Article

Interpersonal Violence and Institutional Misconduct in the Los Angeles County Jail System: A Mixed Method Investigation

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Abstract

This study involved a mixed method evaluation of interpersonal violence and institutional misconduct in the Los Angeles county jail system. Interviews with 52 correctional staff uncovered a widely shared belief that AB 109, Prop 47, and the Rosas decision had all contributed to an increase in violence and misconduct in the jail. Analysis of administrative records indicated there was a rise in the monthly rates of these adverse outcomes from 2010 to 2017. Intervention ARIMA models, however, revealed evidence of a statistically significant increase following only the passage of Prop 47. An examination of inmate characteristics across the 8-year observation period confirmed staff suspicions that jail incarcerates with more extensive criminal histories were being confined following the passage of these policies. If jails are to be responsible for confining higher risk inmates, provisions should also be made to increase the availability of evidence-based rehabilitative programming and other treatment services that can help combat the occurrence of these adverse outcomes.

Keywords

jails, interpersonal violence, institutional misconduct, policy evaluation, corrections

There are nearly 11 million county and city jail admissions in the United States each year, with more than 730,000 people confined in these systems on any given day

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(Zeng, 2018). These figures are not inconsequential and are disconcerting when one considers that aside from admission counts and basic descriptive information (e.g., gender, race, age, criminal charges), there is scant information available on jails and jail populations (Turney & Conner, 2019). To date, penological scholarship has tended to focus on state and federal prisons, which has left jails an understudied research topic (Haney et al., 2016). The inattention of jails in the academic literature is curious considering that these settings confine nearly half the number of inmates on a daily basis as do state and federal prison systems (Bronson & Carson, 2019).

The lack of scholarship in this area is concerning—not least because jails may inadvertently be affected by broader changes in criminal justice policies in a number of ways. For example, sentencing reforms may be effective at reducing the number of people incarcerated in prison (Bird et al., 2016), but its impact on jail safety and order remains largely unknown. This is because policy evaluators have focused their investigations on criminal behavior outcomes in the community rather than those occurring within the jail itself (e.g., Bartos & Kubrin, 2016; Lofstrom & Raphael, 2016; Sundt et al., 2016; Tellis & Spohn, 2019).

This is a critical oversight in the literature because sentencing reforms changing the composition of the jail population may also have an influence on levels of violence and disorder within these settings. Jails housing offenders with more serious criminal records, for instance, may experience more incidents of violence and misconduct. Internal changes to jail policies and practices—whether court-ordered or self-initiated—may also produce intended and unintended consequences. These changes, however, are often not well documented and are rarely evaluated. It is important, therefore, that researchers explore how changes in policy and practice may influence jail safety and security (Chakraborty, 2019).

This study seeks to address this gap in knowledge by conducting a mixed method pilot evaluation of interpersonal violence and institutional misconduct in the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD) jail system. More specifically, it examines staff perspectives on levels of violence and misconduct occurring within the county jail system and analyzes administrative records to assess for trends in these adverse outcomes over an 8-year period. This study represents the first known longitudinal investigation of violence and misconduct in a county jail system to date. The implications of its findings extend beyond Los Angeles to other departments that are interested in improving staff and inmate safety in jails.

Method

Study Setting

There are several reasons why the LASD jail system was the ideal setting for this investigation. First, it is the largest county jail system in the United States, housing more than 15,000 inmates daily across its seven facilities. Second, the department has been the subject of a number of recent internal and external policy changes that have had an unknown effect on violence and misconduct within its jail system. Third, the

Table 1. Number of Staff Interviews, by Location (*N* = 52).

Location	*n*
Men's Central Jail (MCJ)	11
Twin Towers Correctional Facility (TTCF)	9
Century Regional Detention Facility (CRDF)	7
North County Correctional Facility (NCCF)	6
Inmate Reception Center (IRC)	5
Pitchess Detention Center (PDC)—North	4
Pitchess Detention Center (PDC)—South	3
Administration	7

department maintains a computerized management data system that possessed the necessary information for addressing the research questions posed here. Finally, the department provided the author with access to its administrative data and staff for interviews, which were necessary for an evaluation of this type.

Procedure

The objectives of this study were accomplished in the following three phases.

