# Confining Legitimacy: The Impact of Prison Experiences on Perceptions of Criminal Justice Legitimacy

AMY B. SMOYER

*Department of Social Work, Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, Connecticut, USA*

TRACE S. KERSHAW

*School of Public Health, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, USA*

KIM M. BLANKENSHIP

*Department of Sociology, American University, Washington, DC, USA*

*There are currently 2 million people incarcerated in the United States. For social workers whose practice includes people who have experienced confinement, building knowledge about the impact of the incarceration on individual lives is critical. Understanding how the prison experience shapes perceptions of self and others can inform the design of case management plans and program interventions that respond to clients' needs. This article expands understanding about the prison experience by exploring the impact of this experience on perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy.*

## WHAT IS CRIMINAL JUSTICE LEGITIMACY?

The term *criminal justice legitimacy* captures the extent to which individuals extend respect for and willingness to comply with criminal justice authority, including policing, judicial systems, and corrections (Tyler, 2006). This concept can inform social work with incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people on many levels. To begin with, research has demonstrated that

Address correspondence to Amy B. Smoyer, Department of Social Work, Southern Connecticut State University, 101 Farnham Avenue, Room #108, New Haven, CT 065105. E-mail: smoyera@southernct.edu

individuals who perceive criminal justice systems as legitimate are more likely to obey the law (Tyler, 2006). In the context of corrections, where inmates outnumber staff, respect for, or at least recognition of, institutional authority is critical to the daily operations of correctional facilities: "Prisoners who perceive the prison regime to be legitimate believe that the prison should have rules and these rules should be followed" (Jackson, Tyler, Bradford, Taylor, & Shiner, 2010, p. 4). Alternatively, low perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy may make prison and jails more dangerous and expensive to operate, requiring more repressive conditions to maintain control and ensure the safety of staff and inmates (Crewe, 2011; Jackson et al., 2010).

For social workers practicing in correctional environments, a widespread disregard for prison rules and/or repressive conditions fueled by low perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy may inhibit clients' access to and adherence to care. Similarly, when working with formerly incarcerated people in the community, low perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy may impact clients' larger perceptions of the state and federal government and their willingness to participate in government-sponsored activities including social services, health care, educational systems, and elections (Gilson, 2003). In these ways, the effectiveness of social work interventions with forensic populations may be impacted by their perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy.

## HOW ARE PERCEPTIONS OF LEGITIMACY CONSTRUCTED?

Research has identified a wide range of variables related to sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age) and lived experience (e.g., interpersonal and institutional interactions) that are associated with perceptions of legitimacy (Jost & Major, 2001). These individual and community perceptions of legitimacy are not static; legitimacy is constantly negotiated through social processes and communication (Gilson, 2003; Hegtvedt, 2004).

In his seminal work with police and judicial systems, Tom Tyler (2006, 2010) identified the critical role of procedural justice, or process, as distinct from distributive justice, or outcome, in shaping perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy. Analyses of individuals' experiences with police and the courts has found that when people understand criminal justice systems and processes to be fair, their beliefs about the legitimacy of the system are bolstered, regardless of the outcome of the interaction (Rottman, 2010; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). In other words, people are more likely to accept police and judicial systems as legitimate, even when they are sanctioned, if they believe the process treated them fairly. This research has led to investment in community policing and restorative justice programs that seek to boost criminal justice legitimacy and increase community cooperation and compliance through improved communication and transparency (Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

