.43	.13	-.33**
Constant	4.45	.46		4.66	.49	
R^2		.25			.26	
F		6.49***			5.67***	

*p<.05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

About the Author

Tae Choo, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Criminal Justice, University of North Georgia, is a graduate of Florida State University. He holds a Master of Science in Criminal Justice from Florida International University and a Master of Arts in Public Administration from Han Yang University. His research interests include job-related stress, opioid and crime, police use of force, and crime against elderly and children the legal aspects of criminal justice and political crime.

The People vs. the Mafia: The Addiopizzo Movement in Sicily

Peter W. Fenton, J.D.
Kennesaw State University

Abstract

For generations, the Mafia has dominated and terrorized residents, businesses, and local governments on the island of Sicily. A primary weapon of control used by Sicilian Mafia leaders has been the so-called “pizzo”, a tribute or “street tax” collected by local mobsters from area businesses. In years past, those who refused to pay faced destruction of their businesses, injury, or death. However, a relatively recent grassroots movement, intended to break the stranglehold that the Mafia has held on Sicilian life, has developed among merchants and residents on this island at the southern tip of Italy. Known as addiopizzo, or “farewell pizzo”, this is a collective effort to publicly identify Mafia leaders and to refuse, en masse, to pay any extortionate fees to them or to patronize Mafia-controlled businesses. This paper will examine the development of the addiopizzo movement and evaluate its effectiveness in combating a deeply-entrenched criminal enterprise.

“Un intero popolo che paga il pizzo e’ un popolo senza dignita.”

(An entire population that pays the pizzo is a population without dignity).

There is a scene in the motion picture *The Godfather Part II* in which a young Vito Andolini, the future Don Corleone, is confronted by Don Fanucci, the don of the Little Italy neighborhood in New York City where Vito Andolini lives. Don Fanucci tells Vito that he knows Vito and his friends are stealing from local businesses; Fanucci demands \$200 from each of the thieves to purchase his silence: “Tell your friends I don’t want a lot. Just enough to wet my beak.” (Coppola, 1974).

This encounter epitomizes the phenomenon known throughout Sicily as “the pizzo”, an extortionate tribute or “street tax” paid by area businesses to local Mafia leaders. Like much of the information about the Mafia, the origins of the term “pizzo” are shrouded in mystery and legend. Most authorities believe that the word is a variant of the Sicilian “pizzu,” a slang term for a bird’s beak. (Partridge, 2012). This would be consistent with the notion of Mafiosi as predatory birds seeking to wet their beaks by dipping into the tills of businesses in their respective communities. In any case, every Sicilian knows that this ancient term refers to the payment of protection money (Superti, 2008).

To be sure, the use of extortionate practices to fill the coffers of organized crime is not unique to the Sicilian Mafia. The collection of tribute or protection money is a hallmark of the other organized crime groups who populate the *Mezzogiorno*, as the southern half of Italy is commonly known. The Camorra of Campania, the ‘Ndrangheta of Calabria, and the Sacra Corona Unita of the Puglia region all engage in similar activities. (Mattina, 2011). One scholar has stated that organized crime “... is the main enterprise in Italy, with annual profits close to 30

billion Euros.” (Superti: 4). Since the collection of protection money represents such a huge source of revenue, it is no surprise that other ethnic organized crime groups around the world do likewise (Johnson & Soeters, 2008, Paoli 2004). However, the uniquely Sicilian organized crime group known as the Mafia or La Cosa Nostra (“this thing of ours”) was one of the earliest and, arguably, continues to be the most successful at assimilating the *pizzo* into the collective consciousness of the community. Each Mafia *cosca*, or “localized fraternity ...extorts tribute (a *pizzo*) from businesses in its territory and demands that the territory’s employers hire mafia dependents.” (Schneider & Schneider 2005: 502). Thus, for as long as the Mafia has held sway over the island of Sicily, the *pizzo* has been part of the Sicilian way of life.

It is important to recognize here that the popular tendency, even among scholars, reporters, and other investigators, is to encompass all organized criminal activity originating in Italy as the work of the Mafia. Indeed the term “Mafia” has come to be seen as a generic term for all types of organized crime, hence the proliferation of terms such as “Russian Mafia”, “Mexican Mafia”, and even “Dixie Mafia” to describe diverse ethnic, racial, or regional organized criminal groups (see, for example, Paoli 2003). One of the difficulties in conducting research for this paper has been to identify instances where authors of both popular and scholarly works on the subject fail to distinguish the Mafia as an organization unique to Sicily, as opposed to the aforementioned three other similar groups who operate in other parts of Italy. For the purposes of this work, the term Mafia shall refer specifically to Sicilian organized crime.

The Extent of the Pizzo

How extensive is the *pizzo*? Of course, because the practice is inherently *sub rosa*, authorities can at best offer only informed estimates. Even with such limitations, the available

numbers are astounding. A study conducted by the University of Palermo in 2008 revealed that approximately 80 percent of the businesses in Palermo, the Sicilian capital, pay the pizzo. This amounts to annual revenue for the Sicilian mob of around one billion euros, or \$1.26 billion U.S. dollars. Throughout Italy, that figure increases by a factor of ten, to over 10 billion euros (Hammer 2010, Superti). It is estimated that 70 percent of all businesses in Sicily make such payments to the Mafia (Partridge). Reported monthly demands for pizzo payments range from a few dozen euros for a small business such as a tobacco shop, to 30,000 euros for a larger business like a supermarket, with an average of around 900 euros (Asmundo & Lisciandra 2008).

The Nature of the Pizzo

As described earlier in this paper, the pizzo is the practice by members of the Sicilian Mafia of extorting protection money from businesses in the geographic area dominated by the various respective Mafia families. Extortion is at the heart of organized crime. Abadinsky (2010), citing Schelling (1971), asserts that “*The business of organized crime is extortion.*” The goal of the pizzo is to siphon off small percentages of the profits of a business, not to extract such large payments as to cause the business to fail. Bernardo Provenzano, the “boss of all bosses” of the Sicilian Mafia arrested in 2006, revealed the philosophy behind the pizzo: “pagare poco, ma pagare tutti” (pay little, but everyone pays) (Partridge). Indeed, there is a symbiotic relationship between the Mafia and the businesses upon which it preys. Of course, the Mafiosi benefit from a steady source of tax-free revenue, from as many as 160,000 businesses in Sicily (Superti). In addition, the pizzo sometimes involves performance of services for the reigning Mafia family; these may include money laundering or using specified Mafia-controlled businesses as contractors or suppliers. (Bloomberg 1991). The economy of Sicily is particularly suited to an extensive extortion network, since most businesses are small, labor-intensive retail

establishments. Asmundo and Lisciandra assert that the pervasive presence of the Mafia and the pizzo is a primary reason that the Sicilian business environment has historically been unattractive to larger commercial and manufacturing enterprises.

Paradoxically, this system of organized, systematic extortion does provide some benefit to its victims. Asmundo and Lisciandra have identified “primary and secondary benefits of paying protection.” Primary benefits relate to the survival of the business itself, a form of insurance against losses from theft or physical damage. Arson is a frequent retaliatory tactic imposed on those who resist paying the pizzo (Hammer). A Palermo supermarket owned by a man who reported Mafia threats to the police was firebombed twice, the second time while the store was open for business and occupied by employees and customers (Partridge). In Gela, a Sicilian city of 78,000, Becucci (2011) found that “arson levels indicate an alarming social situation from both quantitative and qualitative standpoints,” with an average of more than 200 documented cases per year. Although to be sure, not all of these cases are attributable to organized crime, Becucci states, “According to witnesses interviewed, the arson problem began in the 1980’s when organized crime moved into the public sphere.” Thus, the pizzo serves as a crude, illegal form of health as well as property “insurance”, protecting the business owner and his business from Mafia harm.

According to Asmundo and Lisciandra, the secondary benefits to businesses that pay the pizzo “cannot be dismissed as invariably bogus or extortionate... such services are often useful to and actively sought by customers.” These services include protection from other extortionists, the granting of monopolies in a given service area, access to goods and services controlled by the Mafia, enforcement of trade agreements, and intimidation of recalcitrant or troublesome union officials, employees, and customers. In an article considering the economic impact of organized

crime in Sicily, Lavezza (2008) cites noted Italian scholar Diego Gambetta, who asserts that many businesses see the payment of protection money to the Mafia as beneficial, in that "...the money paid is part of an agreement by which the firm buys protection not only from possible damages, but also from possible competitors." In a 2004 article about the enduring influence of La Cosa Nostra, Paoli (22) observed that "... mafia families exercise a certain 'sovereignty' through a generalized system of extortion. As a state would do, they tax the main productive activities carried out within their territory...."