Administrative data collection. In the first phase, administrative records were requested from the LASD Custody Support Services (CSS) Research, Planning, and Development Department. This process involved numerous emails, phone calls, and on-site discussions with an assigned departmental representative (i.e., a Sheriff's Deputy on special assignment for this project). Once an agreement was reached with the LASD administration, the data was transferred securely following the procedure detailed in the authors university Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocol. The data obtained included information on inmate demographics (i.e., gender: 1 = *male*, 0 = *female*; race: dummy variables for Hispanic, Black, White, and Other; and age at intake [measured in years]), arraignment and booking charges (i.e., felony charge: 1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*; offense type: dummy variables for violent, sex, property, drug, and other offenses), admission and release dates; security classification details (i.e., dummy variables for low, medium, and high security according to the Northpointe COMPAS Classification Tool); and participant and incident information for institutional misconducts and new criminal charges while in custody. This data was sent in separate files by type of information and year (2010 through 2017). These numerous databases were then connected using a unique inmate identifier in preparation for empirical analysis.

Staff interviews and site observations. In the second phase, 52 semi-structured interviews were conducted with a variety of custodial staff across the seven housing facilities and main administrative office to assess views on interpersonal violence and institutional misconduct within the Los Angeles county jail system (see Table 1 for a

Table 2. Number of Staff Interviews, by Job Type ($N = 52$).

Job type	n
Custody assistant	2
Deputy	19
Senior line deputy	6
Sergeant	7
Lieutenant	6
Captain	2
Commander	2
Chief	2
Medical/mental health	6

breakdown of interviews by location). These interviews took place over a period of 8 days during the summer of 2018. A convenience sampling method was used to identify participants, targeting individuals of different ranks and duties with a preference given to those with greater longevity in the LASD (see Table 2 for a breakdown of interviews by staff type).[1] Approximately two-thirds of the sample was male ($n = 33$) and the average length of service with the department was 16 years.

The author was escorted across and within the facilities by the assigned Deputy Sheriff. Interviewees were approached while on duty and read a script about their participation in the study. Staff were then brought to a nearby private location where they were informed that their participation was voluntary, and they were free to end the conversation at any time. Staff were also ensured their personal identity would not be shared with departmental administrators or referenced in any report. After the staff signed a consent form granting permission to take part in the study, the conversation was voice recorded. There were two individuals approached who opted not to participate in the study (i.e., <4% refusal rate). The interviews focused on staff views about changes in the prevalence of institutional violence and other inmate rule violations within the jail system during their time with the department. Staff were also asked if there were any specific events or changes in policy they felt had an influence on levels of violence or misconduct, what current practices they thought were effective at keeping levels of violence or misconduct down, and what other strategies they would recommend for reducing violence or misconduct even further. This information was used to direct the empirical analyses in the next phase and the interviews lasted on average about 28 minutes.

Time series analyses. In the third phase, time series analyses were undertaken with the two outcomes of interest in this study: (1) interpersonal violence (i.e., inmate-on-inmate or inmate-on-staff violence)[2] and (2) institutional misconduct (e.g., inmate acts of defiance, disorder, possession of contraband, or other regulation rule violation). Data on incidents of violence were obtained from the Los Angeles Regional Crime Information System (LARCIS) and information on incidents of misconduct were retrieved from the Inmate Reporting Tracking System (IRTS). The observation period for the time series
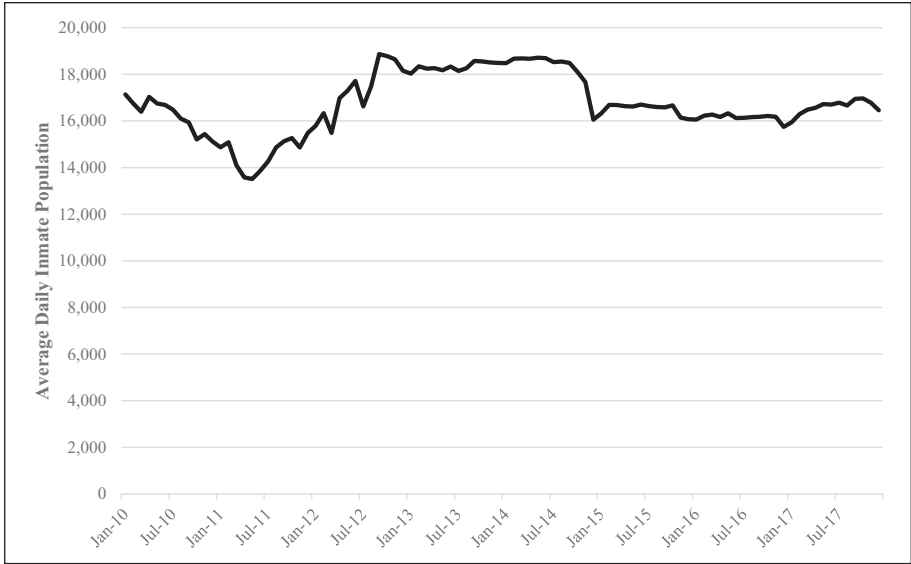
Figure 1. Average Daily Inmate Population (ADIP) in Los Angeles County Jail System from January 2010 to December 2017, by Month.

