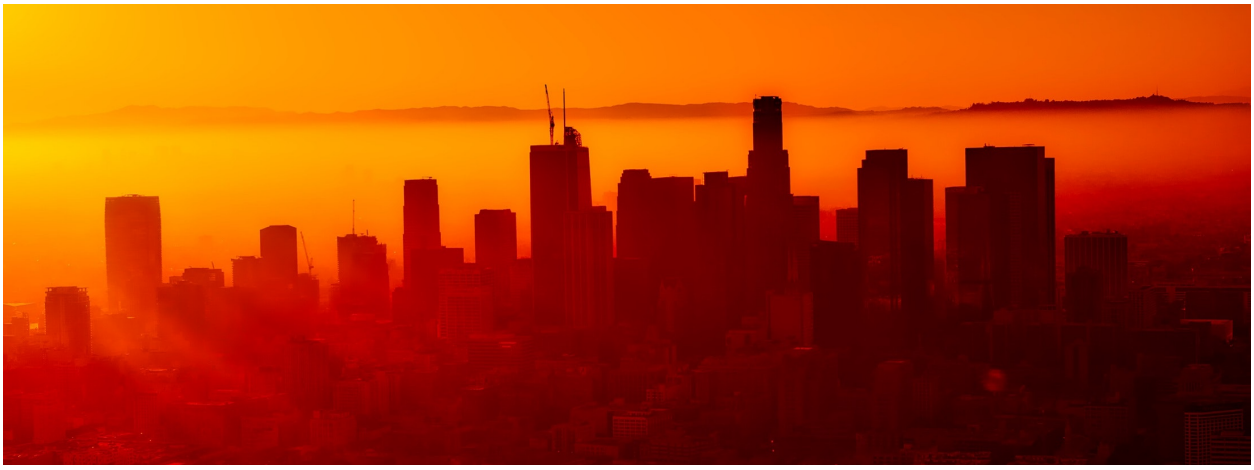
THE WORK EXPERIENCES OF LASD CUSTODY PERSONNEL:

RESULTS TO INFORM THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT, SUPPORT, AND RETENTION OF AN EXCELLENT WORKFORCE

Executive Summary

The Work Experiences of LASD Custody Personnel: Results to Inform the Professional Development, Support, and Retention of an Excellent Workforce



This report represents the culmination of a collaboration between key stakeholders. Working with independent researchers, the Los Angeles County Office of Inspector General (OIG), the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD) leadership, the Association for Los Angeles Deputy Sheriffs (ALADS), and the Los Angeles County Professional Peace Officers Association (PPOA) unions administered a comprehensive survey of jail employees in December 2019. In all, more than 500 custody employees—including custody assistants, deputies, senior deputies, and sergeants—participated in the study. The findings provide a representative picture of how LASD jail employees experience their jobs and interact with people in custody.

The purpose of this project was to understand how to support and retain an excellent professional workforce. Beyond improving work experiences, the survey had two more goals. First, it gave employees the opportunity for direct input into administrative decision-making. Many participants expressed gratitude for this opportunity. Second, it established a baseline of employee experiences within the jails. This baseline may serve as a starting point to gauge progress toward organizational objectives in the future.

The analysis focused on identifying evidence-based opportunities for improvement. The intention of the study was not to evaluate specific policies or practices. Instead, the report makes recommendations about strengthening support for employees, improving the jails' operation, and fulfilling the LASD's mission to establish and sustain safe and peaceful communities. These recommendations fall into five categories:

1. the perceived inferior status of custody staff;
2. challenges with morale and understaffing;
3. interactions with people in custody;
4. custody perceptions of the purpose of their work; and
5. use of force policies and staff safety.

Each category relates to core LASD goals of enforcing laws fairly and promoting safety and accountability.

In general, employees' on-the-job experiences explained everything from their desires to quit to their understandings of the purpose of custody. Difficult to change and immutable background and job characteristics such as education, race, and rank were less relevant. This is good news. Perceptions and experiences can be changed and changed quickly through evidence-based interventions. Indeed, the findings point toward feasible and readily available interventions in day-to-day practices. Moreover, improving staff experiences would have wide-reaching benefits. The well-being of the incarcerated and those who work in jails are intertwined. A happier, safer workplace is in everyone's interest.

Below we present a broad overview of the findings and suggest interventions to improve the Custody Service Division. The full, technical report includes information about the research and statistical methods used and a detailed analysis of the findings.

Overall

Some themes emerged across all five of the focus areas. First, the survey itself was valuable to staff. The response rates were high, refusal rates were low, and participants volunteered detailed qualitative comments. The participants appreciated the opportunity to express their opinions on topics they care about. Second, the findings varied distinctively across facilities. Employees who work at smaller, lower-security facilities reported fewer negative work experiences across a large number of outcomes. Third, we consistently found that perceptions of risk were associated with adverse effects, like more use of force, stress and fear. On the other hand, perceived job dangerousness seems to confer a degree of valor and prestige to custody. This intriguing pattern suggests the need to lower the level of fear but also the need to enhance the meaningfulness of the work. Fourth, supportive supervisors were influential and beneficial across many models. Fifth, while custody assistants were frequently unhappy with their jobs, they also reported fewer problems on the job. For instance, custody assistants report fewer

hostile encounters with people in custody. Based on these results, we recommend the following:

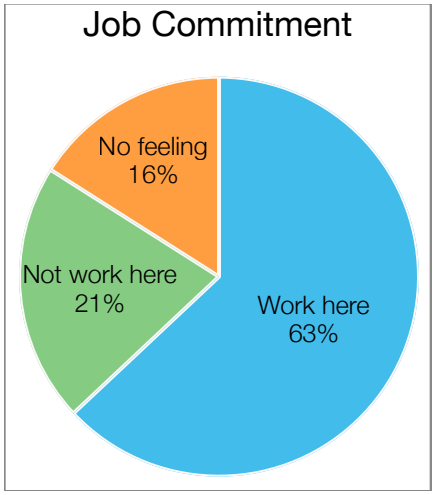
- Share the results of the survey with custody personnel, especially survey participants. Administer the survey annually. These steps will increase a sense of "being heard" and provide data about how outcomes have improved over time.
- Target interventions by the facility. Individual facilities have distinct needs and opportunities.
- Emphasize and reward a culture of professional service rather than a culture of bravery. This will reduce the harmful effects of fear seen across the analytic models by lowering the salience of danger.
- Reward custody personnel for accomplishments that advance fairness, accountability, and trust. This will encourage a culture of professional service, decrease hostile encounters, and improve outcomes for people held in custody.
- Encourage supportive supervision. Promising strategies include increased transparency in decisions about job assignments, scheduling, and recognition.
- Improve opportunities for professional growth and promotion within the custody division.
- Address custody assistants' frustrations as second-class employees.

Custody versus Patrol

Custody staff are de-moralized. Respondents believed that opportunities and respect accrue to people who work patrol. It is no surprise then that a sizable percentage of employees assigned to custody have a strong preference for a career in patrol. People who prefer to work patrol report higher levels of job dissatisfaction. Of more significant concern, people who have made their careers in custody do not feel valued by the LASD. There is also broad agreement that the skills gained in custody are not useful working patrol and vice versa. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Develop strategies that communicate the value of custody and custody-specific skills.
- Create and sustain opportunities to reward custody experience and accomplishments.
- Reevaluate the practice of requiring deputies to serve a period of time in the custody division.
- Invest in those who are committed to a career in custody to improve recruitment, job satisfaction, and retention within the LASD.

Morale and Understaffing



If you were free to choose, would you prefer or not prefer to continue working for this organization?

A majority of staff were committed to working for the LASD. Still, close to sixty percent of employees described the LASD as "seriously off track" and, many employees were dissatisfied and shared their intention to look for a new job. Unhappy workers were understandably more likely to say they intended to leave their jobs. But we also identified specific experiences that increase job satisfaction and commitment. Staff who felt supported by their supervisors and believed work assignments were fair were more satisfied and committed to their jobs. On the other hand, staff who perceived scheduling and work assignment policies as unfair experienced significant stress and suffered lower morale. These experiences are more prevalent at larger, higher-security facilities. Low morale is more clearly related to human resource practices than other job experiences and attitudes. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Make scheduling and work assignment policies transparent and responsive to staff concerns.
- Prioritize predictable and equitable work assignments. Employees at larger, higher security facilities consistently reported higher levels of unfairness.
- Match preferences about the number of overtime shifts worked. Staff frequently complained about the number of overtime shifts worked. Some people wanted more overtime, but others wanted fewer shifts.
- Improve the fairness of work policies and processes, reduce fear, and increase supervisory support. Targeting these experiences will have a direct, positive effect on morale and retention.

Interactions with People in Custody

Staff frequently have both friendly and hostile interactions with people in custody. Employees who feel that the LASD respects their work report more friendly interactions with people in custody. Employees who are fearful, vigilant for signs of danger, and believe that racial inequality influences how people in custody treat them have more hostile interactions. Training can reduce hostile interactions and improve the well-being of employees and people in custody.

Although staff believe mental illness is a serious problem, DeVRT has provided them with skills to identify and handle the problem. Still, the majority of custody personnel felt unsafe working with people with serious mental illness, and there was agreement about the need for more and higher quality treatment. Study participants also reported a lack of coordination between custody personnel, clinicians, and medical professionals.

Staff generally perceive each other and people in custody as receiving equal treatment regardless of their race or ethnicity. However, women and those with higher levels of education report more concerns about racial inequality. Fear, race relations, and hostile and friendly encounters are interrelated. Improvements in one area are likely to yield improvements in the other areas.

These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Encourage positive interactions between staff and people in custody. This would improve the well-being of both.
- Decrease employees' levels of vigilance, fear, and perceptions of unequal treatment.
- Maintain DeVRT, which has been effective in reducing fear and building confidence. Look at what can be replicated in this program for other training.
- Improve cooperation between mental health and medical providers and custody personnel.

Purpose of the Work

Although employees were divided over the main purpose of jails, respondents generally indicated respect for people in custody. Still, we observed a lack of support for a human service orientation. Few jail employees thought they had an obligation to help people in custody cope with problems or adjust to jail. Employees also expressed limited support for regulating their authority and explaining decisions. These beliefs and expectations may undermine the mission of the LASD to proactively prevent crime and enhance trust through accountability.

Beliefs about respect, accountability, and human service are also linked to workplace safety. Respondents who thought people in custody were likely to hurt them were less likely to respect those people and less likely to see a need to explain their decisions. On the other hand, respondents with a valorous orientation were more respectful toward people in custody and more willing to explain their decisions.

These findings suggest the opportunity to:

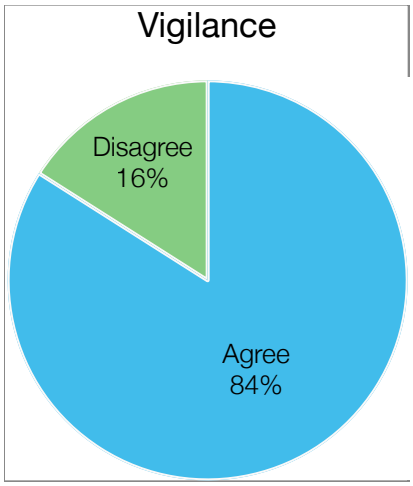
- Implement trainings that support professional, human services orientations.
- Encourage and reward a procedurally just orientation to lower hostility and fear and improve cooperation.

- Provide training in evidence-based correctional practices, which result in better public safety outcomes.

Use of Force Policies and Staff Safety

Custody staff were ambivalent about the use of force, but understood, and at least somewhat agreed with, existing rules restricting the use of force. Employees who were more respectful toward people in custody and more willing to explain their decisions, were less likely to support uses of force.

Respondents who had frequent hostile encounters with people in custody and view the work as risky reported more fear of being victimized at work. Indeed, most of our respondents thought that people in custody would hurt them given a chance. Yet, there is only a weak relationship between fear and actual experiences of victimization. We observed little variation in average levels of fear between facilities, despite substantive differences in the actual prevalence of workplace victimization. And, there was little to no relationship between experiencing workplace victimization and being afraid of workplace victimization.



In this job, if you let your guard down and relax too much you're likely to get hurt.

High levels of fear on the job have significant adverse effects. Fear increases stress, vigilance on the job and outside of work, and support for using force on the job. Employees with lower levels of respect for people in custody and a distaste for explaining their decisions were also more likely to support the use of force. Workplace safety and cultural messages about the value of performing dangerous work have complex and contradictory relationships to employee well-being and organizational effectiveness.

These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Develop strategies to limit the frequency of hostile encounters. This would reduce the fear of workplace victimization and, in turn, reduce stress and improve health.
- Encourage positive interactions between people in custody. This has the potential to reduce perceived unfairness, use of force incidents, and improve staff well-being.
- Develop strategies to mitigate and minimize *fear* of workplace victimization. Fear, rather than actual victimization, predicts adverse effects on overall well-being. Reducing fear will improve both staff well-being and institutional functioning.
- Cultivate a commitment to fair treatment. Clearly articulate the value and effectiveness of procedurally just, evidence-based practices. This will inhibit excessive uses of force.

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The findings, opinions, conclusions, and recommendations expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Los Angeles County Office of Inspector General (OIG) or the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD). The authors thank the LASD Custody Services Division, the Association for Los Angeles Deputy Sheriffs, and the Los Angeles County Professional Peace Officers Association for their support of this research, which was instrumental in obtaining an exceptional level of participation in the study. The authors are especially grateful to those who participated in the survey and thank them for generously sharing their experiences and insights.

TECHNICAL REPORT

THE WORK EXPERIENCES OF LASD CUSTODY PERSONNEL: RESULTS TO INFORM THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT, SUPPORT, AND RENTION OF AN EXCELLENT WORKFORCE

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November 20, 2020

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INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

This report represents the culmination of a collaboration between key stakeholders. Working with independent researchers, the Los Angeles County Office of Inspector General (OIG), the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD) leadership, the Association for Los Angeles Deputy Sheriffs (ALADS), and the Los Angeles County Professional Peace Officers Association (PPOA) unions administered a comprehensive survey of jail employees. In all, more than 500 custody employees—including custody assistants, deputies, senior deputies, and sergeants—participated in the study. The findings provide a representative picture of how LASD jail employees experience their jobs and interact with people in custody.

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reaching benefits. The well-being of the incarcerated and those who work in jails are intertwined. A happier, safer workplace is in everyone's interest.

Below, we present a full, technical report of our findings, including information about the research and statistical methods used and a detailed analysis of the findings. At the conclusion of this report, we suggest interventions to improve the Custody Service Division. For a more concise, "big picture" overview of our findings, please see the separate "Executive Summary."

METHODS

SURVEY DESIGN

In the Fall of 2017, the independent researchers, who designed and conducted this survey, visited each jail facility in Los Angeles County and conducted informal conversations and focus groups with line staff, over the course of day-long tours through the units at each facility. We sought to identify through these conversations (1) the substance of challenges faced on the job and in need of more sustained attention, (2) issues and terminology specific to LASD that needed to be incorporated into the survey, and (3) procedures that would maximize survey participation. Based on these conversations, as well as meetings with OIG staff, ALADS and PPOA leadership, LASD leadership, and reviews of prior surveys that had been conducted of LASD employees, and a review of internal policies we developed a list of topical areas of focus: workplace stressors, relationship to work roles and responsibilities, perceptions of organizational support, safety-and-wellness, and knowledge of attitudes to reform agendas.

- 55-question survey
- Key topics:
  - Workplace stress
  - Work roles
  - Perceptions of organizational support
  - Safety-and-wellness,
  - Attitudes to reform

For each category, we identified available appropriate, scientifically valid measures of key concepts that had been used in prior surveys of law enforcement employees and correctional staff. In addition, the research team created new measures to assess specific questions posed by the Sheriff's Department and edited the language of existing measures carefully to apply to the specific context of the LASD jails. The draft survey was then reviewed and edited by OIG staff, ALADS, PPOA, and LASD leadership, and piloted at Men's Central Jail with 8 volunteer staff members representing the four ranks ultimately included in the survey pool (custody assistants, deputies, senior deputies, and sergeants) in March of 2019. This group suggested some minor changes to language for alignment with the terminology used among jail staff, and the survey was finalized. The final survey was 16 printed pages and 55 questions, including 10 basic demographic questions (about employment history, age,

education, and race), along with various validated scales. A copy of the survey is included in the Appendix.

The survey was administered to a representative sample of all custody assistants, deputies, senior deputies, and sergeants working in any Los Angeles County jail facility. To maintain the anonymity of participants, a sampling frame was created that included every shift and post. A stratified random sample of posts was then drawn from each institution, representing approximately 20 percent of the facility staff that met the study criteria. A day of the week was then randomly chosen for survey distribution to ensure that every person in the target population had an equal chance of being asked to complete a questionnaire.

SURVEY ADMINISTRATION

Between August and September 2019, self-administered, paper-and-pencil surveys were distributed in person at the eight Los Angeles County jail facilities including Men's Central Jail (MCJ), Inmate Reception Center (IRC), Century Regional Detention Facility (CRDF), North County Correctional Facility (NCCF), Pitchess Detention Center—South Facility (PDC South), Pitchess Detention Center—North Facility (PDC North), Twin Towers Correctional Facility (TTCF), and Los Angeles County + USC Medical Center(LCMC) as well as to Access Care Bureau (ACB) staff based at headquarters and working across multiple facilities. One researcher spent a day at each facility, for at least two of the three shifts. With an escort assigned by the facility, she walked to each unit or post selected to participate in the survey, gathered staff together, explained the goals of the survey, and the process for filling it out, answered any questions, and distributed paper surveys to all eligible staff.

The printed survey was distributed with a sealing manila envelope, so that staff could anonymously complete the survey and seal it back into the manila envelope (or seal a blank survey in the envelope if they did not wish to participate). She then returned, at least 2 hours later to collect surveys from staff on each selected unit or post. In order to sample posts on EM shift, the researcher identified a staff member or supervisor working a double shift, explained the survey administration process, left the requisite number of surveys with them to distribute to EM staff, and returned the following day (or week) to collect the EM surveys. Staff who returned a survey sealed in a manila envelope received a raffle ticket as a gesture of gratitude. The facilities subsequently raffled off one $50 and one $100 gift certificate, donated by ALADS and PPOA, to the survey participants. The designated raffle organizer at each facility simply sent an email to all facility staff with the numbers of the winning tickets; staff in possession of those tickets then claimed their prize. To summarize,

- 592 surveys collected
- Cooperation rate: 96% (23 of 592 surveys were blank)
- Response rate: 62% (592 of 912 surveys returned)

the researchers in no way tracked who participated in the study, nor did we record from which post any one survey was collected.

Nine hundred and twelve surveys were distributed to facilities and 592 surveys were returned in any form, suggesting that staff members, because of absence, workload, or some other reason, never had an opportunity to look at the survey. Of the 592 sealed envelopes returned, only 23 were blank, representing an impressive cooperation rate of 96 percent. The response rate by institution is reported in Table 1. The overall response rate was 62.4%. MCJ had a low initial response rate.[1] An oversample of an additional 128 MCJ employees was collected in December 2019 to ensure the results were representative by facility. In total, then, we analyzed 569 surveys for this report. This is an impressively high response rate for this kind of study, and, equally impressive, refusal rates (the number of blank surveys) were near zero. The survey took most people more than an hour to complete, and dozens added additional qualitative comments. This suggests this survey was well-received, and respondents were engaged. The survey methods and high response rate increase our confidence that the results presented below are representative of the experiences of all LASD custody personnel.

Table 1. Sample and Response Rates

	Distributed	Returned	Blank	N	Response Rate
ACB/LCMC	49	29	0	29	59.2%
CRDF	88	30	1	29	33%
IRC	119	101	3	98	82.4%
NCCF	81	62	1	61	75.3
TTCF	149	109	9	100	67%
PDC North	55	54	3	51	92.7%
PDC South	46	37	0	37	80.4%
MCJ Sample 1	141	42	5	37	26.2%
MCJ Sample 2	184	128	1	127	69%
Total	912	592	23	569	62.4%

Table 2 reports the sample characteristics, adjusted by the sampling weights. Among those sampled, 25% were custody assistants, 62% were deputies, 6% were senior deputies, and 7% were sergeants. The survey participants had an average of seven and a half years of work

[1] The lower initial response from MCJ may have been influenced by the fact that this was the only facility randomly sampled on a Saturday. No statistically significant differences between the oversample and the original respondents was found.

experience at the LASD, and close to a quarter had worked patrol at some time. More than 8 out of 9 participants reported some college education, although just 28% had earned a Bachelor's degree or higher. Forty-one percent of the sample reported being between 25 and 34 years of age, and 18% of the sample was female. Finally, 55% of sample identified as Hispanic, 29% as White, 8% as Black/African American, 5% as Asian, and 3% identified as another race or ethnicity.

Table 2. Sample Characteristics

Job Title	
Custody Assistant	25%
Deputy	62%
Senior Deputy	6%
Sergeant	7%
Percentage with Patrol Experience	23%
Average Job Tenure	7.5
Education	
Highschool/GED	15%
Some College	42%
Associate's Degree	16%
Bachelor's Degree	24%
Advanced Degree	4%
Age	
18-24	9%
25-34	41%
35-44	29%
45-54	17%
55-64	4%
65+	1%
Gender	
Female	18%
Male	82%
Race	
Asian	5%
Black/African American	8%
Hispanic	55%
White	29%
Other	3%

SURVEY ANALYSIS

We tabulated the 569 paper survey responses using Remark Optical Mark Recognition software, which optically scans and records responses to survey questions. We then checked the original paper survey for any missing or uncaptured survey responses. The data were cleaned and analyzed in the statistical software program Stata. Below, we report descriptive distributions of responses to each question in a series of tables and charts. Unless otherwise noted, the descriptive results are weighted to account for the sampling methodology. We then conducted more robust analyses to understand the relationships between different facilities, individual characteristics, and categories of questions, focusing on identifying themes and answering key questions related to the five topical areas of focus identified in designing the survey, as described above.

In addition to the quantitative analysis presented below, we present quotations drawn from open-ended comments offered by the participants who were asked to share "anything else about your work or about the survey." Of the surveys returned, 129 included handwritten comments at the end of the survey. We systematically read through the comments and independently identified four main categories of prevalent themes: problems with supervisors undermining decisions, retaliation, discrimination, and engaging in favoritism (identified in more than one-third of handwritten comments); perceptions of being second-class relative to jail inmates, deputies (for custody assistants), and patrol deputies (identified in more than half of hand-written comments); feelings of vulnerability, including feeling unsafe because of understaffing, physical conditions, requirements to comply with flawed external oversight rules, and experiencing stress and low morale (identified in more than half of hand-written comments); and concerns with instability in terms of both constant policy changes and unpredictable work schedules (identified in about one-quarter of written comments). We include representative quotes related to these themes where they illustrate quantitative report findings analyzed in the text below.

All of the descriptive results and multivariate analyses reported below were adjusted by sampling weights that account for the sampling design used in the study.

RESULTS

STATUS: CUSTODY, PATROL OR BOTH?

Key Question: What influences people's preferences for working in custody?

Key Findings: People prefer working in custody when they feel safe, respected, and supported by their supervisor. However, a large percentage of employees do not feel that the LASD values custody.

The complex relationship between custody and patrol was a central topic of concern we identified, first, by reviewing historic organizational documents, and then in speaking with custody staff across jail facilities. Survey questions were developed to better understand how staff members perceive these job categories, which assignment staff prefer, and how these perceptions and preferences relate. In this section, we present a series of descriptive figures and analytic models to document varying preferences for custody versus patrol work and predictors of these preferences. Next, we systematically identify under what conditions custody staff feel respected in, satisfied with, and committed to these jobs. This analysis allows us to identify specific areas of focus that are most likely to improve employees' sense of respect and appreciation for their jobs.

Respondents overwhelmingly believed that a custody career is potentially rewarding, but expressed a strong actual preference for a patrol career. Indeed, the perception that custody is less respected than patrol was a pervasive theme in both our analysis of the quantitative survey data and the comments respondents wrote at the ends of surveys. Ultimately, interrogating the gap between custody potential and patrol preference yields concrete suggestions for realizing the theoretical rewards of a career in custody.

CUSTODY (VERSUS PATROL) PREFERENCES

We first report the responses to two specific questions we asked on the survey to gauge perceptions of and preferences for working custody: 1. Do you agree or disagree that "a person can have a rewarding career in custody"? 2. "If you were free to work in custody or patrol regardless of your current position, tenure, or training, what would your choice be?" We then explore how to better understand and reconcile the differences in responses to these two questions.