For generations, the people of Sicily have suffered under a variety of oppressive and corrupt regimes, and thus it is no surprise that the principles of omerta' – a philosophy of self reliance and mistrust of government - suffuse their lives. As an extortionate practice, the pizzo carries with it the threat of economic as well as physical harm to those businesses that fail to comply. However, as discussed above, there are definite benefits for those who comply with the demands of local Mafiosi. The Mafia serves as a shadow government of sorts, settling disputes and providing economic as well as physical protection for those who pay their share of the "street tax". Finley, Smith, & Duggan (1986: 157) point out that in many Sicilian communities, Mafiosi are not just tolerated or feared, they are "... respected to the point where they could parade as standard bearers of a more equitable system of justice than that provided by the state." Diego Gambetta has described the Mafia as "... an industry of private protection." (Gambetta, quoted in Scalia: 285, 286). For many, cooperation with La Cosa Nostra and acceding to its domination is the path of least resistance, especially when legitimate governmental and financial institutions are weak, corrupt, and ineffectual (Cayli 2011).

Of course, the ultimate threat the Mafia holds over the heads of those who refuse to participate in the pizzo is physical harm or death. In 1991, Libero Grassi, the owner of a small

clothing factory in Palermo, resisted the Mafia by refusing to pay the pizzo and reporting extortionists to the authorities. Grassi was murdered outside his home several months after he denounced the Mafia publicly. (Schneider & Schneider, 2003: 230). He later became a hero to the Addiopizzo movement. As described in a posting in Bloomberg Business week (1991), “The pizzo doesn’t always involve cash. It may be a service the Mafia needs.... Refusal can bring death or perhaps a firebombing. There’s just no escaping.” All Sicilians, indeed all Italians, are aware of the murders of Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino in 1992. The brutal assassination of these two crusading prosecutors, leading figures in the fight against the Mafia, was a major setback for the so-called “Palermo Spring” antimafia movement that had been gaining momentum in Sicily for more than a decade. (Puccio-Den, 2008). Not even children are safe from Mafia vengeance. A year after the Falcone-Borsellino murders, thirteen-year-old Giuseppe Di Matteo, the son of a former Mafioso turned government witness, was kidnapped and held captive for more than two years, following which he was strangled and his body dissolved in acid. As recently as August 2010, Mafiosi sent a bullet and a threatening letter to the five-year-old son of Massimo Ciancimino, another former Mafia leader who came forward to cooperate with authorities. Ciancimino’s father, Vito Ciancimino, was a well-known Mafia don and the former mayor of Palermo. (Bloomberg August 2010).

The Rise of the Addiopizzo Movement

Over the years, the pizzo became enmeshed in the commercial and social environment of Sicily, so much so that fledgling Sicilian businesses factored in the pizzo as one of their standard operating costs. However, in 2004 a series of events occurred that brought about the first concerted grass roots effort to bring an end to the decades of fear and oppression suffered by law-abiding Sicilians at the hands of the Mafia. Early that year, a group of seven young men and

women, college students and recent graduates, met to discuss plans to open a bar and restaurant. As they developed their business plan, they realized that they were including an estimated monthly pizzo payment to the local Mafia family. The absurdity of this situation, described by Superti as “silent acquiescence,” in which victimization by local extortionist thugs is assumed as a fact of life and a standard cost of doing business, soon led to an epiphany for this small cadre of enthusiastic and idealistic young entrepreneurs. In addition to their business plan, they developed a bold plan to fight back at the Mafia and to resist the oppression of the pizzo. This plan, and the movement it spawned, has come to be known as Addiopizzo, or “farewell to the pizzo.” The group’s first bold step was to print small stickers that carried this message: “Un intero popolo che paga il pizzo e’ un popolo senza dignita” (An entire population that pays the pizzo is a population without dignity). On the morning of June 29, 2004, residents of Palermo found these stickers affixed to doors and windows throughout the City of Palermo (Superti). As one scholar has described this incident, “The message was clear: a city that pays protection money should be ashamed of itself.”(Partridge: 347). The founders of Addiopizzo were dragging the dirty, shadowy business of the Mafia into the light, and called upon the collective conscience of the people of Palermo and all of Sicily to acknowledge what a shameful and destructive practice the pizzo was, how quiet resignation and complacency led to perpetual victimization and economic and social enslavement to La Cosa Nostra. At first the group of seven chose to remain anonymous, as police, the press, and members of the community at large – no doubt including local Mafiosi – sought to identify the source of the sticker campaign. However, it soon became apparent that if the nascent movement was to grow and expand its influence, the founders needed to come forward; they did so a few days later in a newspaper

interview and in an open letter to the people of Palermo published in the local edition of *La Repubblica*, a national daily newspaper (Partridge).

The thrust of the message from the Addiopizzo founders was twofold: business owners support the Mafia by paying the pizzo, and consumers sustain the pizzo by purchasing goods and services from establishments that are known to make such payments. Thus, this new movement placed responsibility for resisting the pizzo and those who demanded it not with the police and other government agencies, and not solely on those businesses that fell prey to the Mafia's demands. Rather, Addiopizzo held everyone in the community accountable for raising individual as well as collective awareness of the harm done by the pizzo and for making the commitments and behavioral changes necessary to bring it to an end. The seven founders established an official Addiopizzo organization in 2005, and by the end of 2008 there were more than 50 members (Superti). As of 2011, Addiopizzo counted 600 businesses and 10,000 consumers as official members (Vaccaro & Ribera 2011).

Goals of Addiopizzo

Like organized criminal enterprises throughout the world, the Mafia's two main objectives are to make money and to gain and maintain power. The Addiopizzo movement attacks both of these core objectives of the Sicilian Mafia. First, the movement seeks to dry up a major source of income for La Cosa Nostra; as noted above, as much as one billion euros annually. Like any business, licit or illicit, the Mafia needs a steady stream of revenue to survive and prosper. Leaders will come and go, but the organization itself will thrive if there are dependable sources of money. In the United States, the federal government and a number of states have enacted anti-racketeering criminal statutes that contain asset forfeiture provisions (see

the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, 18 USC 1961). Such laws allow the government to seize any and all discovered assets of a criminal enterprise that are identifiable as either the proceeds of the enterprise or used to facilitate the goals of the enterprise. In Sicily, the Addiopizzo movement attacks the financial prowess of the Mafia from essentially the opposite direction, representing what may be described as a “bottom-up” strategy (Cayli). Rather than rely on the government to capture assets once they are in the hands of organized crime, Addiopizzo seeks to rally victims and potential victims to cut off the sources of income for organized crime. As Partridge (347) notes, “Addiopizzo has adopted a market-based strategy for fighting organized crime.” No lengthy and potentially perilous investigations, no cumbersome and costly legal proceedings, may be necessary to shut down the Mafia. This is not to say, however, that governmental support plays no role in these anti-Mafia efforts. Indeed, the Addiopizzo organization takes advantage of Italian forfeiture laws that allow for assets seized from convicted criminals, including real property, to be assigned to organizations like Addiopizzo that represent victims (Vaccaro 2012). In theory at least, success of the Addiopizzo movement will mean the end of the Mafia’s financial stronghold in Sicily.

Perhaps a more daunting task for the Addiopizzo movement is to bring about change in the Sicilian culture – to alter the hearts and minds of “il popolo”. The focus of this endeavor is seen in the language of the original Addiopizzo message: people who allow themselves to be enslaved by the pizzo are people who have no dignity. The goal here is to rally the people of Sicily, business owners and consumers alike, to the cause. The strength and relative safety of large numbers of adherents is what will draw growing numbers of Sicilians to the cause. The founders of Addiopizzo have acknowledged the difficulty in suppressing the fear and indifference that have infused the Sicilian culture for more than a century, and have embarked on

a multi-faceted approach in an effort to bring about real change. As Superti (5) observes, “Addiopizzo’s work breaks the barrier of the Mafia’s terror by creating collective opposition. Mafia retaliation against a single NGO (non-governmental organization) would fail to solve the Mafia’s problem, since there would be another NGO member ready to continue the work of the victim.” The Addiopizzo organization’s strategy is multifaceted; it involves consumers, businesses, the community at large, and the government. Consumers are educated about the economic costs associated with the pizzo, most notably the artificial inflation of retail prices that results from the Mafia’s monopolization of sales of goods and services. Pizzini (stickers) and banners abound in Palermo Beginning in May 2005, the Addiopizzo organization launched a campaign called “Against the bribe! Change your consumption.” Sicilian residents are encouraged to patronize only “pizzo free” stores and businesses. To aid in that effort, the organization publicly identifies commercial establishments that have signed on to the movement and has a program to certify them as having rejected Mafia demands for tribute. (Vaccaro). Consumers are then urged to trade only with businesses carrying the Addiopizzo certification.

