

FROM TOP TO BOTTOM: RHETORIC IN THE HIERARCHY OF
FOCUSED DETERRENCE STAKEHOLDERS

A THESIS IN
Criminal Justice and Criminology

Presented to the Faculty of the University
of Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

by
KRISTEN DENISE MAZIARKA

B.S., University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, 2012

Kansas City, Missouri

2014

© 2014

KRISTEN DENISE MAZIARKA

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

FROM TOP TO BOTTOM: RHETORIC IN THE HIERARCHY OF
FOCUSED DETERRENCE STAKEHOLDERS

Kristen Denise Maziarka, Candidate for the Master of Science Degree

University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2014

ABSTRACT

Criminological and socio-legal research has frequently focused on the gap between policy and practice that is evident in the “ceremonial rhetoric” guiding criminal justice policies. This thesis examines whether there is a gap between policy and practice in a unique, multi-agency focused deterrence initiative in Kansas City, Missouri (KC-NoVA). By focusing on a single organizational component of the initiative—probation and parole—this research examines the extent to which policy rhetoric is both reflected in implementation and transmitted accurately through the organizational hierarchy. Because NoVA involves multiple agencies and a diverse group of stakeholders, its success is contingent upon the core doctrine of the project being similarly interpreted and executed by all involved. The interpretations of doctrine held by practitioners at each level of the probation and parole hierarchy are an important factor in successful implementation. Through qualitative interviews and field observations, this thesis examines how rhetoric changes across stakeholders, and how communication or interpretation barriers affect the cohesive implementation of a single, albeit multifaceted, policy mandate.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences have examined a thesis titled “From Top to Bottom: Rhetoric in the Hierarchy of Focused Deterrence Stakeholders,” presented by Kristen D. Maziarka, candidate for the Master of Science degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

Supervisory Committee

Lori Sexton, Ph.D., Committee Chair
Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology

Kristi Holsinger, Ph.D.
Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology

Toya Like-Haislip, Ph.D.
Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	viii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	3
3. METHODOLOGY.....	13
4. FINDINGS.....	24
5. DISCUSSION.....	43
6. CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS.....	51
Appendix	
A. SAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	54
B. STAKEHOLDER CONSENT FORM.....	57
REFERENCE LIST.....	58
VITA.....	62

FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Hierarchy 1.....	30
2. Hierarchy 2.....	32

TABLES

Table	Page
1. Stakeholder Descriptives.....	17

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Samuel Taylor Coleridge wrote that, “Advice is like snow; the softer it falls, the longer it dwells upon, and the deeper it sinks into, the mind.” Thank you to my mentor Lori Sexton for giving the right advice and being patient while it sunk in. I appreciate every meeting, every email, and every comment you gave to help me not just write a thesis, but learn how to be a good academic and teacher. Furthermore, I would like to thank Kristi Holsinger, Toya Like, and the rest of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Department for giving me opportunities to learn and a place to grow. Thank you mom for proofreading and typing, and dad for not asking how many pages I have left to write. To you, the rest of my family and my best friend Kara: I love you and would be lost without your support. Finally, I have to thank my long-suffering sister and roommate Kelly for making me dinners, cheering me up, and making our apartment home for the last two years.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of any new program's implementation, there are many opportunities for confusion, growth, change, and success. When multiple agencies are collaborating on the program, difficulties increase exponentially. Linear organizational structures become challenged, as agencies come together to work on building a collaborative structure and learn how to move information across that structure. This information can be implementation-specific, but often it is more complicated than that. Policies related to each agency and to the program will mesh and transform as they are translated by stakeholders in each agency.

Sometimes, the information that is transferred is broader than policy and embodies the ideas and intentions of the agencies and the program; this type of information is what I refer to in this thesis as rhetoric. Rhetoric in any environment is dependent upon a variety of factors including organizational culture (Kondra & Hurst, 2009), communication (Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979), and the extent of information distributed. The message contained in rhetoric might dilute or change as it moves through the organizational hierarchy (Ismaeli, 2006), influencing how the program is perceived and implemented at the ground level. Additionally, the rhetoric itself may impact how agencies function, and how stakeholders within those agencies interact with each other and with their clients (Lipsky, 1980; Maynard-Moody, Musheno & Palumbo, 1990). Rhetoric may only consist of words, but in some cases it can have a powerful impact on actions. Examining this

rhetoric through the lens of different stakeholders working on the program might lend insight into how rhetoric both shapes practice and is shaped by those involved in the practice.

Purpose of the Present Study

In this thesis, the rhetoric examined exists within a probation and parole agency adopting a new program called the No Violence Alliance (NoVA). This thesis is designed to answer the overarching research question: How is rhetoric transmitted and interpreted among NoVA Probation and Parole stakeholders? More specifically, I seek to answer the following questions:

1. How is the structural hierarchy of NoVA reflected in the flow of communication?
2. How is personal interpretation of NoVA rhetoric embedded within the organizational context in which stakeholders work?
3. How is NoVA rhetoric interpreted and expressed differently across stakeholders?
Are these differences affected by proximity to the source of NoVA rhetoric?
4. How is rhetoric manifested in practice?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

To answer these questions, I utilize frameworks from a wide range of sociological, criminological, and socio-legal literatures. Research on organizational cultures is incorporated as well, though this research is often framed in broader terms than just that of criminal justice agencies. These frameworks that help to shape discussion about the nature of organizations and the way that information is communicated and interpreted within them are described briefly below.

Organizational Rhetoric

Rhetoric has been under-studied in organizational research. Instead research has centered on policy and law, likely because these elements can be more clearly defined and followed throughout an organization. However, in this thesis it is practical to draw parallels between these disparate literatures in order to demonstrate the ways in which different types of information move throughout a system. Rhetoric can mirror policy to the extent that it reflects the written policies laid out by an agency, but rhetoric is often more flexible and less explicit than policy (Brownlee, 1998; Peckham et al., 2012; Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010). Beyond just policy, rhetoric reflects mostly collective, but sometimes individual ideas, whether spoken or implied, that drive goals and practice within the organization. Feeley and Simon (1992) acknowledge the breadth of rhetoric's meaning in their work on the new penology, where they describe the correctional system's move toward a "waste management" (Feeley & Simon, 1992, p. 470) function that

emphasizes the processing of aggregates, rather than individuals, in the most efficient and effective way possible. Although Feeley and Simon's (1992) explanation of the new penology also includes objectives and techniques, it is notable that language (rhetoric) is one of three key components. In the same way that policy changes reflect philosophy, rhetoric also represents an underlying philosophy.

In a way, rhetoric is a manifestation of the "law on the books," or the official policy handed down to street-level practitioners to be utilized in their jobs as it becomes the "law in action" (Jenness & Grattet, 2005). The "law on the books," however, is limited to the policy created at the top. Because rhetoric is not necessarily tied to an official statement—or easily becomes decoupled from such a statement—it has the ability to evolve and be re-created as it is interpreted by people in an organization. The way that rhetoric is interpreted depends on the culture that it enters. According to Ismaeli (2006), policy is always developed and acted out in a specific context. Context is often ignored in the study of policy and practice, but it is within a given context that a message becomes subjective and is changed by factors unique to each organization (Ismaeli, 2006; Jenness & Grattet, 2005). Jenness and Grattet (2005) offer the term "law in between" as a description of this murky context that bridges the gap between policy and practice. Beyond an organization-specific message, some rhetoric is created to address multiple agencies, as is the case with the program used as the setting for this thesis. With inter-organizational collaboration, competing messages exist and each agency has its own organizational rhetoric that may not reflect the same norms and values as the other agencies (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). In the same way, rhetoric introduced by a new program might better represent one organization

over another, making it even harder for the rhetoric to be adopted similarly across agencies.

In the context of collaboration, rhetoric may transfer much like policy. Most policy transfer literature describes international policy transfer—countries modeling their policies on existing policies in other governments or agencies (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996).

Similarly, policy transfer can happen at a micro level as well. Policies and rhetoric originate in a single organization, and contact between organizations results in the transfer. On the other hand, transfer can happen when one organization intentionally looks to others to develop its policy and rhetoric. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) state that the nomenclature they use to describe policy is not “overly significant” (p. 344), which indicates that their theory could expand to cover rhetoric as well as policy. They explain that “policy transfer, emulation and lesson drawing all refer to a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place” (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996, p. 344). Knowledge in this instance can also refer to rhetoric as it is transferred from one agency to another, even if those agencies are already somewhat interconnected. Differing policies or the introduction of outside policies create a new layer of complication when they must be transferred into multiple agencies at the same time.

Research addressing the role of rhetoric in an organization typically uses it as an example of the failure of policy messaging to translate into street-level practice (Brownlee, 1998; Bullington, Katkin & Hyman, 1982; Feeley & Simon, 1992; Fox, 1999; Peckham et

al., 2012; Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010). In fact, all of these scholars discuss the disjuncture between “rhetoric and reality” (Bullington, Katkin & Hyman, 1982; Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010) or between “rhetoric and practice” (Peckham et al., 2012), suggesting that in some cases rhetoric automatically translates into failure at the street-level. While rhetoric may merely consist of empty words or ceremonial messages, in this thesis I explore the possibility that rhetoric can impact an organization in many ways—both beneficial and detrimental—and that stakeholders can find meaning in rhetoric regardless of the effectiveness of its delivery.

Organizational Culture

The origins of organizational culture have been examined in varied disciplines, each with its own view on how and why cultures develop within an organization. It also has been studied in various contexts, including health professions, business, politics, and criminal justice (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Dolowitz, Greenwold & Marsh, 1999). What all agree on is this: organizations have their own specific beliefs, values, symbols, and roles that influence behavior in a unique way (Kondra & Hurst, 2009). Rhetoric, therefore, is also unique to organizations and programs, and can be introduced with incoming policy shifts or program implementation that requires a new message to permeate the culture.