In Figure 1, we see two important things. First, two-thirds of respondents agree that "a person can have a rewarding career in custody." This captures the intrinsic appeal of the job; a super-majority of workers think they could, at least potentially, have a satisfying career working in custody. However, the modal category, or most common response, including more than one-quarter of all respondents, is "somewhat agree" that "a person can have a rewarding career in custody." This reveals substantial ambiguity among respondents about just how rewarding a job in custody is or could be. Indeed, in Figure 2, we see that nearly 70 percent of respondents said that, if they could freely choose to work in either custody or patrol, they would choose patrol. As one survey respondent explained in comments following the survey: "Custody is treated like the wicked stepchild of the department. You are not a real deputy until you go to patrol, and you are told that all the time." Another respondent described custody status as "second-class": "Tired of hearing 'well on patrol …' This is custody. I'm a second-class deputy b/c I chose a career in custody." In the abstract, respondents think custody could be rewarding, but when asked concretely about their job preferences, they strongly prefer patrol.

Figure 1. A person can have a rewarding career in custody

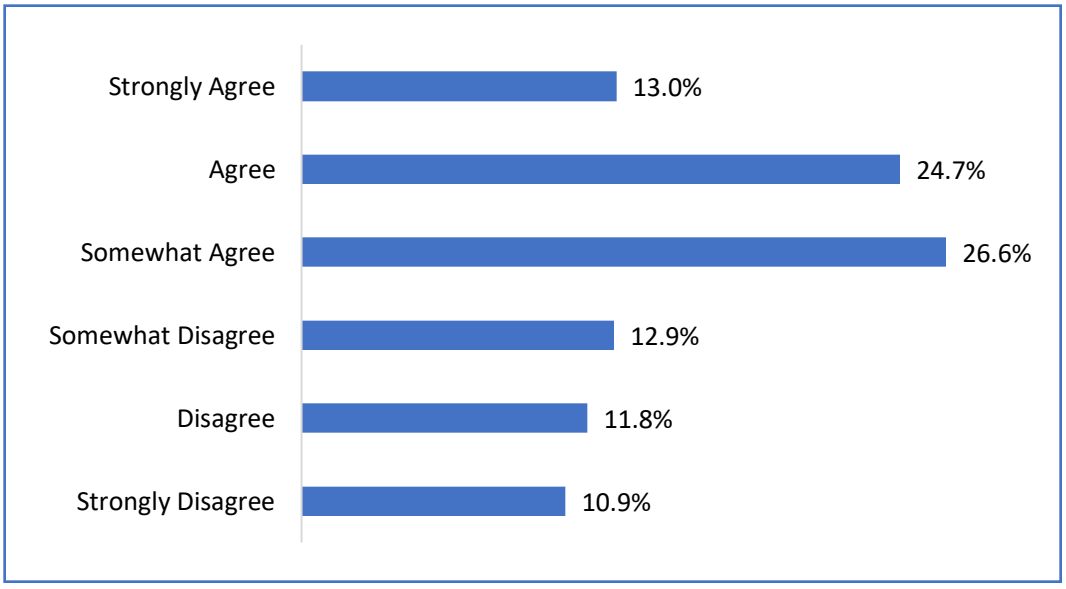


Figure 2. If you were free to work in custody or patrol regardless of your current position, tenure, or training, what would your choice be?

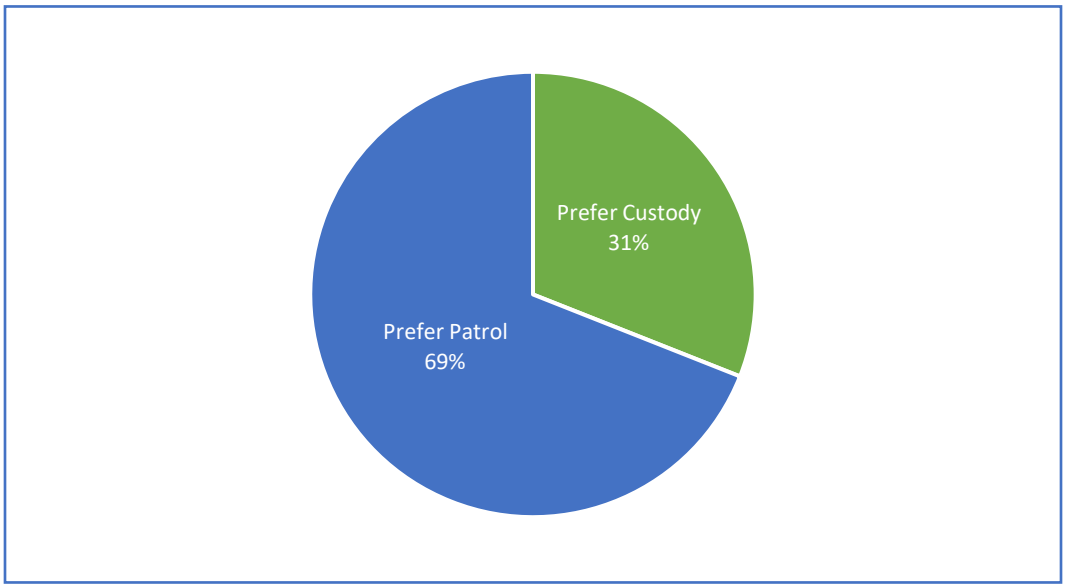
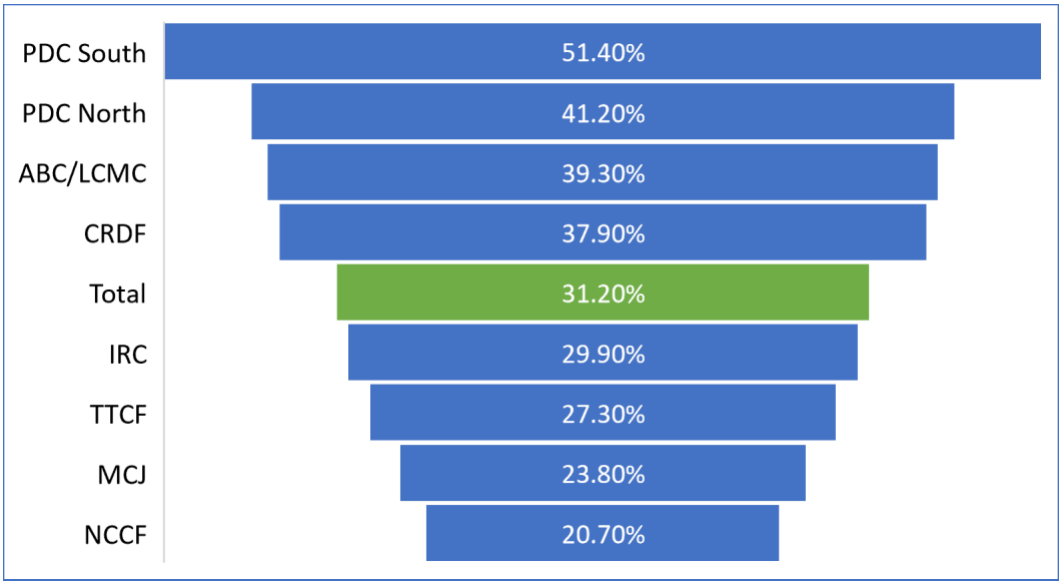


Figure 3. Percentage of Custody Personnel Who Prefer Working in Custody by Facility



In Figure 3, we see that respondents' preferences for working patrol vary significantly by facility: at PDC South (a small, lower security facility), more than half of respondents prefer their current jobs working in custody to working patrol, but at NCCF (a larger, higher security facility), nearly 80 percent of respondents would prefer to work patrol rather than to be in their current jobs

working in custody. We hypothesize that some combination of facility characteristics and clustering of experienced and satisfied employees in preferred facility placements and less experienced, less satisfied employees in less preferred facility placements likely explains some of these facility differences. Given the focus of our data on employees across facilities, however, we are better able to analyze the influence of cross-cutting characteristics on perceptions and preferences.

UNDERSTANDING CUSTODY (VERSUS PATROL) PREFERENCES

In Table 3, we report the results of a regression model to examine what characteristics and experiences (input or independent variables) explain whether or not respondents prefer working for custody. We include characteristics like age, gender, education, race, and rank, as well as scales that capture categories of experience, like perceptions of dangerousness, supervisory support, and respect for custody. The input variables that predict a preference for working in custody are largely associated with job tenure: other things being equal, the older a respondent is, the more likely s/he is to prefer working custody; the more experience ("job tenure") a respondent has, the more likely s/he is to prefer working custody; respondents who had worked patrol were half as likely to prefer working in custody as those who had not. We also note that, if you are white, you are almost twice as likely to prefer working in custody as non-white respondents. The factors that seem to have no effect on whether someone prefers working in custody are equally important: education, rank, shift worked, stress, and perceptions of respect for the job are all unrelated to whether someone prefers working in custody. Overall, the range of independent, predictor variables with no effect suggests that there is no ideal type of person who will or will not prefer a custody job.

Although most job characteristics had no effect, perceptions of workplace safety significantly influence a preference for custody. Other things being equal, respondents who believed that a greater proportion of people in custody pose a risk to their safety were slightly less likely to prefer working in custody. Counter-intuitively, however, respondents who reported that their job is dangerous were 1.4 times as likely to prefer custody as those who did not. As discussed in greater detail below, we suspect that perceived job dangerousness may confer a degree of valor to custody whereas the risk of harm is an objective detriment to job quality.

Table 3. Sources of a Preference for Working Custody, Logistic Regression

	Odds Ratio	Clustered Robust SE
Background Characteristics		
Age	1.36*	.19
Education	1.06	.12
White	1.97*	.47
Female	0.71	.31
Work Characteristics		
Custody Assistant	1.75	.8
Sergeant	0.79	.27
Patrol Experience	0.52*	.17
Support Function	0.7	.15
Day Shift	1.07	.36
Job Tenure	1.15*	.06
Work Perceptions		
Supervisory Support	.97	.22
Job Dangerousness	1.35*	.21
Respect for Custody	1.2	.17
Work Experiences		
Estimated Risk	0.99*	.01
Well Being		
General Stress	0.72	.13

Note: *result is statistically significant at the p<.05 level; an odds ratio above 1 indicates an increased odd of preferring custody over patrol, whereas an odds ratio below 1 indicates a decreased odd of preferring custody.

PERCEPTIONS OF CUSTODY STATUS OR RESPECT

In order to better understand why respondents overwhelmingly perceive custody as potentially rewarding but practically less preferable than working patrol, we analyze a number of questions comparing perceptions of respect for custody to perceptions of respect for patrol. Although respect for custody was not a significant predictor of a preference for working in custody, in the model we present in Table 3, respect for custody did emerge as a key variable distinguishing the perception of custody work as undervalued from perceptions of patrol work as highly valued. These findings are presented in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4. Perceived Need for Cross Training, Percentage Distribution

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
A person cannot really be successful in this organization unless they work patrol for a few years.	12.6%	15.1%	11.7%	15.4%	20.4%	24.8%
To really be effective on patrol, you need to develop skills that can only be learned by working custody.	18.2%	19.4%	18.6%	20.5%	16.5%	6.7%
To really be effective in custody, you need to develop skills that can only be learned by working patrol.	22.6%	31.6%	18.4%	12%	10.5%	4.8%

In Table 4, we juxtapose one perception question about how working patrol affects success within the organization with two practical questions about whether skills learned in custody are useful on patrol and whether skills learned on patrol are useful in custody. This allows us to separate out the perception of respect associated with patrol from perceptions of the practical usefulness of the experience. Indeed, responses to the two categories of questions are bifurcated. While 60 percent of respondents think that "a person cannot be successful in [LASD] unless they work patrol for a few years," fewer than one-quarter of respondents think that effective patrol requires skills that are learned working in custody, and even fewer (just over 15 percent) respondents think that effectiveness in custody requires skills that are learned on patrol.

In sum, respondents have a strong sense that legitimacy and respect accrue to people who work patrol, but little sense that skills across patrol and custody are useful to each other. One survey respondent articulated this exact idea well: "The unfortunate thing about having a sheriff who doesn't respect or care to give promotion opportunities to custody personnel is, when you take your job seriously, you make an effort to become an expert. I know very well that I would handle situations better than a handful of patrol-trained sergeants who have no idea what they're doing in a custody environment."

Table 5. Perceived Respect for Custody, Percentage Distribution

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The LASD executives place equal value on custody and patrol.	36.1%	25.3%	12.8%	9.4%	10.7%	5.7%
The LASD executives respect those who work custody.	21%	19.6%	21.2%	21.5%	13.2%	3.4%
The public values the contributions made by custody personnel.	25.1%	18.8%	20.2%	18.9%	11.4%	5.5%
In general, patrol is valued more in this organization than custody.	7.8%	7.2%	4.9%	10.4%	25.3%	44.4%

In Table 5, we shift from questions about how custody compares to patrol in terms of career skills and success, to questions about perceptions of respect for custody and how these perceptions of respect compare to perceptions of respect for patrol. Between one-quarter and, one-third of respondents perceive custody work as valued and respected. By contrast, 70 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "patrol is valued more in this organization than custody." The modal group—nearly half of all respondents—"strongly agreed" with this statement.

Table 6 reports the results of a regression model to examine what characteristics, experiences, and perceptions (input or independent variables) predict whether respondents believe custody is respected (the outcome or dependent variable). This outcome variable, respect for custody, is a scale composed of the four questions about perceptions of respect for custody summarized in Table 5. Importantly, the regression model explains more than half (r-squared of 0.53) of the variation in degrees of perceived respect across the respondents.[2] As with the model in Table 3, explaining a preference for working in custody, the older a respondent is, the more likely s/he is to perceive respect for custody. White respondents, however, are less likely to perceive custody as respected, even though they are more likely to prefer working in custody, suggesting that perhaps these respondents are especially sensitive to perceptions of custody's low status. While more time on the job ("job tenure") predicted a preference for working custody (in Table

[2] It is common in criminal justice research to obtain models that account for only 20 percent or less of variation in outcomes.

3), individuals with more seniority were less likely to believe that custody is respected by the LASD. Specifically, the longer respondents have worked in custody, the more likely they are to report perceptions of disrespect. As with racial predictors of preference for working in custody, this might suggest an increased sensitivity to perceptions of custody's low status over time or a longer organizational memory of historic slights.

Table 6. Predictors of Belief that Custody is Respected, Ordinary Least Squares Regression

	b	Se	beta
Background Characteristics			
Age	.22*	.06	.18*
Education	-.04	.04	-.04
White	-.2*	.09	-.07*
Female	-.05	.11	-.02
Work Characteristics			
Custody Assistant	.12	.11	.04
Sergeant	-.02	.17	0
Patrol Experience	-.17	.11	-.06
Support Function	-.01	.13	0
Day Shift	.08	.05	.05
Job Tenure	-.05*	.01	-.24*
Work Perceptions			
Job Dangerousness	-.67*	.04	-.74*
Supervisory Support	.2*	.05	.17*
Work Experiences			
Estimated Risk	0	0	0
Prefer Custody	.13	.11	.05
Well-Being			
General Stress	-.03	.07	-.02
		F	R^2
Model Statistics		30.76*	.53

Note: *result is statistically significant at the p<.05 level

Unlike innate respondent characteristics (like age, race, and job tenure), two other predictors of perceptions of respect for custody are potentially within the control of department supervisors and policymakers and so especially important for understanding how perceptions of respect for custody might be altered: perceived dangerousness of the custody job and perceptions of supervisory support. Just as perceived dangerousness predicts a preference for working in custody, it also predicts perceptions of disrespect for custody. In other words, the more

dangerous respondents perceived custody work to be, the less likely they are to believe the work is respected. In fact, variations in perceptions of dangerousness of custody work had the strongest influence on perceptions of respect for custody work among our respondents. This suggests that perceived dangerousness is both a status symbol (leading to a preference for working custody), but also a source of disrespect, to the extent that dangerousness is not recognized. Notably, risk (operationalized in the question: "What percentage of prisoners would hurt you given the opportunity?") is not a significant predictor of perceptions of respect for custody, suggesting that improving safety is unlikely to improve perceptions of respect.

Qualitative comments provide some insights into the way a lack of recognition of dangerousness can generate a perception of disrespect. For instance, a number of respondents noted that external jail oversight bodies[3] failed to recognize the everyday danger and discomfort of working in custody, prioritizing inmate over custody perspectives: "ACLU should work the line to get an actual experience of how a lot of the inmates treat staff. They tend to play victims when they know they are talking to ACLU." And other respondents described how concerns about disrespect from supervisors could actually create dangerous situations: "When people hesitate is when custody personnel get hurt because they are more worried about getting in trouble for force than they are about protecting themselves or their partners." Importantly, this feeling appears to be unrelated to the actual risk of workplace victimization. Instead, indifference toward the dangers of the job in combination with a lack of supervisory support contributes to feelings of disrespect for the work of custody personnel. As one respondent explained: "Many supervisors feel they need to 'scare' or have subordinates fear them. Not good. Supervisors undermine line staff and [the] decisions we make." The less supported respondents felt, the less respect (and value) they perceived for their work.

Feelings of vulnerability, whether because of perceived dangerousness of the job or perceived lack of supervisory support or both, constituted a general theme in the qualitative comments following the surveys, with 46 separate references to various experiences of feeling vulnerable or endangered. Addressing the interrelationship between respondents' sense of vulnerability and perceptions of disrespect could affect both institutional safety and employee morale. As we will show below, perceived respect for custody has a wide-ranging effect on other work-related attitudes, behaviors, and experiences. In spite of policies like the "dual track" program, custody remains demoralized relative to patrol. In the next section, in order to develop new

[3] We did not ask in the survey about specific oversight bodies, but some were mentioned in the open-ended qualitative comments following the survey. Three respondents mentioned the ACLU; others referred generally to oversight bodies.

recommendations for more effectively enhancing morale, we explore various measures of levels of morale among custody staff, along with predictors of lower and higher levels of morale.

MORALE AND UNDERSTAFFING

Key Questions: How committed are custody staff to their jobs? What experiences influence job commitment?

Key Findings: LASD custody staff are de-moralized. They report low levels of job satisfaction and commitment, which affects their intentions to leave. People who feel supported by their supervisors and treated fairly at work are more satisfied, committed, and less likely to quit. Improving the fairness of work assignments and optimizing preferences for overtime work could significantly improve morale.

We begin our analysis of morale among custody staff with two categories of questions: ones about job satisfaction (an affective measure) and ones about job commitment (a more active measure of how organizational attachment relates to intention to act). Overall, 78 percent of respondents were at least somewhat satisfied with their jobs in general (Figure 4). Well over half of respondents at least somewhat agreed with statements expressing commitment to LASD: pride in their job, loyalty to the administration, and similarity in values; well over half at least somewhat disagreed with the inverse of these statements: feeling little loyalty to LASD or little to be gained by sticking with the organization (Table 7). There was more variation in agreement with the statement "Often, I find it difficult to agree with the LASD's policies on important matters relating to its employees." Over half (56 percent) of respondents at least somewhat *agreed* with this statement, and fewer than one quarter (23 percent) disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Overall, these responses reflect a significant proportion of employees who express a variety of lukewarm perceptions about their satisfaction with and commitment to working in LASD.

One important consequence of both satisfaction and commitment (or lack thereof) is the intention to leave; in response to the question of whether they intended to leave the LASD in the next year, fewer than half of respondents (47 percent) reported that they "definitely" intended to stay, and more than one quarter (27 percent) reported that they were, at best, uncertain about whether they would stay (Figure 5). Similarly, when asked another variant of a question about commitment, whether they would prefer to continue working for LASD, more than one-third (37 percent) reported they were, at best, neutral about their preference to continue working for LASD (Figure 6). These benchmarks—more than one-quarter of the workforce is unsure or thinking about leaving LASD, and more than one third are indifferent or do not want to be there—are straightforward measures of morale that could readily be

targeted for improvement. Moreover, an intention to leave has important implications for addressing challenges associated with chronic understaffing.

Figure 4. All in all, how satisfied are you with your job in general?

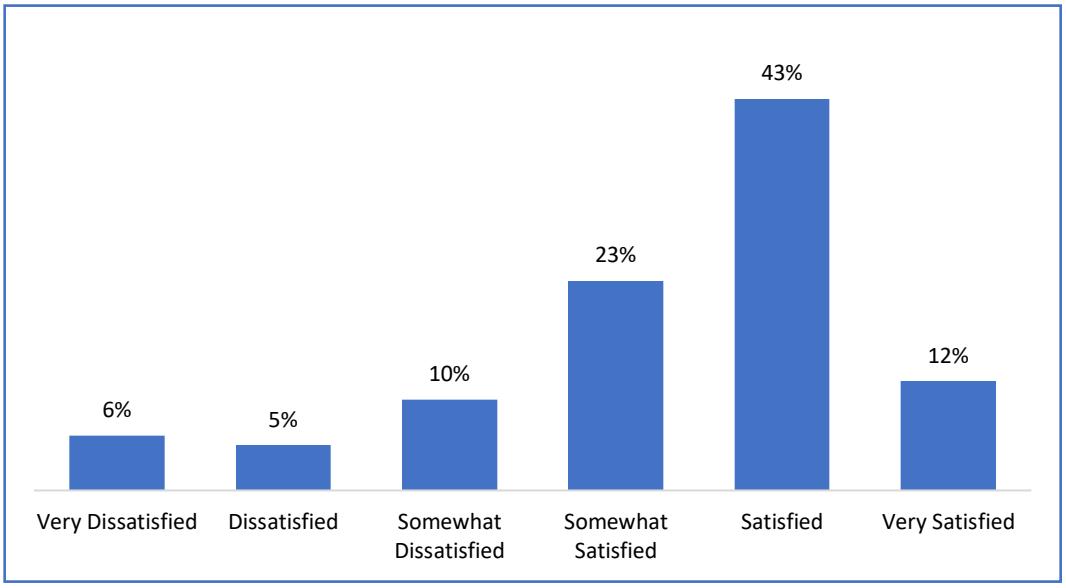


Figure 5. Intention to Leave the LASD in the Next Year

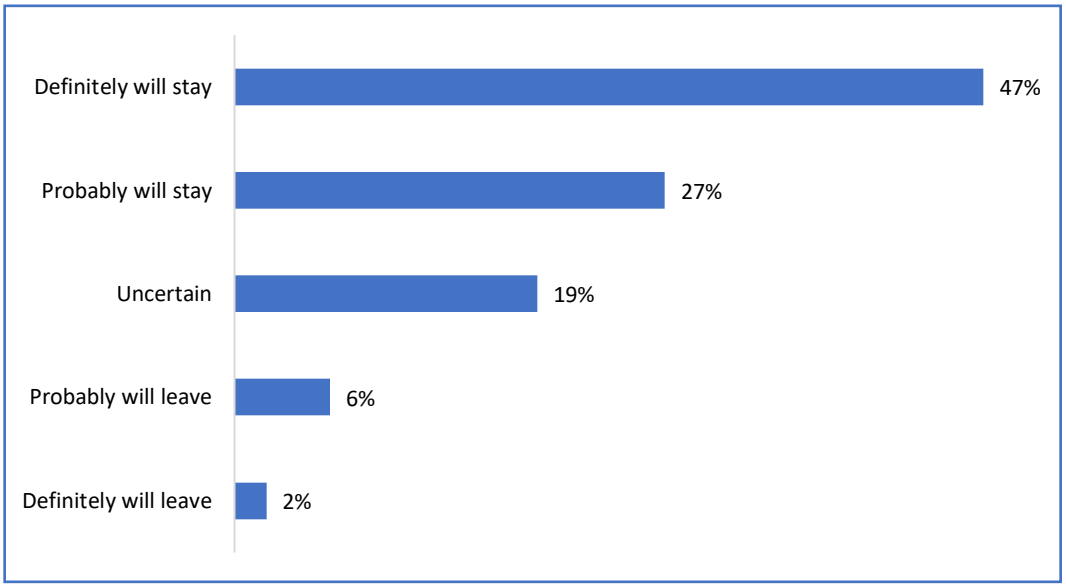


Figure 6. If you were free to choose, would you prefer or not prefer to continue working for this organization?