It is not completely clear to what extent Tyler's theory of procedural justice and criminal justice legitimacy is applicable to correctional systems (Franke, Bierie, & MacKenzie, 2010). Given the growing perception of corrections as inherently biased and ineffective (Alexander, 2012; Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007), is it possible for individuals to ever understand their incarceration experience as legitimate? As Crewe (2011, p. 466) suggested, "procedural decency in prison, while always better than procedural indecency, can be somewhat empty if prisoners believe that the system is excessively insensitive, one-sided and demanding, and if they think its logic is fundamentally unfair." Still, discussions about legitimacy and corrections have theorized that disparate treatment does erode legitimacy and nascent research has demonstrated an empirical relationship between correctional experiences and legitimacy (Carrabine, 2005; Crewe, 2011; Digard, 2010; Jackson et al., 2010; Tyler, 2010). For example, an analysis of interviews with 20 incarcerated men in England who had been recalled to prison from parole due to violations of the terms of their community release, suggested that many of the participants constructed their recall as unjust and that this correctional experience led them to feel alienated and "disinclined to comply with state sanctions" (Digard, 2010, p. 50). Similarly, a comparison of perceptions of legitimacy among adult men in the United States ($n = 234$) randomly assigned to either a traditional prison or a military-style boot camp found that boot camp participants reported more positive experiences and fewer negative experiences than prison participants and that perceptions of legitimacy increased among boot camp participants and decreased among those who served their time at the prison (Franke et al., 2010). Further, regression modeling to predict perceived legitimacy found that "positive experiences improved attitudes towards the justice system" (Franke et al., 2010, p. 110). This research suggests that procedural justice during incarceration—or how people are treated while under the supervision of corrections—does have an impact on legitimacy.

We expand upon on this existing research about corrections and legitimacy by assessing the relationship between demographic characteristics, correctional history, and negative experiences while incarcerated and perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy among a sample of formerly incarcerated adults. In this model (see Figure 1), variables related to correctional history (number of times arrested or incarcerated, revocation of parole or probation, incarceration of family) represent criminal justice outcomes, or distributive justice. Negative experiences while incarcerated capture procedural justice, or how people were treated while incarcerated. Using Tyler's theory of procedural justice, we hypothesized that the number of negative prison experiences reported by formerly incarcerated individuals (procedural justice) would be inversely associated with their perceptions of the criminal justice as legitimate, controlling for key demographic covariates (Jost & Major, 2001). We predicted that the variables about correctional
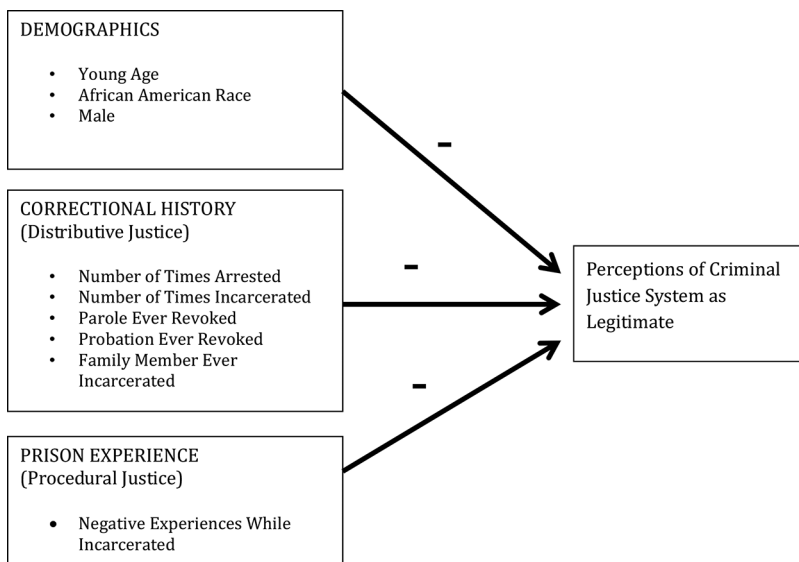
**FIGURE 1** Theoretical Model.

history (distributive justice) would also be inversely associated with perceptions of legitimacy, but to a lesser extent than negative experiences (procedural justice).

# METHODS

Data for this study was collected in 2011 as part of a longitudinal mixed-methods study about the impact of criminal justice systems on HIV risk. As a part of this study, 301 adult men and women living a small urban area in New England (United States) completed a survey every 6 months for 3 years. To be eligible for the study, individuals had to have been placed on parole or probation and/or released from prison within the three months prior to study enrollment. In addition, their most recent criminal conviction, for which they had been incarcerated or placed on probation, must have been for a nonviolent drug-related crime. This focus on drug-offences reflected the primary aims of the study which were to understand the impact of criminal justice experiences on the HIV-risk behavior of drug users. The data used in this analysis comes from the first (baseline) survey of participants who reported having been incarcerated on at least one occasion. This survey, which was self-administered using audio computer-assisted self-interview software, asked questions about participants' family, education, employment, drug use and drug treatment history, criminal justice history, experiences of incarceration, medical histories, and sexual partnerships.