data began on January 2010 and ended in December 2017.[3] Figure 1 shows there has been considerable variation in the number of inmates incarcerated in the Los Angeles county jail system over this time frame.[4] To account for the potential impact that differences in the jail population may have had on the number of adverse outcomes experienced over this time period, these variables are examined here as monthly rates per 1,000 of the average daily inmate population (ADIP).

The time series analyses began with an examination of the systemwide monthly rates of violence and misconduct over the 8-year (or 96-month) observation period. It then assessed if the policies/events identified in the staff interviews corresponded as anticipated with changes in the rates of these adverse outcomes over time through the use of autoregressive integrated moving average (ARIMA) models. Finally, it explored if the qualitative information gathered from the interviews could explain how these policies/events may have influenced violence and misconduct in the jail system during this time period. More specifically, the individual-level data was aggregated to test whether shifts in inmate demographics and other criminal history variables aligned with the staff predictions and helped interpret the results.

Results

Staff Views on Jail Violence and Misconduct

This study focused on interpersonal violence and institutional misconduct in the LASD jail system from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective. The staff

interviews helped provide context about these outcomes by systematically capturing the views of a wide range of individuals who work in the jail environment on a regular basis. Study participants were responsible for a variety of organizational duties, including operations and security functions; inmate transportation and movement; medical and mental health services; education and other treatment programs; staff supervision and training; and various other administrative tasks. One of the points emphasized during the interviews was that individual well-being and institutional order are of the utmost importance to correctional personnel. In the words of an Administrator, "above everything else, our number one priority is to ensure the safety and security of inmates and staff."

On the whole, staff presented a rather optimistic view regarding the departments performance in providing a safe and orderly jail environment. Putting this challenge into perspective, a Sergeant summarized the situation: "Given the scope and size of our jail, the largest in the country, we do a pretty outstanding job." Another Sergeant noted that "we do the best we can based on our current resources, but we cannot stop all of the incidents that happen." Although it is unclear how much violence or misconduct is prevented, there was a consensus among respondents that these adverse outcomes nevertheless occur regularly throughout the LASD jail system.

Respondents estimated that across the jail system inmate-on-inmate violence happens multiple times per day and that inmate-on-staff violence occurs once every 2 weeks to weekly. When gassings (i.e., throwing of urine or fecal matter at staff through cell bars) were also considered, violence against staff was believed to be a daily occurrence. In addition, respondents reported that other non-violent rule infractions happened numerous times each day. By far, the most prevalent institutional rule violation of concern mentioned was possessing contraband. One Sergeant described the possession of weapons, narcotics, and pruno (i.e., alcoholic beverage made in jail) as especially problematic because the former "makes inmates more dangerous to staff and other inmates" and the use of the latter two "alters the way that inmates behave." Staff also described concerns about other types of misconduct, including being recalcitrant, non-compliant, or otherwise disrespectful; gambling; committing theft; damaging county property; and tenting (i.e., hanging sheets or other material to blind the staff view into an inmate's cell).