Businesses are encouraged to join the movement through a variety of methods and incentives. They are given signs and stickers to display on their premises that show their support for and participation in the Addiopizzo movement. The stickers issued by the organization contain a broken circle around the words, “*Consumo Critico* (Critical Consumption)” so that all will know that the business displaying such a symbol is part of the Addiopizzo movement. Tavaana Beginning in March 2010, the organization authorized issuance of an official mark to certify goods as “Prodotto Pizzofree”, that is, a product made and sold without Mafia involvement. By April 2011, 38 manufacturers producing everything from olive oil to books had qualified for the mark. (Partridge). In her 2008 article on Addiopizzo, Superti (13) tells us that

“The certification is conducted by a mixed third party entity: the Investigation Commission, composed at the moment by law professors, lawyers, the Dean of the Department of Law at the University of Palermo, members of *Comitato Addiopizzo*, the president of *Libero Futuro* (author’s note: an anti-rackets organization) and various entrepreneurs. In the past, journalists, priests and the Chief of Police participated.” Through its public information campaign, the Addiopizzo organization encourages consumers to patronize only those stores and businesses who have taken the Addiopizzo pledge. Merchants and business owners are given legal and moral support to bolster resistance to Mafia intimidation. The organization has teamed with *Libero Futuro*, another anti-Mafia organization in Palermo, to assist businesses with legal representation in their respective court battles with extortionists (Partridge).

Raising awareness through public information and education are the thrust of the Addiopizzo organization’s community activist efforts. According to Vaccaro (30), “... an important activity for Addiopizzo, since its foundation, is information disclosure.” Annual festivals and parades in support of Addiopizzo are held in Palermo and other parts of Sicily. In the years 2006-2009, members of Addiopizzo sponsored conferences and informational meetings in over 200 schools in the Palermo school district (Vaccaro). In the 2008-2009 school year, the Italian Ministry of Education sponsored an Addiopizzo project called *Fortini della Legalita’* (Forts of Legality) on Palermo schools to promote law-abiding behavior (Partridge). One Addiopizzo supporter has even started a business, *Coppola Storta* (Jaunty Cap) to sell distinctive caps traditionally worn by local Mafiosi. Although the gangsters wear these caps straight on the head, the “Jaunty Cap” is worn at an angle, signifying defiance of the Mafia and the pizzo (Holmes, 2008). There are now “pizzo free” travel agencies, which arrange Sicilian trips for tourists who are guaranteed lodging, transportation, and entertainment free of Mafia involvement

(Vaccaro, Onstad 2011), and in March 2008, Sicily's first pizzo-free supermarket opened its doors (Daily News 2008). Sympathetic consumers outside Italy can now purchase products such as Addiopizzo wine (The Metropolitan 2011).

In addition, the organization works hand in hand with Italian government officials in both law enforcement and the judicial system, and its influence on governmental pursuit of the Mafia is evident. Becucci notes that the Sicilian city of Gela now requires all contractors submitting bids for city business must obtain certification from the police that they are not associated with the Mafia. Officials in Gela also have a policy and practice of suing Mafiosi who are known to have caused damage to the city itself. In November 2007, Sicilian police arrested Mafia don Salvatore LoPiccolo and his son Sandro. Shortly thereafter, police published a list of all businesses paying the pizzo to the Lo Piccolo crime family (Superti). A law enacted in 1996 allows for confiscation of assets seized from Mafiosi in criminal prosecutions and the distribution of these assets for use by agencies and organizations promoting the public good. (Paoli 2007). Ownership of at least 700 properties once owned by Italian organized crime families throughout Italy has been transferred to shelters, cooperatives, and other similar facilities (Bodrero 2012). The Addiopizzo organization is one such beneficiary of this process.

Impediments to the Addiopizzo Movement

Despite the growth and successes of the Addiopizzo movement over the past eight years, there is as of yet no assurance of long-term success. Long an integral part of Sicilian culture and its economy, the Mafia shows no signs of going away without a fight. Although the pizzo is a major source of income for La Cosa Nostra, trafficking in drugs, arms, human beings, and counterfeit goods all are endeavors that bring huge amounts of revenue into the coffers of

organized crime (Italy Security Overview, Abadinsky). Thus, total elimination of the pizzo in Sicily would certainly deal a significant blow to Mafia treasuries, but alone would not be likely to end organized crime in Sicily. Criminal enterprises of any significant size are notoriously capable of innovating, adapting, and diversifying (Saija & Gravagno 2009, Scalia 2010). Even a cursory study of the history of the Italian-American Mafia proves this point – the end of Prohibition, and the massive infusion of money to American mobsters that resulted from it, did not bring about the death of American organized crime. If the Addiopizzo movement were to focus solely on the elimination of extortionate payments to local Mafiosi, it likely would face the dismal prospect of winning the battle but losing the war.

Of course, the threats, destruction of property, and violence continue. Vaccaro (29) reports that “Between 2005 and 2009, Mafia families had tried to terrorize individuals and firms associated with Addiopizzo in at least 15 situations.” Victims suffered arson, robbery, threats, and physical assaults. Edoardo Zaffuto, one of the founders of the Addiopizzo organization, has reported that those who resist the pizzo have suffered “Arson, vandalism, harassment,” and cites as one of the most notable incidents of Mafia retaliation against an Addiopizzo business member the 2007 arson at a paint and hardware warehouse in Palermo (Onstad). According to a report from SOS Impresa, the anti-racketeering office of the Italian national retailers’ association called Confesercenti, in 2010 Palermo businesses who supported Addiopizzo were victimized 50 times in apparent retaliatory attacks by local Mafiosi (Chaumont 2011).

A much more subtle strategy used by the Mafia is to subvert the power and influence of Addiopizzo by encouraging merchants and manufacturers to be double –dealers. That is, Mafia leaders are known to urge business owners to falsely pledge to the Addiopizzo movement but continue to pay the pizzo. Vaccaro (29) reveals that “The police discovered that Mafia bosses

were suggesting that entrepreneurs adopt this strategy to benefit from Mafia protection and advantages of the anti-racket certification.” By currying favor with both the Mafia and Addiopizzo adherents, these businesses derive the benefits of Mafia protection described earlier in this paper, but also enjoy the endorsement of Addiopizzo that attracts consumers.

Although in the past three decades there have been several concerted efforts by the Italian government to combat and destroy the Mafia’s hegemony in Sicily, corruption and infiltration of local and national government by Mafia and other organized crime groups have hampered and thwarted those endeavors. It is well known that Mafiosi hold positions of power and influence in the Italian parliament, the judiciary, other government offices, and both left and right-wing political parties (Cayli, Schneider & Schneider 2001). Corruption and Mafia influence pervade all levels of Italian government. Entire governments in several cities throughout the Mezzogiorno have been dissolved by the Italian cabinet in recent years due to arrests and convictions of city leaders for Mafia-related criminal activity. In 2008, Salvatore Cuffaro, the governor of Sicily from 2001-2008, went to prison after having been found guilty of collaboration with Mafia bosses (BBC News 2011). The administration of former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi was particularly characterized by widespread corruption as well as policies and practices that promoted the interests of organized crime (Paoli 2007, Ruggiero 2010).

