

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
WORK-RELATED STRESSORS AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR**

By

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my children, Lily and Oliver. You both are my reason for everything that I do. Never give up on your dreams: you can do hard things!

ABSTRACT

The U.S. work culture places a significant burden on working families, with so-called "bad jobs" drawing attention for their detrimental impact on employees' well-being and their association with negative behavioral outcomes, including criminal behavior. While prior research has focused on the association between workplace stress and crime among law enforcement professionals and perpetrators of white-collar crimes, there is a lack of research on other occupations and for different types of offenses. My study aims to investigate whether work-related stressors, such as job strain, job dissatisfaction, low job commitment, and family-work conflict, contribute to individuals in the United States resorting to illegal means to fulfill their needs. More specifically, I examined the associations between work-related stressors and several criminal outcomes, including criminal offending, intimate partner violence (IPV), arrest, and incarceration, whether these associations were mediated by negative affective states (e.g., depression or anxiety), and whether individuals' sex, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status (SES) moderated these associations. To achieve these objectives, I use data from three waves of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), a nationally representative study of adolescents, and employ a series of logistic regression analyses to investigate the proposed associations. Findings reveal that low job commitment was associated with increased odds of criminal offending, IPV, arrest, and incarceration, while work-family conflict was associated with increased odds of IPV. In addition, job strain was positively and job dissatisfaction was negatively associated with incarceration. Depression and anxiety partially mediated the associations of low job commitment and work-family conflict with intimate partner violence. These findings suggest that individuals' identities may be shifting away from the

influence of work, and that the growth of low-quality employment needs to be stymied as it may have far-reaching effects on oneself and one's community.

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INTRODUCTION

The majority of Americans spend more time working than on any other activity in an average week (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2024). This is particularly true when considering the time spent preparing for work—such as getting ready for a daily commute, getting children to daycare or school, and so on—which is a pervasive aspect of life for many individuals. This would also explain the epidemic of overwork in the United States: roughly half of workers report they would like to work fewer hours (Vallas, Finlay, and Wharton 2009:275). In a post-pandemic society that emphasizes stress reduction and the pursuit of an illusive work-life balance, so-called “bad jobs” have gained considerable attention for their adverse impacts on individuals’ psychological functioning and well-being (Gerstein 2021). While job quality is multi-dimensional and somewhat subjective, researchers agree that many high-quality jobs emphasize high earnings, job security, advancement opportunities, control over work schedule, and the ability to control one’s activities at work to make them personally meaningful (Kalleberg 2021). “Bad” jobs are then the inverse of these qualities, with ramifications that extend much further outside the unfortunate employee. Given the well-documented association between mental health and criminal behavior, individuals grappling with work-related stressors may resort to unconventional or even deviant and criminal means to satisfy their financial and/or psychological needs (Wilson and Petersilia 2011; William et. al 2019; Scanlon et. al 2021 and 2023; Van den Berg et. al 2022).

Drawing on General Strain Theory, a widely recognized sociological theory of crime developed by Robert Agnew (2012), this study contends that the presence of negative work-related stressors can lead to adverse mental health outcomes, which may in turn lead to criminal offending. General Strain Theory and the sociology of work literature provide a largely untapped

source for explaining criminal behavior in general through individual, organizational, and structural lenses. These three thematic areas illustrate the wide-reaching influence of work on the American identity and the significant strain that can result from the failure to achieve work-related goals. From an individual lens, for instance, it is important to examine an individual's ability to cope with stress and the appropriateness of their mechanisms for doing so. Job satisfaction and commitment might be evaluated using the individual-level approach since the changes in these factors can be attributed to an individual's perception of the work and workplace. Organizational approaches would shift the responsibility for fostering healthy environments from the individual to the workplace for their employees to thrive. Job strain, specifically the strenuous and repetitive nature of some jobs, can be explained through the organizational-level dimension of work since it is often linked to occupational characteristics and employer demands. Work-family conflict (i.e. role conflict) could also be considered an organizational-level stressor since the conflict arises from competing responsibilities at home and in a person's job (Cohen and Huffman 2003).

Lastly, a structural approach would question why workplace goals and identities are so important to individuals in the first place. Structural-level discussions on how a person's sex, social class, and race affect their work experiences are also crucial to this study. These demographic characteristics are core aspects of an individual's identity that can significantly influence their perspectives on work and their responses to work-related stressors. Demographics can also play a role in how individuals cope with stress and affect an individual's access to and likelihood of seeking mental health treatment. Understanding the unique responses to stress among different demographic groups can provide valuable insights into the impact of work-related stressors on criminal behavior. The prevalence of offenders clustering in certain industries

(fostering what could be called a “culture of deviance”), for instance, shows symptoms of a social issue at play, highlighting that social class may influence criminal behavior (Slocum 2010). Food service and construction work are both well-known as having higher instances of substance abuse in the workplace, while the term “going postal” was coined in the 1980s as a surge of violence stemmed from U.S. Postal workers (Piquero, Craig, and Clipper 2013). Similarly, domestic violence and suicide are prevalent among law enforcement officers (Sollie, Euwema, and Kop 2017). Studying the unique stressors of certain occupations could help identify problems before they start, enabling businesses and future employees to be proactive in embracing a healthy workplace.