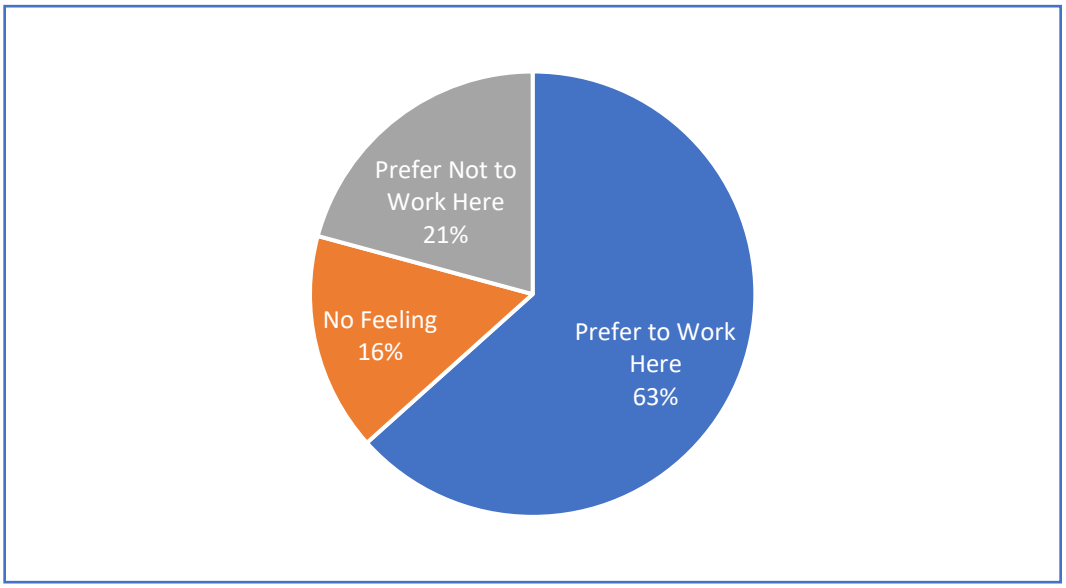


Table 7. Level of Job Commitment, Percentage Distribution

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organization.	10%	8%	7%	16%	34%	24%
I feel loyalty to the current administration.	12%	16%	19%	23%	23%	8%
I find that my values and the LASD's values are very similar.	8%	11%	14%	26%	29%	13%
There's not too much to be gained by sticking with the LASD indefinitely.	12%	34%	24%	11%	10%	9%
Often, I find it difficult to agree with the LASD's policies on important matters relating to its employees.	5%	18%	21%	26%	19%	11%
I feel very little loyalty to the LASD.	21%	32%	15%	11%	13%	8%

SUPERVISOR SUPPORT, FAIR WORK PRACTICES, AND OVERTIME SHIFTS

In order to facilitate ideas for improving these job satisfaction and commitment benchmarks, we explore, in this section, a number of possible influences on these lukewarm feelings: supervisory support, perceived levels of fairness, and perceptions of work-life balance. First, in Table 8, we report both the frequency and degree of agreement respondents expressed with statements designed to measure perceptions of supervisory support. Well over half of the respondents reported at least somewhat agreeing with positive statements about their supervisors being generally supportive – they are encouraging when people do a good job, stress the importance of the work, encourage doing the work in a way that respondents were proud of, show an interest in what staff have to say, and generally handle disputes in a professional way. Although respondents generally perceived their supervisors to be supportive, their responses suggested that they did not particularly trust these supervisors. Nearly two-thirds of respondents *disagreed* with positive statements suggesting that they could trust their supervisors: 63 percent at least somewhat disagreed with a statement about their confidence in the good intentions of their supervisors, and 64 percent at least somewhat disagreed that they trusted supervisors to make the right decisions. And well over half of the respondents also reported at least somewhat agreeing with negative statements about their supervisors failing to take responsibility: 58 percent of respondents at least somewhat agreed with the statement that "my immediate supervisor often blames others when things go wrong," and 52 percent at least somewhat agreed with the statement that "facility leadership often blames other when things go wrong." Importantly, as these two response patterns reveal, there was little distinction in the patterns of responses across immediate supervisor and facility leadership, a result also confirmed by a factor analysis[4] that revealed all of the questions reported in Table 8 measure the same latent concept. Improving perceptions of trust and responsibility in supervisors could, as the models at the end of this section suggest, ultimately improve morale.

[4] A factor analysis is a statistical technique that identifies the combination of variables that have the most information in common. In the analysis of questions measuring supervisory support, all of the items shared one factor in common, indicating that together they measure the same concept.

Table 8. Perceptions of Supervisory Support

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
My immediate supervisor often encourages the people I work with if they do their job well.	10%	14%	10%	22%	33%	12%	3.92
My immediate supervisor often blames others when things go wrong.	7%	12%	3%	18%	33%	17%	4.06
I often feel inclined to openly question my supervisors' directives.	6%	15%	20%	19%	30%	11%	3.87
The people I work with often have the importance of their work stressed to them by their immediate supervisor.	1%	23%	20%	26%	20%	5%	3.45
My immediate supervisor encourages us to do the job in a way that I can really be proud of.	7%	14%	16%	24%	30%	8%	3.82
My supervisors show an interest in what their people have to say.	10%	14%	14%	21%	31%	11%	3.80
When my immediate supervisor has a dispute with one of my fellow officers, they usually try to handle it in a professional way.	7%	11%	9%	20%	38%	15%	4.16
Facility Leadership often encourage us to do the job in a way that we can really be proud of.	11%	14%	17%	27%	23%	8%	3.59
Supervisors are not always respectful toward custody personnel.	11%	18%	18%	16%	25%	12%	3.60
Facility Leadership often blame others when things go wrong.	8%	22%	18%	22%	18%	12%	3.55
I always have confidence in the good intentions of my supervisors.	9%	28%	26%	15%	13%	9%	3.19
I trust my supervisors to make the right decisions.	8%	28%	28%	13%	13%	9%	3.18
I can always trust in the instructions of the supervisors to do my work correctly.	7%	29%	27%	17%	13%	7%	3.21
My supervisors treat everyone the same when making decisions.	6%	20%	22%	21%	16%	15%	3.64
Facility Leadership give explanations for decisions they make that affect us.	6%	18%	25%	19%	17%	15%	3.67

Second, in Figures 7 through 10, we report perceived levels of fairness, another set of findings that likely influence overall morale. We examine perceived levels of fairness by facility: application of rules governing employees (Figure 7), handling of scheduling (Figure 8), handling of work assignments (Figure 9), and handling of investigations into employee misconduct (Figure 10). Looking across these four figures, a few things are notable. First, perceived levels of fairness across each policy and all facilities are low to moderate. On a scale from 1 ("not fair at all") to 7 ("extremely fair"), most facilities, on most policies, range between 3 and 4. This indicates that the average respondent perceives policies to be less than, or, at best, barely fair. Second, perceptions of fairness vary notably across facilities, with some of the facilities having consistently higher perceptions of fairness across all policies (PDC South and North), and some of the facilities having consistently lower perceptions of fairness across all policies (CRDF and NCCF). These perceptions represent potential areas for strategic intervention: if people uniformly perceive scheduling policies and handling of work assignments to be unfair, especially at certain facilities, then these are specific policies ripe for improvement.

Figure 7. Mean Level of Perceived Fairness by Facility: Application of the Rules Governing Employees

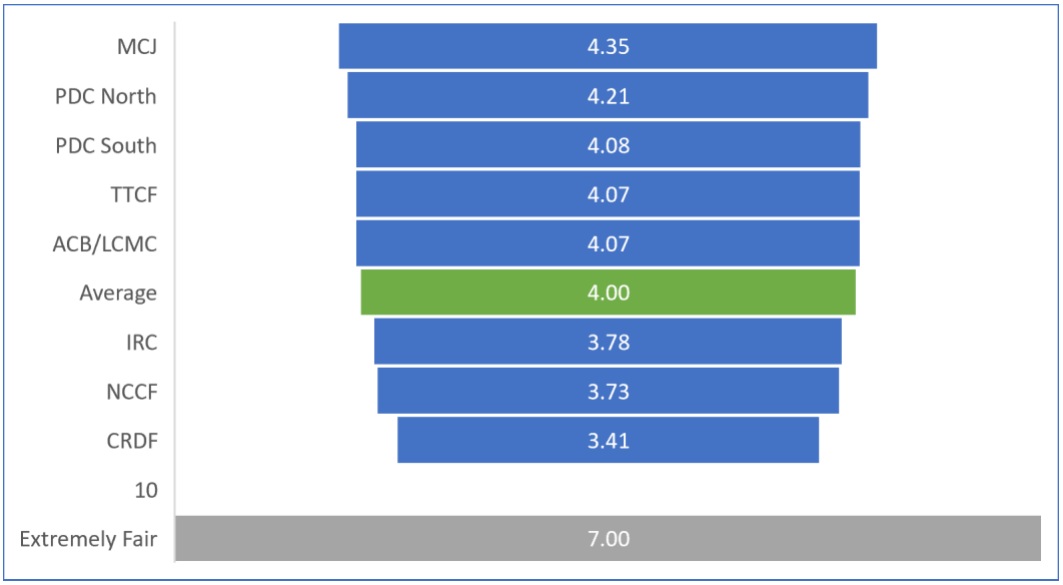


Figure 8. Mean Level of Perceived Fairness by Facility: Handling of Scheduling

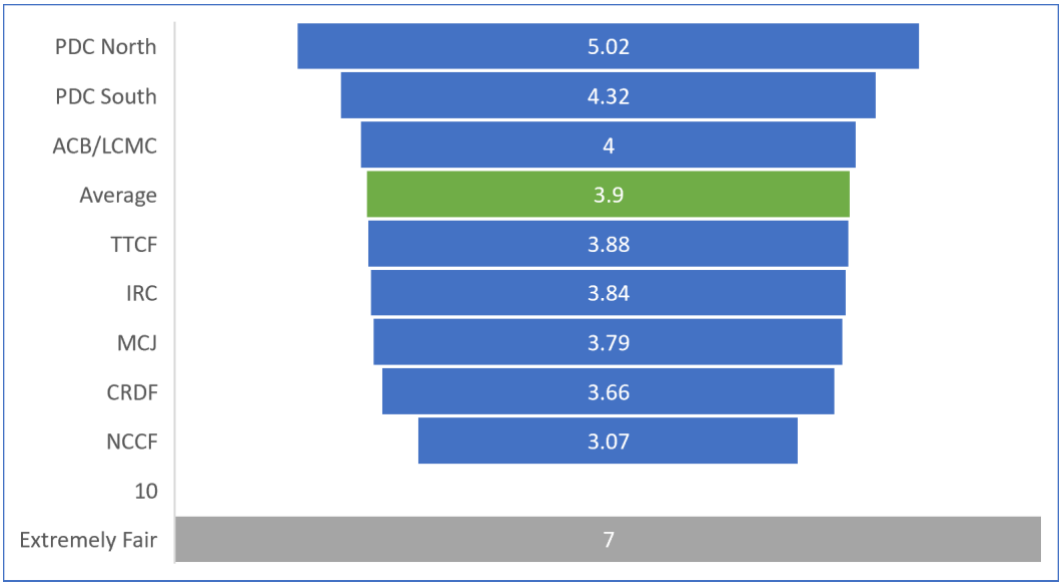


Figure 9. Mean Level of Perceived Fairness by Facility: Handling of Work Assignments

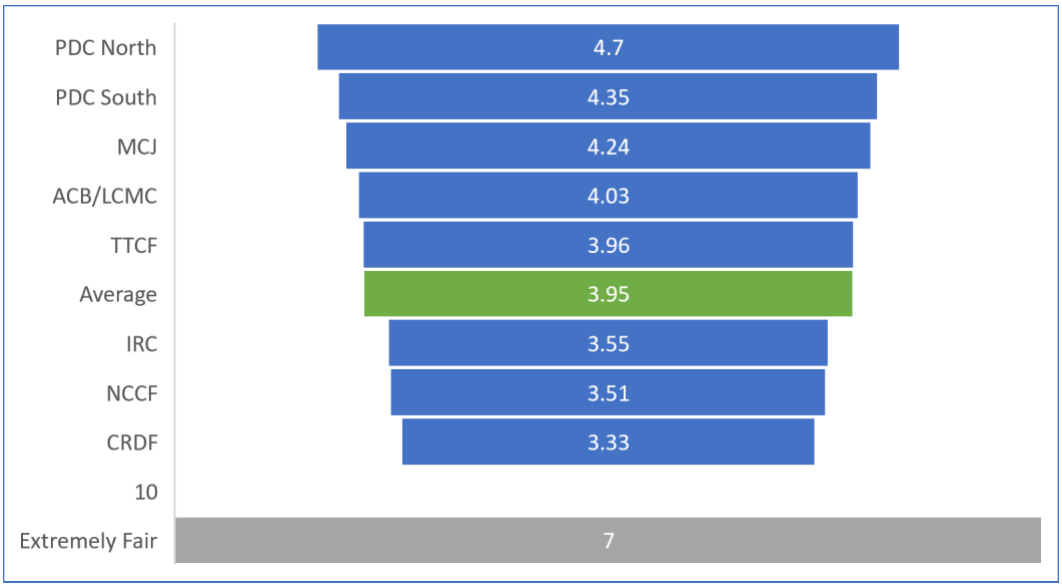
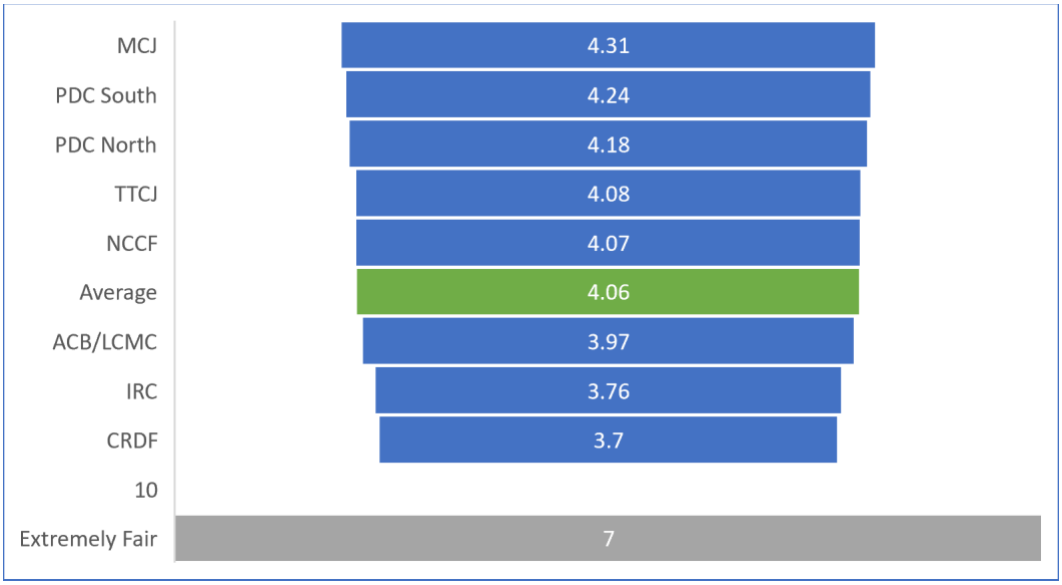


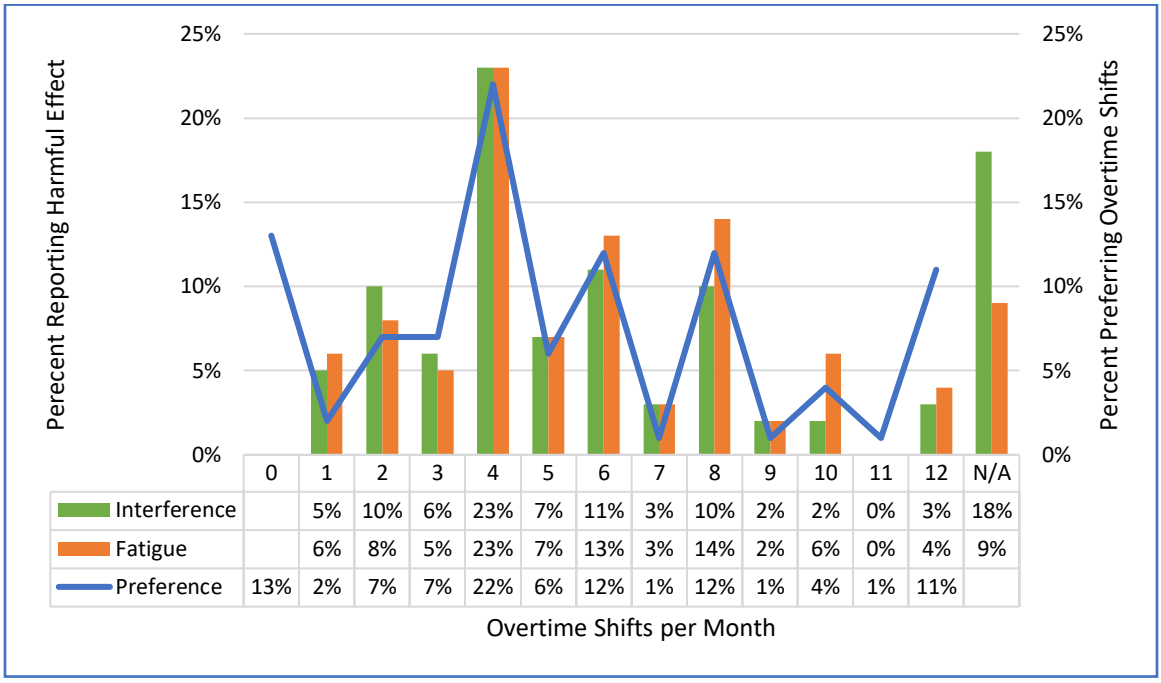
Figure 10. Mean Level of Perceived Fairness by Facility: Handling of Investigations into Employee Misconduct



Next, in Figure 11, we present an analysis of work-life balance and its relationship to overtime preferences and fatigue, another set of perceptions likely contributing to morale. The responses to three questions are presented in this figure: 1. How many overtime shifts would you prefer to work per month (represented by the blue line)? 2. How many overtime shifts can you work before working overtime significantly interferes with other things you really want to do, i.e. work-life balance (represented by the green bars)? 3. How many overtime shifts can you work before you start to feel run down and tired (represented by the orange bars)?

This graph visually represents the relationship between individual preferences around working overtime and feelings of being overwhelmed (fatigue or work-life out of balance) associated with overtime work. The modal respondent not only prefers to work four overtime shifts per month, but also feels that, at four shifts, work-life gets out of balance, and they start to feel run down and tired. That said, there is a significant variety in preferences; one in ten people prefer to work 12 overtime shifts a month, and nearly one in five (18 percent) people said that working overtime did not affect their work-life balance at all. Still, half of the workforce starts to feel a significant impact at four overtime shifts per month. In sum, this graph reveals that mandatory overtime, especially more than one shift per week, likely has a significant cost to employee wellbeing. But, because there is such significant variation in people's preferences, there is likely room to maximize overtime preferences while minimizing the negative effects on overall wellbeing.

Figure 10. Number of overtime shifts per month preferred compared to number of overtime shifts per month that significantly interfere with work-life balance and cause fatigue

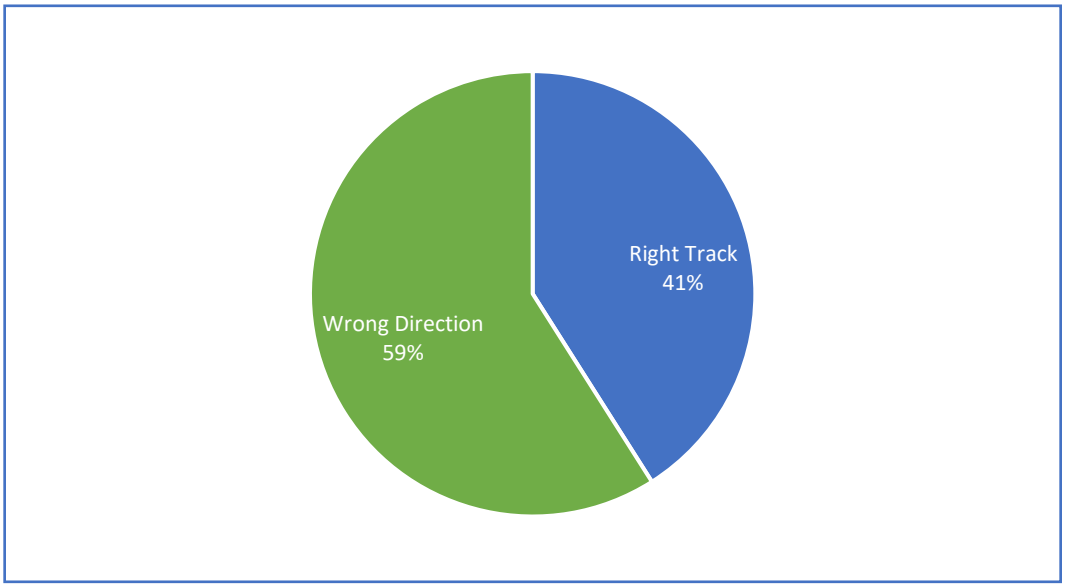


	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	N/A
Interference		5%	10%	6%	23%	7%	11%	3%	10%	2%	2%	0%	3%	18%
Fatigue		6%	8%	5%	23%	7%	13%	3%	14%	2%	6%	0%	4%	9%
Preference	13%	2%	7%	7%	22%	6%	12%	1%	12%	1%	4%	1%	11%	

IS THE LASD GOING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION?

Morale can also be assessed by examining whether employees believe that an organization is generally headed in the right direction and making progress toward its goals. Figures 12 and 13 report responses to a question asking whether the LASD is "generally going in the right direction" or "pretty seriously off track." The responses are striking. While employees are lukewarm about their job satisfaction and commitment, they are crystal clear about their perception of LASD's direction: 59 percent think the organization is "pretty seriously off track" (Figure 12). This finding is especially striking considering that this survey was conducted in the summer of 2019, before a new series of scandals and public conflicts confronted LASD.

Figure 11. Do you feel things in the LASD are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?



As illustrated in Figure 13, these perceptions vary significantly by facility: only one quarter of IRC respondents think LASD is "generally going in the right direction," while more than two-thirds of LCMC and ACB respondents think LASD is "generally going in the right direction." In general, perceptions are above average at MCJ and TTCF and below average at all other facilities.

Figure 12. Percentage Reporting that the LASD is Headed in the Right Direction by Facility

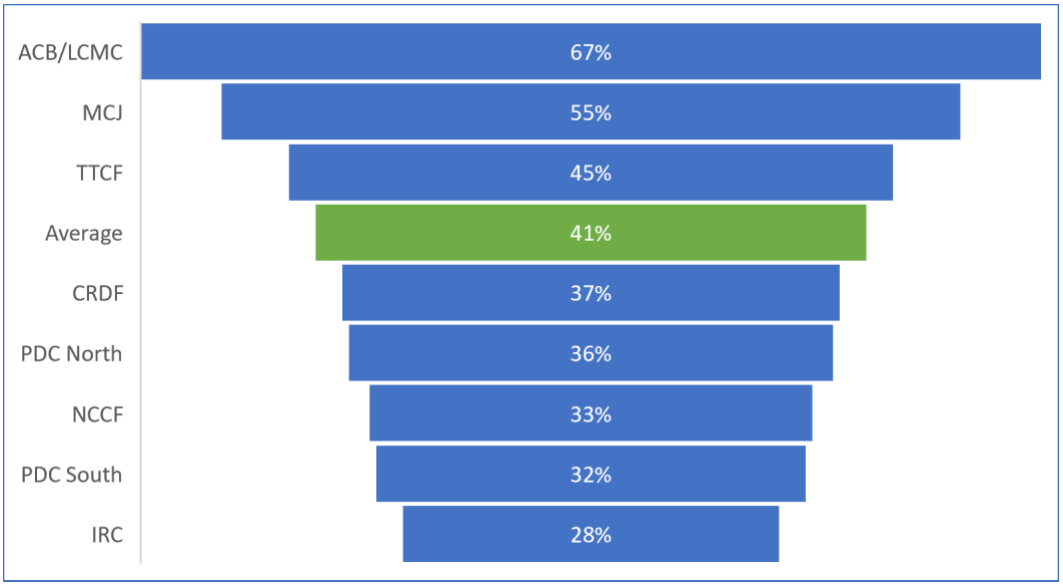


Table 9 presents a logistic regression model to analyze what characteristics, perceptions, and experiences (input variables) influence the odds that a respondent believes LASD is on the right track. An odds ratio of one indicates no effect. Conversely, an odds ratio significantly larger than one indicates that a given characteristic, perception, or experience affects the belief that LASD is on the *right* track, and an odds ratio significantly less than one indicates that the input variable affects the belief that the LASD is on the *wrong* track.

Table 9. Sources of Confidence in the Direction of the LASD, Logistic Regression

	Right Track	
	Odds Ratio	se
Background Characteristics		
Age	1.37	.24
Education	.88	.09
White	.83	.22
Female	.40**	.14
Work Characteristics		
Custody Assistant	.95	.28
Sergeant	.47	.24
Patrol Experience	.85	.28
Support Function	1.1	.35
Day Shift	1.19	.3
Job Tenure	.95	.03
Work Perceptions		
Role Conflict	.87	.1
Respect for Custody	1.48**	.22
Supervisor Support	1.44*	.26
Job Commitment	1.21	.17
Job Dangerousness	.81	.11
Fair Work Processes	1.02	.19
Fair Promotion & Review	.89	.14
Work Experiences		
Estimated Risk	1	0
Hostile Encounters with People in custody	.86	.09
Friendly Encounters with People in custody	1.17	.14

Note: **result is statistically significant at the p<.01; *result is statistically significant at the p<.05 level; an odds ratio above 1 indicates an increased odd of believing the LASD is on the right track, whereas an odds ratio below 1 indicates a decreased odd.

The model shows that women (independently of all the other variables incorporated in this model), are 60% less likely than men to believe that LASD is headed in the right direction. On the other hand, as perceived respect for custody and supervisory support increases, the odds of believing that LASD is on the right track increases by 48% and 44% respectively. Interestingly, work characteristics, perceptions of fairness, role problems, and the nature of interactions with people in custody, had no effect on perceptions of whether LASD is headed in the right direction. In all, the significant influences on confidence in the direction of the department suggest targeted points of intervention – around the experiences of women, perceptions of respect, and perceptions of supervisory support – that will likely improve perceptions of LASD's trajectory, and, in turn, improve satisfaction, commitment, and loyalty to LASD, as we explore with Table 10.