Without doubt, the greatest challenge to the Addiopizzo movement is the culture of Sicily itself. The rise of the Mafia in Sicily and the other organized crime groups in other parts of the Mezzogiorno in southern Italy came about in the 1800s due to the many political, economic, geographic, and cultural differences between the people of the region and the governing forces that held official control over them, forces that at times included foreign monarchies and the

Fascist dictatorship of Benito Mussolini. One noted author has attributed the characteristic resignation and fatalism of most Sicilians to "... 2500 years of invasion and occupation by a succession of foreign powers." (Di Lampedusa, quoted in Partridge: 358). The Sicilian concept of *omerta*' epitomizes the response of the people to the oppressive government regimes that have ruled the island for many centuries. Often interpreted as referring merely to the Mafia "code of silence" *omerta*' is a much broader concept, incorporating notions of manliness, self-reliance and distrust of government. In his landmark 1965 book, *The Italians*, Luigi Barzini (253-254) distinguishes two "mafias": the Mafia as the well-known criminal organization, and *mafia* as a state of mind shared by all Sicilians. Barzini describes this distinctly Sicilian mindset thusly: "... each must defend his dignity at all costs and never allow the smallest slight to go unavenged; they must keep secrets and beware of official authorities and laws."

A 2010 web survey of attitudes toward the pizzo and the antimafia programs and activities among self-professed supporters of the Addiopizzo movement was conducted by Henry Partridge, a professor in the Department of Security and Crime Science at University College in London. In this survey, respondents acknowledged a very powerful, deep-rooted *mentalita' mafiosa* (Mafia mentality) among the Sicilian populace. This is a fatalistic philosophy of life characterized by "laziness, resignation, lack of civic education, and ... individualism that prevails over the collective interest." (354). After reviewing a large body of empirical evidence, the scholar Antonino Vaccaro (28) has concluded that "... Sicilians do not see the institution of the Mafia as immoral and they do not understand how their behavior (e.g.' purchasing decisions) can affect Mafia activities. In other words, Sicilians have a quite limited moral imagination." Perhaps this mindset is best exemplified by a statement from a Palermo police officer, quoted in an article by Scalia (293): "Palermo relies on the mafia money. Take them away, and the

economy will run more wrecked than it is now.” Since the extortionate Mafioso is merely “wetting his beak” rather than demanding disproportionately large tribute payments, many Sicilian business persons as “... sufficiently tolerable (as in not incredibly high) in relation to the firm’s cash and budget flow; for this reason, extortion is considered as ‘normal’ and made endogenous by the economic and social system, as an (ordinary) component of production costs.” (Asmundo & Lisciandra: 227). Saija and Gravano (502) describe a “Mafia-supporting social system ... in which the Mafia presence is tolerated and even fed by a larger context of nepotistic relationships and selfish cultural values.”

Conclusion

The Addiopizzo movement has been in existence for slightly more than a decade, and thus it is too soon to tell if it will have a significant and lasting effect on the Mafia’s control of Sicilian life. Certainly this grassroots endeavor to combat organized crime has made great strides in a short period of time, particularly considering the centuries-old entrenchment of Mafia families and their domination of virtually every aspect of Sicilian life. Despite slow but steady growth in participation and support from Sicilian consumers and businesses, combined with ongoing anti-racketeering efforts of honest and dedicated government officials, the movement continues to face daunting challenges. Among these are corruption at all levels of Italian government, a pervasive fear of Mafia retaliatory violence and destruction, and the centuries-old fatalism of the Sicilian people, coupled with a perception of the Mafia as, at worst, a necessary evil and, at best, a benevolent if demanding protector of the Sicilian people and their way of life, a “semi-respectable organization with something of a ‘Robin Hood’ image.” (Vaccaro: 32).

It remains to be seen if the Addiopizzo movement will prevail and bring an end to the pizzo. With almost three-quarters of Sicilian businesses still paying protection money, a daunting task still faces those who seek an end to the extortionate practices of Sicilian organized criminals. Of course, the larger question is, assuming the success of the Addiopizzo movement, will the end of the pizzo result in the death of the Mafia, or will the “octopus” merely stretch its tentacles out to envelop other sources of revenue and power? Ultimately, those who seek an end to the Mafia in Sicily must take heart in the words of the late prosecutor Giovanni Falcone, quoted by Revert (2011) and many others: “The Mafia isn’t invincible; It’s a human phenomenon and, like all human phenomena, it had a beginning and it will also have an end.”

References

- Abadinsky, Howard. 2010. *Organized Crime*, 10th ed. Belmont, CA. Wadsworth/Cengage Learning.
- Asmundo, Adam & Lisciandra, Maurizio. August 2008. The cost of protection racket in Sicily. *Global Crime*, 9(3), 221-240.
- Barzini, Luigi. 1967. *The Italians*. New York, NY. Atheneum.
- BBC News. January 22, 2011. Sicily senator Salvatore Cuffaro jailed in Mafia case. Retrieved October 19, 2012 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-12260666>
- Becucci, Stefano. February 2011. Criminal infiltration and social mobilization against the Mafia. Gela: a city between tradition and modernity. *Global Crime*, 12(1), 1-18.
- Bodrero, Lorenzo. Commentary: Facing Down the Mafia. March 2, 2012. *100 Reporters*. Retrieved September 20, 2012 from <http://100r.org/2012/03/commentary-facing-down-the-mafia/>
- A Bullet for a Businessman. November 3, 1991. *Bloomberg Business Week*. Retrieved October 23, 2012 from <http://www.businessweek.com/stories/1991-11-03/a-bullet-for-a-businessman>
- Cayli, Baris. 2011. Anti-Mafia policies in Italy: The need for collaborative governance and transition of the policy actors from isolation to coalition. *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice*, 19, 15-36.
- Chaumont, Caroline. 2011. Italy: fighting Mafia violence with tourism. *Global Post*. November 6, 2011. Retrieved October 23, 2012 from <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/europe/italy/111104/italy-mafia-tourism>
- Coppola, Francis. (Producer & Director). (1974). *The Godfather, Part II* [Motion picture]. Los Angeles: Paramount.

- Daily News. March 10, 2008. First Mafia-free supermarket opens in Sicily. Retrieved October 23, 2012 from http://articles.nydailynews.com/2008-03-10/news/29430287_1_mafia-goodbye-pizzo-addiopizzo
- Finley, Moses, Smith, Denis, and Duggan, Christopher. 1986. *A History of Sicily*. New York, NY. Viking.
- Hammer, Joshua. October 2010. Defying the Godfather. *Smithsonian*, 41(6), 36-47.
- Holmes, Stephanie. Sicilians grow defiant of Mafia. April 11, 2008. Retrieved October 23, 2012 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7342106.stm>
- Italy Security Overview. Italy Defence and Security Report, Q2 2012, Issue 2, 40-47.
- Johnson, Hume and Soeters, Joseph. 2008. Jamaican Dons, Italian Godfathers and the Chances of a “Reversible Destiny.” *Political Studies*, 56, 166-191.
- Lavezzi, Andrea. August 2008. Economic structure and vulnerability to organized crime: evidence from Sicily. *Global Crime*, 9(3), 198-220.
- Mattina, Cesare. The Transformations of the contemporary mafia: a perspective review of the literature on mafia phenomena in the context of the internationalization of the capitalist economy. *International Social Science Journal*, March–June 2011, 62(203-204), 229–245.
- The Metropolitan. December 16, 2011. “Addio Pizzo wine.” Retrieved October 23, 2012 from <http://www.themetropolitain.ca/articles/view/1060>
- Onstad, Katrina. May 6, 2011. A New Way to See Sicily. NY Times.com. Retrieved October 23, 2012 from <http://travel.nytimes.com/2011/05/08/travel/08sicily.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>
- Paoli, Letizia. September 2007. Mafia and Organised Crime in Italy: the Unacknowledged Successes of Law Enforcement. *West European Politics*, 30(4), 854-880.
- Paoli, Letizia. February 2004. Italian organized crime: Mafia associations and criminal enterprises. *Global Crime*, 6(1), 19-31.