BACKGROUND

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL PREDICTORS OF STRAIN AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Studies from life-course criminology have generally described employment as one of the major turning points in the life-course, which may reduce one’s likelihood of engaging in criminal behavior because of positive social bonding with co-workers, the chance for the re-branding of a previously deviant “self,” and the economic stability that a steady income provides (Orak, Soileau, Harter, Dobson, and Dye 2024). For some individuals, however, adverse experiences in the workplace, such as drug abuse at work, being limited to low-quality employment opportunities, or exposure to anti-social peer groups, may turn their employment into a negative and more criminogenic turning point (Loughran, Nagin, and Nguyen 2017). Robert Agnew (2012) developed General Strain Theory (GST) in the early 1990s to argue that crime was a way to alleviate negative emotional states, such as depression or anxiety, resulting

from the failure to reach positively valued and pro-social goals, removal of positive life factors, and the occurrence of new negative life factors. GST uniquely focuses on the pressure exerted by unrealistic societal expectations as the cause of crime. For example, the failure to achieve a well-compensated “good job” or the unsuccessful climb to a middle-class lifestyle would be a cause for strain, and through stealing from an employer or selling illicit drugs one could alleviate these perceived failures (Agnew 2012). Agnew’s theory that financial pressure could lead to committing fraud, or the drive to relieve occupational stress by abusing illegal drugs, is an easy but unfortunate problem to see when accounting for the massive losses in dollars and lives each year (Spencer, Garnett, and Miniño 2024; Association of Certified Fraud Examiners 2022). Therefore, GST is ideally suited for application in the context of the workplace since this is often where this “goal blockage” occurs.

The effect of the workplace on a person’s mental health also cannot be understated. Extensive research conducted on emotional labor in sociology of work literature suggests that American culture tends to promote alcohol abuse as a common coping mechanism after returning home from work, and even the type of industry one works in can influence an individual’s negative affect. Mackey (2021:607) describes negative affect as:

a personality variable that involves the experience of negative emotions and poor self-concept. Negative affectivity subsumes a variety of negative emotions, including anger, contempt, disgust, guilt, fear, and nervousness.

Negative affect is a result of strain that can influence one’s propensity toward criminal activity. In a meta-analysis on interpersonal workplace crime (i.e. sexual harassment, abuse), Mackey (2021) showed that some of the strongest correlates of interpersonal deviance included: agreeableness, negative affectivity, and hostility along with perceived negative treatment from

coworkers. The study also described the significance of organizational-level analysis regarding crime in the workplace, which is discussed later.

Law enforcement personnel have been extensively studied regarding workplace strain, and the spillover stress from their work to their home is well-documented and is related to these being tangibly high-stress occupations (Anderson and Lo 2011). Law enforcement personnel are shown to be at a greater risk than average for suicidal ideation, drug and alcohol abuse, divorce, and familial violence (Chae and Boyle 2013; Sollie et al. 2017). Patriarchal belief systems may be to blame for this violence, seeing that police work is overwhelmingly a male-dominated profession (Kara 2017). Sexual assault workers (i.e. social workers) were also analyzed extensively during the pandemic, where they were said to have significant workforce strain (Wood 2020). Additional research shows how employees' work shapes their well-being and found that the concept of "good soldiering," or overworking for the good of the cause, produces increased stress and puts workers at higher risk for burnout and secondary traumatic stress (Yam et al. 2016). One would assume that videoconferencing would help alleviate stressors such as driving, childcare, etc. but actually, "[t]here was a 51% increase in the use of video conference for work, which contributed to workforce strain" (Yam et al. 2016:2). Video conferencing during the COVID-19 pandemic was concretely linked to emotional strain, also called "techno-stress," and caused disruptions in the work-family spheres (Azpíroz-Dorronsoro, Fernández-Muñiz, Montes-Peón, and Vázquez-Ordás 2024). In most other professions, remote work has become the hallmark of a "good" job and is becoming essential to fill positions (Ip 2024). Crime scene investigators also seemed to follow the same patterns (Sollie et al. 2017).