The majority of respondents expressed the opinion that the number of violent and misconduct incidents had "increased" or remained "about the same" over the course of their career. Only a handful of interviewees suggested that these adverse outcomes were becoming less prevalent over time. To assess these predictions, Figures 2 and 3 display the monthly rates of violence and misconduct per 1,000 ADIP from January 2010 through December 2017, respectively. Visual inspection of these figures reveals fluctuations in these events from month to month with a general upward trajectory of both outcomes during the 8-year observation period. For context, the rate of violence per 1,000 rose from 15.6 in January 2010 to 25.2 in December 2017. Similarly, the rate of misconduct per 1,000 climbed from 65.0 at the start of 2010 to 92.6 at the close of 2017.
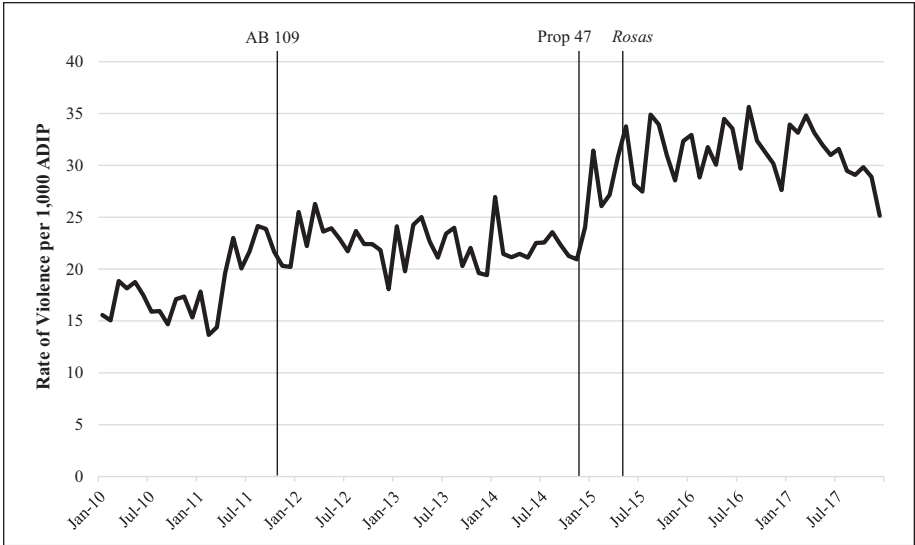
Figure 2. Average Monthly Rate of Violence per 1,000 ADIP in Los Angeles County Jail System from January 2010 to December 2017.
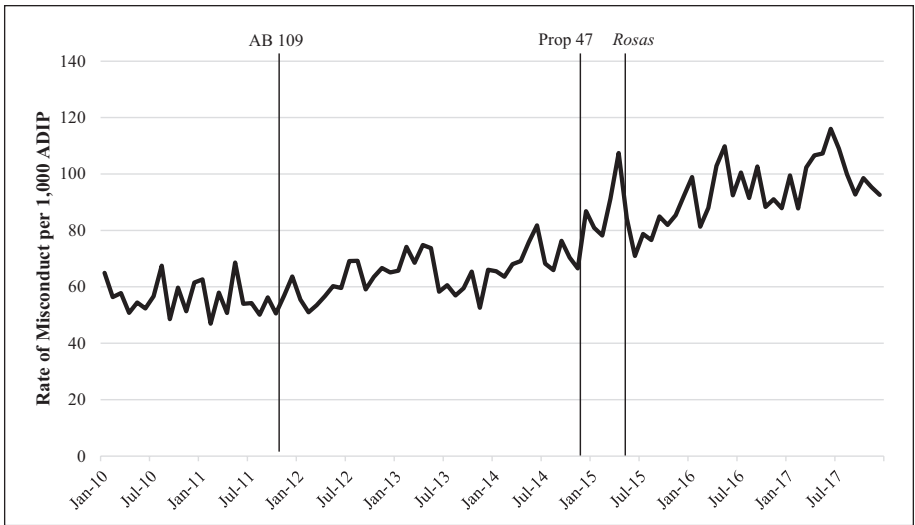

Figure 3. Average Monthly Rate of Institutional Misconduct per 1,000 ADIP in Los Angeles County Jail System from January 2010 to December 2017.

Staff Perceptions of Influential Policy Changes

These findings support the position that violence and misconduct have both increased during this time period. The next logical question is whether there have been any policy changes during the observation window that might have influenced these adverse outcomes. Across the interviews, there were three events consistently reported that were believed to have increased the levels of violence and disorder throughout the LASD jail system.

First, in October of 2011, California voters passed Assembly Bill 109 (or AB 109)—also referred to as Realignment—as a response to a federal court order to reduce overcrowding in the state's prison system. Under this bill, the practice of returning technical parole violators back into state prison custody was eliminated in all but a small set of the most serious situations (see Lofstrom et al., 2016; and Tellis & Spohn, 2019). Additionally, the responsibility for managing offenders convicted of most non-serious, non-violent, and non-sexual offenses shifted from the state prison authority to those in the individual counties. Following the passage of AB 109, the state prison population declined while its jail population elevated (Lofstrom et al., 2016; Tellis & Spohn, 2019). In addition to the increased number of jail inmates generally, there was a perception among the correctional personnel interviewed that AB 109 resulted in a greater number of violent-prone and disruptive inmates with more extensive criminal histories being sentenced to the jail. This change was believed to make the jail setting less safe and secure.