- Paoli, Letizia. 2003. *Mafia Brotherhoods: Organized Crime, Italian Style*. Oxford University Press ebook.
- Partridge, Henry. 2012. The determinants of and barriers to critical consumption: a study of Addiopizzo. *Modern Italy*, 17(3), 343-363.
- Puccio-Den, Deborah. (2008). The Sicilian Mafia: Transformation to a global evil. *Etnografica*, 12(2), 377-386.
- Reclaiming Sicily from the Mafia: Rita Borsellino and the Addiopizzo Movement. www.tavaana.org. Retrieved September 21, 2012 from http://www.tavaana.org/viewcasestudy.jsp?lang=en&pageId=2071502000341264606266439&restrictids=nu_repeatitemid&restrictvalues=2071502000341283320099211
- Revert, Empar. Taking on the Mob. *IESE Insight*, Issue 9, Second Quarter 2011.
- Ruggiero, Vincenzo. 2010. Who corrupts whom? A criminal eco-system made in Italy. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 54, 87-105.
- Saija, Laura and Gravano, Filippo. 2009. Can Participatory action research deal with the Mafia? A lesson from the field. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 10(4), 499-518.
- Scalia, Vincenzo. 2010. From the octopus to the spider's web: the transformations of the Sicilian mafia under postfordism. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 13, 283-298.
- Scherer, Steve. August 9, 2010. Sicilian Mafia sends bullet to 5-year-old in Bid to silence witness father. Bloomberg.com. Retrieved October 23, 2012 from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-08-09/sicilian-mafia-sends-bullet-to-5-year-old-in-bid-to-silence-witness-father.html>
- Schneider, Jane and Schneider, Peter. August-October 2005. Mafia, Antimafia, and the Plural Cultures of Sicily. *Current Anthropology*, 46(4), 501-520.
- Schneider, Jane and Schneider, Peter. 2003. *Reversible Destiny: Mafia, Antimafia, and the Struggle for Palermo*. Berkeley, CA. University of California Press. ebook.

Schneider, Jane and Schneider, Peter. Winter 2001. Suggestions from the Antimafia Struggle in Sicily. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 75(1), 155-159.

Superti, Chiara. Fall 2008. "Addio Pizzo" Can a Label Defeat the Mafia? University of California, San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies.

Vaccaro, Antonino. 2012. To Pay or Not to Pay? Dynamic Transparency and the Fight Against the Mafia's Extortionists. *Journal of Business Ethics* 106:23-35.

Vaccaro, Antonino and Ribera, Alberto. January –March 2011. The Smart Way to Cut the Wise Guy Down to Size. *IESE Alumni Magazine*, No. 120, 14-16.

About the Author

Peter Fenton, J. D., Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice, Kennesaw State University, is a graduate of Emory University School of Law. He is a Certified Senior Peace Officer Instructor with Georgia P.O.S.T. His research interests include criminal law and procedure, constitutional law, law enforcement, organized crime, and ethics.

Five Public Policy Steps for Promoting Prisoner Reentry and Safe Communities

Chad Posick, Ph.D.
Georgia Southern University
and
Haley Shutley
Georgia Southern University

Abstract

The societal and economic costs of incarceration, and re-incarceration through failed prisoner re-entry, are enormous. New strategies to reduce the prison population and promote successful reentry are profoundly required. Georgia is uniquely positioned to be a national leader in this effort by focusing on evidenced-based strategies to reduce incarceration and ensure successful prisoner reentry. In this paper, we propose five steps to reduce the use of incarceration, improve prisoner re-entry, and increase public safety. These policy steps include: 1) banning the “box”; 2) promoting educational growth; 3) reconsidering how the criminal justice system deals with adolescents; 4) reducing the use of capricious confinement; and 5) promoting alternatives to incarceration. Each of these steps has received scientific support at the individual and community levels. Taking these steps to reform the criminal justice system can push Georgia toward a more sustainable criminal justice system and a safer state.

The Prisoner Reentry Issue

Thousands of inmates are incarcerated and released daily. According to Kaeble, Glaze, Tsoutis, and Minton (2015) at the end of the year 2014, there were 1,561,500 individuals being housed in state and federal prisons and 744,600 individuals in local jails. A total of 4,708,100 are

either on probation or parole. In other words, 1 in every 36 adults in America was under some type of correctional supervision at this point in time. The National Institute of Justice notes that, based on a survey that was administered in 2005 which followed 404,638 prisoners after being released from prison, 67.8% of prisoners end up being rearrested and placed back into a correctional facility within three years of their release. To say that incarceration is a huge industry might be an understatement and it appears that this industry, at this point, is self-sustaining with a revolving door of entry and exit. However, the societal and economic costs of this revolving door are immense and new strategies to reduce the prison population and prevent reentry are sorely needed. Georgia has the potential to be a national leader in this effort by focusing on empirically-proven strategies to cut incarceration and ensure successful prisoner reentry – approaches that can reduce economic costs and, most importantly, keep communities safe. In this paper, we review five policy steps that can reduce incarceration while simultaneously maintaining public safety. We discuss possible ways to move forward with these steps.

The Case of Georgia

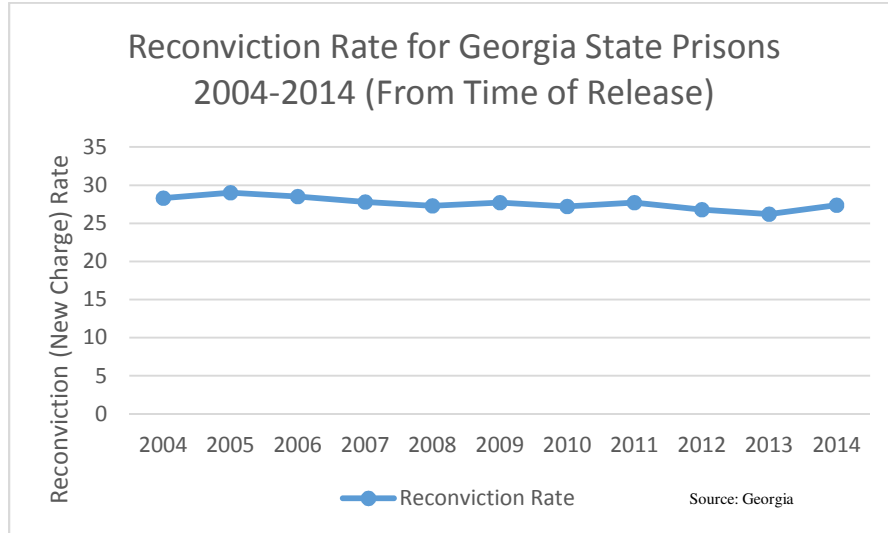
Georgia has historically been a state where policy and law have led to nationwide changes in the criminal justice system. In 1972, the decision in the case of *Furman v. Georgia* led to the court finding that the death penalty was cruel and unusual punishment as it was then applied. Four years later, *Gregg v. Georgia* (1976) paved the way for our current system of handling death penalty cases in the United States including consideration of aggravating and mitigating circumstances and the role of the jury in determining the punishment of death. Just a year later, the 1977 case *Coker v. Georgia* indicated that the ruling of the death penalty for a rape

charge is unconstitutional, because the punishment is more excessive than the crime (Coenen, 2004).

More recently, issues related to incarceration and prisoner re-entry have been at the forefront of Georgia's public policy. Boggs and Worthy (2014) reported that the Georgia Council developed the Georgia Prisoner Reentry Initiative (GA-PRI) in 2013 to reduce the recidivism rate over a five-year time-period.¹ One issue involving recent reforms is that it takes a great amount of time to observe the effectiveness of the reform. However, recidivism rates are remaining constant in recent years (see Figure 1 for the latest correctional data). Boggs and Worthy state, "Many long-term impacts remain to be seen. But overall, the prison population has held steady, and progress is also evident in the changing composition of that population" (2014:8). Also, with reforms, the government can only do so much. Governor Nathan Deal, in his speech at the *Atlanta Rotary Club* on December 16, 2013, stated, "Supporting the transition and reentry for those who have been in prison is an undertaking that government alone can't do." The government can create reforms, but it is up to the business owners to hire convicted felons, it is up to the volunteers to educate inmates, and it is up to society to stop the stigma of individuals who have committed crimes.

¹ More information at: <http://dcs.georgia.gov/georgia-prisoner-reentry-initiative>.

Figure 1



In this paper, we propose five “easy” steps to reducing recidivism and improving the health of communities. We call these “easy” because they are steps that could be put into policy and implemented quickly. However, as Governor Deal notes above, this is easier said than done and it requires wide-scale support. Additionally, the steps require appropriate empirical evaluation which takes time – time that policymakers have in short supply.

However, we believe the benefits of these steps would have significant impact on the economy and public safety and are well worth carefully implementing and evaluating. These policy steps include: 1) banning the “box”; 2) promoting educational growth; 3) reconsidering how we deal with adolescents; 4) reducing the use of capricious confinement; and 5) promoting alternatives to incarceration. Elements of these five steps have received scientific support in producing positive outcomes for individuals and communities (for example Sedgley et al., 2010; Vacca, 2004). Together, with support from Georgia policymakers and its citizenry, taking these steps can get us to a safer and healthier Georgia.