PREDICTING JOB SATISFACTION, WORK COMMITMENT, AND TURNOVER INTENTIONS

Table 10 presents a series of nested regression models that examine what characteristics, perceptions, and experiences predict job satisfaction, job commitment, and turnover intentions and how these outcomes are related.[5] Each of the three outcome measures is a scientifically validated composite scale including, among other items, the survey questions reported in Figure 4 (job satisfaction), Table 7 (job commitment), and Figures 5 and 6 (turnover intention). The models in Table 10 are remarkably robust and predictive: the combination of characteristics, perceptions, and experiences presented in this table predicts 34% of the variation in whether or not respondents are satisfied with their jobs, 54% of the variation in whether or not respondents are committed to their jobs, and 48% of the variation in whether or not respondents intend to remain in their jobs.

Within the models, some background and work characteristics have a significant effect on morale. The older a custody employee is, other things being equal, the more likely he or she is to be satisfied with the job. Note, however, this relationship is not significant for job commitment, and, logically, reverses for turnover intent: the older a custody employee is, the more likely he or she is to express an intention to leave the job. Custody assistants, those with patrol experience, and those with more time on the job are all significantly more likely to

[5] The beta values are a standardized measure of the relationship between the independent and dependent variable and may be compared within the same column of the table to compare effect sizes. The regression coefficient, or slope [b], is the amount of change in the dependent variable for a unit change in the independent variable. Slopes may be compared between models.

express dissatisfaction with their jobs. These characteristics are not significantly related to job commitment, but more time on the job predicts an intention to remain on the job, while being a custody assistant has a direct effect on the intent to leave the job. As one respondent (of 16 generally expressing a perception of low morale) said in a qualitative survey response: "I am considering leaving because there is no educational compensation for my degrees and no promotional opportunities for my classification."

Table 10. Predictors of Job Satisfaction, Commitment and Turnover Intentions

	Job Satisfaction		Commitment		Turnover Intent	
	b	beta	b	beta	b	beta
Background Characteristics						
Age	0.33**	0.13**	0.06	0.05	-0.02	-0.02
Education	-0.06	-0.03	0.00	0.00	-0.04	-0.04
White	-0.09	-0.02	0.02	0.01	0.05	0.03
Female	0.02	0.00	0.15	0.05	0.09	0.04
Work Characteristics						
Custody Assistant	-0.72**	-0.12**	0.12	0.04	0.26*	0.11*
Sergeant	-0.21	-0.02	-0.36	-0.08	-0.01	0.00
Patrol Experience	-0.74**	-0.13**	0.12	0.04	-0.17	-0.08
Support Function	0.21	0.03	-0.11	-0.03	-0.06	-0.02
Day Shift	0.06	0.01	-0.16	-0.07	-0.02	-0.01
Job Tenure	-0.09**	-0.23**	-0.01	-0.06	-0.02*	-0.13*
Work Perceptions						
Respect for Custody	0.22	0.10	-0.04	-0.04	-0.13	-0.15*
Supervisor Support	0.40**	0.16**	0.31	0.26**	0.04	0.04
Job Dangerousness	-0.19	-0.09	0.33	0.34**	0.02	0.02
Fair Work Processes	0.58**	0.21**	0.17	0.13*	-0.10	-0.10
Fair Promotion & Review	0.12	0.05	0.12	0.11*	.21**	0.23**
Right Track	0.62**	0.12**	0.00	0.00	-0.35**	-0.17**
Job Satisfaction	-	-	0.15	0.32**	-0.16**	-0.42**
Work Commitment	-	-	-	-	-0.25**	-0.30**
Work Experiences						
Estimated Risk	0.00	-0.05	0.00	-0.04	0.00	0.03
Hostile Encounters	0.05	0.02	-0.06	-0.06	-0.02	-0.03
Friendly Encounters	0.25*	0.10*	-0.10	-0.08*	0.07	0.07
Overtime worked	-0.01	-0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.03
Model Statistics	8.46**	. 34**	23.39**	.54**	14.81**	.48**

Note: ** p<.01 * p<.05 level; b indicates the amount of change in the scale measuring job satisfaction, job commitment, and turnover intention for a unit change in the independent variable; beta is a standardized measure that may be compared to understand the relative importance of each independent variable in the model.

A number of work perceptions and experiences, including supervisory support, fair work processes, perceptions that LASD is on the right track, and a higher frequency of friendly encounters with people in custody, each independently and strongly predicts job satisfaction. A similar but slightly different set of perceptions and experiences predict job commitment: supervisory support, perceptions of job dangerousness, fair work processes, fair promotion and review, a lower frequency of friendly encounters with people in custody, and job satisfaction itself. The importance of perceptions of supervisory support to both job satisfaction and commitment also came out in the qualitative comments made at the conclusion of the survey: 23 respondents mentioned supervisors undermining their actions as a demoralizing problem. For instance, one respondent said "supervisors undermine line staff and decisions we make," others described frustrations with supervisors being "out of touch" and "off the line for a long time." Likewise, fair work processes often came up in the qualitative comments: 18 respondents mentioned the problem of favoritism or corruption, describing "assignments in the facility ... gained because of who you know who has power in the facility" and stating "if you make friends in the right places you get hooked up." Although supervisory support and fair work processes do not directly predict intention to leave the job, they indirectly affect this intention through their relationship to job satisfaction and commitment, which are the strongest predictors of intentions to leave the job (along with perceptions of LASD being on the wrong track, and low perceptions of respect for custody). Interestingly, perceptions that promotion and review procedures are fair strongly predicts an intention to leave the job; we are not sure why this would be.

The nested models allow us to see important relationships across input and outcome variables. For instance, the fact that age has a strong effect on job satisfaction (the older the more satisfied), and job satisfaction has a strong effect on both commitment and turnover intention (the more satisfied, the more committed, and the less likely to express an intent to leave), means that age is indirectly affecting commitment and turnover intention. Likewise, the interesting finding that frequency of friendly encounters increases job satisfaction but decreases job commitment suggests an important cultural observation: friendly encounters make the job more pleasant day-to-day, but people are also invested in being part of a culture of toughness—as measured by the strong association between perceptions of job dangerous and commitment. Increased friendly encounters might undermine this perception, and therefore also undermine commitment to the job to the extent it is perceived as less tough.

The variables that have limited or no effects in these models are also relevant: education, race, gender, working a day shift, estimated degree of risk posed by people in custody, the frequency of hostile encounters, and overtime hours worked each have small (approaching zero) and insignificant effects on job satisfaction, commitment, or intent to leave the organization. Overall, specific, individual characteristics, which are relatively immutable, seem less important

than experiences and perceptions, which are more susceptible to specific policy interventions. This is hopeful.

INTERACTIONS WITH PEOPLE IN CUSTODY

Key Questions: What kinds of interactions do staff have with people in custody? What experiences and perceptions affect the frequency of friendly and hostile interactions?

Key Findings: Friendly and hostile interactions are common. Employees who feel that the LASD respects their work report more friendly interactions with people in custody. Employees who are fearful, vigilant for signs of danger, and believe that racial inequality influences how people in custody treat them have more hostile interactions. Training can reduce hostile interactions and improve the well-being of employees and people in custody.

A central theme of our initial conversations with staff and subsequent development of survey questions was identifying and better understanding the challenges of interacting with a diverse custodial population, from the day-to-day question of when and how interactions are friendly or hostile, to the specific challenges of dealing with sub-categories of people in custody, including the mentally ill, and those from different backgrounds. In this section, we present three sub-categories of findings about the kinds of interactions staff have with people in custody. First, we describe the frequency of hostile and friendly encounters between staff and the incarcerated and analyze factors that predict the frequency of both kinds of encounters. Second, we describe how staff perceive and handle individuals with mental illnesses. Third, we describe staff perceptions of race relations and factors predicting these perceptions. Many of the take-aways here are positive: staff have frequent friendly interactions with people in custody; perceive mental illness as a problem, but a problem DeVERT as provided them with skills to identify and handle; and, generally perceive each other and people in custody as receiving equal treatment. To the extent interactions are hostile, perceived as risky, or perceived as unequal, specific staff characteristics, beliefs, and experiences predict these perceptions, suggesting specific areas for targeted intervention.

ENCOUNTERS

We begin by describing the frequency with which staff have both friendly and hostile encounters with people in custody. In order to measure hostile and friendly encounters, we asked staff to report how often they had specific kinds of encounters, like number of times a week that people “cooperate” or “disobey.” We then conducted a factor analysis to identify, of the many kinds of encounters staff reported, which specific types of encounters were similar enough, in their linear combination with each other, to represent the concept of either “hostile” or “friendly” encounters. The factor analysis led us to classify “asking a favor,” which

we expected might be considered a friendly encounter, into the hostile encounter category. Likely staff interpreted the idea of an inmate "asking a favor" as manipulative, whereas in the policing literature, where comparable encounter scales are used, "asking a favor" is usually perceived as an example of a friendly encounter with a citizen. In all, Table 11 describes the self-reported frequency of seven specific encounters clearly associated with each other and the idea of friendly encounters, as well as of seven specific encounters clearly associated with each other and the idea of hostile encounters. We had expected that a third group of encounters might be classified as neutral encounters, but this was not the case; each possible encounter was associated with either the "friendly" factor or the "hostile" factor.

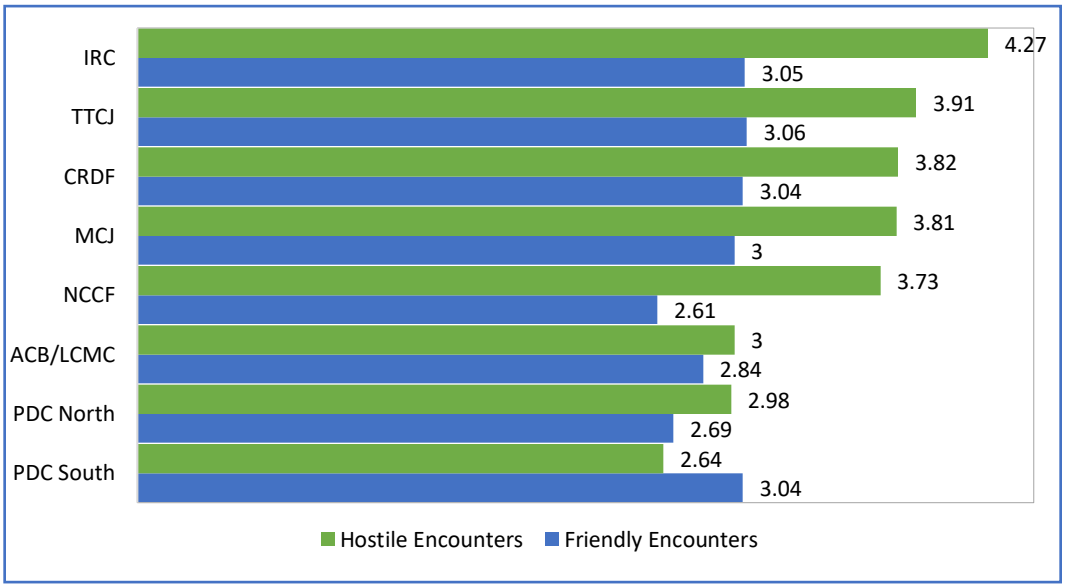
Table 11. Self-Reported Frequency of Friendly and Hostile Encounters

	Less than once a week	Once a week	2-3 times a week	4-6 times a week	Daily	Mean
Friendly Encounters						
Cooperate	6%	4%	16%	20%	55%	4.13
Follow orders	9%	4%	17%	19%	51%	3.98
Listen to you	13%	9%	19%	18%	41%	3.64
Thank you	31%	14%	19%	12%	25%	2.85
Help you	51%	12%	14%	7%	17%	2.27
Praise you	63%	10%	12%	5%	10%	1.88
Encourage you	67%	8%	11%	4%	10%	1.82
Hostile Encounters						
Disobey orders	8%	4%	11%	9%	68%	4.26
Ask for a favor	12%	5%	8%	9%	65%	4.10
Antagonize you	22%	13%	13%	8%	44%	3.87
Ignore you	17%	8%	14%	9%	52%	3.69
Curse you	21%	9%	10%	8%	53%	3.63
Obstruct your work	20%	9%	14%	8%	49%	3.59
Threaten you	37%	9%	12%	9%	33%	2.92

The most frequent friendly encounters staff reported were passive ones in which people in custody complied: more than half of respondents reported daily experiences of individuals cooperating and following orders, and more than 40 percent reported daily experiences of people listening. Still, at least one-third of staff reported actively friendly encounters, in which people in custody encouraged, helped, praised, and thanked them, at least once per week. The most frequent hostile encounters staff reported were having orders disobeyed, being ignored, being cursed, and being asked for a favor: more than half of respondents reported daily experiences of at least one of these hostile encounters. But experiences of more aggressive hostility—antagonizing, obstructing, and threatening—were less common: fewer than half of all staff reported having these experiences daily. Overall, staff frequently have both hostile and friendly encounters with people in custody.

Figure 14, which combines all types of friendly encounters and all types of hostile encounters into two aggregate measures, reveals that the frequency of hostile encounters varies widely by institution. Staff at IRC report the most hostile encounters, with the average staff member reporting at least 4 hostile encounters a week, while staff at PDC South report the fewest hostile encounters, with the average staff member reporting only 1-3 hostile encounters per week. PDC South is also the only institution where staff report, on average, more friendly than hostile encounters: an average of 3 or more a week. In general, though, staff across facilities report a fairly consistent rate of friendly encounters, averaging somewhere between 1 and 3 a week. This figure probably says more about the frequency of encounters than the specific culture of individual facilities; staff at IRC, who report the most hostile encounters, probably see more and more different people day-to-day than staff in other facilities, while staff at PDC South, who report the fewest hostile encounters, probably see fewer and fewer different people day-to-day.

Figure 13. Average Self-Reported Frequency of Friendly and Hostile Encounters by Facility



PREDICTING ENCOUNTERS

Tables 12 and 13 report the results of stepwise regression models that identify the combination of characteristics, experiences, and attitudes, which together predicts the most variation the most efficiently in the frequency of friendly and hostile encounters.

Table 12 shows that younger, White, line personnel (as opposed to sergeants), those who feel respected in custody, believe people in custody treat them equally regardless of their race, tend to perceive the incarcerated as less risky, and hold attitudes limiting (as opposed to supporting) the use of force are more likely to report friendly encounters. Within this combination of characteristics, three variables have a statistically significant effect: feeling respected in custody, believing people in custody treat staff equally regardless of race, and perceiving those in custody as less risky. Although this overall model only explains 11 percent of the variation in reported frequency of friendly encounters, it does suggest that staff perceptions and attitudes, especially perceptions of being respected generally, affect whether their encounters are friendly or not.

Table 12. Best Predictors of Friendly Encounters, Stepwise Regression

	b	se
Age	-0.09	0.06
Respect for Custody	0.14*	0.06
White	0.16	0.12
Equal Treatment by People in custody	0.33**	0.12
Perceived Risk	-0.01**	0.00
Sergeant	-0.32	0.18
Attitudes Limiting the Use of Force	0.09	0.07
	F	R^2
Model Statistics	5.12**	0.11**

Note: : ** p<.01 level; * p<.05 level

The model in Table 13 has more explanatory power: it accounts for more than one-third (34 percent) of the variation in hostile encounters and provides more insight into the experiences and attributes that contribute to the frequency of hostile encounters. This model shows that older employees, those working as custody assistants, and those working in support functions are less likely to report hostile encounters. On the other hand, staff who perceive people in custody as risky, report being vigilant themselves, and fear workplace victimization are more likely to report hostile encounters. In other words, the more you are watching out for problems and are fearful, the more hostile encounters you have. Hostile encounters could also, theoretically, increase perceptions of risk, vigilance, and fear, but given the cross-sectional nature of this data, we are not able to identify with certainty the direction (or possible reciprocal nature) of the relationship.

Staff who hold attitudes limiting the use of force are less likely to have hostile encounters, while those who endorse attitudes encouraging the use of force are more likely to have hostile encounters; we will discuss use of force attitudes further in the final section, but these predictors are important here as examples of how staff attitudes predict the nature of the encounters they have with people in custody. Indeed, just as attitudes towards use of force are predictive, so are attitudes towards equality; staff who perceive both staff and people in custody as treating each other equally, are also less likely to have hostile encounters. Although hostile encounters might also contribute to an increasing perception of inequality in encounters, the simple existence of a relationship between perceptions of equality and hostility of encounters is important for identifying attitudes that deserve further attention and intervention, whether mitigation or support. Finally, and importantly, staff who report generally higher levels of stress, working more overtime shifts in the last 30 days, and sleeping fewer hours on average nightly, also report more hostile encounters.

Table 13. Best Predictors of Hostile Encounters, Stepwise Regression

	b	se
Age	-0.11	0.07
Custody Assistant	-0.24	0.17
Support Function	-0.56*	0.19
Perceived Risk	0.01**	0.00
Vigilance	0.13	0.09
Fear of Workplace Victimization	0.02**	0.01
Attitudes Limiting Force	-0.17	0.11
Attitudes Encouraging Force	0.16*	0.07
Racial/Ethnic Equality by Inmates	-0.29*	0.13
Racial/Ethnic Equality by Custody	-0.42**	0.15
General stress	0.22*	0.09
Overtime Shifts	0.01	0.01
Average Hours of Sleep/Night	-0.09	0.06
	F	R^2
Model Statistics	13.76**	0.34**

Note: : ** p<.01 level; * p<.05 level

As with the model predicting friendly encounters, a few of the variables are independently significant: perceived risk and fear of workplace victimization; aggressive force orientation; perceptions of unequal treatment; and general stress levels. The significance of each of these predictors further highlights the importance of fear, attitudes supporting force, equality, and

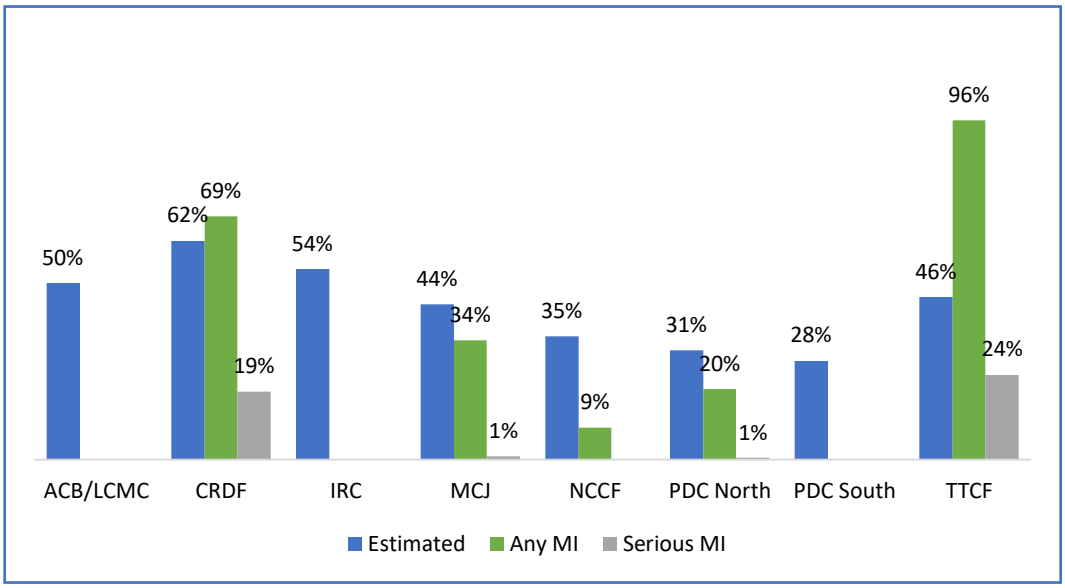
stress as not only critical factors affecting the frequency of hostile encounters but possible points of intervention critical to reducing the frequency of hostile encounters.

In their qualitative survey responses, 25 respondents mentioned hostile encounters with people in custody; their references to these encounters reveal the interrelationships between risk, inequality, and stress, especially when staff feel that people in custody are treated with more deference or fairness than staff. As one respondent said, "it feels like these inmates own us personnel," and another said, "we cater to inmates too much." Another requested: "Give custody personnel some more authority to directly address/reprimand inmates that are resistive or assaultive." Importantly, and echoing the relationship between friendly encounters and job satisfaction highlighted in the prior section, one respondent pointed out that, in some ways, people in custody have more rights than staff: "It is against the policy for us to retaliate against inmates. But scheduling and supervisors do it all the time to us."

MENTAL ILLNESS, TREATMENT, AND CUSTODY

In this section, we examine respondents' perceptions about both the prevalence of mental illness in the facilities in which they work and their perceptions about the efficacy of treatment and training for dealing with these populations. Figure 15 reports custody personnel's estimates of the percentage of people in custody with a serious mental illness in their facilities; average estimates range from just under one-third of the population (in PDC South) to almost two-thirds (in CRDF). We compare these to actual reported rates of any mental illness and of serious mental illness (status as a P3 or P4 inmate in high-observation housing) in four facilities for which this data was available: MCJ, CRDF, TTCF (including Correctional Treatment Center), and PDC. In general, custody personnel perceived that more people were seriously mentally ill than LASD reports are seriously mentally ill. However, staff perceptions of rates of mental illness did follow overall patterns of reported mental illness: in those facilities, like CRDF and TTCF, with high reported rates of mental illness, staff also reported perceptions of relatively higher rates of mental illness; and in those facilities, like NCCF and PDC North, with low reported rates of mental illness, staff also reported perceptions of relatively lower rates of mental illness.

Figure 14. Custody Personnel's Estimate of the Percentage of People with a Serious Mental Illness Incarcerated at the Facility Where They Work and Reported Levels of Mental Illness



Given the high actual and perceived prevalence of seriously mentally ill people under the care of custody staff, evaluating whether staff feel safe and competent to work with these individuals is critical. In order to do this, we asked a range of questions about perceptions of safety, self-reported efficacy, and the efficacy of the DeVRT training, and then we use a regression model to identify predictors of fear of working with mentally ill individuals. Figure 16 and Table 14 suggest that our custody respondents felt fairly prepared and confident in dealing with mentally ill people, even though Figures 17 and 18 suggest that respondents also felt unsafe and fearful about working with this population. Specifically, almost 60 percent of respondents reported that the DeVRT training prepared them at least moderately well to work with individuals with severe mental illness, and only 15 percent thought it did not prepare them well at all (Figure 16). And at least 59 percent, and as many as 93 percent, of respondents were at least moderately confident in their abilities to identify the symptoms of mental illness, recognize a mental health crisis, and de-escalate a crisis situation (Table 14). Although the majority of our respondents felt prepared and confident in their ability to handle these situations, they were more divided about whether they felt safe in these situations. Exactly half disagreed with the statement that they felt "safe" working with this population (Figure 17), and, at every jail facility, staff expressed a mean level of fear of at least 3.3 (CRDF) and as high as 4.3 (LCMC) on a 6-point scale, where 1 = "strongly agree" and 6 = "strongly disagree" that they felt safe working with severely mentally ill people.

Figure 15. How well has DeVRT prepared you to work with individuals who have a severe mental illness?

