

**LABELING ADULT SEX OFFENDERS AND SEXUALLY VIOLENT
PREDATORS: THE IMPACT OF REGISTRATION AND COMMUNITY
NOTIFICATION**

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ABSTRACT

Labeling Adult Sex Offenders and Sexually Violent Predators: The Impact of Registration and Community Notification

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When released from prison, sex offenders are typically required to register with designated law enforcement officials as a condition of their parole. These officials can warn local community members, organizations, and establishments of the offender's incoming presence. Research indicates that community notification can adversely affect sex offenders in terms of their interpersonal and family relationships, employment opportunities and housing, and can lead to offender harassment that extends to the family members of sex offenders (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008; Levenson & Cotter, 2005a, 2005b; Levenson, D'Amora, & Hern, 2007; Tewksbury, 2004, 2005; Tewksbury & Lees, 2007; Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b).

The current analysis seeks to build on and extend the existing literature by investigating the consequences of sex offender registration and community notification from the perspective of registered sex offenders and sexually violent predators in Pennsylvania. Using multiple methods of data collection (i.e., survey and interview research) and analyses, the present study contributes to the current understanding of how sex offenders experience registration and community notification and focuses on the positive and negative effects (e.g., unintended and unanticipated consequences) of being labeled and subject to community notification.

Data for the present study were collected in collaboration with four providers of sex offender treatment. These treatment facilities are non-profit mental health organizations that provide both outpatient examinations and treatment services for sex offenders. All treatment providers are located in Pennsylvania, and will remain anonymous in the current study. The survey sample consists of 200 adult male sex offenders. For the purposes of making comparisons, 181 of the sampled sex offenders were further classified as the following three subsamples: (1) registered sex offenders (RSOs) ($n = 121$), (2) sexually violent predators (SVPs) ($n = 13$), and (3) non-registered sex offenders (and non-sexually violent predators) ($n = 47$).

Nine of the SVPs elected to participate in the face-to-face interview portion of this research where topics focused on the impact of active community notification, the process whereby the state police are required to mail out letters to community members about an offender's physical description and home address. The age of the interview sample ranged from 35 to 63, and the average was 49.22 years old.

Descriptive results of the complete survey sample reveal that most sex offenders are White or African American, middle-aged, and not married, and have relatively little formal education. Most sex offenders are working in some capacity, self-identify as "working class," and earn less than \$20,000 per year. The majority of the total sample of sex offenders has been convicted of indecent assault/indecent sexual assault (24.6%) followed by possession of child pornography (12%) and then rape (11.4%). Overall, most victims are minor-aged females who were known by – but not related to – the offender.

Findings from the anonymous survey also indicate that over 40 percent of the sampled RSOs are restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule, have primary group members who sustained some type of harm, and have had meaningful, personal relationships severed. Sexually violent predators experienced job loss, denial of employment, loss of housing, and denial of a place to live, and were treated rudely in public, and had primary group members who experienced emotional harm and, separately, had personal relationships severed at a higher rate (i.e., at least 10 percentage points) than RSOs. None of the SVPs were physically assaulted, whereas six RSOs (i.e., 5 percent of 120 RSOs) were physically assaulted.

Using only a combination of two of the three subsamples of sex offenders (i.e., RSOs and SVPs), the multivariate contingency table analyses assessed how sex offenders' selection of victim-type, relationship to victim, and race influenced the fifteen different economic, residency-related, and harassment outcomes. Specifically, if offenders victimized a child (i.e., victims from age 5 to 17), as opposed to an adult (i.e., 18 or older), they were significantly more likely to be restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule, as expected. Offenders who victimized children were also more likely than offenders who victimized adults (by at least 10 percentage points) to experience job loss and receive harassing telephone calls, and to have primary group members who sustained some form of emotional harm and, separately, have personal relationships severed.

Findings gleaned from the interviews indicate that SVPs are experiencing several of the problems identified in the previous and related literature. Specifically, six of the interviewees (66.67 percent) indicated that, since the notification process began, they have had a difficult time locating and obtaining affordable housing. Analysis of

covariance (ANCOVA) was used to examine the effect of sex offenders' socio-demographics, offender characteristics, victim characteristics, and negative experiences resulting from registration and/or notification on *self-esteem* (Rosenberg, 1965), *mastery* (Pearlin et al., 1981; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978), *stigma* (Link, 1987; Link et al., 1997), and *depression* using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D). The multivariate regression results were quite unexpected. After controlling for sex offenders' sociodemographics, offender characteristics, and victim characteristics, none of the scales devised to measure the impact of registration and/or community notification significantly predicted any of the four outcomes. The significance of these findings for criminological theory, and offender rehabilitation and reintegration are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2007, in a statewide attempt to ensure community safety and prevent victimization, the New Jersey State Parole Board (NJSPB) monitored two hundred and twenty-five of their most dangerous (Tier III) registered sex offenders (RSOs) by attaching to them a “round-the-clock Global Positioning System (GPS)” (p. 1). The data gathered from their GPS monitoring system had the ability to aid law enforcement investigations by placing a sex offender at a specific location in time. Results indicate that, over a two-year period, only one of the 225 sampled sex offenders committed a new sex crime. Nineteen others were charged with new non-sex crimes or technical violations. This innovative approach to monitoring sex offenders, in addition to residency restrictions and civil commitments, may become the norm in an era when sex offenders are among the most reviled group of criminals in American society.

Philosophically and pragmatically, sex offender community notification poses several types of questions and has created an intense debate in the American legal and political community, the American criminal justice system, and the realm of public and social policy. This debate extends to several social sciences and academic disciplines (e.g., sociology, criminology, psychology, political science, economics, and law), the mental health arena, and other professional fields. The ramifications of community notification have yet to be fully recognized or understood, especially from the perspective of RSOs.

Several consequences of American punitive social controls, and outcomes produced by the American criminal justice system, are often unintended and undesirable

(Auerhahn, 2003). Many feel that “the entire enterprise of criminal punishment in America is a textbook case of ‘unintended consequences’” (Auerhahn, 2003, p. 3). The current analysis aims to examine the unintended and unanticipated consequences of a particular form of social control – sex offender community notification – which some perceive as a politically driven “knee-jerk” reaction to emotional public outcry, and responsible for a false sense of security.

The ostensible goal of community notification is community protection. When released from prison, sex offenders typically are required to register with designated law enforcement officials as a condition of their parole. These officials can warn local community members, organizations, and establishments of the offender’s incoming presence. Providing community members with this information about released sex offenders moving into warned communities is believed to equip community members with information required to protect themselves and their children. Recent developments in states such as Pennsylvania and New Jersey have created “sex-offender-free” zones (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b; Prichard & Porter, 2005) that ban released sex offenders from establishing residence in certain areas of communities.

When these practices and policies interfere with legitimate pursuits aimed at successful reentry, a form of penal harm results, one that is culturally justified because it is an offender who is suffering (Clear, 1994, p. 4). Penal harm “interferes with a person’s pursuit of individual ends that are otherwise legitimate” (Clear, 1994, p. 19). Community based penal harm results in the loss of autonomy, whereby offenders’ personal liberties are limited and their lives become public, resulting in “a major deficit of well-being” (Clear, 1994, p. 24). Such requirements degrade individuals, running counter to

American ideals of ‘paying one’s debt to society’ and to reintegration (Braithwaite, 1989).

Community notification, in theory, can be helpful in providing community members with information necessary to protect themselves (often from people they do not know) and their family and friends. However, the damaging effects of notification, for offenders, including difficulties finding and sustaining employment and living quarters, does create personal harm and can make leading a conventional lifestyle practically impossible for sex offenders who reenter the community following imprisonment (Braithwaite, 1989). A goal of community corrections and post-release social control should be the facilitation of a successful reintegration by providing released offenders with an opportunity to attain normative social status.

The public distribution of information about RSOs’ status and whereabouts in the community carries significant consequences, some of which may be classified as *penal harm* and may hamper the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of the offender into the community. Being labeled a sex offender and having past criminal histories and personal information provided to an unwelcoming community may make accomplishing conventional goals difficult, if not impossible.

The development of “sex-offender-free” zones (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b; Prichard & Porter, 2005), which ban released sex offenders from establishing residency in certain areas of communities, exemplify how sex offenders are routinely marginalized and excluded from conventional social life. As mentioned, such practices and policies have the potential to produce penal harm and, moreover, create an atmosphere conducive to recidivism and secondary deviance. As a result, understanding these practices and

policies is of theoretical and practical significance as they undermine crime prevention, a legitimate and pressing social concern.

A goal of the current research is to provide an assessment of sex offender community notification, with specific emphasis on certain outcomes related to sex offenders. With the exception of the report produced by the NJSPB (2007) and one study to be reviewed shortly (i.e., Duwe & Donnay, 2008), there is currently a lack of evidence suggesting sex offender community notification is: (1) making local communities a safer place to live, (2) providing community members with the information required to prevent random acts of sexual exploitation and violence, or (3) deterring sex crimes. On the contrary, social science literature indicates that this form of social control creates problems for the criminal justice system, community members, and RSOs.

In the absence of evidence suggesting that this social control creates a safer living environment for the community or deters crime, it is appropriate to ask what else is happening as a result of community notification. For instance, questions about the consequences of notification for offenders, such as stigmatization and depression, are germane for several reasons. Stigmatization, depression, and other emotional problems are likely to be associated with recidivism (Braithwaite, 1989); furthermore, the body of existing literature suggests that notification policies create unintended and unanticipated outcomes and problems for sex offenders (discussion forthcoming).

If this policy only creates harm, and little evidence indicates that notification helps criminal justice practitioners and administrators, community members, or offenders, then an examination of the unanticipated consequences and dysfunctions of notification is warranted. This examination is justified because several legal, ethical, and

moral principles have been undermined by labeling sex offenders and subjecting them to community notification. The goals of notification should be reevaluated in terms of the *goals at sentencing*, and constrained by parsimony, equity, proportionality, legality and constitutionality, cost awareness, and public satisfaction.

The principle of parsimony specifies that the most appropriate response to criminal behavior and felonious crime is to employ the least intrusive measures. More research is required in order to identify the most effective, and least intrusive, approach to handling sex offenders living outside of prison. Equity is concerned with similarly situated offenders being treated the same, and little evidence has emerged demonstrating that equity is a serious priority in the sentencing of sex offenders. Proportionality refers to appropriateness of punishment, and not receiving punishment that is too severe for the crime committed. Additional harm should not be simply created to make any one class of offender suffer more than is required to deter future recidivism/criminal behavior. Legality and constitutionality refer to the imposition of illegal/unlawful, unconstitutional punishments, and Megan's Law is still challenged on the bases of the Ex Post Facto Clause of the Constitution and the Fifth Amendment's Double Jeopardy Clause.

Cost of awareness refers to economic parsimony, and how Congress, legislatures, and states must be aware of fiscal implications that different punishment structures pose. The existing research examining the effects of community notification on probation/parole and law enforcement, demonstrates that cost awareness has not been a major consideration when drafting notification statutes and legislation. Public satisfaction is a controversial criterion used to help guide the goals at sentencing. The quick manner in which notification legislation was developed and implemented nationwide, seems to

indicate that public satisfaction was one criterion that was overly relied on, considering how much the general public seems to be in support of labeling and notification. This dissertation addresses such issues and points out how several of the goals at sentencing have been overlooked in lieu of public satisfaction, explores the social and interpersonal effects of community notification for sex offenders, and assesses the role of notification in sex offenders' self-esteem and depressive symptomology.

Previous Research

Zevitz and Farkas (2000b) conducted interviews in Wisconsin with a sample of 30 RSOs who were subject to community notification. They reported that, as a result of community notification, sex offenders experienced interpersonal problems and difficulties obtaining and maintaining living quarters and gainful employment. Sample members from Levenson and Cotter's (2005a) nonrandom sample of 183 sex offenders who were subject to community notification in Florida also experienced loss of employment and/or living quarters, harassment, damages to personal property, and the termination of personal and meaningful relationships.

In another report, Levenson and Cotter (2005b) investigated how sex offenders were affected by residence restrictions (also known as "1,000-foot-rules") and reported that 48 percent experienced some form of deleterious economic consequences.

Levenson, D'Amora, and Hern (2007), using survey research methods, examined the impact of community notification on 239 RSOs from Connecticut ($n = 91$) and Indiana ($n = 148$). The negative outcomes that were reported most often by sex offenders were loss of employment, harassment and threats, damage to property, and pain and suffering experienced by those living with offenders. A significant number of sampled sex

offenders also endured psychological distress, including depression, shame, and feelings of hopelessness.

Tewksbury (2005) examined how sex offenders were adversely affected by sex offender registration. His sample of 121 RSOs from Kentucky experienced loss of employment, loss and/or denial of living quarters, being treated rudely in public, loss of a friend, and being harassed by others. In 2007, Tewksbury and Lees conducted personal interviews with 22 sex offenders from the Kentucky Sex Offender Registry. They sought to identify how RSOs perceive the state sex offender registry system and if they viewed these registries as an effective tool for community safety and crime prevention.

Tewksbury and Lees (2007) found that RSOs recognize the potential value of registries in generating community safety and awareness; however, a majority of the sampled sex offenders indicated their skepticism about whether registries are efficient or effective in reducing recidivism. These offenders argued that registries are not an effective tool for public protection, and do not succeed at heightening community awareness. Other sampled sex offenders posited that state registries help prevent reoffending; these offenders surmised that RSOs are more thoroughly monitored by authorities (and society, in general) and, in turn, are more likely to emerge as a suspect in the event of a local sex crime.

In 2008, Burchfield and Mingus performed semi-structured interviews with 23 sex offenders from the Illinois State Police Sex Offender Registry. They examined different types of individual, community, structural, and formal barriers preventing sex offenders from accessing local social capital while on parole and living outside of prison. Their findings indicated that these barriers influenced sex offenders to withdraw from

society, making a successful reintegration difficult. Few of these studies have been devoted to understanding the implications of labeling or community notification; rather, these studies have focused more on the effects of the registration procedure and the perceived efficacy of registration.

Zevitz and Farkas (2000b), Levenson and Cotter (2005a, 2005b), Levenson, D'Amora, and Hern (2007), Tewksbury (2004, 2005), Tewksbury and Lees (2007), and Burchfield and Mingus (2008) have conducted the majority of research devoted to understanding how sex offender registration and/or community notification impact the lives of sex offenders. However, no research has specifically measured *stigma* among sex offenders, as done in mental health research (see Link, 1987; Link, Struening, Rahav, Phelan, & Nuttbrock, 1997).

A stigma refers to a characteristic that works as an insurmountable handicap, preventing competent and trustworthy behavior, or to some characteristic that has been imposed on an individual to signify disgrace (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2006, p. 490). Individuals who become stigmatized are, “marked,” “labeled,” seen as different, and set apart from others, nor are they perceived as honest, competent, or trustworthy (Goffman, 1959, 1963a, 1963b, 1967, 1983).

How do sex offenders experience stigma and its consequences, and how do they manage it? What do sex offenders experience socially, financially, emotionally, and interpersonally as a result of active community notification? How do labeling and notification disrupt family dynamics and affect reintegration or recidivism? These questions are of practical and theoretical importance, because identifying and understanding the barriers and factors contributing to offender recidivism and/or

successful reentry is of significant value to academics, criminal justice practitioners, politicians, and those responsible for drafting legislation.

The Current Study

The current analysis seeks to build on and extend the existing literature by investigating the consequences of sex offender registration and community notification from the perspective of sex offenders. By measuring stigma and examining the impact of notification on sex offenders' emotional well-being, this study seeks to integrate and unify mental health and criminological paradigms. There has been no (identified) research that has specifically measured stigma among sex offenders. Research about stigma has examined its positive and negative impact on the lives of various stigmatized populations such as gay men (Meyer, 1995) and those suffering from obesity (DeJong, 1980), mental illnesses (Link, Cullen, Struening, Shrout, & Dohrenwend, 1989), unexplained pain (Lennon, Link, Marbach, & Dohrenwend, 1989; Marbach, Lennon, Link, & Dohrenwend, 1990), and HIV/AIDS (Fife & Wright, 2000).

The present study contributes to the current understanding of how sex offenders experience registration and community notification and focuses on the positive and negative effects (e.g., unintended and unanticipated consequences) of being labeled and subject to community notification in Pennsylvania. The tag, "sex offender," can be such an overriding marker that it may dominate all of an offender's other characteristics, and become his master status.

When the label becomes successfully applied, an offender's social interaction can be hampered as a result of the shame associated with being perceived as an outcast. Moreover, Braithwaite (1989) points out that labeling offenders has the potential to

socially repress offenders, effectively pushing them away from conventional relationships and society. As offenders move toward the periphery of society, they are likely to form attachments to a criminal subculture. Being pushed away from conventional society can make deviant lifestyles attractive, and can create conditions that increase the likelihood of recidivism. Braithwaite (1989) refers to this process as disintegrative, and characterizes labeling as counterproductive in terms of crime reduction and prevention.

The first goal of this research, therefore, is to examine the ways in which sex offender community notification may create practical problems for sex offenders such as difficulties identifying and sustaining gainful employment and living quarters (Levenson & Cotter, 2005a; Tewksbury, 2004, 2005; Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b). The second goal of this research is to identify and explore new issues that arise and exist for RSOs from being labeled and subject to notification, including an examination of the relationship between the impact of notification and offenders' mental health (see Link, 1987; Link et al., 1997). Investigating outcomes that are related to depressive symptomology is of criminological significance because social science research has linked related psychosocial variables (including depression and dysthymia¹) to offender recidivism (see Benda, 2005; Hiller, Knight, Broome, & Simpson, 1996).

¹ The American Psychiatric Association (1994) defines depression as a two component disorder including psychosocial and biochemical factors (see Mizell, 1999; Ingram & Holle, 1992; Mirowsky & Ross, 1980, 1989). Depressed actors experience extended periods of sadness, hopelessness, and/or worthlessness. Depression is an illness that adversely affects mood, interferes with enjoyment of life, and shapes ideas; major depression is debilitating and even interferes with work and how people eat and sleep. Those suffering from depression are not usually capable of simply curing themselves. Without help, treatment, and/or support, depression can persist for long periods of time or become a reoccurring ailment that continuously surfaces over the life course. Those suffering from dysthymia experience many of the same long-term and chronic symptoms but function much better in day-to-day life.

Research Methods

Data for the present study were collected in collaboration with four providers of sex offender treatment. These treatment facilities are non-profit mental health organizations that provide both outpatient examinations and treatment services for sex offenders. All treatment providers are located in Pennsylvania, and will remain anonymous in the current study. A combination of two non-probability sampling methods, purposive and criterion sampling, are employed to gather rich and illustrative information about registration and community notification from those who experience it first hand – sex offenders.

Anonymous and mostly closed-ended survey questions were administered to: RSOs, including those classified as sexually violent predators (SVPs), and offenders who are not registered or classified but convicted of similar (or the same) sex crimes. Only RSOs and SVPs have their personal information posted online through the Pennsylvania sex offender registry. In Pennsylvania, law enforcement or court officers only actively warn community members about local SVPs living in their neighborhoods. Non-registered sex offenders receiving treatment at the four providers may have been convicted of serious sex offenses but, for various reasons, are not RSOs or labeled as SVPs. One reason for this is that notification may not have existed at the time that many of these offenders received their sentences.

Confidential face-to-face interviews with nine SVPs subject to the most active forms of community notification in Pennsylvania are semi-structured and consist of primarily open-ended questions. None of the SVPs had their identity disclosed; as a result, implied, non-written consent, instead of informed (and written) consent, was

provided by each interviewee. Verbal text and offender narratives are summarized and interpreted using a case study methodology (Stake, 2003).

The survey data are described and examined, quantitatively, using statistical software (SPSS, version 16). Comparisons are made on the basis of the three different subgroups (or subsamples) surveyed: (1) RSOs, (2) SVPs, and (3) non-registered sex offenders. Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) is used to examine the effect of sex offenders' sociodemographics, offender characteristics, victim characteristics, and negative experiences resulting from registration and/or notification on *self-esteem* (Rosenberg, 1965), *personal control* or *mastery* (Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman, & Mullan, 1981; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978), *stigma* (Link, 1987; Link et al., 1997), and *depression* using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D).

Sex Offender Community Notification

Sex offender community notification was introduced in Washington State in 1990 following a series of horrific, violent crimes committed against women and children by released mental patients and sex offenders (see Blacher, 1995; Brooks, 1996; Koenig, 1998). Several celebrated crimes contributed to the development of a federalized version of sex offender registration and community notification. One involved the 1989 abduction of eleven year old Jacob Wetterling in Minnesota who has yet to be found or identified. Another crime that received extensive media exposure was the 1993 abduction and murder of Polly Klaas, 12, by Richard Allen in San Francisco, California. "The Polly Klaas case became a focus of the public outcry to do something about 'career criminals'" (Auerhahn, 2003, p. 55). The Klaas case contributed significantly to the fervor over California's "Three-strikes-and-you're-out" legislation (Auerhahn, 2003).

The case that truly galvanized the movement for community notification legislation, and propelled it into the national limelight, occurred in July 1994, in Hamilton Township, New Jersey, involving a seven year old girl named Megan Nicole Kanka. Megan was sexually molested and murdered by a twice-convicted sex offender living across the street from the Kanka family (Kelly, 1998). Jesse Timmendequas, who was living with two other known sex offenders, confessed to murdering Megan. Timmendequas had recently been released from the Adult Diagnostic and Treatment Center, Avenel (a prison/treatment center in New Jersey for repetitive, compulsive sex offenders), after completing six years of a seven year sentence (Steinbock, 1995).

Megan was the fourth young female victim in a series of highly publicized serious molestations and homicides committed by sex offenders in New Jersey in a single year. Megan's murder produced a social uproar in and across the state and Maureen Kanka (Megan's mother) began a grassroots movement that ultimately lobbied for federally mandated sex offender community notification. The Hamilton community was outraged and infuriated that they had not been informed about Timmendequas' presence. Thousands of New Jersey residents gathered in local parks and over 1,500 petitions were handed over to Governor Whitman demanding that measures be established to prevent similar occurrences.

By classifying this situation as an emergency, the New Jersey legislature was able to bypass standard procedures and, just eleven days after Megan's murder (Brooks, 1996; Pallone, 1995), pass the Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, which was a comprehensive set of interrelated statutes with multiple goals. Governor Whitman then signed this fast tracked legislation in October. Collectively, the provisions of this act

became known as “Megan’s Law.” One goal of this set of laws was to provide community members with information about released sex offenders so that children (and the community at large) could be protected. This act included a sex offender community notification requirement for those released sex offenders who had been determined to pose a serious threat to community safety.

In September 1994, soon after Megan’s death, Congress passed the Jacob Wetterling Crimes Against Children and Sexually Violent Offender Registration Act, which federalized sex offender registration. In May 1996, the Wetterling Act was amended by the passage of the federal version of Megan’s Law (Sample & Bray, 2003), which required states, via economic coercion, to adhere to the new federal guidelines (Koenig, 1998). According to federal law (U.S.C. 14071, 1997), if states do not comply with this amended version that includes a sex offender community notification requirement, they risk losing 10 percent of their federal law enforcement funds under the Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance grant program.

The Pam Lychner Sexual Offender Tracking and Identification Act of 1996 was later created to assist law enforcement in tracking and identifying the movement of sex offenders. This act was named after a real estate agent from Houston, TX, who was viciously assaulted by a twice-convicted felon. More recently in 2005, a national sex offender registry system has been developed and implemented. Sex offenders can now be found and identified by an interstate and worldwide audience. The Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act (2006) created a standardized set of procedures and guidelines for all states adherence in the registration and notification process of all designated sex

offenders.² Registration procedures have been made sterner for sex offenders by the Walsh act, and now more extensive information can be disclosed during the notification process.

² Adam Walsh's severed head was recovered in Florida but the rest of his remains have never been found, and no evidence exists to suggest that he was actually molested.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Review of Relevant Literature

The literature review for this research is organized in two sections. The first section discusses the contemporary treatment of sex offenders and some cultural justifications for it, and empirical findings that debunk popular misconceptions about sex offending, sex offenders, and the sex offender–victim dynamic. The second section examines the current state of research on sex offender registration and community notification and discusses this project’s research directives and aims.

Sex Offender Recidivism

One justification for the unconventional treatment of sex offenders is the commonly held belief that recidivism rates among sex offenders are between “70 and 90 percent” (Legislative Journal, 1995, p. 74). However, systematic research indicates otherwise. In 1989, the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that, within three years of release, offenders convicted of rape released from state prison displayed the second lowest rate of rearrest for the same crime of all criminals evaluated in their study – 7.7 percent (Beck & Shipley, 1989, p. 6). Only offenders released from state prison for murder had a lower rate of rearrest for the same crime – 6.6 percent (Beck & Shipley, 1989, p. 2). On the other hand, they found that offenders released from state prison for theft and burglary had rearrest rates for the same crime of 33.5 and 31.9 percent respectively (Beck & Shipley, 1989, p. 6). Moreover, about 20 percent of robbers were rearrested for robbery (Beck & Shipley, 1989, p. 2).

In a similar study conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics examining persons released on probation, those on probation for rape were found to have the lowest recidivism rate of all for the same offense – 2.9 percent (Langan & Cunniff, 1992). While this study examined only those offenders who were placed on probation, the patterns of recidivism were consistent with other studies in that the highest rates of recidivism were again attributed to robbery (17.3%) and burglary (17.2%) offenders. Ohio’s Department of Rehabilitation and Correction conducted a study between 1989 and 1996 which found, after excluding offenders who returned to prison for a technical violation, only 13.9 percent of offenders were re-incarcerated for a new criminal offense over a five year period. Overall, “Only 5.3% of the offenders returned to prison for a new sex offense” (Konicek, 1996, p. 28).

Konicek (1996) argues that “these findings contradict popular perceptions about sex offender recidivism. Despite the media portrayals of sex offenders repeatedly returning to prison for more sex crimes, in this population, a sex offender recidivating for a new sex offense within five years was a rather rare occurrence” (Konicek, 1996, p. 28) (see also Berlin, Hunt, Malin, Dyer, Lehne, & Dean, 1991; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004, 2005; Harris & Hanson, 2004; Langan & Levin, 2002; Levenson & Cotter, 2005b; Levenson, D’Amora, & Hern, 2007). Elaborating on these and other results from similar empirical analyses, Bedarf (1995) notes:

“If recidivism were truly the reason behind community notification laws, legislatures would impose them on burglars, robbers, and drug offenders, each of whom have higher overall recidivism rates than sex offenders. If the real reason were the severity of sex crimes, and the vulnerability of society to such crimes, murderers and other violent criminals would also be subject to community notification” (pp. 69-70).

Some argue that moral panic, rather than empirical analysis and rational decision making, drives this type of legislation. Even though fear and hostility are real and legitimate concerns to the perceived threat of sexual violence and victimization, the legal response to this threat is culturally and politically constructed, not lucid or pragmatic. When moral panics occur, the reaction and response of the “media, law enforcement, politicians, action groups, and the general public” tend to be “out of proportion to the real and present danger a given threat poses to the society” (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994, p. 156).

Moral panics, which operate at the emotional and symbolic level, not the material one, are characterized by at least five central criteria. Initially, heightened concern over some offensive behavior that is presumably causing society to suffer must exist; a high degree of hostility toward the group of people who engage in this offensive, threatening behavior must also be present. There must also be “a certain minimal measure of agreement [or consensus] in the society as a whole...that the threat is real, serious, and caused by the wrongdoing of group members and their behavior” (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994, p. 157). The fourth criterion, disproportionality, refers to an out of proportion reaction by the public to the actual threat or harm posed. Finally, volatility refers to the sudden eruption of social activity resulting from the threat associated with the panic. Ultimately, moral panics have the ability to “leave an informal, and often institutional, legacy” (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994, p. 149).

Proponents of sex offender registration and community notification argue that these social controls are intended to enhance and ensure community safety, generate community alertness and self-protection, and augment the ability of law enforcement to

prevent and solve crimes – not to punish offenders. However, deterring recidivism is a covert or *sub rosa* function of community notification; if deterrence were cited as a primary or overt function of notification, then, by definition, notification would qualify as punitive. In fact, academic scholars and criminal justice officials often cite deterrence as an important justification for notification (see Rudin, 1996).

Many also argue that sex offender community notification provides parents, potential adolescent victims, and other community members and leaders with a false sense of security (Rudin, 1996; Trivits & Reppucci, 2002), because strangers do not pose the greatest threat to a child's safety. The myth that children need only be protected from some stranger or the "Big Bad Wolf," provides justification for sex offender community notification legislation. Abductions by strangers and random assaults and murders are uncommon but celebrated criminal events; the majority of sex offenses, however, are committed by those well known by the victim (LaFond, 2005; Simon, 1990). In the case of sex offenses against children, the offender is likely to be well known by the child's family (Konicek, 1996; LaFond, 2005; Rudin, 1996).

Simon (1990) reports that "fewer than 10% of all child molestations are committed by strangers" (p. 490). LaFond (2005) reports that the "majority of sex crimes against children are committed by fathers (20%), stepfathers (29%), other relatives (11%), and acquaintances (30%)" (p. 23). Rudin (1996) notes the fact that children have a significantly higher likelihood of being sexually victimized by a relative, family friend, or first-time sex offender than by a recidivist who is unknown by the victim and his/her family (p. 8).

Stranger-to-stranger crime occurs at a much lower rate than crimes committed by those who are well known by victims, yet stranger-to-stranger crime creates hysteria and vast amounts of fear and anxiety. In popular media and culture, sex offenders tend to be portrayed and viewed as disgusting and ghastly. Figure's 2.1 and 2.2 are from a sex offender registry in Michigan in 2000.

Figure 2.1

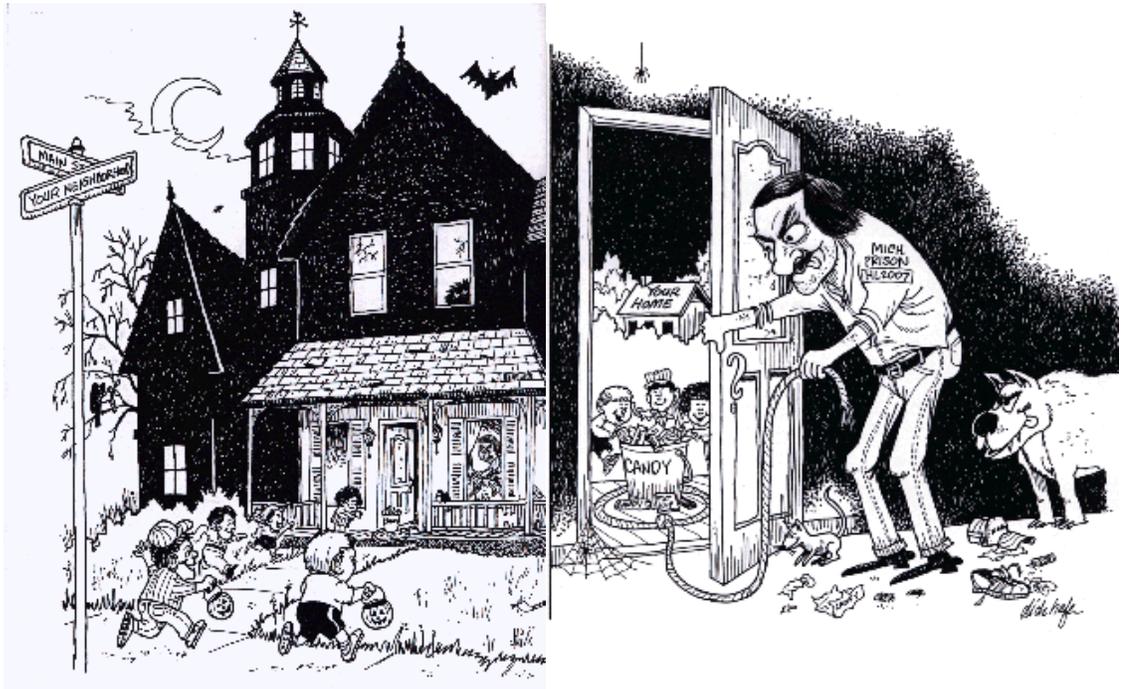


Figure 2.2

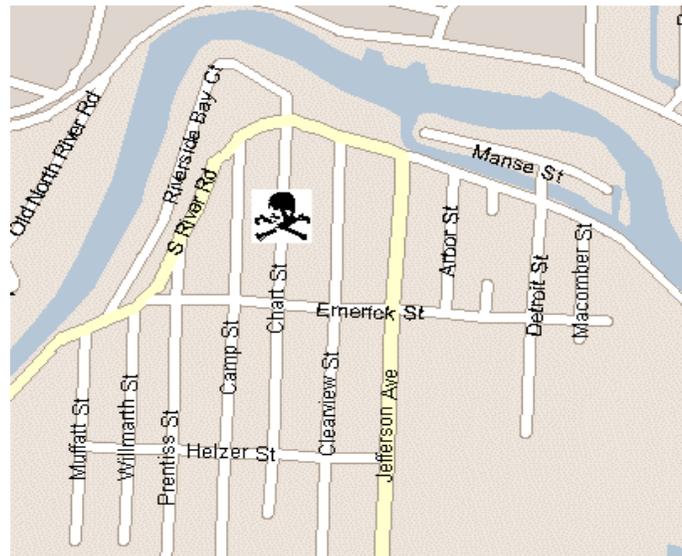


Figure 2.1 was on the registry’s “Main” page and Figure 2.2’s “skull and crossbones” appeared after locating an offender and selecting a map of his home address.

Some perceive community notification as a form of pre-colonial branding (Rudin, 1996). In *Doe v. Poritz*, 662 A.2d 367, 437 (N.J. 1995), Justice Stein dissented from the majority, arguing that community notification publicly stigmatizes sex offenders, and marks, disgraces, and humiliates them by means of “collective” sociocultural expressions and disapproval. Rudin (1996) argues:

“Sex offender community notification brands sex offenders by publicly exposing their presence and their past. An ex-convict who has served his punishment and successfully reentered society, or who hopes to do so now faces public stigmatization and disgrace remindful of long-discarded notions of punishment” (p. 3).

The underlying principles that justify the application of community notification are questionable. Moreover, preliminary research indicates that this form of social control produces unintended and unanticipated consequences. Specifically, some argue

that notifying local community members and institutions impedes successful offender reintegration and produces therapeutic setbacks.

The anxiety, distress, and subsequent seclusion experienced by sex offenders who are subject to notification buttresses the condemnation, labeling, and low self-esteem created by incarceration (Zevitz, 2006). The current research explores both positive and negative effects, including the unintended and unanticipated consequences, of sex offender registration and community notification for sex offenders, paying special attention to the manner in which SVPs are labeled and how notification impacts sex offenders' mental health, including self-esteem.

Social Science Research on Community Notification

Social science research on sex offender community notification has focused on eight general areas: (1) descriptive summaries and overviews of state registries, (2) recidivism and the deterrent effect of notification policies, (3) implications for law enforcement and for (4) parole and probation officers, (5) community reactions and responses (e.g., fear and anxiety) to being warned about incoming sex offenders, (6) mental health professionals' interpretation of sex offender registration, (7) the accuracy of information presented on sex offender registries, and (8) consequences (sometimes referred to as "collateral consequences" [Tewksbury, 2004, 2005]) for sex offenders, including residence restrictions.