When information is introduced into an organization, the way that it is perceived and understood reflects the cultural atmosphere of that agency (Ismaeli, 2006; Jenness & Grattett, 2005). A culture implies norms and adaptation to those norms by people entering the cultural environment (Pedersen & Dobbin, 2006). Because an organizational culture is specific to the field, people, and structure of an organization, it is inherently a subjective

environment. Beyond the uniqueness of agencies, the people within those agencies also add subjectivity to every aspect of their culture as they create, interpret, and implement policies on a daily basis (Ismaeli, 2006; Jenness & Grattet, 2005). Rhetoric can be an indicator of the organizational culture within an agency. The introduction of new values and rhetoric, as happens with the implementation of a new program, presents a quandary to the organizational culture. Those working within the organization must learn how to adapt to the new rhetoric and incorporate it into their everyday practice (Hagan, Hewitt, & Alwin, 1979; Kondra & Hurst, 2009; Peckham et al., 2012). The term “law in between” introduced by Jenness and Grattet (2005) perfectly captures organization-specific cultural contexts in which policy and rhetoric are viewed through a subjective lens and transformed in a way unique to the culture.

The degree to which collaborating agencies readily incorporate new rhetoric depends partially on how closely the agencies in a program have decided to collaborate. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) and others (e.g. Benson & Jordan, 2011; Bergin, 2011) have extensively discussed policy transfer and diffusion, outlining the processes by which policy moves from one agency or system to another. Transfer can happen both voluntarily or through coercion, and can also be referred to as “lesson drawing” (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996, p. 351) to describe the way that organizations can look to one another to learn lessons about each other’s culture and policies. For agencies truly combining their resources and meshing their policies and rhetoric, the transmission might happen seamlessly. More than likely, however, the agencies will collaborate but still retain their distinctiveness and distance from one another. In this case, the association between

organizations can be termed “loosely coupled” and the shared rhetoric becomes nothing more than a ceremonial way of connecting them (Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979). Agencies retain their own values and norms, causing competition for dominance in rhetoric, which can become a barrier to implementation itself.

The “law in between,” then, is a combination of multiple factors that culminate in a complex environment within which policy and rhetoric are constrained. McCleary (1975) and Ismaili (2006) both address this subjectivity of policy within the criminal justice system. Ismaili (2006) discusses it in the context of broader policy-making processes, while McCleary (1975) acknowledges the way it creeps into street-level practice when structural variables such as organizational culture impact the way that parole officers perform their jobs. Jenness and Grattet (2005) recognize that these two ends of the spectrum, the “law on the books” and the “law in action,” must be more than a dichotomy, and suggest that they are instead bridged by vast and complex constellations of variables that make the path from one end to the other extraordinarily circuitous in nature.

When Rhetoric Meets the Streets

Street-level application of rhetoric can be interpreted as the “law in action” (Jenness & Grattet, 2005). Rhetoric matters because it exerts influence on practice. Policies, intentions and ideas are encapsulated in rhetoric, but ultimately are acted out at the individual level. It is up to individuals to interpret the rhetoric they have absorbed, and apply it or let it influence their job, their approach to their job, and their attitude while doing their job. Rhetoric is pervasive in this way (Lipsky, 1980), because at the street it is the final product of a process that starts with the creation of rhetoric and moves through a

series of subjective and cultural interpretations before it is applied on the job (Jenness & Grattet, 2005; Ugwudike, 2011)

In the probation and parole setting, there is a large amount of discretion when dealing with clients (see Dembo, 1972; Kerbs, Jones, & Jolley, 2009; West & Seiter, 2004). Rhetoric can guide this discretionary street-level practice, but only after filtering through the lens of the person applying it (Maynard-Moody, Musheno & Palumbo, 1990). Ceremonialism and loose coupling in a system are not unusual—rhetoric here may be strongly emphasized and valued, but that does not mean it makes it to the streets (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979; McCorkle and Crank, 1996). Application of rhetoric can be dependent upon several factors, including the way the message is delivered to the stakeholder, how much discretion they have, and whether or not the rhetoric is reinforced or supplemented with consequences (Lipsky, 1980; Maynard-Moody, Musheno & Palumbo, 1990). Again, it is clear that context matters significantly, as it is the “law in between” that leaves room for rhetoric to influence the way that stakeholders perform their jobs.

Institutional Theory

Rhetoric influences more than just client interactions—it can actually change the organization and the perspective of the people working there, regardless of whether the effects make it into street-level practice. Institutional theory has developed over the years (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Cheliotis, 2006; Pedersen & Dobbin, 2006; Kondra & Hurst, 2009), but at its core seeks to explain the mechanisms of organizational culture and structure, and the way in which institutions seek legitimation and support. Institutional

isomorphic theory takes this further by explaining how organizations ultimately become more and more like each other as their goals and structures merge and they adopt similar strategies to deal with common problems. The type of external pressure to change that is introduced with a new program is best represented by what DiMaggio and Powell (1983) call “coercive isomorphism,” which “results from both formal and informal pressures exerted on organizations by other organizations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society within which organizations function” (p. 150). New rhetoric plays a major role in coercive isomorphism, for when an organization is confronted with a program and new messages that it is expected to adopt, it must adapt. In the case of NoVA, the collaborative nature of the new program exemplifies the concept of institutional isomorphism as the rhetoric of NoVA forces agencies to adopt similar goals and strategies for dealing with violence.

Within the implementation of a program, rhetoric can represent a largely ceremonial attempt at change. Work by McCorkle and Crank (1996) and Hagan, Hewitt, and Alwin (1979) addresses the ceremonial nature of criminal justice rhetoric by suggesting that philosophical changes and new policies are not always reflected in the actuality of street-level practice. However, DiMaggio and Powell offer a more positive reading of ceremonial rhetoric when they caution that, “The fact that these changes may be largely ceremonial does not mean that they are inconsequential” (p. 150). The ceremonial nature of rhetoric is evident in NoVA, whose rhetoric was imposed by not only other organizations, but other organizations that are legitimized by their collaboration with the program. For agencies involved in NoVA, the ceremonial rhetoric shared between the

agencies constitutes the “loose coupling” (Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979) needed to link the organizations’ goals and legitimacy in the community.

Whether or not rhetoric is manifested at the street level, agencies may already benefit from the impact of rhetoric that is ceremonial. The changes that happen certainly may appear ceremonial at times, but they often are meaningful to the people involved (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Measuring legitimacy of rhetoric by its value and contribution to the cohesion of the organization rather than just street-level implementation allows for a broader interpretation and view of rhetoric. Assessment of rhetoric in an organization must be broad in order to capture the subjective meanings it has among stakeholders. The unintended impact that rhetoric has on an organization could represent the “law in the institution” wherein the “law on the books” enters the “law in between” (Jenness & Grattet, 2005), lending a different outcome than the “law in action” as it is typically represented in street-level practice.

Examining Rhetoric in the Real World

The introduction of rhetoric and rhetoric itself are heavily influenced by philosophy, culture, and external pressure to change. Rhetoric is inherently evasive; it might directly represent policy, but it might also reflect the underlying motivations behind that policy. Rhetoric can be a true representation of the attitudes and values of an organization, or it can be largely ceremonial—an ideal imposed by an outside force, but not integrated into the organizational culture. A study of rhetoric would ideally take place in a rich environment and applications, such as the implementation of a new program. In this thesis, rhetoric is examined in the context of a focused deterrence initiative known as

the Kansas City No Violence Alliance (NoVA). This program is a multi-agency collaboration in which policy is developed by a collaborative board and transmitted to various agencies that take on different roles within NoVA. Because of the intersection of organizational cultures and values, the transmission of policy from one agency to the next, and the differential application of rhetoric, NoVA presents an opportunity to study rhetoric from development to transmission and application. For this thesis, rhetoric will be examined through the lens of the involvement of one agency—Probation and Parole—with NoVA.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Kansas City No Violence Alliance (NoVA)

The Kansas City No Violence Alliance (NoVA) is the setting for this study. It is a focused deterrence initiative aimed at reducing the high rate of homicide and aggravated assault in Kansas City. NoVA grew out of several policing and social service programs being used by Kansas City agencies, the leaders of which joined and decided to unite their goals to come up with a comprehensive program. By the time NoVA was implemented in early 2013, a plethora of stakeholder agencies were involved and working together on the project. These agencies included the Kansas City Police Department, Missouri Probation and Parole, the Jackson county and federal prosecutors, the mayor of Kansas City, several community leaders such as pastors and reverends, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, and leaders of multiple social services and anti-violence organizations in the area. A unique aspect of NoVA is the high level of cooperation and communication between these agencies that usually work separately from each other but often end up targeting the same individuals.

NoVA is based on a network analysis built by connecting individuals with violent offenses with the people they know through an examination of police contact reports for a two year period. After these networks were identified, the five largest were chosen to be a part of NoVA. Certain high-risk individuals in the networks were invited to attend a “call-in” organized by NoVA stakeholders. Three call-ins were held on April 17, 2013, and one

call-in was held on May 17, 2013. All of the call-ins were held at a local community center with a heavy police presence to ensure safety. NoVA targets in attendance were seated with space between them and sat through a roughly one hour presentation by representatives from each agency involved in NoVA. NoVA targets were told that they had been identified because of the people they are associated with, that they would be supervised more closely by the police than before, and that any incidents of violence in their networks would not be tolerated. They were also offered access to social services such as drug treatment and housing, medical, educational, and employment assistance. Social service liaisons set up a table at the call-in and attendees were encouraged to visit the table and look into services available through NoVA. Coupling social services with a strict enforcement message is the core of NoVA. To summarize the message given at the call-in, NoVA presents an opportunity to change behaviors that lead to violence. In theory, any violent act in a network would cause the police to execute all existing warrants in that network, meaning that one person's crime could affect everyone in that network, leading the community to utilize peer pressure to avoid consequences. Attendees were encouraged to take the NoVA message back to their peers, thus "putting them on notice" about new attitudes toward violence.

Missouri Probation and Parole (P&P) became involved because a number of its clients are NoVA targets. Unlike many community supervision agencies, Missouri P&P is set up so that officers supervise both probation and parole clients. Some clients even happen to be serving probation and parole sentences concurrently. Probation and Parole clients are unique in the NoVA program because they are more easily scrutinized and

compelled to participate in social services because they are under community supervision and can be given directives by their Probation or Parole Officers (POs).