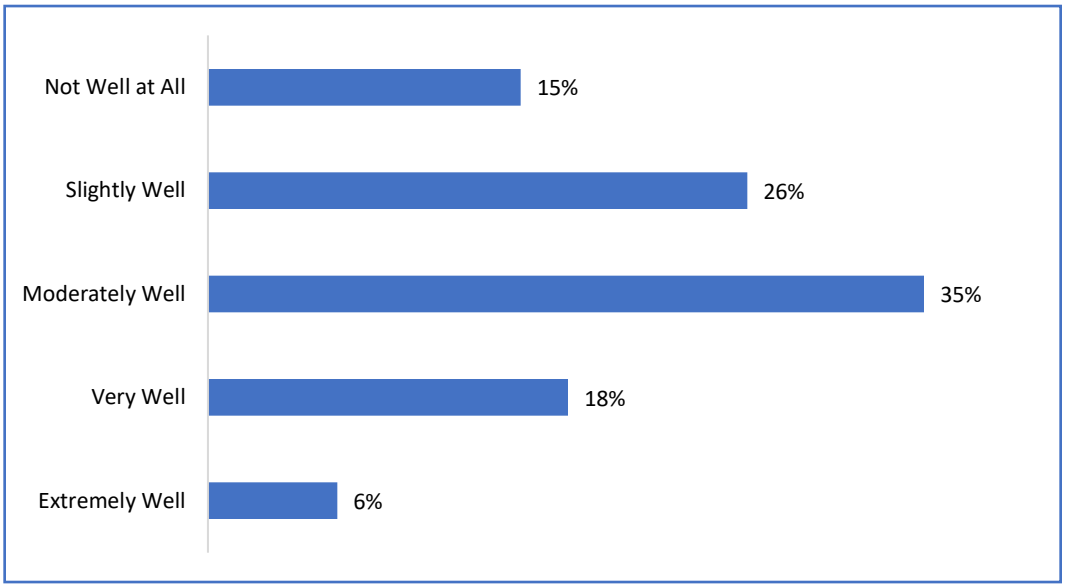


Table 14. Self-Reported Efficacy Working with Mentally Ill Individuals

How confident are you about your ability to:	Not confident at all	Slightly Confident	Moderately Confident	Very Confident	Extremely Confident
Identify the symptoms of mental illness.	1.1%	11.1%	3.3%	43.5%	11.9%
Recognize when someone is experiencing a mental health crisis.	1%	8.3%	32.7%	45.3%	12.7%
De-escalate a crisis situation.	.4%	6.5%	36%	44.3%	12.9%

Figure 16. I feel safe working with severely mentally ill inmates

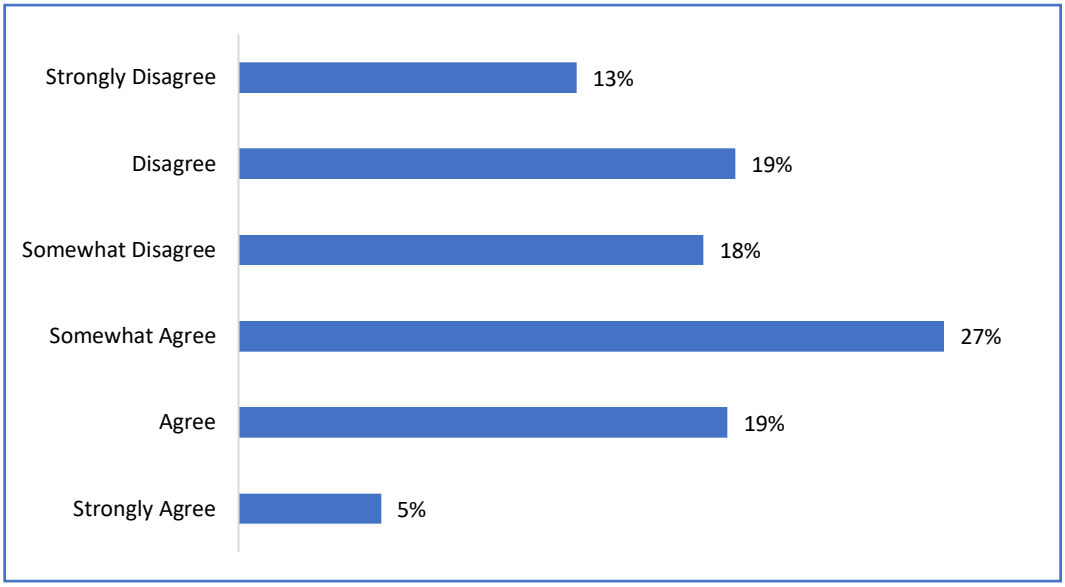


Figure 17. Mean Level of Fear Working with Severely Mentally Ill Individuals by Facility

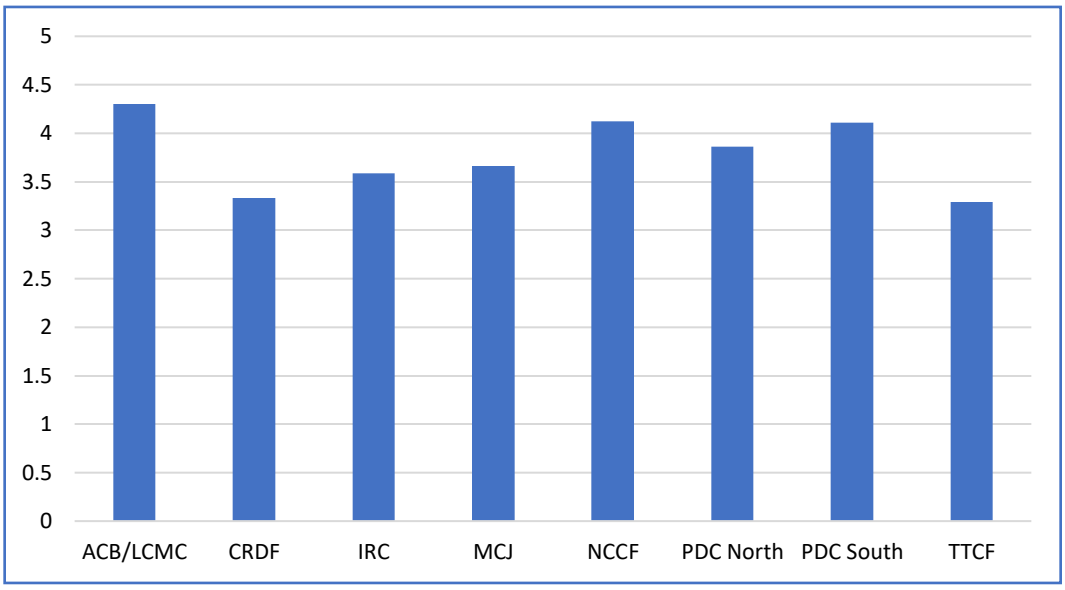


Table 15 reports the regression model identifying predictors of these relatively high levels of fear of working with individuals with mental illnesses. No personal or work characteristics predict these levels of fear, nor does perceived efficacy. However, perceptions of job dangerousness and risk predicted higher levels of fear, and perceptions of DeVRT's effectiveness predicted lower levels of fear. Even after we control for risk and job dangerousness, people who believed that DeVRT was effective were less fearful of working with

individuals with mental illnesses. This finding suggests that DeVRT is effective in reducing fear and, likely, building confidence in working with the severely mentally ill.

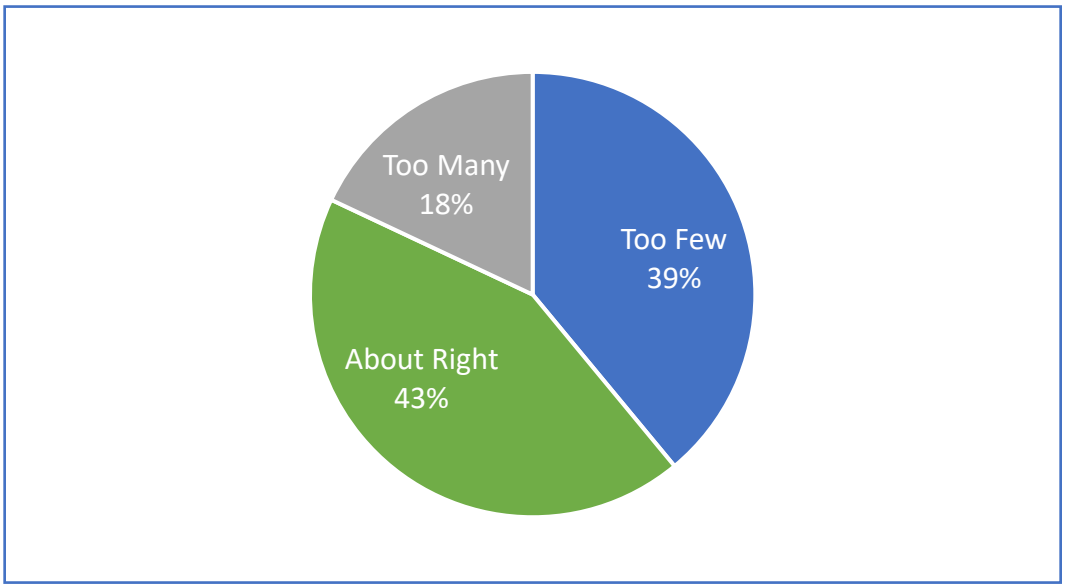
Table 15. Predictors of Fear of Working with Individuals with Mental Illness, Ordinary Least Squares Regression

	b	se	Beta
Background Characteristics			
Age	-.05	.11	-.03
Education	.02	.07	.01
White	.15	.16	.05
Female	-.09	.19	-.02
Work Characteristics			
Custody Assistant	-.05	.17	-.02
Sergeant	.11	.32	.02
Patrol Experience	.15	.21	.05
Support Function	.29	.2	.08
Day Shift	.01	.09	0
Job Tenure	-.01	.02	-.02
Work Experiences & Beliefs			
Prevalence of MI	0	0	.02
DeVRT Effectiveness	-.18*	.07	-.15*
Efficacy (MI)	.13	.1	.07
Job Dangerousness	.12*	.05	.12*
Estimated Risk	.01*	0	.14*
		F	R^2
Model Statistics		2.08*	.08

Note: *result is statistically significant at the p<.05 level

While both the perceptions of and impact of the DeVRT program were strongly positive, perceptions of mental health programs and staff overall were less consistent and more negative. Only 43 percent of respondents thought the quantity of programs available to treat individuals with mental illness were “about right.” Almost as many respondents (39 percent) thought there were too few programs, and a minority (18 percent) thought there were too many (Figure 19). Likewise, 62 percent of respondents thought that available programs were only poor or fair in quality, as opposed to good (32 percent of respondents) or excellent (only 6 percent of respondents) (Figure 20).

Figure 18. Perceived Quantity of Programs Available to Treat Mental Illness



In terms of their opinions about relationships with medical and mental health staff, respondents were, again, fairly divided: two-thirds at least somewhat agreed that they had to "do things that should be done by mental health staff," while just over half (53 percent) at least somewhat disagreed that custody staff should be more involved in mental health programs. Overall, more respondents agreed that custody staff had a good working relationship with mental health staff (67 percent) than with medical health staff (53 percent) (Table 16).

Figure 19. Perceived Quality of Programs Available to Treat Mental Illness

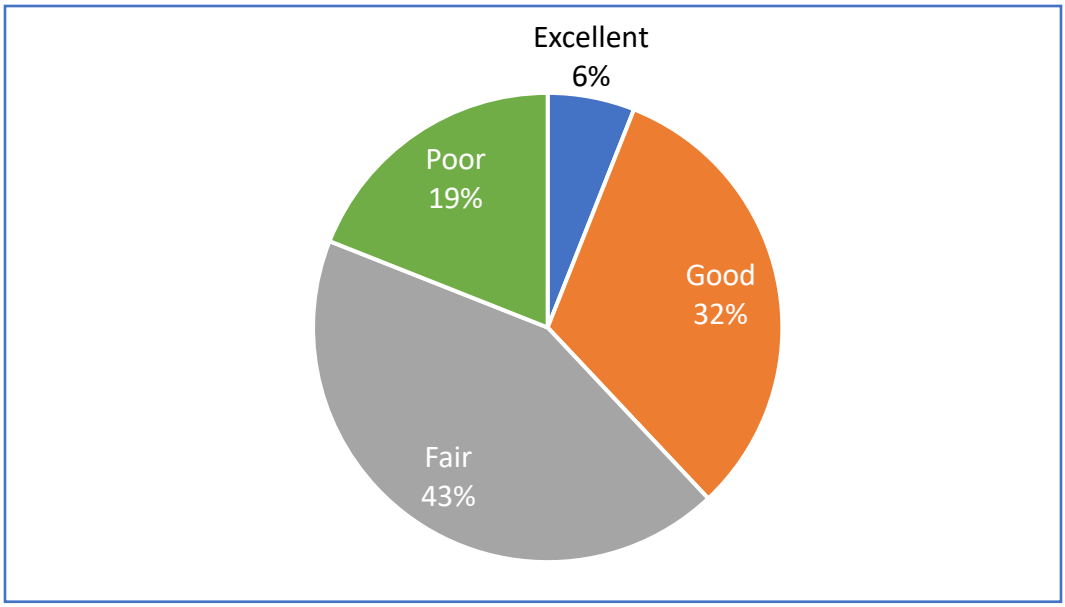
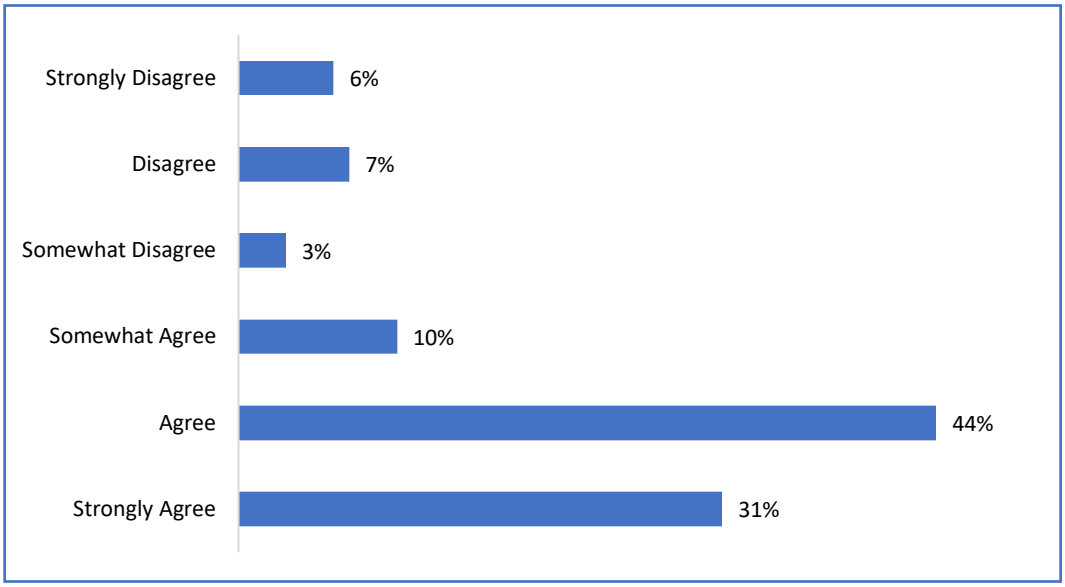


Table 16. Attitudes About Collaborating with Medical and Mental Health Personnel

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I have to do things that should be done by mental health staff.	4.3%	17.9%	9.5%	26.1%	27%	15.2%
Mental health programs would work better if custody staff were more involved.	8.6%	19.5%	25.4%	26.3%	14.1%	6.1%
Custody personnel have a good working relationship with mental health staff	5.2%	14%	13.9%	33.7%	28.7%	4.4%
Custody personnel have a good working relationship with the medical staff.	9.4%	16.1%	21.3%	29.8%	20.3%	3%

Only a small handful of participants commented on relations with mental health staff in their qualitative survey comments, suggesting that these relations, while not always positive, were not of the kind of central concern as other issues that were raised repeatedly. That said, those respondents who did comment on relations with medical and mental health staff provided some context for the overall lukewarm perception of mental health services and staff, linking the perception to often conflicting opinions between health and custody staff. For instance, one respondent said: “Department of mental health does not take the input of deputy personnel when it comes to inmates. To medical and psychological staff, they are always right and we (deputy and custody personnel) are always wrong.” And another said: “In the custody environment, there seems to be a disconnect amongst custody personnel, mental health clinicians, and medical personnel. This sometimes creates an unsafe and unpleasant work environment due to conflicting orders and interests.” Finally, the vast majority of respondents reported that their supervisors encouraged completing careful safety checks (Figure 21). Overall, these findings suggest that respondents recognize the problem of mental illness in the jail, but are resistant to seeing their role as one that can or should be helping to mitigate this problem. This finding ultimately suggests that the mentally ill do not belong in the jail, and personnel have a sense of the nature of this misfit.

Figure 20. My supervisor encourages completing careful safety checks.



RACE RELATIONS

As noted in the first section evaluating and analyzing preferences across working custody and patrol, race has been an influential, or predictive factor, in many of our models. In order to better understand the role of race relations in LASD, we asked respondents about their perceptions of equality in treatment by custody personnel of jail inmates (Figure 22) and by jail inmates of custody personnel (Figure 23). Respondents overwhelmingly perceived their own treatment of people in custody as fairly race-neutral: 89 percent said "custody personnel treat inmates of the same race or ethnicity" about the same as people of different races or ethnicities. However, respondents were more divided in their perceptions of whether jail inmates treated them fairly: only 55 percent said that "inmates treat custody personnel of the same race or ethnicity" about the same as custody personnel of different races or ethnicities; 18 percent thought jail inmates treated custody personnel of the same race or ethnicity worse, and 27 percent thought better.

Figure 21. Perceptions of Racial and Ethnic Relationships: Inmates Treat Custody Personnel of the Same Race or Ethnicity Better, Worse, or About the Same

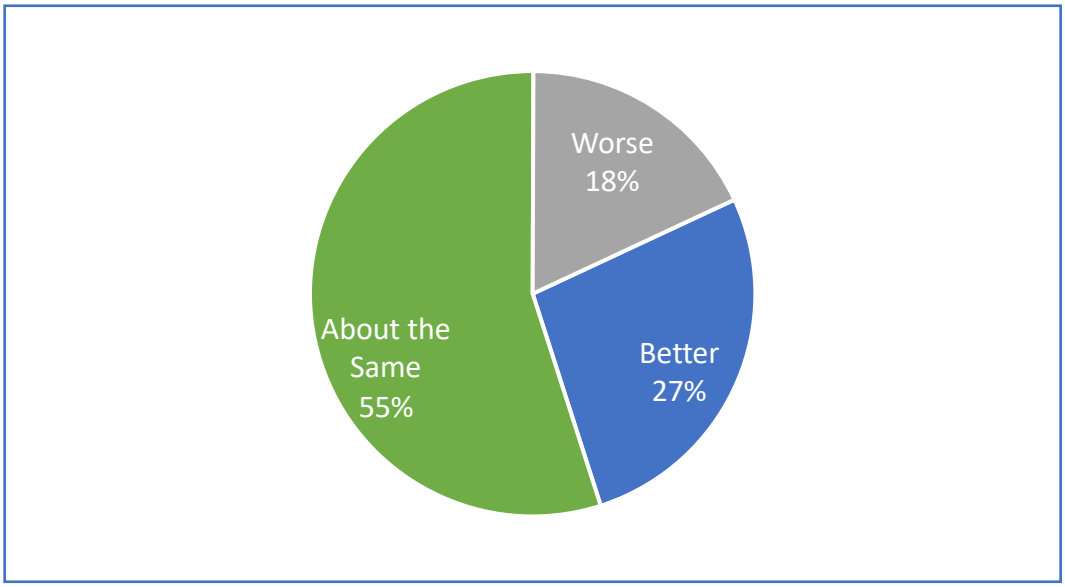
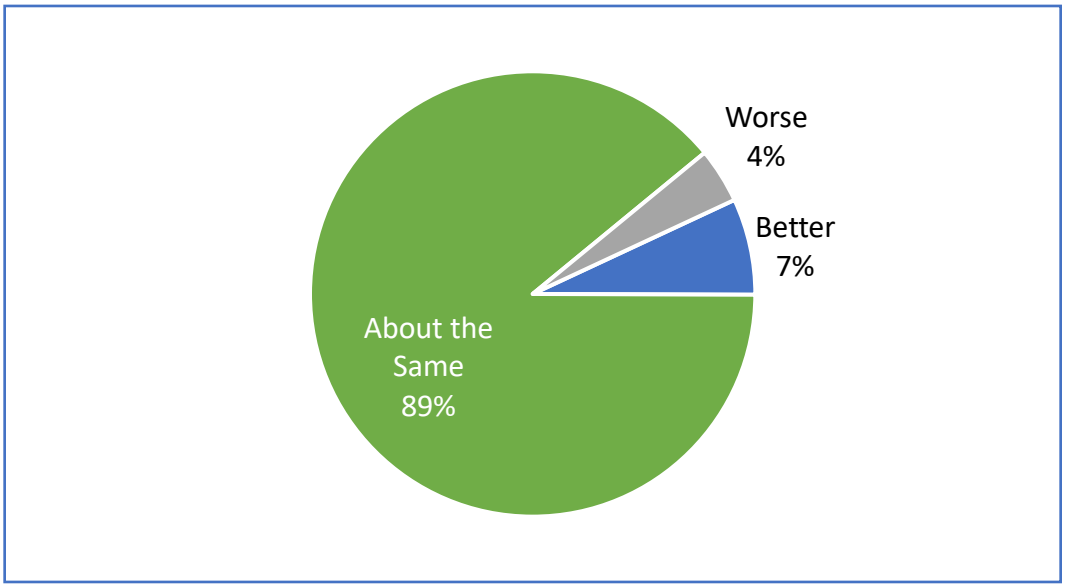


Figure 22. Perceptions of Racial and Ethnic Relationships: Custody Personnel Treat Inmates of the Same Race or Ethnicity Better, Worse, or About the Same



In order to better understand these results, we developed a regression model to see if any individual characteristics or experiences predicted perceptions of equal treatment (Table 17). A number of variables in the model were predictive. Respondents who were white, educated, and female were the least likely to perceive jail inmate treatment of custody staff as equal. Respondents who were educated and female were also the least likely to perceive custody

treatment of jail inmates as equal, although race was not predictive in explaining perceptions of custody treatment of jail inmates. The older a respondent was, the more likely he or she was to perceive custody treatment of inmates as equal. One interpretation of the consistent influence of education, at least, is that the more educated respondents are, the more likely they are to think people are treated unequally. In terms of work experience, sergeants were more likely to think that both inmate treatment of custody and custody treatment of inmates was equal. The reverse was true for respondents who had worked patrol: they were *less* likely to think that inmate treatment of custody and custody treatment of inmates was equal. Those respondents who worked day shifts were less likely to think inmates treat custody personnel equally, while those in support functions and with greater job tenure were less likely to think that custody personnel treat inmates equally.

The influential input variables potentially susceptible to policy intervention include hostile and friendly encounters as well as perceptions of job dangerousness. The more frequently respondents reported hostile encounters, the less likely they were to perceive inmates as treating custody personnel equally or custody personnel as treating inmates equally. On the other hand, the more frequently respondents reported friendly encounters, the more likely they were to perceive inmates as treating custody personnel equally; friendly encounters had no effect on perceptions of custody personnel treatment of inmates. Likewise, the more dangerous respondents perceived their jobs to be, the more likely they were to perceive both inmates as treating custody personnel equally and custody personnel as treating inmates equally. Given our earlier suggestion that dangerousness is closely related to job status, this suggests that equality, too, might be associated with job status.

Table 17. Predictors of Belief in Equal Treatment Irrespective of Race or Ethnicity

	Inmate Treatment of Custody Personnel		Custody Personnel Treatment of Inmates	
	Odds Ratio	SE	Odds Ratio	SE
Background Characteristics				
Age	1.14	.10	1.77**	.22
Education	.85**	.03	.62**	.03
White	.38**	.03	1.34	.30
Female	.54**	.05	.50**	.05
Work Characteristics				
Custody Assistant	1.27	.18	.91	.19
Sergeant	2.57**	.64	2.35*	.89
Patrol Experience	.60**	.09	.44**	.10
Support Function	1.13	.12	.44**	.06
Day Shift	.72**	.06	1.15	.20
Job Tenure	1.01	.01	.93**	.02
Work Experiences				
Estimated Risk	1.00	.001	.99**	.00
Hostile Encounters	.67**	.02	.68**	.04
Friendly Encounters	1.39**	.05	.92	.05
Work Perceptions				
Job Dangerousness	1.27**	.07	1.39**	.05

Note: **result is statistically significant at the p<.01 level; an odds ratio above 1 indicates an increased odd of belief in equal treatment, whereas an odds ratio below 1 indicates a decreased odd of belief in equal treatment.

WHAT ARE WE HERE TO DO?

Key Questions: How do custody staff understand the purposes and goals of their work? What perceptions and experiences support LASD's goals of transparency, accountability, and fairness?

Key Findings: Custody staff report moderate to low levels of support for procedural justice and rehabilitation. Support for rehabilitation and low levels of perceived risk affect attitudes of respect, accountability, and an orientation towards human service. Belief that custody is a dangerousness job—a proxy for job prestige—is also associated with a procedurally just orientation.

In this section we move from examining respondents' actual experiences on the job with people in custody to examining their perceptions about what goals and purposes they serve in working for LASD. The LASD states that their mission is to "proactively prevent crime, enforce the law fairly, and enhance the public's trust through transparency and accountability," and their core values include seeking "justice for all" [https://lasd.org/mission-statement/]. Below we examine how committed our respondents are to these values. First, we analyze generally if, how, and why respondents are committed to fair treatment and enforcement and, second, more specifically, what respondents perceive the purpose of incarceration to be. Sheriffs, who work in both police and custody roles, are in a unique (and often relatively autonomous, in terms of enforcement decisions, since they can both arrest and detain) position to model accountability not only in policing but in corrections as well, and these tables suggest possible areas for intervention and improvement.

COMMITMENT TO FAIR TREATMENT AND ENFORCEMENT

In Table 18, we analyze responses to various measures of commitment to procedurally just supervision and enforcement. Specifically, we present (1) the frequency and strength of agreement or disagreement with various statements and (2) the mean score of degree of agreement on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) for each statement. So higher scores indicate higher respect for people in custody, more accountable use of authority, and a greater orientation towards human services.