Gender norms and roles also influence strain through work-family conflict. While Americans gravitate toward an individual sense of responsibility, the primary source of stress is

often the workplace. Men, as the “ideal worker” in the family sphere, are significantly affected by job strain, which is said to increase their mortality risk by 20% (Amiri and Behnezhad 2019). Often seen as the primary income source for families, men may feel pressure to overwork and forego earned leave lest they be considered “poor organizational citizens” (Vallas et al. 2009). Overwork has historically been a problem among American families, and while men are primed to it due to the strain of expectations to be “breadwinners,” women also feel significant strain from work inside and outside of the home, leading to individually perceived failures and stress. Psychological distress resulting from the failure to achieve social norms could then easily translate to unconventional coping strategies, including criminal behavior.

ORGANIZATIONAL PREDICTORS OF STRAIN AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Toxic workplace culture—belonging to an inherently stressful sphere of influence—and its potential strain are arguably criminogenic, as evidenced by the overwhelming concentration of substance abusing individuals working in the construction, service, and healthcare industries (Gerstein 2021). A study by Yam et al. (2017) also discussed psychological entitlement—a phenomenon that makes employees think they are being taken advantage of when forced to do “extra” activities outside of their normal work responsibilities, such as team building exercises and weekend fundraisers (i.e. occupational citizenship behaviors). They argue that participation in these reinforces the thought process that because they have conformed to social expectations in the family sphere, they can deviate in the work sphere—psychologically, they give themselves a “pass” for bad behavior elsewhere (Yam 2017:392). Workplace deviant behaviors are violations of organizational norms that threaten social cohesion (according to business and psychology researchers) and create anomie or strain (Bennett, Marasi, and Locklear 2019; Mackey 2021).

This includes everything from the “quiet quitting” culture (i.e. doing the absolute minimum required without getting fired) to outright fraud and theft, which are the main topics of my research.

Cobbs (2012) presented a content analysis on fifty workplace shootings and found that different types of strain relate to different outcomes regarding criminal offending. The study’s main finding was that the perception of mistreatment and unfairness by co-workers affected the attitudes and behavior of the perpetrators. The failure to achieve perceived success at work—such as through promotion, raises, bonuses, or other affirmations—produced significant organizational strain, producing negative affective states and therefore criminal propensity.

Wilcox and Koontz (2022) were among the biggest proponents of reframing work-related well-being as an organizational phenomenon, shifting responsibility from the individual to the employer. They created an organizational scale of wellness so that a business can objectively measure their initiative to foster wellness in the workplace. They explained that work-family conflict is perpetuated by the ideal worker narrative, and so gender is an important factor in workplace well-being. Conflict among the family and work spheres is also a strain that is disproportionately borne by women, and role strain is especially understudied among underrepresented minorities (URM). Zambrana, Hardaway, and Neubauer (2022) studied role strain and conflict among these professionals and found that the majority of these women had difficulty maintaining balance of responsibilities in both spheres. Sacrifice was unfortunately common. Race and ethnicity shape work responsibilities and associated work-family conflict, such as serving as an unofficial mentor to all ethnic students, serving on committees dedicated to diversity, and so on. Excessive work demands caused a significant role strain, as URMs were more likely to be caregivers for their parents as well. Coping with role strain and balancing the

work-family nexus involved setting firm boundaries for work and family spheres. These researchers also refer to “significant emotional labor in their work settings that may deplete the emotional and social resources necessary to fully engage in their family relationships” (Zambrana et al. 2022:1473-1480). Further, Zambrana et. al state that “...[the] inability to engage in self-care practices can affect the well-being and quality of family life” embolden their argument that role strain leads to negative affective states. In light of these findings, it is crucial to examine the role that marital status has in affecting strain and criminal propensity. Strain caused by patriarchal belief systems (where some men may view women as property) may have a part to play in this in addition to IPV (Kara 2017).

The level of professionalism in the workplace also seems to determine workplace well-being, signaling that social class may have an impact on workplace strain and resulting criminal behavior (Bergsma 2016). Researchers specifically examined White Collar Crime, where they discovered that workplace strain leads to negative emotional responses, which leads to crime in the workplace (i.e. fraud). Reducing fraud loss would also possibly lead to additional tax revenue to use for public assistance. Some types of work, often referred to as “blue collar work” (such as industrial, factory type work), can be monotonous and unengaging, possibly leading one to negative affect and then crime inside and outside the workplace. Prior research in the sociology of work determined this as well (Vallas et al. 2009), and Howard (2017:767) reinforced this stating, “...findings indicate that job autonomy, task variety, work-family conflict, family-work conflict, and job dissatisfaction all indirectly contribute to employees' suicide attempts via depression and suicidal ideation.”