NoVA supervision differs somewhat from traditional P&P supervision; these differences are characterized by the attitude of the officer as well as the difference in treatment of the client. Before NoVA began, Kansas City P&P had implemented a new supervision strategy called Safety Through Accountability and Community Collaboration (STACC). STACC's purpose was, "to provide intervention, education, and accountability to high risk offenders within the Kansas City, MO Metropolitan area." Because these goals mapped closely onto the goals of NoVA, P&P applied the policies for STACC to their newly developed NoVA caseloads. To manage these caseloads, each district administrator was asked to choose a PO from their district office to take on all the NoVA clients in that office. District administrators chose these POs based on characteristics such as a balanced attitude toward the job, good communication skills, and good rapport with clients. NoVA probation and parole officers are required to have increased contact with their clients, administer more frequent urinalyses, and sometimes make home visits accompanied by a police officer. These home visits are unique to NoVA clients; ordinarily a PO makes a cursory stop at the client's home without entering, but NoVA POs visit their clients more extensively and with a community police officer. Finally, P&P established a weekly "staffing" meeting where officers can discuss their NoVA clients with other NoVA stakeholders and strategize their cases. Those invited to the staffings are NoVA POs and their supervisors, social workers involved with NoVA, police liaisons, representatives from local treatment centers and anti-violence groups, and researchers. Clients were

occasionally asked to attend these staffings and talk with the stakeholders present to discuss what needs they had that could be addressed.

Throughout the first year of NoVA's implementation, a team of researchers worked on completing an implementation evaluation for each component of NoVA. These components include law enforcement, social services, community agencies, and Probation and Parole. I assisted Dr. Lori Sexton with evaluating the Probation and Parole component, and conducted interviews and observations to this end. Data for this thesis come from those evaluation efforts.

Participants

Data for this thesis consist primarily of qualitative interviews conducted with stakeholders working with NoVA. Other data are derived from participant observation of NoVA call-ins and staffings. For the interviews, participants were sampled purposively according to their involvement in NoVA through their jobs. Several key stakeholders held positions high in the NoVA hierarchy, others held various positions in P&P, while still others were chosen because of their first-hand experience implementing NoVA with Probation and Parole clients. Stakeholders worked as probation officers, supervisors in Probation and Parole district offices, and administrators for an entire region of Probation and Parole offices in the Kansas City area. One stakeholder did not work directly for Probation and Parole, but worked closely with P&P as a part of his involvement with NoVA.

Table 1 contains the demographic characteristics of the interview sample. Twelve stakeholders overall agreed to be interviewed; of these twelve participants, four were

female and eight were male. All participants had at least eight years of experience working in the criminal justice field, with several whose experience exceeded 15 years. The participants ranged in age from 32 to 61, and overwhelmingly identified their race/ethnicity to be “white.”

TABLE 1
STAKEHOLDER DESCRIPTIVES

Variable	Number	Percent
Gender		
Male	8	66
Female	4	33
Age		
30-39	4	33
40-49	5	42
50-59	2	17
60+	1	8
Race/Ethnicity		
White	10	83
Black	1	8
Other	1	8
Job title		
Probation/Parole Officer	4	33
Non-Probation/Parole Officer	8	66

*Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding

Interview Strategy

Interviews were conducted in Probation and Parole district offices. These interviews were semi-structured, confidential, and lasted between 32 minutes and an hour and 18 minutes, with an average interview time of 56 minutes. At the time of the interviews, many personnel changes were happening in the management of the Kansas City Probation and Parole district offices. While changing jobs is not unusual in this field,

it is relevant to this research because some of the participants were very new to their positions and the NoVA program. We asked these participants to explain their involvement with NoVA as best they could and refer to their past position if relevant.

The original interview guide was developed with the broader purpose of evaluating the implementation of NoVA within P&P. Thus, many of the questions were oriented toward program components. Fortunately, throughout the process of developing interview questions and broadening the scope of the interviews, many questions were added that would yield information about the hierarchy within NoVA and the way that information is transmitted within it. Questions particularly pertinent to this study were, “What does the organizational structure of NoVA look like?,” “How are things communicated across this structure?,” “What are the goals of NoVA?,” and “What was the main message conveyed at the call-in?” In addition to these questions, we probed for the types of contact participants had with other NoVA stakeholders, how they learned information about NoVA, and who they went to if they had questions.

During the interview process, we continually evaluated and edited our interview guide (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011). After the first day of interviews, we learned that participants’ experiences with the call-in were particularly valuable and decided to include multiple questions that explicitly prompted participants to talk about the call-in. Additionally, we rearranged the interview guide in order to facilitate a smoother discussion about the structure and message of NoVA before asking about details of its implementation. The interview guide was edited a second time after the next day of interviews, with small changes made to the probes we asked about job details. With the

participants' permission, interviews were recorded and later transcribed verbatim for further analysis. To enrich the interview data captured on the audio recordings, I made efforts to take field notes after interviews when the attitudes, interactions, and environments I observed seemed to add to the quality of my data. These field notes followed the methods detailed by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) and Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey (2011).

Participant Rapport

Prior to conducting interviews, the researchers on the larger NoVA evaluation had opportunities to interact with several of the participants. Two participants in particular were considered the P&P contacts for anyone involved with NoVA. They were especially helpful in facilitating data collection for the larger NoVA evaluation. We not only had several meetings with them to help us understand how Kansas City P&P operates, but we also emailed them frequently with questions about P&P and NoVA. Because of the relationships already built with some stakeholders, we were able to glean in-depth information without having to spend much time building rapport. On the other hand, some of the stakeholders were people we had never met before, giving us a very different perspective and interview style. In particular, two participants were located at a district office in a quite rural setting compared to the rest of the districts visited for this study, which were all located within Kansas City's metropolitan area. These participants were not only new to us, but had previously had little contact with the stakeholders located in Kansas City or with NoVA stakeholders in general. This district office functioned very differently from those in the city because of the politics and attitudes within that region;

this difference made it relatively difficult to establish rapport, as it took time for us to understand how these stakeholders operated and what opinions they held that differed from other districts.

Observation Strategy

Field observations are used as supplemental data for this study. Such observations include a NoVA call-in that consisted of 13 stakeholders addressing NoVA targets in a public meeting and smaller, organizational “staffings” where NoVA stakeholders (including P&P officers) collectively addressed the needs of their clients. Staffings took place in the conference room of a P&P office. Between four and ten people were present at these meetings where everyone sat around a large conference table and discussed options for each case. On rare occasions (only once while I attended), an officer had a client attend and talk to the group at the staffing, speaking to their own needs and progress. I attended eight of the weekly staffings over a three month period, with my fellow P&P researcher accompanying me to one. The purpose of attending staffings was to see how stakeholders talked about NoVA amongst their peers and applied its message to their clients. In addition to attending some of these meetings, I also received weekly emails detailing which clients would be staffed that week. The length of the staffing depended on how many people were present and how many clients needed to be discussed; the shortest I attended was 30 minutes, while the longest lasted over two hours.

In the middle of April, 2013, I attended the first call-in held for NoVA targets. I observed the message given at the call-in and the environment that it was given in to help me understand the united message given by a panel of stakeholders. After featuring a

video that delivered the no-violence purpose of NoVA, a panel of law enforcement and prosecutorial stakeholders took the stage to deliver their speeches. During the second half of the call-in, community stakeholders such as a pastor, social services liaison, and mothers of homicide victims took the stage to talk about their hopes for NoVA. It was beneficial to compare interview data with that original message in order to understand how the rhetoric of NoVA was received and interpreted by the stakeholders.

Coding Strategy

Interview transcripts and my typed field notes were coded using Atlas.ti software. During data collection and analysis, I followed the qualitative research methods outlined by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) and Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011). Within this model, I took extensive field notes during each observation and after each interview to help me capture a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of interactions with participants and those present during staffings. My field notes also helped me begin to identify themes early on in the research process so that I could revise my observation and interview strategies to best help me collect substantive data and follow a productive line of inquiry. I chose not to use a guide for my observations, and instead recorded field notes about the interactions I observed, and the unique and ever-changing situations brought up at the staffings.

The interviews were first analyzed using an open-coding technique in Atlas.ti where themes were identified and developed during an initial line-by-line reading of the transcript. Some of the initial codes were developed from the themes I identified in earlier field notes. Other codes arose out of the data as I read closely. Next, the list of codes was applied during a closer, “focused coding” analysis. After coding the first few interviews, I

began to identify themes and started consolidating codes under larger emerging themes. I kept track of these themes and my ideas about analysis by writing coding memos during the process. The results of coding were further analyzed using the query function of Atlas.ti. When coding for rhetoric, I focused on the definition I built from searching the literature and making observations during data collection. For the purposes of this study, rhetoric is defined not only as NoVA-specific messages, but also iterations of those messages that represent the ideas and intentions of NoVA.

Methodological Limitations

The implementation of NoVA began in March 2013, and the interviews were conducted only four months after the initial call-ins. While many participants had jumped into their roles with NoVA very quickly, others did not yet know their role or were newly brought into the program. This study is limited by the inherent confusion at the outset of a new initiative, although that same confusion can be a rich source of data. Follow-up interviews conducted after a much longer period of time might help to give a clearer picture of how rhetoric progresses as problems are worked out in implementation.

The racial makeup of the participants seems to be a function of the overall racial makeup of those working for P&P, however, the obvious disproportionality is not representative of the clients P&P serves or the community in general. The impact that this racial and likely cultural disparity could have on participant responses is beyond the scope of this thesis, but likely influenced the variation in perspectives I was able to glean from participant interviews.

With only 12 interviews to draw from, the small sample size of this research could limit the breadth of data addressing my research questions. However, even though the sample was small, it was diverse in a few important ways. For example, Missouri Probation and Parole's coverage of the Kansas City metropolitan area is divided into four district offices, each covering a separate part of the city and housing very different interpersonal and organizational climates. These climates differ because of such things as location, clientele, management, and working relationships in the office. The wide differences observed at these offices served as a good comparison between different stakeholders, but also provided a myriad of influences that could affect transmission of rhetoric. While we tried to gather as much information as we could about the offices, our short interviews did not yield sufficient data to fully understand and describe what it is like to work in these different climates. For example, three of the district offices are urban and one is more rural. The rural office experiences a different relationship with their community and judicial system, and has little to no contact with people or clients from the city. Going into the interviews, we had no idea that stakeholders there operated under a vastly different philosophy from the rest of the offices in the area, and thus we were limited in our ability to seek out these differences for a full comparison.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Content of NoVA Rhetoric

While the message of NoVA—reduce violence in Kansas City—is basic, the path to this goal is much more complicated and nuanced than it may appear. NoVA approaches violence reduction using a two-pronged strategy: increased enforcement and intensive social service provision. While these two components of NoVA seem straightforward and mutually compatible, stakeholders expressed rhetoric indicating the complexity of the messages; sometimes one took precedence over the other, sometimes their meanings overlapped, and sometimes the two messages conflicted with each other. The first part of the message consists of enforcement and supervision rhetoric, which quickly became the dominant message of NoVA, perhaps because of its origination in law enforcement and the strictness that law enforcement presence brings to any situation. Although in theory the second part of the message, that promoting social services and community efficacy is a solution to violence, should appear equal to that of law enforcement, it was in frequent competition for relevancy and legitimacy among the stakeholders. Each agency involved with NoVA interpreted the NoVA message in the context of their own organization, and conveyed these interpretations to other stakeholders. NoVA is at heart a collaboration between organizations with different goals, and those goals were challenging for stakeholders to synthesize.