The statements in Table 18 include only those that a factor analysis confirmed were related both to each other and to one of the three concepts the statements were designed to measure: respect for people in custody, accountable use of authority, and human services orientation. These statements were largely drawn from previously published research measuring perceptions of procedural justice among law enforcement officers. Procedural justice is "the fairness of processes used by those in positions of authority to reach specific outcomes or decisions"[Procedural Justice]. Here, and in prior research, the question is whether, to what degree, and why our respondents are committed to procedural justice in conducting their jobs. Most procedural justice research in the criminal justice context has been with police officers rather than custody officers. We, therefore, not only edited some statements used in prior research to make them more applicable to the custody context, but we describe in this analysis how some statements seem to have a different meaning for corrections than police officers.

Table 18. Commitment to Procedurally Just Supervision and Enforcement

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
Respect for People in Custody							
Inmates deserve to be treated with respect.	8%	9%	11%	24%	36%	12%	4.01
It is important to treat inmates with respect regardless of how they behave.	14%	18%	23%	22%	18%	7%	3.12
I try to be respectful of inmates' feelings.	6%	11%	12%	33%	31%	7%	3.91
People who break the law do not deserve to be treated with respect.*	16%	34%	20%	16%	9%	6%	4.11
Accountable use of Authority							
It is important to give inmates an explanation for why they are required to do something even if they are disrespectful.	14%	17%	17%	25%	21%	6%	3.36
Custody personnel who explain their decisions to inmates look weak.*	11%	32%	23%	17%	12%	5%	3.98
It is not necessary to explain to inmates why they are required to do something.*	6%	16%	23%	29%	17%	10%	3.36
It is a waste of time to explain your decisions to inmates.*	5%	16%	27%	28%	17%	6%	3.43
Human Service Orientation							
It is important to show inmates that you care about their problems.	6%	13%	22%	36%	17%	5%	3.58
Custody personnel have a responsibility to try to help inmates with their problems.	10%	13%	20%	32%	20%	5%	3.54
Helping inmates cope with their problems and adjust to jail is one of my major concerns while I am on the job.	20%	21%	21%	22%	13%	3%	2.97

Note: * item is reverse coded so that higher scores indicate greater respect or greater accountability.

In general, our respondents at least somewhat agreed with statements indicating respect for jail inmates (a mean score hovering around 4), were fairly neutral about the need to be accountable to use of authority (a mean score hovering between 3 and 4), and somewhat disagreed with human services orientation statements (a mean score hovering between 2.97 and 3.58). Within each conceptual category (respect, accountability, human services), there was some variety in the strength of agreement or disagreement, often depending on the specificity of the statement. For instance, although the majority of respondents at least somewhat agreed that "inmates deserve to be treated with respect" (72 percent) and at least somewhat disagreed that "people who break the law do *not* deserve to be treated with respect" (70 percent), not even half agreed that misbehaving inmates also deserve respect ("it is important to treat inmates with respect regardless of how they behave"; 47 percent at least somewhat agreed). Likewise, while two-thirds of respondents at least somewhat disagreed that explaining decisions to inmates makes "custody personnel … look weak" (66 percent), just over half at least somewhat *agreed* that explanations are unnecessary, and explaining decisions is a waste of time. Finally, respondents expressed, at best, a very weak orientation towards human services. While over half of respondents at least somewhat agreed that "it is important to show inmates that you care about their problems" (58 percent) and that they have "a responsibility to help inmates with their problems" (57 percent), only about one-third of respondents at least somewhat agreed that "helping inmates cope with their problems and adjust to jail is one of my major concerns" (38 percent).

Table 19 reports the findings of an ordinary least squares regression that analyzes what characteristics, perceptions, and experiences predict higher respect for people in custody, more accountability to authority, and stronger human services orientation among respondents. This model is fairly robust in its ability to predict the degree of respect for people in custody: the combination of variables included in the model account for 25 percent of the overall variation in how much respect respondents express for jail inmates (as expressed by the r-squared value). The other models explained a modest amount of variation in accountable use of authority and orientation towards human services: the model explained 13 percent of the overall variation in how much accountability respondents express and 11 percent of the overall variation in support for a human services orientation. Together, the models tested in Table 19 are statistically significant and account for a meaningful amount of variation in attitudes about procedural justice.

Table 19. Predictors of Procedurally Just Attitudes, Ordinary Least Squares Regression

	Respectful		Accountable		Human Service	
	b	beta	b	beta	b	beta
Background Characteristics						
Age	0.15*	0.15*	0.12	0.13	0.25**	0.24**
Education	-0.09*	-0.10*	0.02	0.02	-0.04	-0.05
White	0.10	0.05	0.02	0.01	-0.03	-0.01
Female	0.18	0.06	0.09	0.03	-0.13	-0.05
Work Characteristics						
Custody Assistant	0.16	0.07	0.13	0.06	0.02	0.01
Sergeant	0.47*	0.11*	0.18	0.05	0.06	0.02
Patrol Experience	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.02	-0.01
Support Function	-0.18	-0.07	-0.17	-0.07	-0.07	-0.03
Day Shift	0.04	0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.11	-0.05
Job Tenure	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.03	0.00	-0.01
Work Perceptions						
Role Conflict	0.04	0.05	-0.12*	-0.14*	-0.01	-0.02
Respect for Custody	0.11	0.12	0.07	0.08	0.17	0.19
Job Satisfaction	0.04	0.09	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.06
Job Dangerousness	0.38**	0.44**	0.13*	0.16*	0.12	0.14
Right Track	0.08	0.04	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.01
Work Experiences						
Estimated Risk	-0.01**	-0.14**	0.00*	-0.12*	0.00	-0.07
Hostile Encounters	-0.07	-0.08	-0.08	-0.11	0.00	0.00
Friendly Encounters	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.03
Model Statistics	7.87**	.25**	2.76**	.13**	2.34**	.11**

Note: *result is statistically significant at the p<.05 level; ** result is statistically significant at the p <. 01 level

In terms of the influence of background characteristics, as age increases the degree of respect for people in custody increases, such that older employees are more likely to endorse a respectful orientation toward people in custody than younger employees. Likewise, older custody personnel are more likely to hold a human service orientation. On the other hand, education has a significant relationship with respect; as education increases, respect for people in custody decreases. The only work characteristic that is significantly associated with any of the outcome variables is being a Sergeant. Other things being equal, Sergeants have a more respectful orientation, and also tend to report higher degrees of accountability, though this relationship is weaker and does not reach statistical significance. Interestingly, neither having patrol experience nor job tenure has much effect at all on whether respondents express respect, accountability, or a human services orientation. In fact, this model is demonstrating that, outside of the small effects of age and education, few of the basic background or work characteristics for which we controlled explain variations in respect, accountability, or human services orientation.

Instead, perceptions and work experiences are the strongest explanatory factors in these models. Specifically, those who feel more role conflict feel less need to be accountable for how they use authority. The more dangerous a respondent perceives the custody job to be, the more respectful and accountable they are likely to be. On the other hand, the estimated risk a respondent assesses from people in custody, the less respectful and accountable they are likely to be. Together, these relationships suggest that perceptions of dangerousness increase support for procedural justice concepts. Dangerousness seems integral to respondents' professional orientation and their perceptions of the value and meaning of their job. Actual perceived risk, on the other hand, decreases support for procedural justice concepts – and this is controlling, in this model, for variations in the frequency of friendly and hostile encounters.

Just as this model rules out certain background and work characteristics as not particularly relevant to procedural justice outcomes, so it also rules out some work experiences and perceptions as minimally relevant. Frequency of hostile and friendly encounters do not affect procedural justice outcomes, and neither do perceptions of LASD being on the "right" or "wrong" track relate to procedural justice outcomes. Perceptions of the organization's direction seem to have more to do with the way employees are being treated day-to-day rather than with debates about "constitutional policing," or how they are being asked to do their jobs.

PERCEPTION OF PURPOSE OF INCARCERATION

In this section, we examine respondents' commitments to more specific values than the general concepts of "procedural justice." Here, we examine how they perceive the purpose of the jails in which they work, and whether there is a relationship between these perceived purposes and

their procedural justice orientations or lack thereof. Figure 24 show that respondents were fairly evenly divided about how they perceived the purpose of jails: just over one-third (36 percent) think the purpose is protection; just under one-third think the purpose is rehabilitation (30 percent); and, perhaps most interestingly, 34 percent think the purpose is punishment – a curious perspective from within facilities primarily detaining individuals pre-sentencing. (Even though Los Angeles County jails contain a growing population of post-conviction individuals, they only make-up roughly 28 percent the jail population.[6])

Figure 23. What do you think should be the main emphasis in most jails—punishing people convicted of a crime, trying to rehabilitate people so they might return to society as a productive citizen, or protecting society from future crimes people might commit?

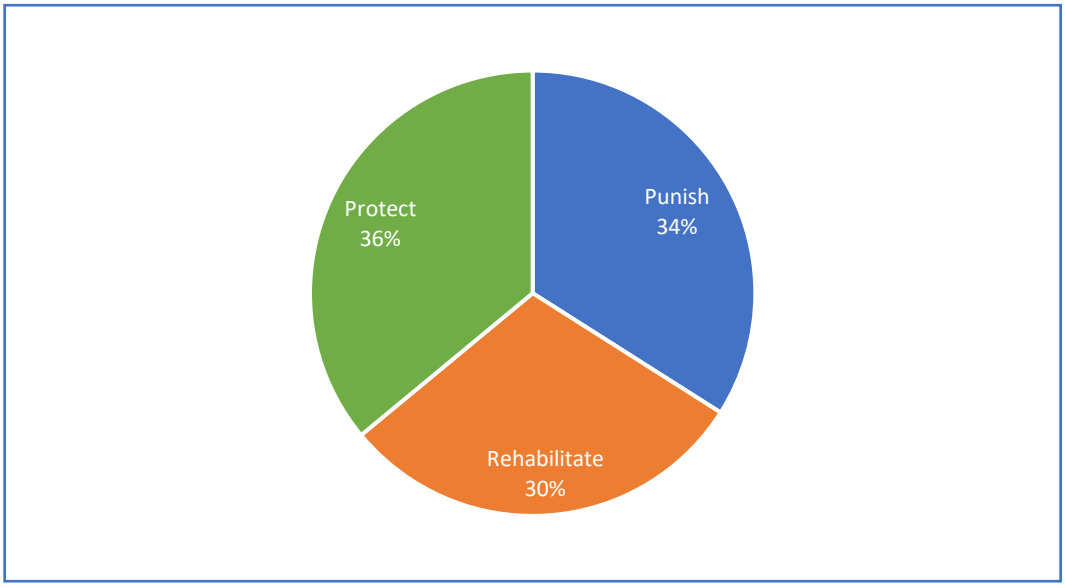


Table 20 models the relationship between procedurally just attitudes about respect, accountability, and a human services orientation and perceptions that the jail is intended to either punish or rehabilitate. This table presents odds ratios, asking: What are the odds that someone respectful, accountable, or with a human services orientation will see the purpose of jail as rehabilitative, or alternatively, perceive the purpose as punishment? Perhaps unsurprisingly, respondents who are more respectful, accountable, and oriented towards human services are more likely to see the purpose of jail as rehabilitation, while those who are less respectful, accountable, and oriented towards human services are more likely to see the purpose of jail as punishment. Individuals who endorse a human services orientation are 49%

[6] *See Los Angeles Almanac* (2019), available at http://www.laalmanac.com

more like to support rehabilitation than they are to support punishment or protection as the main purpose of jails. Those with a respectful orientation toward people in custody are 25% less likely to believe that the main purpose of jails is punishment than they are to believe that rehabilitation or protection of the public is the purpose. If punishment is not a legitimate purpose of jail, then understanding which orientations predict a perception that punishment is or should be the purpose of jail suggests that interventions to maximize procedural justice perceptions might, in turn, minimize this misconception about the punitive purpose of jail.

Table 20. The relationship between procedurally justice attitudes and jail purpose

	Rehabilitate		Punish	
	Odds Ratio	SE	Odds Ratio	SE
Respectful	1.03	.14	.75**	.10
Accountable	1.24	.16	.97	.12
Human Service Orientation	1.49**	.18	.86	.11

Note: **result is statistically significant at the p<.01 level

FORCE ATTITUDES, STAFF SAFETY, AND HEALTH

Key Questions: How do custody staff think about the use of force? What experiences predict these attitudes? How do uses of force, fear, and victimization affect employee well-being?

Key Findings: Custody staff are ambivalent about the use of force, but understand and at least somewhat agree with existing rules restricting the use of force. Employees who are more respectful toward people in custody and accountable, are less likely to support uses of force. Hostile encounters and perceptions of the risk increase feelings of fear, which in turn increases levels of stress and reduces the health and well-being of custody staff.

In this final section, we start by examining custody staff attitudes towards use of force policies in the jail. These policies were frequent topics of conversation and tension among staff in our initial conversations, and so we included a variety of questions on the survey designed to help us better understand when and why staff think the use of force is necessary. Exploring attitudes about the use of force both synthesizes themes in the prior sections about the kinds of encounters staff have with people in custody and their perceptions of the purposes of their work and also opens the door to exploring how the use of force policies and staff attitudes about those policies relate to staff perceptions of safety – from stress, to health, to workplace

victimization. We conclude this section exploring a variety of categories and sources of stress for custody staff, examining how these personal stressors affect their attitudes towards policies designed to keep both staff and people in custody safe.

ATTITUDES ABOUT USE OF FORCE

Table 21 provides a starting point for understanding widespread institutional ambivalence about use of force policies. On a scale of 1 to 6, where 1 represents strong disagreement with statements about the use of force policies and 6 represents strong agreement, the average scores hovered just below or above 3, indicating little consensus about whether the use of force policies were agreed upon among line staff, between line staff and management, or were working well. Seventy percent of respondents at least somewhat agreed that "everyone seems to have different ideas about what constitutes objective and reasonable use of force" – a nice summary of the lack of consensus among staff on this topic. Tables 22 and 23 help to explain and unpack some of this ambivalence: respondents consistently expressed at least some support for the need to use more force more flexibly (Table 22), but, overall, they expressed stronger support for the need to limit the use of force (Table 23). All three tables (21-23) represent the results of a factor analysis: of the multiple statements about use of force, which we asked respondents to evaluate, each table represents clusters of statements for which patterns of responses were consistently and statistically related, suggesting that each grouping of statements represents a measure of overall staff attitudes towards different approaches to use of force: general attitudes toward use of force policies, attitudes supporting use of force, and attitudes limiting the use of force.

Table 21. Attitudes Toward Force Policy

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
Everyone seems to have a different idea about what constitutes objective and reasonable use of force.	5%	13%	13%	28%	28%	14%	2.97
There is strong agreement among custody personnel and the command staff about the reasonable use of force.	13%	18%	24%	26%	15%	5%	3.25
The force review process is working well.	10%	18%	24%	28%	16%	4%	3.34

Note: Higher scores reflect stronger consensus about the force policy

The statements in Table 22 suggest fairly consistent, if lukewarm, support for flexibility and assertiveness in use of force. Well over two-thirds of respondents think use of force rules are "too restrictive" (71 percent) and keep custody personnel from using "as much force as is often necessary" (66 percent). Just about half of respondents support even more flexibility in the use of excessive force, at least somewhat agreeing that "the use of more force than is allowed should be tolerated" and that the "consequences for failing to report the use of force are too harsh." The overall means, measuring average support for each statement, range between 3 and 4, representing overall neutral positions between somewhat disagree and somewhat agree about many of these statements.

Table 22. Attitudes Supporting Use of Force

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
The rules regulating the use of force are too restrictive.	3%	13%	15%	22%	24%	24%	3.56
When in doubt, it's almost always better to use force to get results rather than just keep talking to an inmate.	11%	29%	27%	18%	10%	5%	3.03
Custody personnel are not permitted to use as much force as is often necessary.	5%	13%	17%	21%	26%	19%	4.06
When a situation calls for the use of force, it would be a sign of weakness not to use force.	6%	22%	14%	21%	21%	15%	3.76
It is to the advantage of custody personnel to use force whenever it's justified because it sends a message to the inmates.	6%	16%	17%	25%	22%	13%	3.81
In some cases, the use of more force than is allowed should be tolerated.	8%	20%	21%	23%	19%	8%	3.49
The consequences for failing to report use of force are too harsh.	8%	18%	23%	19%	24%	8%	4.21

The result reported in Table 23 indicate higher levels of agreement with questions measuring attitudes that limit the use of force. The means reported in Table 23, which are consistently above 4, suggest that LASD has been at least somewhat successful in establishing agreement about both the need for and the benefits of limiting use of force. For instance, more than two-thirds of staff at least somewhat agree that “people who use excessive force hurt the reputation of the department” (70 percent), that “individuals who violate the force policy [should be held] accountable” (77 percent), and that they are “confident” in their abilities to “de-escalate … to prevent the need to use force” (83 percent). This is strong support for statements about the need to limit the use of force, suggesting respondents largely understand and at least somewhat agree with existing rules restricting the use of force.

Table 23. Attitudes Limiting Use of Force

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
I understand when it is reasonable to use force.	7%	6%	3%	7%	40%	38%	4.81
I have received enough training to know how to evaluate when an incident reasonably calls for the use of force.	5%	8%	8%	21%	41%	17%	4.35
I support holding individuals who violate the force policy accountable.	3%	9%	11%	23%	42%	12%	4.29
I am confident in my ability to de-escalate situations in order to prevent the need to use force.	4%	8%	5%	17%	44%	22%	4.53
Custody personnel who do not use force when it is called for will have to explain themselves to others.	5%	11%	12%	25%	34%	13%	4.14
People who use excessive force hurt the reputation of the entire department.	7%	12%	11%	18%	35%	17%	4.12

Table 24 presents the results of two ordinary least squares regression models that test the predictors of the attitudes supporting and limiting the use of force. Both models are statistically significant and explain one-third of the variation in attitudes supporting the use of force and an impressive two-thirds of the variation in attitudes limiting the use of force. In terms of predictors of attitudes supporting the use of force, white staff members and custody assistants are more likely to express attitudes supporting the use of force, while those in support functions are less likely to express attitudes supporting the use of force. A number of other attitudes are also strongly predictive of respondents expressing support for the use of force. The more dangerous respondents perceived custody work to be, the more likely they were to support the use of force. On the other hand, the more respectful respondents reported being towards people in custody, and the more support they expressed for accountable use of authority, the less likely they were to support the use of force. Not only are these predictors logical, but they suggest the importance of cultivating a commitment to fair treatment and its relevance for limiting excessive uses of force. In terms of predictors of attitudes limiting the use of force, fewer background and work characteristics are predictive; of the characteristics evaluated in the model, only working a day shift significantly predicts attitudes limiting the use of force.

In contrast, work-related attitudes are predictive of attitudes limiting the use of force. Just as respect for people in custody predicts less support for use of force, it also predicts more support for limiting the use of force. Likewise, vigilance, perceptions of job dangerousness, and perceived authority are all strongly predictive of attitudes limiting the use of force. This suggests, once again, that perceptions of job dangerousness are reflective of the ways that respondents conceptualize and value their job and that these perceptions are often associated with respect and legitimacy.

Table 24. Predictors of Attitudes Toward the Use of Force

	Attitudes Supporting Use of Force		Attitudes Limiting Use of Force	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Background Characteristics				
Age	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01
Education	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
White	0.15*	0.08*	0.05	0.02
Female	-0.03	-0.01	-0.13	-0.05
Work Characteristics				
Custody Assistant	0.29**	0.15**	-0.11	-0.04
Sergeant	0.11	0.05	0.05	0.02
Patrol Experience	-0.31	-0.09	0.10	0.02
Support Function	-0.28*	-0.12*	0.00	0.00
Day Shift	-0.08	-0.04	0.18	0.08*
Job Tenure	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01
Work-Related Attitudes				
Respectful toward Inmates	-0.17**	-0.20**	0.09*	0.09*
Accountable use of Authority	-0.23**	-0.25**	0.08	0.07
Human Service Orientation	-0.03	-0.03	0.00	0.00
Vigilance	0.03	0.05	0.35**	0.45**
Job Dangerousness	0.23**	0.33**	0.29**	0.34**
Perceived Authority	0.02	0.03	0.06*	0.07*
Work Experiences				
Hostile Encounters	0.02	0.03	-0.05	-0.06
Friendly Encounters	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.05
Risk	0.00	0.07	0.00	-0.02
	F	R^2	F	R^2
Model Statistics	9.14**	.31**	40.91**	.65**

Note: *result is statistically significant at the p<.05 level; ** result is statistically significant at the p <. 01 level

One final note: the factors that are not predictive in this model are also interesting. Neither hostile nor friendly encounters, nor experiences of risk predict supportive or limiting attitudes towards the use of force. In this model, attitudes are more important than experiences, suggesting, again, that attention to attitudes is critical in influencing support and acceptance of policies. In the next section, we explore another aspect of staff safety—fear and victimization, which allows us to further examine this complex relationship between attitudes and experience among custody staff.

FEAR AND PREVALENCE OF WORKPLACE VICTIMIZATION

We begin our analysis of workplace fear and victimization with a simple graph describing overall perceptions of the risk of being harmed by people in custody on the job (Figure 25), and then we explore fears, actual experiences, and the correlation between fear and actual experience for specific types of workplace victimization, or harms inflicted on staff by people in custody (Table 25 and Figures 26 and 27). Figure 25 is a visual representation of a risk measure included in prior models throughout this report. The visual representation makes clear that the majority of respondents think the majority of people in custody would hurt them given the chance: 71 percent of staff think 50 percent or more of people in custody would hurt them given the chance. As with measures of the perceived dangerousness of the job, there is clearly a shared cultural norm among custody staff that their job is dangerous, and they are dealing with dangerous people.

Figure 24. In your estimation, what percent of the people who are incarcerated in the jail where you work would hurt you if given the chance?

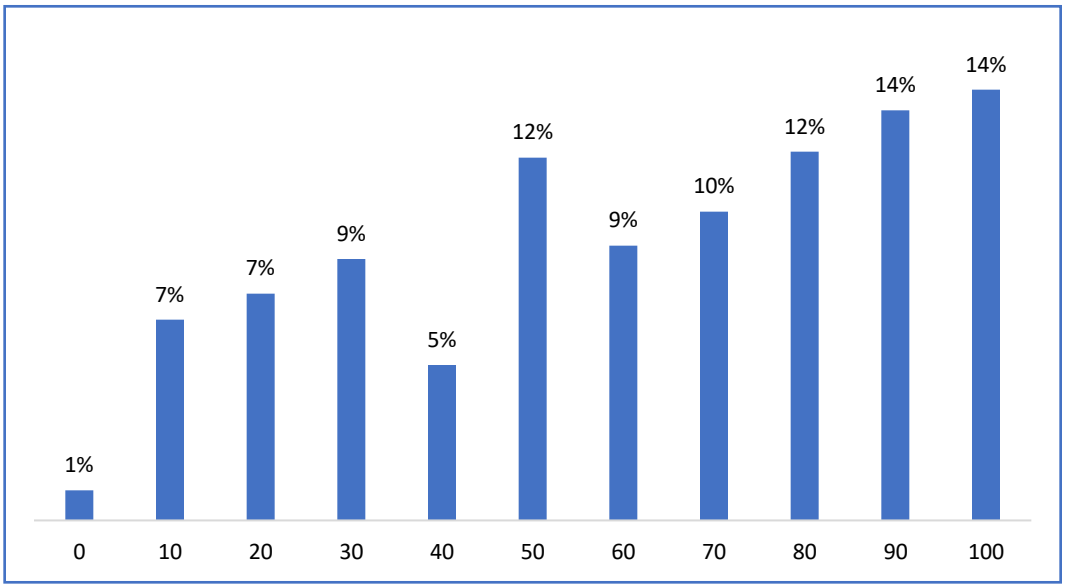


Table 25 allows us to explore in much more detail where these beliefs come from and how they relate to workplace victimization. The experiences presented in Table 25 are sorted along the mean of fear: the experiences at the top of the table represent the ones about which respondents generally expressed the least fear, while the experiences at the bottom of the table represent the ones about which the most respondents expressed the most fear. Respondents are, importantly, least afraid of the most violent possible scenarios: being sexually assaulted or raped, or taken hostage. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not at all concerned and 5 is concerned a great deal, respondents reported, on average, being only a little bit concerned of these most violent scenarios. Respondents also reported never having experienced these scenarios. The relationship between fear and experience, however, gets more complicated for those categories of victimization which are more commonly feared, some of which are experienced fairly often, and some of which are experienced rarely. For instance, respondents were relatively fearful (somewhere between moderately and a lot) of both being bitten and being attacked with a weapon, although these experiences are relatively rare: fewer than one in ten respondents reported experiencing either. There was a significant correlation between fear and experience of being bitten, but not between fear and experience of being attacked with a weapon. (Of course, even if they are rare, both could be scary for their severity.) Other experiences, like being pushed or shoved, or having an object thrown at you, both inspired significant fear and happened with some frequency, with more than half of respondents having experienced these types of victimization. And for these two categories of victimization, fear and experience were significantly correlated. On the other hand, the two categories of victimization about which respondents were the most consistently and seriously afraid (with well over half reporting they were a lot or a great deal fearful) – being gassed and being exposed to an infectious disease – were experienced by fewer than one-third of respondents, and fear and experience were not correlated. [7]

[7] The survey was conducted in 2019, but the COVID-19 pandemic has likely only exacerbated the intensity and prevalence of fear of infectious diseases.