Considered the most elementary form of research about sex offender registration, descriptive summaries and overviews of state registries provide profiles of either one or multiple state systems (Tewksbury & Lees, 2007). Adams (2002) reported that most sex offender registries are operated by the state police, the department of public safety or

department of corrections, or the attorney generals' office. Adams (2002) also reported that, in 49 states and District of Columbia, there are approximately 386,000 RSOs, and noted that, between 1998 and 2001, a 46.2 percent increase in RSOs occurred around the nation.

The research about recidivism has failed to demonstrate that community notification produces a substantial deterrent effect (Adkins, Huff, & Stageberg, 2000; Barnoski, 2005; Berliner, Schram, Miller, & Milloy, 1995; Lieb, 1996; Zevitz, 2006) or has generated mixed results (Duwe & Donnay, 2008; Vasquez, Maddan, & Walker, 2008; Walker, Maddan, Vasquez, VanHouten, & Ervin-McLarty, 2003). In 2008, Duwe and Donnay produced the most detailed and elaborate study assessing the impact of Megan's Law (i.e., *broad* community notification) on sex offender recidivism in Minnesota. Using a retrospective quasi-experimental design, Duwe and Donnay (2008) compared recidivism rates of 155 level 3 (i.e., Tier III or "high public risk") sex offenders who were subject to notification (and released from Minnesota's state correctional facilities between 1997 and 2002) with two control groups.

The first control group, labeled the "prenotification group," was comprised of 125 sex offenders (from a population of 1,415 sex offenders) who were released from Minnesota's state correctional facilities between 1990 and 1996. Sex offenders in the prenotification control group are said to have likely been subjected to broad community notification had Minnesota's Community Notification Act been enacted prior to January 1, 1997. The second control group – i.e., the non-notification group – was made up of 155 sex offenders (from a population of 1,540 level 1 and 2 sex offenders) released from Minnesota's state correctional facilities between 1997 and 2002 who were not subject to

broad community notification. To develop this control group, and to make it as similar as possible to the notification group, propensity score matching (PSM) was employed.

After propensity scores for members of the notification group ($n = 155$) and members of the non-notification control group sample were developed and recorded, a caliper matching technique was employed to match sex offenders from the two groups.

The primary independent variable of interest in the multivariate statistical analyses was community notification, which was measured as “1” for the notification group (or experimental group) and as “0” for offenders in the two control groups (i.e., the prenotification and non-notification groups). Using survival analysis, results indicate that among the three different groups’ three year recidivism rates, the notification group demonstrated the lowest reoffense rates for recidivism, however measured, followed by the non-notification group and, then, the prenotification group. Specifically, three years after release, rearrests for sex crimes occurred at the following rates: five percent for level three sex offenders in the notification group, 13 percent for sex offenders in the non-notification group, and 36 percent for sex offenders in the pre-notification group. Level three sex offenders in the notification group also demonstrated lower recidivism rates than level 1 and 2 sex offenders (released between 1997 and 2002) for sexual reconviction, sexual reincarceration, non-sexual rearrest, non-sexual reconviction, any arrest, and any reconviction. Conversely, level 2 sex offenders demonstrated the highest sexual recidivism rates for rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration.

Overall, this study indicated that community notification has the ability to significantly reduce sexual recidivism. Duwe and Donnay (2008) reported that “the risk of timing to sexual reoffense was significantly less for the notification group than for

either control group for all three measures of recidivism – re-arrest, reconviction, and reincarceration” (Duwe & Donnay, 2008, p. 440). They believe that notification can reduce sexual recidivism. One alternative explanation for the different recidivism rates is that the notification group was “generally...supervised more intensely for longer periods of time after release from prison than the prenotification group” (Duwe & Donnay, 2008, p. 421) because of Minnesota’s Department of Corrections (2007) intensive supervised release (ISR). Prior to 1997, “very few offenders were released to intensive supervision” (Duwe & Donnay, 2008, p. 421); in 2002, 53 percent of sex offenders were granted ISR.

Research about the implications of community notification for law enforcement indicates that community members occasionally harass offenders (Donnelly & Lieb, 1993; Matson & Lieb, 1996), and that notification is “time consuming and burdensome” (Finn, 1997, p. 10), creating high costs “in terms of personnel time and other budgetary resources” (Farkas & Zevitz, 2000, p. 136). This literature also indicated that law enforcement uses this opportunity to provide educational information to the public about sex offenders and criminal victimization. The research examining the effect of community notification on workloads in corrections (i.e., parole and probation agencies) also indicates that these statutes produced higher workloads, as well as increased costs and frustration (Zevitz & Farkas, 2000a).

The literature about community members’ reactions to notification suggests that “community notification can have the effect of leaving neighborhood residents frightened but feeling powerless to do anything about it” (Zevitz & Farkas, 2000c, p. 405). Levenson, Brannon, Fortney, and Baker (2007) found support for their hypothesis that community members (in Melbourne, Florida) subscribe to inaccurate beliefs about sex

offending and offenders. Specifically, community members anticipated, incorrectly, that sex offender recidivism rates are approximately 75 percent (Levenson, Brannon, Fortney, & Baker, 2007, p. 153). Seventy-six percent of sample members also felt that all sex offenders should be subject to community notification, suggesting that “most people subscribe to the myth that all sex offenders pose an equal and serious threat to communities” (Levenson, Brannon, Fortney, & Baker, 2007, p. 153).

Malesky and Keim (2001) found that over 80 percent of their surveyed mental health professionals believe that online sex offender registries will not decrease the annual number of sex crimes against children, while 70 percent feel that registration creates a false sense of security. Research examining the accuracy of information presented on state sex offender registries has uncovered a number of problems. Levenson and Cotter (2005a) reported that on Florida’s sex offender registry information posted about over half of their 183 sample members was inaccurate. Tewksbury (2002) argued that because of so much missing sex offender information on the Kentucky sex offender registry, the registry does not operate as a meaningful device for successfully promoting public safety, education, and knowledge.

The effects of community notification statutes on resource allocation have been investigated in very brief detail (Poole & Lieb, 1995). The remainder of this literature review focuses on the findings that are relevant to the current study and research questions. Zevitz and Farkas (2000b) were the first researchers to thoroughly examine the effects of sex offender community notification on RSOs. Zevitz and Farkas conducted face-to-face interviews with 30 previously convicted and currently registered sex offenders in Wisconsin. They found evidence suggesting that the community

notification process can interfere with interpersonal relationships. In fact, one sex offender from Zevitz and Farkas' sample reported an unfortunate event: "[Some] of the kids [at school] came back up to my oldest daughter and basically started teasing her, saying, 'You know, I heard that your daddy played sex with you'" (Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b, p. 384).

In addition, Zevitz and Farkas reported that both living arrangements and gainful employment were difficult for RSOs to obtain and then maintain (Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b, p. 388). Only one sex offender in their sample felt as though the notification process did not negatively impact his transition from prison to the community (Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b, p. 381). The majority of sex offenders, conversely, identified disruptive effects (e.g., ostracism and shaming) as a result of notification.

Furthermore, Zevitz and Farkas (2000b) found that a number of sex offenders in their sample believed it might be beneficial for them to attend community meetings. Their reasoning was that citizens might view them as people, speaking their mind and/or accepting responsibility for their actions. The three respondents who did attend these gatherings, however, felt that the meetings eventually deteriorated and stated that they were often subjected to insults, resulting in fear for their personal safety (Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b, p. 387). Zevitz and Farkas (2000b) concluded their research with a call for more research and stated, "[Unless] this is done, only the short-run effects of community notification will have been learned" (Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b, p. 390). Since this study was published, few studies have emerged that investigate similar issues or expand the framework identified by Zevitz and Farkas' examination.

In 2003, Elbogen et al. gathered data from a sample of 40 civilly committed sex offenders from Nebraska. Elbogen et al. (2003) considered the relationship between offenders' opinions of Megan's Law and sex offenders' attitudes toward treatment. Only about half of study participants were familiar with Megan's Law, possibly because they had been incarcerated and were not currently subject to sex offender registration and community notification requirements. Most participants felt that the publication of personal information (e.g., photographs, home and work addresses, and telephone numbers) was unjust. However, 75 percent of the sex offenders in this sample felt that community notification would deter them from recidivating. More than half of the participants acknowledged that community notification would positively impact their drive to receive treatment.

Levenson and Cotter (2005a) sought to attain a detailed understanding of the positive and negative consequences of sex offender community notification on RSOs and how such processes affect rehabilitation and reintegration. More specifically, they wanted to examine offenders' "experiences [with] and perceptions [of]" (Levenson & Cotter, 2005a, p. 52) Megan's Law and whether different forms of notification produce different outcomes. Also, they were "curious to see how realistic sex offenders' perceptions of their own risk might be and how such perceptions would compare to empirically derived risk assessments" (Levenson & Cotter, 2005a, p. 52).

Levenson and Cotter's (2005a) surveyed 183 convicted sex offenders who were being treated in two separate Florida sex offender outpatient treatment programs. They asked participants about different notification strategies, negative and positive effects of Megan's Law, and opinions about notification procedures and the fairness of divulging

certain personal information. Thirty-three percent of Levenson and Cotter's sample reported they had experienced negative effects as a result of sex offender community notification, including loss of employment and/or living quarters, harassments, threats, and/or damages to personal property, and the termination of personal and meaningful relationships. These findings are consistent with previous literature on this topic (e.g., Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b). Five percent of Levenson and Cotter's (2005a) sample had been physically assaulted or injured, and the majority of their sample reported feeling stressed, hopeless, isolated, fearful, shamed, and embarrassed.

Positive effects reported by sex offender respondents included a commitment to prevent recidivism and to be honest with primary group members. However, only a small proportion of the sample (i.e., less than one third) indicated that they believed communities are now safer places because of public notification. Over 50 percent of the sample pointed out that information posted on the Florida's Internet Registry was not correct. In terms of sex offenders' subjective risk assessments, the data show that sex offenders were not very accurate when estimating their own risk of recidivism (Levenson & Cotter, 2005a).

Levenson and Cotter (2005b) also investigated how sex offenders were affected by residence restrictions, along with their understanding of such laws. Their sample ($n = 135$) was taken from two outpatient treatment facilities in Florida (Levenson & Cotter, 2005a). Florida was considered an optimal location for this research because it uses residency restrictions (sometimes known as "1,000," "2,000," or sometimes "3,000-foot-rules") that prohibit sex offenders from establishing residency within a close proximity (i.e., 1,000 feet) of schools and school bus stops, parks, and day care centers (Levenson

& Cotter, 2005a, p. 168). Fifty percent of Levenson and Cotter's (2005b) participant sex offenders indicated that these residency restrictions were used to force them to establish residency in different communities than originally desired.

Fifty-seven percent reported difficulties finding housing that was affordable due to the rule requiring sex offenders to live more than 1,000 feet from schools and school bus stops, parks, and day care centers (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 173). Forty-four percent of their participants revealed that residency restrictions prohibited them from establishing residency with family members, thus limiting offenders' access to support networks (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 172). In terms of emotional well-being, 60 percent of the participant sex offenders reported being adversely affected by these geographical restrictions, and affirmed that they "have suffered emotionally because of the 1,000-ft rule" (p. 173). Forty-eight percent of Levenson and Cotter's (2005b) sample agreed that they have experienced some form of deleterious economic consequences.

Most of Levenson and Cotter's (2005b) respondents insisted that 1,000-foot-rules have no effect on risks associated with recidivism. Instead, sex offenders suggested that, in order to reduce recidivism, there would need to be an emphasis on treating internal motivation for offending. Many indicated that the rule has "no effect at all on reoffending" (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 174). Instead, the rule was described as "childish" (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 174). A general consensus was that if an offender is not concerned with treatment or recovery and, instead, is committed to reoffending, the location of his home will have virtually no impact on whether he reoffends.

Other sex offenders commented on how they consciously avoid reoffending near their homes and in their own neighborhood. “I think if someone wanted to reoffend, then they would do it at a place away from home instead of putting themselves at more risk of getting caught [near their home]” (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 174). A different respondent stated, “It is better for me not to have sexual contact with neighborhood kids – less chance of being recognized” (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 174), and others agreed. Some offenders even touched on the illusion of “stranger danger” (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 175). One accurately noted, “It doesn’t matter where you live; most offenses happen with someone you know or live with” (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 175). Another offender noted, “Most abuse happens in homes or with family or close friends, not at bus stops or schools” (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 175).

Overall, Levenson and Cotter’s (2005b) research highlights several problems created for RSOs who are subject to community notification, including restrictions on living arrangements that lead to increased offender isolation, economic hardships, emotional and social psychological problems, and decreased stability (p. 175). Offenders indicated that they believed that residence restrictions do not contribute to the efficacy of risk management. Even though risk of recidivism was not measured, some findings indicated that residence restrictions can work as a stress-causing agent that, in turn, increases the likelihood of recidivism (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, p. 175).

Levenson, D’Amora, and Hern (2007) explored how the lives of RSOs residing (and receiving treatment) in Connecticut ($n = 239$) and Indiana ($n = 148$) were affected by community notification. The authors claim that understanding the unanticipated consequences of community notification is important because such outcomes can

“exacerbate risk factors for recidivism such as lifestyle instability, negative moods, and lack of positive social support” (Levenson, D’Amora, & Hern, 2007, p. 590).

Connecticut and Indiana were selected because both states have “broad notification policies that apply to all sex offenders” (p. 591) and, absent a classification scheme, neither state clearly distinguishes among low- and high-risk sex offenders. Furthermore, Levenson, D’Amora, and Hern (2007) feel that their multistate approach allows for a comparison among “diverse regions of the country” (p. 591), and will contribute to the “emerging national picture of the impact of Megan’s Law” (p. 591).

Levenson, D’Amora, and Hern’s (2007) findings indicated that, overall, the negative outcomes that occurred with the greatest frequency for sampled sex offenders were job loss (21%), threats and harassment (21%), and property damage (18%). Sex offenders’ primary group/household members also suffered at a relatively high rate (16%). Ten percent of the sample experienced a physical assault or personal injury. In terms of psychosocial outcomes resulting from notification, 62 percent of sampled offenders indicated that, “Megan’s Law makes my recovery more difficult by causing stress in my life” (Levenson, D’Amora, & Hern, 2007, p. 594).

Also as a result of community notification, 54 percent of the sampled sex offenders reported feeling alone and isolated, 50 percent lost friends or had meaningful relationships terminated, and 46 percent feared for their personal safety. Likewise, 58 percent of all sampled sex offenders reported that shame and embarrassment prevents them from participating in everyday activities, and 55 percent of the sample reported having less hope about the future since they have been labeled a sex offender.

Levenson, D'Amora, and Hern's (2007) asked subjects to provide a narrative response about the manner in which notification affects their lives. A large portion of the sample reported difficulties locating and obtaining employment, and complained that Megan's Law interferes with their ability to pursue a conventional lifestyle. Others were upset that the requirements of their probation prevent them from regularly visiting, meeting, and interacting with their minor children and grandchildren. In addition, sex offenders discussed "increased discrimination," whereby others regard sex offenders as "inferior" (Levenson, D'Amora, & Hern, 2007, p. 595). Themes related to depression, anxiety, and distress emerged from this narrative section of the research. Sex offenders reported experiencing "constant worry" (p. 595) and lower self-esteem, feeling alienated, alone, and sad, and contemplating suicide (p. 595). So, a compelling reason for examining the impact of community notification on psychological well-being is that notification laws may be inadvertently increasing risk by inducing stress, anxiety, and other negative affective states associated with recidivism.

Mercado, Alvarez, and Levenson (2008) investigated the effects of community notification and of residency restrictions on sex offender reentry in New Jersey. The authors point out that latent functions and dysfunctions created by community notification may inhibit and undermine public order and community awareness and safety, by obstructing successful offender reintegration and, unintentionally, increasing the likelihood of recidivism (Mercado et al., 2008, p. 188). Moreover, Mercado et al. (2008) report that, based on existing literature (e.g., Levenson & Cotter, 2005b, Levenson & Hern, 2007), residency restrictions have the ability to increase offender "transience and

homelessness” (p. 190), which, in turn, influences some offenders to abandon “supportive environments and employment opportunities” (p. 190).

Mercado et al. (2008) sample was comprised of 137 Tier II and Tier III sex offenders from the New Jersey Sex Offender Internet Registry. Tier II and Tier III sex offenders represent the two highest risk classifications that are used to categorize sex offenders in New Jersey. Initially, 1,601 surveys were mailed to sex offenders who are listed in the New Jersey sex offender registry; however, 223 (or 14%) were returned to the researchers as undeliverable. One hundred and thirty-seven were returned, for a response rate of approximately 9.5 percent.

Mercado et al. (2008) report that over half (i.e., 52%) of the responding sex offenders experienced job loss because of notification. Twenty-four percent of sampled sex offenders reported that, because their landlord was made aware of their sex offender status, they had to relocate. Four percent reported that, as a result of notification, they were forced to move out of the homes that they owned. Forty-eight percent of sampled sex offenders reported being physically threatened or harassed by community members; however, only 11 percent reported that they were physically assaulted or injured. Approximately one third of the sample indicated that someone with whom they reside was threatened, harassed, assaulted, or injured, or owned personal property that sustained damage. Likewise, 27 percent of sampled sex offenders reported that, because of notification, they owned property that was damaged by community members.

A majority of sex offenders agreed that notification led to increased stress in their personal lives, and that shame and embarrassment prevented them from engaging in normal activities. Many of the respondents indicated that they had lost friends, and had

close relationships terminated because of the notification process. Many sex offenders reported that Megan's Law had left them feeling alone and isolated and, because of lifetime registration requirements, as though they had little hope for the future.

In terms of residence restrictions, New Jersey does not have any statewide residence restrictions for sex offenders, but a minimum of 45 towns have ratified local ordinances (Mercado et al., 2008, p. 198). As expected, Tier III sex offenders, offenders with more sex crime history, and offenders who victimized people or children outside of their families had a greater likelihood of being restricted by residency requirements than moderate-risk/Tier II sex offenders with a less serious history of sex crimes. Thirty-two percent of the sampled sex offenders from New Jersey indicated that they were, in fact, prevented from establishing a residence in their desired community. Likewise, due to residency restrictions, 22 percent of the sample indicated that they were not permitted to return to their homes following their prison release, and 34 percent reported being "refused rental properties by landlords" (Mercado et al., 2008, p. 199). Fifty-four percent experienced problems locating affordable housing outside of the specified boundaries.

Tewksbury (2005) examined the dynamics of sex offender registration, and offenders' experiences with it. He assessed the extent to which offenders feel as though they are recognized by the community as stigmatized sex offenders and the associated problems, and investigated the subsequent experiences that result. His sample was selected from the 2,408 sex offenders listed on the Kentucky Sex Offender Registry's worldwide web site. The stratified sample employed metropolitan (49%) and non-metropolitan (51%) counties so that two nearly identical samples could be drawn. Of the

795 RSOs contacted and asked to participate, 121 opted to participate; hence, the response was 15.4 percent.

Negative experiences reported by sex offenders include: loss of employment (42.7%), loss and/or denial of living quarters (45.3%), being treated rudely in public (39.3%), loss of a friend (54.7%), and being harassed by others (47%). Tewksbury (2005) found that, contrary to popular belief, RSOs who victimize children experienced fewer negative consequences than those offenders who victimized adults. Offenders were also assessed in terms of five attitudinal variables regarding (1) shame, (2) unfair treatment, (3) their understanding of the need for a registry, (4) being avoided, and (5) the extent to which the registry is a “good thing” (Tewksbury, 2005, p. 77). Each item had 10 possible scores ranging from one (strongly disagree) to 10 (strongly agree). Overall, offenders provided mean scores greater than seven on: shame of registration (8.3), that there is, in fact, a legitimate need for a registry (7.4), and unfair treatment (7.39).

Approximately 38 percent of RSOs completely disagreed that listed names and personal information would deter future sex crime and 43.2 percent completely agreed. Overall, the process of being a RSO can facilitate withdrawal from society and an increase in distress, which are both “common precursors of reoffending” (Tewksbury, 2005, p. 79). In Seminole County, Florida, Tewksbury and Mustaine (2006) explored the residential proximity of 96 RSOs to locations where possible children/women victims may gather, as well as the neighborhood and community conditions where sex offenders live. The main concern for Tewksbury and Mustaine (2006) was examining whether sex offender reintegration was being inhibited or assisted by residency restrictions/ requirements.

Results indicated that “moderate proportions of the sample ($n = 96$) lived near several locations where children would be expected to collect” (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, p. 69). Specifically, 22 percent of sampled sex offenders resided near a park or playground, and 15 percent resided near an elementary school and a day care center. Moreover, findings suggested that a subsample of the sampled sex offenders were in violation of the law because they lived in restricted areas near “child congregation locations” (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, p. 69).

Lastly, “a significant minority of sex offenders live in neighborhoods with negative attributes or evidence of disorganization” (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, p. 70). The neighborhoods where sex offenders reside can be characterized by vacant lots (32.3%), public litter (22.9%), and “non-lawn items on the lawn (19.8%)” (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, p. 70). Tewksbury and Mustaine (2006) conclude, however, by stating that sex offenders “are not necessarily” (p. 71) expected to reside in neighborhoods characterized by social disorganization and, as a result, “not necessarily” (p. 71) in communities characterized by high rates of crime. Rather, sampled sex offenders seemingly reside in “neighborhoods that are lightly down-trodden but not excessively so” (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, p. 71).

Tewksbury and Lees (2007) performed 22 semi-structured interviews with a sample of RSOs from the (online) Kentucky Sex Offender Registry. Tewksbury and Lees (2007) sought to understand how RSOs perceive the efficacy of the state registry in terms of its ability to facilitate public safety and reduce secondary deviance. Two hundred offenders meeting the study criteria (e.g., at least six months on the registry)

were selected. Twenty-two agreed to complete the interview, “representing a 12% response rate” (Tewksbury & Lees, 2007, p. 389).

Tewksbury and Lees (2007) point out that information gathered from RSOs can help those responsible for “designing, maintaining, and enforcing registries” (p. 381) understand problems offenders experience, loopholes in sex offenders policies, and factors that may motivate offenders to conform, “abscond” (p. 381), or report false information. Information gleaned from RSOs may also lead to more efficient and helpful registries and notification procedures, as well as greater offender compliance and lower rates of recidivism.

Tewksbury and Lees (2007) sample of 22 RSOs was 95 percent male, and mainly White (86%). Fifty percent of the sample is mandated to register for 10 years, while the other half of offenders is registered for life. The mean length of time on the state registry for this sample is slightly over three years. Analysis of the interview data revealed that sampled RSOs consider state registries to be a good, positive criminal justice development and that such procedures do “make positive contributions to society” (Tewksbury & Lees, 2007, p. 391). RSOs from their sample “universally recognize the value and potential contributions to community awareness and public safety that registries offer” (Tewksbury & Lees, 2007, p. 391).

Nearly all of the interviewees indicated that they understand why society wants and needs a sex offender registry (Tewksbury & Lees, 2007, p. 392). However, Tewksbury and Lees (2007) sample of sex offenders is divided in their beliefs as to whether the online registry will effectively increase public awareness of RSOs residing in local communities. Moreover, the sample was split in their feelings about whether the

online registry can effectively reduce offender recidivism. Many interviewees also felt that RSOs are more cautiously scrutinized or watched by the public and, as a result, more likely to be considered a suspect if a sex crime were to occur in the warned community.

The primary problem with the Kentucky system identified by RSOs was “the failure to distinguish among different types of sex offenders and the one-size-fits-all mentality displayed in the current form of the registry” (Tewksbury & Lees, 2007, p. 402). The majority of RSOs felt as though they were not the same as the other offenders listed on the registry; instead, the majority of sample members believed that they were not as “dangerous” or “predatory” (Tewksbury & Lees, 2007, p. 402).

Burchfield and Mingus (2008) performed in-depth interviews with 23 sex offenders from the Illinois State Police Sex Offender Registry in five counties. Their reported response rate was less than 15 percent. Their primary focus was to identify the “root causes” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 361) of barriers preventing sex offenders from accessing local social capital. More specifically, they were concerned with understanding whether RSOs “have access to and participate in networks of local social capital” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 361). Local social capital “emphasizes the information and resources that are transmitted through social ties” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 357), and can be operationalized as resources that result from meaningful, dependent social ties. Burchfield and Mingus (2008) also examined how connected sex offenders felt to friends and neighbors in the community and whether these networks offer friendly support and neighborly cooperation (p. 361).

Their findings indicated that individual, community, structural, and formal barriers obstruct sex offenders from accessing “networks of social capital in their

communities” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 371), and are consistent with the growing body of literature exploring the different types of positive and negative effects of sex offender registration and notification. Many interviewed sex offenders had little interaction with their neighbors and experienced difficulties locating a job, finding housing, sustaining meaningful relationships with family and friends, and “coping with the stigma of being a registered sex offender” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 364). One offender even discussed how being labeled a sex offender may carry graver consequences than being labeled a murderer.

Individual barriers preventing sex offenders from accessing local social capital include embarrassment, shame, and fear. Eight interviewees revealed that their “self-imposed isolation” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 364) was a tactic employed to prevent other community members from finding out about their stigma, and to lessen this label’s impact. Sex offenders revealed that the stigma of being labeled as a sex offender affected their self-concept, and others expressed concerns about how the stigma may affect their family’s “reputation and well-being” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 365). These pressures effectively influence sex offenders to “voluntarily withdraw” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 371) from meaningful relationships and participation in conventional activities.

Community barriers preventing the sampled sex offenders from accessing local social capital include fear of harassment. Even though only five sample members reported being harassed by local community members, many others perceived harassment as an expected outcome of being labeled, registered, and subject to notification. Structural barriers preventing sex offenders from accessing local social capital include

residency restrictions. Residency restrictions require sex offenders to live at a certain distance from institutions that are typically located in “structurally advantaged neighborhoods” (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008, p. 367).

As a result of residency restriction laws, many sex offenders are simply not permitted to establish an affordable residence. In fact, Burchfield and Mingus (2008) report that several sex offenders have been required to go back to prison because of their inability to locate affordable housing (p. 367). Parole requirements, including house arrest and electronic monitoring, work as formal barriers preventing sampled sex offenders from accessing local social capital. Such restrictions are said to effectively sever the offender from positive agents and institutions of socialization outside of the restricted area.

In Gaines’ (2006) empirical inquiry, representatives of law enforcement agencies had seemingly negative images of nearly all sex offenders, and indicated that they had no knowledge of whether notification interfered with offenders’ ability to find or keep a job and a place to live or to maintain interpersonal relationships. One respondent, however, did report that a couple of sex offenders had been “kicked out” of their apartments.

Another respondent noted that some offenders expressed “trepidation” and were often “scared to death” upon finding out that information about them would be made publicly available. Occasionally, according to this same respondent, some offenders would “beg and plead” not to be subjected to Internet-based notification. Likewise, 13 criminal justice practitioners interviewed by Finn (1997) recognized that sex offender community notification can create problems (e.g., finding and sustaining living quarters and employment) for RSOs.

The goals of this study are straightforward: (1) to explore and investigate the implications of registration and community notification for RSOs, including SVPs, and (2) to measure sex offenders' experiences with notification and examine its impact on their mental health (e.g., stigma and self-esteem) and depressive symptoms. By measuring stigma among sex offenders, and by exploring the implications of notification for their mental health, this research project is original and distinctive, as it is the first to assess the sex offender experience in Pennsylvania. This study will also consider the psychological impact of notification. Further investigation about the effects of the notification process is fundamental to achieving a better understanding of this form of social control and its role in promoting recidivism or successful reintegration of offenders.

Theoretical Framework

Stigma and Social Identity

Erving Goffman's dramaturgical model (1959, 1963a, 1963b, 1967, 1983) developed a general explanatory theory of social behavior and interaction that richly describes and analyzes micro level social processes in everyday life (McQuarrie, 1995). Goffman conceived of social interaction as a massive dramatic performance with a stage, props, actors, and an audience. Social actors develop their identity through a dramatic interaction between self and society. By observing how others react and respond to certain stimuli, actors gain a sense of what is attractive or ugly, popular or unpopular, respectable or disreputable, and so on.

A *stigma* refers to a characteristic that works as an insurmountable handicap, preventing competent and trustworthy behavior (Michener, DeLamater, & Myers, 2004)

and discrediting a person's claim to normalcy. Jones, Farina, Markus, Miller, & Scott (1984) provide a two-part definition of stigma: A stigma is a "mark" that (1) differentiates an actor and sets him apart from other people and (2) connects this "marked" person with an undesirable trait or characteristic. Based on this second criterion, marginalized actors are rejected by others and isolated, which can damage their self-esteem, increase depressive symptoms, and push them towards the periphery of conventional society. The degree to which stigmatized actors are set apart from others varies based on the significance and seriousness of their label; hence, stigmatized actors can be weakly or strongly linked to a multitude of undesirable traits. Generally, sex offenders are strongly linked to a variety of extremely negative qualities.

The term stigma originated in Greece, referring to "bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier" (Goffman, 1963b, p. 1). Today the term stigma is used more broadly to signify shame and a characteristic that disgraces and excludes the stigmatized from complete social acceptance. Being formally defined and labeled as a sex offender by the criminal justice system immediately stigmatizes social actors and deeply discredits their personal character. Sex offender, in turn, becomes their *master status* – i.e., an overriding characteristic that affects social interaction. When a master status is negatively valued or contains stigmatizing and degrading characteristics, social actors can become ostracized (see Becker, 1963; Braithwaite, 1989; Hughes, 1945, 1958; Schur, 1984).

Garfinkel (1956) cogently argued that labeling is particularly powerful when it involves a public ceremony initiated by a formal agency or institution such as criminal justice. In such instances, the labeling process is well structured, vastly publicized, and

enforced by the state. Following arrest, prosecution and court proceedings, proclamations of guilt, and prison time and release, criminal offenders are likely to be stigmatized in their community, especially sex offenders subject to community notification. The combined effect of these processes convinces others of the actor's criminal status and reinforces negative imagery. The successful application of a label such as sex offender may negatively affect an actor's ability to obtain and sustain employment, housing, supportive interpersonal relationships, and positive mental health.

According to Goffman (1963b), the term stigma conceals a double perspective (p. 4). When an actor's differentness is obvious to others "on the spot" (p. 4), he is *discredited* (e.g., someone who is missing a leg or is physically deformed); when an actor's differentness is neither known about by others nor perceivable, he is *discreditable*. In many situations, sex offenders may be discreditable, and capable of hiding their social identity; however, sex offenders who are subject to community notification occupy a unique position in dramaturgy because, in many instances, the notification process is likely to leave them feeling as though their criminal status is noticeable to others "on the spot." That is, if a sex offender's information, including physical description and home and work address, has been posted publicly and presented to community members – either in the form of locally provided flyers, newspaper listings, or mail out letters by local law enforcement, or on the Internet – then, in many social situations, the offender is likely to believe that others know of his stigma a priori.

Sex offenders occupy one of the lowest social statuses in the criminal type hierarchy, as interpreted by other criminals, criminal justice officials, and the public. Such judgments, along with the accompanying social responses, "represent a very potent

kind of deviance-defining” (Schur, 1984, p. 3) and can damage an offender’s reputation, reduce or restrict his life chances (p. 3), and bring about shame. Subsequently, social interaction among *normals* (i.e., the nonstigmatized) and the stigmatized becomes awkward and uncomfortable. “The very anticipation of such contacts can of course lead normals and the stigmatized to arrange life so as to avoid them. Presumably this will have larger consequences for the stigmatized, since more arranging will usually be necessary on their part” (Goffman, 1963b, p. 12).

Such recognition by other people has serious social and psychological implications. “By definition, of course, we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human. On this assumption, we exercise varieties of discrimination through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly, reduce his life chances” (Goffman, 1963b, p. 3). The offender’s stigma spoils his identity (Goffman, 1963b); in turn, he is likely to find that others will no longer view him as fully competent or moral (Michener et al., 2004, p. 241). “Shame becomes a central possibility, arising from the individual’s perception of one of his own attributes as being a defiling thing to possess, and one he can readily see himself as not possessing” (Goffman, 1963b, p. 7).

In a related literature, Fife and Wright (2000) studied people with HIV/AIDS and cancer and identified four general costs of being negatively stigmatized that will be useful in guiding the current study for understanding the social and psychological implications of being labeled a sex offender: (1) internalized shame, (2) social rejection, leading to (3) social isolation, and (4) financial insecurity (i.e., insufficient income and employment security). I expect that the SVP interviewees subject to active community notification will experience the same type of negative experiences, especially,

internalized shame, social rejection, and social isolation. Tittle and Paternoster (2000) argue that, after actors have been officially labeled as criminal, several consequences may follow:

“That individual will then have trouble participating fully in society. People will be reluctant to employ him or her; the police will thereafter suspect the person of other crimes; and conventional folks will not want to associate with the stigmatized individual. In response, the labeled person will likely seek the company of others who have also been labeled, provided they can be found” (p. 455).

The Labeling Perspective

Within the framework of symbolic interactionism, the construction and meaning that an actor attaches to his own self-image is vital in understanding how he will think and behave. People do not inherently have an understanding of what is good or evil, social or antisocial, or smart or dumb; instead, people learn to “act toward themselves according to the meanings they have for themselves” (Vold, Bernard, & Snipes, 2002, p. 210). An actor’s self-image is developed via social interaction with others, and this is what Cooley (1902) referred to as “the looking-glass self.”

Labeling theorists conceive social actors as impressionable, and this line of reasoning forms the basis of the labeling perspective, which presupposes that social control leads to increased criminal activity. Becker (1963) argued, “The deviant is one to whom that [a] label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label” (p. 9), and claimed that societal reactions play an important role in the designation of antisocial, delinquent, and criminal behaviors. From this perspective, society and its members “create” crime because society defines such actions as criminal.

In criminology, labeling theorists do not focus on the influences that give rise to an initial delinquent or criminal act; instead, they pay special attention to the stigmatizing effects that the criminal justice system can have on those to whom it successfully applies labels. Labeling theorists argue that reacting to and labeling social actors as “criminals” produces dysfunctions and unanticipated negative outcomes that significantly increase the likelihood of subsequent criminal behavior. Labeling theorists highlight the salience of social responses, especially in terms of formal social control, in the production of criminal behaviors; “labeling someone as a [criminal] can result in the person becoming the very thing he is described as being” (Shoemaker, 1996, p. 191). In the case of sex offenders, labeling theory is useful for understanding how stigmatizing labels (e.g., sexual psychopath, sex offender, rapist, child molester, or sexual predator), sometimes referred to as *deviant designations*, contribute to a possible propensity for increased criminal activity or secondary deviance.

In 1951, Edwin Lemert developed a general theory of deviant behavior that included the basic tenets of the labeling process, and was concerned with understanding the process by which actors learn to define themselves as delinquents or criminals. He is noted for introducing two important concepts to criminological theory: primary and secondary deviance. According to Lemert (1951), *primary deviance* may be caused by several biological, structural, cultural, and psychological factors. Primary deviance refers to crime that everyone occasionally commits; it is “rationalized, or otherwise dealt with as [part of] a socially acceptable role. Under such circumstances, normal and [deviant] behaviors remain strange and somewhat tensional bedfellows in the same person” (Lemert, 1951, p. 75). Primary deviants do not experience changes in their psychological

composition or structure or in the manner in which they partake in social events, and are labeled because of their initial delinquent or criminal behavior(s).