Second, in November of 2014, California voters approved Proposition 47 (or Prop 47)—also referred to as the Reduced Penalties for Some Crimes Initiative—which reclassified certain drug and most non-violent property crimes from felonies to misdemeanors (see Lofstrom et al., 2016). The passage of Prop 47 helped drive a reduction in the state jail population, which was due in large part to fewer new bookings, less convictions, shorter lengths of stay, and greater use of pretrial release for Prop 47 offenses (Bird et al., 2016). Although Prop 47 helped alleviate jail crowding, the staff interviewed reported that it did so by removing many of the lower-level and easier-to-manage individuals and leaving behind the more serious and difficult-to-manage inmates. This shift in the composition of the population was thought to be responsible for an increase in violence and misconduct throughout the jail system.

Third, in April of 2015, a settlement agreement was approved in the *Rosas v. Baca* federal class-action lawsuit filed against the LASD (hereafter referred to as *Rosas*). The *Rosas* case alleged that former Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca and his command staff condoned a long-standing and widespread pattern of violence by Deputies against inmates in the jail, which violated their Eighth and Fourteenth Amendment rights (see American Civil Liberties Union, 2015). As part of the settlement, the Sheriff's Department agreed to reform its policies and practices on use of force, enhance the use of force training for all deputies, and increase methods for tracking and reviewing use of force incidents and inmate complaints and grievances. While the staff interviewed did not support the use of violence against inmates described in the *Rosas* lawsuit, one of the concerns expressed was that the policy

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations Comparing the Rates of Violence and Misconduct per 1,000 Across the Four Time Periods.

Outcome	Baseline *M* (*SD*)	Post-AB 109 *M* (*SD*)	Post-Prop 47 *M* (*SD*)	Post-*Rosas* *M* (*SD*)
Violence*	18.2 (3.1)	22.3 (1.9)	27.9 (3.1)	31.3 (2.6)
Misconduct*	56.4 (6.1)	65.0 (7.2)	89.0 (11.5)	93.9 (10.6)

Note. M = mean; *SD* = standard deviation.
*$p < .001$.

changes made as part of the settlement reduced their ability to effectively manage and control the inmates under their care. Staff reported that the new policies limited the discretionary power of the Deputies and as a result the inmates were less likely to comply with Deputy orders because they have less fear of consequence for acting out or breaking the institutional rules.

Rates of Violence and Misconduct

These three events helped guide the specification of the empirical analyses that follow. More specifically, the outcome variables were separated into four groups (or periods): *baseline* ($n=22$; January 2010–October 2011), *post-AB 109* ($n=37$; November 2011–November 2014), *post-Prop 47* ($n=5$, December 2014–April 2015), and *post-Rosas* ($n=32$; May 2015–December 2017). The vertical lines in Figures 2 and 3 indicate when these three events occurred. According to the results of the staff interviews, these three events were thought to be responsible for increasing violence and other forms of misconduct in the jail.

Table 3 summarizes the average rates of violence and misconduct per 1,000 ADIP across these four time periods. As can be seen in the table, there was an increase in these outcomes following each of the successive events examined. The mean rate of violent incidents per 1,000 was 18.2 during the baseline period, followed by 22.3 in the post-AB 109 period, 27.9 in the post-Prop 47 period, and 31.3 in the post-*Rosas* period. A similar pattern also emerged for the misconduct variable, rising from an average of 56.4 misconducts per 1,000 during the baseline period to 93.9 in the post-*Rosas* period. One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests confirmed that the mean differences in these two outcomes across these four time periods were statistically significant at the .001 level. For contextual purposes, these differences represent a 72.0% increase in the rate of violent incidents and a 66.5% increase in the rate of misconduct incidents from the baseline period to the post-*Rosas* period.