Table 25. Prevalence and Fear of Specific Types of Workplace Victimization

	How concerned are you about the following happening to you at work?						Ever experienced?	Correlation between fear and experience
	Not at all	A little	A moderate amount	A lot	A great deal	Mean	Yes	r
Sexually assaulted or raped	64%	15%	7%	4%	11%	1.84	0%	-
Taken hostage	29%	23%	18%	11%	20%	2.79	0%	-
Injured intervening in a fight	11%	13%	24%	20%	33%	3.49	24%	.20*
Bitten	12%	18%	20%	19%	32%	3.49	6%	.11*
Pushed or shoved	8%	15%	23%	21%	33%	3.57	44%	.13*
Spit on	8%	16%	23%	16%	38%	3.61	35%	.07
Injured overpowering a disruptive inmate	8%	12%	21%	23%	36%	3.75	25%	.20*
Attacked with a weapon	7%	14%	24%	19%	36%	3.77	9%	.10
Object thrown at you	4%	14%	23%	22%	37%	3.77	53%	.15*
Hit or punched	5%	10%	21%	23%	41%	3.97	36%	.08
Gassed	6%	12%	19%	19%	45%	3.98	29%	.10
Exposed to a disease like AIDS, hepatitis, or tuberculosis	3%	9%	14%	21%	53%	4.17	27%	.04

Note: items are coded so that higher means indicate higher levels of concern; * correlation is significantly greater than zero at the $p \leq .05$ level

Figures 26 and 27 provide visualizations of some of the specific relationships between fear and actual victimization described in Table 25, broken down by facility, in order to further tease out the relationship between fear and experience and identify where and how these stressors might be mitigated. Figure 26 compares the average cumulative prevalence of victimization by institution (the bars) to the mean level of fear on a scale from 1 to 5 (the line). To calculate the prevalence of victimization, each respondent received a score from 1 to 10, counting up which of the categories of victimization (as reported in Table 25) he or she had ever experienced.[8] The mean level of fear represents an average index of all responses by institution of the 12 mean levels of fear reported in Table 25. This visualization highlights an important phenomenon: mean levels of fear are fairly consistent across all facilities surveyed, hovering around 3.5 (out of 5), but the actual prevalence of experiences of victimization varies widely by institution, ranging from an average score of just over 1 at PDC South to an average score of almost 4 at IRC. This suggests that fear might be dissociated from the experience of victimization.

Figure 27 compares fear to experience, focusing in on a specific example of victimization about which custody staff are particularly wary: gassing. In this figure, the bars represent the percentage of staff at a given institution who have ever been gassed, while the line represents the average level of fear of gassing, by facility. As in Figure 26, mean levels of fear of gassing are fairly consistent across facilities, hovering between 3 (a moderate amount) and 4 (a lot), but actual experiences with gassing vary widely, from 40 percent of respondents reporting having experienced being gassed at TTCF and MCJ, but fewer than 5 percent reporting having experienced being gassed at PDC South. Indeed, gassing seems to be a prevalent phenomenon in some facilities and not others, suggesting that specific facilities could be targeted to mitigate both experiences with and fear of this phenomenon. Overall, Table 25 and the associated figures suggest that there are many specific categories of events frequently experienced by custody staff that genuinely create stress in their work environment.

[8] Since no one had experienced 2 of the 12 categories, sexual assault or being taken hostage, any respondent's maximum possible score would be 10. This score does not account for the possibility that a respondent might have experienced a single category of victimization multiple times.

Figure 25. Average Cumulative Prevalence of Victimization and Level of Fear by Facility

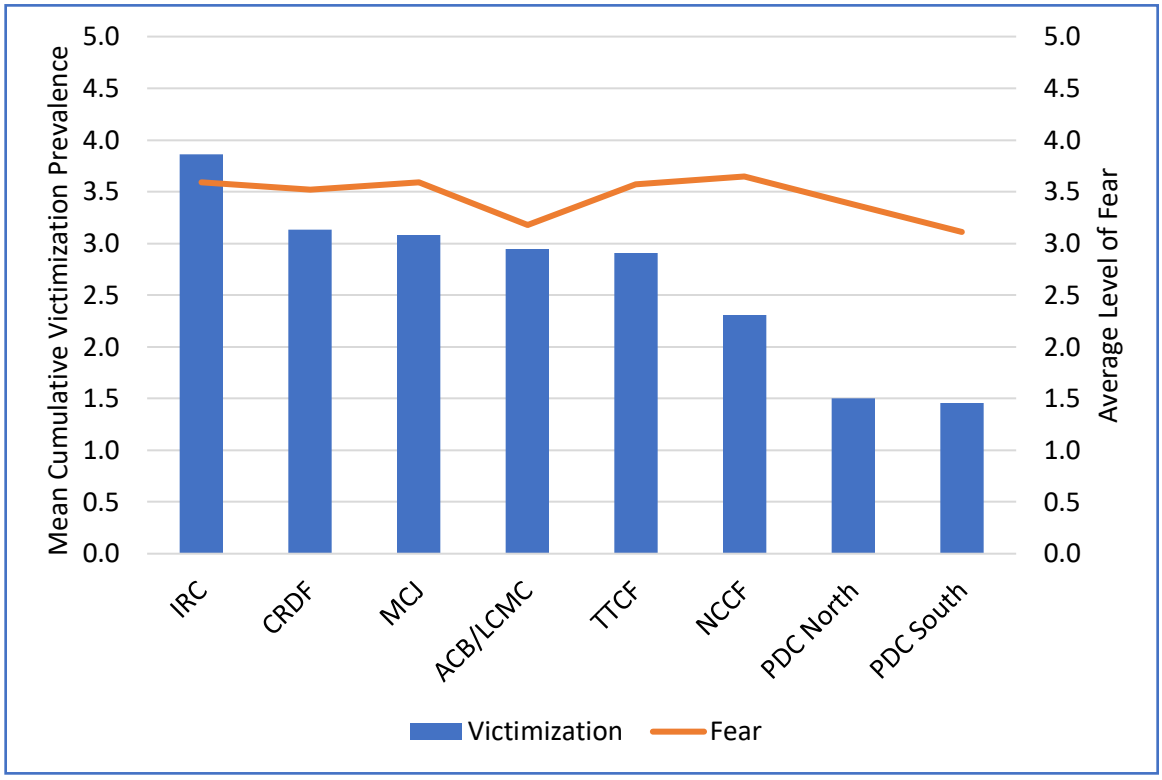
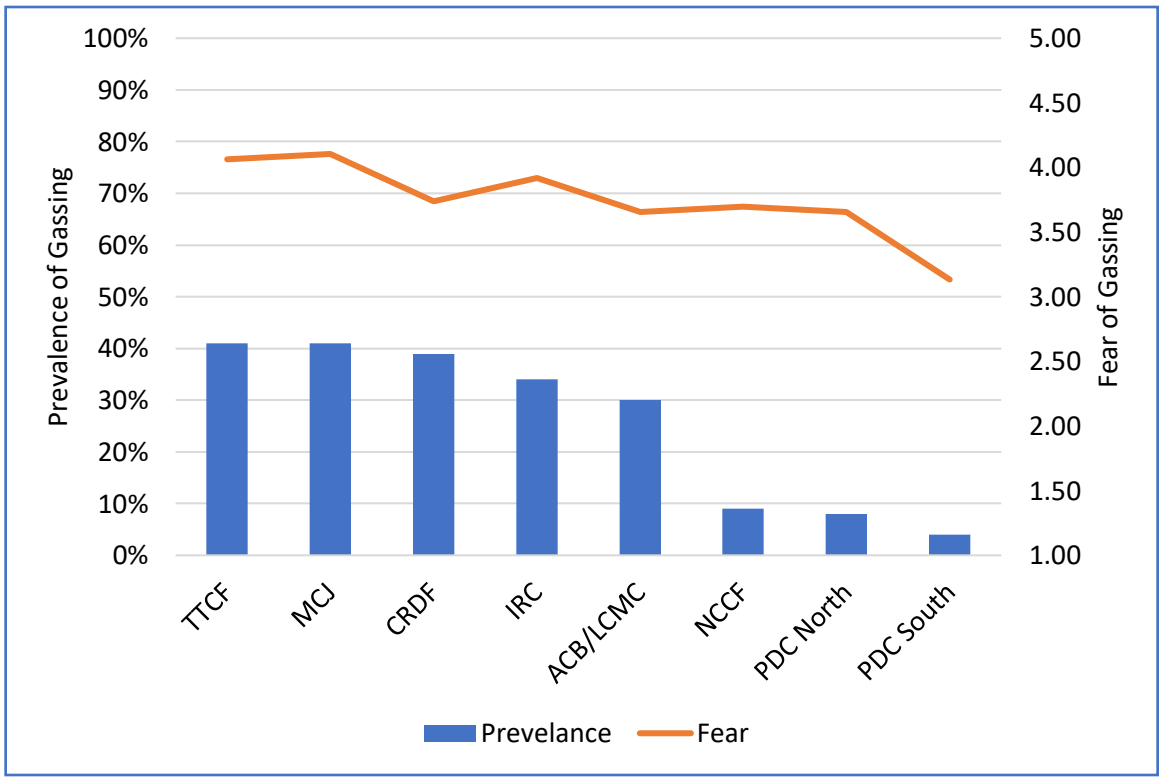


Figure 26. Prevalence and Fear of Gassing by Facility



We next present a series of tables and figures examining experiences that might reasonably be thought to be associated with fear of and experiences with workplace victimization: vigilance at work (Table 26), at home (Figure 28), and in neighborhoods (Figure 29), perceived efficacy of cameras (Table 27), and perceived authority (Figure 30). In Table 28, we examine whether these and other factors predict either experiences of workplace victimization or fear of workplace victimization.

Table 26 amplifies the frequency and pervasiveness of stressful events documented in Table 25: respondents described high levels of vigilance on the job. They feel on guard all the time and perceive a constant sense of lurking danger. Well over three-quarters of all staff report at least somewhat agreeing with each of three statements about the need to be vigilant to protect themselves and those around them. This pervasive vigilance spills over into respondents' home lives, as Figures 28 and 29 reveals. While fewer respondents experience the need for intense vigilance at home, a full third at least somewhat disagreed that they could "relax and … not worry about being in danger" in their own homes (Figure 28). Likewise, almost one-third of respondents said they only sometimes, almost never, or never feel safe in their own neighborhoods (Figure 29). These two figures suggest that at least one-third of our respondents had trouble leaving either their workplace fears of victimization or their workplace stress about having been victimized at work.

Table 26. Vigilance at Work

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
I can often relax at work and let my guard down without anything bad happening to me or anyone else.*	32%	33%	12%	10%	7%	6%	4.58
In this job you always have to keep in mind that trouble could happen at any time.	9%	4%	1%	5%	29%	53%	4.98
In this job, if you let your guard down and relax too much you're likely to get hurt.	7%	6%	3%	9%	35%	40%	4.79

Note: * item reversed coded so that higher mean scores indicate higher levels of vigilance

Figure 27. When I am at home, I can relax and do not worry about being in danger

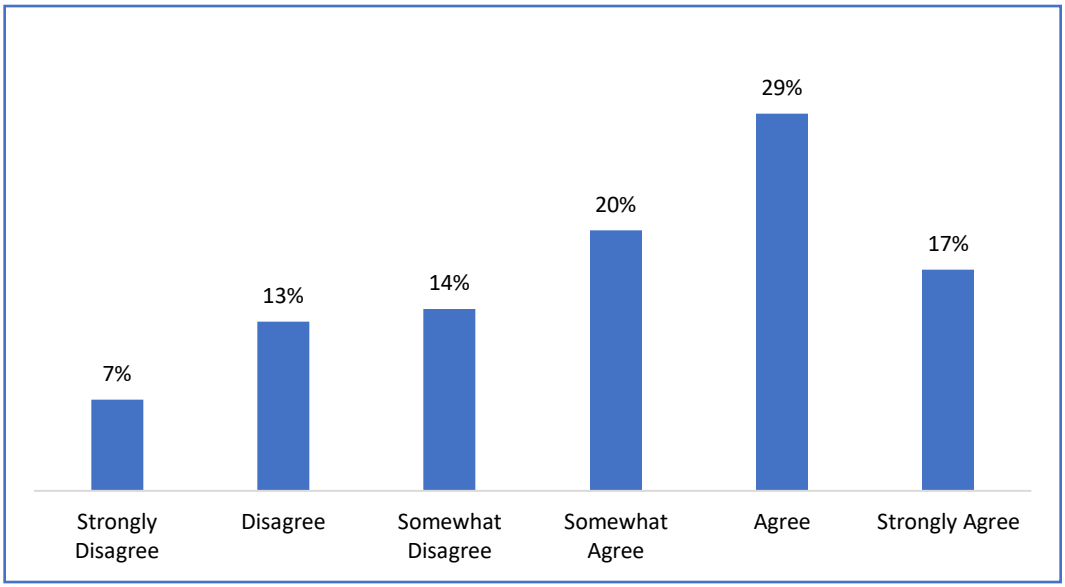


Figure 28. How often do you feel safe in your neighborhood?

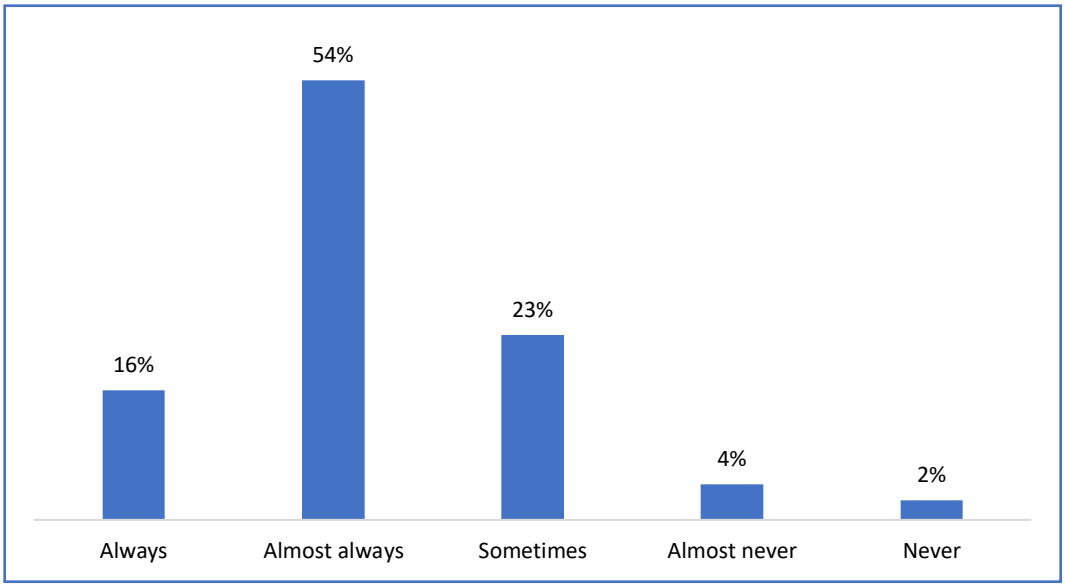


Table 27 and Figure 30 examine potential tools and perceptions that might facilitate vigilance and minimize fear of and experiences with victimization. Specifically, Table 27 examines the perceived efficacy of cameras – a potential tool facilitating vigilance – in the jail facility. Overall, respondents were fairly neutral about the efficacy of cameras; their level of agreement with a variety of statements about camera efficacy tended to cluster around somewhat disagree to somewhat agree. More respondents expressed stronger agreement with statements about the

effect of cameras on accountability: around two-thirds of respondents thought cameras improved the feasibility of prosecuting gassers, improved inmate safety, and were protective against false accusations. But fewer than half actually thought cameras created a safer work environment.

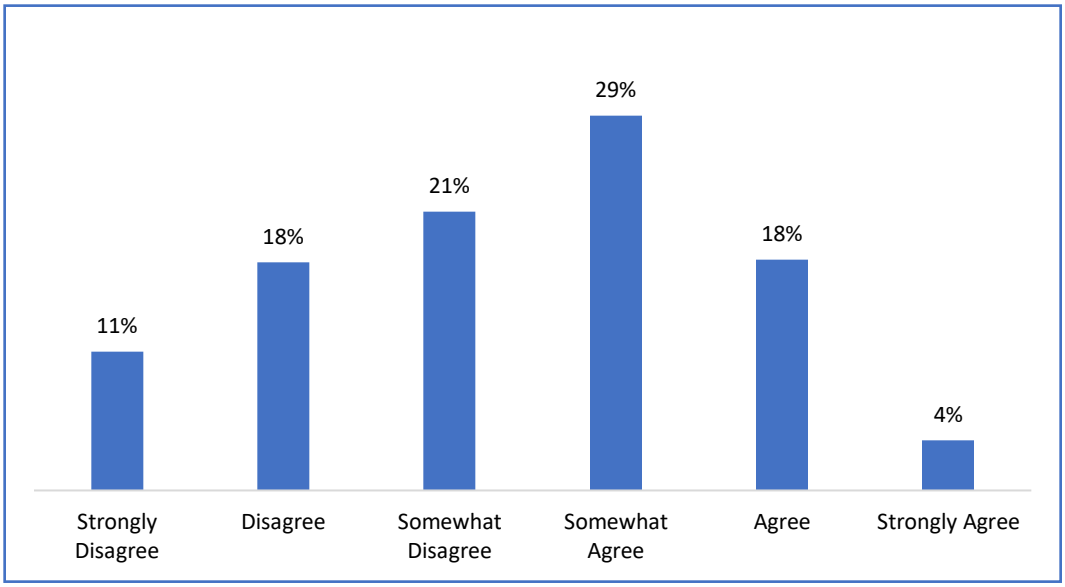
Table 27. Perceived Efficacy of Cameras

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
The installation of cameras in the jail has created a safer work environment	16%	22%	17%	26%	15%	5%	3.83
Cameras improve the ability to prosecute individuals who gas custody personnel.	10%	13%	9%	15%	34%	19%	2.92
The use of cameras in the jail improves inmate safety.	11%	14%	14%	30%	24%	7%	3.39
Cameras in the jail protect me from false accusations.	6%	7%	10%	21%	37%	19%	2.66

Note: higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived efficacy.

Figure 30 examines whether respondents perceived they possessed adequate authority to maintain order in their facilities – another potential tool facilitating both vigilance and perceptions of safety. While the modal response (29 percent of respondents) is to somewhat agree that authority is adequate, respondents were fairly evenly split, overall, on this question, with exactly 50 percent at least somewhat disagreeing that they had adequate authority.

Figure 29. I feel that I have more than enough power to keep inmates in line here.



PREDICTORS OF WORKPLACE VICTIMIZATION AND FEAR

Table 28 looks at how these varied experiences and perceptions relate to actual experiences with workplace victimization (measured as a cumulative prevalence, as in Figure 26) and levels of fear of being victimized at work (measured as an index of all responses reported in Table 25). Although only a few of the factors we evaluate are significantly related to victimization, this is, overall, a robust model, explaining one-third of the variation in experiences of workplace victimization and one-quarter of the variation in fear of being victimized.

No background characteristics seem to influence either the prevalence of workplace victimization or the levels of fear of such victimization. A number of work characteristics and attitudes, however, do affect the prevalence of workplace victimization. Notably, custody assistants are less likely than other categories of staff to experience victimization, echoing findings in the interactions section that they are also less likely to have hostile encounters with people in custody, suggesting that they may actually be more effective at conflict resolution. Although being a custody assistant is protective against victimization, job tenure is essentially a risk factor: the longer any staff member is on the job, the more likely he or she will be to have experienced victimization. The more vigilant respondents were, and the more perceived authority respondents had, the more likely they were to have experienced workplace victimization. Vigilance might logically be associated with victimization; it could be that victimization predicts vigilance as much as vigilance predicts victimization. Finally, only two experiences significantly affected levels of fear of workplace victimization: frequency of hostile encounters and perceptions of risk of the work. Both experiences were strongly associated with

increased levels of fear of workplace victimization. For each increase in the rate of hostile encounters, levels of fear of workplace victimization increase by 1.57 on the 1 to 6 scale. This association is another indicator of the need to focus on mitigating and reducing the frequency of such encounters.

Table 28. Predictors of Workplace Victimization and Fear

	Prevalence of Workplace Victimization		Fear of Workplace Victimization	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Background Characteristics				
Age	0.04	0.01	-0.46	-0.04
Education	0.04	0.02	0.08	0.01
White	0.28	0.05	-1.53	-0.06
Female	-0.56	-0.08	1.95	0.06
Work Characteristics				
Custody Assistant	-0.84**	-0.13**	0.44	0.01
Sergeant	0.45	0.07	2.78	0.10
Patrol Experience	0.32	0.03	-0.59	-0.01
Support Function	-0.64	-0.09	-0.69	-0.02
Day Shift	0.03	0.00	2.40	0.10
Job Tenure	0.11**	0.25**	-0.19	-0.10
Work-Related Attitudes				
Respectful toward Inmates	0.32	0.12	-1.72	-0.14
Accountable use of Authority	0.06	0.02	-0.67	-0.05
Human Service Orientation	-0.08	-0.03	0.78	0.07
Efficacy with Mentally Ill People	-0.53	-0.26	0.49	0.05
Vigilance	0.52*	0.23*	1.94	0.19
Job Dangerousness	-0.36	-0.17	-0.72	-0.08
Perceived Authority	0.37**	0.11**	0.53	0.03
Attitudes Supporting Force	-0.21	-0.07	-0.99	-0.07
Attitudes Limiting Force	0.05	0.02	-1.50	-0.12
Work Experiences				
Hostile Encounters	0.71	0.33	1.57**	0.16**
Friendly Encounters	-0.22	-0.08	-0.23	-0.02
Risk	0.00	-0.01	0.11**	0.27**
Workplace Victimization	-	-	0.27	0.06
	F	R^2	F	R^2
Model Statistics	7.75**	.33**	6.20**	.27**

Note: *result is statistically significant at the p<.05 level; **result is statistically significant at the p<.01 level

EMPLOYEE WELL-BEING AND THE EFFECT OF FEAR AND WORKPLACE VICTIMIZATION

In this section, we examine the impact of the high levels of victimization and fear previously discussed on respondents' overall well-being: describing respondents' levels of stress (Figure 31), reported effects of stress on health (Figure 32), and modeling the predictors of negative

stress and health outcomes, including, especially, the impact of experiences with and fear of workplace victimization (Table 25).

Figure 31 shows respondents reporting fairly high levels of stress experienced over the last year. Half of the respondents reported experiencing at least a moderate amount of stress, and, in all, 83 percent of respondents report moderate to "a lot" of stress. And this stress has harmful effects on their health. Figure 32 shows respondents reporting high levels of harmful health effects from stress. The modal respondent (35 percent) reported a moderate effect of stress on health, and, in all, more than two-thirds of respondents report somewhere between moderate and a "great deal" of health effects from stress.

Figure 30. Amount of Stress Experienced in the Last Year

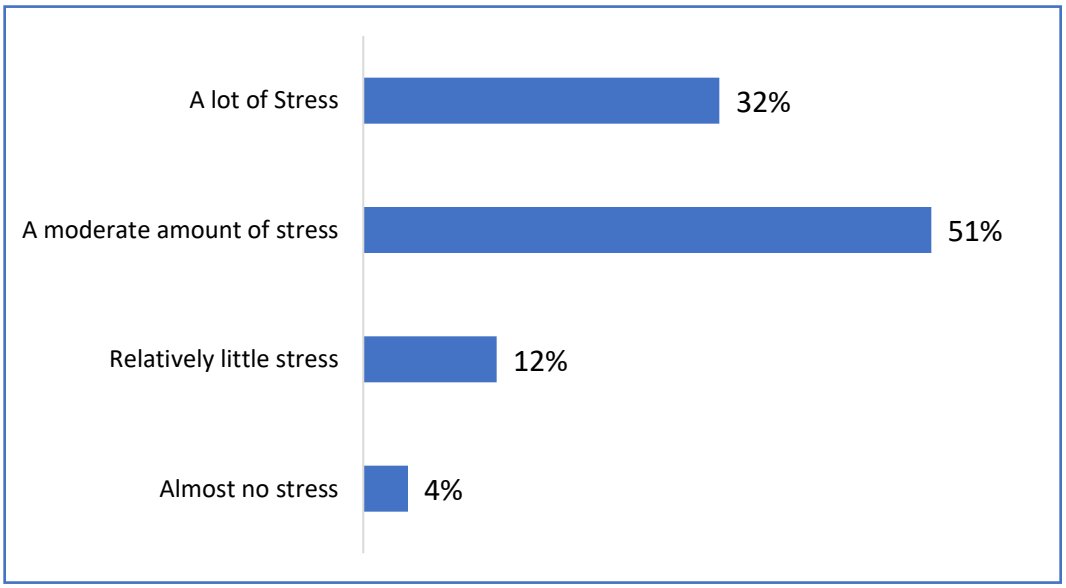


Figure 31. In the past year, how much effect has stress had on your health?