STRUCTURAL PREDICTORS OF STRAIN AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

While limited, research involving structural strain is increasingly important to examine. Using this lens, the workplace is a site of social control. Max Weber (1958) theorized that bureaucracies were a revolutionary exercise in social control that would spread across the globe, and this type of work arrangement took a strong hold on the structure of the workplace. (Vallas et al. 2009). As Kalleberg and Leicht (2021) explain, capitalism depends on workers' own consent to authority. Consequently, this power dynamic seems on its surface to be a partnership rather than a hierarchy. The pandemic highlighted the actual lack of partnership where filling jobs in the service sector has been especially lacking. Workers are realizing that they are not "chained to a desk" so to speak, and they can take employment into their own hands with alternative arrangements like remote work and the gig economy. However, this does not necessarily translate to better quality jobs, seemingly regardless of job quality (Ip 2024).

Karl Marx and his conflict perspective on the concept of labor is also a prime example of the importance of work on a person's self-concept within the societal sphere. Marx's work on alienation—the separation of a person from the product of their labor—is central to the idea of conflict criminology, which examines the role social class has in promoting criminal activity. He argues that social stratification—the structuring of society so that one group holds more wealth and power than other groups—breeds demoralization, resentment against society's laws, and then crime (Bernard 1981:365). This idea of private property, where one group owns the means of production and the associated wealth, promotes alienation between an individual from the product of their labor and humanity, further breeding discontent. Critical and industrial sociologists also embrace these views: these capitalist work practices could all lead people to deviate from social norms and commit crime (Vallas et al 2009; Chriss 2015; Kalleberg 2021).

Since conflict criminology focuses on structural issues rather than individual or organizational level phenomena, social class standing has great potential for explaining workplace strain and criminal tendencies (Arrigo and Bernard 1997).

Lastly, Durkheim's (1972) anomie theory perfectly illustrates how structural strain can influence criminal behavior. His macro-level study on suicide, which he relates to homicide and other types of crimes, emphasizes the importance of a society's moral cohesion to restrain undesirable behavior. The lack of social control over individual desires creates a state of normlessness, so an unrestrained "toxic" workplace culture could spell disaster for an otherwise productive organization. A recent study by Kang and Thosuwanchot (2017) examined the result of white-collar crime from normlessness, where they discovered that social pressures to conform are crucial for promoting social cohesion and preventing workplace theft and fraud. Accountability and a focus on collective reinforcement is paramount to Durkheim's theory on the control of crime; consequently, in a more globalized world companies need to publicly and shamelessly prosecute those who violate the public trust.

OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

Previous studies have generally emphasized the connection between emotional strain and criminal behavior such as drug abuse, violence toward oneself or others, and delinquency (Kaufman, 2024). However, the potential connection between strain as a result of work-related experiences and criminal behavior is largely understudied. Thus, the primary objective of this study is to reveal the associations between work-related types of strain (i.e., job strain, low commitment, job dissatisfaction, work-family conflict) and the likelihood of criminal offending,

IPV, arrest, and incarceration in the long term. The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between work and crime by employing three levels of analysis: individual, organizational, and structural. Evaluating strain experienced by workers in specific employment situations, the subsequent increase in criminal activity both within and outside the workplace, and the potential mediating effects of negative affective states, such as depression and anxiety, will significantly advance the current state of knowledge on workplace factors that either encourage or discourage criminal activity. Additionally, an examination of variations in these relationships based on individuals' sexual, racial/ethnic, and social class identity will provide much needed clarity on the correlates of work-based strain and how to alleviate it as much as possible.

Integrating insights from the General Strain Theory of crime (Agnew 1992) and the sociological literature on work and workplace strain, as illustrated in Figure 1, I hypothesize that:

H1: Work-related stressors, including job strain, job dissatisfaction, low job commitment, and work-family conflict, are positively associated with all four criminal outcomes (i.e., criminal offending, IPV, arrest, and incarceration), such that an increase in the levels of these stressors are associated with greater odds of these criminal outcomes.

H2: The association between work-related stressors and criminal outcomes is moderated by sex, race/ethnicity, and household income, such that the adverse impact of work-related stressors on criminal outcomes is more pronounced for individuals who identify as female, underrepresented racial/ethnic minority, or lower social class.

H3: The association between work-related stressors and criminal outcomes is mediated by depression and anxiety, such that higher levels of work-related stressors will be associated with greater odds of criminal outcomes via higher levels of depression and anxiety.