Secondary deviance refers to deviant or criminal behavior that arises as a result of the process by which society and its members react to those who have been labeled as primary deviants. After being apprehended and processed by the criminal justice system, primary deviants experience a multitude of negative effects, some of which are aimed at successfully applying deviant designations. These labels carry important implications for interpersonal reality, employment status, living arrangements, and mental health, each of which will be assessed by the current analysis. Oftentimes, the impact of a deviant designation is so influential – in terms of a self-fulfilling prophecy or the negative effects of stigmatization – that a labeled actor is coerced to reorient his life according to his new label or tag. “Secondary deviants accept their new identity as a ‘deviant’ and act in accordance with the societal reaction to their primary deviance. Secondary deviance is thus a powerful tool for explaining recidivism” (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2006, p. 381).

Sex offenders subject to community notification have been labeled because of their primary deviance (i.e., some sex crime) and stigmatized by the criminal justice system, as well as by society at large. The systematic exclusion of sex offenders from normative society is likely to result in personal and social problems for offenders and members of their primary groups. Sex offenders become publicly identified social outcasts who may be prevented from fully participating in conventional activity, including higher education, meaningful employment, family life, and intimacy. The successful application of labels such as “sex offender” or “sexually violent predator” may

cause an actor to redefine himself and change his personal identity, and can damage his self-esteem and -image and increase depressive symptoms.

Braithwaite's Reintegrative Shaming Theory

Braithwaite's (1989) work focuses on one process that creates informal social control for the formalized disapproval of criminal law – shaming. *Shaming* refers to expressions of disapproval that seek to invoke remorse from the offender and condemnation from the community. Shaming is “a tool to allure and inveigle the citizen to attend to the moral claims of the criminal law, to coax and caress compliance, to reason and remonstrate with [the offender] over the harmfulness of his conduct” (Braithwaite, 1989, p. 9). Shaming and inducing guilt are treated as inextricable components of the same social process (Braithwaite, 1989, p. 57). Guilt cannot be induced, however, without suggesting criticisms of others. Shaming ranges from informal and subtle gestures (e.g., gossip or a “dirty look”) to formal and official rulings (e.g., a pronouncement by a judge that is enforced by the criminal justice system).

Braithwaite's (1989) central thesis is that disintegrative shaming (i.e., stigmatizing and repressing offenders) leads to increased recidivism, but reintegrative shaming and expressions of disapproval from the community seeking to invoke repentance from the offender leads to decreased recidivism. To successfully prevent recidivism, offenders must be properly shamed and, simultaneously or briefly thereafter, reintegrated back into the community; importantly, the entire community needs to be involved. That is, for reintegrative shaming to work successfully, community commitment is required. Community commitment is important because, along with community consensus, it provides insight about what is important to a group or society.

Offenders cannot be successfully reintegrated when repressed, demoralized, and stripped by the state of all decision making processes and responsibilities. Sex offender community notification appears to be repressive and disintegrative and does not involve the required community commitment to function effectively.

Braithwaite (1989) argues that when offenders are labeled, stigmatized, and repressed, they are effectively pushed away from conventional society and, instead, toward criminal subcultures (see also Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2006; Tittle & Paternoster, 2000). Being excluded from conventional society can make these alternative and deviant lifestyles attractive and can create conditions that are likely to increase the chances of recidivism. Excluding sex offenders from certain geographical locations may result in high concentrations of sex offenders in small urban enclaves. This disintegrative process is counterproductive in terms of crime reduction and prevention. Reintegrative shaming seeks to reduce and prevent crime and recidivism, unlike many other crime control strategies that seek to manage crime and warehouse criminals. Braithwaite stipulates that the effect of shaming crime depends on the extent to which labeling leads to (1) stigmatization, humiliation, and exclusion, or (2) reintegration and forgiveness.

Community notification seemingly stigmatizes, humiliates, and excludes offenders from conventional society, in turn marginalizing these people and making a conventional lifestyle difficult and unlikely. Community notification, in theory, can help community members equip themselves with valuable information to protect their family and friends. However, the damaging effects of notification for offenders, including difficulties finding and sustaining employment and living quarters, can make leading a conventional lifestyle practically impossible.

To facilitate a successful reintegration, Braithwaite (1989) argues that community members must participate to inform offenders of the ways in which they have been harmed by predatory criminal behavior and to help offenders develop a higher consciousness and create ways in which they can be brought back into the community. The process by which social actors are negatively shamed and stigmatized as sex offenders and are systematically excluded from certain geographical locations via the development of “sex-offender-free” zones, contradict Braithwaite’s (1989) notions of reintegrative shaming.

The goal of community corrections and post-release social control should be to facilitate a successful reintegration process and provide released offenders with an opportunity to attain conventional social status. Being labeled a sex offender and having past criminal histories and personal information provided to an unwelcoming community makes these practical social goals difficult, if not impossible. As a result, it is expected that as sex offenders experience more negative (employment and residency-related and harassment) outcomes because of registration and/or notification, they will feel more stigmatized and worse about themselves.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA

This research is a multi-site research project in collaboration with four sex offender treatment providers, and employs quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis. Two of the four treatment providers are non-profit mental health organizations providing outpatient examinations and treatment services in the area of sexual abuse, as well as to sex offenders. Both treatment providers offer similar outpatient programs and weekly group therapy sessions for adult sex offenders living in the surrounding communities. The other two participating sex offender treatment providers are licensed psychologists who treat sex offenders on an individual basis, and also conduct group therapy with sex offenders on a weekly basis. All four treatment providers are located in Pennsylvania and their identities will remain anonymous in this study. Data were collected using an anonymous survey instrument and an interview script with a subsample of voluntary participants.

All adult sex offenders receiving treatment at the four treatment providers had an opportunity to be surveyed. In the jurisdiction under study, RSOs can be registered for five years or less, between six and 10 years, or for their lifetime. All RSOs in Pennsylvania are subject to passive notification. *Passive notification* is synonymous with “internet notification,” whereby it is a community member’s responsibility to initiate the notification process by proactively searching for sex offenders who reside within close proximity of the community member’s home. All RSOs and SVPs have their pictures and identities posted online on the state’s sex offender registry. Unless a sex offender is designated and classified as a SVP, Pennsylvania requires that community members/state

citizens must actively (i.e., on their own) obtain information about locally residing sex offenders using local law enforcement or the state's online registry.

Sexually violent predators in Pennsylvania must remain registered with the state police for the remainder of their lives, and are subject to active notification for a minimum of 20 years, at which point they have an opportunity to petition to have the label removed. Being classified as a SVP also requires re-registration with the Pennsylvania state police on a quarterly basis. *Active notification* refers to the procedure whereby state law enforcement is designated the role of proactively distributing/ mailing personal information about the SVP and his whereabouts to community members. Such information is presented to community members in notices or flyers. Such notices/flyers provide community members with information about the SVPs' home address, physical description, and victim preference. All adult sex offenders receiving treatment, designated as SVPs, and subject to active community notification at the four sites were asked to participate in both the survey and interview component of this research.

The anonymous survey sample consists of 200 adult male sex offenders. One hundred and eighty-one of the sampled sex offenders were classified as RSOs ($n = 121$), SVPs ($n = 13$), or non-registered sex offenders (and non-sexually violent predators) ($n = 47$). Nineteen cases could not be classified for this research. The 47 non-registered sex offenders in treatment had been convicted of similar sex crimes but were not registered as sex offenders or subject to active community notification for various reasons, including plea arrangements, or that notification did not exist at the time that they were sentenced.

Participants who were anonymously surveyed were only required by Temple University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) to provide verbal consent. Verbal consent

is appropriate because the names of adult sex offenders participating in this research are unknown. Moreover, anyone who reads the reports published from this research will not be able to link any of the information obtained to individual respondents because only aggregate information will be described.³

The interview sample of SVPs subject to active community notification consists of nine adult men, although 13 were included in the survey data. Four SVPs declined to participate in the interview portion of this research. Each of the SVPs declined an opportunity to have their interview audio-taped and, as a result, their real names were not divulged and verbal consent was deemed acceptable by Temple University's IRB.

Data were collected between October 2007 and May 2008. The IRB at Temple University reviewed and approved all materials designed for this study prior to any data collection.⁴ This study is not a formal "evaluation" of the four different treatment providers. Instead, this research examines how the survey and interview samples of sex offenders respond to and are affected by sex offender registration and/or community notification. In order to examine the survey data, quantitative methods of data analysis are used, and in order to examine the interview data, a qualitative approach (specifically, the case study method) is employed.

³ This strategy was suggested by Temple University's IRB to forestall the need for a *Certificate of Confidentiality* (for an extramural research project) from the National Institute of Health.

⁴ The final IRB approval (Protocol number: 10258) was granted on August 1, 2007. Separately, each participating treatment provider was required to supply a formal letter indicating their permission to work in collaboration with Jonathan Gaines to collect data for his dissertation research. Specifically, all of the documents contained in the appendices below were approved by Temple University's IRB. Prior to the undertaking of any data collection at one of the four participating treatment providers, this research protocol underwent another (separate) IRB process/application review (and approval) by this one treatment provider's chief affiliate corporation. The protocol has been approved for another year and will now expire on July 31, 2009.

The Study Setting

Pennsylvania reserves sex offender registration and Megan's Law (the notification component) for adult sex offenders who are convicted of the following crimes: kidnapping, sexual offenses, offenses against the family (e.g., incest), public indecency (e.g., prostitution), and failure to comply with registration requirements. Sexual offenses include varying degrees of rape (some with bodily injury), involuntary deviate sexual intercourse (some with bodily injury), sexual assault and institutional sexual assault, aggravated indecent assault (against adults and children), and indecent assault (42 Pa. C.S. § 9791).

In order to be subject to active community notification in this state, a sex offender must undergo a formal evaluation process by the treating clinician and sentencing judge. Together, the clinician and judge determine whether the sex offender should be designated as a SVP, although, ultimately, the judge makes the final decision. Alternatively, an out-of-state sex offender is subject to active community notification in Pennsylvania when he has already registered as a sex offender and/or been subject to any form of notification in the state where the crime, arrest, and conviction occurred.

Notification for out-of-state offenders occurs regardless of whether the offender had already been determined to be a SVP (or the equivalent such as a Tier III sex offender) in his state of origin. Additionally, any offender refusing to partake in the formal evaluation process conducted by the clinician and judge automatically receives a SVP designation. A SVP is considered to be an adult person who has been convicted of a sexually violent offense, and due to some mental abnormality or personality disorder, is likely to reengage in predatory and sexually violent behavior (42 Pa. C.S. § 9792). In

Pennsylvania, SVPs must remain registered as sex offenders for life; however, if the offender can avoid, for 20 years, any type of felony conviction (in any jurisdiction) for an offense punishable by imprisonment for more than one year, then the SVP can have his sex offender classification (or status) reduced to a RSO, and can have his notification requirements reduced from active to passive notification (42 Pa. C.S. § 9791(b)).⁵

Gaining Access

The original dissertation prospectus specified that I would anonymously survey all adults receiving treatment at one treatment provider in Pennsylvania that agreed to allow me to collect data for my dissertation, as well as survey an equal amount of sex offenders under the supervision of the parole board of a neighboring state. Additionally, I initially planned to conduct face-to-face interviews with a sample of Tier III sex offenders in this state, and with the primary group members (i.e., family members and significant others) of the interviewed SVPs and Tier III sex offenders. In the beginning of 2007, I was informed that plans were being made to hire me as an intern so that I could work at this site and have access to an office and desktop computer. However, due to a change of leadership at the site during the time period that my proposal was under review, I was ultimately denied access, despite a revised submission after the first denial.

⁵ Many other states such as New Jersey employ a three tier (or level) classification system to rank sex offenders on their perceived level of threat or dangerousness. Tier I represents the lowest risk sex offenders and, typically, only law enforcement agencies are notified about these offenders. Tier II represents moderate risk offenders, and law enforcement agencies, as well as schools, licensed day care centers, summer camps, and registered community organizations are notified about these sex offenders.

Tier III represents the most serious sex offenders who are determined to pose a high risk to community safety: if an offender receives a Tier III classification, law enforcement agencies, local schools, licensed day care centers, summer camps, registered community organizations, along with adult members of the community and public are actively notified. This is the system of classification expected to be instituted throughout the entire United States following the implementation of The Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act (2006).

In the event that I was unable to work with and collect data at the original site, an “Alternative Research Plan” was developed, and inserted into my dissertation prospectus. The alternative plan stipulated that if I am unable to work at the original site to collect data, instead, I would use the wide-ranging anonymous survey data and employ case-study methods to examine the seven to ten SVPs who were interviewed in Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, I was misinformed about the number of adult RSOs and SVPs who were receiving treatment at the first provider, learning that there were much fewer than I originally understood to be the case.

After the loss of the original site, I attempted to find alternative ways to contact SVPs who would be willing to participate in the interview process. I contacted twelve additional sex offender treatment providers in Pennsylvania who treat adult sex offenders and SVPs, six of whom were currently members of the Pennsylvania Sexual Offenders Assessment Board. This list of contacts was provided to me by a clinician at the first treatment provider who previously put me in contact with SVPs. Unfortunately, very few of the contacted sex offender treatment providers admitted to currently treating SVPs or were willing to participate in this research. After talking to several clinicians in this field, as well as some state and federal probation officers, I discovered that, in Pennsylvania, very few SVPs are currently residing outside of prison. Moreover, Pennsylvania state law has made being released from prison for SVPs a difficult process.

Even though the interview portion of my plan was limited, I still was able to collect the desired survey data and to perform nine interviews with SVPs. Eventually I located three additional sex offender treatment providers that were willing to allow me to collect data from sex offenders in treatment. At the second treatment facility I collected

approximately 10 anonymous surveys and performed one face-to-face interview with a SVP. I also acquired (by mail) two more anonymous surveys from a helpful clinician who treats sex offenders (but no SVPs). Lastly, I collected data at a fourth treatment provider, where I was able to gather approximately 90 more anonymous surveys and to perform five interviews with SVPs.

Unfortunately, none of the SVPs were comfortable allowing me to contact any of their primary group members for interviews, which resulted in a deviation from the original dissertation prospectus. This component of the original dissertation was the most problematic; however, even though I was unable to interview this group, I collected survey data from more groups than originally planned. That is, instead of surveying just RSOs and SVPs, I collected 50 surveys from offenders convicted of similar or identical crimes but who are not formally registered or labeled as a sex offender. Even though I was not been able to adhere, exactly, to the original dissertation prospectus plan, I was fortunate to collect an adequate sample size for quantitative data analyses and a strong sample for qualitative work. Additionally, I collected survey data from more groups and worked with more sites than initially anticipated in the original or alternative plan.

Sampling Strategy

Both sampling designs employed in this research (i.e., purposive and criterion) are non-probabilistic in nature. Specifically, *purposive sampling*, which permits researchers to collect *information rich* samples (Patton, 1990), is employed in order to obtain a selection of cases thought to be typical and to represent pertinent dimensions of a special population. Even though probability sampling techniques generate data that can produce reliable point estimates and generalizable results, non-probability sampling is justified,

and often preferred, in a qualitative research design (Merriam, 1998). “It will suffice to select a range of cases nonrandomly without concern for precise statistical generalization,” especially when research is in its early stages of investigation, like the current research, and when a primary objective is becoming more informed about a certain phenomenon (Singleton & Straits, 2005, p. 133).

Miles and Huberman (1994) highlight the key features of qualitative sampling. They point out that researchers doing qualitative work tend to use relatively small samples that are “nested in their own context and studied in-depth – unlike quantitative researchers who aim for larger numbers of context-stripped cases and seek statistical significance” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 27). This strategy is appropriate when the contours of a population may be unknown, precluding the establishment of a sampling frame, rendering probability sampling impossible. Moreover, small random samples can be decidedly biased. Valuable generalizations that come from qualitative research are *analytic*, not “sample-to-population” (Firestone, 1993).

The majority of sex offenders are male (Hickey, 2006; Langan, Schmitt, & Durose, 2003). Nine female sex offenders were present in the sampling frame for the anonymous survey sample, and were encouraged to participate. Unfortunately, only six elected to complete the survey and only two are RSOs (female anonymous survey response rate: 66.7%). No female SVPs were receiving treatment at any of the participating providers. Female survey responses are withheld from the male dominated quantitative data analyses because of a large amount of missing data in their surveys, and due to the small number of cases.

Age, race, education, and income, as well as marital, work, occupational, and socioeconomic status of the male sample of sex offenders vary, and no one particular group was targeted. Again, all adult sex offenders receiving treatment at the four sex offender treatment providers were offered an opportunity to be anonymously surveyed. A purposive sample of SVPs subject to active community notification was also offered an opportunity to complete a face-to-face interview about labeling and notification. In order to participate in this research, all adult participants had to be able to communicate in English and to provide verbal consent.

Anonymous Survey Sample

The anonymous survey sample was comprised of adult male sex offenders from four treatment providers. Male offenders receiving treatment at these providers are either: (1) RSOs, (2) SVPs, or (3) non-registered sex offenders (i.e., similarly situated sex offenders convicted of similar crimes as the two previous classifications but who were not formally registered or classified as a SVP). The identities of all four of the participating sex offender treatment providers are kept confidential.

One hundred and fifty-one adult male sex offenders⁶ at the first treatment provider were given an opportunity to complete the anonymous survey; however, only 98 elected to participate (response rate: $98/151 = 64.9\%$). Ninety-eight adult male sex offenders at the second treatment provider were given an chance to complete the anonymous survey, but only 90 chose to participate (response rate: $90/98 = 91.8\%$). Eight adult sex offenders were sampled at the third treatment provider, and the response rate was 100 percent (8/8), as was the response rate at the fourth treatment provider, where four adult sex offenders

⁶ This count of 151 excludes six sex offenders who were sampled to be used for the purposes of piloting. The six offenders used for the pilot testing reviewed the anonymous survey for problems with comprehensibility, and for an approximation of the time required to complete the survey.

were sampled. Overall, a total of 261 adult male sex offenders were asked to complete the anonymous survey, and 200 participated (overall response rate: $200/261 = 76.6\%$). All of the sampled adult male sex offenders reside outside of prison and are mandated by the state to pay for and engage in outpatient therapy on an at least monthly basis.

All were required to be 18 years of age or older, and able to communicate in English. By sampling three qualitatively different types of adult sex offenders – i.e., RSOs, SVPs, and non-registered sex offenders – the research design for this study provides an opportunity to compare the experiences and outcomes pertaining to dimensions of a successful reintegration of these three different groups.

Sexually Violent Predator Interview Sample

A primary aim of this research is to examine the social and psychological impact that active community notification has on SVPs. Only those sex offenders who are designated as SVPs and subject to active community notification, in addition to the above mentioned criteria, were provided with an opportunity to complete a face-to-face, confidential interview. The interview was semi-structured and consisted of several open-ended questions and prompts. Sexually violent predator narratives were constructed by an interaction among the offender and Jonathan Gaines (hereafter referred to as “the researcher”), and offenders were encouraged to use their own words and to share the experiences that they attribute to being labeled a SVP and subject to active community notification.

The SVP sample is comprised of nine adult males, even though a total of fourteen SVPs were asked to participate (SVP interview response rate: $9/14 = 64.3\%$). In the only other available research employing similar methods with sex offenders, response rates

varied considerably. Using interview methods, Zevitz and Farkas (2000b) had a 68 percent (30/44) response rate. Levenson and Cotter's (2005a) survey research had an 85 percent response rate. Using survey research methods, Tewksbury (2005) had a 15.4 percent (121/795) response rate, and Tewksbury and Lees (2007), using interview methods, had a 12 percent (22/192) response rate. Using semi-structured interviews, Burchfield and Mingus (2008) had a response rate of less than 15 percent (23/187).

All interview SVP sample members were provided with an appropriate informational cover letter outlining the project's goals, and an explanation of informed (written) consent. None of the sampled SVPs elected to have their real names or identities divulged and, consequently, were only required to provide (non-written) verbal consent. Interviews took between 35 and 75 minutes to complete and were performed at the respective treatment providers. Each SVP received 20 dollars (cash) compensation for completing the face-to-face interview, which was donated to the researcher by an anonymous source associated with one of the participating sites.

Intensity sampling involves the selection of group members who embody experiential authorities of a certain type of experience (Morse, 1998). "With intensity sampling, one selects participants who are experiential experts and who are authorities about a particular experience" (Morse, 1998, p. 73). The experience of concern for this research is being labeled a SVP and subject to active community notification, which, again, requires that notices or flyers about the SVP and his whereabouts be proactively distributed by the state police to local community members. Sex offenders who were not subject to active community notification were not invited to participate in the face-to-face interview.

Additional Human Subject Concerns

Coercion can be defined as forcing people to participate in research that may be damaging or inconvenient for them. With respect to concerns about coercion for the present study, staff members at the four treatment providers were explicitly instructed by the researcher (on multiple occasions) that all offenders should not be told that they are, in any way, “required” to participate in this research. Offenders were also informed by treating clinicians, the researcher, and via the content of the cover letters, that participation in this research would have no effect on their probation/parole arrangements or treatment status. Instead, staff members at the treatment providers were asked to inform offenders of an opportunity to voluntarily participate in a research project that provided a chance to share their experiences with registration and/or notification.

Excluded from this study were all offenders (whether registered as a sex offender or not) who are under the age of 18, regardless of how they have been treated/processed by the criminal justice system. Offenders who are under 18 were excluded because of their status as a vulnerable population and because forms of labeling and notification affect them differently than their adult counterparts, especially in terms of living arrangements and employment, and marital, work, and socioeconomic status. Offenders who are unable to communicate in English also were excluded. Lastly, for reasons mentioned, adult female sex offenders have been excluded from the quantitative data analyses because of a small sample size that is inadequate for analysis.

To recruit subjects, letters of introduction outlining the purposes and goals of this research were provided to all adult sex offenders receiving treatment. Two separate cover letters were used for recruiting sex offenders for the study: (1) a letter for all

(registered and non-registered) sex offenders receiving treatment (see Appendix A) and (2) a letter for SVPs who are subject to active community notification and receiving treatment (see Appendix B).

Each letter outlined the aims of this research and requested potential subjects' voluntary participation. The letters explained the details of this research, stressed the voluntariness, anonymity, and confidentiality of all those who participate, and informed potential survey participants that all information obtained will be done so anonymously, and no information traceable back to original survey participants or interviewees is presented in the final reports.

Potential embarrassments, as well as the maintenance of confidentiality, pose the greatest risks/threats to study participants. However, these risks were minimized because information about prior victimization, as well as previous incarceration, crimes, and treatment were touched on only briefly, if at all, as that was not the focus of this research. As mentioned, all survey data collected were anonymous. The researcher recorded no names while collecting any data, making confidentiality even more difficult to breach.

No personal information (e.g., family member names, zip codes, treatment status, or medical condition), which could be used to identify participants, was collected or is identifiable in reports based on this research. Pseudonyms are used in place of interviewees' real names. Interviewees were asked for their permission to be quoted directly, though quotes have been edited, if necessary, to ensure that they do not reveal subjects' identities.⁷

⁷ Also drafted for potential interviewees, but not used, were: (1) an informed (written) consent procedure for SVPs subject to active notification and (2) an audiotape consent form for SVPs agreeing to have their interviews tape-recorded. However, neither document has been used to collect data, so they have been withheld from this presentation.

Because no real names were recorded, anyone examining the interview transcripts is only presented with a pseudonym. Immediately following each interview, data were recorded and stored on an IBM desktop personal computer. Lastly, all interview data have been coded to guarantee complete confidentiality and stored safely and privately in a locked, secure location at all times.

Anonymous Survey Instrument and Interview Script

The anonymous survey instrument (see Appendix C) and interview script (see Appendix D) were designed specifically for this research. Both are aimed at collecting detailed information about the intended, unintended, and unanticipated consequences of labeling and of sex offender registration and/or community notification. Administrators at the four treatment providers elected to help facilitate this research by directly introducing the researcher to groups of sex offenders receiving weekly outpatient treatment and to individual SVPs. In all, the researcher was introduced to approximately 25 different groups of sex offenders receiving weekly treatment, and to 14 SVPs.

Group size varied from three to 20 adult sex offenders. Offenders were introduced to the project either by the researcher or clinician(s) responsible for overseeing offenders' treatment. If the researcher introduced offenders to the project, he would meet the group, introduce the project, answer questions, and, if possible, schedule interviews and survey completion for the following week. The following week, the researcher returned to distribute cover letters and anonymous surveys, or to conduct face-to-face interviews.

If overseeing clinicians introduced offenders to the project, the researcher distributed cover letters and anonymous surveys upon meeting the group, and attempted

to schedule interviews with SVPs immediately. The following week, regardless of who introduced offenders to the project, the researcher returned to the group to determine whether any offenders missed a first opportunity to participate in this research.

All offenders were provided with appropriate informational cover letters to ensure that they understood the nature of this research and extent of their participation. Once provided with this cover letter, the researcher reviewed it with the offenders and answered existing questions. After completing this step, offenders were provided with anonymous surveys to complete and interviews were scheduled and conducted with SVPs.

The first group of offenders (at the first treatment provider) was used to pretest the survey instrument. Six adult male sex offenders were used for this process, which permitted the researcher to determine the approximate length of time required to complete the survey. This allowed the researcher to also assess the comprehensibility and clarity of different questions, prompts, and survey items. These semi-completed surveys were not included in any of the final samples.

Survey

The anonymous survey for all adult sex offenders willing to participate in this research was designed specifically for this study and examines similar issues raised in the interview script (described below); however, limitations were placed on offenders in terms of their ability to provide responses because nearly all of the items in the survey employ a closed-ended format. Denzin (1970) points out that the use of multiple data sources permits researchers to conquer intrinsic biases that may arise from using a single

method of data collection. The anonymous format of the survey was expected to increase offenders' comfort level in providing otherwise intimate and personal information.

If offenders requested, they were provided with a survey accompanied by a postage-paid return envelope to be mailed to the researcher at Temple University upon completion. Only one SVP (subject to active community notification) declined to complete the survey but was still provided with an opportunity to be interviewed, and encouraged to do so even though he declined.

In an attempt to further encourage participation, the researcher created a lottery system whereby offenders who completed the anonymous survey had an opportunity to win 20 dollars at their treatment site.⁸ The funds used for this lottery were provided by an anonymous donor who contributed expenses for this research through one of the treatment providers. Random numbers were attached to the informational cover letters signed by the researcher that were provided to offenders with the anonymous survey. After all offenders at the respective treatment provider had a chance to complete the survey, numbers were randomly drawn and passed along to a treating clinician to distribute to those offenders who could demonstrate that they held on to the winning number featured on the initial cover letter. A total of \$240 dollars were used in an attempt to increase offender participation.

The anonymous survey contained eight sections and approximately 128 closed-ended questions used to measure sociodemographics, offender characteristics and descriptive information concerning offenders' registration and/or community notification requirements, behavioral and attitudinal indicators, emotional characteristics, and

⁸ This lottery system was only implemented at the two largest treatment sites. Offenders at the other two providers elected to participate on their own based on their clinicians' recommendations.

negative experiences resulting from registration and/or notification. Among these items are several scales that have been used in other related academic research about mental health (Fife & Wright, 2000; Link et al., 1997; Markowitz, 1998; Rosenfield, 1997).

Note that the instrument is reproduced in Appendix C.

These include measures of self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), mastery (Pearlin et al., 1981; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978), the four stigma subscales, *perceived devaluation/discrimination*, *rejection experiences*, *secrecy*, and *withdrawal-employment* (Link, 1987; Link et al., 1997), which were ultimately combined into a single measure for the regression analyses, and adult depression using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) (Hann, Winter, & Jacobsen, 1999; Radloff, 1977, 1991). Lastly, the anonymous survey contained one open-ended question focusing on offenders' perceptions of the services provided by the respective treatment provider.

Quantitative Data Analyses

Explanatory Variables

Sociodemographics. Respondents were questioned about their age, sex, race, highest degree earned, marital and work status, estimated annual income, and other household information pertaining to living arrangements. This information is used to make comparisons among the sociodemographic characteristics of the three subsamples used in this research: (1) RSOs ($n = 121$), (2) SVPs ($n = 13$), and (3) non-registered sex offenders ($n = 47$). Also, sociodemographic data are used to explore their predictive capabilities, in terms of explaining variation, in the items used to measure the negative consequences of registration and/or community notification, and in all of the seven scales described in the preceding section.

Conditions of Registration and/or Community Notification. This section inquired about sex offenders' terms and conditions of registration and community notification (e.g., "What is to be your length of registration in years?" and "What is your post-release sex offender classification/status?"). Other items inquired about offenders' recent criminal history. The criminal offense that an offender has been most recently convicted of, along with whether the offender victimized a child or adult, or family member or stranger, is of interest because it is expected to play a role in how that offender is later treated by community members and how he experiences stigma. That is, some sex crimes are culturally more offensive and heinous than others (e.g., a violent rape vs. a statutory rape) and elicit different emotional responses (e.g., a child victim vs. an adult victim and a family member victim vs. a stranger victim).

Coding for Bi- and Multivariate Analyses and for Multiple Regression Models

Race. Race was originally coded: (1) White (Caucasian), (2) Black (African American), (3) Hispanic/Latino, (4) Asian American, and (5) other. The mode of race is White (Caucasian) (45.5%), and the fewest amount of responses came from Asian American offenders (.7%). For the multivariate contingency table analyses, race was recoded as: (1) White (Caucasian), (2) Black (African American), and (3) other. For this new version of race, "other" is a combination of Hispanic/Latino offenders, Asian American offenders, and offenders who initially chose "other."

For the multiple regression analyses, two dummy coded variables were created. The first dummy coded variable is for Black (African American) offenders (36.6%) and the second one is for "Other" offenders (which, again, combined all Hispanic/Latino,

Asian American, and “other” offenders from the original version) (17.9%). As a result, White (Caucasian) acts as the contrast category.

Education. Education has the following response format: (1) less than high school, (2) high school diploma/general equivalency diploma, (3) some college, (4) associate’s degree, (5) bachelor’s degree, (6) some post college, and (7) graduate/professional degree. The median and mode of education is high school diploma/general equivalency diploma (47%) and the fewest responses came from the some college category (3.7%).

Income. Offenders’ yearly income is coded: (1) under \$10,000, (2) \$11,000 to 19,999, (3) \$20,000 to 39,999, (4) \$40,000 to 59,999, (5) \$60,000 to 100,000, and (6) greater than \$100,000. The mode and median of income is the category labeled (3) \$20,000 to 39,999 per year (30%), and just one offender reported an income greater than \$100,000 per year (.8%).

Marital status. Marital status was originally coded: (1) married, (2) divorced, (3) widowed, (4) separated, and (5) never married. The mode of the original version of marital status is never married (44.8%), and two offenders are widowers (1.5%). For the multiple regression analyses, marital status is dummy coded. Offenders who indicated that they are not married (76.9%), which includes divorced, widowed, separated, and never married, are coded one (1). All married offenders are coded zero (0).

Age. The range of the ages of all sex offenders is from 19 to 75. Age had a mode of 45 (6.1%), mean of 41.55, and median of 41. The standard deviation of age is 12.95, and it has an approximately normal distribution. For the multiple regression analyses, the range of the ages of sex offenders is from 23 to 75. Age had a mode of 45 (6.8%), mean

of 43.34, and median of 44. The standard deviation of age is 12.27, and it has an approximately normal distribution.

Offender status. Only 181 offenders could be classified for this research (i.e., not all of the sampled sex offenders provided a valid response for the question about their sex offender classification). Offender status was originally coded with the following response format: (1) registered sex offender (RSO), (2) sexually violent predator (SVP), and (3) other. The mode of offender status is registered sex offenders (RSOs) (66.9%) and the fewest number of offenders are in the SVP category (7.1%). For the multivariate contingency table analyses, offender status takes on ordinal characteristics (in terms of seriousness of label and associated level of social control), and is labeled and presented as: (1) non-registered sex offenders, (2) RSOs, and (3) SVPs. Non-registered sex offenders are those offenders who originally selected “other” for their offender status. For the multiple regression analyses, which are based on the RSO and SVP subsamples only, SVPs are the category of interest (coded “1”) and RSOs act as the contrast group (coded “0”).

You can count on your family and friends to stick by you when you are down (referred to as “Family sticks by” in analyses). For this measure, offenders were asked to respond to the following statement: “You can count on your family and friends to stick by you when you are down.” The original response format was: (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree, and (4) strongly disagree. For the multiple regression analyses, this variable was reverse-coded so that higher scores are consistent with stronger agreement with the statement above. This new, reverse-coded version produced a mode and median

of strongly agree (54.2%). The least number of responses came from offenders who strongly disagreed with the statement above (3.1%).

Victims' Sex. Victims' sex was originally coded: (1) male, (2) female, and (3) both male and female; however, none of the RSOs or SVPs victimized both a male and female. For the multiple regression analyses, which only includes RSOs and SVPs, victims' sex is dummy coded. Offenders who indicated that they victimized females (89.2%) are coded one (1), and offenders who victimized a male are coded zero (0).

Child Victims. The dummy coded variable labeled "Child victims" has been constructed by recoding the variable (directly from the anonymous survey) called "Victims' Age." Originally, victims' age ranges from five (5) to fifty-nine (59), and has a mean of 15.76, median of 14.5, mode of 15 (16.3%), standard deviation of 7.38, and positively skewed distribution. Among RSOs and SVPs, victims' age has the same range, and a mean of 15.82, median of 14.5, mode of 15 (11.7%), standard deviation of 7.88, and positively skewed distribution. To create the dummy coded variable labeled "Child victims," "Victims' age" among RSOs and SVPs has been recoded so that the category of interest is child victims between age five (5) and 17 (75.7%). Victims 18 years of age or older are coded zero (0) (24.3%) and labeled as adult victims for the multivariate contingency table analyses and multiple regression models. Because the maximum value of this variable is 59, and because 91.9 percent of all victims are 25 years old or younger, it was not possible to analyze effects for those whose victims were elderly.

Relationship to Victim. Relationship to victim has the following response format: (1) family, (2) non-family member (but known), and (3) stranger. Among RSOs and

SVPs, the model relationship to victim is non-family member (but known) (52.7%), and an equal number of responses came from offenders who victimized family members and strangers (23.6%). For the multivariate contingency table analyses, the original response format is used; however, for the multiple regression analyses, two dummy coded variables were created. The first dummy coded variable is for family member victims and the second one is for stranger victims. As a result, non-family member (but known) victims act as the contrast category.

Outcome Variables

Self-Esteem. Respondents' self-esteem is measured using Rosenberg's (1965) scale. This scale is comprised of 10 Likert format measures, each ranked from one to four with the following response format: (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree, and (4) strongly disagree. The ten items that comprise this scale are presented in Table 3.1. Prior to the construction of this scale, five items required reverse coding to indicate that higher scores are consistent with more self-esteem. Descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and factor loadings for the 10 self-esteem items are presented in Table 3.2.

A principal components factor analysis with the 197 valid cases for these 10 measures is appropriate because they are ordered and demonstrate variation. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure is .92 and Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2 = 1008.84$, $df = 45$, $p < .001$), indicating that no evidence exists to support the notion that the off diagonals are significantly different than zero and that a factor analysis could be performed.

Table 3.1

Individual Items that Comprise the Self-Esteem Scale[‡]

-
- 1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.**
 - 2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.**
 3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am failure.
 - 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.**
 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
 - 6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.**
 - 7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.**
 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
 9. I certainly feel useless at times.
 10. At times I think I am no good at all.
-

[‡] Items set in bold were reverse coded.