Five Public Policy Steps for Healthier Communities

Banning the “Box”

Simply, banning the box is the effect to ban convicted felons from checking “yes” in the box on a job application if they have been convicted of a felony. This reform encourages business owners to carry out an interview with an individual before overlooking them based on their criminal record. The harsh truth is that a prison sentence does not end after being released from prison. There are several challenges ex-felons face after returning to life on the outside. Specifically, finding employment as an ex-felon is extremely difficult. Between 60 and 75 percent of former inmates cannot find employment in their first year out of prison (von Bergen & Bressler, 2016). Applicants have to be truthful about their criminal history as many employers perform extensive background checks on their applicants. Unfortunately, for many, this causes employers to consider applicants based on their criminal history and not for their qualifications related to the desired job. The EEOC cites that 92% of employers question applicants about their criminal history before even considering the applicant for the interview stage of the hiring process. Research suggests that the presence of a criminal record reduces an employer’s interest in an applicant by about 50% (Pager & Western, 2009).

“Banning the Box,” sometimes referred to as the Fair Chance Act, is an international campaign whose goal is to remove the box on employment applications that question potential applicants about their criminal record (Bergen & Bressler, 2016). “All of Us or None,” a civil rights organization began this movement in 2003 arguing that excluding applicants based on their criminal history violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Bergen & Bressler, 2016). The campaign has picked up a lot of publicity in recent years and there are now several variations of the campaign implemented in law throughout the nation. Nineteen states have now

adopted some form of a “Ban the Box” initiative to remove the consideration of conviction history on job applications for private employers (Bergen & Bressler, 2016).

Hawaii was the first state to adopt Ban the Box laws for both private and public employment in 1998. Under this law, employers are prohibited from asking about applicant’s criminal history until after they have made a job offer. The job offer can be withdrawn afterwards if the employer has become aware that the conviction interferes with the *duties of the position*. However, conviction history is only allowed into consideration if the conviction was in the last ten years. Findings from Hawaii’s Fair Chance Act laws have revealed that there has been a significant increase in employment for ex-offenders as well as notably reduced recidivism by 57% for these same offenders (D’Alessio, Stolzenberg & Flexon, 2015).

Reducing recidivism is a step in the right direction in addressing the concerns about the alarmingly high mass incarceration rate in the United States. Georgia has just recently approved similar legislation as Hawaii. The order prohibits states agencies from using prior conviction history as an automatic disqualifier for applicants. Applicants are given the chance to discuss and explain their criminal history in person (Exec. Order No. 02.23.15.03, 2015).² Therefore, precedent exists to continue to support and expand employment prospects for ex-felons.

The “Ban the Box” movement does not necessarily suggest removing the box completely, but argues for a reformation of inquiring about criminal history. The question should be more tailored to the point and should not consider crimes committed over a decade ago and/or crimes that are completely irrelevant to the jobs’ duties. Applicants should be able to explain their side of the story in a face-to-face setting later on in the application process versus automatically being dismissed from their criminal background. Employers sometimes argue that hiring someone with

² Link to the executive order:
https://gov.georgia.gov/sites/gov.georgia.gov/files/related_files/document/02.23.15.03.pdf.

a criminal background is a liability for them. However, there are actually several benefits of hiring an ex-felon. Companies that hire former inmates within a year after they have been released from prison can qualify for a tax credit known as the Work Opportunity Tax Credit.³ The company can earn up to \$2,400 for each adult they hire. An employer might benefit in other ways in that the ex-felon could have received training skills that are transferable to the job an employer is looking to fill. Research has also indicated the banning the box has broader impacts on improving the employment prospects of individuals in high-crime neighborhoods especially among low-skilled African Americans (Shoag & Veuger, n.d.).

Steps toward Implementation

- 1) Meeting with small business owners to encourage banning-the-box on their applications**
- 2) Encourage major employers (Wal-Mart, McDonalds, etc.) to be leaders in banning-the-box**
- 3) Discuss options with policymakers to formally establish banning-the-box**

Promote Educational Growth (Inside and Out)

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, 68% of inmates do not have a GED or a high school diploma (Harlow, 2003). This is one of the many reasons why the reform to implement more educational programs within prisons is so important. Many inmates are going to get out of prison at some point (over 95%) so it is essential that these individuals have some type of education to fall back on. Inmates who participated in correctional education are found to be 43% less likely to reoffend than those who do not take part in programming. Inmates who participated in correctional education were also 13% more likely to get a job after being released than those who did not participate in any education programs (Davis et al., 2013).

³ More information at: <https://www.doleta.gov/business/incentives/opptax/>.

Supporting education does not just benefit the incarcerated individuals, but everyone in the outside world. In the long run, the state would be saving money because citizens do not have to pay for the large amount of people who are put back into prison within five years of their release. The Correctional Education Association for the United States Department of Education, Office of Correctional Education, concluded that inmates who participated in education programs while incarcerated experienced a 29% reduction in recidivism and their wages were greater than those who did not participate in programming (Davis, 2013). Many programs are currently offered in prison throughout the U.S. including Inside-Out,⁴ ABE (Adult Basic Education), GED programs, Beekeeper Apprenticeship, Agriculture,⁵ CCCF Puppy program,⁶ Computer Literacy, and many others that need evaluation to determine their effectiveness.

The more educational programs and opportunities that we offer to the incarcerated, the more likely they will become law-abiding citizens who contribute to our society. Research suggests that 43.3 percent of individuals who do not receive correctional education have a higher chance of recidivating, leading to a re-incarcerated cost between \$2.94 million and \$3.25 million. However, if education was offered to offenders, research suggests that the incarceration rate would drop, resulting in a cost between \$2.07 million and \$2.28 million – an overall savings of about one million dollars. The costs of providing education is estimated to be from \$1,400 to \$1,744 per inmate, with re-incarceration costs being \$8,700 to \$9,700 less per inmate who received correctional education as compared to those who did not (Erisman & Contardo, 2005).

⁴ More information at: <http://www.insideoutcenter.org/> (Inside-out classes currently being offered between Georgia Southern University and Smith State Prison).

⁵ More information at: <http://www.ent.uga.edu/Bees/master-beekeeper/index.html> (program currently at Smith State Prison).

⁶ More information at: http://www.cci.org/site/c.cdKGIRNqEmG/b.6097761/k.7684/Prison_Puppy_Raising.htm.

Steps toward Implementation

- 1) Recruit volunteers (retired teachers, professors, students, community leaders, etc.) to offer a class to prisoners – particularly those close to release**
- 2) Establish agreements with prisons to offer classes such as the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program⁷**
- 3) Meet with University presidents and admissions offices to understand enrollment policies around recruiting, accepting, and funding ex-offenders**

Reconsider Adolescence

As of now, the juvenile age in the United States is in-between 16 and 18 years of age with variability across states (17 for Georgia but 16 for others such as New York and North Carolina). Current reforms have been put forth reconsider the juvenile age as it pertains to law. The main argument for increasing the juvenile age is that the brain is not fully developed until about the age of 25 (Steinburg, 2014) and that if an individual commits a crime at a young age, then they should be dealt with in different ways than the adult population.

Although the “legal age” of adulthood is 18 in the United States, many states consider the adult sentencing age to be 17 or lower. This affects many young offenders when it comes to sentencing for crimes they commit. Researchers in Florida, where the juvenile age is set at 17, examined the records of juvenile inmates admitted to an adult prison system to examine the extent and severity of violent misconduct in prison, how juvenile rates of misconduct compare with the adult inmates, and what factors influenced juvenile misconduct. The most common violations among juveniles were fighting, weaponless assaults, or threatening an officer. The influencing factors included institutional vulnerability, fear of victimization, or retaliation in

⁷ This program is currently offered every Spring semester at Georgia Southern University and is taught by the first author. The second author was a student and teaching assistant in this program.

response to actual or threatened violence. The rates of violent acts between older inmates were significantly lower in comparison to juveniles (Kuanliang, Sorensen & Cunningham, 2008). The results highlight an important element in placing juveniles in adult prisons – their behavior reflects fear and perceived vulnerability. Reconsidering confinement strategies, such as placing adolescents in separate facilities from adults, may reduce violence inside institutions.