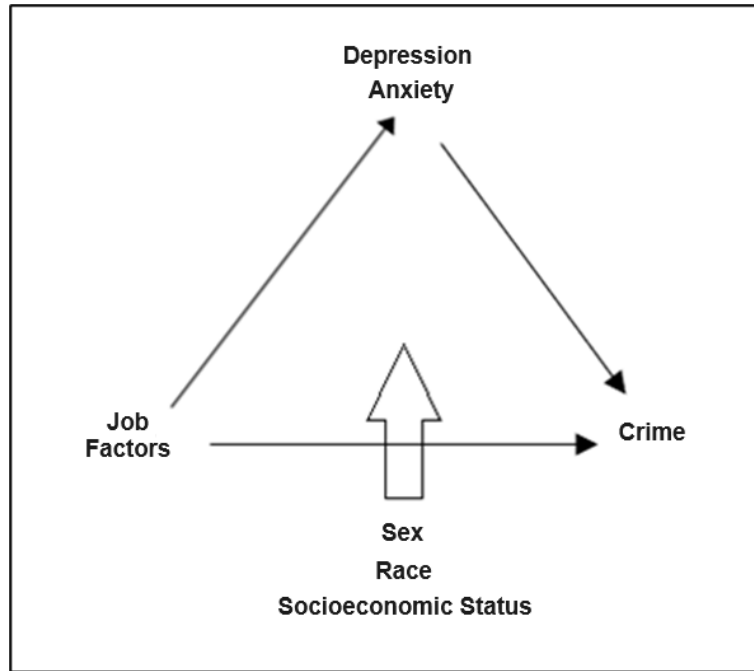


Figure 1. The association between work-related stressors and criminal behavior mediated by depression and anxiety, and moderated by sex, race/ethnicity, and SES.

SIGNIFICANCE

The link between workplace stress and criminal activity is widely understudied, and exploring the link between certain workplace factors and criminal offending would have significant implications for both academic literature on sociology of crime and sociology of work, as well as policy-making efforts aimed at improving workplace conditions. For employers, identifying stressors would help them reduce fraud (a leading cause of bankruptcy among U.S.

businesses) and provide quality jobs that promote employee retention in fields that are plagued by rapid turnover (Marasi, Bennett, and Budden 2018). For employees, a healthier workplace means a less stressful workday which would vastly improve one's quality of life and the lives of those they encounter. Therefore, it is crucial that a comprehensive study of criminogenic workplace factors be conducted to significantly improve the health of American businesses and workers.

In the United States, theft is so common that an entire position is often stationed at retail stores to prevent it (i.e. loss prevention professionals). This extends to workplace theft, where Bennett et al. (2018:2) stated that "90% of employees admit to participating in some type of workplace deviance." They elaborate by saying that in the United States alone, the annual cost estimation is in the millions. With losses such as these in a capitalistic society, one would imagine there would be more proactive policies addressing its root causes. Sociological and criminological perspectives can offer this to workplaces wishing to minimize these losses and promote a healthy work environment.

The limited number of studies on work-related stress and criminal behavior has generally focused on law enforcement professionals and to a lesser extent perpetrators of white-collar crimes. Family-work conflict, the type of job tasks involved, as well as the level of autonomy at work all appear to greatly impact the mental health of employees and have all been extensively studied by management and business researchers. Utilizing a sociological approach to investigate their implications for criminal offending would provide much-needed depth into this complex social phenomenon.

METHODOLOGY

DATA AND SAMPLE

In this study, I used data from the restricted-use version of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), which is a nationally representative study of adolescents who were first surveyed during the 1994-1995 school year (Wave I ages 12-19; n=20,745). The study comprises four subsequent waves, with Wave II conducted in 1996, Wave III from 2001 to 2002, Wave IV from 2008 to 2009, and Wave V from 2016 to 2018 (Wave V ages 33-43; n=12,300). Add Health is considered one of the largest and most comprehensive longitudinal studies of adolescents ever conducted (Harris et al. 2019), featuring a broad range of measures such as demographics, workplace experiences, health, SES, crime and deviance, education, and neighborhoods. Since the survey covers adolescence to adulthood, it permits researchers to track individuals from adolescence through adulthood and identify experiences (e.g., work) that may predict later behavioral outcomes (e.g., criminal behavior). To establish a temporal order between independent and dependent variables, Wave IV was utilized to measure work-related stressors, and Wave V was used to construct the dependent variables (i.e., criminal offending, IPV, arrest, and incarceration). Control variables were included from both Wave I and V. The final analytic sample comprised respondents who had complete data on the dependent variables, valid sampling weights at Wave V, and those reporting being employed and working for at least 10 hours per week at Wave IV. Missing data on independent and control variables were removed using the listwise deletion method. SPSS Version 29 and STATA 18 statistical software were employed to carry out the analyses.

VARIABLES

Dependent Variables

This study investigated the associations between work-related stressors and four criminal outcomes, including criminal offending, intimate partner violence, arrest, and incarceration.