ARIMA Time Series Analyses

Although the previous analyses make clear that there has been a rise in these adverse outcomes across the four time periods examined, it is possible that these increases

were due in part (or in whole) to a larger trending pattern over the study's observation period. Stated differently, it is possible that the trajectory of violence and misconduct were already elevating during this time period irrespective of the passage of AB 109, Prop 47, or the *Rosas* decision. In order to determine if these changes were influenced by these three events or merely represent ongoing patterns in the time-series data, ARIMA models were estimated (see Box et al., 2015). The use of ARIMA modeling in the current context is important because this method can statistically control for trending and autocorrelation in the time series data. Failure to account for these influences may bias the interpretation of the simple pre/post intervention comparison of the time series segments (see also Tabachnick & Fidell, 2019).

The first step in this process involved constructing univariate ARIMA models for the violence and misconduct time series data. These models were built using the monthly rate information from the baseline period through an iterative strategy. In selecting the appropriate models, consideration was given to whether there were any transformations or differencing in scores necessary to make the outcomes stationary with respect to central tendency and dispersion (e.g., remove any linear or quadratic trends in data, adjust for seasonal effects). In addition, the data series were also examined for the presence of any autoregressive or moving-average processes. The final model specifications were determined through a variety of mechanisms, including assessing the ARIMA model parameters, Schwarz's Bayesian Criterion (BIC) goodness-of-fit values, autocorrelation functions (ACFs) and partial autocorrelation functions (PACFs), Box-Ljung statistics, and *t* ratios of the residuals. The systematic variation (i.e., autocorrelation) in the violence series was accounted for with first-order differencing and the application of a moving-average parameter. The misconduct series required first-order differencing with the application of autoregressive and moving-average parameters to achieve a white noise process.

Once the appropriate univariate model specifications were identified on the baseline data, an intervention analysis was conducted on the full series with this information to evaluate the impact of AB 109, Prop 47, and *Rosas* on the two dependent measures. These three events were expected to produce an immediate increase in these adverse outcomes that would continue over the long term, so an abrupt, permanent step function was modeled. Table 4 presents the regression coefficients along with standard errors, *t*-values, and significance levels for these two ARIMA intervention models. The results of these analyses indicate that there was a 5.5% increase in the average monthly rate of violence and an 18.35% increase in the average monthly rate of institutional misconduct following the passage of Prop 47. These findings also suggest that AB 109 and *Rosas* had little influence on these two outcomes.[5]

Explanations for Variation in Violence and Misconduct

In addition to knowing if a correctional policy increases (or decreases) violence and disorder, it is critical to understand the reason for this effect. Again, the qualitative interviews were essential in this regard. Feedback from staff helped identify more fully the mechanism through which causal relationships may operate by providing

Table 4. Parameter Estimates for ARIMA Intervention Models Predicting Rates of Interpersonal Violence and Institutional Misconduct per 1,000.

Model[a]	Estimate	Standard Error	t value	p
Violence[b]				
Moving average	0.72	0.08	8.70	<.001
AB 109	0.28	1.82	0.15	.880
Prop 47	5.50	1.83	3.00	.003
Rosas	2.83	1.83	1.54	.126
Misconduct[c]				
Autoregressive	0.32	0.12	2.75	.007
Moving average	0.94	0.05	20.83	<.001
AB 109	−1.75	4.65	−0.38	.708
Prop 47	18.35	5.27	3.48	.001
Rosas	−7.47	5.24	−1.43	.158

[a]The general form of an ARIMA model is (p, d, q), where p = the auto-regressive component, d = the differencing component, and q = the moving-average component.
[b]ARIMA (0,1,1).
[c]ARIMA (1,1,1).

potential explanations for how these events might have influenced changes in these adverse outcomes within the LASD jail system. The themes identified in the interviews were then tested (where possible) with the administrative records to assess if the staff predictions were able to explain the results.

There was a common belief that AB 109 and Prop 47 effectively changed the composition of the inmate population thereby making the jail a more dangerous and volatile place to live and work. Summarizing the situation, an Administrator noted "we no longer house low level crimes, we are now dealing with a much more violent population." This sentiment was shared among the ranks. For example, a Sergeant described the population as having "a lot more hard-core criminals" and a Deputy reported the presence of "more dangerous people."