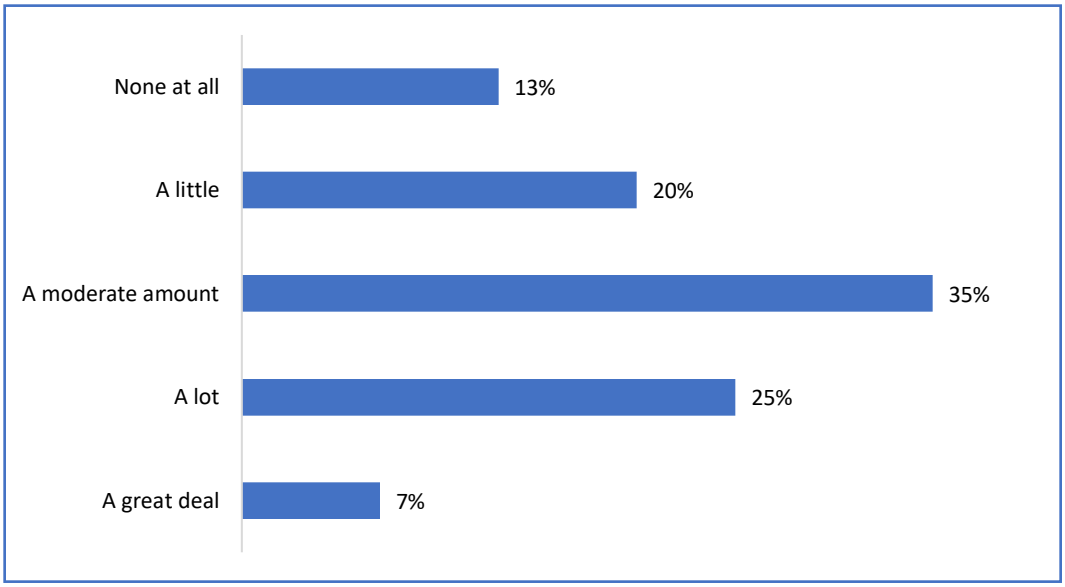


Table 29 models whether any background and work characteristics, work-related attitudes, health behaviors, or work experiences predict either respondents' general levels of stress or their reported levels of stress on their overall health. This is a reasonably robust model, predicting 17 percent of the variation in reported levels of stress and almost one-quarter of the variation in reported effects of stress on health. This model allows us to control for things that might explain stress – Including background and work characteristics and health behaviors like average hours of sleep and frequency of exercise – in order to examine how directly work-related attitudes and experiences affect wellbeing. Indeed, controlling for those variables (of which only gender has any significant influence on wellbeing), fear of victimization has a significantly increases on both stress and health. The more fear of victimization a respondent reports, the more likely he or she is to report higher levels of stress and greater effects of stress on health. Interestingly, the more a respondent perceives they have adequate authority, the less likely they are to experience stress. Conversely, the more workplace victimization a respondent has experienced, the more likely he or she is to report negative effects of stress on health. In all, this model suggests that workplace experiences with and fear of victimization does indeed, directly affect stress, health, and overall well-being, suggesting that these experiences are important ones to address, mitigate, and minimize.

Table 29. The Effect of Workplace Safety on Stress and Health

	General Stress		Effect of Stress on Health	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Background Characteristics				
Age	0.02	0.03	-0.04	-0.04
Education	-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03
White	0.15	0.10	0.17	0.08
Female	0.11	0.05	0.55**	0.18**
Work Characteristics				
Custody Assistant	0.15	0.08	0.20	0.07
Sergeant	0.17	0.06	0.10	0.02
Patrol Experience	-0.06	-0.04	0.12	0.05
Support Function	0.00	0.00	-0.21	-0.07
Day Shift	-0.04	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02
Job Tenure	-0.02	-0.17	0.00	0.01
Work-Related Attitudes				
Fear of Workplace Victimization	0.01*	0.14*	0.01*	0.14*
Vigilance	-0.10	-0.17	0.01	0.01
Job Dangerousness	0.11	0.17	0.02	0.02
Perceived Authority	-0.09*	-0.14*	-0.09	-0.11
Health Behaviors				
Average Hours Sleep	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05
Frequency of Exercise	-0.04	-0.06	-0.11	-0.12
Work Experiences				
Hostile Encounters	0.08	0.12	0.09	0.10
Friendly Encounters	-0.02	-0.02	-0.09	-0.09
Risk	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.06
Workplace Victimization	0.03	0.11	0.07**	0.19**
	F	R^2	F	R^2
Model Statistics	2.80	.17**	4.62**	.24**

Note: : *result is statistically significant at the p<.05 level; **result is statistically significant at the p<.01 level

SUMMARY

Key insights from each focus area, along with recommended actions, are summarized below. Finally, we review several patterns that emerged across the five focus areas and conclude with general suggestions for improving the work experiences of custody personnel.

CUSTODY VERSUS PATROL: Custody staff are de-moralized. Respondents believed that opportunities and respect accrue to people who work patrol. It is no surprise then that a sizable percentage of employees assigned to custody have a strong preference for a career in patrol.

People who prefer to work patrol report higher levels of job dissatisfaction. Of more significant concern, people who have made their careers in custody do not feel valued by the LASD. There is also broad agreement that the skills gained in custody are not useful working patrol and vice versa. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Develop strategies that communicate the value of custody and custody-specific skills.
- Create and sustain opportunities to reward custody experience and accomplishments.
- Reevaluate the practice of requiring deputies to serve a period of time in the custody division.
- Invest in those who are committed to a career in custody to improve recruitment, job satisfaction, and retention within the LASD.

MORALE AND UNDERSTAFFING: A majority of staff were committed to working for the LASD. Still, close to sixty percent of employees described the LASD as "seriously off track" and, many employees were dissatisfied and shared their intention to look for a new job. Unhappy workers were understandably more likely to say they intended to leave their jobs. But we also identified specific experiences that increase job satisfaction and commitment. Staff who felt supported by their supervisors and believed work assignments were fair were more satisfied and committed to their jobs. On the other hand, staff who perceived scheduling and work assignment policies as unfair experienced significant stress and suffered lower morale. These experiences are more prevalent at larger, higher-security facilities. Low morale is more clearly related to human resource practices than other job experiences and attitudes. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Make scheduling and work assignment policies transparent and responsive to staff concerns.
- Prioritize predictable and equitable work assignments. Employees at larger, higher security facilities consistently reported higher levels of unfairness.
- Match preferences about the number of overtime shifts worked. Staff frequently complained about the number of overtime shifts worked. Some people wanted more overtime, but others wanted fewer shifts.
- Improve the fairness of work policies and processes, reduce fear, and increase supervisory support. Targeting these experiences will have a direct, positive effect on morale and retention.

INTERACTIONS WITH PEOPLE IN CUSTODY: Staff frequently have both friendly and hostile interactions with people in custody. Employees who feel that the LASD respects their work report more friendly interactions with people in custody. Employees who are fearful, vigilant for signs of danger, and believe that racial inequality influences how people in custody treat them have more hostile interactions. Training can reduce hostile interactions and improve the well-being of employees and people in custody.

Although staff believe mental illness is a serious problem, DeVRT has provided them with skills to identify and handle the problem. Still, the majority of custody personnel felt unsafe working with people with serious mental illness, and there was agreement about the need for more and higher quality treatment. Study participants also reported a lack of coordination between custody personnel, clinicians, and medical professionals.

Staff generally perceive each other and people in custody as receiving equal treatment regardless of their race or ethnicity. However, women and those with higher levels of education report more concerns about racial inequality. Fear, race relations, and hostile and friendly encounters are interrelated. Improvements in one area are likely to yield improvements in the other areas. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Encourage positive interactions between staff and people in custody. This would improve the well-being of both.
- Decrease employees' levels of vigilance, fear, and perceptions of unequal treatment.
- Maintain DeVRT, which has been effective in reducing fear and building confidence.
- Look at what can be replicated in this program for other training.
- Improve cooperation between mental health and medical providers and custody personnel.

PURPOSE OF THE WORK: Although employees were divided over the main purpose of jails, respondents generally indicated respect for people in custody. Still, we observed a lack of support for a human service orientation. Few jail employees thought they had an obligation to help people in custody cope with problems or adjust to jail. Employees also expressed limited support for regulating their authority and explaining decisions. These beliefs and expectations may undermine the mission of the LASD to proactively prevent crime and enhance trust through accountability.

Beliefs about respect, accountability, and human service are also linked to workplace safety. Respondents who thought people in custody were likely to hurt them were less likely to respect those people and less likely to see a need to explain their decisions. On the other hand, respondents with a valorous orientation were more respectful toward people in custody and more willing to explain their decisions. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Implement trainings that support professional, human services orientations.
- Encourage and reward a procedurally just orientation to lower hostility and fear and improve cooperation.
- Provide training in evidence-based correctional practices, which result in better public safety outcomes.

USE OF FORCE POLICIES AND STAFF SAFETY: Custody staff were ambivalent about the use of force, but understood, and at least somewhat agreed with, existing rules restricting the use of force. Employees who were more respectful toward people in custody and more willing to explain their decisions, were less likely to support uses of force.

Respondents who had frequent hostile encounters with people in custody and view the work as risky reported more fear of being victimized at work. Indeed, most of our respondents thought that people in custody would hurt them given a chance. Yet, there is only a weak relationship between fear and actual experiences of victimization. We observed little variation in average levels of fear between facilities, despite substantive differences in the actual prevalence of workplace victimization. And, there was little to no relationship between experiencing workplace victimization and being afraid of workplace victimization.

High levels of fear on the job have significant adverse effects. Fear increases stress, vigilance on the job and outside of work, and support for using force on the job. Employees with lower levels of respect for people in custody and a distaste for explaining their decisions were also more likely to support the use of force. Workplace safety and cultural messages about the value of performing dangerous work have complex and contradictory relationships to employee well-being and organizational effectiveness. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Develop strategies to limit the frequency of hostile encounters. This would reduce the fear of workplace victimization and, in turn, reduce stress and improve health.
- Encourage positive interactions between people in custody. This has the potential to reduce perceived unfairness, use of force incidents, and improve staff well-being.

- Develop strategies to mitigate and minimize fear of workplace victimization. Fear, rather than actual victimization, predicts adverse effects on overall well-being. Reducing fear will improve both staff well-being and institutional functioning.

- Cultivate a commitment to fair treatment. Clearly articulate the value and effectiveness of procedurally just, evidence-based practices. This will inhibit excessive uses of force.

OVERALL: Some themes emerged across all five of the focus areas. First, the survey itself was valuable to staff. The response rates were high, refusal rates were low, and participants volunteered detailed qualitative comments. The participants appreciated the opportunity to express their opinions on topics they care about. Second, the findings varied distinctively across facilities. Employees who work at smaller, lower security facilities reported fewer negative work experiences across a large number of outcomes. Third, we consistently found that perceptions of risk were associated with adverse effects, like more use of force, stress and fear. On the other hand, perceived job dangerousness seems to confer a degree of valor and prestige to custody. This intriguing pattern suggests the need to lower the level of fear but also the need to enhance the meaningfulness of the work. Fourth, supportive supervisors were influential and beneficial across many models. Fifth, while custody assistants were frequently unhappy with their jobs, they also reported fewer problems on the job. For instance, custody assistants report fewer hostile encounters with people in custody. Based on these results, we recommend the following:

- Share the results of the survey with custody personnel, especially survey participants. Administer the survey annually. These steps will increase a sense of "being heard" and provide data about how outcomes have improved over time.

- Target interventions by the facility. Individual facilities have distinct needs and opportunities.

- Emphasize and reward a culture of professional service rather than a culture of bravery. This will reduce the harmful effects of fear seen across the analytic models by lowering the salience of danger.

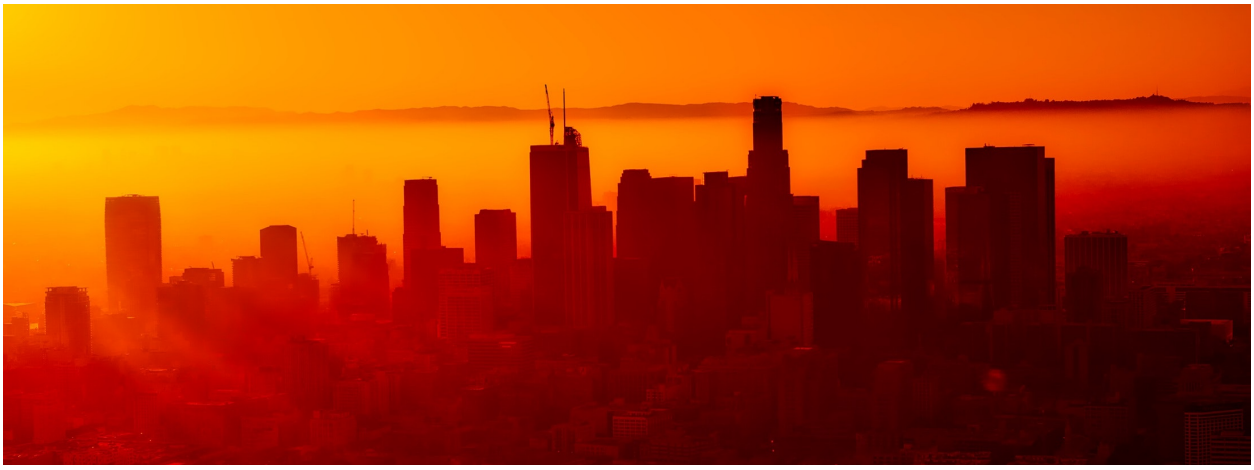
- Reward custody personnel for accomplishments that advance fairness, accountability, and trust. This will encourage a culture of professional service, decrease hostile encounters, and improve outcomes for people held in custody.

- Encourage supportive supervision. Promising strategies include increased transparency in decisions about job assignments, scheduling, and recognition.

- Improve opportunities for professional growth and promotion within the custody division.
- Address custody assistants' frustrations as second-class employees.

Executive Summary

The Work Experiences of LASD Custody Personnel: Results to Inform the Professional Development, Support, and Retention of an Excellent Workforce



This report represents the culmination of a collaboration between key stakeholders. Working with independent researchers, the Los Angeles County Office of Inspector General (OIG), the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD) leadership, the Association for Los Angeles Deputy Sheriffs (ALADS), and the Los Angeles County Professional Peace Officers Association (PPOA) unions administered a comprehensive survey of jail employees in December 2019. In all, more than 500 custody employees—including custody assistants, deputies, senior deputies, and sergeants—participated in the study. The findings provide a representative picture of how LASD jail employees experience their jobs and interact with people in custody.

The purpose of this project was to understand how to support and retain an excellent professional workforce. Beyond improving work experiences, the survey had two more goals. First, it gave employees the opportunity for direct input into administrative decision-making. Many participants expressed gratitude for this opportunity. Second, it established a baseline of employee experiences within the jails. This baseline may serve as a starting point to gauge progress toward organizational objectives in the future.

The analysis focused on identifying evidence-based opportunities for improvement. The intention of the study was not to evaluate specific policies or practices. Instead, the report makes recommendations about strengthening support for employees, improving the jails' operation, and fulfilling the LASD's mission to establish and sustain safe and peaceful communities. These recommendations fall into five categories:

1. the perceived inferior status of custody staff;
2. challenges with morale and understaffing;
3. interactions with people in custody;
4. custody perceptions of the purpose of their work; and
5. use of force policies and staff safety.

Each category relates to core LASD goals of enforcing laws fairly and promoting safety and accountability.

In general, employees' on-the-job experiences explained everything from their desires to quit to their understandings of the purpose of custody. Difficult to change and immutable background and job characteristics such as education, race, and rank were less relevant. This is good news. Perceptions and experiences can be changed and changed quickly through evidence-based interventions. Indeed, the findings point toward feasible and readily available interventions in day-to-day practices. Moreover, improving staff experiences would have wide-reaching benefits. The well-being of the incarcerated and those who work in jails are intertwined. A happier, safer workplace is in everyone's interest.

Below we present a broad overview of the findings and suggest interventions to improve the Custody Service Division. The full, technical report includes information about the research and statistical methods used and a detailed analysis of the findings.

Overall

Some themes emerged across all five of the focus areas. First, the survey itself was valuable to staff. The response rates were high, refusal rates were low, and participants volunteered detailed qualitative comments. The participants appreciated the opportunity to express their opinions on topics they care about. Second, the findings varied distinctively across facilities. Employees who work at smaller, lower-security facilities reported fewer negative work experiences across a large number of outcomes. Third, we consistently found that perceptions of risk were associated with adverse effects, like more use of force, stress and fear. On the other hand, perceived job dangerousness seems to confer a degree of valor and prestige to custody. This intriguing pattern suggests the need to lower the level of fear but also the need to enhance the meaningfulness of the work. Fourth, supportive supervisors were influential and beneficial across many models. Fifth, while custody assistants were frequently unhappy with their jobs, they also reported fewer problems on the job. For instance, custody assistants report fewer

hostile encounters with people in custody. Based on these results, we recommend the following:

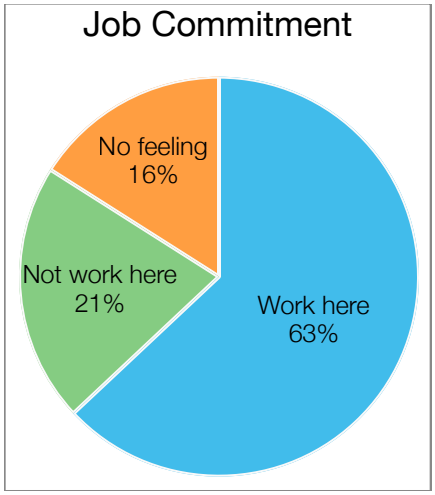
- Share the results of the survey with custody personnel, especially survey participants. Administer the survey annually. These steps will increase a sense of "being heard" and provide data about how outcomes have improved over time.
- Target interventions by the facility. Individual facilities have distinct needs and opportunities.
- Emphasize and reward a culture of professional service rather than a culture of bravery. This will reduce the harmful effects of fear seen across the analytic models by lowering the salience of danger.
- Reward custody personnel for accomplishments that advance fairness, accountability, and trust. This will encourage a culture of professional service, decrease hostile encounters, and improve outcomes for people held in custody.
- Encourage supportive supervision. Promising strategies include increased transparency in decisions about job assignments, scheduling, and recognition.
- Improve opportunities for professional growth and promotion within the custody division.
- Address custody assistants' frustrations as second-class employees.

Custody versus Patrol

Custody staff are de-moralized. Respondents believed that opportunities and respect accrue to people who work patrol. It is no surprise then that a sizable percentage of employees assigned to custody have a strong preference for a career in patrol. People who prefer to work patrol report higher levels of job dissatisfaction. Of more significant concern, people who have made their careers in custody do not feel valued by the LASD. There is also broad agreement that the skills gained in custody are not useful working patrol and vice versa. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Develop strategies that communicate the value of custody and custody-specific skills.
- Create and sustain opportunities to reward custody experience and accomplishments.
- Reevaluate the practice of requiring deputies to serve a period of time in the custody division.
- Invest in those who are committed to a career in custody to improve recruitment, job satisfaction, and retention within the LASD.

Morale and Understaffing



If you were free to choose, would you prefer or not prefer to continue working for this organization?

A majority of staff were committed to working for the LASD. Still, close to sixty percent of employees described the LASD as "seriously off track" and, many employees were dissatisfied and shared their intention to look for a new job. Unhappy workers were understandably more likely to say they intended to leave their jobs. But we also identified specific experiences that increase job satisfaction and commitment. Staff who felt supported by their supervisors and believed work assignments were fair were more satisfied and committed to their jobs. On the other hand, staff who perceived scheduling and work assignment policies as unfair experienced significant stress and suffered lower morale. These experiences are more prevalent at larger, higher-security facilities. Low morale is more clearly related to human resource practices than other job experiences and attitudes. These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Make scheduling and work assignment policies transparent and responsive to staff concerns.
- Prioritize predictable and equitable work assignments. Employees at larger, higher security facilities consistently reported higher levels of unfairness.
- Match preferences about the number of overtime shifts worked. Staff frequently complained about the number of overtime shifts worked. Some people wanted more overtime, but others wanted fewer shifts.
- Improve the fairness of work policies and processes, reduce fear, and increase supervisory support. Targeting these experiences will have a direct, positive effect on morale and retention.

Interactions with People in Custody

Staff frequently have both friendly and hostile interactions with people in custody. Employees who feel that the LASD respects their work report more friendly interactions with people in custody. Employees who are fearful, vigilant for signs of danger, and believe that racial inequality influences how people in custody treat them have more hostile interactions. Training can reduce hostile interactions and improve the well-being of employees and people in custody.

Although staff believe mental illness is a serious problem, DeVRT has provided them with skills to identify and handle the problem. Still, the majority of custody personnel felt unsafe working with people with serious mental illness, and there was agreement about the need for more and higher quality treatment. Study participants also reported a lack of coordination between custody personnel, clinicians, and medical professionals.

Staff generally perceive each other and people in custody as receiving equal treatment regardless of their race or ethnicity. However, women and those with higher levels of education report more concerns about racial inequality. Fear, race relations, and hostile and friendly encounters are interrelated. Improvements in one area are likely to yield improvements in the other areas.

These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Encourage positive interactions between staff and people in custody. This would improve the well-being of both.
- Decrease employees' levels of vigilance, fear, and perceptions of unequal treatment.
- Maintain DeVRT, which has been effective in reducing fear and building confidence. Look at what can be replicated in this program for other training.
- Improve cooperation between mental health and medical providers and custody personnel.

Purpose of the Work

Although employees were divided over the main purpose of jails, respondents generally indicated respect for people in custody. Still, we observed a lack of support for a human service orientation. Few jail employees thought they had an obligation to help people in custody cope with problems or adjust to jail. Employees also expressed limited support for regulating their authority and explaining decisions. These beliefs and expectations may undermine the mission of the LASD to proactively prevent crime and enhance trust through accountability.

Beliefs about respect, accountability, and human service are also linked to workplace safety. Respondents who thought people in custody were likely to hurt them were less likely to respect those people and less likely to see a need to explain their decisions. On the other hand, respondents with a valorous orientation were more respectful toward people in custody and more willing to explain their decisions.

These findings suggest the opportunity to:

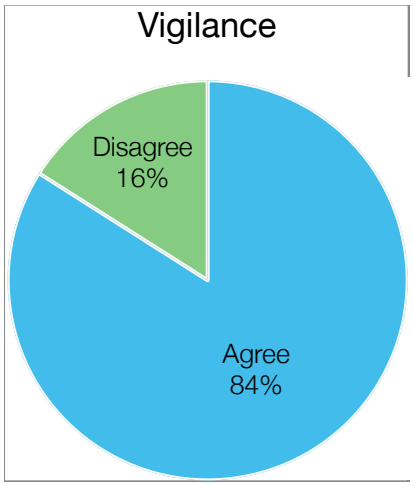
- Implement trainings that support professional, human services orientations.
- Encourage and reward a procedurally just orientation to lower hostility and fear and improve cooperation.

- Provide training in evidence-based correctional practices, which result in better public safety outcomes.

Use of Force Policies and Staff Safety

Custody staff were ambivalent about the use of force, but understood, and at least somewhat agreed with, existing rules restricting the use of force. Employees who were more respectful toward people in custody and more willing to explain their decisions, were less likely to support uses of force.

Respondents who had frequent hostile encounters with people in custody and view the work as risky reported more fear of being victimized at work. Indeed, most of our respondents thought that people in custody would hurt them given a chance. Yet, there is only a weak relationship between fear and actual experiences of victimization. We observed little variation in average levels of fear between facilities, despite substantive differences in the actual prevalence of workplace victimization. And, there was little to no relationship between experiencing workplace victimization and being afraid of workplace victimization.



In this job, if you let your guard down and relax too much you're likely to get hurt.

High levels of fear on the job have significant adverse effects. Fear increases stress, vigilance on the job and outside of work, and support for using force on the job. Employees with lower levels of respect for people in custody and a distaste for explaining their decisions were also more likely to support the use of force. Workplace safety and cultural messages about the value of performing dangerous work have complex and contradictory relationships to employee well-being and organizational effectiveness.

These findings suggest the opportunity to:

- Develop strategies to limit the frequency of hostile encounters. This would reduce the fear of workplace victimization and, in turn, reduce stress and improve health.
- Encourage positive interactions between people in custody. This has the potential to reduce perceived unfairness, use of force incidents, and improve staff well-being.
- Develop strategies to mitigate and minimize *fear* of workplace victimization. Fear, rather than actual victimization, predicts adverse effects on overall well-being. Reducing fear will improve both staff well-being and institutional functioning.
- Cultivate a commitment to fair treatment. Clearly articulate the value and effectiveness of procedurally just, evidence-based practices. This will inhibit excessive uses of force.

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