The survey's audio feature could read all questions and responses aloud for participants or could also be turned off for participants who preferred to read the questions to themselves.

In this baseline survey, existing measures were used to operationalize criminal justice legitimacy and negative prison experiences. Criminal justice legitimacy was assessed with four questions that were modified from Tyler's (2006) study about perceptions of police legitimacy. The survey language was altered to ask participants about "the criminal justice system" instead of "Chicago police." Tyler's original questions and the adapted version that was included in this study survey are presented in Table 1. The Likert scale responses to these questions were used to create a participant score for perception of criminal justice legitimacy from 4 (*strong disagreement with statements about system legitimacy*) to 12 (*strong agreement with these statements*).

To assess negative experiences during prison, a modified version of the My Exposure to Violence self-report survey, a scale that has been found to have high internal consistency ($r = .68$ to $.93$) and test-retest reliability ($r = .75$ to $.94$), was used (Buka, Selner-O'Hagan, Kindlon, & Earls, 1997; Selner-O'Hagan, Kindlon, Buka, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1998). This portion of the survey included 17 questions about various negative experiences, in

**TABLE 1** Legitimacy Questions

| | Tyler questions | Modified study questions | Min | Max | *M* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Some people say that the Chicago police treat everyone equally, others that they favor some people over others. How about you, do you think that the police . . . ? | Some people say the criminal justice system treats everyone equally, others that it favors some people over others. How about you, do you think the criminal justice system . . . | 1 | 2 | 1.18 | .38 |
| 2 | Do you feel that people like yourself, that is people of your age, race, sex, income and nationality, receive the same treatment from the Chicago police as the average citizen, or are people like yourself treated better or worse than the average citizen? | Do you feel that people like yourself, that is people of your age, race, sex, income and nationality, receive the same treatment from the criminal justice system as the average citizen, or are people like yourself treated better or worse than the average citizen? | 1 | 2 | 1.30 | .46 |
| 3 | Overall, how satisfied are you with the fairness of the way the Chicago police treat people and handle problems? | Overall, how satisfied are you with the fairness of the way the criminal justice system treats people and handles problems? | 1 | 4 | 1.86 | .91 |
| 4 | How often do citizens receive fair outcomes when they deal with the Chicago police? | How often do citizens receive fair outcomes when they deal with the criminal justice system? | 1 | 4 | 1.90 | .85 |
| | Total legitimacy | | 4 | 12 | 6.23 | 2.0 |

*Note*: N = 294.

which the participant was either the victim or witness, ranging from verbal ridicule to physical attacks with a weapon (see Table 2). If a participant reported any of these experiences, follow up questions asked about who perpetrated the negative act and the response categories included "correctional officer" or "other inmate." In creating a total score for each participant about negative experiences while incarcerated, we included reports about both "correctional officer" and "inmate" because we believed that abuse by either of these parties could serve to delegitimize the criminal justice system. Correctional officers are agents of the State, so peoples' perceptions of the State could be diminished if they are a victim or witness to violent behavior by correctional officers. Although other inmates are not State actors, incarcerated people may perceive violent actions by other inmates as a failure of the State to protect them. In total, the number of possible negative