Table 5 examines demographic and criminal history information of the jail population spread across the four time periods. As can be seen in this table, there has been little change in the gender, race, or age composition of the inmate population over the 8-year observation period. There have been, however, some notable transformations in inmate criminal history and risk. The number of inmates incarcerated for a violent offense elevated from 19.6% in the baseline period to 24.7% in the post-*Rosas* period. This difference represents a 26% increase in the number of inmates arrested for a violent crime. On the other end of the spectrum, the number of inmates incarcerated with a drug offense decreased by 18.3% from baseline to post-*Rosas*. Although the number of inmates incarcerated for a felony is lower in the post-Prop 47 and post-*Rosas* periods, these estimates must be interpreted cautiously because prop-47 reclassified some felonies into misdemeanors. Finally, there have been fluctuations in the proportion of inmates falling into the three security levels of the Northpointe COMPAS Classification

Table 5. Comparison of Demographic and Criminal History Information Across the Four Time Periods.

Variable	Baseline %	Post-AB 109 %	Post-Prop 47 %	Post-*Rosas* %
Male	81.4	81.1	82.7	82.4
Hispanic	49.4	49.5	50.4	52.0
Black	28.9	28.4	27.8	26.6
White	17.9	18.4	17.8	17.6
Age	33.6 (11.5)	34.0 (11.6)	34.1 (11.6)	34.2 (11.4)
Any felony	49.5	53.2	49.3	47.9
Any violent offense	19.6	19.2	22.9	24.7
Any sex offense	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.6
Any property offense	31.7	30.5	32.5	35.6
Any drug offense	41.6	40.1	34.8	34.0
Low security	26.4	32.7	42.6	26.0
Medium security	66.8	61.9	50.9	65.8
High security	6.8	5.4	6.5	8.2

Note. Reported values are means and standard deviations.

Tool. While the percentage of inmates in the low and medium security groups are both slightly lower from baseline to post-*Rosas*, the number of high security inmates has increased by 20.6% during this time.

Discussion

Jails are among one of the least studied components of the entire criminal justice system (Chakraborty, 2019; Haney et al., 2016). The lack of scholarship in this area is concerning because jail inmates represent a diverse population who pose a wide range of management challenges. This study sought to address this gap in knowledge by conducting a mixed methods evaluation of interpersonal violence and institutional misconduct in the Los Angeles county jail system. The qualitative portion of this study helped systematically capture the views of the correctional staff who work in the jail environment and the quantitative portion provided an empirical test of these perspectives.

Fifty-two interviews with a variety of custodial staff across the seven LASD facilities and main administrative office confirmed these individuals view safety and security as the department's primary responsibility. The respondents also reported that incidents of violence and misconduct often occur multiple times per day across the entire jail system and most believed that these adverse outcomes were becoming more prevalent or have remained about the same over the course of their career. An examination of the monthly rates of violence and misconduct per 1,000 ADIP revealed evidence of an increasing trend in both of these outcomes from 2010 to 2017.

Despite the positive intentions behind AB 109 and Prop 47 to reduce California's incarcerated population and the *Rosas* settlement to prevent the excessive use of force against jail inmates, the interviews uncovered a widely shared belief among respondents that these events had each contributed to an increase in both of these adverse outcomes. An analysis of the mean monthly rates of violence and misconduct showed that there was an increase in these adverse outcomes in the periods following the passage of these three events. Intervention ARIMA models which account for trending and autocorrelation in the time series data, however, detected a statistically significant increase in violence and misconduct following only the passage of Prop 47.

The staff interviews also provided some potential explanations for the rising rates of violence and misconduct during the observation period. More specifically, respondents noted that AB 109 and Prop 47 effectively removed many low-level inmates from their care and simultaneously replaced them with individuals who were more dangerous and prone to violence. An assessment of inmate characteristics and other criminal history information across these time periods confirmed these suspicions. Following the passage of these events, the Los Angeles county inmates were significantly less likely to be incarcerated for a drug crime and more likely to be incarcerated for a violent offense. There were also more inmates found in the later time period to be rated as high security on the COMPAS classification tool.

Research Implications

Prior scholarship indicates that AB 109 and Prop 47 have helped reduce the number of people incarcerated in the California state prison system and further suggest that these policies have not resulted in an increase of crime in the community (e.g., Bartos & Kubrin, 2016; Lofstrom & Raphael, 2016; Sundt et al., 2016; Tellis & Spohn, 2019). The impact of these policies within the California jails, however, has been overlooked in the research literature. The findings of this study suggest one of the unintended consequences of the implementation of these policies is that violence and misconduct have increased within the Los Angeles county jail system. It remains unknown if a similar impact has emerged in the other California county jail systems and further if any additional factors may have contributed to this increase. Future research should seek to address these important questions.