Beyond the two parts of the NoVA message itself, NoVA's dual orientation was made clear in the different contexts within which the message was delivered. During the call-in, the speakers put much of the rhetoric in the context of the client. They maintained that clients had a choice in their behavior, and indicated that NoVA was about the way that the clients should change their behavior and attitude toward violence, and actively seek out services. This message was to be expected, as the call-in messages were intended for the clients, but it stood in contrast to the message conveyed to and interpreted by the stakeholders. In the majority of the interviews, stakeholders expressed that the bulk of NoVA is about the stakeholders, and clients are secondary in involvement. The stakeholders talked about the collaboration that NoVA brought, and the improved intra- and inter-agency communication they had experienced. References were minimal to the ways that NoVA helped the clients or the ways that NoVA changed their daily jobs. During the call-ins, the NoVA message was tightly coupled with expected client agency, but these concepts became decoupled as the rhetoric was interpreted and experienced by the stakeholders involved. Even though NoVA improved collaboration among stakeholders, it introduced complications that forced them to adapt to the new roles each stakeholder assumed.

Manifestations of Rhetoric

NoVA rhetoric has multiple sources, but the one common source among the stakeholders was the call-in session held at the beginning of NoVA's implementation, which all but one of the stakeholder participants attended. Other sources include informal meetings with supervisors and other stakeholders involved with NoVA, phone calls, and

emails discussing the purpose of NoVA and how it was to be applied in practice. The call-in was an especially important source because of its official nature and because it was a rare gathering in which of all the agencies participating in NoVA presented their unified message. While the message at the call-in was intended primarily for clients in the identified NoVA networks, it also set the stage for what stakeholders in attendance understood about NoVA and the message that they were to take home and utilize in their practice with clients. Although they also received the NoVA message from other places, the formality and precedence that characterized the call-in made it a primary source that stakeholders drew on in their descriptions of NoVA. The pervasiveness of call-in rhetoric was obvious as certain phrases were repeated in interviews by all the stakeholders.

In the call-in sessions, stakeholders from multiple agencies gathered to present the core, unified message of NoVA, but they also inserted rhetoric from their individual agencies. Those from policing agencies emphasized their intention to monitor and arrest anyone connected with violence. The prosecutors present added rhetoric about their ability to maximize the charges and penalties that would come from any offense, including federal prosecution if possible. Social services naturally stayed away from the enforcement message and instead brought in the social workers' helping approach to NoVA, the resources they can provide, and their hope to prevent violence in the community. The representative from Probation and Parole bridged the messages by mentioning their ability to collaborate with the police, but also reiterating their intention to utilize social services when possible. Because the goals of P&P incorporate both supervision and service-

provision functions, P&P stakeholders frequently fall in the middle of this rhetoric and blend it in a way unique to their agency.

The enforcement message of NoVA was presented by the panel through their speeches, but the non-verbal way it was communicated spoke even more strongly to the dominance of that message. While the observed call-in had 16 clients present, there were at least an equal number of uniformed and plain-clothed officers in the room, including several in full tactical gear. Even apart from the police presence, the number of stakeholders from other agencies greatly outnumbered the clients. For stakeholders and clients alike, this imbalance seemed to foreshadow the weight of supervision and enforcement that would be reinforced later by the speeches given from the stage. The divide between stakeholders and clients was great not only in number, but also in dress, attitude, and social interaction throughout the meeting. While the clients dressed in street clothes that were casual and baggy, the stakeholders were in uniform or dressed professionally. Each group was clearly distinguishable at first glance. The clients remained mostly silent and separate from each other, staring at the floor, sitting low in their seats; the stakeholders present sat close together, greeted each other, and talked or took notes attentively before and during the presentation. This distance would become even more apparent in later interviews with stakeholders.

During the call-in, certain phrases were introduced that would become frequently repeated in later meetings and interviews. Most of this rhetoric was supervision- and enforcement-related, such as the phrase iterated by a police representative, “We know who you are; we know who your associates are.” Another key piece of rhetoric at the call-in

indicated the sharp break from how violence used to be handled, because now, “We will not tolerate violence the way we have in the past.” This phrase was particularly interesting because it signaled to the audience that the agencies previously held a permissive attitude toward violence, but now every stakeholder is personally responsible for adopting a new and harsher approach to dealing with violent offenders. One presenter tempered the enforcement message slightly by telling the clients, “I will come down on you and I have people to help you.” While incorporating some of the services message of NoVA, however, her comment about helping was all but lost in the harsh tone and unforgiving rhetoric expressed in the rest of her speech. While the speakers from enforcement agencies mentioned that NoVA was an opportunity for change, they often situated that change in the context of a threat, saying that the clients must take advantage of services or they would face consequences. A representative from social services spoke on this panel, offering some reprieve from the enforcement message but still including elements of the enforcement rhetoric previously stated. In this way the “helping” message was consistently coupled with the “punishment” message. However, the coupling was not bi-directional; the enforcement message frequently stood alone while the helping rhetoric did not.

In contrast, the presenters who centered their messages on the services and opportunities NoVA offers sounded more like motivational speakers than proponents of an enforcement-driven program. They over-emphasized the helping message of NoVA, to make up for the strictness expressed by the earlier panel. Clients heard about the help NoVA could offer, followed by advice that, “This is an opportunity. Seize this

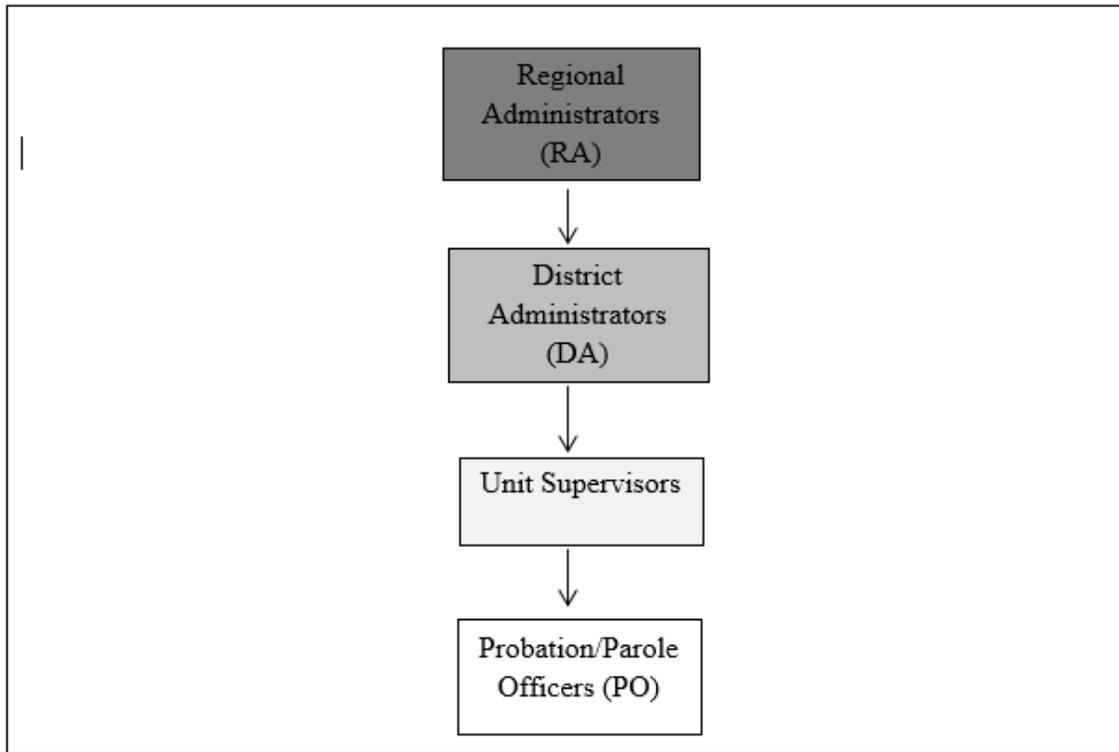
opportunity,” and the related admonishment, “Don’t make today a day that you wish you could do over.” Because the second half of the panel was comprised of community members and not criminal justice practitioners, this softer message was to be expected; in addition to the different tone, these speakers also tended to talk for longer and incorporate personal stories to get their message across. Instead of being focused on iterating the goals of NoVA, these stakeholders meandered through a more general anti-violence message. It was unclear whether this happened because the community stakeholders had less direction or whether their message was less clear than the enforcement one, thus leaving them with room to stray. While none of the stakeholders interviewed said that they disregarded the community speakers’ message, they tended to emphasize the message from official sources, and consequently gave more weight to the message coming from those with official titles rather than informal community roles. Because the official sources came first in the call-in and had a tighter message, the divide between the enforcement message and the service message was clear in the way the two were separated and prioritized in the presentation.

Subverting the Hierarchy

One consequence of implementing a multi-agency initiative is the complication it adds to the normal functioning of an agency. Not only are new ideas and policies added, but the flow of information changes, and in the case of NoVA, the structure of the communication hierarchy is interrupted and significantly changed. NoVA introduced a

FIGURE 1

TRADITIONAL PROBATION AND PAROLE HIERARCHY (BASED ON TITLE)



secondary hierarchy in which those more central to the NoVA message, who are also considered liaisons to the rest of the agency, have more procedural influence and greater access to information regarding NoVA than other stakeholders less proximal to the message.