**TABLE 2** Percent of Respondents Who Reported Negative Experiences While Incarcerated (*N* = 294)

| | Perpetrator | |
|---|---|---|
| Negative experience | Correctional officer | Other inmate |
| Participant as victim | | |
| Ever ridiculed, belittled or insulted you in private or in public? | 26.9% | 25.2% |
| Ever withheld approval or affection as punishment? | 5.8% | 6.8% |
| Ever threatened to hurt people close to you? | 2.0% | 7.5% |
| Ever punished or deprived your children because he or she is angry with you? | 0% | 1.4% |
| Ever threatened to withhold money or other necessities as a way to control you or make you afraid? | 1.7% | 2.4% |
| Ever restricted your freedom or kept you from doing things that were important to you—like going to school, working, seeing your friends or family? | 11.6% | 1.7% |
| Ever threatened to seriously hurt you? (includes being threatened with a weapon) | 4.8% | 15.6% |
| Ever been chased when you thought that you could really get hurt? | 1.7% | 2.7% |
| Ever been hit, slapped, punched, kicked or beaten up? | 4.4% | 12.6% |
| Ever been attacked with a weapon, like a knife or bat? | 0.7% | 5.8% |
| Ever touched you sexually or forced you to touch them against your wishes? | 0.7% | 1.0% |
| Ever forced you to have sex against your will? | 0% | 0.7% |
| Participant as witness | | |
| Ever seen someone threaten to seriously hurt another person? | 6.8% | 24.2% |
| Ever seen someone else get chased when you thought they could really get hurt? | 5.4% | |
| Ever seen someone else get hit, slapped, punched, kicked or beaten up? | 6.8% | 32.3% |
| Ever seen someone else get attacked with a weapon, like a knife or bat? | 2.0% | 15.0% |
| Ever seen someone else get killed as a result of violence, like being shot, stabbed, or beaten to death? | 0% | 3.1% |

experiences across the 17 items for both correctional officers and inmates ranged from 0 to 33.[1]

## Data Analysis Plan

Descriptive frequencies and means were calculated for the legitimacy and negative experience items to assess the degree of legitimacy and negative experiences in the population. Next, bivariate correlations were conducted between predictors and legitimacy. Finally, multivariate regression analyses were conducted. All demographic, distributive, and procedural variables were entered as predictors. We assessed the overall R-square and the significance of individual predictor paths at p < .05.

## RESULTS

Only participants who reported ever being incarcerated were included in our analysis of the baseline survey data ($n = 294$). The sample included primarily non-White men: 49% African American, 19% Latino, 32% White, and 82% male. Participant mean age was 38.8 years old ($SD = 10.5$). Most had a high-school degree/GED (50%) or lower (28%), and 74% were unemployed at the time of the interview.

## Descriptive Statistics

Responses to the four questions about criminal justice legitimacy indicate that perceptions of the system's legitimacy were low: only 18% agreed with the statement that the criminal justice system treats people equally; 30% agreed that people like themselves were treated the same as others; 25% were somewhat/very satisfied with criminal justice fairness; and 24% felt that people usually/always get fair criminal justice outcomes. The mean score for all four items, where 4 (*disagreement with statements about criminal justice legitimacy*) was the lowest score and 12 (*agreement with statements about criminal justice legitimacy*) was the highest score, was 6.23 ($SD = 2.0$) (Table 2). Cronbach's alpha indicated acceptable internal consistency among the items ($\alpha = .70$).

Responses to the questions about negative experiences during prison found the participants reported a fair amount of negative experiences while incarcerated (see Table 2). The mean number of negative experiences reported by participants was 2.42 ($SD = 3.3$). Forty percent (40%) of the participants reported no negative experiences and 10% reported 7 or more negative experiences. Among the 60% of participants who reported

---

[1]For one of the 17 items, the responses included only correctional officer, not inmate, making the total number of possible responses 33.

any negative experiences, the mean number of experiences was 4.02 (SD = 3.49). Participants reported more incidents in which other inmates were the perpetrators, when compared to the number of incidents in which correctional officers were perpetrators. Further, participants reported more incidents in which they witnessed negative experiences than incidents in which they were personally victimized.

## Bivariate and Multivariate Analyses

Bivariate analyses indicated several variables associated with legitimacy. In terms of demographics, being African American ($r = -.145$, $p = .015$) was associated with lower perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy. We also tested the association between various dimensions of correctional history and legitimacy score. In this analysis, ever having parole revoked ($r = -.156$, $p = .023$) and ever having a family member incarcerated ($r = -.118$, $p = .047$) were associated with less perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy. The associations between legitimacy and age, gender, number of times arrested, number of times incarcerated, and probation being revoked were not significant. This analysis also found that there was a significant association between negative experiences while incarcerated and lower legitimacy score ($r = -.215$, $p < .001$).