Criminal offending was measured by an index of six self-reported violent and nonviolent offenses committed within the past 12 months of Wave V data collection, including damaging property, stealing, selling drugs, getting into a serious physical fight, pulling a weapon on someone, or shooting/ stabbing someone. Response categories for each item range from 0=never to 1=previously committing that offense. Because most respondents reported no engagement with any of these offenses and following previous studies (Orak et al. 2024; Yun et al. 2022), the total index score on this variable was dichotomized as 0 = never engaged in criminal offending, and 1 = engaged in criminal offending at least once. Consistent with the previous research (Kaufman 2024), the second dependent variable, *intimate partner violence*, was measured by an index of four items at Wave V, including having pushed, shoved, or thrown something in the past year at their partner, frequency of physical violence toward their partner in the past year, frequency of injuring their partner in the past year, and frequency of forcing sexual relations. Response categories for each item range from 0= never to 8= more than 20 times. Similar to criminal offending variable, since most respondents reported no IPV, the total index scores on this variable was recoded into a binary variable with two categories: 0 = no IPV and 1 = IPV at least once in the past 12 months. Another dependent variable, *arrest*, was measured by a binary indicator (0=never, 1=at least once) of whether the respondents have ever been arrested. Finally, *incarceration* was measured by a binary indicator of whether the respondents have ever been incarcerated.

Independent Variables

The independent variables in this study include job strain, job dissatisfaction, low job commitment, and work-family conflict. *Job strain* was measured by an index of three items at Wave IV, including frequency of light, moderate, or hard physical labor at work, frequency of autonomy at work, and repetitiveness of job-related tasks. Response categories for each item range from 0 = none or almost none of the time to 3=all or almost all of the time, and the cumulative index score of job strain will range from 0 to 9. The measures of job strain in Add Health were previously used and validated by studies on worker stress and negative perceptions of work implicated in suicide (Howard et al. 2017). *Job Dissatisfaction* was measured by responses given to the question of whether respondents were satisfied with their job at Wave IV. Response categories for this variable range from 1=extremely satisfied to 5=extremely dissatisfied. *Low job commitment* was measured by the question of whether their current job fits into their career goals at Wave IV, with response categories ranging from 1 = yes to 4=absence of any career goals. Finally, *work-family conflict* was measured by combining two items: family responsibilities interfering with work and work interfering with family time. Response categories for each item range from 1 = frequently to 4=never, and the total index scores will range from 0 to 6.

Mediators

This study examined depression and anxiety as proxies for negative affective states potentially mediating factors between work-related stressors and criminal outcomes. *Depression* was measured at Wave IV by a 10-item index derived from the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD). The items include: “you were bothered by things that usually

don't bother you," "you could not shake off the blues, even with help from your family and your friends", "you felt you were just as good as other people" (to be reverse-coded), "you had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing", "you felt depressed", "you felt that you were too tired to do things", "you felt happy" (to be reverse-coded), "you enjoyed life" (to be reverse-coded), "you felt sad", "you felt that people disliked you." Response categories for each item range from 0= never or rarely to 3=most or all of the time, and the cumulative index will range from 0 to 30 ($\alpha = .82$), consistent with the use of previous research (Porter and Novisky 2017).

Anxiety was also measured at Wave IV using a scale of four items measuring agreement with these statements: (1) "I worry about things," (2) "I am not easily bothered by things," (3) "I get stressed out easily," and (4) "I don't worry about things that have already happened. Respondents recorded responses ranging from 0 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree). Consistent with previous studies, (Uecker et al. 2020), the first and third items were reverse-coded. The cumulative scale ranged from 0 to 16. ($\alpha = .70$).

Moderators

Several variables were used as moderators for the purposes of this study, including sex, race/ethnicity, and household income. Sex was classified as a dichotomous variable, with 0=male and 1=female. Race and ethnicity were identified using 24 different variables, each including the categories of 0=not identify or 1=identify with the race specified. Respondents were also asked which of these they most identified with, or if their preferred race/ ethnicity was not listed. These different questions were used to generate a race/ethnicity variable, with the categories including: 0 = non-Hispanic white and 1 = underrepresented racial/ethnic minorities. Household Income

was used as a proxy for identifying social class, with responses ranging from 1=less than \$5,000 annually to 13=\$200,000 or more annually at Wave V.