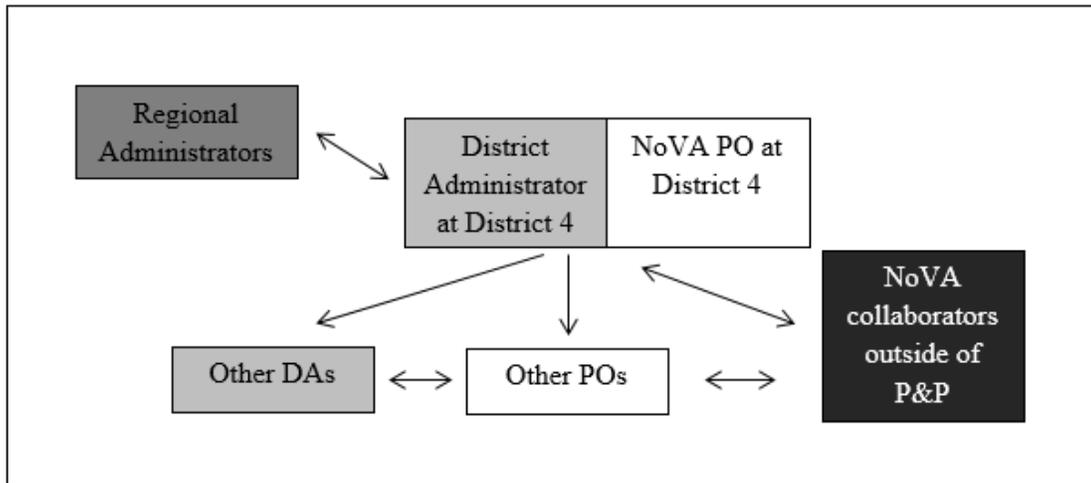
Figure 1 is a representation of what the structural hierarchy of P&P looks like. It is based mainly on title and promotion and appears linear, as is typical of an organization that requires layers of management to maintain. During the interviews, participants frequently referred to their promotions and changes in responsibility as they moved up in the

hierarchy. They described the flow of information, which naturally starts at the top and works its way down to the middle-level supervisors and on to the street level practitioners. While the traditional workplace hierarchy is based on title, promotion and tenure, that structure is somewhat challenged by the introduction of NoVA.

The disrupted structure of P&P with NoVA is depicted in Figure 2. This hierarchy seems to be based on the flow of information that almost always goes through the lead NoVA stakeholders at the central district office. In the NoVA hierarchy the regional administrators, who are typically supervising the district administrators, are almost level with several stakeholders who are lower in the traditional hierarchy. When it comes to P&P policy and final decision making, the regional administrators are still at the top. However, most of the information about NoVA that goes to other stakeholders is run through the DA and PO most central to the hierarchy. This subversion of the traditional hierarchy was described by one stakeholder as an administrative matter, in that “[A supervisor at the central office] has been charged with a lot of administrative type duties. And then [the hierarchy is]...spread out to each office with an officer. [That supervisor] is not, per se, those officers’ supervisor, but she does coordinate with that DA.” While the expanded role of the central supervisor is largely contained within the bounds of the NoVA program, her job has changed greatly as a result of it, and significantly differs from that of her counterparts at other offices.

FIGURE 2

PROBATION AND PAROLE WITH NOVA HIERARCHY (BASED ON COMMUNICATION)



Although these two central stakeholders hold disparate positions in the traditional hierarchy, they act as almost equal partners when it comes to distributing information about NoVA. Stakeholders needing information about NoVA go to those with more involvement for help, regardless of where their titles place them in the traditional P&P hierarchy. Some stakeholders recounted instances when they went to their peers who had more contact with NoVA for answers, instead of getting answers from their P&P supervisors. In addition, P&P administrators sometimes went to those in lower positions for answers, indicating that the two hierarchies operated differently. The reconfigured hierarchy also reflects the compression of the social distance between the top and the bottom. Increased contact and collaboration within P&P is a collateral benefit of NoVA's

impact on the hierarchy. Aside from putting POs in greater contact with their managers, the higher-level P&P stakeholders also commented on the access to their peers and to city officials they now had because of NoVA.

Figure 2 also shows that there is a new component to the P&P hierarchy that requires attention and communication. Because NoVA involves multiple community partners, P&P now collaborates with social services staff and police officers who are dealing with the same clients. An overall perception of the inclusion of other agencies is that it puts a strain on the hierarchy, but can be beneficial when those agencies bring their own information to the table. The DA and PO most central to the hierarchy are the primary liaisons for these agencies, but other stakeholders have to take into account that some NoVA information can originate with them, and they must be kept informed.

Transmitting the Message

Given the sources of NoVA rhetoric and the complex organizational structures described above, it is clear that NoVA stakeholders did not all have the same access and proximity to the NoVA message. Those who worked in the central district office had greater access to people higher up in the hierarchy, and spent more of their time collaborating with other NoVA agencies. Out of all P&P stakeholders involved with NoVA, the POs seemed to have the most direct contact with NoVA and NoVA rhetoric. The POs represented NoVA to their clients, and they also participated in the weekly staffings with stakeholders from other agencies, where rhetoric was discussed and applied to each client staffed that week. According to those higher in the P&P hierarchy, NoVA minimally impacted their jobs, and the amount of time spent on NoVA-related work was

measured in times per month. For the POs, NoVA became an almost daily part of their work as they dealt with clients and prepared reports for the staffings they participated in.

The mechanisms by which NoVA rhetoric was transferred differed across stakeholders, and especially across stakeholders with different job titles. High-level and more central stakeholders participated in board meetings and received group emails about the development of NoVA. These stakeholders regularly received the NoVA message, reinforcing what they already knew about it. Mid-level stakeholders, such as district administrators, were invited to an initial meeting but then were left with little means by which to receive NoVA rhetoric, other than as necessary by email or phone call. POs, however, had much of the NoVA rhetoric transmitted to them through the call-in if they attended, through their contact with other NoVA stakeholders during the weekly staffing, and through the rhetoric they heard from their contact with clients. Though client interpretation of rhetoric was not always accurate, POs did hear from their clients what the perception on the street was of the program, which may have influenced the way that the POs thought of NoVA themselves. For instance, some of the POs recalled having their clients express opposition to their involvement with NoVA, believing that they should not have been identified because they had not been involved with violence. The POs expressed their agreement with this opinion, letting the complaints of the clients affect their interpretation of who is supposed to be NoVA-involved, instead of relying on the decisions of the researchers who created the networks.

Although the rhetoric of NoVA was transmitted to each stakeholder, some parts of the message were grasped more clearly than others. In particular, the enforcement

component of the NoVA message was transmitted more thoroughly. As one stakeholder responded when asked about the service provision aspect of NoVA, “I haven’t had a whole lot of experience with that piece of it, but my understanding of it is that whatever services they needed... that there would be some follow-up with those individuals, both by the service providers and by the probation officer.” This stakeholder had an unclear definition of NoVA service provision, even after having attended a call-in and NoVA meetings. Without understanding the service message and taking it seriously, it is unlikely that this part of NoVA could be fully implemented.

The repetition of such concise phrases as “multi-agency collaboration,” “not tolerating violence,” and NoVA as an “opportunity to change”—while conceptions of what those phrases mean are still blurry—suggests that the transmission of NoVA rhetoric could be happening at a shallow level. One thing NoVA does well is create a clear message, but a deeper conceptualization of what that message means is less clear. This could lead to a program that transmits rhetoric well, but relies upon rhetoric that remains primarily ceremonial. This ceremonial rhetoric exists when it is repeated merely as a formality of the program, but never develops into a deeper, more meaningful message that translates into an impact on practice. Stakeholders understood the main tenets of NoVA—enforcement and service provision—but their interviews suggest that the nuances of the rhetoric were not equally understood by all. For some stakeholders, the message permeated their attitude and approach to their jobs. For others, it seemed as though they had not heard or understood NoVA rhetoric clearly, so they parroted the message and filled it out with meaning of their own.

This was particularly evident with regard to NoVA's mix of enforcement and service messages, which was often understood as a skeleton to be fleshed out with stakeholders' ideas about this type of program more generally. One stakeholder referred to an early anti-violence initiative she had worked on, comparing this older program to NoVA because, "like we said earlier, it was kind of the bones and now that we fleshed it all out we have a working program." For her, NoVA was not an original program but just a newer, more organized version of a past program. In some ways, NoVA came to represent everything the stakeholders knew about reducing violence, instead of being based on NoVA-specific rhetoric. This weakened the program because stakeholders adopted the general attitude against violence that NoVA promoted, instead of applying its specific principles in practice. NoVA's message was not delineated clearly enough to dominate other rhetoric the stakeholders may have been exposed to. Without more specific rhetoric or instructions for application, some of the stakeholders began to apply rhetoric expressed in previous programs they had worked on and were familiar with. Instead of espousing new concepts, NoVA was little more than an addition to existing rhetoric. One stakeholder admitted, "I don't really think that [the existing P&P goal] really changes with NoVA, it's just NoVA is more targeted towards a specific group...."

Interpreting the Message

Stakeholders were aware of the main messages of NoVA regarding enforcement and services, but perceived the enforcement message to be more central. The saliency of this message was implied by one stakeholder when he said, "It's just... holding the offenders more accountable... setting a different standard for them. I mean, if they truly

are being targeted because they're at greater risk to the community, there should be tougher standards for them..." Another stakeholder acknowledged the dominance of the enforcement message by saying, "I think KCPD involved just adds weight to what we're tryin' to do." In this quote, the participant recognizes the connection between anti-violence and policing, buying into the idea that only the threat of enforcement can legitimize the type of programming being implemented. An upper-level stakeholder recognized the dominance of the enforcement message at the call-in, as he said, "I thought it was kind of funny that... that, uh... you know, we had this strong presence, but the resources were at the very back of the church and... and you look, and I turned around and looked behind me and I saw, I don't know, 7 or 8 guys in full TAC [tactical] gear..." Beyond the verbal message of enforcement, the stakeholders picked up on the non-verbal cues that came from the intimidating enforcement presence. This same stakeholder recounted his experience with a client prior to the call-in: "I had to sit down there in [his PO's] office and say, 'Listen, if we were gonna arrest you, we'd arrest you right here, right now. You're here in front of us, so why would we send you all the way down there?'" The enforcement message was so strong that this stakeholder had to actively convince his clients that there was a second side to the story.