When dealing with the development of the brain we have to look at the developmental immaturity of youthful offenders (see Kohlberg, Levine, & Hower, 1983). Studies show that many behavioral and criminal problems are due to psychological and neurological immaturity (Monahan et al., 2015). The region of the brain that controls impulses, mainly the pre-frontal cortex, is the last part to mature. Moreover, dopamine production increases in the early teen years – leading to an increase in reward-seeking behavior and the regulatory system, especially executive functioning, develops well into a person’s 20s as myelination continues through adolescence (Steinburg, 2014). Therefore, 17 and 18-year-olds are not biologically and mentally developed and prepared for the consequences of life sentences and are not as culpable as a full adult. In fact, the recent *Roper v. Simmons* (2005) Supreme Court case used neurological science in deciding that juveniles should not receive capital punishment for their crimes.

Given this body of research, two options are likely to increase the chances of success for adolescents and youth (who we define as those 25 years and younger): 1) specific programs that are available in adult prisons for those under the age of 25 such as cognitive-behavioral therapy which are proven to increase cognition and behavior; and/or 2) separate facilities created to deal with adolescents that include rehabilitative programs. Cognitive behavioral therapy has seen much success precisely because it addresses brain functioning (Vaske, Galyean & Cullen, 2011). Additionally, mentoring programs have proven benefits in motivating youth and building self-

esteem and should also exist in adolescent facilities. In a recent study conducted on at-risk youth, male children who successfully completed a mentoring program showed an increase in educational expectation as well as higher global self-esteem (Meyer & Bouchey, 2010). Similar programs could be replicated on the inside, placing younger prisoners with older prisoners in a mentor-mentee relationship. In separate facilities, the mentor could be a counselor or correctional officer that would work closely with an individual or group of individuals.

Steps toward Implementation

- 1) Educate policymakers and the public about child and adolescent development through classes, op-ed columns, and academic papers**
- 2) Meet with policymakers to reconsider how adolescence is viewed and how criminal justice practices consider adolescence**
- 3) Volunteer and recruit volunteers to work with at-risk youth at very young ages to prevent antisocial behavior early in the life-course well before adolescence**

Reduce Capricious Solitary Confinement

The use of solitary confinement within US prisons has been a topic of much debate over the past few years. Solitary confinement is a method used within prisons to separate “threatening” populations from a correctional institution’s general population (Rodriguez, 2015). These inmates are locked in a small officer-controlled cell for about 23 hours a day. In a relatively recent move, former president Barack Obama took the first step by banning solitary confinement for juveniles and low-level infractions in federal prisons. President Obama has also made recommendations to allow those in solitary confinement more outdoor time (Gerstein & Wheaton, 2016). States are not confined to this law and are able to use solitary confinement as they see fit.

In efforts to implement reform in the use and discretion of confinement, then President Obama appointed Attorney General Loretta Lynch to study the subsequent overuse of these practices within US prisons. The executive summary states that, “After extensive study, we have concluded that there are occasions when correctional officials have no choice but to segregate inmates from the general population, typically when it is the only way to ensure the safety of inmates, staff, and the public. But as a matter of policy, we believe strongly this practice should be used rarely, applied fairly, and subjected to reasonable constraints” (USDOJ, 2016). The director of the American Civil Liberties Union’s National Prison Project, David Fathi, notes that the president’s recent steps toward reform were necessary and wonderful in investigating the “addiction” and “cruelty” of solitary confinement (Gerstein & Wheaton, 2016).

It is difficult to estimate the number of prisoners held in solitary confinement at any given time, but authorities estimate the number between twenty thousand and eighty thousand, based on 2005 census data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2014). Today, forty-four states have super max prisons designated solely to house prisoners in solitary confinement, while most state prisons also include some form of solitary confinement housing within the facility.

The recidivism rates are undoubtedly higher for those prisoners who were placed in solitary for either some, or all, of their sentence (Gibbons, 2006; Haney, 2018). Over 80,000 prisoners are held in "restricted housing," including prisoners held in administrative segregation, disciplinary segregation, and protective custody. There are at least 25,000 in super-max solitary confinement. Solitary confinement units and super-max facilities cost up to three times as much as general prison housing—Arizona has estimated the annual cost of placing an individual in a

super-max facility to be \$50,000, compared to \$20,000 for the average prisoner; and in Texas, it costs 45% more to house prisoners in solitary confinement than in conventional prison.

The negative effects of solitary confinement on physical and mental health are among the clearest in the scientific literature. According to Mears (2006), 25,000 inmates at any one time are being held in solitary confinement. Prisoners held in solitary confinement are shown to develop various psychopathologies at higher rates than those in the general prison population (28% vs. 15%; Andersen et al., 2000). Prisoners in solitary confinement have been found to engage in self-mutilation at rates higher than the general prison population (Haney & Lynch, 1997). A study conducted on prisoners who volunteered for a week of solitary confinement found that the prisoners exhibited decreased EEG activity, indicative of increased theta activity, which is related to stress, tension, and anxiety (Gendreau et al., 1972). Finally, individuals released directly from solitary onto the streets had a higher recidivism rate compared to those who spent time in the general population after solitary confinement (64% vs. 41%; Gibbons, 2006).

Despite the overwhelming evidence against solitary confinement, it has its usefulness. It is often used as a way to protect vulnerable populations and to separate chronically violent offenders from the general prison population. The HALT (Humane Alternative to Long-Term) Solitary Confinement Act has influenced the development of Residential Rehabilitation Units (RRUs) in New York under Assembly Bill A8588A.⁸ These units are separate but secure units with programs and treatment focused on addressing behavioral problems. The HALT Act is based in New York City, where the use of solitary confinement in prisons in jails is above the

⁸ Link to Bill:

http://assembly.state.ny.us/leg/?default_fld=%0D%0A&bn=A8588&term=2013&Summary=Y&Actions=Y&Votes=Y&Memo=Y&Text=Y.

national average. The bill, if passed, will restrict the use of segregated confinement and create alternative therapeutic and rehabilitative confinement options.

Steps toward Implementation

- 1) Encourage prison leadership to only use solitary confinement if there is reasonable risk to a prisoner or prison staff (meetings with wardens and deputy wardens of security may facilitate this)**
- 2) Ensure that prisons offer adequate mental health treatment and follow-up care to those who were formerly in solitary confinement through meetings with prison nurses and the deputy warden of treatment and care**

Promote Alternatives to Incarceration

An “alternative to incarceration” is any kind of punishment besides time in prison or jail that can be given to a person who commits a crime. Alternatives to incarceration would be cheaper, prevent overcrowding within prisons and jails, and lastly, save taxpayers a lot of money. Another reason would be they give courts more sentencing options. Every offender and crime is different and prison or jail time is not always the most effective response. Having various sentencing options will help courts better tailor a cost-effective sentence that will fit a particular offender and the crime as well as protect the public and provide rehabilitation.

Alternatives can be used at various stages in the criminal justice process. Restorative justice is one alternative strategy. Restorative justice often includes the involvement of the victim, offender, community, along with support individuals of each party, who come together face-to-face to speak to each other about the crime that took place. Generally this process is facilitated by a trained outside observer. Many times the facilitator is a criminal justice official such as a probation or police officer but other times it is a civilian community member.

A cost-effectiveness estimate for seven United Kingdom restorative justice programs found a ratio of 3.7–8.1 times more benefit in cost of crimes prevented using restorative practices when compared to the criminal justice system (Sherman et al., 2015). Victim and offender satisfaction and restitution compliance are greater, and recidivism lower, for restorative justice programs compared to the criminal justice system (Latimer, Dowden & Muise, 2005) and prison participants of restorative justice have been found to have lower recidivism rates than those in the general prison population and this has been attributed to increasing empathy for victims and holding offenders directly accountable for the harm they caused (Armour et al., 2005). A recent study in Minnesota found that restorative practices reduced recidivism by at least 49% and up to 88% in the case of sex crimes. It also saved Minnesota an estimated 2 million dollars (Duwe, 2018). Based on the evidence, restorative justice should have a significant place at the table of how we deal with crime inside and outside of prison.

Steps toward Implementation

- 1) Encourage policymakers to establish alternative programs that divert youth away from prisons into programs (contacting and meeting with District Attorneys, Chiefs of Police, and victim/offender services in the community)**
- 2) Educate schools on how to refer problem students to programs at the first sign of struggle to prevent criminal justice contact – this may be best done with support from local community organizations**

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, criminal justice reform is on the policy radar at the national and state levels. With decreasing budgets, states are considering options to cut the prison population while keeping communities safe. This is certainly possible and we covered only five (of several) areas

that will likely lead to smaller prison populations and increased public safety. The results of these steps may be slow as they are faithfully vetted by evaluation research, but these steps are necessary if we are serious about public safety. We conclude our paper with policy recommendation which are based on the evidence provided earlier.