Finally, a multivariate regression model found that our model explained 16% of the variation in participants' criminal justice legitimacy score, $R^2 = .160$, $F(10, 187) = 3.57$, $p < .001$. As detailed in Table 3, young age, African American race, parole ever being revoked, and negative experiences while being incarcerated were related to less legitimacy. Gender, times

**TABLE 3** Analyses of Demographics, Correctional History, and Prison Experiences on Perceptions of Legitimacy

| Variable | Unadjusted | | Adjusted | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | $r$ | $p$ | $\beta$ | $p$ |
| Demographics | | | | |
| Age | .081 | .176 | .222 | .004 |
| African American race | −.145 | .015 | .167 | .020 |
| Female gender | .043 | .474 | −.008 | .908 |
| Correctional History (Distributive) | | | | |
| Times arrested | −.037 | .542 | −.008 | .932 |
| Times incarcerated | −.043 | .470 | −.006 | .943 |
| Parole ever revoked | −.156 | .023 | −.169 | .028 |
| Probation ever revoked | −.076 | .207 | −.026 | .732 |
| Family member ever incarcerated | −.118 | .047 | −.090 | .207 |
| Prison Experience (Procedural) | | | | |
| Negative Experiences While Incarcerated | −.215 | <.001 | −.220 | .004 |

*Note.* N = 294. Summary statistics for the adjusted model were $R^2 = .160$, $F(10, 187) = 3.57$, $p < .001$.

arrested, times incarcerated, probation ever being revoked, and history of family incarceration did not contribute to the regression model.

## DISCUSSION

The statistically significant inverse association between negative incarceration experiences and perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy confirms our hypothesis about an association between procedural justice and legitimacy. This association is particularly compelling in light of the fact that the number of times that individuals had been incarcerated was not associated with legitimacy. Together, these findings endorse Tyler's theory of procedural justice by suggesting it is not incarceration per se but the experience while incarcerated that is associated with criminal justice legitimacy.

Although the procedural justice variable had the largest association with the legitimacy scores amongst this population of formerly incarcerated people, some of the distributive justice factors also had a significant relationship with the dependent variable. Probation revocation was not associated with legitimacy, but the revocation of parole was inversely associated with perceptions of legitimacy. This association echoes previous findings (Digard, 2010). The significance of parole revocation, when compared to probation revocation, is not clear from this data but may be attributed to differences in revocation processes. *Probation revocation* is a judicial action made in court, whereas *parole revocation* is an administrative process conducted by the parole officer or parole board without a court hearing, a process that conforms to lesser standards of due process, as compared to probation (Petersilia, 2005). Perceptions of legitimacy may also be negatively associated with parole revocation because parole revocation is more likely to result in incarceration than probation revocation: 30% of parole exits result in incarceration compared to 15% of probation exits (Herberman & Bonczar, 2014). In terms of the demographics, the most pronounced relationship was the inverse relationship between African American racial identity and legitimacy score. This finding reflects the disparate impact of criminal justice system on African American communities and the deep distrust in U.S. government systems among African Americans that has been noted and explicated elsewhere (Alexander, 2012).

The limitations of this cross-sectional analysis prevent us from making any assertions regarding causality. We found an association between negative prison experiences and perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy, but which is the independent variable? Perhaps negative experiences while incarcerated degrade people's perceptions of the criminal justice system. Conversely, it is possible that people who have low perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy are less likely to follow prison rules, increasing their risk for negative interactions with correctional officers and other inmates. Also,

although we controlled for several variables in our regression, it is still possible that the association between these variables is spurious. Still, while no means definitive, this analysis suggests a relationship that is worthy of further consideration. Another limitation is that there is no way to differentiate between jail and prison experiences as the survey asked participants about their experiences while incarcerated, and did not ask them to specify the type of facility in which the incident occurred. However, the differences between these types of facilities are somewhat muted in the state where data collection took place because this state runs an integrated system wherein all facilities (i.e., jails and prisons) are operated by the state Department of Corrections, not locally, and are similar in size and operation. Finally, the generalizability of findings is limited by the fact that the study took place in a single state and was limited to non-violent drug offenders.