While the message of social service provision remains decoupled from the anti-violence message of NoVA, the enforcement message has become intertwined and almost synonymous with anti-violence. This was evident in interviews when stakeholders frequently described NoVA as a program that "stops violence" *and* "offers alternatives." Based on the information given at the call-ins, NoVA seems to be a program that seeks to

stop violence *by* offering alternatives and increasing enforcement. That the enforcement message is folded into stopping violence is an indication that stakeholders see enforcement as the primary means to stopping violence, with service provision holding a secondary role. The following quote clearly illustrates this concept:

NoVA, of course, is Kansas City No Violence Alliance, and it's basically a collaboration between law enforcement, community partners, Probation and Parole... just a whole conglomerate of individuals that we really haven't had together before, that their main focus is stopping violence within Kansas City and trying to offer opportunities and alternatives to the identified high-risk individuals that we work with on a daily basis.

The participant describes NoVA as a collaborative program aimed at “stopping violence” *and* “trying to offer opportunities and alternatives.” These two goals are decoupled in a way that indicates the stakeholder's belief that they are separate concepts that are not linked in either definition or practice. Even in the world of Probation and Parole, where service provision is incorporated into supervision, the stakeholders adhere to the traditional policing model of enforcement first.

Beyond just supervising clients, some stakeholders discussed their NoVA responsibilities more deeply, talking about their belief that NoVA could offer some clients a “last chance” out of the life they had been living. The idea of NoVA as an opportunity for clients to change their lives in a positive way included both active and passive expectations. For some, the opportunity NoVA gave was to be passively accepted by the clients, as services were showered on them by the stakeholders. Others discussed opportunity as a chance for NoVA clients to actively claim and participate in services. Opportunity became rhetoric that encompassed both the services and enforcement

messages—clients could utilize services to change, or they could respond to the enforcement pressure by changing to avoid future consequences. NoVA could be seen as a justification for coming down hard on targeted clients, because future offending represents the client rejecting their opportunity to change. As one stakeholder put it, “I think that... [clients have] seen it, that there’s been some swift consequences by the courts...if you’re gonna take that chance and you’re given this opportunity, you know, we’re gonna make sure that, hey, it’s not going to be tolerated.”

During the staffings, POs had ideas about which services their clients may need, and discussed ways in which the staffing team could meet those needs through NoVA and motivate the client to succeed. During one staffing I observed, a PO had a client who needed to enter a substance abuse treatment program, which he acknowledged would take longer than was practical because of the lack of space in city facilities. Within minutes the social worker had made calls and found a bed the client could have the next day.

Immediate access to resources is something that non-NoVA clients would not normally have, so the newness of service availability was perceived by POs as a great opportunity for clients in NoVA. Another way that social services and “helping” rhetoric was clearly prevalent during the observed staffing meetings involved an incident where the enforcement message was not well-received. When a police officer attending a staffing suggested that a client who was not doing well might need to receive a violation report and be arrested, his comment seemed out of place and was met with a flurry of comments and suggested alternatives. Context was paramount in bringing certain aspects of NoVA rhetoric to the forefront. In any other context where I encountered NoVA, the officer’s

comment would seem completely appropriate, but at a staffing the dominance of the NoVA service message rendered it out of place.

During the staffing meetings, the incongruence of the two messages was apparent when the team would discuss a case and disagree about the amount of lenience and help to offer before deciding to ask for a warrant for a noncompliant client. In this situation, stakeholders had an opportunity to share their perspective on NoVA and find ways to apply its message to their cases. However, during observations there was often disagreement among stakeholders regarding which NoVA message to utilize more—enforcement or services. With both social workers and police officers present, P&P staff had to balance the messages and decide what their perception of NoVA was before moving forward with a client. During both the interviews and the call-in, the balance was much more heavily weighed on the enforcement side; the dichotomy only became more obvious in the context of the staffings, when social service stakeholders had more opportunity to voice their message.

The dichotomous message of NoVA is not the only tenet of the program with wide gaps in interpretation amongst stakeholders. Another was rhetoric that characterized NoVA as opportunity and as a partnership between stakeholders and clients. While one stakeholder completely left out the clients as a part of the NoVA collaboration by saying, “it’s basically a collaboration between law enforcement, community partners, Probation and Parole...,” another saw in NoVA the potential for getting clients and stakeholders on the same page. She said that her POs:

Have to have a good working relationship with the offender... involving the offender in their plan as much as they can and not just

dictating to the offender what they need to do. That, you know, for the success of the offender and the success of the program; that it is a true partnership to change rather than just us giving directives on what people need to do.

These messages were not necessarily developed directly from the call-in, but seemed to be a perception of some of the stakeholders with regard to the deeper implications of the NoVA message. As with the differential perceptions of the enforcement and services messages, the way that stakeholders perceived the program in terms of the client necessarily had an impact on the way that they applied NoVA rhetoric. Approaching their clients with a collaborative mindset could make the service message more salient, and thus more likely to be used; approaching clients with an “us against them” mindset could lead to an enforcement-dominant application of NoVA rhetoric.

Probation and Parole officers who were interviewed reported varying approaches to applying the NoVA message to their interactions with clients. Some said that NoVA had no impact on the way they interacted with clients. Others described the ways that NoVA made its way into their client meetings on a regular basis. One officer made the effort to ensure that his clients understood their role in the program:

One of... the things that I did was...all of the clients from my office that were identified and called to the meeting... I then set up a meeting with all of them at once at this office. And went over KC NoVA again with them one on one because at the call-in they don't have an opportunity to ask questions. I brought them in and gave them an opportunity to ask questions, to interact, and let them know... these are the choices you have, okay?

For those who said that NoVA was a part of their contact with clients, enforcement rhetoric dominated their application of NoVA. Describing a conversation he had with one

of his clients, the same officer said, “This is... these are the choices you have, okay? If one of my regular parolees drops dirty, I can send him to treatment. If you drop dirty, I’m recommending you go to jail.” Similar to the call-in message, this PO connected the opportunity of NoVA to its inevitable threat of punishment.

Each piece of the program is directly connected to rhetoric about that part of the program. For the stakeholders, NoVA is full of balancing acts. They have to weigh the goals of their agency against the goals of the program. They have to interpret the enforcement and services messages of NoVA, and decide which one takes precedence when they are in conflict. In the context of rhetoric about goals, they have to decide how the clients are to be involved in the program, and change their contact with clients accordingly. Finally, the stakeholders must navigate the complex interactions of all these factors while dealing with the collaboration and compromise of the NoVA setting. All of the stakeholders described difficulties with pinpointing a straightforward NoVA message that fit easily into their everyday decision-making process. Some who are more central to the program found it easier to incorporate NoVA into their jobs, while others struggled to move past the ceremonial nature of the rhetoric and assimilate its deeper goals in speech or practice.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The findings of this thesis detail the complex influence of rhetoric on an agency and its stakeholders. While rhetoric may start out with a clear message, it originates and evolves within idiosyncratic contexts by the agencies using it. After being introduced, rhetoric develops in myriad ways as it is interpreted and applied by each individual stakeholder. Along the way, it can influence the way that people think, interact with each other, and perform their jobs. For some, NoVA rhetoric represents the ideals of a program they know little of; for others, the rhetoric espouses much deeper meaning that rarely stays tightly contained, but rather grows and develops in particular ways as a function of the boundaries that shape it as they rein it in. At times rhetoric can get caught up in the organizational culture without making it to street-level implementation; however, meaning can still be found in the rhetoric that lands in between the “law on the books” and the “law in action.”

Although research has been conducted on organizational culture (Benson & Johnson, 2011; Bergin, 2011; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Dolowitz & Marsh, 2012; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Geertz, 1973; Kondra & Hurst, 2009; Lynch, 1998; Pedersen & Dobbin, 2006) and the role of rhetoric in shaping an organization’s ideological and hierarchical makeup (Brownlee, 1998; Bullington, Katkin & Hyman, 1982; Ismaeli, 2006; Lynch, 1998; Peckham et al., 2012; Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010), there is a gap in the literature when it comes to applying these concepts to criminal justice organizations.

Scholarship has also neglected to unify various theories on organizational culture and rhetoric that are applicable to programs being implemented in a criminal justice organization (Cheliotis, 2006; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Dolowitz & Marsh, 2012; Feeley & Simon, 1992; Maynard-Moody, Musheno & Palumbo, 1990). In order to form a new program, the stakeholders must have a plan and guiding rhetoric to frame the implementation along the way. The degree to which this rhetoric defines the program and impacts its implementation varies widely across contexts (Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979; Maynard-Moody, Musheno & Palumbo, 1990; McCorkle & Crank, 1996); it is this variation that is worth studying to determine under what conditions a program's message is best conveyed.

Consistent with findings from the organizational literature, NoVA rhetoric interrupted the normal culture of the P&P organization, presenting stakeholders with a new set of goals and values to interpret and incorporate into their jobs (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). As discussed by Hagan, Hewitt, and Alwin (1979), each organization collaborating on NoVA retained some distinctiveness and clung to different aspects of the core rhetoric. In this way, the agencies were loosely coupled because the only rhetoric and values they did share belonged to NoVA. Beyond the goals of NoVA, little inter-agency transmission of values occurred, as evidenced by the balance of the dual messages of NoVA and their differential interpretation and emphasis by individual agencies. While each agency made efforts to listen to the opinions of the others, there was a constant battle between the different messages of NoVA. Research on community supervision styles has pointed out the constant conflict between P&P officers as caseworkers or agents of surveillance

(Dembo, 1972; West & Seiter, 2004); in NoVA, that conflict left P&P stakeholders stuck in the middle and struggling to consistently apply NoVA principles across situations. Despite the fact that the NoVA message was two-pronged, the enforcement message was the more salient of the two for the POs, and thus influenced their interpretation of NoVA and lent more credibility to that message than the social services message.