As a result, a principal components factor analysis with these 10 items is appropriate.⁹ This principal components factor analysis, using an orthogonal (Varimax) factor analytic solution of the 10 self-esteem measures, yields one factor with an eigenvalue above one, as expected.

⁹ Although the total variance explained table is not presented, it is available upon request. The linear combination formed by Factor 1 has a variance of 5.434, which (because there are 10 items) is 54.34 percent of the total variance of the 10 variables. Selection of factors to use in the model was based on two criteria. One method used for choosing factors into a model requires that eigenvalues be greater than one, because factors with a variance below one carry less information than a single variable. The second method often used when selecting factors is to assess a scree plot. Scree plots graph the total variance associated with each factor. Although not shown, a clear “break,” or change in angle, was observed at the second point or grouping. Moreover, since Factor 2 does not have an eigenvalue greater than one, it is inappropriate to explore. Because only one component was extracted from the analysis, a rotated component matrix is not available.

Table 3.2

Descriptive Statistics, Zero-Order Correlations, and Factor Loadings for the Self-Esteem Measures and Scale ($n = 197$)*

Item	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1.	3.37	.74	.78	-	.69	.62	.42	.52	.56	.53	.44	.46	.46
2.	3.63	.54	.71		-	.52	.43	.44	.51	.42	.34	.40	.44
3.	3.25	.81	.85			-	.47	.58	.65	.57	.52	.63	.64
4.	3.47	.66	.60				-	.40	.45	.39	.31	.31	.38
5.	3.14	.88	.68					-	.47	.47	.33	.42	.42
6.	3.28	.76	.79						-	.55	.43	.53	.59
7.	2.97	.78	.73							-	.45	.47	.48
8.	2.73	.91	.67								-	.54	.58
9.	2.92	.94	.75									-	.73
10.	3.14	.88	.79										-
Scale:	31.89	5.82											

*Every correlation in this matrix is statistically significant at the .001 level.

The summed version of the self-esteem scale ranges from 10 to 40, and produced a mean of 31.9, median of 33, mode of 37 (12.2%), standard deviation of 5.8, and negatively skewed distribution. Cronbach's alpha for this 10-item self-esteem scale is .90, indicating a very high degree of inter-item consistency.

Personal Control. Respondents' perceived level of personal control is a known correlate of depression and self-esteem, and is measured using a well established composite of *mastery* (Pearlin et al., 1981; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). This scale includes seven items examining one's perceived level of control over forces affecting his life, and an ability to address problems and change them. This scale's seven items have the following response format: (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree, and (4) strongly disagree. The seven items that comprise this scale are presented in Table 3.3. Prior to the construction of this scale, two items were reverse coded to indicate that higher scores are consistent with greater mastery. Descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and factor loadings for the seven mastery items are presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.3

Individual Items that Comprise the Mastery Scale[‡]

-
1. I have little or no control over the things that happen to me.
 2. There is really no way I can solve some of the problems I have.
 3. There is little I can do to change many of the important things in my life.
 4. I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.
 5. Sometimes I feel that I am being pushed around in life.
 - 6. What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.**
 - 7. I can do just about anything I really set my mind to do.**

[‡] Items set in bold were reverse coded.

Table 3.4

Descriptive Statistics, Zero-Order Correlations, and Factor Loadings for the Mastery Measures and Scale ($n = 196$)

Item	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	Factor Loading	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1.	3.07	.81	.74	-	-	.60	.59	.51	.37	.36	.35
2.	3.05	.83	.83	-		-	.69	.60	.35	.29	.36
3.	3.22	.74	.80	-			-	.64	.39	.37	.46
4.	3.01	.84	.78	-				-	.49	.34	.46
5.	2.74	.88	.63	-					-	.19**	.31
6.	3.47	.67	-	.89						-	.57
7.	3.41	.69	-	.82							-
Scale:		21.98	3.96								

Significance levels: ** $p \leq .01$; every other correlation in this matrix is statistically significant at the .001 level.

A principal components factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) rotation yields two factors with an eigenvalue above one.¹⁰ Because Cronbach's alpha for this seven-item mastery scale is .85, suggesting a high degree of inter-item consistency, and because one mastery scale was used in all of the related literature, one scale constructed. The summed version of the mastery scale ranges from eight (8) to thirty-two (32), and produced a mean of 21.98, median of 22, standard deviation of 3.96, and negatively skewed distribution.

Stigma Subscales. Contemporary mental health research has shown that a strong association exists between experiencing a stigma and the psychological and emotional well-being of the stigmatized (Link et al., 1997, p. 177). When confidential and private information about an offender is divulged to the public, the offender loses control of his self presentation. According to Goffman's logic (1959), an essential component of a sex offender's mental health is his ability to publicly present certain characteristics of his identity and to (also) withhold damaging information from others. A disclosure of private and otherwise confidential information to the public via the active community notification process threatens an offender's selective disclosure of information and, in turn, his mental health.

A large body of experimental and naturalistic research focuses on how stigma affects human interactions (Harris, Milich, Corbitt, Hoover, & Brady, 1992), social

¹⁰ Although the total variance explained table is not presented, it is available upon request. The linear combination formed by Factor 1 has a variance of 3.71, which is 53 percent of the total variance of the seven variables, and Factor 2 accounts for 14.42 percent of variance in the model and produced an eigenvalue of 1.01. Selection of factors to use in the model was based on two criteria. Even though this factor analysis produced two factors with an eigenvalue greater than one, the scree plot graphing the total variance associated with each factor demonstrated a "break," or change in angle, at the second point or grouping. Moreover, since the alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is so high in magnitude, only one component was retained from the analysis.

networks (Lennon et al., 1989; Link et al., 1989), employment opportunities (Farina, Gliha, Boudreau, Allen, & Sherman, 1971), self-esteem and depression (Link, 1987), and overall quality of life (Rosenfield, 1997). As mentioned, research about the impact of stigma examines the lives of gay men (Meyer, 1995) and those suffering from obesity (DeJong, 1980), mental illnesses (Link et al., 1989), unexplained pain (Lennon et al., 1989; Marbach et al., 1990), and HIV/AIDS (Fife & Wright, 2000). However, little empirical research examines how the negative effects of sex offender registration and community notification (e.g., negative employment related outcomes and harassment) contribute to sex offenders' experiences with stigma.

When actors acquire a negative label, expectations of rejection are triggered and actual rejection experiences are likely to occur (Link et al., 1997; Link & Cullen, 1983, 1990). Complete exclusion, "put-downs," and slights are some example forms of rejection. Devaluation and discrimination are also closely tied to Goffman's (1963b) notion of the "discrediting" nature of a stigma, and to Cumming and Cumming's (1965) ideas about the "loss of status" that can be associated with a stigma. Link (1987) maintains, further, that the "social distance" tradition suggests that devaluation is, in fact, closely tied to the idea of "discrimination." His measure of *perceived devaluation/discrimination* is concerned with "the extent to which people believe that most others devalue and discriminate against" (p. 97) certain labeled individuals.

Perceived devaluation/discrimination is one of four measures of stigma used by Link (1987) and Link et al. (1997), and has been slightly modified and used in this research. This composite consists of eight ordinal level measures that are used to capture the extent to which sex offenders feel as though others will devalue and discriminate

against them. Originally, these measures were used by Link (1987) to measure stigma among psychiatric patients. Each of the eight variables for this scale employed a four-point Likert format response set (ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”). The eight items that comprise this scale are presented in Table 3.5. Prior to the construction of this scale, seven items were reverse coded to indicate that higher scores are consistent with more perceived devaluation/discrimination.

Table 3.5

Individual Items that Comprise the Perceived Devaluation/Discrimination Scale[†]

- 1. Most people believe that sex offenders cannot be trusted.**
 - 2. Most women would not marry a man who has been labeled a sex offender and incarcerated.**
 - 3. Most people believe that a man who has been incarcerated for a sex offense is dangerous.**
 - 4. Most people think less of a person after he has been incarcerated for a sex offense.**
 - 5. Most people look down on people who have been incarcerated for a sex offense.**
 6. Most people think that sex offenders are just as intelligent as the average person.
 - 7. Most employers will not hire a person who has been incarcerated for a sex offense.**
 - 8. Do you believe that many people are afraid of those people who have been incarcerated for a sex offense?**
-

[†] Items set in bold were reverse coded.

Descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and factor loadings for the eight perceived devaluation/ discrimination items are presented in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6

Descriptive Statistics, Zero-Order Correlations, and Factor Loadings for the Perceived Devaluation/Discrimination Measures and Scale ($n = 192$)*

Item	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1.	3.34	.77	.58	-	.27	.43	.42	.52	.25	.30	.30
2.	2.78	.87	.66		-	.52	.54	.52	.22	.37	.45
3.	3.17	.75	.83			-	.72	.73	.36	.47	.55
4.	3.24	.69	.87				-	.81	.37	.51	.59
5.	3.32	.69	.89					-	.42	.54	.62
6.	2.71	.79	.51						-	.27	.34
7.	3.33	.69	.69							-	.59
8.	3.21	.66	.77								-

Scale: 25.06 4.27

*Every correlation in this matrix is statistically significant at the .001 level.

A principal components factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) factor analytic solution of the eight perceived devaluation/discrimination items yields one factor with an eigenvalue above one, as predicted.¹¹ The summed version of the perceived devaluation/discrimination scale ranges from eight (8) to thirty-two (32), and produced a mean of 25.06, median of 25, standard deviation of 4.27, and negatively skewed distribution. Cronbach's alpha for this eight item perceived devaluation/discrimination scale is .87, indicating a high degree of inter-item consistency.

Acquiring a criminal label such as "sex offender" or SVP also can change an actor's personal beliefs about the devaluation and discrimination of sex offenders into an *expectation of rejection* (Link et al., 1997). Expectations of rejection, and actual experiences of rejection, moreover, can influence labeled actors to search for ways of handling the threat of rejection. The *rejection experiences* scale is operationalized using 11 dummy coded variables with a "Yes/No" response format. The items that comprise this rejection experiences scale are presented in Table 3.7.

Originally, the questions regarding rejection were drafted for use in evaluating perceptions of stigma among men with dual diagnoses of substance abuse and mental disorder (at two points in time) (Link et al., 1997). Because this research measures stigma among sex offenders, only 11 questions were developed. The content of these items focuses on being treated differently and avoided by family members and friends, and being refused a place to live.

¹¹ Although the total variance explained table is not presented, it is available upon request. The linear combination formed by Factor 1 has a variance of 4.36, which is 54.55 percent of the total variance of the eight variables. Selection of factors to use in the model was based on two criteria. Although not shown, a clear "break," or change in angle, was observed at the second point or grouping in the scree plot and, since Factor 2 does not have an eigenvalue greater than one, it is inappropriate to explore (DeVellis, 2003; Kaiser, 1960). Because only one component was extracted from the analysis, a rotated component matrix is not available.

Table 3.7

Individual Items that Comprise the Rejection Experiences Scale

1. Did some of your friends treat you differently after you had been a sex offender?
 2. Have you ever been avoided by people because they knew you were incarcerated for a sex offense?
 3. Have people used the fact that you were in prison to hurt your feelings?
 4. Have you ever been refused an apartment or a room because you had been incarcerated for a sex offense?
 5. Do you sometimes avoid people because you think they might look down on people who were incarcerated for a sex offense?
 6. After being incarcerated for a sex offense, were people uncomfortable around you?
 7. Did some of your friends reject you after they found out that you were a sex offender?
 8. Did some of your family give up on you when they found out that you were a sex offender?
 9. Were some people afraid of you when they found out that you were incarcerated for a sex offense?
 10. Have people treated you unfairly because they knew that you were incarcerated for a sex offense?
 11. Have some employers paid you lower wages because they knew that you were incarcerated for a sex offense?
-

Descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and factor loadings for the 11 rejection experience items are presented in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8

Descriptive Statistics, Zero-Order Correlations, and Factor Loadings (FL) for the Rejection Experiences Measures and Scale
($n = 160$)

Item	Mean	SD	FL	FL	FL	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1.	.43	.49	.81	-	-	-	.66***	.41***	.09	.31***	.52***	.69***	.19**	.38***	.43***	.07
2.	.49	.50	.84	-	-		-	.45***	.08	.33***	.68***	.56***	.25***	.59***	.49***	-.01
3.	.42	.49	.65	-	-			-	.17*	.29***	.47***	.38***	.06	.46***	.48***	.19**
4.	.26	.44	-	.72	-				-	.08	.25***	.09	.08	.26***	.26***	.28***
5.	.59	.49	-	-	.59					-	.34***	.26***	.27***	.33***	.36***	.13*
6.	.47	.50	.75	-	-						-	.50***	.22**	.70***	.62***	.23**
7.	.38	.49	.78	-	-							-	.22**	.50***	.32***	.08
8.	.21	.41	-	-	.89								-	.30***	.27***	.12
9.	.39	.49	.65	-	-									-	.59***	.22**
10.	.54	.50	.56	-	-										-	.29***
11.	.13	.34	-	.76	-											-
Scale:	4.32	3.27														

Significance levels: *** $p \leq .001$, ** $p \leq .01$, and * $p \leq .05$.

A principal components factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) factor analytic solution of the 11 rejection experiences yields three factors with an eigenvalue above one.¹² However, since Cronbach's alpha for this 11-item rejection experiences scale is .85, indicating a high degree of inter-item consistency, and because Link et al. (1997) theoretically developed just one scale, one rejection experience scale was constructed. The summed version of the rejection experiences scale ranges from zero (0) to eleven (11), and produced a mean of 4.32, median of 4, mode of 1 (16.2%), standard deviation of 3.27, and non-normal distribution.

Link et al. (1997) also operationalized two strategies for coping with stigma: secrecy and withdrawal-employment. *Secrecy* refers to the process by which sex offenders choose to conceal their criminal status and identity from friends, relatives, potential romantic prospects, and employers in order to avoid rejection. Secrecy is measured using four dummy coded variables with a "Yes/No" response format. The items that comprise the secrecy scale are presented in Table 3.9. These items focus on whether a sex offender hides or keeps secret his criminal past and status as a sex offender. Descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and factor loadings for the four secrecy items are presented in Table 3.10.

¹² Although the total variance explained table is not presented, it is available upon request. The linear combination formed by Factor 1 has a variance of 4.58, which is 41.63 percent of the total variance of the eleven variables. Factor 2 accounts for 12.36 percent of variance in the model (eigenvalue = 1.36) and Factor 3 accounts for 9.26 percent of variance in the model (eigenvalue = 1.02). Selection of factors to use in the model was based on two criteria. Even though this factor analysis produced three factors with eigenvalues greater than one, the scree plot graphing the total variance associated with each factor demonstrated a clear "break," or change in angle, at the second point or grouping. Moreover, since the alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is so high in magnitude, only one component was extracted from the analysis

Table 3.9

Individual Items that Comprise the Secrecy Scale

-
1. Do you sometimes hide the fact that you were incarcerated for a sex offense?
 2. Do you think it is a good idea to keep your status as a sex offender a secret?
 3. Would you advise a close relative who had been convicted of a sex offense not to tell anyone about it?
 4. Do you wait until you know a person well before you tell them you have been incarcerated for a sex offense?
-

A principal components factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) factor analytic solution of the four secrecy items yields one factor with an eigenvalue above one, as predicted.¹³ The summed version of the secrecy scale ranges from zero (0) to four (4), and produced a mean of 2.41, median of 2, mode of 4 (30.7%), standard deviation of 1.37, and negatively skewed distribution. Cronbach's alpha for this secrecy scale is .71, indicating an acceptable degree of inter-item consistency.

¹³ Although the total variance explained table is not presented, it is available upon request. The linear combination formed by Factor 1 has a variance of 2.17, which is 54.21 percent of the total variance of the four variables. Selection of factors to use in the model was based on two criteria. Although not shown, a minor "break," or change in angle, was observed at the second point or grouping in the scree plot and, more importantly, since Factor 2 does not have an eigenvalue greater than one, it is inappropriate to explore. Because just one component was extracted from the analysis, a rotated component matrix is not available.

Table 3.10

Descriptive Statistics, Zero-Order Correlations, and Factor Loadings for the Secrecy Measures and Scale ($n = 176$)

Item	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	1.	2.	3.	4.
1.	.70	.46	.77	-	.47***	.32***	.46***
2.	.52	.50	.83		-	.60***	.28***
3.	.39	.49	.72			-	.16*
4.	.79	.41	.61				-
Scale:	2.41	1.37					

Significance levels: *** $p \leq .001$, and * $p \leq .05$.

Withdrawal-employment refers to the process whereby sex offenders choose to limit their social interactions in order to reduce the likelihood of experiencing rejection (Link, Mirotznic, & Cullen, 1991). When sex offenders employ this approach, “they are protected from the rejection that might ensue if they ventured out to seek friends, jobs, and the like in the wider social environment” (Link et al., 1997, p. 180). Withdrawal-employment is measured using three dummy coded variables with a “Yes/No” response format. The items that comprise this withdrawal-employment scale are presented in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11

Individual Items that Comprise the Withdrawal-Employment Scale[†]

-
1. Would you apply for a job if you knew the employer was going to ask about your history of incarceration?
 2. Would you apply for a job if you knew the employer was going to ask about your status as a sex offender?
 3. Would you apply for a job if you knew the employer did not like to hire former inmates?
-

[†] All three items were reverse coded.

These three items focus on a sex offender’s proclivity to avoid applying for employment because of the possibility of rejection based on his status as a sex offender, and were reverse coded to ensure that the category of interest for each variable signified a form of withdrawal-employment. Descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and factor loadings for the three withdrawal-employment items are presented in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12

Descriptive Statistics, Zero-Order Correlations, and Factor Loadings for the Withdrawal-Employment Measures and Scale
(*n* = 189)*

Item	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	1.	2.	3.
1.	.22	.41	.87	-	.74	.31
2.	.28	.45	.91		-	.41
3.	.64	.48	.65			-
Scale:	1.13	1.09				

*All three correlations in this matrix are statistically significant at the .001 level.

The principal components factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) factor analytic solution of the three withdrawal-employment measures yields a single factor with an eigenvalue above one, as expected.¹⁴ The summed version of the withdrawal-employment scale ranges from zero (0) to three (3), and produced a mean of 1.13, median of 1, mode of 1 (38.1%), standard deviation of 1.09, and non-normal distribution. Cronbach's alpha for this withdrawal-employment scale is .73, indicating an acceptable degree of inter-item consistency.

Final Stigma Composite. The final stigma composite to be used exclusively in the regression analyses was constructed by, first, standardizing all four stigma subscales (because they are measured in different metrics) and, then, summing the four standardized stigma subscales. Each standardized scale produced a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1. The principal components factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) factor analytic solution of the four standardized stigma subscales yields a single factor with an eigenvalue above one, as expected.

The linear combination formed by Factor 1 has a variance of 2, which is 49.99 percent of the total variance of the four standardized stigma subscales. The summed version of the final stigma composite produced an approximately normal distribution, and Cronbach's alpha for the final stigma composite is .66, suggesting a moderate degree of inter-item consistency. Descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and factor loadings for the four standardized stigma subscale are presented in Table 3.13.

¹⁴ Although the total variance explained table is not presented, it is available upon request. The linear combination formed by Factor 1 has a variance of 2, which is 66.78 percent of the total variance of the three variables. Selection of factors to use in the model was based on two criteria. Although not shown, a very minor "break," or change in angle, was observed at the second point or grouping in the scree plot but, more importantly, because Factor 2 does not have an eigenvalue greater than one, it is inappropriate to explore. Because only one component was extracted from the analysis, a rotated component matrix is not available.

Table 3.13

Zero-Order Correlations and Factor Loadings for the Four Standardized Stigma Subscales ($n = 148$)*

Scale	Factor Loading	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Perceived Devaluation/ Discrimination ($\alpha = .87$)	.79	-	.56***	.36***	.22**
2. Rejection Experiences ($\alpha = .85$)	.78		-	.34***	.18*
3. Secrecy ($\alpha = .71$)	.70			-	.29***
4. Withdrawal-Employment ($\alpha = .73$)	.51				-

Significance levels: *** $p \leq .001$, ** $p \leq .01$, and * $p \leq .05$.

Depression. Sex offenders' depressive symptomatology is operationalized using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) (Hann et al., 1999; Radloff, 1977, 1991). This composite measure uses 20 items measuring depressive symptoms experienced during the past week. Each item refers to self-reported mood, level of energy, and self-evaluation (see Table 3.14 for a listing of all of the items that comprise this scale). The response format for each ordinal level variable is: (1) rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day), (2) some of or a little of the time (1-2 days), (3) occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days), and (4) most or all of the time (5-7 days). Prior to the construction of this scale, four items were reverse coded to indicate that higher scores are consistent with more depressive symptoms. Descriptive statistics and factor loadings for the 20 depression items are presented in Table 3.15, and all zero-order correlations are presented in Table 3.16.

Table 3.14

Individual Items that Comprise the Depression Scale[‡]

1. I was bothered by things that usually do not bother me.	11. My sleep was restless.
2. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	12. I was happy.
3. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.	13. I talked less than usual.
4. I felt that I was just as good as other people.	14. I felt lonely.
5. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing	15. People were unfriendly.
6. I felt depressed.	16. I enjoyed life.
7. I felt that everything I did was an effort.	17. I had crying spells.
8. I felt hopeful about the future.	18. I felt sad.
9. I thought my life had been a failure.	19. I felt that people disliked me.
10. I felt fearful.	20. I could not get "going."

[‡] Items set in bold were reverse coded.

Table 3.15

Factor Loadings and Descriptive Statistics for the Depression Measures and
Scale ($n = 189$)

Item	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	Factor Loading	Factor Loading
1.	1.64	.89	-	-	.56
2.	1.51	.84	-	-	.49
3.	1.67	.97	-	-	.56
4.	1.74	1.07	-	.69	-
5.	1.72	.96	.49	-	-
6.	1.88	1.09	-	-	.51
7.	2.16	1.18	-	-	.75
8.	1.99	1.15	-	.78	-
9.	1.62	.92	.55	-	-
10.	1.65	.95	-	-	.63
11.	1.97	1.09	-	-	.56
12.	2.04	1.12	-	.68	-
13.	1.92	1.02	.57	-	-
14.	1.95	1.09	.65	-	-
15.	1.49	.83	.79	-	-
16.	1.90	1.09	-	.75	-
17.	1.29	.59	.77	-	-
18.	1.84	.99	.63	-	-
19.	1.63	.89	.78	-	-
20.	1.63	.91	.66	-	-
Scale:	35.24	13.28			

Table 3.16

Zero-order correlations for the 20 Depression Measures ($n = 189$)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.
1.	-	.42	.46	.31	.45	.47	.27	.19**	.41	.35	.39	.28	.37	.40	.34	.45	.26	.40	.44	.31
2.		-	.48	.27	.46	.51	.25	.37	.47	.40	.48	.40	.39	.48	.33	.44	.38	.51	.40	.49
3.			-	.24**	.49	.67	.29	.29	.59	.44	.52	.42	.49	.51	.38	.50	.41	.61	.46	.53
4.				-	.35	.42	.09	.44	.38	.32	.25	.42	.33	.34	.19**	.48	.27	.41	.35	.29
5.					-	.57	.17*	.27	.47	.45	.47	.37	.45	.52	.41	.42	.48	.57	.45	.49
6.						-	.30	.39	.68	.52	.56	.51	.49	.69	.46	.65	.43	.76	.57	.62
7.							-	.09	.19**	.34	.29	.22**	.29	.23	.24	.17**	.16*	.28	.19**	.20**
8.								-	.39	.24	.28	.48	.22**	.41	.21**	.56	.26	.39	.34	.35
9.									-	.41	.49	.52	.45	.54	.44	.63	.48	.68	.62	.64
10.										-	.50	.38	.37	.48	.29	.39	.35	.53	.37	.47
11.											-	.42	.41	.57	.39	.44	.39	.62	.42	.53
12.												-	.36	.48	.31	.61	.32	.61	.38	.47
13.													-	.54	.53	.42	.46	.50	.47	.48
14.														-	.58	.53	.53	.71	.59	.62
15.															-	.27	.50	.55	.60	.49
16.																-	.37	.62	.47	.55
17.																	-	.55	.61	.53
18.																		-	.68	.69
19.																			-	.64
20.																				-

Significance levels: ** $p \leq .01$, * $p \leq .05$, correlations set in bold are not statistically significant (i.e., items 4 and 7, and 7 and 8), and all other correlations are statistically significant at the .001 level.

The principal components factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) rotation yields three factors with an eigenvalue above one.¹⁵ However, because Cronbach's alpha for this 20-item depression scale is .94, indicating a very high degree of inter-item consistency, and because this scale containing all 20 items was developed by the CES-D using theory, one depression scale was constructed. The summed version of the depression scale ranges from 20 to 80, and produced a mean of 35.24, median of 32, mode of 23 (7.9%), standard deviation of 13.28, and positively skewed distribution.

Negative Consequences. Several outcome variables, which are similar to those used in Tewksbury's (2004, 2005) investigation and Levenson and Cotter's (2005a, 2005b) analyses, are measured for replication purposes. These items include a list of self-reported negative outcomes such as job loss, difficulties with living arrangements, and severed relationships that are likely to have resulted from the initiation and effect of the notification process. Each of these items employs a dichotomous "Yes/No" response format. These data were collected to thoroughly describe individual characteristics of the sample, replicate previous findings, and explore and examine bi- and multivariate relationships. Moreover, some new questions about harms created by notification, including questions about public harassment, were included to extend this line of questioning.

¹⁵ Although the total variance explained table is not presented, it is available upon request. The linear combination formed by Factor 1 has a variance of 9.437, which is 47.19 percent of the total variance of the twenty variables. Factor 2 accounts for 6.97 percent of variance in the model (eigenvalue = 1.4) and Factor 3 accounts from 5.7 percent of variance in the model (eigenvalue = 1.14). Selection of factors to use in the model was based on two criteria. Even though this factor analysis produced three factors with an eigenvalue greater than one, the scree plot graphing the total variance associated with each factor demonstrated a clear "break," or change in angle, at the second point or grouping. Moreover, since the alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is high in magnitude, only one component was extracted from the analysis.

Because several of these negative consequences represent similar dimensions of factors related to a successful reintegration, three scales were created (for the multivariate regression analyses) that condense multiple indicators into a single scale score. These three scales are used to predict the four mental health outcomes, allowing for a quantitative investigation of how registration and/or notification impact offenders' affect and feelings. The first of these scales is a combination of three employment consequences concerning job loss, denial of employment, and denial of a promotion at work ($\alpha = .69$). The principal components factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) solution of the three employment consequences produced one factor that explained 62 percent of the variance in the three variables. Table 3.17 presents zero-order correlations for the three employment consequences indicators and the four mental health outcomes to be examined in the multivariate regression chapter.

Table 3.17

Correlation Matrix for Employment Outcome Scale Items with Mental Health Outcome Composites

	Self-esteem	Mastery	Stigma	Depression
1. Job loss	-.07	-.15 _†	.19 _†	.18*
2. Denied employment	-.10	-.19*	.24*	.23*
3. Denied promotion	-.13	-.09	.12	.25**
4. Employment composite	-.12	-.22*	.25*	.29**

Significance levels: * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, _† $p \leq .10$.

The second scale combines three residency restriction measures, including loss of a place to live, being denied a place to live, and being restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule ($\alpha = .69$). The principal components factor analysis of the three residence restriction measures

yielded one factor with an eigenvalue above one, which accounted for 63 percent of the variance in the three indicators. Table 3.18 presents zero-order correlations for the three residency restriction indicators and the four mental health outcomes to be examined in the multivariate regression chapter.

Table 3.18

Correlation Matrix for Residency Restriction Scale Items with Mental Health Outcome Composites

	Self-esteem	Mastery	Stigma	Depression
1. Lost a place to live	-.15 _†	-.24**	.16	.17*
2. Denied a place to live	-.16 _†	-.21*	.22*	.14
3. Restricted by 1,000-foot-rule	-.08	-.05	.18 _†	-.03
4. Residency restrictions composite	-.17 _†	-.19*	.27**	.09

Significance levels: * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, _† $p \leq .10$.

The final composite is a combination of nine indicators about harassment. Even though the factor analysis using an orthogonal (Varimax) factor solution of the nine harassment indicators yielded three factors with an eigenvalue greater than one, Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .71$) for this nine-item harassment scale suggests an acceptable degree of inter-item consistency. Table 3.19 presents zero-order correlations for the nine harassment indicators and the four mental health outcomes.

Table 3.19

Correlation Matrix for Harassment Scale Items with Mental Health Outcome Composites

	Self-esteem	Mastery	Stigma	Depression
1. Treated rudely in public	-.16 _‡	-.14	.23*	.19*
2. Asked to leave business	-.10	.04	.10	.14
3. Verbally harassed	-.08	-.18*	.24*	.230**
4. Physically assaulted	-.09	-.09	-.05	.28**
5. Harassing telephone calls	-.12	-.13	-.04	.15 _‡
6. Harassing mail	-.02	-.08	-.02	.21*
7. Harassing e-mail	.03	-.06	.01	.14
8. Personal relationships severed	-.29***	-.36***	.31***	.28**
9. Primary group members sustained emotional harm	-.30***	-.21*	.27**	.30***
10. Harassment composite	-.28**	-.29**	.32**	.39***

Significance levels: * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, _‡ $p \leq .10$.

Analytic Plan

Univariate Analysis. Univariate statistical procedures are employed to describe the variables and measures of the entire/complete sample of sex offenders ($n = 200$), and compare characteristics of the three subsamples: (1) self-identified “registered sex offenders” ($n = 121$), (2) self-identified “sexually violent predators” ($n = 13$), and (3) non-registered sex offenders ($n = 47$) on their demographic profile.

Specifically, univariate statistics, including sociodemographics and offender characteristics, are first presented to describe the entire sample of sex offenders receiving treatment at the four facilities. Then, differences among the complete sample and three subsamples are examined, compared, and described. Next, the negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or community notification are presented, separately, for just the subsample of RSOs and SVPs.

Bivariate Analyses. Bivariate relationships are examined and described using analysis of variance (ANOVA) methods and *t*-tests to compare group mean scores. All statistically significant relationships and differences among mean scores are highlighted in the corresponding table with the accompanying levels of significance. Specifically, ANOVA methods are used to determine whether group mean scores for self-esteem, mastery, the four stigma measures, and depression are equal for RSOs, SVPs, and non-registered sex offenders. One aim here is to determine which category of offenders experience self-esteem, mastery, stigma, and depression at a higher rate: RSOs, SVPs, or non-registered sex offenders?

Multivariate Analyses. All multivariate data analyses utilize only RSOs and SVPs ($n = 134$). The multivariate contingency table analyses examine the relationship between the negative experiences likely resulting from registration and/or notification and sex offenders' (1) selection of victim-type (i.e., child vs. adult), (2) relationship to victim (i.e., family members, known non-family members, vs. stranger victims), and (3) race (i.e., Whites, Blacks, vs. "Others"). The aim here is to determine whether sex offenders who victimize children experience negative outcomes at a higher rate than sex offenders who victimize adults, and whether sex offenders who victimize family members experience the negative outcomes at a higher rate than sex offenders who victimize known non-family members or strangers. Also of interest is which category experiences the negative outcomes at a higher rate: White, Black, or "Other" sex offenders?

Multiple Regression Models. In order to examine the impact of several explanatory variables, covariates, and controls on the four different outcome measures, a series of multiple regression models are developed. This section of the results only

examines RSOs and SVPs ($n = 134$), because these are the only two subsamples in this research that are capable of experiencing negative consequences as a result of registration and/or community notification. Subsequently, non-registered sex offenders are excluded from all regression analyses. The four outcome variables are: self-esteem, mastery, depression, and the final stigma composite. Explanatory variables are entered in four blocks: sociodemographics, offender characteristics, victim characteristics, and the three scales designed to measure negative consequences of registration and/or community notification (i.e., the employment, residency restrictions, and harassment composites).

Variables/ Indicators included in the block of sociodemographics are a dummy coded variable for African Americans, a dummy coded variable for “other” race respondents (making Whites the reference category), education, income, a dummy coded variable for not currently married, and age. Offender characteristics include a dummy coded variable for SVPs (making RSOs the reference category), and a variable capturing the degree to which offenders feel their family and friends will stick by them. Victim characteristics include the dummy coded variables: female victim, child victim, family victim, and non-family member but known victim (making stranger victims the reference category). The final block of measures for each series of regressions includes the employment outcome scale, residency restriction scale, and harassment scale.

Sexually Violent Predator Interview Script

The interview script includes approximately 40 open-ended questions. These questions aim to understand the social and psychological impact of being labeled a SVP, required to register as a sex offender with the state police for life, and subject to active community notification from the vantage point of sampled SVPs. Topic areas include the

effect that community notification has on day-to-day interactions such as employment opportunities, living arrangements, and interpersonal relationships, and on offenders' attitudes, feelings, and emotions. Many questions and themes explored in the present interview script also were examined in the related reviewed research (Elbogen et al., 2003; Levenson & Cotter, 2005a, 2005b; Tewksbury, 2002; Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b); however, the current interview script inquires in more depth about harassment, and about stigmatization and its management.

To ensure privacy, interviews were completed in a secure, isolated location at the treatment provider and took between 35 and 75 minutes to complete. Those SVPs who declined to be interviewed were still provided with an opportunity to complete the anonymous survey, and were encouraged to do so. The expectation was that most SVPs subject to active community notification would welcome an opportunity to participate in this research, because data collected were about their experiences with labeling and notification – not their previous criminal history, victimization, sexual orientation or preferences, or other invasive, sensitive, and private information. They also were provided with an opportunity to share their perspective on, and experiences with, labeling, registration, and notification (again, SVP interview response rate: 9/14 = 64.3%). The open-ended, semi-structured format permits the researcher to develop a context whereby SVPs can speak candidly, using their own words, language, vocabulary, and slang.

Again, all participants were thoroughly versed about the details and nature of this study, including its objectives and goals. Prior to the start of each interview, SVPs were informed about the probable duration of the interview and the expected extent of their

participation. All SVPs, additionally, were required (by Temple University's IRB) to definitively affirm that, if their names were to be recorded, they were required to provide informed, voluntary (written) consent to participate in this research.

However, each SVP declined to present the researcher with his real name. As a result, SVPs were only required (by Temple University's IRB) to provide implied (non-written) verbal consent. After the completion of each interview, SVPs were asked about their general level of comfort with the interview, as well as if any of their primary group members would like to take advantage of this opportunity and to discuss with the researcher their experiences with labeling, registration, or notification; however, none of the SVPs elected to have their primary group members participate. Each SVP was also encouraged to confer with his treating clinician about any unease or distress arising from reporting unpleasant experiences during the interview.

Qualitative Data Analyses

The qualitative interviews sought to describe and understand the meaning of labeling for sampled SVPs, as well as how they are affected by registration and/or notification. The researcher and each interviewed SVP worked together in collaboration to construct the data that formed each SVP narrative. Some argue that when performing qualitative research, interviewers and interviewees actively construct data in the form of a narrative representing a plot used to make sense of an interviewee's own life (see Gubrium & Holstein, 2003; Kvale, 1996).