## Policy, Clinical, and Research Implications

There are several social work policy, clinical and research implications that arise from this data. In terms of policy, these findings suggest a need to ameliorate prison conditions in the United States. Approximately one quarter of the participants reporting being verbally abused while incarcerated and the same amount witnessed acts of physical violence. Existing research has documented that negative prison experiences have an impact on mental health outcomes, family reunification, and employment success (Bui & Morash, 2010; Freudenberg, Daniels, Crum, Perkins, & Richie, 2005; Opsal, 2012; Petersilia, 2003; Travis, Western, & Redburn, 2014). This analysis suggests an additional implication by documenting an association between negative prison experiences and perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy. The 2003 Prison Rape Elimination Act created a large federally funded initiative that formulated recommendations about how to reduce this violence and encouraged states to voluntarily document the incidence and impact of sexual assault in prison and conduct prevention trainings with staff (Corlew, 2005; Dumond, 2003). The findings in this analysis highlight the importance of this type of investment in research and interventions, not just about sexual assault, but about all types of prison abuse, including verbal and psychological assaults, and suggest that federal requirements for this type of programming may be in order.

Clinically, these findings suggest an ongoing need for correctional social workers to help prison staff and inmates negotiate what can be a very volatile environment. Cognitive behavioral training and support for prison staff regarding anger, stress management, and coping strategies may help to decrease abuse by correctional officers (COs) and boost staff's ability to create and sustain a safe environment. Similarly, mental health counseling, conflict resolution, team work opportunities, and other clinical programs to increase communication skills among incarcerated people could reduce inmate-CO conflicts and inmate-on-inmate violence (Appelbaum, Hickey, & Packer,

2001; Finn, 2000; Godin, Gagnon, Alary, Noël, & Morissette, 2001; Meek, 2013; Parker, 2009; Schaufeli & Peeters, 2000). In their practice with formerly incarcerated people, social workers may find it productive to address their clients' negative experiences while incarcerated and perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy, as both of these factors may impact willingness and ability to successfully engage in care. These findings also demonstrate the need for trauma-informed clinical services during and after incarceration.

Finally, more research and advocacy is needed to promote dialogue and awareness about what prison entails and the implications of corrections on individual and community outcomes. For social workers who are employed in corrections, this type of knowledge-building and communication are key to upholding our professional values related to helping people in need, challenging social injustice, and respecting "the inherent dignity and worth of the person" (National Association of Social Workers, 2008). Working in environments that may be unjust or expose clients to violence requires a vigorous commitment to critical reflexivity in order to fortify our professional integrity. In addition to building knowledge about the experience of incarceration, this analysis draws attention to the low perceptions of criminal justice legitimacy among formerly incarcerated people, especially among African Americans. Greater knowledge about the long- and short-term impact of these perceptions on individual and community outcomes, and longitudinal analysis to understand how perceptions change over time and in concert with criminal justice experiences, would help to articulate how perceptions of legitimacy are produced and what is at stake when these perceptions are diminished. Further, although these findings suggest an association between prison experiences and legitimacy among this population, additional information is needed about the other individual and community experiences, including parole and probation, that may impact legitimacy. In short, these findings call for continued research to understand the lived experience of incarceration, decrease negative prison experiences, and expand knowledge about the construction of community and individual perceptions about the legitimacy of our criminal justice systems.

## REFERENCES

Alexander, M. (2012). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York, NY: The New Press.

Appelbaum, K. L., Hickey, J. M., & Packer, I. (2001). The role of correctional officers in multidisciplinary mental health care in prisons. *Psychiatric Services*, *52*, 1343–1347.

Bobo, L., D., & Thompson, V. (2006). Unfair by design: The war on drugs, race, and the legitimacy of the criminal justice system. *Social Research*, *73*, 445–472.

Bui, H. N., & Morash, M. (2010). The impact of network relationships, Prison experiences, and internal transformation on women's success after prison release. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, *49*(1), 1–22.

Buka, S., Selner-O'Hagan, M., Kindlon, D., & Earls, F. (1997). *The "my exposure to violence interviews": Administration and scoring manual, Version 3*. Boston, MA: Harvard School of Public Health.

Carrabine, E. (2005). Prison riots, social order and the problem of legitmacy. *British Journal of Criminology*, *45*, 896–913.