Despite the dominance of enforcement rhetoric in much of the POs' work, helping rhetoric was redeemed at the staffings held for P&P clients every week. The incorporation of staffings into the NoVA workload provided social services rhetoric a place where it could be valued and legitimized. Without these meetings, it is likely that the services message of NoVA would have fallen by the wayside, but its incorporation reinforced the often subjugated helping rhetoric. The staffings allowed for policy transfer from the social services agencies to the POs because it gave the agencies a chance to have contact and discuss their differing rhetoric and eventually come to a consensus that was applied to each client. In the policy transfer literature, some of the factors that potentially facilitate transfer are shared ideology and interdependence because of external structural factors (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). The agencies involved in NoVA found an opportunity to become even more connected, and the externality of a new program caused what Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) would call "indirect coercive transfer" (p. 348). Further, Benson and Jordan (2011) took the principles of policy transfer and looked at studies resulting in support for the effect proximity could have on the transfer of criminal justice policies. They found that proximity was often supported by research. While the setting of this

thesis consists of political bodies on a much smaller scale, the same ideas should apply on a micro level.

Despite the complications of transmitting NoVA's rhetoric, a primary way that stakeholders were able to maintain saliency of the NoVA message is the concise, repeatable phrases with which it is laden. These phrases were easily remembered by the stakeholders, making this form of rhetoric effective in its transmission. Research by Peterson-Badali and Broeking (2010) on rhetoric in the justice system suggests that rhetoric must be clearly understood and remembered in order to be put into practice. (Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010). A memorable message helped stakeholders quickly absorb the NoVA rhetoric and ensured that certain tenets of NoVA were consistent across the wide variety of people hearing them. For any program, it is important that its rhetoric is clearly heard and understood. The question then stands whether it is important that that rhetoric have deep meaning (Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979; McCorkle & Crank, 1996). In the context of NoVA, the rhetoric often appeared strong at a surface level, but was weakly interpreted by stakeholders. McCorkle and Crank (1996) describe a similar situation in which they term policy and rhetoric "ceremonial," noting that, "changes in community corrections have been more ceremonial than substantive" (p. 17) as a result of "formal policies [that] are ignored or only partially implemented" (p. 17). NoVA's message can be considered largely ceremonial in light of the difference in interpretation and application across stakeholders. For a program like this, the message must be deep enough and clear enough to be easily understood and interpreted by everyone.

Other factors impacted the pervasiveness of rhetoric; application of NoVA rhetoric was more difficult for some stakeholders than others because of the transient nature of P&P clientele and the differing caseloads among POs. POs can have vastly different supervision styles, but also different clients requiring specialized supervision (Dembo, 1972; West & Seiter, 2004). One PO had almost an entire caseload of NoVA clients, while another had three NoVA clients, all of whom were absconders. Clearly it is not possible for both of these stakeholders to have the same opportunities to apply NoVA rhetoric. The PO without any NoVA client contact likely did not retain the rhetoric since it was not useful to her in everyday practice. The implication of differential implementation is that NoVA POs ended up with varying opinions of how useful NoVA is and how seriously they should take its message.

At the street-level, application of NoVA became problematic when POs retained a ceremonial understanding of NoVA rhetoric, but were not guided clearly enough to know how to implement it fully. Misinterpretations of rhetoric that happened early on were not corrected because of this lack of guidance, and the confusion trickled down into POs' application of NoVA with their clients. Much criminal justice research has addressed the gap between policy and street-level discretion (Kerbs, Jones & Jolley, 2009; Lipsky, 1980; Maynard-Moody, Musheno & Palumbo, 1990; McCleary, 1975), but little has incorporated the role of rhetoric into the analysis. In order to understand the mechanisms by which policy gets utilized in practitioner discretion, it is important to understand all the components of that process, including the role of rhetoric and interpretation of policies within the institution.

Although the ceremonial rhetoric of NoVA led to problems with client implementation, as predicted in the literature (e.g. Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979; McCorkle & Crank, 1996), it did create a closer relationship between the agencies involved. Where the surface-level message of NoVA succeeded the most was in pressuring the various institutions to evolve and change in the same direction. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) discuss the pressure organizations feel to become more like each other, especially when a unifying goal brings them together and merges their goals. NoVA was taken very seriously by almost all of the stakeholders, even though its rhetoric may have been shallowly interpreted. Because of this, NoVA rhetoric was able to improve the cohesion within P&P, and between the different agencies involved in NoVA as well. This implication mirrors the conclusion that DiMaggio and Powell (1983) came to when they discussed the legitimacy of policies that are merely ceremonial yet have a significant impact in unintended ways. Because one of the goals of NoVA reported by the stakeholders was inter-agency collaboration, the loose coupling of these systems represented a failure for NoVA rhetoric to truly bring the agencies together in more than a ceremonial way. It is not clear whether organizational collaboration was an explicit goal of NoVA; it may have arisen out of misinterpretations of NoVA's goals, or may have been implied by the way NoVA's structure was organized. In this case, loose coupling could be a side effect of the new rhetoric, instead of a purposeful outcome (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; McCorkle & Crank, 1996).

The murky guidance that NoVA rhetoric offered negatively impacted stakeholders' abilities to implement the program. While emphatically posed in memorable terms, NoVA

rhetoric lacked the specificity needed to differentiate it from other, similar programs. Lynch (1998) viewed this in a different light, instead believing that POs heard the message, but chose not to accept it and apply it to their jobs. Whether because it lacked specificity or because of disagreement with the message of NoVA, outside rhetoric sneaked in as a placeholder for NoVA rhetoric when stakeholders were unsure of what exactly NoVA meant. This problem could be solved with a clearer, more comprehensive description of NoVA, along with specifics of implementation and the role of NoVA in various situations with clients. Stakeholders also noted that they mostly learned about NoVA through organizational meetings and short emails; instead of having concrete, codified instructions, they were left to individually interpret the rhetoric presented to them at the call-in or through other, more informal, means. It is possible that a lack of reinforcement contributed to their misunderstanding of NoVA, but it also could have contributed to their reluctance to adopt NoVA rhetoric inasmuch as it was implemented at the street-level.

An important aspect of NoVA that was often characterized by mixed messages was the role of client agency in the program. Stakeholders had varying interpretations of their clients' role in NoVA; they reported that they needed more specifics about what to tell them, and whose agency is more important. This need for clarification is not unusual for POs, as they often find themselves straddling the line between service provision and enforcement (Klockars, 1972; Werth, 2012). If clients think that their POs are supposed to connect them with NoVA, and POs think clients are supposed to actively seek out these services (to some extent), then this disconnect might undermine the purpose of NoVA.

Although the findings of this thesis do not address this implication, it should be considered because instead of partnering POs with their clients and encouraging both to find ways out of violence, the mixed message could end in little motivation to collaborate and resentment on each end when services are under-utilized.

Beyond the stakeholder-client interactions that NoVA influenced, NoVA introduced obstacles into the existing P&P hierarchy, changing the ways in which information flowed and stakeholders related to one another in the context of NoVA. As predicted by institutional theory (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; McCleary, 1975), the new rhetoric forced the agency to change and adapt. However complex this new hierarchy became, it acted as a new conduit for NoVA rhetoric, forming a “hierarchy of knowledge” that benefitted stakeholders, and helped to centralize the message within P&P. Without the reconfigured hierarchy, NoVA rhetoric would likely have been more confusing, and communication less productive, than it ultimately was. The centralized district administrator and PO helped streamline the NoVA message, and funnel information through two liaisons instead of diffusing the message to multiple stakeholders at each district. Similar to Lynch’s (1998) analysis of the New Penology in probation and parole, this new model did not, “trickle down in a straight and direct path to the front lines” (p. 861). Instead, it found its way through the hierarchy in a more complicated way, changing structure, culture, and goals along the way.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Socio-legal research has extensively addressed the differences between the “law on the books” and the “law in action” (Jenness & Grattet, 2005; Lynch, 1998). Rhetoric does not exist in a vacuum before it hits the streets; there are complex environments and organizational cultures that determine how the rhetoric is interpreted and what its influence looks like. However, researchers have often taken for granted this dichotomy of the law, and rarely addresses the murky “law in between” (Jenness & Grattet, 2005) and the mechanisms by which law transforms into action. Neglecting to question this dichotomy has left policy makers in a precarious position of investing in creating “law” or “rhetoric” without actually taking care to make sure that that message is interpreted as intended. Instead, those creating policies and programs must take into consideration the idea that rhetoric can be heard but not understood (Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979; McCorkle & Crank, 1996), changing the way that we deliver a message and following it up to reinforce the principles being addressed. Additionally, understanding the ways in which rhetoric, policy, and law change an organization beyond street-level discretion can help in the implementation of policies that take advantage of organizational and cultural mechanisms of change, instead of merely taking them for granted.

Although NoVA rhetoric encountered barriers during program implementation, valuable lessons can be learned by looking at the mechanisms by which the message of NoVA traversed the boundary between “law on the books” and “law in action.”

Throughout the interviews and observations, it was evident that program rhetoric was expressed strongly and clearly to stakeholders; however, the rhetoric of NoVA was not so easily absorbed and interpreted by those stakeholders, and there were a variety of ways in which NoVA rhetoric appeared to be shallow and ceremonial instead of deep and meaningful (Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979; McCorkle & Crank, 1996). The changed hierarchy of NoVA was another aspect of the program that might have hindered transmission of rhetoric, but instead benefitted it by creating channels through which the rhetoric could flow smoothly (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Upon consideration of the complicated nature of introducing new rhetoric into organizations deeply entrenched in their own values and cultures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996), NoVA rhetoric was surprisingly easy for stakeholders to accede to. Future programs would benefit from the unified, concise message of NoVA, as long as it were accompanied by equally clear, repeated guidance so that stakeholders could feel confident in their application of the new rhetoric.

While the study of rhetoric has extensive policy implications, in the context of this thesis it also has value for the organizational, socio-legal, and criminal justice literatures. It is important to understand how criminal justice agencies function; they differ from other organizations not only in purpose, but also in clientele, funding, and politics (Dembo, 1972; Klockars, 1972; Maynard-Moody, Musheno & Palumbo, 1990; West & Seiter, 2004). By looking at the way that rhetoric moves through an organization and the impact it has, we can understand how that organization responds to pressure (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), whether rhetoric is accepted or ignored (Hagan, Hewitt & Alwin, 1979; Lynch,

1998; McCorkle & Crank, 1996), and how collaboration with other agencies is facilitated by rhetoric (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). In order to get the most out of the rhetoric used in an organization, we need to understand how words take on meaning, how individuals adopt that meaning, and most importantly, whether that meaning translates into changes in behavior and practice. If rhetoric is merely ceremonial, we should understand why the organization is not accepting its transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). Instead of reifying the false dichotomy of the “law on the books” and the “law in action,” we should understand and interrogate the gap between these two, as well as the rich culture that separates them and facilitates translation from one to the other (Jenness & Grattet, 2005).