Narratives are required to understand human experiences and behaviors and are considered to be a claim about reality. People understand their own life and experience reality in a narrative manner (Brown, 1990). Using a case study method, in-depth

analyses of nine SVP narratives was constructed. This approach provides a comprehensive close-up of (typically) only a few subjects. “The assumption is that by probing deeply into just one or a few cases, the researcher may gain a greater feel or ‘verstehen’ (Weber, 1949) for the subject that might be missed in a more aggregate or group analysis” (Hagan, 2003, p. 113).

A case can be a person, couple, prison or mental institution, and a case study refers to any research endeavor focusing on that single event, item, organization, group, or sex offender. According to Yin (1989), case study methodology is appropriate when research questions are focused on how and/or why. That is, case studies are usually exploratory or descriptive and seek to provide explanation. Yin (1989) argues that the case study method is an empirical approach that investigates “a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (p. 23).

This work seeks to explore *how* being labeled a SVP, required to register as a sex offender for life, and subjected to active community notification affects SVPs. A goal is to gain an understanding of the different types of implications for the mental health of sampled SVPs, and to describe how notification interferes with, or facilitates, a successful offender reintegration. Each narrative is organized, structured, and framed as an individual case or synopsis. After the offender narratives were individually assessed, a summary discussing consistencies and similarities, and inconsistencies and exceptions is presented to highlight the notable results.

Descriptive Statistics

Anonymous Survey Sample Characteristics

Total Sample of Sex Offenders

Sociodemographic Characteristics

Complete adult-male sex offender sample sociodemographic characteristics are summarized in Table 3.20. The majority of sample members are White (48.5%) and employed full-time (56.6%), and have a high school education/general equivalency degree (46.7%) and have never been married (49%). The average age of the complete sample is 41.55 and the standard deviation is 12.95. Most commonly, sex offenders report that their annual income is between \$20,000 to \$39,999 (31.3%), and identify as “working class” (46.5%). Seventy-three sex offenders (36.9%) live with a partner, nearly all of whom are female (one offender identified a same-sex partner).

Approximately one quarter of the complete sample lives with one or more children, and half have one or more children not living at home. Approximately 18 percent of sample members with children admitted that they are not permitted to live with their child/children because of their status as a sex offender.

Offender and Victim Characteristics

Male sex offender and victim characteristics of the complete sample are summarized in Table 3.21. Most sample members are RSOs (66.9%), 13 are SVPs (7.1%), and the remainder have been classified (in this study) as non-registered sex offenders (26%). Again, state law mandates that all SVPs must remain registered for life.

Table 3.20

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Complete Male Sex Offender Sample

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Race	200	–	White	48.5	97
			African American	35.5	71
			Hispanic/Latino	9.5	19
			Asian American	1.0	2
			Other	5.5	11
Education	199	–	Less than high school	13.1	26
			High school/GED	46.7	93
			Some college	18.6	37
			Associate's degree	7.5	15
			Bachelor's degree	6.5	13
			Post college	3.5	7
			Graduate/Professional	4.1	8*
			*Median: 2		
Income	195	–	Under \$10,000	27.2	53
			\$11,000 to 19,999	22.6	44
			\$20,000 to 39,999	31.3	61
			\$40,000 to 59,999	11.3	22
			\$60,000 to 100,000	7.1	14
			Greater than \$100,000	.5	1*
			*Median: 3		
Work status	198	–	Working full-time	56.6	112
			Working part-time	14.6	29
			With a job, not working	1.5	3
			Unemployed	12.6	25
			Full-time student	.5	1
			Keeping house	1.0	2
			Retired	5.6	11
Other	7.6	15			
Subjective social class	198	–	Lower class	21.7	43
			Working class	46.5	92
			Middle class	28.8	57
			Upper class	3.0	6*
			*Median: 2		
Marital status	200	–	Married	22.0	44
			Divorced	19.0	38
			Widowed	1.0	2
			Separated	9.0	18
			Never married	49.0	98

Table 3.20 (Continued)

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
Living with partner	198	–	Yes	36.9	73	
			No	63.1	125	
Partners' sex	71	–	Male	1.4	1	
			Female	98.6	70	
Number of children (living with)	193	1.2	0 children	73.6	142	
			1 child	9.8	19	
			2 children	9.8	19	
			3 children	1.6	3	
			4 children	3.6	7	
			6 children	1.6	3*	
			*Mean: .58			
Number of children (not living with)	191	1.47	0 children	49.7	95	
			1 child	14.1	27	
			2 children	18.3	35	
			3 children	9.9	19	
			4 children	3.7	7	
			5 children	3.1	6	
			*Mean: 1.17			
Reason why children do not live at home	101	–	Children grown/On own	41.6	42	
			Custody arrangements	23.8	24	
			Sex offender status	17.8	18	
			Other	16.8	17	
Living with other family	196	–	Yes	35.7	70	
			No	64.3	126	
Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Offenders' age	198	19 to 75	12.95	41.55	41	45 (12, 6.1%)
Partners' age	71	20 to 73	13.92	40.65	37	35 (5, 7%)

Twenty-two (11.5%) of the RSOs are required to be registered with the state police for the rest of their lives, and about half (47.6%) must be registered for between six and 10 years.

Table 3.21

Offender and Victim Characteristics of Complete Male Sex Offender Sample

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>			
Offender status	181	–	Registered sex offender	66.9	121			
			Sexually violent predator	7.1	13			
			Other	26.0	47			
Length of registration	191	–	Not registered	34.6	66			
			Five years of less	6.3	12			
			Between six and 10 years	47.6	91			
			Lifetime	11.5	22			
Criminal offense	172	–	Indecent assault/indecent sexual assault	24.6	43			
			Possession of child pornography	12.0	21			
			Rape	11.4	20			
			Sexual assault	9.7	17			
			Unlawful sexual contact, statutory sexual assault, and involuntary deviate sexual intercourse	6.3	11			
			Corruption of minor/endangering welfare of minor	5.1	9			
			Indecent exposure	4.6	8			
			Unlawful sexual contact with a minor	2.3	4			
			Aggravated indecent assault	1.7	3			
			Attempted rape, kidnapping, attempted invasion of privacy, and child molestation	1.1	2			
			Statutory rape, stalking, improper contact with a minor, attempted lure of a minor, incest, and sexual exploitation of a minor	.6	1			
			Victim(s) sex	168	–	Female victims	88.7	149
						Male victims	9.5	16
Female and male victims	1.8	3						
Child victim	166	–	Victims under 18	77.7	129			
			Adult victim	22.3	37			
Relationship to victim	167	–	Family	21.0	35			
			Non-family but known	52.1	87			
			Stranger	26.9	45			

Table 3.21 (Continued)

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Proportion of family knows about sex offense	184	–	Less than half	16.8	31
			About half	17.4	32
			More than half	65.8	121*
			*Median: 3		
Can count on family and friends when down	196	–	Strongly agree	53.1	104
			Agree	33.2	65
			Disagree	10.2	20
			Strongly disagree	3.6	7*
			*Median: 1		

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Victims' age	166	5 to 59	7.38	15.76	14.5	15 (27, 16.3%)
Number of victims	184	0 to 20 ¹⁶	1.66	1.35	1	1 (132, 71.7%)
Length of jail/prison term (in months)	137	0 to 324	57.43	36.24	11.5	0 (34, 24.8%)

The greatest proportion of the total sample of sex offenders was convicted of indecent assault/indecent sexual assault (24.6%) followed by possession of child pornography (12%) and then rape (11.4%). An overwhelming majority of sex offenders victimized females (88.7%). Similarly, most victims were under the age of eighteen (77.7%), and were not family members but known by the offender (52.1%).

The average age of victims for the total sample of sex offenders is 15.76, and 38 sex offenders (20.7%) victimized multiple individuals. Approximately 60 percent of the complete sample of sex offenders disclosed that more than half of their family members

¹⁶ The information for “Number of victims” (*n* = 184) contains one respondent who reported 20 victims. When this outlier was removed from the descriptive analyses, “Number of victims” (*n* = 183) ranged from 0 to 6, and produced a mean of 1.29, median and mode of 1, and standard deviation of .94.

(61.4%) know about their sex offense. Just over half of the complete sample “strongly” agreed (53.1%) that they can count on their friends and family when they are down. On average, sex offenders spent approximately three years (i.e., 36.24 months) incarcerated for their offense.

Sociodemographic characteristics as well as offender and victim characteristics for the subsample of RSOs are summarized in Tables 3.22 and 3.23. Sociodemographic characteristics, as well as offender and victim characteristics, for the subsample of SVPs are summarized in Tables 3.24 and 3.25. Lastly, sociodemographic characteristics, as well as offender and victim characteristics, for the subsample of non-registered sex offenders are summarized in Tables 3.26 and 3.27.

Results indicate that a statistically significant difference exists between the three sex offender subsamples (or classifications) on average age ($F = 4.14, p \leq .05$) (see Table 3.22, 3.24, and 3.26). Because SVPs have had a longer opportunity to establish a criminal record, SVPs ($M = 44.31, SD = 14.04$) are older than RSOs ($M = 43.23, SD = 12.12$) and non-registered sex offenders ($M = 37.23, SD = 13.29$) (see Table 3.28). Even though the one-way ANOVA results were not statistically significant for (the variables) victims’ age by offender status (with the three classifications), independent sample *t*-test results were statistically significant for victims’ age by a two system classification of offenders for RSOs and SVPs. Specifically, the victims of RSOs are older ($M = 16.21, SD = 8.23$), on average, than the victims of SVPs ($M = 12.6, SD = 2.19$) ($t = 3.47, df = 60.9, p = .001$). On average, SVPs victimized children who are significantly younger than the adolescent victims selected by RSOs (see Table 3.29). No other statistically significant differences were observed among the three subsamples.

Table 3.22

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Male Registered Sex Offender Subsample

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Race	121	–	White	44.6	54
			African American	38	46
			Hispanic/Latino	10.7	13
			Other	6.6	8
Education	121	–	Less than high school	9.9	12
			High school/GED	46.3	56
			Some college	20.6	25
			Associate's degree	6.6	8
			Bachelor's degree	8.3	10
			Post college	3.3	4
			Graduate/Professional	5	6*
			*Median: 2		
Income	118	–	Under \$10,000	24.6	29
			\$11,000 to 19,999	24.6	29
			\$20,000 to 39,999	30.5	36
			\$40,000 to 59,999	13.6	16
			\$60,000 to 100,000	5.9	7
			Greater than \$100,000	.8	1*
			*Median: 3		
Work status	120	–	Working full-time	58.3	70
			Working part-time	13.3	16
			With a job, not working	1.7	2
			Unemployed	13.3	16
			Keeping house	.8	1
			Retired	6.7	8
			Other	5.8	7
Subjective social class	120	–	Lower class	20.8	25
			Working class	44.2	53
			Middle class	32.5	39
			Upper class	2.5	3*
			*Median: 2		
Marital status	121	–	Married	21.5	26
			Divorced	19.8	24
			Widowed	.8	1
			Separated	10.7	13
			Never married	47.1	57
Living with partner	120	–	Yes	32.5	39
			No	67.5	81

Table 3.22 (Continued)

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
Partners' sex	38	–	Male	0	0	
			Female	100	38	
Number of children (living with)	119	1.18	0 children	75.6	90	
			1 child	10.9	13	
			2 children	6.7	8	
			3 children	1.7	2	
			4 children	3.4	4	
			6 children	1.7	2*	
			*Mean: .53			
Number of children (not living with)	115	1.61	0 children	49.6	57	
			1 child	13	15	
			2 children	16.5	19	
			3 children	10.4	12	
			4 children	3.5	4	
			5 children	5.2	6	
			6 children	1.7	2*	
			*Mean: 1.28			
Reason why children do not live at home	62	–	Children grown/On own	48.4	30	
			Custody arrangements	21	13	
			Sex offender status	16.1	10	
			Other	14.5	9	
Living with other family	118	–	Yes	35.6	42	
			No	64.4	76	
Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Offenders' age	120	23 to 75	12.13	43.23	44	45 (9, 7.5%)
Partners' age	38	21 to 69	12.86	41.74	40.5	32 (4, 10.5%)

Table 3.23

Offender and Victim Characteristics of Male Registered Sex Offender Subsample

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Length of registration	111	–	Five years of less	7.2	8
			Between six and 10 years	82	91
			Lifetime	10.8	12
Criminal offense	110	–	Indecent assault/indecent sexual assault	20.7	23
			Possession of child pornography and rape	17.1	19
			Involuntary deviate sexual intercourse	9.0	10
			Sexual assault	8.1	9
			Unlawful sexual contact	7.2	8
			Unlawful sexual contact with a minor and aggravated indecent assault	2.7	3
			Statutory sexual assault, attempted rape, indecent exposure, child molestation, and attempted invasion of privacy	1.8	2
			Statutory rape, kidnapping, corruption of a minor/endangering welfare of a minor, improper contact with a minor, incest, and sexual exploitation of a minor	.9	1
			Victim(s) sex	99	–
Male victims	12.1	12			
Child victim	99	–	Victims under 18	72.7	72
			Adult victims	27.3	27
Relationship to victim	98	–	Family	22.4	22
			Non-family but known	53.1	52
			Stranger	24.5	24
Proportion of family knows about sex offense	115	–	Less than half	15.7	18
			About half	17.4	20
			More than half	67.0	77*
			*Median: 3		
Can count on family and friends when down	118	–	Strongly agree	56.8	67
			Agree	28.8	34
			Disagree	11.9	14
			Strongly disagree	2.5	3*
			*Median: 1		

Table 3.23 (Continued)

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	Range	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Victims' age	99	5 to 59	8.23	16.21	15	15 (12, 12.1%)
Number of victims	109	0 to 20 ¹⁷	1.98	1.33	1	1 (77, 70.6%)
Length of jail/prison term (in months)	89	0 to 324	61.49	42.17	12	0 (19, 21.3%)

Sexually Violent Predator Interview Sample Characteristics

The interview sample of SVPs is comprised of nine adult male sex offenders from a single state where they are each registered as sex offenders for the remainder of their lives and subject to active community notification for a minimum of 20 years. Again, active notification refers to the procedure whereby state law enforcement is designated the role of mailing to community members personal information about the SVP and his whereabouts. Sexually violent predator information is also posted online for public access and concerned community members.

All descriptive statistics presented in this section about the interview sample of nine SVPs are different than the descriptive statistics presented earlier about the anonymous survey sample. The age of the SVP interview sample ranges from 35 to 63. The average age of the interview sample of SVPs is 49.22 years old, median is 50, and standard deviation is 10.71. Six of the SVPs are White (66.7 percent), two are Hispanic/Latino (22.2 percent), and one is an Asian American (11.1 percent).

¹⁷ The information for “Number of victims” ($n = 122$) contains one respondent who reported 20 victims. When this outlier is removed from the descriptive analyses, “Number of victims” ($n = 121$) ranged from 0 to 6, and produced a mean of 1.26, median and mode of 1, and standard deviation of .90.

Table 3.24

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Male Sexually Violent Predator Subsample

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Race	13	–	White	53.8	7
			African American	23.1	3
			Hispanic/Latino	15.4	2
			Asian	7.7	1
Education	13	–	Less than high school	7.7	1
			High school/GED	53.8	7
			Some college	15.4	2
			Associate's degree	7.7	1
			Post college	7.7	1
			Graduate/Professional	7.7	1*
			*Median: 2		
Income	12	–	Under \$10,000	25	3
			\$11,000 to 19,999	33.3	4
			\$20,000 to 39,999	25	3
			\$40,000 to 59,999	8.3	1
			\$60,000 to 100,000	8.3	1*
			*Median: 2		
Work status	13	–	Working full-time	38.5	5
			Working part-time	30.8	4
			Unemployed	23.1	3
			Other	7.7	1
Subjective social class	13	–	Lower class	23.1	3
			Working class	46.2	6
			Middle class	23.1	3
			Upper class	7.7	1*
			*Median: 2		
Marital status	13	–	Married	38.5	5
			Divorced	30.8	4
			Widowed	7.7	1
			Never married	23.1	3
Living with partner	13	–	Yes	53.8	7
			No	46.2	6
Partner sex	6	–	Male	0	0
			Female	100	6

Table 3.24 (Continued)

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Number of children (living with)	13	1.49	0 children	76.9	10
			1 child	7.7	1
			4 children	15.4	2*
			*Mean: .69		
Number of children (not living with)	13	1.3	0 children	38.5	5
			1 child	23.1	3
			2 children	23.1	3
			3 children	7.7	1
			4 children	7.7	1*
*Mean: 1.23					
Reason why children do not live at home	8	–	Children grown/On own	25	2
			Custody arrangements	25	2
			Sex offender status	37.5	3
			Other	12.5	1
Living with other family	13	–	Yes	15.4	2
			No	84.6	11

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Offenders' age	13	26 to 66	14.04	44.31	38	38 (2, 15.4%)
Partners' age	6	23 to 60	15.47	41	40.5	-

Among the interviewed SVPs, the average amount of time that SVPs have been required to register with the state police is 3.56 years (max. = 8/min. = 1). Only eight of the nine SVPs were able to provide the specific year that active notification began; the average number of years that sex offenders have been labeled SVPs and subject to active notification is 3.13 (max. = 8/min. = 1). Table 3.30 summarizes these data.

Table 3.25

Offender and Victim Characteristics of Male Sexually Violent Predator Subsample

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
Criminal offense	12	–	Indecent assault/indecent sexual assault	41.7	5	
			Statutory sexual assault	25	3	
			Unlawful sexual contact, involuntary deviate sexual intercourse, unlawful sexual contact with a minor and attempted lure of a minor	8.3	1	
Victim(s) sex	12	–	Female victims	100	12	
Child victim	12	–	Victims under 18	100	12	
Relationship to victim	12	–	Family	33.3	4	
			Non-family but known	50	6	
			Stranger	16.7	2	
Proportion of family knows about sex offense	11	–	About half	7.7	1	
			More than half	76.9	10*	
			*Median:	3		
Can count on family and friends when down	13	–	Strongly agree	30.8	4	
			Agree	46.2	6	
			Disagree	15.4	2	
			Strongly disagree	7.7	1*	
			*Median:	2		
Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Victims' age	12	9 to 15.5	2.19	12.6	12.4	9, 12, 14.5 (2, 16.7%)
Number of victims	13	1 to 5	1.13	1.54	1	1 (9, 69.2%)
Length of jail/prison term (in months)	12	0 to 51	13.7	17.98	12.5	12 (2, 16.7%)

Table 3.26

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Male Non-Registered Sex Offender Subsample

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Race	47	-	White	53.2	25
			African American	36.2	17
			Hispanic/Latino	6.4	3
			Other	4.3	2
Education	46	-	Less than high school	19.6	9
			High school/GED	47.8	22
			Some college	15.2	7
			Associate's degree	6.5	3
			Bachelor's degree	6.5	3
			Post college	2.2	1
			Graduate/Professional	2.2	1*
			*Median: 2		
Income	47	-	Under \$10,000	38.3	18
			\$11,000 to 19,999	14.9	7
			\$20,000 to 39,999	27.7	13
			\$40,000 to 59,999	8.5	4
			\$60,000 to 100,000	10.6	5*
			*Median: 2		
Work status	46	-	Working full-time	56.5	26
			Working part-time	10.9	5
			Unemployed	10.9	5
			Full-time student	2.2	1
			Keeping house	2.2	1
			Retired	6.5	3
			Other	10.9	5
Subjective social class	47	-	Lower class	23.4	11
			Working class	46.8	22
			Middle class	25.5	12
			Upper class	4.3	2*
			*Median: 2		
Marital status	47	-	Married	19.1	9
			Divorced	12.8	6
			Separated	8.5	4
			Never married	59.6	28
Living with partner	46	-	Yes	47.8	22
			No	52.2	24

Table 3.26 (Continued)

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Partners' sex	22	–	Male	4.5	1
			Female	95.5	21
Number of children (living with)	44	.92	0 children	68.2	30
			1 child	6.8	3
			2 children	22.7	10
			3 children	2.3	1*
			*Mean: .59		
Number of children (not living with)	45	1.14	0 children	46.7	21
			1 child	17.8	8
			2 children	24.4	11
			3 children	8.9	4
			4 children	2.2	1*
			*Mean: 1.02		
Reason why children do not live at home	25	–	Children grown/On own	24	6
			Custody arrangements	36	9
			Sex offender status	16	4
			Other	24	6
Living with other family	47	–	Yes	34	16
			No	66	31

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Offenders' age	47	20 to 69	13.29	37.23	34	22-25, & 50 (3, 6.4%)
Partners' age	22	20 to 73	15.35	37.73	32.5	23, 25, 29, 31, & 46 (2, 91%)

Table 3.27

Offender and Victim Characteristics of the Male Non-Registered Sex Offender Subsample

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>	Description	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
Criminal offense	41	–				
			Indecent assault/indecent sexual assault	24.4	10	
			Corruption of minor/endangering welfare of minor	19.5	8	
			Sexual assault	17.1	7	
			Indecent exposure and statutory sexual assault	12.2	5	
			Unlawful sexual contact, rape, possession of child pornography, kidnapping, stalking, and attempted invasion of privacy	2.4	1	
Victim(s) sex	45	–	Female victims	91.2	41	
			Male victims	4.4	2	
			Female and male victims	4.4	2	
Child victim	43	–	Victims under 18	83.7	36	
			Adult victim	16.3	7	
Relationship to victim	46	–	Family	17.4	8	
			Non-family but known	45.6	21	
			Stranger	37	17	
Proportion of family knows about sex offense	44	–	Less than half	20.4	9	
			About half	18.2	8	
			More than half	61.4	27*	
			*Median: 3			
Can count on family and friends when down	47	–	Strongly agree	48.9	23	
			Agree	40.4	19	
			Disagree	6.4	3	
			Strongly disagree	4.3	2*	
			*Median: 1			
Characteristic	<i>n</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Victims' age	43	6.5 to 40	6.76	15.94	14	15 (11, 25.6%)
Number of victims	46	0 to 5	.71	1.26	1	1 (35, 76.1%)
Length of jail/prison term (in months)	24	0 to 228	62.71	34.24	10.3	0 (9, 37.5%)

Table 3.28

Descriptive Statistics for Age by Sex Offenders Status, and One-Way ANOVA Results

Outcome Measure	Offender Status	<i>n</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F-Value</i>
Age	Non-Registered Sex Offender	47	37.23	13.29	4.14*
	Registered Sex Offender	120	43.23	12.12	
	Sexually Violent Predator	13	44.31	14.04	

Significance level: * $p \leq 0.05$.

Table 3.29

Descriptive Statistics for Age by Sex Offenders Status, and Independent Sample *t*-test Results

Outcome Measure	Offender Status	<i>n</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t-Value</i>
Victims' Age	Registered Sex Offender	99	16.21	8.23	3.47***
	Sexually Violent Predator	12	12.60	2.19	

Significance level: *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Table 3.21

Descriptive SVP Information, including Amount of Time (in Years) Each SVP Interviewee has been (1) Registered as a Sex Offender and (2) Subject to Active Community Notification as a SVP, as of January 1, 2008

SVP	Age	Race	Years registered	Years subject to active notification
1. Clyde	63	Hispanic	2	2
2. Seth	60	Asian	4	-
3. Byron	58	Hispanic	2	2
4. Jerome	38	White	5	5
5. Wes	56	White	5	2
6. Reggie	35	White	1	1
7. Andre	37	White	4	4
8. Eric	46	White	1	1
9. Willie	50	White	8	8

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

Analyses and results presented in this chapter are based exclusively on the anonymous survey data. This chapter is divided into two sections. First, bivariate results are presented about the negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or community notification experienced by, first, the male RSO subsample and then the SVP subsample. This section examines how the direct consequences of registration and/or notification affect sex offenders subject to passive and active notification. Using ANOVA methods to compare group mean scores on the seven composites, additional bivariate results are presented. The second section of this chapter presents multivariate contingency table analyses. Multiple regression results are presented in Chapter 6.

Bivariate Analyses

Negative Outcomes Resulting from Registration and/or Community Notification by Registered Sex Offender Subsample.

The male RSO subsample is comprised of 121 self-identified registered sex offenders. This subsample excludes SVPs and non-registered sex offenders, because RSOs experience the notification process differently. Specifically, as part of the *passive* notification process, sensitive information about RSOs and SVPs, including personal descriptions and home and work addresses, are made available to locally residing community members through the state's online sex offender registry. However, if classified as a SVP, additional letters/notices are (supposed to be) mailed to community members by the state police as part of the *active* notification process. Consequently,

negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or community notification should be adversely affecting SVPs at a higher rate than RSOs, and were assessed separately.

The negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or community notification experienced by the male RSO subsample are summarized in Table 4.1. Over 40 percent of the sampled RSOs are restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule, and have had primary group (or family) members suffer negative consequences and had meaningful, personal relationships severed. Thirty percent (or greater) of RSOs were denied employment and a place to live, and were verbally harassed. Twenty percent (or greater) of RSO experienced job loss, lost a place to live, and were treated rudely in public.

Negative Outcomes Resulting from Registration and/or Community Notification by Sexually Violent Predator Subsample.

Results presented in Table 4.2 pertain only to the thirteen member SVP subsample, and summarize the negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or community notification for this group. Each member of this SVP subsample has their personal descriptions, home addresses, and other sensitive information posted on the state's online sex offender registry. In addition to the information posted online, letters/notices about individual SVPs are provided to community members by the state police as part of the active notification process. A comparison of Table 4.1 and 4.2 indicates that SVPs subject to active notification experienced two employment outcomes (job loss and denial of employment), one residency related outcome (lost a place to live), and three harassment outcomes (treated rudely in public, primary group members sustained harm, and personal relationships severed) at a higher rate than members of the RSO subsample.

Table 4.1

Negative Outcomes Resulting from Registration and/or Community Notification Experienced by Male Registered Sex Offender Subsample

Outcome	<i>n</i>	Description of sample experiencing event	
		<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
<u>Employment</u>			
Job loss	119	24.4	29
Denied employment	118	37.3	44
Denied promotion	115	13.9	16
<u>Residency</u>			
Lost a place to live	120	20.0	24
Denied a place to live	120	30.0	36
Restricted by 1,000-foot-rule	115	45.2	52
<u>Harassment</u>			
Treated rudely in public	119	21.0	25
Asked to leave business	120	10.8	13
Primary group members sustain harm	119	41.2	49
Personal relationships severed	118	40.7	48
Verbally harassed	120	33.3	40
Physically assaulted	120	5.0	6
Harassing telephone calls	120	7.5	9
Harassing mail	120	5.0	6
Harassing e-mail	120	4.2	5

Specifically, SVPs experienced these six negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or notification at a minimum of about ten percentage points higher than their RSO counterparts, which is consistent with expectation that active notification creates greater harm for sex offenders than passive notification.

Table 4.2

Negative Outcomes Resulting from Registration and/or Community Notification Experienced by Male Sexually Violent Predator Subsample

Outcome	<i>n</i>	Description of sample experiencing event	
		<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
<u>Economic</u>			
Job loss	13	38.5	5
Denied employment	13	53.8	7
Denied promotion	11	9.1	1
<u>Residency</u>			
Lost a place to live	13	30.8	4
Denied a place to live	13	30.8	4
Restricted by 1,000-foot-rule	13	46.2	6
<u>Harassment</u>			
Treated rudely in public	13	30.8	4
Asked to leave business	13	7.7	1
Primary group members sustain harm	13	61.5	8
Personal relationships severed	13	53.8	7
Verbally harassed	13	30.8	4
Physically assaulted	13	0	0
Harassing telephone calls	13	15.4	2
Harassing mail	13	0	0
Harassing e-mail	13	0	0

Such findings illuminate how sex offenders subject to active and passive forms of notification experience the direct consequences of registration and/or notification.

Comparisons of Groups on Stigma Subscales

Table 4.3 presents descriptive statistics for perceived devaluation/discrimination (i.e., the first stigma subscale) and rejection experiences (i.e., the second stigma subscale) by sex offender status (or classification), along with corresponding one-way ANOVA results.

Table 4.3
Descriptive Statistics for Perceived Devaluation/Discrimination and Rejection Experiences by Sex Offenders Status, and One-Way ANOVA Results

Composite Measure	Offender Status	<i>n</i>	Mean	SD	<i>F</i> -Value
Perceived Devaluation/ Discrimination	Non-Registered Sex Offender	44	23.79	4.27	3.54*
	Registered Sex Offender	117	25.62	4.25	
	Sexually Violent Predator	13	26.31	3.04	
Rejection Experiences	Non-Registered Sex Offender	33	4.50	3.02	3.54*
	Registered Sex Offender	102	4.76	3.26	
	Sexually Violent Predator	11	5.73	3.35	

Significance level: * $p \leq .05$.

The results presented in Table 4.3 indicate that a statistically significant difference exists between the mean score of perceived devaluation/discrimination and rejection experiences for the three sex offender subsamples (or classifications) in this study. As expected, SVPs score higher than registered and non-registered sex offenders on both perceived devaluation/discrimination and rejection experiences.

Importantly, RSOs also scored higher than their non-registered counterparts on both perceived devaluation/discrimination and rejection experiences, also as expected. Similar patterns of sex offenders' mean scores were not observed on secrecy (i.e., the third stigma subscale), withdrawal-employment (i.e., the final stigma subscale), self-esteem, mastery, or depression, and no statistically significant differences were identified among RSOs, SVPs, and non-registered sex offenders (or among RSOs and SVPs) for

these five other mental health composites. Such findings are consistent with the notion that active notification is producing more problems for sex offenders than passive or no notification.

Multivariate Contingency Table Analyses

The contingency table analyses presented in this subsection of the multivariate results only includes RSOs and SVPs. These data are examined only because non-registered sex offenders are unable to experience the listed negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or notification because they are not required by state law to register as a sex offender, or to be formally classified by the state as a SVP. Table 4.4 presents the relationship between the negative experiences likely resulting from registration and/or notification and sex offenders' selection of victim-type (i.e., was the victim a child or an adult?).

Table 4.4 indicates that 57 percent of RSOs and SVPs with child victims are restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule, whereas 27 percent of offenders with adult victims are restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule. The Chi-square test of independence ($\chi^2 = 7.06, df = 1, p < .01$) indicates that there is a statistically significant relationship between sex offenders' victim-type and being restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule. This finding indicates that sex offenders who victimize children are more likely to be subjected to more stringent regulations like a 1,000-foot-rule that prevents them from living in areas close to schools, parks, and community and day-care centers.

Table 4.4

Negative Outcomes Resulting from Registration and/or Notification Experienced by Registered Sex Offenders and Sexually Violent Predators with Child and Adult Victims

Outcome	Victim-Type	<i>n</i>	Description of sample experiencing event	
			<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
<u>Employment</u>				
Job loss	Child	82	25.6	21
	Adult	27	14.8	4
Denied employment	Child	82	37.8	31
	Adult	27	37	10
Denied promotion	Child	81	12.3	10
	Adult	26	11.5	3
<u>Residency</u>				
Lost a place to live	Child	83	21.7	18
	Adult	27	14.8	4
Denied a place to live	Child	83	30.1	25
	Adult	27	29.6	8
Restricted by 1,000-foot-rule**	Child	79	57	45
	Adult	26	26.9	7
<u>Harassment</u>				
Treated rudely in public	Child	83	18.1	15
	Adult	26	23.1	6
Asked to leave business	Child	83	10.8	9
	Adult	27	7.4	2
Primary group members sustain harm	Child	82	42.7	35
	Adult	27	25.9	7
Personal relationships severed	Child	82	43.9	36
	Adult	27	25.9	7
Verbally harassed	Child	83	31.3	26
	Adult	27	25.9	7
Physically assaulted	Child	83	6	5
	Adult	27	0	0
Harassing telephone calls	Child	83	10.8	9
	Adult	27	0	0

Table 4.4 (Continued)

Outcome	Victim-Type	n	Description of sample experiencing event	
			Percent	Frequency
Harassing mail	Child	83	6	5
	Adult	27	3.7	1
Harassing e-mail	Child	83	4.8	4
	Adult	27	3.7	1

Significance level: $**p < .01$.

Table 4.5 presents the relationship between the negative experiences likely resulting from registration and/or notification and offenders' relationship to victim (i.e., was the victim a family member, known by the offender but not a family member, or a stranger). Table 4.5 demonstrates that 62 percent (16/26) of RSOs and SVPs with family member victims had primary group members who sustained emotional harm as a result of registration and/or notification. The Chi-square test of independence ($\chi^2 = 8.14, df = 2, p < .05$) indicates that there is a statistically significant relationship between registered sex offenders' relationship to their victim and having primary group members who sustain emotional harm because of registration and/or notification.

Table 4.6 presents the relationship between the negative experiences likely resulting from registration and/or notification and sex offenders' race – coded: (1) White, (2) African American, (3) "Other," which consists of Hispanic/Latino, Asian American, and other offenders. Table 4.6 demonstrates that 62 percent of White RSOs had primary group members who sustained some type of emotional harm as a result of sex offender registration and/or notification.

Table 4.5

Negative Outcomes Resulting from Registration and Notification Experienced by
Male Registered Sex Offender Subsample with Victim-Relationship-Types

Outcome	Victim-Type	<i>n</i>	Description of sample experiencing event	
			<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
<u>Employment</u>				
Job loss	Family	26	30.8	8
	Not family but known	56	21.4	12
	Stranger	26	23.1	6
Denied employment	Family	26	30.8	8
	Not family but known	56	39.3	22
	Stranger	26	42.3	11
Denied promotion	Family	26	19.2	5
	Not family but known	54	14.8	8
	Stranger	26	7.7	2
<u>Residency</u>				
Lost a place to live	Family	26	30.8	8
	Not family but known	57	19.3	11
	Stranger	26	11.5	3
Denied a place to live	Family	26	38.5	10
	Not family but known	57	26.3	15
	Stranger	26	30.8	8
Restricted by 1,000-foot-rule	Family	25	56	14
	Not family but known	54	48.1	26
	Stranger	25	52	13
<u>Harassment</u>				
Treated rudely in public	Family	26	23.1	6
	Not family but known	57	21.1	12
	Stranger	25	16	4
Asked to leave business	Family	26	3.8	1
	Not family but known	57	14	8
	Stranger	26	11.5	3
Primary group members sustain harm*	Family	26	61.5	16
	Not family but known	56	28.6	16
	Stranger	26	42.3	11

Table 4.5 (Continued)

Outcome	Victim-Type	<i>n</i>	Description of sample experiencing event	
			<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Personal relationships severed	Family	25	48	12
	Not family but known	57	35.1	20
	Stranger	26	42.3	11
Verbally harassed	Family	26	38.5	10
	Not family but known	57	29.8	17
	Stranger	26	30.8	8
Physically assaulted	Family	26	11.5	3
	Not family but known	57	3.5	2
	Stranger	26	0	0
Harassing telephone calls	Family	26	11.5	3
	Not family but known	57	8.8	5
	Stranger	26	7.7	2
Harassing mail	Family	26	3.8	1
	Not family but known	57	5.3	3
	Stranger	26	7.7	2
Harassing e-mail	Family	26	3.8	1
	Not family but known	57	5.3	3
	Stranger	26	3.8	1

Significance level: * $p < .05$.

The primary group members of White offenders experienced a significantly greater likelihood of sustaining harm than primary group members of offenders of other races ($\chi^2 = 19.01$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$). No statistically significant relationships were observed between the negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or notification and marital status, work status, or length of registration.