Controls

In addition to the variables above, I will also control for several variables, including age at Wave V, self-control at Wave I, social support at Wave V, and marital status at Wave V. Age was identified using the question asking respondents about their birth year. Consistent with prior research (Desmond et al. 2013), low self-control was measured at Wave I by an index of six items measuring (1) difficulty getting along with teachers, (2) paying attention in school, (3) getting homework done, (4) trouble keeping their minds on what they were doing, (5) feeling they are doing everything just about right, and (6) when making decisions, going with their gut feeling without thinking too much about the consequences ($\alpha = .69$). Overall self-control scores will range from 0 to 23 and higher scores on this index will indicate lower self-control. Social support was measured at Wave V based on whether or not: (1) respondents could open up to their friends if they needed to talk about their worries, (2) respondents could rely on their friends for help if they had a problem, and (3) their friends ever make too many demands or criticize them (reverse coded), with summative scores ranging from 0 to 3. Lastly, marital status was measured based on an item asking respondents about their marital status, with response categories ranging from 1 = married to 5 = never married.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Since there are many “zero” responses to the questions of criminal offending and IPV, this may violate the assumption of the normal distribution of residuals. For this reason, in this study, I treated these variables as dichotomous variables with two categories; 0 and 1. Likewise, the variables of arrest and incarceration are already measured by binary indicators. I then used logistic regression for all my dependent variables. In the first model for each dependent variable, the associations between independent and dependent variables were assessed in the presence of the control variables. In the second, third, and fourth models, I used the interaction of independent variables with sex, race/ethnicity, and household income, respectively, to assess whether they moderate the association between independent and dependent variables. To assess mediation, I used the Karlson-Holm-Breen (KHB) method in Stata. This method is used to ascertain direct or indirect associations between variables and to reveal the proportion of the mediating effects (Kohler et al. 2011). This method was suitable for this study to determine how much influence anxiety and depression have on the relationship between crime and job-related factors. Finally, before performing logistic regression, I checked correlations between my independent and control variables. According to Pearson Correlation values (see Table 1), correlations between variables were not high with scores generally very close to 0. All VIF scores were between 1 and 2, indicating no multicollinearity issues with any of the variables. Cook’s Distance values were also checked to identify and remove any outliers. All analyses were weighted to adjust for the complex sampling design of Add Health and to ensure the generalizability of results.

TABLE 1. Bivariate Correlations Among Independent, Dependent, & Control Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Offending	1.00															
2. IPV	0.18	1.00														
3. Arrest	0.16	0.10	1.00													
4. Incarcerated	0.14	0.11	0.56	1.00												
5. Job Strain	0.07	0.05	0.13	0.14	1.00											
6. Job Dissatisfaction	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.02	0.23	1.00										
7. Low Commitment	0.05	0.05	0.10	0.09	0.29	0.38	1.00									
8. Work-Family Conflict	0.01	0.08	0.02	0.03	0.06	0.06	0.00	1.00								
9. Female	-0.08	0.03	-0.28	-0.21	-0.04	0.01	0.06	0.00	1.00							
10. Non-White	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.09	-0.03	0.07	1.00						
11. Self-Control	0.09	0.06	0.21	0.15	0.10	0.04	0.07	0.06	-0.15	-0.01	1.00					
12. Social Support	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.12	-0.08	-0.09	-0.06	0.07	-0.10	-0.09	1.00				
13. Married	-0.12	-0.03	-0.17	-0.15	-0.13	-0.10	-0.14	0.03	-0.05	-0.16	-0.09	0.09	1.00			
14. Household Income	-0.13	-0.07	-0.16	-0.18	-0.30	-0.11	-0.27	-0.01	-0.09	-0.15	-0.11	0.20	0.40	1.00		
15. Anxiety	0.01	0.06	-0.07	-0.04	0.09	0.12	0.05	0.08	0.30	-0.04	0.03	-0.05	-0.06	-0.07	1.00	
16. Depression	0.09	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.17	0.24	0.16	0.17	0.10	0.07	0.13	-0.17	-0.15	-0.20	0.45	1.00

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics of the study variables. The overall sample was 55% female and 45% male, and nearly 60% were married and Caucasian. 30% had a history of arrest, while 12% had ever been incarcerated. Surprisingly, only 5% had a history of violent or nonviolent offending and 11% recently experienced IPV. Job strain was also measured, showing that on a scale of 0 to 9, these individuals experienced mild to moderate job strain with a mean score of 3.97 (SD=1.8). Work-family conflict (i.e. role strain) was measured on a scale from 0 to 6, revealing that on average it was not at issue at a score of 1.7 (SD=1.6). Workers were generally satisfied with their jobs (M=1.1, SD=0.97) and very committed to them (M=0.92, SD=0.94). On average these participants had a somewhat low level of self-control, scoring 8.82 on a scale from 1 to 23 (SD=3). Participants were generally middle-upper class according to household income, which was measured as a proxy on a scale of 1 to 13, with a mean income of 9.19 (SD=2.8). Lastly, workers had a high level of social support at 2.58 on a scale of 0 to 3 (SD=0.72). Not surprisingly, on a scale from 0 to 30 participants had a very low level of depression on average (M=5.9, SD=4.49). However, they were moderately anxious on a scale of 0 to 16 (M=8.21, SD=2.9).