Carson, E. A., & Golinelli, D. (2013). *Prisoners in 2012: Trends in admissions and releases, 1991–2012*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Corlew, K. R. (2005). Congress attempts to shine a light on a dark problem: An in-depth look at the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003. *American Journal of Criminal Law*, *33*, 157–190.

Crewe, B. (2011). Soft power in prison: Implications for staff–prisoner relationships, liberty and legitimacy. *European Journal of Criminology*, *8*, 455–468.

Digard, L. (2010). When legitimacy is denied: Offender perceptions of the prison recall system. *Probation Journal*, *57*, 43–61.

Dumond, R. (2003). Confronting America's most ignored crime problem: The Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law Online*, *31*, 354–360.

Finn, P. (2000). *Addressing correctional officer stress: Programs and strategies*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.

Franke, D., Bierie, D., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2010). Legitimacy in corrections: A randomized experiment comparing a boot camp with a prison. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *9*(1), 89–117.

Freudenberg, N., Daniels, J., Crum, M., Perkins, T., & Richie, B. E. (2005). Coming home from jail: The social and health consequences of community reentry for women, male adolescents, and their families and communities. *American Journal of Public Health*, *95*, 1725–1736.

Gilson, L. (2003). Trust and the development of health care as a social institution. *Social Science & Medicine*, *56*, 1453–1468.

Godin, G., Gagnon, H., Alary, M., Noël, L., & Morissette, M. R. (2001). Correctional officers' intention of accepting or refusing to make HIV preventive tools accessible to inmates. *AIDS Education and Prevention*, *13*, 462–473.

Herberman, E. J., & Bonczar, T. P. (2014). *Probation and parole in the United States, 2013 (Report NCJ 248029)*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Hegtvedt, K. (2004). Legitimizing legitimacy: Shaping a new frontier of research. *Social Justice Research*, *17*(1), 93–109.

Jackson, J., Tyler, T. R., Bradford, B., Taylor, D., & Shiner, M. (2010). Legitimacy and procedural justice in prisons. *Prison Service Journal*, *191*, 4–10.

Jost, J. T., & Major, B. (Eds.). (2001). *The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice, and intergroup relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lipsey, M. W., & Cullen, F. T. (2007). The effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation: A review of systematic reviews. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, *3*(1), 297–320.

Meek, R. (2013). *Sport in prison: Exploring the role of physical activity in correctional settings*. New York, NY: Routledge.

National Association of Social Workers. (2008). *Code of ethics of the National Associ-ation of Social Workers*. Washington, DC: Author. Retreived from http://www.socialworkers.org/pubs/code/code.asp

Opsal, T. (2012). ''Livin' on the Straights'': Identity, desistance, and work among women post-incarceration. *Sociological Inquiry*, *82*, 378–403.

Parker, M. D. G. (2009). Impact of a mental health training course for correctional officers on a Special Housing Unit. *Psychiatric Services*, *60*, 640–645.

Petersilia, J. (2003). *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Petersilia, J. (2005). Parole. In M. Bosworth (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of prisons and cor-rectional facilities* (vol. 2, pp. 676–682). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Rottman, D. B. (2010). Procedural fairness, criminal justice policy, and the courts. In K. Ismaili (Ed.), *US criminal justice policy: A contemporary reader*, (pp. 95–116). Sudbury, MA: Jones & Bartlett Publishers.

Schaufeli, W., & Peeters, M. W. (2000). Job stress and burnout among correctional officers: A literature review. *International Journal of Stress Management*, *7*(1), 19–48.

Selner-O'Hagan, M. B., Kindlon, D. J., Buka, S. L., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. J. (1998). Assessing exposure to violence in urban youth. *Journal of Child Psy-chology and Psychiatry*, *39*, 215–224.

Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law & Society Review*, *37*, 513–548.

Travis, J., Western, B., & Redburn, S. (Eds.). (2014). *The growth of incarceration in the United States: Exploring causes and consequences*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

Tyler, T. R. (2006). *Why people obey the law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tyler, T. R. (2010). Legitimacy in corrections: Policy implications. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *9*, 127–134.

Tyler, T. R., & Fagan, J. (2008). Legitimacy and cooperation: Why do people help the police fight crime in their communities. *Ohio State Journal of Criminology Law*, *6*, 231–275.