The correctional personnel interviewed generally felt that the *Rosas* decision has made the jail system less safe and secure because it removed discretionary power and control away from the line staff and requires Deputy's to call for a Sergeant when responding to nearly every type of incident. The time series ARIMA analysis, however, did not find a statistically significant impact of this event on the monthly rates of violence or misconduct. Nevertheless, it remains possible that *Rosas* may have had an influence on other important outcomes that were not included in the current investigation (e.g., staff use of force). Future research should seek to involve a wider range of outcome variables and include an analysis of direct observations of staff and inmate interactions.

The longitudinal analyses in this study focused on the three events most commonly identified by staff as leading to increases in violence and misconduct. There were, however, several other practices discussed during the interviews as being effective in keeping levels of these adverse outcomes down. These included the use of cameras throughout the jail system, early release of inmates when the jail becomes overcrowded, better living accommodations for inmates (e.g., fewer inmates to a cell, more opportunities for going into the yard, greater access to television), inmate town hall meetings, good communication between clinical and security staff, more frequent safety checks and greater officer presence in the living units, prosecution of criminal offenses committed in custody (e.g., assaults, gassings), targeted response teams (e.g., pruno sweeps), single man cells for violent inmates (i.e., restrictive housing), greater number of staff and supervisors, use of force training and reviews, education-based incarceration (EBI) programs, and staff training in Divert (i.e., a program designed to help staff more effectively respond to mentally ill inmates). Owing to the retrospective design of this study, it was not able to assess the influence of these practices on the outcome variables. Future research, therefore, should seek to explore how practices such as these may impact institutional safety and order.

Policy Implications

There are several policy implications from this study that can help justice officials reduce the occurrence of interpersonal violence and institutional misconduct in jails. First, if a jail system is going to receive inmates who are more prone to violence and misconduct, there is going to be a greater need for the availability of rehabilitative and other treatment services that can mitigate the risks of these behaviors. Although economic constraints and political issues may make increased funding for this purpose difficult to acquire, an alternative is the reprioritization of current resources to increase available programming options. Second, authorities should take steps to ensure that the interventions provided to inmates throughout the jail system are evidence-based (i.e., have empirical support regarding its effectiveness in improving offender behavior; MacKenzie, 2006; Serin, 2005). Departments should consider periodically taking an inventory of its programs to ensure the most effective services are being provided (Campbell et al., 2019). Third, administrators should also consider the location of where treatment programs and other services are offered. Anecdotally, it appears that most of the rehabilitative interventions in the LASD jail system were found in its lower security facilities. Although some level of programming may be necessary in these less secure settings, it may be beneficial to prioritize service offerings in the higher security facilities where more of the higher risk inmates reside (Labrecque & Smith, 2019).

Fourth, programming should be triaged toward those individuals who are at the greatest risk of engaging in violence and misconduct. The use of a validated risk assessment instrument would help operations staff in making appropriate treatment decisions (Andrews et al., 2006; Bonta, 2002; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Finally, the interviews uncovered two consistent recommendations for helping the department

improve safety and security, increasing the number of personnel on duty and providing staff with more training. Department's should consider reviewing staff assignments and duties, as well as incorporating training on the risk-need-responsivity (RNR) model and core correctional practices which have been shown to effective strategies for reducing criminal behavior (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Dowden & Andrews, 2004; Gendreau, 1996).

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

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Notes

1. To maintain the anonymity of the individuals in this report, the term "Administrator" is used when quoting any statements made by Captains, Commanders, and Chiefs.
2. This definition does not include staff use of force against inmates (justified or unjustified) because there were changes in the reporting requirements of these events and this information was not available over the course of the study observation period.
3. Data were initially intended to begin in January 2000; however, changes in record keeping on new crimes and institutional misconduct did not allow for a comparable analysis of records over the entire 17-year period.
4. The average monthly jail population was obtained from the California Board of State and Community Corrections (BSCC) website (see http://app.bscc.ca.gov/joq//jps/queryselection.asp).
5. Owing to the relatively small number of time intervals between the passage of Prop 47 and the *Rosas* decision ($n = 5$), the ARIMA intervention models were also conducted using only AB 109 and Prop 47 as independent variables (not shown) and the findings were similar to those presented here. More specifically, AB 109 had no statistically significant or substantively meaningful impact on either series, whereas Prop 47 produced a sizeable positive effect on the violence ($b = 5.70$, $p = .004$) and misconduct outcomes ($b = 15.34$, $p = .001$).

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