Table 4.6

Negative Outcomes Resulting from Registration and Notification Experienced by
Male Registered Sex Offender Subsample with Offenders' Race

Outcome	Race	<i>n</i>	Description of sample experiencing event	
			<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
<u>Employment</u>				
Job loss	White	61	23	14
	Black	47	29.8	14
	Other	24	25	6
Denied employment	White	59	37.3	22
	Black	48	41.7	20
	Other	24	37.5	9
Denied promotion	White	58	12.1	7
	Black	46	15.2	7
	Other	22	13.6	3
<u>Residency</u>				
Lost a place to live	White	61	21.3	13
	Black	48	18.8	9
	Other	24	25	6
Denied a place to live	White	61	27.9	17
	Black	48	35.4	17
	Other	24	25	6
Restricted by 1,000-foot-rule	White	61	47.5	29
	Black	46	34.8	16
	Other	21	61.9	13
<u>Harassment</u>				
Treated rudely in public	White	61	24.6	15
	Black	47	21.3	10
	Other	24	16.7	4
Asked to leave business	White	61	6.6	4
	Black	48	14.6	7
	Other	24	12.5	3
Primary group members sustain harm***				
Personal relationships severed	White	61	62.3	38
	Black	48	20.8	10
	Other	23	39.1	9
Personal relationships severed	White	59	45.8	27
	Black	48	35.4	17
	Other	24	45.8	11

Table 4.6 (Continued)

Outcome	Location-Type	n	Description of sample experiencing event	
			Percent	Frequency
Verbally harassed	White	61	29.5	18
	Black	48	35.4	17
	Other	24	37.5	9
Physically assaulted	White	61	1.6	1
	Black	48	4.2	2
	Other	24	12.5	3
Harassing telephone calls	White	61	9.8	6
	Black	48	8.3	4
	Other	24	4.2	1
Harassing mail	White	61	3.3	2
	Black	48	6.2	3
	Other	24	4.2	1
Harassing e-mail	White	61	0	0
	Black	48	8.3	4
	Other	24	4.2	1

Significance level: *** $p \leq .001$

Summary of Descriptive Results

Using only the anonymous survey data, this chapter has provided a descriptive account of the complete sample, and its three subsamples. Descriptive results of the complete sample reveal that most sex offenders are White or African American, middle-aged, and not married, and have relatively little formal education. Most sex offenders are working in some capacity, self-identify as “working class,” and earn between \$20,000 and \$39,999 or less per year. Most victims are minor-aged (78.3%) females (88%) who were known by – but not related to – the offender (51.8%).

The three subsamples of sex offenders do not differ a great deal from one another. In fact, they significantly varied on only two items. As expected, SVPs, on average, are the oldest of the three subsamples, followed by RSO, and then non-registered sex

offenders. Also as expected, in terms of victims' age, on average, the victims of SVPs were youngest. However, non-registered sex offenders, on average, victimized children and adolescents who were younger than those selected by RSOs. This finding was unexpected, and may be a function of when sampled sex offenders received their sentences.

Sex offenders may not be registered or labeled a SVP, if their sentences were handed down prior to the implementation of federally mandated sex offender registration and/or community notification. One notable and important limitation of the survey instrument is that it failed to inquire about the length of time that sex offenders have been labeled, registered (if applicable), and/or subject to active notification (if applicable), and did not ask offenders for the year that they received their sentence.

In terms of the negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or community notification, as expected, SVPs experienced job loss, denial of employment, loss of housing, and denial of a place to live, and were treated rudely in public and had primary group members who experienced emotional harm and personal relationships severed at a higher rate (i.e., at least 10 percentage points) than RSOs. None of the SVPs were physically assaulted, whereas six RSOs (i.e., 5 percent of 120 RSOs) were physically assaulted. Another unexpected finding is that RSOs received harassing e-mail, mail, and telephone calls at a higher rate than SVPs, and that RSOs and SVPs experienced verbal harassment, and are restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule at approximately the same rate.

When it came to measuring differences in mean scores for self-esteem, mastery, depression, and the four stigma subscales, the three subsamples of sex offenders demonstrated significantly different mean scores for (only) two of the four initial stigma

subscales: (1) perceived devaluation/discrimination and (2) rejection experiences. Non-registered sex offenders produced the lowest mean score on both subscales, i.e., perceived devaluation/discrimination and rejection experiences, followed by RSOs (who scored in the middle). As expected, SVPs registered the highest mean scores on both stigma subscales.

Using only a combination of two of the three subsamples of sex offenders (RSOs and SVPs), the multivariate contingency table analyses assessed how sex offenders' selection of victim-type, relationship to victim, and race influenced the fifteen different economic, residency-related, and harassment outcomes to vary. Specifically, if offenders victimized a child (i.e., victims from age 5 to 17), as opposed to an adult (i.e., 18 or older), they were significantly more likely to be restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule.

Offenders who victimized children were also more likely than offenders who victimized adults (by at least 10 percentage points) to experience job loss and harassing telephone calls, and to have primary group members who sustained some form of emotional harm and have personal relationships severed. Moreover, all of the RSOs who were physically assaulted had victimized children. However, unexpectedly, offenders who victimized adults were more likely than offenders who victimized children to be treated rudely in public.

If an offender victimized a family member(s), then the offender's primary group members were significantly more likely to experience emotional harm than were the primary group members of offenders who victimized a stranger or non-family member who was known by the offender. Offenders who victimized a family member were also more likely to lose their residence. This may reflect the likelihood of offenders who

victimize family members with whom they reside being asked to leave the home. Moreover, three of the five RSOs who were physically assaulted victimized a family member who was also a child.

In terms of race of the offender, White offenders reported that their primary group members sustained harm more often than the primary group members of African Americans offenders and offenders who defined their race as “other.” African Americans had the highest likelihood of experiencing job loss, denial of employment, denial of promotion, denial of a place to live, harassing mail, and harassing e-mail, and of being asked to leave someone else’s business. One offender who was physically assaulted was White, two were African American, one was Hispanic/Latino, and two identified as “other” race.

Overall, there were relatively few significant differences among the three subsamples, which suggest that the groups can be considered equivalent. Since the subsamples are so similar, this enables clearer inferences to be made and indicates that, since so few differences exist, active notification is not producing the detrimental effects that were originally expected.

CHAPTER 5

SEXUALLY VIOLENT PREDATOR INTERVIEW DATA: A CASE

STUDY APPROACH

This chapter presents the SVP interview data using a case study methodology, where each interview is framed as an individual case study and an in-depth analysis, with details pertaining to how SVPs interpret the laws affect on them. Nine interviews were completed with SVPs from a single state who were receiving outpatient treatment on a regular basis. Presentations are arranged so that data (loosely) correspond to questions posed, and issues raised and discussed, in the interview script, or are logically ordered. Pseudonyms are employed so that data presented cannot be traced back to original participants. In addition, minor details have been altered in some cases in order to protect the participating SVPs. Finally, a discussion of the findings summarizes common problems and issues, as well as dissimilarities and differences.

Clyde

Clyde is Hispanic and lives alone. He is retired and collects social security; hence, notification has not affected his ability to find or keep gainful employment. He currently resides in a duplex that he has owned for 27 years, so finding or sustaining a residence has not been a problem either. Clyde is divorced, but the divorce occurred before he committed the sex crime leading to his SVP status. Clyde was required to register as a sex offender “right after [his prison] release” in 2006, at which time he was also subject to active community notification.

Clyde indicated that there have been no detectable differences in how his family members and close friends have changed in their behavior or attitudes toward him since

notification began. Clyde describes his relationship with his family members as “perfect” and “supportive.” None of Clyde’s family members have responded to the notification information, and he has no knowledge whether any of them have even viewed it. Clyde was unable to say anything about his neighbors because he has little contact with them. Fortunately, no behavior by community members has resulted in police contact since Clyde has been living outside of prison.

Clyde noted, however, that he has lost the “respect of some of my peers” and remains “cautious of who I come into contact with and where I go.” Clyde stated, “I always have a little reminder in the back of my head to be aware...I’m always aware of my situation now. I focus on everything I do and I don’t get caught up. I’m not going to do nothing to get me sent back [to prison].”

Clyde believes that the purpose of notification is community protection and to “keep track of me” and, as far as he is concerned, it has been working well. Being labeled a SVP makes him feel “terrible.” “It just says it all. It’s bad and horrible. I try not to dwell on it, though, because that doesn’t help.”

In terms of how the SVP label has affected Clyde’s behavior, “I’m more focused on myself and my environment and how to prevent anything that would put me in contact with the police.” He then stated, “For example, when I come out of my house and see kids skating and girls riding bikes, I just avoid them.” When asked if notification deters him or makes him want to commit more crime, Clyde stated, “Now I work harder to avoid offending.”

Clyde’s most valuable source of support in dealing with notification is his family, followed by his minister and close friends. His family demonstrates this support by

inviting him to gatherings and to participate in family trips. Clyde's family is very open and supportive, and frequently calls him to check up. Clyde completed the interview by noting that notification "strong arms lots of guys and creates a lot of pressure." He also mentioned that he believes notification can be harder for some sex offenders who do not own their own home and are in need of employment. Some "guys would rather go back to prison than dealing with this bullshit. It can be hell on some guys."

Seth

Seth is married, and seemed a bit uneasy with some of the questions. Seth owns his home, so he has not experienced any problems locating or maintaining a place to live. Likewise, notification has not affected Seth's ability to find or keep a job. Seth was first required to register in 2004 shortly after his initial conviction, although the details were unclear. Seth began by discussing the incident leading to the acquisition of his SVP status and active community notification requirement.

While driving his wife to work one afternoon, the two stopped at a gas station that was located inside of a school zone, seemingly unaware of some restrictions placed upon Seth as a RSO. Seth surmised that someone must have recognized him and immediately called the police, because seconds after stopping to fill their gas tank, a police officer arrived at the scene. Because of restrictions placed up him, Seth was apprehended and, later, required to reappear in court, at which time he was designated a SVP and subject to active community notification.

Seth immediately transitioned into discussing how his probation officer was not the only person keeping tabs on him. Shortly after his initial conviction, Seth reported noticing people following him as he drove his wife to work. Seth believed that he was

being watched and monitored by local community members. “I realized I was being watched. It is horrible, horrible. People disturb me like crazy. My family is suffering.”

He described this situation as, “Annoying. I cannot tolerate this. It is unbearable.” Seth explained that he expected to be monitored and watched by his probation officer, but not by community members. “It is his [the probation officer’s] duty. He is court authorized. I fully accept and cooperate. But the 100 or so other cars following me are harassing me...I don’t know where they stay, but they keep bothering me!” Seth also reported that his son (an adolescent) had been experiencing problems at his middle school “because of my reputation.”

Seth indicated that none of this harassment has been reported to the police, primarily because he is unable to identify anyone by name. Also, Seth explained that his wife discourages him from attracting more police attention, and that she believes that it would simply not be “useful” or productive to report any of this harassing behavior to the police.

Seth then began to discuss how displeased he was with the SVP label because, as he proclaimed, he was not violent. (Prior to Seth’s initial felony, he reported, “I have no history of breaking the law.”) Seth also indicated that all of his family members continue to support his position (i.e., that he should not be a SVP because he is a nonviolent offender) and pray for “solace.” Seth mentioned how over 500 letters on his behalf were forwarded to the prosecuting judge by his church and by other ethnic organizations and associations. Seth was an active member in his community prior to his original arrest and conviction, and he reported that all of his friends continue to support him.

Seth noted that the sole purpose of notification is to “protect the community,” but that notification may not help all families protect themselves. He continued to emphasize and reiterate, “I just don’t know why I’m labeled violent.” Seth’s wife is the most valuable resource in helping him deal with the problems raised by notification. This interview concluded with Seth stating, “I don’t know what to do with this lifetime [registration]. I’m already 60.”

Byron

Byron is an Hispanic male who stated that his case was currently being appealed because law enforcement had manipulated/intimated him into providing a false confession. Prior to his sex crime conviction, Byron only had one brush with the law, an arrest for driving under the influence of alcohol. After serving approximately one year in prison for his sex crime conviction, Byron was released in 2006 and required to register as a sex offender, labeled a SVP, and subjected to active community notification. Byron is ashamed and feels badly knowing that his notification information and SVP designation have been made available to the public; however, he is hopeful about his appeal procedure.

Even though Byron’s elderly mother is “on my side,” his incarceration for a sex crime has created problems for his family. Specifically, Byron’s incarceration “really hurt my mom,” who is currently ill and gravely suffering, and the associated problems have added to her anxiety and are a constant source working to “bring her down.” Byron’s main focus, now, is not reintegration, per se, but, instead, his ailing mother: “I need to just take care of my mom.”

Byron described the process of meeting new people as “scary,” simply because he does not want to tell anyone about his SVP status or that he is subject to active notification. Constantly hiding this information from others contributes to Byron’s distress. He is even concerned about how his close friends might react, adding, “My friends might turn their back against me.” Because of notification, Byron feels differently about himself and, now, “lacks confidence” in his ability to adhere to conventional standards, especially when passing by places “where children are, like playgrounds.”

One part of Byron’s life that gives him tremendous pleasure is his relationship with his second cousin (19), who “looks up at me,” despite viewing Byron’s notification information online. (Byron has no knowledge of any of his other family or friends viewing his notification information.) “He doesn’t hold that against me,” stated Byron about his younger cousin. This younger cousin, who is not ashamed of Byron or to appear in public with him, proclaims that Byron is his “idol.” Moreover, this cousin does not believe the charges that have been filed against Byron or that he would ever commit a violent, felonious sex crime. However, this second cousin’s mother and aunt do not share the same sentiment and are not as compassionate, accepting, or understanding as Byron’s younger second cousin. These two female relatives tend to exclude Byron when organizing family events, or pay him no attention when he arrives at such gatherings. (The rest of Byron’s family lives outside of the United States.)

Because Byron currently collects a Veterans’ pension for serving in the United States Air Force, notification has not interfered with his ability to remain financially secure; however, he has had a difficult time obtaining good-paying employment.

Fortunately, Byron has not experienced any problems with his neighbors. Finding a place to live, however, “has been rough” and difficult for Byron. “I don’t want to move in with my mom or cousin because it may bring about danger for them.”

Ever since being released from prison, Byron has been living at a homeless shelter where he performs volunteer work and helps with maintenance and other chores, believing that “volunteer work keeps my mind occupied.” Because of restrictions placed upon him, and because of his SVP status, Byron is skeptical about, and “scared of,” establishing permanent residency. In a similar vein, Byron is distressed and upset that he is unable to afford a nice apartment.

Byron believes the purpose of community notification is to “keep people, or predators, away from those people who reside in protected communities.” Byron also believes that notification accomplishes this goal and, “Notification is ok if it’s for a serious SVP but the law should also protect the SVP, especially the one’s who just made one mistake.” After a brief pause, Byron asked, “If someone’s really a SVP, why aren’t they in jail?” Acquiring and living with the SVP label makes Byron feel “very bad.” Now, Byron understandably claims, “I suffer from depression and sleeping problems.” Being labeled as a SVP, and subject to active notification, however, does make Byron want to work harder to avoid recidivism – not give in and commit another sex crime.

Byron does not believe that notification is an effective tool for the prevention of recidivism. Byron’s sentiments seemed in tune with a commonly held belief about sex offenders, stating, “Once a sex offender, always a sex offender.” Notification, he argued, may slow someone down from committing another sex crime, but will not completely prevent or deter them.

Jerome

Jerome is a White male who lives in a small town where “everyone knows each another” and he feels he is considered an “outcast.” He was required to register as a sex offender in 2003, at which time he was also subject to active notification. In order to shop for food, Jerome feels compelled to travel outside of the warned community so that people do not recognize him. “I don’t feel like a person, I feel like a terrorist. It’s a horrible, horrible feeling.” Further, the “community makes us feel like we should be dead and treat us that way. I wish they had it [i.e., registration and notification] for burglars.”

Jerome disclosed that, “My neighbor threatened to kill me.” He reported the threat to the state police who, Jerome noted, just “don’t care.” The state police failed to do anything to protect Jerome, despite an explicit warning on the online state registry forbidding community members from harassing listed sex offenders. Ultimately, no charges have been filed; however, Jerome believes that his neighbors seem to pose the most serious problems to his well-being. On multiple occasions, Jerome stated that some other neighbors have repeatedly expressed “rage.” “People look at you but you don’t know [if they know about your SVP status], or what they are thinking. Other crimes may occur now...I’m scared of my house being hurt.”

Jerome indicated that, as a result of notification, he has developed a “sense of depression,” especially when viewing his online notification information. Jerome also reported that, since the initiation of notification, he no longer has the same friends, all of his conventional ties have been severed, and he has “lost respect” of some of his family members, which deeply upsets him. Jerome’s family was initially “angry and confused”

about his crime; however, Jerome's family members have begun to slowly accept (or reaccept) him. With the exception of his son, none of Jerome's other family members or friends have been victimized by any hurtful, threatening, or illegal behavior resulting from community notification. Jerome also stated that he is currently in the process of making new friends, which he met via his weekly group therapy sessions with other convicted sex offenders.

In terms of his ability to find or keep a job, Jerome is self-employed but has lost several clients because of a flyer from the Internet that was anonymously distributed by a community member. However, Jerome is also currently in the process of "establishing new business partners." In terms of how being designated a SVP has changed Jerome's behavior, he indicated that he is "scared about who he can talk to," and is more polite and reserved when interacting with strangers. As a result of the law, Jerome stated that he wants to work harder to avoid reoffending, adding that, "My son is what makes me want to avoid reoffending."

Unfortunately, Jerome is "paranoid" when out with his teenaged son, and wondered, "How will he be affected?" Because of state imposed restrictions, "I can't go to any school activities for him," and Jerome briefly mentioned how his son has been "picked on at school," on more than one occasion. When Jerome's son was in fourth grade, during a show and tell game, some children at school began to "push him around," teasing him about his father's SVP status.

When asked about the purpose of notification, after pausing and reflecting about his answer, Jerome pronounced, "Notification should be a deterrent," and expressed displeasure with the fact that he is a RSO for life. Jerome believes that a reevaluation

process should be implemented “every 10 years” so that deserving labeled sex offenders can have a legitimate opportunity to lose the label and have a better chance to reenter society. Being labeled a SVP makes Jerome feel “depressed, worthless,” “like a piece of shit,” and as though he is no longer a part of society.

Jerome feels as though there are not social services available to help him handle issues raised by community notification because “nothing is free.” Instead, all payments come out of his pocket. When asked whether anything else should be discussed as part of the interview, Jerome noted that the notification process is “extreme.” Jerome added that he did not understand why “Alcohol Anonymous” exists for people who have a drinking problem, and why drug abuse treatment centers exist for people who abuse/use illicit and prescription drugs, but why no real programs have been developed to successfully treat sex offenders.

Wes

Wes is a White male who is currently being monitored by a GPS tracking system that he is required to wear at all times. In 2003, Wes was required to register as a sex offender for viewing child pornography online. After being released from prison, Wes was subject to active community notification and designated a SVP.

Two notification meetings were held in Wes’ community in order to alert local community members about his incoming presence. One major issue at the community meetings about Wes’ presence was that he currently resides across the street from a community center. Wes proclaimed, however, that the location of his “home was approved” by his parole officer. Despite community meetings about Wes’ presence, and newspaper articles about his initial crime and, later, technical violations, community

members have not really treated him any differently than they did prior to his initial sex crime conviction.

Notification has affected Wes' "financial" situation, and Wes anticipates difficulties finding living arrangements for him and his fiancé. So far, their application for residency has been rejected once by a landlord, but the couple has just started looking for a place to live together. In terms of how notification has affected his ability to find and/or keep gainful employment, Wes experienced problems because he must indicate to potential employers that he is a registered sex offender. He noted, however, that he is not required to inform potential employers about his SVP status. "It took a long time to find someone who was willing to take a chance," but Wes has obtained a well-paying job.

In terms of how notification has affected his family members, Wes stated, "I haven't seen my family since 2003," which he reported feeling strained and saddened about. Moreover, shortly after his conviction, his wife divorced him and "took me for everything." Wes reports that notification has had no effect on his relationship with his friends. Even though he does not know them, Wes' neighbors say hello when they see him and do not treat him any differently than they did prior to his sex crime conviction.

Wes verified that his home address and other listed information provided to community members are correct. Wes has seen his notification information online, as well as on a flyer that was posted by local (township) police officers. Knowing that his name, address, and personal description have been posted for the community members, where he is listed as a SVP, makes Wes feel "creepy, upset, and uncomfortable...I don't want people to know because of how people group everyone together. People form preformed and preconceived notions of what a person [with a SVP status] will be like."

Wes stated that being labeled and subject to notification makes him feel “very bad” about himself. “I still don’t understand how they reached this conclusion.” He expressed dismay that he had “no say in the [assessment] process.” He found out about the evaluation process online and stated, “My attorney never told me about it.” Wes stated that he was informed that he could appeal the decision of the assessment board (only) after his prison release, but by then it was too late to make any challenges. “If there is a mental health evaluation, I wanted to participate.” Wes believes that he did not “have a fair chance” in the assessment process, and that there should be “some mechanism in place for reevaluation [considering that] people change.” In Wes’ opinion, waiting 20 years for an opportunity to have a reevaluation is too long and “ridiculous.”

When asked about the purpose of community notification, Wes stated “prevention” and to “raise awareness of community about a potential problem.” As far as he is concerned, community notification is accomplishing this goal. Based on “my experience,” however, Wes feels like registration and community notification forces or influences some sex offenders to simply avoid the registration process. Further, Wes does not believe that, in general, notification helps prevent recidivism.

Wes is “not aware” of social services that are available to help him handle issues raised by community notification. In fact, Wes’ most valuable resources helping him to confront and deal with problems raised by notification are “my girlfriend, therapist, and group [members at therapy].” He considers his girlfriend’s actions and behaviors to be “more understanding” than the average person. “Other people are more likely to judge me based on the label.”

Reggie

Reggie is a White male who was required to register as a sex offender and subject to active community notification in 2007. Since then, Reggie lives with his parents and teenaged sister. Reggie is primarily concerned about the effects that notification may have on his family. Reggie is most concerned about his sister because she has lost friends at school because of his SVP status. However, her close friends, including her boyfriend, have stood by her side. Reggie noted that if his sister had a problem with him living at home (with her and their parents), he would absolutely leave. Reggie's step mother was also questioned about his SVP status by a work colleague who lives outside of the notified area.

Even though Reggie's "relationship wasn't great with [his] family to start," the notification process has actually brought them closer together and, now, they are "rallied around" him. Most of Reggie's friends either do not live near him or parole prevents them from having contact. Other friends, Reggie noted, often wonder why he is treated so harshly and differently from other types of offenders.

Reggie was already looking for a new residence but, when asked about how notification has changed his life, he responded, "It sped up the moving process," referring to how he and his family are being pressured to leave the area in which they currently reside. Several times during the course of the interview, Reggie returned to the topic of difficulty in finding a place to live. A bartender who knows Reggie informed a landlord about how, in general, "sex offenders get a raw deal," so the landlord chose to "give me a chance." Reggie's home, now, is "fairly secluded" and he has not experienced any problems with his immediate neighbors.

Reggie also noted that, now, it is harder to locate employment because many of the jobs that interest him require computer work and, “They [i.e., the potential employers] don’t want me on a computer...Places just won’t hire me.”

The only notification information that Reggie has observed is his online posting on the state registry. Reggie reported that his listed address and other notification information presented to the community are all correct. He considers this listing to be a “slap in the face [that] wakes me up.” The message that Reggie takes from this form of notification and experience is that, “You’re different [and] can’t be fixed.” Reggie stated that notification “makes me feel less. I’m trying to get my life together and this really stands in the way.”

Reggie stated that, along with his family’s landlord, local schools and day-care centers have been informed about his presence. Because of these limitations, Reggie was restricted from attending his sister’s high school graduation. Reggie reported that his sister was informally warned by local school officials that she should not permit her brother to attend her graduation.

Reggie stated that, on the one hand, notification is punitive but, on the other hand, it has been implemented for community safety and protection. “It should be for everybody. If a burglar moves into a community, don’t the families have a right to know?” When asked if notification is accomplishing these ends, Reggie noted, “All it does is makes more problems, more manpower. It’s not doing much in terms of protection. Some people must feel safer.” Moreover, Reggie does not feel that notification helps prevent recidivism in general, or that his community is now a safer

place to live, reasoning that his neighborhood is not protected by “electric fences.” When he leaves the warned area, Reggie does feel better, as if he is no longer “being watched.”

Being labeled a SVP makes Reggie feel “lower,” and as though he has been “labeled ‘the worst’ and the paper-work says I’ll never get better. Reggie stated that he feels differently about himself since notification began because the SVP status is “not something I can hide.” When released, you want to do everything right and get a job.” In terms of how notification affects his behavior, Reggie is now a “little more reluctant to move or start a relationship.” Reggie noted that being labeled makes him work harder to avoid reoffending. “I want to show myself and everyone else I could [avoid reoffending].”

Reggie emphasized that his family’s love and support are helpful and make him feel good, and reported that the treatment facility (where the interview was conducted) is his only available social service that helps him handle and deal with issues raised by labeling and notification. Reggie’s father and close family members, including his younger sister, have been his most valuable resources that help him deal with issues raised by notification and, further, have been the most supportive throughout the notification process. These people “are just there for me.” “Being away [i.e., incarcerated] for four years gave me a chance to weed out those who are not supportive. Now it’s just harder to get close to people.”

Andre

Andre is a White male who was required to register as a sex offender and subject to active notification in 2004. Andre claimed that he acquired the SVP label because he refused to participate in the state-mandated evaluation process; had he participated in the

state mandated evaluation, Andre believes that he probably would not be classified as a SVP. Since notification began, Andre believes that his “confidence level” has decreased and he has developed a sense of depression. “I struggle with liking myself. The label makes you feel lower than other people.” Adding to his displeasure, Andre is required to have supervised contact with his son. He is quite upset that he can no longer engage in father-son rituals, such as taking a fishing trip. “I can’t be as close with my son as I was prior.”

Andre described notification as “terrible” and indicated that he is unable “to find a place to live unless he knows the landlord.” Andre reported that “the hardest part of this whole thing is finding a place to live.” Andre was initially turned down by several different landlords but his boss helped him locate a suitable place to live. Since letters have been provided to community members about his current address, his “tires have been slashed and [car] windows broken,” which did prompt Andre to file a police report. However, he “never heard anything else, and was never contacted.”

Andre is “uncomfortable,” and concerned about “vigilantism,” knowing that his home address has been provided to community members. Andre believes that he would feel more secure if his exact address was not provided and if a better description of his crime was displayed so people would recognize that his offense was not violent. Andre pointed out that the online information and mail-out letters can be misleading, indicating that neither provided specific information about his offense, which did not involve any violence. Andre has also received “threatening phone calls” on multiple occasions.

Notification has not interfered with Andre’s ability to find employment because, following his prison release, he returned to the job that he had prior to his incarceration.

Since notification began, Andre has had an opportunity to start his own business; however, he has decided against this business venture because he fears that potential clients would find out about his SVP status and choose not to do business with him because of it.

Andre claims that he always tells people with whom he will have regular contact about his SVP status so that “no one will think I’m deceiving them...Everybody I know, I make it a point for them to know I’m a sex offender.” However, Andre is “cautious” about places he visits because of his fear of being recognized. Even though he has not lost any friends, Andre’s neighbors are not too welcoming and “don’t want me there.” In fact, Andre now goes “food shopping at night, and other off times, not on a Saturday or Sunday” when other community members and children are likely to be present.

Andre believes that the purpose of community notification is to “notify the community, prevention, and safety...As far as I know, it may not prevent crime but will make people aware.” Even though Andre understands the purpose of these letters, they “really bother me.” Andre does not understand how some offenders “rape [someone’s] daughter and are not an SVP.” Now, Andre does feel compelled to work harder to avoid reoffending. When asked if notification prevents recidivism, Andre stated, “Not really to be honest. Now people commit crimes outside the warned community.” When thinking about whether notification makes his community a safer place, Andre noted, “I have to look at myself. Yes.”

Andre indicated that he is not aware of any social services available to help him deal with the issues posed by notification. His boss, who “treats me like a human being,” has been Andre’s most valuable resource and most supportive advocate throughout the

notification process. People who are unsupportive, on the other hand, tend to “talk down [to him] and categorize you in one category.”

Eric

Eric is a White male who was required to register as a SVP as soon as he was paroled in 2007, and was subject to active community notification at the same time. Eric described how, in his community, the state police provided a “door-to-door” service for local community members with notices about his SVP status including personal information and his home address. Prior to Eric’s release, community meetings were held to inform community members about his incoming presence. In fact, his wife was very upset when she attended some of these meetings because local community members verbally attacked her, hurting her feelings and making her feel uncomfortable.

The biggest issue facing Eric “involves living with my family.” Eric’s wife, to whom he has been married for 21 years, is no longer sure if she wants to remain married to someone who bears the SVP label. Eric’s two daughters (7 and 15) live with his wife, but he is not permitted to live with them because of parole restrictions.

In terms of locating a place to live after his release, “I couldn’t move back to my own home, the one I owned since 1981. My wife’s neighbors don’t want me living in the neighborhood,” and he is barred from living there as a result of parole restrictions. Also, community members from Eric’s former neighborhood, where his home is located and his wife and children reside, were completely unwilling to permit him to reenter the neighborhood following his prison release for both “safety issues and property value.” However, things in his new community seem to be working out fine.

Eric emphasized several times that notification has not created many problems for him and his family. Instead, he attributes many of the problems he experiences to the acquisition of the SVP label and the manner in which the local media chose to present information about his crime, release from prison, and his failed attempts to appeal and discard his SVP label. Eric stated, “The crime, arrest, and label” is what is driving this differential treatment, and described the SVP label as “so detrimental and stigmatizing.”

Eric believes (incorrectly) that the state provides no opportunity to have the SVP label formally removed after a certain amount of crime-free time, unlike other states like Florida. “I want an opportunity to restore my reputation and that’s not possible even if I completely comply with all of the requirements and restrictions. That’s not possible because the label can’t be removed.” In fact, Eric was misinformed about the specifics of his sentence and SVP label. In the jurisdiction studied, after 20 years of crime-free behavior, an offender may petition the court to have his seriousness designation reduced from SVP to RSO and, subsequently, to have his notification requirement reduced from active to passive.

Eric owns his own business and all of his employees are aware of his conviction for a sex crime, prison stay, and SVP status. Eric “stopped attending networking events because I’m afraid of what will happen if a contact finds out about the label,” and expressed concern about using his real name during the course of business relations because his name can be easily identified online by using virtually any search engine or using the state sex offender registry. In fact, because of media exposure following his prison release, Eric has “lost some customers, but only some.” Fortunately for Eric, none

of the press releases about him and his crime highlighted his company's name, or anything specific about his business.

Eric talked about how many of his family members treat him, "like I don't exist." He explained that he and his sister-in-law (i.e., his wife's sister) were very close before his initial arrest. In fact, the two remained in contact while Eric was incarcerated. However, now that Eric is living outside of prison and is labeled a SVP, his sister-in-law understandably "expresses concern about me being around her kids." A cousin on Eric's wife's side is also "adamantly opposed about me being around his children."

Eric believes that the first purpose of notification is to "prevent a Megan Kanka situation, and so a parent can make an informed decision about supervising kids." The second purpose is for "political ends," but Eric believes that worldwide exposure via the Internet is more than is required to accomplish the first goal. However, Eric does not believe that notification is accomplishing the preventive goal because, "I don't know anyone who goes [online] regularly [to look for locally residing sex offenders]." Eric argued that some people may check the online registry once if they are relocating to a new community.

Eric does not believe that notification helps prevent recidivism. "If someone wants to reoffend, they will and don't care about hurting someone or the law. The registry won't prevent them." Eric postulated, "Sex offenders on there [i.e., the online registry] are often being supervised and receiving therapy. They are being managed and traumatized." As a result, "they are more compliant. After being caught, and being watched by a probation or parole officer or therapist, they may be deterred," but offenders are not deterred from being listed on an online registry.

Eric's most valuable resources are his private therapist, family, and local clergy members. The most supportive actors throughout the notification process are Eric's wife and father. "They treat me as a person who's appropriately dealing with his problems, rather than a menace to society." These supportive family members "ask about my feelings, let me talk about any problems I might be having, and I know I can trust them."

Willie

Willie is a White male, who is originally from the state that is the site of this research. However, Willie's arrest and conviction occurred in a different, non-neighborhood state, where he was required to register as a sex offender. In order to be permitted to reenter the state of his origin and to return home to live with his family, Willie accepted a SVP designation, something that upsets and bothers him. Willie's initial arrest, conviction, and instruction to register as a sex offender occurred in 2000, at which time he also was subject to notification in his arresting state.

Since notification began, Willie describes his actions as "hesitant and a little fearful," and experiences "anxiety" and "worries" when considering how people will react about his presence in the neighborhood. One of Willie's neighbor "mentioned" to his brother that he was aware of Willie's SVP status, which made Willie a bit uneasy. A different neighbor "took pot shots at me in the woods." According to Willie, "pot shots" occur when someone fires a shotgun in your direction not knowing whether any of the projectiles will hit you.

The man firing the shotgun yelled, "Don't come around here," and the two men never spoke again. This incident did not prompt Willie to contact the police, however, nor have any other behaviors or threats resulted in police contact. Willie simply noted, "I

can deal,” and indicated that he is not afraid. Even though he has not had problems with other people harassing him, Willie does “think about it a lot.”

Among his “riding [motorcycle] buddies,” Willie stated that “a couple people frown on me” but others are more forgiving because, as he reasoned, “Everyone’s done it,” referring to forcing an underage female to have non-consensual sexual intercourse at a party. Willie only had one experience where someone he knew prior to notification changed in his behavior towards him once he disclosed his SVP status. A formerly close female friend told Willie, “Don’t ever come around here, again.” Otherwise, when Willie makes new friends, after knowing them for a while, he discloses information about his SVP status and believes that, “on the surface, things are ok.” However, the reaction of his female friend prompted Willie to argue, “Murderers have a better chance” once they are released from prison of making new friends and of obtaining good-paying employment.

Willie intentionally avoids applying for employment where he will be asked about prior felonies. Willie applies for jobs and, then, “holds [his] breath” as to whether a background check will be required. Willie is currently looking for employment, and noted that he has a friend with a well paying job who will help him with his search.

Willie reported that he has experienced problems finding and keeping a place to live. One landlady initially permitted Willie to be a tenant but, after SVP notices were distributed to local community members, “everyone freaked out and she asked me to leave.” Another landlord overlooked Willie’s SVP status and was “good” by permitting him to rent an apartment. More recently, Willie attempted to buy a house, believing that

no one will be able to harm him unless they “burn it down.” However, because of financial problems, Willie is no longer able to keep living in this house.

Willie stated that the purpose of notification is to “make people aware about people who can create and cause harm.” People should be made aware, Willie stated, and able to protect themselves. However, Willie asked, “Why don’t murderers have to do it?” “I think it’s [i.e., notification] a good thing.” In terms of accomplishing this goal or purpose, Willie stated, “People now know where I am, but why do they need to know? Lots of non-registered sex offenders, like 8 out of 10, are offending.”

When discussing the availability of social services designed to help combat problems raised by labeling and notification, Willie indicated that few services exist, and the ones that do are not effective. He does not understand how such services can help him prevent local community members from destroying his property or disturbing him. However, Willie’s brother, sister-in-law, parents, and some friends have been there to support him. Willie explained how these supportive family members and friends are there for him whenever help is needed and encourage him to call them anytime he is having a problem.