APPENDIX A

NoVA | P&P Stakeholder Interview Guide | Time 1

Background

1. What is your current job title? How long have you held this job?
2. Can you describe NoVA for me?
3. How did Probation and Parole come to be involved in NoVA?
4. How long have you been involved with NoVA?
5. How did you come to be involved with NoVA?
 - a. What has this involvement looked like? How have you learned about NoVA? Have you been to meetings where you learned more about NoVA?
6. Did you receive any special training for NoVA? What was it like?
7. How were POs selected to participate in NoVA? (District administrators only)
8. What were your expectations for NoVA when you first started?

Goals

9. What are the goals of NoVA?
 - a. Probe for organizational and client-centered goals.
10. What are the goals of Probation and Parole's participation in NoVA? How were these goals communicated to you?
11. What are your personal goals for NoVA? What would you like to accomplish through your participation in NoVA?

NoVA Call-in

12. Did you attend a call-in? What was it like? Does anything stand out in your memory about the call-in?
13. What was the main message conveyed at the call-in?
14. What effect do you think the call-ins had for clients?
 - a. Have you encountered any resistance to NoVA from clients?

Experiences with NoVA

15. Has participation in NoVA changed your day-to-day job so far? How so?
 - a. Has it affected how much discretion you have with clients? (POs only)
16. What percent of your time would you say you spend on NoVA?
17. Has NoVA changed how you approach your job? How so?

Supervision

17. Can you describe how supervision works for NoVA clients?
 - a. Probe for: Frequency and duration of contacts, content/quality of contacts, conditions of supervision, likelihood of revocation for violation, violation process.
 - b. Can you describe a typical office visit with a NoVA client?
18. How is supervision different for NoVA clients than for regular P&P clients?
19. What is STACC supervision and how is it related to NoVA?

Service provision

20. Describe how service provision works for NoVA clients.
 - a. Probe for: How clients are linked up with services, who provides services, frequency and duration of service provision, consequences/incentives in place to ensure services are received
21. How is service provision different for NoVA clients than for regular P&P clients?

Coordination w/NoVA team

22. Have you coordinated or communicated so far with other parts of the NoVA project (e.g., KCPD, prosecutor's office, social services, ATF/DEA)? How so?
23. What does the organizational structure of NoVA look like? How are things communicated across this structure?
24. How do you feel about the way that NoVA is operating as a whole?

Challenges and benefits

25. Have there been any challenges so far with NoVA?
26. Have there been any benefits?

NoVA Wrap-up

27. If there was one thing that you wanted us to know about NoVA, what would it be?

28. If you were in charge of NoVA, what would you change?

Demographics

29. What is your race or ethnicity?

30. How old are you?

31. Are you religious? If so, what religion are you?

32. In terms of political affiliation, do you identify as more conservative or liberal?

33. What is your highest level of education?

34. How long have you lived in the Kansas City area?

35. How long have you worked in the criminal justice system? In what capacities?

Concluding Question

36. Are there any other questions that haven't come up yet that you think we should ask in interviews?

APPENDIX B

Consent for Participation in a Research Study

Implementation Evaluation of the Kansas City No Violence Alliance

Script:

Hello, my name is _____ from the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology from the University of Missouri-Kansas City. I am working with a team of evaluators who are conducting an evaluation of the KC NoVA project.

The purpose of this study is to find out how NoVA is being implemented in Kansas City and what people think about it. Stakeholder interviews are a valuable way to find out how NoVA is working and what may not be working so that suggestions can be made for future improvement.

For this study, I would like to hear about your experiences with NoVA. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in two separate in-person interviews over the next six months. Interviews will last approximately one hour each. There are no risks or direct benefits anticipated for participation in this study.

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not wish to participate, or if you wish to stop the interview once it has started, you may do so at any time for any reason. You may also choose to skip any questions that you do not want to answer. All interviews are completely confidential. No one outside the research team will have access to anything said during interviews. No report from this research will include information that will make it possible to identify you. No information from this research that personally identifies you will be voluntarily released or disclosed without separate written consent, except as specifically required by law.

Your interviews will be recorded with a digital recording device so the researchers can later go back and review your responses. No personal identifying information will be recorded, and only research staff will have access to the recordings. All recordings will be deleted from the researcher's computer once the study is complete.

Do you have any questions?

Would you like to participate?

REFERENCE LIST

- Benson, D., & Jordan, A. (2011). What have we learned from policy transfer research? Dolowitz and Marsh revisited. *Political Studies Review*, 9(3), 366-378).
- Bergin, T. (2011). How and why do criminal justice public policies spread throughout U.S. states? A critical review of the diffusion literature. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 22(4), 403-421.
- Brownlee, I. (1998). New labour – new penology? Punitive rhetoric and the limits of managerialism in criminal justice policy. *Journal of Law and Society*, 25(3), 313-335.
- Bullington, B., Katkin, D., & Hyman, D. (1982). Rhetoric and reality in the reform of juvenile justice policy. *Policy Studies Review*, 2(2), 230-238.
- Cheliotis, L.K. (2006). How iron is the iron cage of new penology? The role of human agency in the implementation of criminal justice policy. *Punishment & Society*, 8(3), 313-340.
- Dembo, R. (1972). Orientation and activities of the parole officer. *Criminology*, 10(2), 193-215.
- DiMaggio, P.J., & Powell, W.W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), 147-160.
- Dolowitz, D., Greenwold, S., & Marsh, D. (1999). Policy transfer: Something old, something new, something borrowed, but why red, white and blue? *Parliamentary Affairs*, 52(4), 719-730.

- Dolowitz, D., & Marsh, D. (1996). Who learns what from whom: A review of the policy transfer literature. *Political Studies*, 44(2), 343-357.
- Dolowitz, D., & Marsh, D. (2012). The future of policy transfer research. *Political Studies Review*, 10(3), 339-345.
- Emerson, R.M., Fretz, R.I., & Shaw, L.L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic field notes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feeley, M.M. & Simon, J. (1992). The new penology: Notes on the emerging strategy of corrections and its implications. *Criminology*, 30(4), 449-473.
- Fox, K.J. (1999). Changing violent minds: Discursive correction and resistance in the cognitive treatment of violent offenders in prison. *Social Problems*, 46(1), 88-103.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Hagan, J., Hewitt, J.D., & Alwin, D.F. (1979). Ceremonial justice: Crime and punishment in a loosely coupled system. *Social Forces*, 58(2), 506-527.
- Hennink, M., Hutter, I., & Bailey, A. (2011). *Qualitative research methods*. London: Sage.
- Ismaili, K. (2006). Contextualizing the criminal justice policy-making process. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 17(3), 255-269.
- Kerbs, J.J., Jones, M., & Jolley, J.M. (2009). Discretionary decision making by probation and parole officers: The role of extralegal variables as predictors of responses to technical violations. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 25(4), 424-441.
- Klockars, C.B., Jr. (1972). A theory of probation supervision. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 63(4), 550-557.

- Kondra, A.Z., & Hurst, D.C. (2009). Institutional processes of organizational culture. *Culture and Organization*, 15(1), 39-58.
- Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lynch, M. (1998). Waste managers? The new penology, crime fighting, and parole agent identity. *Law & Society Review*, 32(4), 839-870.
- Maynard-Moody, S., Musheno, M., & Palumbo, D. (1990). Street-wise social policy: Resolving the dilemma of street-level influence and successful implementation. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 43(4), 833-848.
- McCleary, R. (1975). How structural variables constrain the parole officer's use of discretionary powers. *Social Problems*, 23(2), 209-225.
- McCorkle, R., & Crank, J.P. (1996). Meet the new boss: Institutional change and loose coupling in parole and probation. *The American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 21(1), 1-25.
- Peckham, S., Mays, N., Hughes, D., Sanderson, M., Allen, P., Prior, L., Entwistle, V., Thompson, A., & Davies, H. (2012). Devolution and patient choice: Policy rhetoric versus experience in practice. *Social Policy & Administration*, 46(2), 199-218.
- Pedersen, J.S., & Dobbin, F. (2006). In search of identity and legitimation: Bridging organizational culture and neoinstitutionalism. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49(7), 897-907.

- Peterson-Badali, M., & Broeking, J. (2010). Parents' involvement in the youth justice system: Rhetoric and reality. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice/La Revue canadienne de criminology et de justice pénale*, 52(1), 1-27.
- Ugwudike, P. (2011). Mapping the interface between contemporary risk-focused policy and frontline enforcement practice. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 11(3), 242-258.
- Werth, R. (2012). I do what I'm told, sort of: Reformed subjects, unruly citizens, and parole. *Theoretical Criminology*, 16(3), 329-346.
- West, A.D., & Seiter, R.P. (2004). Social worker or cop? Measuring the supervision styles of probation & parole officers in Kentucky and Missouri. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 27(2), 27-57.

VITA

Kristen Denise Maziarka was born in Wisconsin in 1989. She graduated from Living Word Lutheran High School in Jackson, Wisconsin as class Salutatorian in 2007. After living in Germany for a year after high school, she received her Associate's degree from the University of Wisconsin-Washington County in 2010, and finished her Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse in 2012. At UW-La Crosse, she also minored in Sociology and Criminal Justice and graduated with highest honors and as a member of Psi Chi and Alpha Kappa Delta.

In 2012, Ms. Maziarka began work toward her Master's degree in Criminal Justice and Criminology at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, where she worked as a graduate teaching assistant for two years and a graduate research assistant on the KC-NoVA project for one summer. During her time at UMKC, Ms. Maziarka was treasurer of Alpha Phi Sigma, the National Criminal Justice Honor's Society. She also published a paper in the Journal of the Institute of Justice and International Studies, presented a poster at the national meeting of the American Society of Criminology, and will be presenting on a panel at the 2014 meeting of the Law and Society Association after graduation. Ms. Maziarka plans to pursue her Ph.D. in Criminology, Law and Society at the University of California-Irvine upon completion of her Master's degree.