Overall Recommendations

- 1) Ban-the-Box initiatives should be expanded and Exec. Order No. 02.23.15.03 should be supported to increase the employment opportunities for ex-prisoners who have repaid their debt to society and seek to contribute to their communities.
- 2) Opportunities to learn trades, such as computer programming, culinary arts, and beekeeping, should be expanded in prison.
- 3) Opportunities to earn high-school diplomas and college credit should be expanded in prison in addition to G.E.D. programs.
- 4) Juveniles/youth (considered those age 25 and under) should be given specific opportunities to learn techniques to improve decision-making and executive functioning processes such as cognitive behavioral therapy.
- 5) Solitary confinement should be reduced and reserved only for the most dangerous offenders who pose a significant risk to the general prison population.
 - a. Efforts closely aligned with the HALT program in Assembly Bill A8588A in New York City should be implemented in Georgia.
- 6) Restorative justice should be promoted as the first stop for juveniles and for use inside prison to repair the harm caused by crime.

References

- Andersen, H. S., Sestoft, D., Lillebæk, T., Gabrielsen, G., Hemmingsen, R., & Kramp, P. (2000). A longitudinal study of prisoners on remand: psychiatric prevalence, incidence and psychopathology in solitary vs. non-solitary confinement. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 102(1), 19-25.
- Armour, M. P., Sage, J., Rubin, A., & Windsor, L. C. (2005). Bridges to Life: Evaluation of an in-prison restorative justice intervention. *Medicine and Law*, 24, 831-851.
- Boggs, M. P., & Worthy, W. T. (n.d.). *Report of the Georgia Council on Criminal Justice Reform*. Web. 26 Apr. 2016.
- Coenen, Dan. (2004). Fifteen famous Supreme Court cases from Georgia. *Advocate*, 38(2), 10-15.
- D'Alessio, S. J., Stolzenberg, L., & Flexon, J. L. (2015). The effect of Hawaii's ban the box law on repeat offending. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 40(2), 336-352.
- Davis, L. M. (2013). *Evaluating the effectiveness of correctional education: A meta-analysis of programs that provide education to incarcerated adults*. Rand Corporation.
- Duwe, G. (2018). Can circles of support and accountability (CoSA) significantly reduce sexual recidivism? Results from a randomized controlled trial in Minnesota. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. Online First.
- Erisman, W., & Contardo, J. (2005). *Learning to reduce recidivism: A 50-state analysis of postsecondary correctional education policy*. The Institute for Higher Education Policy.
- Gendreau, P., Freedman, N. L., Wilde, G. J., & Scott, G. D. (1972). Changes in EEG alpha frequency and evoked response latency during solitary confinement. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 79(1), 54-59.
- Gibbons, J. J. (2006). Confronting Confinement-A Report of the Commission on Safety and Abuse in America's Prisons. *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy*, 22, 385-562.
- Haney, C. (2018). Restricting the use of solitary confinement. *Annual Review of Criminology*, 1, 285-310.
- Haney, C., & Lynch, M. (1997). Regulating prisons of the future: A psychological analysis of supermax and solitary confinement. *NYU Review of Law & Social Change*, 23, 477-570.

- Kaeble, D., Glaze, L., Tsoutis, A., Minton, T., Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), US Dept of Justice, & Office of Justice Programs. (2015). Correctional Populations in the United States, 2014. *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin (NCJ 249513)*.
- Kohlberg, L., Levine, C., & Hewer, A. (1983). Moral stages: A current formulation and a response to critics. In Meacham, J. A. (Ed.) *Contributions to Human Development. Vol. 10*. New York, NY: Karger.
- Kuanliang, A., Sorensen, J. R., & Cunningham, M. D. (2008). Juvenile inmates in an adult prison system rates of disciplinary misconduct and violence. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 35(9), 1186-1201.
- Latimer, J., Dowden, C., & Muise, D. (2005). The effectiveness of restorative justice practices: A meta-analysis. *The Prison Journal*, 85(2), 127-144.
- Mears, D. P. (2006). Evaluating the effectiveness of supermax prisons. U.S. Department of Justice.
- Meyer, K. C., & Bouchey, H. A. (2010). Daring to DREAM: Results from a mentoring programme for at-risk youth. *International Journal of Evidence Based Coaching & Mentoring*, 8(1), 67-84.
- Monahan, K., Steinberg, L., & Piquero, A. R. (2015). Juvenile justice policy and practice: A developmental perspective. *Crime & Justice*, 44(1), 577-619.
- Pager, D., & Western, B. (2009). *Investigating prisoner reentry: The impact of conviction status on the employment prospects of young men*. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, NCJ 228584.
- Rodriguez, S. (2015). FAQ. *Solitary Watch*. Source: <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/01/obama-solitary-confinement-prison-218212>.
- Sedgley, N. H., Scott, C. E., Williams, N. A., & Derrick, F. W. (2010). Prison's dilemma: Do education and jobs programmes affect recidivism?. *Economica*, 77(307), 497-517.
- Sherman, L. W., Strang, H., Mayo-Wilson, E., Woods, D. J., & Ariel, B. (2015). Are restorative justice conferences effective in reducing repeat offending? Findings from a Campbell systematic review. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 31(1), 1-24.
- Shoag, D., & Veuger, S. (n.d.). No woman no crime. AEI Working paper.
- Steinberg, L. (2014). *Age of opportunity: Lessons from the new science of adolescence*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

- Steinbuch, A. T. (2014). Movement away from solitary confinement in the United States. *The New England Journal on Criminal and Civic Confinement*, 40, 499-533.
- USDOJ. (2016). *Report and recommendations concerning the use of restrictive housing*. Final Report. US Department of Justice.
- Vacca, J. S. (2004). Educated prisoners are less likely to return to prison. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 55(4), 297-305.
- Vaske, J., Galyean, K., & Cullen, F. T. (2011). Toward a biosocial theory of offender rehabilitation: Why does cognitive-behavioral therapy work?. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39(1), 90-102.
- Von Bergen, C. W., & Bressler, M. S. (2016). Ban the box: Protecting employer rights while improving opportunities for ex-offender job seekers. *Employee Relations Law Journal*, 42(1), 26-50.

Court Cases Cited

- Coker v. Georgia*, 433 U.S. 584, 97 S. Ct. 2861, 53 L. Ed. 2d 982 (1977).
- Furman v. Georgia*, 408 U.S. 238, 92 S. Ct. 2726, 33 L. Ed. 2d 346 (1972).
- Gregg v. Georgia*, 428 U.S. 153, 96 S. Ct. 2909, 49 L. Ed. 2d 859 (1976).
- Roper v. Simmons*, 543 U.S. 551, 125 S. Ct. 1183, 161 L. Ed. 2d 1 (2005).

Executive Orders and Bills Cited

- Exec. Order No. 02.23.15.03 of February 15, 2015. "Ban the Box".
- NY State Assembly Bill A8588A. (2015). Retrieved April 21, 2016, from <https://www.nysenate.gov/legislation/bills/2013/A8588>.

About the Authors

Chad Posick, Ph.D. is an Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice and Criminology at Georgia Southern University. He received his doctorate in criminal justice and criminology from Northeastern University in 2012. While there, he worked on a project investigating the reporting of hate crime by victims which was funded by the National Institute of Justice, a nation-wide police-community interaction survey project also funded by the National Institute of Justice, and a local anti-gang initiative funded by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Prior to his experience at Northeastern University, he obtained a Master's degree in Public Policy and a Bachelors of Criminal Justice from the Rochester Institute of Technology where he was funded as a research assistant on Project Safe Neighborhoods. This project implemented the Ceasefire model in Rochester, New York. Currently, as a professor in the department of criminology and criminal justice at Georgia Southern University, he continues to work on similar projects in Savannah including the Bureau of Justice Assistance funded SMART Prosecution project. He teaches in the areas of victimology, criminal behavior, and statistics. He has published over 35 articles and was recently given the New Scholar Award by the division of Victimology of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Haley Shutley is a graduate of Georgia Southern University and is currently employed with the Georgia Southern University Police Department.

The Pursuit



The Journal of the Criminal Justice Association of Georgia