Knowing that his home address and personal information is presented to community members frustrates and upsets Willie. He stated, “I don’t like it. I don’t disagree with notification but I don’t fall in that category,” referring to how he did not enter the state as a SVP or Tier III sex offender. When asked about how being labeled a SVP makes him feel about himself, Willie replied, “God forgive me, but I’d rather be labeled a murderer than a sex offender. I don’t want to hurt anyone, but being a sex offender is worse. People hear that you’re a sex offender and think child molester. Sex

offender is such a negative connotation.” Willie’s father, mother, brother, and sister-in-law all support him and agree that he should not be labeled a SVP. According to Willie, “If the system’s going to convict people and then release them into the public, there should be some type of responsibility to make it so they can live and don’t get made a target.”

Summary of Key Qualitative Findings

Overall, the findings gleaned from the interviews indicate that SVPs are experiencing several of the problems identified in the prior literature. Specifically, six of the interviewees (67%) indicated that, since the notification process began, they have had a difficult time locating and obtaining affordable housing. Byron, for example, admitted that he is scared about bringing negative attention to his mother and cousin and, as a result, resides at a homeless shelter. Wes located and obtained a home that was, originally, deemed acceptable by his parole; however, after leaving prison, community meetings were held in this neighborhood about his incoming presence and many complained that he was still too close to the community center, forcing him to relocate.

Reggie reported problems with locating and obtaining housing throughout the interview, and indicated that he and his family are being pressured to leave the neighborhood where they currently reside. Eric is completely banished from his neighborhood, despite owning a home (where his wife and children still reside) for over twenty years. Eric located and obtained a suitable place to live in a different community where he does not experience the same problems.

Four of the interviewed SVPs (44%) admitted that they have experienced problems identifying and obtaining conventional employment because of notification

and/or their SVP label. Even though Byron has a veterans' pension that provides him with money for serving in the United States Air Force, he still has difficulties locating and obtaining good-paying employment. Wes related his employment-related problems to his being obligated to inform potential employers that he is a registered sex offender; because he is not required to inform potential employers about his SVP status, he withholds this information.

Both Jerome and Eric are self-employed, and both have lost a number of clients/customers due to their SVP status and/or notification requirements. Jerome is currently in the process of establishing new business partners. Eric has withdrawn from a number of work-related activities such as attending networking events. Eric is afraid of being recognized and exposed and, further, has stopped using his real name during the course of business to avoid being identified by others.

Despite having some supportive family members and friends, some of the SVPs report that some family members and friends are unsupportive, and have experienced problems because of the SVP label or community notification. Even though Seth reports that his family members and friends are supportive, his wife has been harassed in the community and his teenaged son has experienced problems at school because of his father's SVP status and reputation. Byron is very close to his ailing mother and younger second cousin, whom Byron described as supportive, even though his mother is upset and deeply saddened about her son's circumstances. Byron feels as though other close relatives, including his second cousins' mother, are unsupportive and look down on him.

Reggie's younger sister, a high school senior, has lost some friends at school as a result of her brother's SVP status, and has experienced some discrimination. Even

though Eric reports that his close family members have been there for him, his wife is no longer sure that she will be able to remain married to someone capable of committing serious sex crimes. Jerome acknowledged that he has lost the respect of many of his family members, and his son has experienced harassment at school because of his father's SVP label and notification information. Wes indicated that, after his initial conviction, his wife terminated their relationship and divorced him. Andre reported that, in order to spend time with his son (11), he must adhere to supervised visits specified by his parole requirements.

Only some of the SVPs also reported experiencing problems with their friends. For instance, Clyde reported that he has lost the respect of some of his friends. Byron indicated that he is scared about how his friends will react if they are to find out about his sex crime and subsequent label and punishment. Jerome made new friends at therapy because all of his previous ties have been severed. Willie had one female friend who was extremely turned off by him when he informed her about his criminal history; however, Willie's other friends have mixed emotions. While some of his friends frown on him, others are more forgiving and seem to be understanding.

In terms of the acquisition of the SVP label, all of the interviewed SVPs admitted feeling, in one form or another, ashamed, "terrible," depressed, anxious, and frightened of being targeted in the community or, worse, having a primary group member (e.g., mother, sister, or son) be threatened or the target of aggressive, antagonistic behavior. Byron admitted to wanting to hide his SVP label because of the anxiety and distress that it causes him and his family. Jerome stated that he feels like an "outcast," and the label makes him feel depressed and "worthless." Wes described the label as "creepy," and

talked about how it makes him feel uncomfortable; however, Wes explained that he does not understand how he acquired the label. Wes indicated that he had no say in the labeling process and is uncomfortable knowing that there is no way to shed the label despite being crime free for an extended period of time.

Reggie felt that the SVP label is a “slap in the face,” which he is unable to hide from. Reggie cogently argued that notification should be used to alert members of the public about all types of criminal offenders – not just sex offenders – and how communities could benefit from this type of policy. Like Wes, Andre complained about the “unfair evaluation process” that resulted in his acquisition of the SVP label. Andre stated that the SVP label has shattered his confidence and contributed to his depression. He also raised the point that notification can be misleading, since he is an SVP who committed a nonviolent sex offense. Eric complained about similar problems and he attributes many of his problems to the labeling process, not community notification. Eric argued that being labeled a SVP is more devastating to his identity than the distribution of his notification information. Like Wes, Eric also complained that no opportunity exists to have the SVP label expunged. Eric pointed out that he simply does not have a chance to restore his reputation. However, each SVP indicated that being labeled, required to register, and subject to notification makes them want to work hard to avoid reoffending.

Among the nine interviewed SVPs, only three failed to report that they have, personally, experienced harassment in the community. Clyde, Byron, and Wes, despite feeling terrible about their circumstances, have remained clear of harassment since their notification began. However, the remaining six SVPs each indicated that they have

experienced harassment in the community since their notification began. Specifically, Seth reported that he and his family are regularly harassed, and followed in the neighborhood, by local community members. Seth's wife, however, discourages him from contacting the police and reporting this behavior. Jerome reported that one of his neighbors threatened to kill him, and other community members regularly express rage toward him. Despite reporting the threats against his life to the state police, no arrests were made or charges filed.

Reggie and his family members, including his younger sister, with whom he resides, have experienced harassment and pressure to move and relocate outside of the warned area. Andre reported receiving threatening telephone calls from others aware of his SVP status and notification requirements, and that his vehicle has been vandalized. Despite reporting the vehicle incident to the police, Andre indicated that no legitimate police response resulted. Even though he has not been personally attacked by community members, Eric's wife was initially verbally attacked by community members at neighborhood meetings prior to Eric's release. The most severe form of harassment was reported by Willie, who was bullied by a neighbor. The "pot shots" fired in Willie's direction exemplify the extreme nature of the reactions of some community members.

The majority of interviewees identified and recognized the primary purposes of sex offender registration and notification, and nearly all of the SVPs used phrases and words such as "prevention," "awareness," and "safety" to characterize the aims and goals of registration and notification. Clyde noted that notification "keeps track" of him and Seth recognized how notification helps "protect the community." Jerome argued that notification should act as a crime deterrent and Clyde even agreed that notification does,

in fact, deter him. Byron and Eric, on the other hand, believe that notification will not deter offenders from recidivating. Instead, they each argued that, if offenders were committed to offending, notification would only slow them down or prevent them from committing a sex crime in the notified area. Wes pointed out that notification can produce an alternative outcome whereby offenders may seek to avoid formal registration instructions and, in turn, refuse compliance. Willie, who noted that notification is a good idea, wondered why it only exists for sex offenders, and why other serious habitual and violent offenders are not subject to notification.

CHAPTER 6

MULTIVARIATE REGRESSION RESULTS

Chapter 4 presented descriptive sample characteristics of those sex offenders who completed the anonymous survey. In Chapter 5, nine SVP narratives are presented summarizing some negative life events and experiences, and emotions and feelings, attributed to the acquisition of the SVP label and/or the initiation of the active community notification process. Results presented in this chapter are based exclusively, like Chapter 4's descriptive results, on the anonymous survey data collected at the four sex offender treatment providers. More specifically, the analyses presented in this chapter are based on data provided by RSO and SVP respondents.

Previous literature examining the impact of community notification on sex offenders has explored, globally, some of the emotional and social consequences, such as shame, anxiety/distress, hopelessness, and isolation (e.g., Marcado et al., 2008; Tewksbury, 2005). The current research advances this body of work by using multivariate regression techniques to examine the impact of several explanatory and control variables on four mental health outcomes (self-esteem, mastery/efficacy, stigma, and depression) for sex offenders attempting to successfully reintegrate in mainstream society.

The four different outcome measures are separately regressed on, first, a block of six sociodemographic indicators, followed by a block of two offender characteristics, then four victim characteristics, and, lastly, the employment consequences scale, residency restriction scale, and harassment scale. Variables included in the block of sociodemographics are a dummy-coded variable for African Americans, a dummy-coded

variable for “other” race respondents (making Whites the reference category), education, income, a dummy-coded variable for not currently married, and age. Offender characteristics include a dummy-coded variable for SVPs (making RSOs the reference category), and a variable capturing the degree to which offenders feel their family and friends will stick by them. Victim characteristics include the dummy-coded variables: female victim, child victim, family victim, and non-family member but known victim (making stranger victims the reference category). The final block of measures for each series of regressions includes the employment outcome scale, residency restriction scale, and harassment scale. These three scales are included to measure the impact of the registration and/or notification on the four mental health outcomes, after controlling for the sociodemographics, and offender and victim characteristics. Inter-item correlations for all of the composites and variables featured in all of the regressions are presented in Appendix E.

Self-Esteem

When people have a positive attitude about themselves and feel capable, successful, and as though they have a lot to be proud of, they have high self-esteem. People with high self-esteem are more confident and have a greater likelihood of succeeding in the activities in which they partake; hence, a positive outlook and healthy self-esteem is important for offenders who are attempting to successfully reenter society after being incarcerated.

Parameter estimates and standard errors for the four regressions of self-esteem on the explanatory variables are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Model Parameters and Standard Errors for Regression of Self-Esteem on Sociodemographics, Offender and Victim Characteristics, and Negative Outcome Scales ($n = 89$)

Explanatory variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Intercept	28.71***	3.14	23.13***	4.39	20.32***	4.88	21.89***	5.13
Race (Black)	5.62***	1.35	5.46***	1.36	4.57**	1.40	4.52**	1.42
Race (Other)	2.82	1.75	3.36 _†	1.76	3.37 _†	1.76	3.03 _†	1.79
Education	.29	.40	.41	.41	.24	.42	.25	.42
Income	.67	.54	.54	.55	.76	.55	.70	.57
Not married	-.34	1.37	.30	1.42	.35	1.41	.43	1.42
Age	-.03	.05	-.01	.05	.01	.05	.01	.05
SVP			.89	1.75	.61	1.79	.88	1.83
Family stick by			1.29 _†	.73	1.33 _†	.72	1.15	.74
Female victims					3.67*	1.83	3.63 _†	1.87
Child victims					.91	1.43	1.22	1.44
Family victims					-3.71*	1.80	-3.53 _†	1.82

Table 6.1 (Continued)

Explanatory variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Non-family but known victims					-1.68	1.38	-1.92	1.39
Employment outcome scale							.03	.66
Residency outcome scale							-.57	.64
Harassment outcome scale							-.37	.48
<i>F</i> Ratio	3.34**		2.94**		2.62**		2.29**	
ΔF	-		1.62		1.75		.99	
R^2	.19		.23		.29		.32	

Significance levels: * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$, † $p \leq .10$.

In Model 1, self-esteem is regressed on the block of six sociodemographic variables: (1) race (Black respondents), (2) race (other respondents), (3) education, (4) income, (5) marital status (not married respondents), and (6) age. In Model 2, self-esteem is regressed on the block of sociodemographics, as well as two offender characteristics: (1) offender status or classification (for SVP respondents) and (2) can count on family and friends to stick by when down (labeled “Family sticks by” from here out). Model 3 introduces four victim characteristics, each in the form of a dummy-coded variable: (1) female victims, (2) child victims, (3) family victims, and (4) non-family member (but known) victims.

Model 4 introduces the three scales that were developed to measure the different negative outcomes – i.e., (1) economic and employment, (2) residency, (3) and harassment – experienced by RSOs and SVPs who are subject to community notification. Even though this model still contains at least one statistically significant predictor of self-esteem ($F = 2.29$, $df = 15, 73$, $p = .01$), the addition of this block of three composites does not significantly contribute to the overall fit of the model, as indicated by the change in F ratio ($\Delta F = .99$, $df = 3$, $p = .4$). The F ratio for Model 2 and Model 3 is not significant at the .05 level either. Race (for Black respondents) is the only statistically significant ($t = 3.19$, $p < .01$) predictor of self-esteem in this fourth model, indicating that, on average, Black sex offenders are expected to score 4.52 higher on self-esteem than White sex offenders. Race (for other respondents) ($t = 1.69$, $p < .1$), female victims ($t = 1.94$, $p < .06$), and family victims ($t = -1.94$, $p < .06$) are each marginally significant.

Mastery

Mastery (or self-efficacy) refers to feelings of competency and being able to succeed at an activity over time, and the extent to which people see themselves as being in control of the forces that affect their lives (Pearlin et al., 1981). “The greater one’s sense of self-efficacy, the more effort one will expend at a task and the greater one’s persistence in the face of difficulty” (Michener et al., 2004, p. 64).

Parameter estimates and standard errors for the four regressions of mastery on the explanatory variables are presented in Table 6.2. In Model 1, mastery is regressed on the six sociodemographics: race (Black respondents), race (other respondents), education, income, marital status (not married respondents), and age. In Model 2, mastery is regressed on the block of six sociodemographics, as well as the two offender characteristics: offender status (SVP respondents) and “Family sticks by.” Model 3 introduces the block of four victim characteristics, again, each in the form of a dummy-coded variable: female victims, child victims, family victims, and non-family member (but known) victims.

Model 4 introduces the three scales that were developed to measure the different negative outcomes (again, economic and employment, residency, and harassment) experienced by RSOs and SVPs who are subject to community notification. None of the explanatory variables explain a significant amount of variation in mastery ($F = .82$, $df = 15$, 72 , $p = .65$). Moreover, the addition of this block of three composites does not significantly contribute to the overall fit of the model, as indicated by the change in F ratio ($\Delta F = 1.32$, $df = 3$, $p = .27$). The F ratio for Model 2 and Model 3 is not significant at the .05 level either.

Table 6.2

Model Parameters and Standard Errors for Regression of Mastery on Sociodemographics, Offender and Victim Characteristics, and Negative Outcome Scales ($n = 88$)

Explanatory variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Intercept	22.80***	2.31	19.68***	3.25	19.78***	3.70	21.22***	3.86
Race (Black)	.91	.99	.75	1.00	.29	1.06	.33	1.07
Race (Other)	.61	1.28	.92	1.29	.88	1.33	.69	1.34
Education	-.19	.29	-.12	.30	-.25	.31	-.22	.32
Income	.35	.40	.26	.41	.39	.42	.34	.43
Not married	-.95	1.01	-.65	1.05	-.69	1.07	-.58	1.06
Age	-.01	.03	-.01	.04	.01	.04	.01	.04
SVP			-.12	1.29	-.07	1.35	.30	1.37
Family stick by			.79	.54	.75	.55	.59	.55
Female victims					.95	1.38	.68	1.40
Child victims					.25	1.09	.49	1.09
Family victims					-2.31†	1.36	-2.12	1.36

Table 6.2 (Continued)

Explanatory variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Non-family but known victims					-1.35	1.04	-1.49	1.05
Employment outcome scale							-.26	.50
Residency outcome scale							-.66	.49
Harassment outcome scale							-.08	.36
<i>F</i> Ratio	.48		.64		.69		.82	
ΔF	-		1.11		.81		1.32	
R^2	.03		.06		.10		.15	

Significance level: *** $p \leq .001$, † $p \leq .10$.

Stigma Composite

A stigma refers to some negative characteristic that has been imposed on an individual to signify disgrace. Individuals who become stigmatized are, “marked,” “labeled,” seen as different, and set apart from others; nor are they perceived as honest, competent, or trustworthy. A sex offender bears all the qualities of a stigmatized typology and is strongly attached to a variety of negative qualities.

Parameter estimates and standard errors for the four regressions of stigma on the explanatory variables are presented in Table 6.3. In Model 1, stigma is regressed on the (following) block of (same) sociodemographics: race (Black respondents), race (other respondents), education, income, marital status (not married respondents), and age. In Model 2, stigma is regressed on the block of sociodemographic variables, as well as the two offender characteristics: offender status (SVP respondents) and “Family sticks by.” Model 3 introduces the block of four victim characteristics, again, each in the form of a dummy-coded variable: female victims, child victims, family victims, and non-family member (but known) victims.

Model 4 introduces the three scales that were developed to measure the different negative outcomes (again, economic and employment, residency, and harassment) experienced by RSOs and SVPs who are subject to community notification. This model, like the prior three, does not contain any explanatory variables that explain a significant proportion of the variation in stigma ($F = 1.50, df = 15, 57, p = .14$). Moreover, the addition of this block of three composites does not significantly contribute to the overall fit of the model ($\Delta F = 1.02, df = 3, p = .39$). The F ratio for Model 2 and Model 3 is not significant at the .05 level either.

Table 6.3

Model Parameters and Standard Errors for Regression of the Stigma Composite on Sociodemographics, Offender and Victim Characteristics, and Negative Outcome Scales ($n = 73$)

Explanatory Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Intercept	-1.57	1.83	.09	2.42	.28	2.87	-.93	2.99
Race (Black)	-.14	.80	.28	.78	.43	.89	.45	.91
Race (Other)	-.77	.95	-.79	.94	-.83	.98	-.55	.99
Education	.39	.24	.34	.23	.35	.26	.30	.27
Income	.09	.33	.21	.32	.18	.34	.29	.35
Not married	-.83	.75	-.94	.75	-.89	.79	-.87	.81
Age	.03	.03	.04	.03	.04	.03	.04	.03
SVP			1.65 _†	.89	1.54	.98	1.38	.99
Family stick by			-.68 _†	.39	-.70 _†	.41	-.55	.42
Female victims					-.25	.99	-.32	1.02
Child victims					.32	.79	.13	.81
Family victims					.02	1.07	-.13	1.08

Table 6.3 (Continued)

Explanatory Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Non-family but known Victims					-.22	.76	-.07	.77
Employment Outcome Scale							.02	.37
Residency Outcome Scale							.14	.37
Harassment Outcome Scale							.31	.27
<i>F</i> Ratio	1.93 _†		2.51*		1.62		1.50	
ΔF	-		3.75*		.12		1.02	
<i>R</i> ²	.15		.24		.25		.28	

Significance level: * $p \leq 0.05$, $†p \leq .10$.

Depression

Depression is a condition that adversely affects mood, interferes with enjoyment of life, and shapes ideas; major depression is debilitating and even interferes with work and how people eat and sleep. Those suffering from depression are not usually capable of simply curing themselves; without help, treatment, and/or support, depression can persist for long periods of time or become a reoccurring ailment that continuously surfaces over the life-course. Investigating outcomes that are related to depression is of criminological significance because social science research has linked related psychosocial variables (including depression) to offender recidivism (see Benda, 2005; Hiller, Knight, Broome, & Simpson, 1996).

Parameter estimates and standard errors for the four regressions of depression on the explanatory variables are presented in Table 6.4. In Model 1, depression is regressed on the block of six sociodemographic variables: race (Black respondents), race (other respondents), education, income, marital status (not married respondents), and age. In Model 2, depression is regressed on the block of sociodemographic variables, as well as the two offender characteristics: offender status (SVP respondents) and “Family sticks by.” Model 3 introduces the block of four victim characteristics, again, each in the form of a dummy-coded variable: female victims, child victims, family victims, and non-family member (but known) victims.

Table 6.4

Model Parameters and Standard Errors for Regression of Depression on Sociodemographics, Offender and Victim Characteristics, and Negative Outcome Scales ($n = 87$)

Explanatory Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Intercept	45.58***	7.29	51.64***	10.35	54.41***	11.73	44.46***	12.17
Race (Black)	-5.46‡	3.19	-5.54‡	3.25	-3.88	3.48	-3.80	3.46
Race (Other)	.13	3.99	-.45	4.09	.65	4.17	2.58	4.17
Education	-.44	.92	-.53	.94	-.28	.97	-.51	.97
Income	-1.98	1.29	-1.91	1.31	-2.19‡	1.33	-1.39	1.35
Not married	-3.12	3.13	-3.98	3.29	-3.22	3.33	-3.28	3.28
Age	-.02	.10	-.04	.11	-.09	.11	-.04	.11
SVP			-2.52	4.03	-3.55	4.21	-5.18	4.20
Family stick by			-1.21	1.69	-1.25	1.70	-.39	1.70
Female victims					-1.98	4.29	-1.67	4.29
Child victims					.19	3.36	-.37	3.32
Family victims					4.79	4.35	3.82	4.28

Table 6.4 (Continued)

Explanatory Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Non-family but known Victims					-2.16	3.23	-1.62	3.19
Employment Outcome Scale							1.99	1.52
Residency Outcome Scale							-.35	1.48
Harassment Outcome Scale							1.67	1.11
<i>F</i> Ratio	.99		.84		.92		1.18	
ΔF	-		.41		1.08		2.05	
R^2	.07		.08		.13		.19	

Significance level: *** $p \leq 0.001$, + $p \leq .10$.

Model 4 introduces the three scales that were developed to measure the different negative outcomes (employment, residency, and harassment) experienced by RSOs and SVPs who are subject to community notification. This model, like the prior three, does not have any statistically significant predictors of depression ($F = 1.18$, $df = 15, 71$, $p = .31$). Moreover, the addition of this block of three composites does not significantly contribute to the overall fit of the model ($\Delta F = 2.05$, $df = 3$, $p = .11$). The F ratio for Model 2 and Model 3 is not significant at the .05 level either.

Summary of Regression Results

Regression results presented in this chapter summarize the impact of several predictor variables and controls on the four different outcome composites. Results presented in this chapter are rather unexpected, and not as informative as originally anticipated. Results are unexpected, primarily, because of (1) a lack of statistically significant predictors (at the .05 level) in each of the final four (separate) regression models and (2) many of the beta coefficient signs are not as expected, in terms of the direction of the relationship.

Specifically, none of the offender or victim characteristics are statistically significant (at the .05 level) in the four final (or complete) self-esteem, mastery, stigma, and depression regression models. However, at the bivariate level, self-esteem is positively (and moderately) correlated with “Family sticks by” (at the .01 level), and is negatively (and moderately) correlated with having a family member who is a victim (at the .01 level) (see Appendix E). As a result, there was an expectation that, at the multivariate level, these two explanatory variables would explain a significant proportion of the variation in self-esteem.

The correlation matrix presented in Appendix E also indicates that, besides the two statistically significant correlations just described, self-esteem, mastery, stigma, and depression are not significantly associated with any of the other offender or victim characteristics (at the .05 level or greater). Subsequently, there was an expectation that, after controlling for offender sociodemographic characteristics, significant relationships would emerge to successfully predict the four different outcomes. More specifically, in terms of offender characteristics, SVPs were expected to score lower on self-esteem and mastery, but higher on stigma and depression, than their RSO counterparts, and “Family sticks by” was expected to positively predict self-esteem and mastery, and negatively predict stigma and depression. In terms of victim characteristics, sex offenders who victimized children (anyone under 18 years old), and family members, were expected to score higher on stigma than offenders who victimized adults, and strangers and non-family members who were known by the offender.

The same non-significant results were revealed with respect to the variables designed to examine the primary thesis of this study and to measure negative employment, residency-related, and harassment outcomes (i.e., the three scales). As seen in Tables 3.17, 3.18, and 3.19, self-esteem, mastery, the stigma composite, and depression are significantly associated with some of the individual items that comprise each of the three scales, and the composites. For instance, the employment composite is negatively associated with mastery, and positively associated with stigma and depression. As offenders experience more negative residency-related outcomes, mastery decreases and stigma increases. As offenders experience more harassment, self-esteem and mastery decrease, and stigma and depression increase all at the .05 level or greater. As a result,

there was an expectation that, after controlling for offender sociodemographics, offender characteristics, and victim characteristics at the multivariate level, significant relationships would emerge to successfully explain variation in four mental health outcomes. However, this was not the case.

The lack of statistically significant regression results may be a power issue or a function of the sampling strategy employed. The power of a test is equal to one minus the probability of a Type II error (or of failing to reject the null hypothesis when it is false) – i.e., $\text{Power} = 1 - P(\text{Type II error}) = 1 - \beta$. As a result, the power of a test provides the probability of *rejecting* the null hypothesis when it is false. Because of the small sample size present in the four final regression models, a series of post-hoc power analyses were estimated using *G*Power 3.0.10* (Buchner, Erdfelder, Faul, & Lang, 2008) to assess the amount of power associated with the multiple regression analyses, using sample size (n), effect size (f^2), number of predictors (k), explained variation (R^2), and a fixed alpha level ($\alpha = .05$).

The post-hoc power estimates, which were computed for all four final regression models where each mental health composite – i.e., self-esteem, mastery, stigma, and depression – is regressed on 15 predictor variables, are presented in Table 6.5. Using Cohen's (1988) suggested effect sizes – i.e., small (.02), medium (.15), and large (.35), the power analyses indicate that the regression analyses only have adequate power if a large effect size is employed. For example, when effect size is set at .35, all four power analyses demonstrate adequate power and exceed Cohen's (1988) recommended level of .8 (see also Keppel, 1991).

Table 6.5

Post-hoc Power Analyses for Four Final Regression Models (given alpha is fixed at the .05 level and the number of predictors [or k] is equal to 15)†

Outcome	n	R^2	Effect Size (f^2)		
			.02 (Small)	.15 (Medium)	.35 (Large)
			Power ($1 - \beta$ error probability)		
<i>Self-esteem</i>	89	.32	.090	.524	.937
<i>Mastery</i>	88	.15	.089	.517	.934
<i>Stigma</i>	73	.28	.081	.409	.849
<i>Depression</i>	87	.19	.089	.510	.929

When the effect size is set at .15 or .02, however, the power analyses do not exemplify enough power to detect meaningful impacts at the .05 level or higher. Each of the final regression models had sufficient power to detect only large effect sizes.

Also, all subjects of the study were recruited through outpatient treatment providers. It is possible that sex offenders receiving treatment are being taught how to develop coping mechanisms to, and management strategies that, help them deal with the social and psychological problems resulting from labeling, registration, and notification. That is, sex offenders, including SVPs, who are currently being treated may be learning successful coping mechanisms that help increase positive feelings and emotions and that may prevent them from engaging in secondary deviance (or subsequent criminal behavior). Moreover, it is also possible many of the sampled sex offenders in treatment

are receiving medical intervention and prescription medication that help curtail their anxiety and depressive symptoms.

Because the proxy measures for the economic and social impact of registration and/or notification (i.e., the employment, residency restriction, and harassment scales) do not successfully explain a significant proportion of the variation in self-esteem, mastery, stigma, or depression, perhaps an examination of sex offenders who are not currently in treatment is warranted and would produce different results. That is, all of the sampled sex offenders in this research were currently undergoing outpatient treatment on (at least) a weekly basis, and many sampled sex offenders had a good working relationship with their treating clinician. Moreover, each clinician expressed concern about the emotional and social well-being of her/his sex offender clients. If sex offenders in treatment, in collaboration with their treating clinician, are successfully developing coping mechanisms and management strategies that contribute to a successful reintegration, then an examination of sex offenders who are not currently in treatment (and therefore are not formally developing coping mechanisms with a treatment professional) is likely to yield different, more meaningful regression results.¹⁸

¹⁸ To investigate if a treatment effect is present, variables identifying the treatment sites were included as three dummy coded variables in all of the final regression models, which are not presented here because, substantively, none of the results related to the hypotheses were different and no treatment effect was detected.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Using multiple research methods – i.e., survey research and interview techniques – and multiple methods of data analysis, the current research investigates the impact of sex offender registration and community notification on sex offenders in Pennsylvania. This is the first research project that examines how sex offenders respond to sex offender registration and community notification in Pennsylvania, and how SVPs also experience labeling. The first set of descriptive results from the survey data, presented at the end of Chapter 3, indicate that the sample characteristics of the three subsamples of sex offenders – i.e., SVPs, RSOs, and non-registered sex offenders – are not significantly different from one another, with a few exceptions such as offenders' age and victims' age.

Sex offender registration is a form of social control that allows law enforcement to monitor sex offenders living outside of prison and to store important information about them, such as personal descriptions and home addresses. Sex offender community notification is a form of social control that permits community members to access information required to better protect themselves and their family members. Together, these measures may work to prevent and deter future sex crimes. However, sex offender registration and, particularly, community notification can have negative effects on sex offenders and their family members and/or significant others. These negative effects are important to understand because, ultimately, released sex offenders who are subject to community notification in Pennsylvania will either successfully reintegrate into society or recidivate. Adult sex offenders are at the point in the life-course where major life events

(sometimes referred to as *turning points*), such as getting married or obtaining satisfying and stable employment with adequate income, can facilitate desistance or termination of criminal behavior (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993).

Offenders can be either deterred from committing sex crimes or can react to the labeling process, reorient their definition of *self*, and engage in secondary deviance. The potential negative consequences of notification are important to understand because it is possible that they may contribute to recidivism. The current research did not measure offender recidivism; however, this research did inquire about several social and economic dimensions that may affect a successful reintegration (e.g., did offenders experience job loss, lose of a residence, or harassment?). By sampling three different types of adult sex offenders – RSOs, SVPs, and non-registered sex offenders – the research design for this study provides an opportunity to compare the outcomes experienced by these groups. Furthermore, face-to-face interviews with SVPs provided an opportunity for them to candidly speak about their experiences with registration and notification, and to discuss problems that have interfered with their ability to reintegrate back into society.

Quantitative Findings

In Chapter 4, data were presented from the anonymous survey summarizing negative outcomes resulting from registration and/or community notification experienced by only the RSO subsample and SVP subsample. Findings from the anonymous survey data indicate that, even though no statistically significant differences were observed, SVPs experienced nine of the fifteen outcomes at a higher rate than RSOs, as expected. Surprisingly, RSOs were physically assaulted six times (5%), while no SVPs reported

being physically assaulted, and the two groups experienced verbal harassment at a nearly equal rate (33.3% vs. 30.8%).

Also at the bivariate level and from the survey data, findings indicate that SVPs experienced two of the four stigma subscales – i.e., perceived devaluation/discrimination and rejection experiences – at significantly higher rates than, first, members of the RSO subsample and, second, members of the non-registered sex offender subsample, as anticipated. At the multivariate level, findings from the survey data and contingency table analyses indicate that sex offenders who victimize children are significantly more likely than offenders who victimize adults to be restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule preventing them from accessing local parks and schools where women and children congregate. Also, if sex offenders victimized family members, their primary group members had a significantly higher likelihood of sustaining emotional harm than if offenders victimized, first, a stranger and, second, a non-family member known by the offender. Lastly, White sex offenders had primary group members who sustained emotional harm and were upset significantly more often than non-White offenders.

Qualitative Findings

Findings from the qualitative portion of this research suggest that SVPs do feel shame as a result of being labeled, and experience emotions such as angst, anxiety, and depression. Many of the interviewees experienced problems finding housing and employment following their prison release, and have unsupportive friends and family members, as well as family members who have experienced problems in the community because of their SVP status.

The methods and sampling procedures used in this research, which do not yield results that are generalizable to other samples of sex offenders, were used because few other methods were available to sample RSOs and SVPs subject to community notification, living outside of prison and in the community. Sex offenders represent a special population that necessitates extra protections by the IRB, and are difficult to sample. Gaining access to a group (or groups) of sex offenders in treatment, or being introduced to someone responsible for providing treatment to sex offenders, has proven difficult. Moreover, performing social research with sex offenders, further, seems to require a supportive contact who is also concerned with social research. Locating sex offender treatment providers and convincing treating clinicians that this research is important, was not an easy task.

Multiple Regression Analyses

Multivariate regression analyses were performed exclusively on the RSO and SVP subsamples. This was the case because only RSOs and SVPs were able to experience the (self reported) negative consequences resulting from registration and/or notification. These negative consequences were used to estimate the impact of registration and/or notification on (separately) the four mental health outcomes, and only RSOs and SVPs were able to respond (meaningfully) to these survey questions about job loss, difficulties with living arrangements, and severed relationships that likely resulted from the initiation and effect of registration and/or notification processes.

Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used to examine how the effect of sex offenders' sociodemographics, offender characteristics, victim characteristics, and negative experiences resulting from registration and/or notification contribute to adult

self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), mastery (Pearlin et al., 1981; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978), stigma (Link, 1987; Link et al., 1997), and depression using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D). All four of these outcomes are important to understand because lower levels of self-esteem and, conversely, higher levels of depression have been associated with an increased likelihood of recidivism (see Benda, 2005; Hiller et al., 1996). Moreover, elements of each of these four constructs have been loosely touched on by other researchers (e.g., Levenson & Cotter, 2005a; Levenson, D'Amora, & Hern, 2007), and were brought up by interviewees and discussed during the nine interviews with SVPs that were conducted as part of this research.

The multivariate regression results were quite unexpected. After controlling for sex offenders' sociodemographics, offender characteristics, and victim characteristics, none of the scales devised to measure the impact of registration and/or community notification on sex offenders' mental health significantly predicted any of the four outcomes. As a result, the regression models developed for this research suggest that registration and/or community notification does not significantly contribute to any of the four outcomes. The impact of labeling was observed (only) in one of the stigma regression models; that is, after controlling for only offenders' sociodemographics, SVPs are expected to score higher on stigma than RSOs, a marginally significant finding ($p = .07$).

With the exception of the multiple regression findings, some general patterns and experiences among sex offenders seem to demonstrate consistency with previous research (e.g., Burchfield & Mingus, 2008; Levenson & Cotter, 2005a; Tewksbury, 2004, 2005; Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b); however, more research is required regarding the impact of

labeling and of sex offender registration and community notification before any firm generalizations are made by this researcher. The remainder of this conclusion addresses such issues and is divided into four more subsections: (1) theoretical and policy implications, (2) strengths and suggestions for future research, (3) limitations, and (4) final remarks.

Theoretical and Policy Implications

The findings of this study suggest that sex offenders in Pennsylvania, including SVPs, experience a number of outcomes following their prison release (or sentencing), registration as sex offenders, and initiation of notification. The results reported in this research and by other researchers, suggest that labeling sex offenders and subjecting them to community notification can be characterized as penal harm. Specifically, penal harm results when labeling, registration, and notification interfere with a sex offender's ability to pursue legitimate, socially acceptable ends and goals. These social controls strip sex offenders' autonomy, resulting in constrained personal liberties, and adversely affect their personal well-being.

Problems locating housing and employment are at the forefront for sex offenders, followed by interpersonal problems with their primary group members. Formalized labeling, in addition to sex offender registration and community notification, stigmatizes sex offenders, makes obtaining employment difficult, and poses implications for sex offenders' personal relationships. Findings produced in the interview portion of this research are, in fact, consistent with all of the reviewed literature in this field (see Levenson & Cotter, 2005a, 2005b; Levenson, D'Amora, & Hern, 2007; Tewksbury, 2004, 2005; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006; Tewksbury & Lees, 2007; Zevitz & Farkas,

2000b), and this research provides an excellent illustration of how the stigma associated with being labeled a SVP works as a handicap preventing competent and trustworthy behavior.

This stigma associated with being classified a SVP marks sex offenders as different and connects them with a multitude of negative traits. Being recognized by others, as reported by the interviewees, results in the experience of fear and dread, and leads to exclusion and discrimination by community members but also by people who could help play a role in an offender's reintegration. Theoretically and practically, sex offenders, including SVPs, may possess the most spoiled identity of all labeled actors, whether deviant (e.g., mentally ill), antisocial, delinquent, or criminal, resulting in internalized shame, social rejection, social isolation, and financial insecurity.

Not only are these penal harms detrimental to sex offenders and their primary group members, but also to society at large. Innocent victims and their family members are harmed by alienated sex offenders who have been pushed to the periphery of society. Recidivism is one of two outcomes for registered sex offenders subject to community notification, and shaming processes – e.g., negative forms of labeling and repressing offenders – may contribute to an increased propensity to offend. Braithwaite (1989) argues that in order to prevent recidivism, criminal offenders must be properly shamed so that they may be reintegrated back into the community.

In order for the reintegrative shaming process to effectively curtail future criminal behavior, according to Braithwaite (1989), community commitment is required. Community members, although interested in the notification process, seemingly view sex offenders attempting to move into their community as a problem and safety threat. As a

result, sex offenders are excluded from communities and, perhaps, pushed to an alternative/deviant lifestyle that can create criminal subcultures and other conditions that are likely to increase their chances of recidivism. In the future, and if sex offenders are to be successfully brought back into the community as people who have paid their debt to society, community commitment and acceptance will be required.

Conceptually, some difficulties associated with offender reentry and reintegration can be attributed to the decline of rehabilitation as a primary goal of sentencing, punishment, and incarceration. Following sentencing, most sex offenders are incarcerated in “total institutions” (Goffman, 1961) where they are heavily scrutinized by correctional officers as well as by other inmates because of the low status that they occupy in the prison subculture. Stinchcomb and Fox (1999) point out that reestablishing conventional social ties following release is an essential component of successful reentry for most offenders, which is consistent with Braithwaite’s (1989) reintegrative shaming theory. Convicted offenders attempting to reenter society are constrained by several different social forces; for example, some lose their right to vote and eligibility for some types of employment. Other offenders have personal relationships that are severed or loose business relationships. Family members and friends may treat offenders differently and choose to distance themselves. “Potential employers may be reluctant to ‘take a chance’ by hiring someone with a record. Apartment managers may seek excuses to avoid renting to a recent releasee. Banks may decline loans, without which it is difficult to find and keep employment when a car is needed for transportation” (Stinchcomb & Fox, 1999, p. 58).

Such illustrations are consistent with some findings produced in this research, and the findings produced in this research are also similar to those reported in the expanding body of literature regarding the negative consequences of sex offender notification. Notification creates problems for offenders that may, in fact, adversely impact offender reintegration and community adjustment. Released sex offenders need to reestablish conventional social ties in order to procure a successful reintegration as Braithwaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming theory suggests. One alternative to managing high risk sex offenders in the community that incorporates restorative and reintegrative practices is "Circles of Support and Accountability" (COSA), which was developed in Canada (see Wilson, McWhinnie, Picheca, Prinzo, & Cortoni, F., 2007). This program, which has yielded favorable results (see Wilson, Huculak, & McWhinnie, 2002), is founded on the two principle aims of safety and support, and considers both the public's concerns regarding reintegration and safety and an offender's needs. "The circle is focused on the development of a network of informal support and treatment built around the offender, the core member, involving the wider community in tandem with state and voluntary agencies" (McAlidnelvn, 2007, p. 208).

Before any policy implications are discussed, an important caveat is in order. There are inherent dangers of taking action and specifying policy implications on the basis of only a small body of research. The impact of the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment (Sherman & Berk, 1984) on domestic violence policy in the United States, in terms of mandatory arrests and "no-drop" policies, provides an example of the dangers of basing social control polices on small pieces of research.

The experiment involved three choices (randomly selected) for officers responding to misdemeanor domestic violence: arrest the offender, counsel the couple, or split them apart. Following the original study, significant policy changes resulted across the United States that aimed to reduce domestic violence through arrests. However, these changes were premature, because the study had never been replicated and, moreover, the sample of arrestees was not representative of the United States population. That is, such policy and social changes were rash because the original study was fraught with several methodological and statistical problems (see Binder & Meeker, 1992). Subsequent replications of the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment have failed to reproduce the original findings in a consistent manner. “These replications indicated that the effect of arrest varied across jurisdictions, with deterrent effect in some areas, no discernable effect in others, and an escalating effect in still others (Singleton & Straits, 2005, p. 397).

This discussion highlights problems with specifying policy implications prior to extensive research using triangulation and several methodologies. However, one issue that was raised by several of the SVP interviewees merits attention. The interviewees believed that they were required by the state to be both (1) a SVP for life and (2) subject to active notification for life. One SVP interviewee even argued that there should be a reevaluation process at least every 10 years so that people who have acquired the SVP label can have a legitimate opportunity to improve their life chances and to reenter society as a “normal” person or, at least, as a lower status sex offender. In fact, in Pennsylvania, notification is separate from registration. All SVPs are subject to active notification, where letters are mailed to community members about the SVPs’ presence, but this is not always mandatory for life. On the other hand, RSOs are subject to passive

notification, where information is available online for citizens who actively search. Additionally, all SVPs must remain registered (as sex offenders) with the Pennsylvania state police for the remainder of their lives but, if certain requirements are met, they can have their classification reduced from SVP to RSO; however, they will have to remain registered with the state police for life.

This reduction of classification seriousness from SVP to RSO is only permitted if a SVP can avoid, for 20 years, any type of felony conviction (in any jurisdiction) for an offense punishable by imprisonment for more than one year. If this 20 year requirement is met, the petitioning SVP can have his sex offender classification (or level of seriousness) reduced to a RSO, and can have his notification requirements reduced from active to passive notification. Few of the interviewees appeared to be aware of this information and, instead, complained of being labeled a SVP for life.

Perhaps legislatures and law makers could consider reducing the legal number of years to 10 or 15, and perform reevaluations at more frequent intervals. Also, programs or initiatives could be developed to make offenders more aware of this information. Sex offenders need rewards and incentives for their conformity and for behaving as an upstanding citizen. If a SVP can attend therapy as instructed by court orders or his probation/parole officer, and if the SVP can go 10 years without any arrests or new felony convictions, perhaps a reduction from the SVP classification to a Tier II sex offender is not unwarranted.

Suggestions for Future Research

Suggestions for future research include examining, in more depth, the impact of labeling, registration, and notification on sex offenders from multiple perspectives. Little

research has investigated how sex offender registration and notification create more work demands for probation/parole officers and for mental health professionals and clinicians who regularly interact and communicate with sex offenders. Such mental health professionals may have good working relationships with their sex offender clients and may be able to provide an alternative perspective that could help establish characteristics of a successful reintegration.

An important limitation of this research was that I was unable to gather information from SVPs family members and significant others. No research has specifically addressed how labeling and/or community notification can positively and/or negatively affect sex offenders' primary group members and thereby disrupt family dynamics. Those connected or related via social structure to sex offenders may be rejected, socially, simply because of their association with a blemished actor.

“Individuals who would be ‘clean’ and normally acceptable to others when alone can, by association, acquire some of the socially degrading characteristics of a marked person” (Jones et al. 1984, p. 71). This phenomenon is referred to as a *courtesy stigma* (Goffman, 1963b, p. 30) and the relationship leads members of society to treat both individuals – i.e., the labeled actor and his/her associates – “in some respects as one” (p. 30).

The implications of registration and notification for sex offenders' primary group members are important because primary group members can play a significant role in a released offender's successful reintegration. Primary group members' perspectives are important because they can help shape processes that underlie continuity (persistence) or change (desistance) in criminal behavior over the life-course. Little research considers the impact of modern social controls on anyone other than the offender (see, however,

Condry, 2007) and nearly no research has explored this problem extensively for the associates of registered sex offenders subject to community notification. An examination of the effects of community notification on the primary group members of registered sex offenders is a fertile ground for social research, and such research could contribute to the literature about social correlates that are related to sex offender reintegration or recidivism.

One final suggestion for future researchers would be to integrate a study like the current one into a prospective longitudinal study that had the ability to measure offender recidivism. To gather data, such a research project could use a combination of official records, observational analysis, interview techniques, and survey methods. Official records could be used to access offenders' background information and criminal history. Such information could be used to classify sex offenders based on sociodemographics, previous criminal histories, and level of seriousness, and could measure the type(s) of offender recidivism (e.g., technical violation, non-sex crime offense, vs. new sex crime). Observations could be provided by sex offenders' treating clinicians about the general (treatment-related and social) progression and attitudes of sex offenders while in treatment. Interviews could help identify issues faced by individual offenders, and surveys could measure different mental health outcomes.

At time 1 (or immediately after prison/jail release or sentencing), self-esteem, mastery, stigma, and depression could be measured; at time 2, approximately six months or a year after sex offenders have been registered and subject to notification, such constructs could be measured again for comparisons. Together, these techniques may provide an illustrative account of how registration and/or notification impede or facilitate

successful reintegration. By talking to offenders about their experiences and talking to their clinicians about their progress (or lack thereof), and by measuring important social constructs related to offenders' mental health as well as recidivism, over time, this new research design might, in fact, help identify important correlates of offender recidivism or factors that contribute to successful offender reentry.

Limitations

A limitation of this research is the non-probability sampling procedure used to collect data and the small interview sample size that this procedure produced. The non-probability sampling procedure is a method of data collection that offers no basis for generalizing results. However, because research about labeling sex offenders and the impact of registration and notification on offenders is in the early stages and the availability of cases is severely limited, this non-probability approach is justified. The small sample size, nonetheless, produced a sample of SVPs that may, in fact, not be representative of the SVP population in Pennsylvania.

Such limitations make generalizing results to other samples of sex offenders in a different setting difficult. Future researchers concerned with similar issues affecting sex offenders and SVPs could include in their sampling frame all serious sex offenders (i.e., SVPs or Tier III sex offenders) from one state. After all serious sex offenders from one state (e.g., Tier III sex offenders, sexual predators, or SVPs) have been identified, a random sampling procedure, such as systematic random sampling, could be implemented to gather a probability sample of sex offenders living outside of prison and in the community. As a result, all serious sex offender cases in the population (i.e., one state) would have been eligible for selection in a random or probabilistic fashion.

A final noteworthy limitation of this research has to do with some of the content present in the anonymous survey. Some of the content may have been misunderstood by sex offenders and incomplete data were collected about sex offenders' most recent criminal conviction and sentences, as well as the amount of time that offenders spent in prison or jail. Offenders completing the survey question about length of prison or jail term seemed to include information about both the sentence handed down by judges as well as the amount of time spent in prison or jail. Likewise, the open-ended format of the question about most recent criminal conviction posed problems. Instead of asking offenders to supply (and recall) pertinent information, a list of likely choices could be provided for sex offenders so that accurate selections could be made, or offenders' official records could be accessed for complete information.

Although this study has provided valuable information about sex offenders' perception of and experience with labeling and sex offender registration and community notification, little information was uncovered about the impact of notification on offenders' family members. Again, this study has been limited in that it only assesses one perspective on the community notification process. Perhaps sex offenders cannot adequately consider the consequences of registration and notification on offenders and a more service-oriented profession would be a more appropriate source of this information. To uncover the effects of notification on offenders and their family members, future research may consider the implications of notification from additional perspectives. Probation/parole officials may provide valuable insight; however, to gain the best understanding of sex offenders' world, their perspective requires more investigation with a larger, more representative sample.

Final Remarks

In closing, this research project has been an excellent learning experience. Sex offenders represent a special, vulnerable population of human subjects because of their correctional status and, as a result, receive special protections. Completing the Institutional Review Board (IRB) application at Temple University, as well as at the parent corporation of one of the four sex offender treatment providers, helped clarify and emphasize sufficient safeguards for the protection and well-being of special populations. Paying attention to special procedures, processes, and accommodations put in place by the IRB helped to protect these human subjects – not exploit them.

Even though the original research design for this project was hampered by limitations of time, money, quality of contacts, and resources, the combination of survey research and interview techniques provided a rich picture of the registration and notification process in Pennsylvania. More survey data were collected than originally anticipated and the interviews, albeit limited by a small sample size, provided a graphic picture of the notification process and some associated problems experienced by sex offenders in Pennsylvania.

In addition, several different types of contacts were established in the sex offender treatment, registration, and notification field. Specifically, I had a positive social and learning experience with all of the probation/parole officers and mental health clinicians who were responsible for overseeing and implementing the treatment of sex offenders. Establishing such contacts will likely facilitate future research examining how treating clinicians interpret the effects of labeling, registration, and notification on sex offenders and, possibly, their family members.

Being introduced to sex offenders by a clinician who regularly treats sex offenders turned out to be a helpful step in being able to develop a good working relationship with sex offenders and, in turn, to gather private and sensitive information. Without such an introduction, collecting such data may be difficult and hampered by problems such as high frequency of non-response or issues regarding coercion. If a parole/probation officer introduced a researcher to sex offenders, offenders may feel compelled to provide favorable responses that reflect positively on the officer and his outfit. I am thankful that, for this research project, I was provided with some excellent contacts and able to collect important and interesting information from a population often difficult to access.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

**COVER LETTER FOR ALL REGISTERED AND NON-REGISTERED SEX
OFFENDERS RECEIVING TREATMENT**



TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
A Commonwealth University

Department of Criminal Justice

Gladfelter Hall, 5th Floor (025-02)
1115 West Berks Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122
Telephone: (215) 204-7918
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Title: Labeling Adult Sex Offenders and Sexually Violent Predators: The Impact of Stigma, Registration, and Community Notification.

From: Jonathan Gaines, M.A. (Graduate Student)
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Dissertation

Advisor: Kathleen Auerhahn, Ph.D.
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Date

RE: Temple University study about labeling and sex offender registration and community notification

Dear potential participant,

My name is Jon Gaines. I am a graduate student in the Department of Criminal Justice at Temple University and the primary investigator in this research. As you are aware, administrators at the treatment facility are helping me conduct this research. I am doing research about the effects of labeling, registration, and community notification on people who are required to register as sex offenders with local law enforcement officials. As far as I know, little research has been done on the reaction of people who are forced to register.

I am offering you a chance to let other people know about your experiences with registration, and your opinions about these procedures and processes. I am asking you to participate voluntarily in this research project. Your participation will involve

completing an anonymous survey at the treatment institute or your home about labeling, registration, and/or community notification. I will ask very little about crimes you may have committed or know about. The information that you give will be confidential to the extent permitted by law. I will not know your name, and no one who is not directly involved in this research will know if you participate. As a result, nothing I report will be traceable back to you.

I would like for you to complete the anonymous survey as soon as possible. If you are willing to be complete this anonymous survey, please read and complete it and then mail it back to me. This survey should take approximately one hour to complete and will be done at a time that is convenient for you. It is important that you understand that you can decide to stop the survey at any time without anything negative happening to you.

If you are willing to participate in this study, again, please complete the enclosed survey and return it to me as soon as possible. If you have any questions before deciding whether to take part in this research project, please contact me at (215) 450-7487 or my dissertation advisor, Dr. Kathleen Auerhahn, at (215) 204-1354. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as human subjects, you may contact Richard Throm, Institutional Review Board Coordinator at the Office of the Vice President for Research of Temple University by phoning (215) 707-8757.

Thank you,

Jonathan Gaines, M.A. (Graduate Student)
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APPENDIX B

**COVER LETTER FOR ALL SEXUALLY VIOLENT PREDATORS SUBJECT TO
ACTIVE COMMUNITY NOTIFICATION AND RECEIVING TREATMENT**



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Title: Labeling Adult Sex Offenders and Sexually Violent Predators: The Impact of Stigma, Registration, and Community Notification.

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Dissertation

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Date

RE: Temple University study about labeling and sex offender registration and community notification

Dear potential participant,

My name is Jon Gaines. I am a graduate student in the Department of Criminal Justice at Temple University and the primary investigator in this research. As you are aware, administrators at the treatment facility are helping me conduct this research. I am doing research about the effects of labeling and community notification on people who are required to register with local law enforcement officials and whose names and offenses are made public. As far as I know, very little research has been done on the reaction of people who are subject to community notification.

I am offering you a chance to let other people know about your experiences with community notification, and your opinions about these procedures and processes. I am asking you to participate voluntarily in this research project. Your participation will

involve talking with me at the treatment facility or a place convenient for you about community notification and, separately, completing an anonymous survey. I will ask very little about crimes you may have committed or know about. The information that you give will be confidential to the extent permitted by law. I will not reveal your name or the fact that I interviewed you to anyone that is not directly involved in this research. Nothing I report will be traceable back to you.

I would like to interview you as soon as possible. If you are willing to be interviewed, please read and complete the attached form and sign it if you feel that you completely understand it. This interview should approximately one hour and will be done at a time that is convenient for you. It is important that you understand that you can decide to stop the interview at any time without anything negative happening to you.

In addition, the consent form has a space that asks your permission to quote whatever you say, using your words. There is also a separate form about audiotaping the interviews. Of course, I will not reveal your name or identify you in any other way as the person I am quoting. Instead, pseudonyms will be used. Please initial this space if you feel comfortable with being quoted and then complete the form about audiotaping. Even if you decide not to permit me to quote your exact words, or if you decline being audiotaped, your participation in this study is still very important.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please complete the enclosed forms and return them to me as soon as possible. If you have any questions before deciding whether to take part in this research project, please contact me at (215) 450-7487 or my dissertation advisor, Dr. Kathleen Auerhahn, at (215) 204-1354. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as human subjects, you may contact Richard Throm, Institutional Review Board Coordinator at the Office of the Vice President for Research of Temple University by phoning (215) 707-8757.

Thank you,

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APPENDIX C

ANONYMOUS SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Anonymous Survey for All Adult Sex Offenders Receiving Treatment

Instructions: Please choose only one response/answer, unless instructions indicate otherwise and do your best to answer each question. Remember, if you are uncomfortable answering any of these questions you have the right to decline or to just skip it. Also, remember that this is an important study that gives you an opportunity to let other people know how you feel about labeling, registration, and/or community notification. This survey should take approximately one hour to complete. Thank you, in advance, for your time; it is greatly appreciated.

Section I

In this first section, you will be asked about your sociodemographic and background characteristics.

1. How old are you?

Please specify age: _____

2. What is your sex?

- (1) Male
- (2) Female

3. What race are you?

- (1) White (Caucasian)
- (2) Black (African America)
- (3) Hispanic/Latino
- (4) Asian American
- (5) Other. Please specify: _____

4. What is your highest degree earned?

- (1) Less than high school
- (2) High school diploma/General equivalency diploma (GED)
- (3) Some college
- (4) Associate degree
- (5) Bachelor's degree
- (6) Some post college
- (7) Graduate/Professional degree

5. What is your work (or labor force) status?

- (1) Working full-time
- (2) Working part-time
- (3) With a job, but not working (temporary illness, vacation, or strike)
- (4) Unemployed, laid off, looking for work
- (5) Full-time student
- (6) Keeping house
- (7) Retired
- (8) Other. Please specify: _____

6. What is your estimated yearly income?

- (1) Under \$10,000
- (2) \$11,000 to 19,999
- (3) \$20,000 to 39,999
- (4) \$40,000 to 59,999
- (5) \$60,000 to 100,000
- (6) Greater than \$100,000

7. If asked to choose one of the following names for your social class, which would you select?

- (1) Lower class
- (2) Working class
- (3) Middle class
- (4) Upper class

8. What is your marital status?

- (1) Married
- (2) Divorced
- (3) Widowed
- (4) Separated
- (5) Never married

9. Describe the composition of your household/those who live with you:

9a. Do you live with a spouse or partner?

Yes: _____ No: _____

If "Yes," what is their sex: _____ and age: _____

9b. How many children live with you? _____

Please list each of their sexes and ages:

	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>
Child 1	()	()
Child 2	()	()
Child 3	()	()
Child 4	()	()

9c. Are you living with any other family members?

Yes: _____ No: _____

Please list your relationship to them: _____

What is (are) their sex(es): _____ and age(s): _____

Extra space provided for listing.

10. Do you have children who are currently not living with you?

Yes: _____ No: _____

10a. If "Yes," how many children? _____

Please list each of their sexes and ages:

	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>
Child 1	()	()
Child 2	()	()
Child 3	()	()

Please list additional children:

10b. If you have children who are currently not living with you, why is this so?

- (1) Children are grown/live on their own
- (2) Custody arrangements
- (3) Due to your status as a sex offender
- (4) Other reason. Please specify: _____

11. Would you say that your health, in general, is excellent, good, fair, or poor?

- (1) Poor
- (2) Fair
- (3) Good
- (4) Excellent

12. In general, do you find life exciting, pretty routine, or dull?

- (1) Dull
- (2) Pretty routine
- (3) Exciting

13. Taken all together, how would you say things are these days? Would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

- (1) Very happy
- (2) Pretty happy
- (3) Not too happy

14. If you were to consider your life, in general, these days, how happy or unhappy would you say you are, on the whole?

- (1) Very happy
- (2) Fairly happy
- (3) Not very happy
- (4) Not at all happy

Section II

In Section II, you will be asked about conditions and characteristics of sex offender registration and/or community notification.

1. What is to be your length of registration in years?

- (1) Not registered
- (2) Five years or less
- (3) Between six and 10 years
- (4) Lifetime

2. What criminal offense have you most currently been convicted of?

Please specify (for example, unlawful sexual contact, indecent assault, or rape):

3. How many victims were involved?

3a. Please describe the victim(s):

	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Relationship (see list below)</u>		
Victim 1	()	()	1	2	3 (circle one)
Victim 2	()	()	1	2	3 (circle one)
Victim 3	()	()	1	2	3 (circle one)
Victim 4	()	()	1	2	3 (circle one)
Victim 5	()	()	1	2	3 (circle one)

Relationship type:

- (1) Family
- (2) Non-family member, but known
- (3) Stranger

4. What was the length of your prison or jail term? Please specify in terms of months and/or years (for example, 8 months **or** 4 years): _____

5. What is your post-release offender profile or status?

- (1) Registered sex offender
- (2) Sexually violent predator (SVP)
- (3) Other. Please specify: _____

6. Approximately what proportion of your family members, friends, co-workers, and other people who you consider to be part of your life know about you sex offense conviction(s):

- (1) Less than half
- (2) About half
- (3) More than half
- (4) Do not know

7. Please respond to this statement: “You can count on your family and friends to stick by you when you are down?”

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

Section III

In this third section, you will be asked some questions about your feelings about yourself.

1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am failure.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

9. I certainly feel useless at times.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

10. At times I think I am no good at all.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

Section IV

In Section IV, you will be asked about how you feel about some problems that you may have.

1. I have little or no control over the things that happen to me.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

2. There is really no way I can solve some of the problems I have.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

3. There is little I can do to change many of the important things in my life.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

4. I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

5. Sometimes I feel that I am being pushed around in life.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

6. What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

7. I can do just about anything I really set my mind to do.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

Section V

In this fifth section, you will be surveyed about your feelings about society's perception of persons convicted of sex offenses. Please indicate your level of agreement by circling the (one) appropriate category/number.

Part I

1. Most people believe that sex offenders cannot be trusted.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

2. Most women would not marry a man who has been labeled a sex offender and incarcerated.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

3. Most people believe that a man who has been incarcerated for a sex offense is dangerous.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

4. Most people think less of a person after he has been incarcerated for a sex offense.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

5. Most people look down on people who have been incarcerated for a sex offense.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

6. Most people think that sex offenders are just as intelligent as the average person.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

7. Most employers will not hire a person who has been incarcerated for a sex offense.

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

8. Do you believe that many people are afraid of those people who have been incarcerated for a sex offense?

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Disagree
- (4) Strongly disagree

Part II

1. Did some of your friends treat you differently after you had been a sex offender?

Yes _____ No _____

2. Have you ever been avoided by people because they knew you were incarcerated for a sex offense.

Yes _____ No _____

3. Have people used the fact that you were in prison to hurt your feelings?

Yes _____ No _____

4. Have you ever been refused an apartment or a room because you had been incarcerated for a sex offense?

Yes _____ No _____

5. Do you sometimes avoid people because you think they might look down on people who were incarcerated for a sex offense?

Yes _____ No _____

6. After being incarcerated for a sex offense, were people uncomfortable around you?

Yes _____ No _____

7. Did some of your friends reject you after they found out that you were a sex offender?

Yes _____ No _____

8. Did some of your family give up on you when they found out that you were a sex offender?

Yes _____ No _____

9. Were some people afraid of you when they found out that you were incarcerated for a sex offense?

Yes _____ No _____

10. Have people treated you unfairly because they knew that you were incarcerated for a sex offense?

Yes _____ No _____

11. Have some employers paid you lower wages because they knew that you were incarcerated for a sex offense?

Yes _____ No _____

Part III

1. Do you sometimes hide the fact that you were incarcerated for a sex offense?

Yes _____ No _____

2. Do you think it is a good idea to keep your status as a sex offender a secret?

Yes _____ No _____

3. Would you advise a close relative who had been convicted of a sex offense not to tell anyone about it?

Yes _____ No _____

4. Do you wait until you know a person well before you tell them you have been incarcerated for a sex offense?

Yes _____ No _____

Part IV

1. Would you apply for a job if you knew the employer was going to ask about your history of incarceration?

Yes _____ No _____

2. Would you apply for a job if you knew the employer was going to ask about your status as a sex offender?

Yes _____ No _____

3. Would you apply for a job if you knew the employer did not like to hire former inmates?

Yes _____ No _____

Section VI

In Section VI, you will be asked about some consequences that may have arisen from sex offender registration and/or community notification.

1. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you lost a job?

Yes _____ No _____

2. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you been denied employment?

Yes _____ No _____

3. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you been denied a promotion at work?

Yes _____ No _____

4. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you lost a place to live?

Yes _____ No _____

5. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you been denied a place to live?

Yes _____ No _____

6. As a result of sex offender registration, community notification, and/or your post-release offender profile, are you being required to abide by a 1000-foot-rule?

Yes _____ No _____

6a. Do you believe that this rule deters offenders from reoffending?

Yes _____ No _____

7. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you been treated rudely in a public place?

Yes _____ No _____

8. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you been asked to leave a place of business?

Yes _____ No _____

9. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have members of your family and/or close friends such as significant others sustained emotional harm?

Yes _____ No _____

10. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you had any of your personal relationships cut off or severed?

Yes _____ No _____

11. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you been verbally harassed by others in person?

Yes _____ No _____

12. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you been physically assaulted?

Yes _____ No _____

12a. If so, please describe the extent of your damages, in terms of both physical damage and financial.

13. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you received harassing or threatening telephone calls?

Yes _____ No _____

14. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you received harassing or threatening mail?

Yes _____ No _____

15. As a result of sex offender registration or community notification, have you received harassing or threatening e-mail?

Yes _____ No _____

16. Do you consider sex offender registration to be punishment?

Yes _____ No _____

17. Do you consider sex offender community notification to be punishment?

Yes _____ No _____ No answer _____

Section VII

In this seventh section, you will be asked about your satisfaction with the services provided by the treatment institute. Please indicate your satisfaction by circling the appropriate space/number.

1. How satisfied are you with the helpfulness of the services provided this treatment institute?

- (1) Extremely satisfied
- (2) Very satisfied
- (3) Somewhat satisfied
- (4) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- (5) Somewhat dissatisfied
- (6) Very dissatisfied

2. How satisfied are you with the treatment plan for your individual needs?

- (1) Extremely satisfied
- (2) Very satisfied
- (3) Somewhat satisfied
- (4) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- (5) Somewhat dissatisfied
- (6) Very dissatisfied

3. How satisfied are you with the overall quality of care provided?

- (1) Extremely satisfied
- (2) Very satisfied
- (3) Somewhat satisfied
- (4) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- (5) Somewhat dissatisfied
- (6) Very dissatisfied

4. In regard to the services provided by the treatment institute, is there anything that is not currently available to you that you would like to see offered?

Please provide your response in the space available.

Section VIII

In Section VIII, you will be provided with a list of some ways that you may have felt or behaved. Please indicate how often you have felt this during the past week by circling the appropriate space/number.

1. I was bothered by things that usually do not bother me.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

2. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

3. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

4. I felt that I was just as good as other people.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

5. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

6. I felt depressed.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

7. I felt that everything I did was an effort.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

8. I felt hopeful about the future.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

9. I thought my life had been a failure.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

10. I felt fearful.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

11. My sleep was restless.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

12. I was happy.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

13. I talked less than usual.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

14. I felt lonely.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

15. People were unfriendly.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

16. I enjoyed life.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

17. I had crying spells.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

18. I felt sad.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

19. I felt that people disliked me.

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

20. I could not get “going.”

- (1) Rarely or none of the time (Less than 1 day)
- (2) Some of or a little of the time (1-2 days)
- (3) Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)
- (4) Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

Thank you for your time and the important and private information you have shared.

APPENDIX D
INTERVIEW SCRIPT

Interview Script for Sex Offenders Subject to Community Notification

Instructions: Remember, if you are uncomfortable answering any of these questions, you have the right to decline or just ask to skip it.

Questions

1. When were you required to sign up (or register) as a sex offender?
2. When were you first subject to community notification?
3. How has everything been going for you since the notification process began?
4. Can you think of ways that your life has changed since the notification process began?
5. Do you feel any differently about yourself since the notification process began? If so, please explain.
6. Have people you come into contact with known that you had to register? If so, how have these people responded?
7. Please tell me, if at all, how people that you knew before community notification have changed in their behavior toward you since notification began.
8. Have you seen the information about yourself anywhere, including the Internet? If so, what did you think about it and how did it make you feel?
9. Can you think of any ways that community notification has affected:
 - (a) your ability to find or keep a job? If so, in what ways?
 - (b) your relationship with your family members? If so, in what ways?
 - (c) your relationship with your friends? If so, in what ways?
 - (d) the behavior or attitudes of your neighbors? If so, in what ways?
 - (e) your ability to find a place to live? If so, in what ways?
 - (f) the way that community members have treated you? If so, in what ways?
10. Did any behavior occur that resulted in or with police involvement? If so, what did the police do?
11. Have any of your family members or friends been the victim of any hurtful, threatening, or illegal behavior that may have resulted from community notification? For

example have people on the street stared at your family members or friends, damaged their property, talked about their behind that back, made threatening phone calls to them, sent them threatening letters, or attacked them?

12. (If yes to number 11) Was any of this behavior reported to the police? If so, what did the police do?

13. What address is listed as part of your community notification information presented to your community? Is the information correct?

14. Is the rest of your community notification information correct? If not, how so?

15. How do you feel knowing that your name, address, and/or personal description have been posted, where you are listed as a registered sex offender, for community members to read and respond to?

16. Have your family and friends responded to the posting of this information in any way?

17. If applicable, have you had any experience related to the police notifying local school officials and day care centers about where you live? If so, please explain.

18. If you are restricted by a 1,000-foot-rule, how does that affect you in terms of living and/or work arrangements and feelings and attitudes?

19. What is it like for you to comply with the requirements of registration and/or community notification? How do you feel about this process?

20. What do you believe is the purpose of community notification?

21. As far as you are concerned, is community notification accomplishing this purpose?

22. Please explain how being labeled as a sex offender makes you feel about yourself?

23. Please explain, if at all, how this label has affected your behavior?

24. Do you feel like the label makes you want to commit more crime or does it make you want to work harder to avoid reoffending?

25. Do you feel like sex offender community notification helps prevent recidivism in general? If so, in what way(s)?

26. Do you now feel like your community is now a safer place to live because of community notification?

27. Do you feel differently about yourself when you leave the community? Please explain?
28. What do you do when you are in the presence of community members who you believe know about your status as a sex offender? Is your behavior any different?
29. How have your perceptions of disapproval and/or disrespect affected your daily routines and activities?
30. Are social services available to help you handle issues raised by community notification? If so, please describe?
31. What is (or are) the most valuable resources for helping you confront and deal with the problems raised by the community notification process? Please explain how so?
32. Who has been the most supportive of you throughout the notification process?
33. How do the actions and the behaviors of those who are supportive of you differ from the actions and the behaviors of those who have been unable to accept your presence?
34. Please describe the actions taken that have indicated to you that this support is available? How has this acceptance made you feel?
35. Has anyone else contacted you by using the information provided about you on the Internet?
36. Has anyone contacted you using any other source of information provided about you through any other form of community notification (like the police going door-to-door, sending out letters, or posting notices about you)?
37. How old are you?
38. What is your race or ethnicity?
39. Finally, is there anything else that you would like to tell me about community notification or about what we have discussed?

Thank you for your time and the important and private information you have shared.

APPENDIX E

**INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS FOR ALL OF THE COMPOSITES AND
VARIABLES FEATURED IN ALL OF THE REGRESSIONS**

Appendix E

Correlation Matrix for all of the Outcome Composites, Sociodemographics, Offender and Victim Characteristics, and Negative Outcome Scales featured in the Multiple Regression Analyses ($n = 72$)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.
1. Self-Esteem	-	.64***	-.12	-.56***	.33**	-.01	.01	-.02	-.14	-.09	.03	.31**	.19	-.13	-.32**	.07	-.05	-.25*	-.22
2. Mastery		-	-.21	-.62***	.10	.03	-.07	.03	-.07	.02	.01	.21	.04	-.05	-.18	.03	-.17	-.24*	-.24*
3. Stigma composite			-	.19	-.03	-.16	.32**	.17	-.17	.24*	.22	-.19	.03	.14	.14	-.10	.13	.30**	.30**
4. Depression				-	-.06	.13	-.08	-.16	-.08	-.01	-.03	-.13	-.08	.05	.21	-.17	.18	.11	.27*
5. Race (Black)					-	-.38**	-.27*	-.42***	-.23	-.13	-.06	.26*	.23*	-.45***	-.32**	.00	.16	-.17	-.01
6. Race (Other)						-	-.09	-.18	.06	-.09	-.06	-.26*	-.17	.21	-.06	.15	-.08	.00	-.12
7. Education							-	.52***	-.14	.20	-.01	-.09	-.05	.04	-.04	-.08	-.04	.17	.03
8. Income								-	.03	.06	.00	.02	-.04	.25*	.25*	-.12	-.17	.05	-.07
9. Marital status (Not married)									-	-.06	-.10	-.24*	-.10	.02	-.12	.13	.07	.00	-.05
10. Age										-	-.14	-.07	-.03	.06	.25*	-.14	-.13	.16	.04
11. Offender stats (SVP)											-	-.08	.14	.24*	.20	-.13	.18	.12	.21
12. Family sticks by												-	-.03	-.18	-.05	-.17	-.16	-.15	-.19
13. Female victim													-	-.24*	.00	.13	-.09	-.12	.08
14. Child victim														-	.34**	-.03	.06	.24*	.11
15. Family victim															-	-.54***	.04	.19	.19
16. Not family (but known) victim																-	-.03	-.16	-.16
17. Employment outcome scale																	-	.30**	.39***
18. Residency outcome scale																		-	.56***
19. Harassment outcome scale																			-

Significance levels: *** $p \leq .001$, ** $p \leq .01$, and * $p \leq .05$.