TABLE 2. Descriptive Statistics of All Study Variables (weighted)

Variables	Mean / %	SD	Min	Max	N
Job Strain	3.97	1.8	0	9	10,161
Job Dissatisfaction	1.1	0.97	0	5	10,186
Low Commitment	0.92	0.94	0	3	10,182
Work-Family Conflict	1.7	1.6	0	6	10,188
Self-Control	8.82	3	1	23	9,959
Social Support	2.58	0.72	0	3	6,933
Household Income	9.19	2.8	1	13	6,695
Anxiety	8.21	2.9	0	16	10,173
Depression	5.9	4.49	0	30	10,174
Offending	5%	-	-	-	6,932
IPV	11%	-	-	-	6,772
Arrest	30%	-	-	-	7,010
Incarcerated	12%	-	-	-	7,160
Female	55%	-	-	-	7,167
Non-White	39%	-	-	-	7,145
Married	59%	-	-	-	7,156

SD = standard deviation; N = sample size

Logistic Regression Results for Criminal Offending

Table 3 presents results of the logistic regression analyses predicting criminal offending. Model 1 included all independent and control measures and showed that, out of the four independent variables studied, low job commitment had the only significant association with criminal offending. Specifically, every one-unit increase in low job commitment was associated with about a 26% increase in the odds of engaging in criminal activity, when holding all other variables constant ($p < .05$), all else equal. Since a higher score means lower commitment, this means that as long as participants felt their job fit into their long-term career goals, they were less likely to offend in the future. Among the control variables, low self-control was positively and being female, married, social support, and household income were negatively associated with criminal offending.

Models 2, 3, and 4 included the interaction terms of independent variables with sex, race/ethnicity, and household income, respectively. Model 2 showed that the association between low job commitment and criminal offending was significantly moderated by sex, such that females' likelihood of committing crime increased more if they were less committed to their work (as compared to males; $p < .05$). An individual's race or ethnicity, however, did not moderate the association between any of the independent variables and criminal offending. Lastly, the relationship between the independent variable of work-family conflict and criminal offending was significantly moderated by household income, such that individuals with higher household income had greater odds of engaging in criminal offending as a result of work-family conflict, compared to individuals with lower levels of household income ($p < .05$).

TABLE 3. Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Criminal Offending

Variables/ Models	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE
Job Strain	1.03	0.05	1.07	0.06	1.00	0.06	1.01	0.02
Job Dissatisfaction	0.95	0.08	0.90	0.10	0.95	0.10	1	0.03
Low Job Commitment	1.26	0.13*	1.10	0.13	1.20	0.14	1.01	0.03
Work-Family Conflict	0.99	0.05	1.04	0.07	0.96	0.07	1.04	0.02*
Female	0.42	0.08***	0.41	0.18*	0.41	0.08***	0.42	0.08***
Non-White	0.89	0.15	0.89	0.15	0.43	0.22	0.87	0.14
Self-Control	1.06	0.03*	1.06	0.03	1.06	0.03*	1.06	0.03*
Social Support	0.80	0.08*	0.79	0.08*	0.80	0.08*	0.8	0.08*
Marital Status	0.51	0.08***	0.51	0.08***	0.50	0.08***	0.5	0.08***
Household Income	0.90	0.02***	0.90	0.03***	0.90	0.03***	0.83	0.08
Female*Job Strain			0.88	0.08				
Female*Dissatisfaction			1.21	0.17				
Female*Low Commitment			1.53	0.31*				
Female*Conflict			0.87	0.10				
Nonwhite*Job Strain					1.10	0.11		
Nonwhite*Dissatisfaction					0.98	0.14		
Nonwhite*Low Commitment					1.17	0.30		
Nonwhite*Conflict					1.10	0.14		
Income*Job Strain							1.01	0.02
Income*Dissatisfaction							0.96	0.03
Income*Low Commitment							1.01	0.03
Income*Conflict							1.04	0.02*
constant	0.22	0.12**	0.22	0.12**	0.28	0.15*	0.45	0.44
N	6,118		6,118		6,118		6,118	

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.
OR = Odds Ratio
SE = Standard Error

Logistic Regression Results for Intimate Partner Violence

Table 4 presents results of the logistic regression analyses predicting intimate partner violence. Model 2 revealed that low commitment and work-family conflict were both statistically significant and positively associated with IPV ($p < .001$). Holding all other variables constant, for every one-unit increase in low job commitment, there was around a 23% increase in the odds of IPV perpetration. Likewise, for each one-unit increase in work-family conflict, the odds of IPV perpetration increased by about 18%, if all else was held equal ($p < .001$). Among control variables, being female and nonwhite were positively associated with IPV and social support was negatively associated with IPV.

Models 2, 3, and 4 included the interaction terms of independent variables with sex, race/ethnicity, and household income/SES, with none of the interaction terms being statistically significant. This suggests that the associations between independent variables and intimate partner violence did not vary based on individuals' sociodemographic characteristics.

TABLE 4. Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Intimate Partner Violence

Variables/ Models	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE
Job Strain	1.00	0.03	0.95	0.04	0.98	0.04	1	0.02
Job Dissatisfaction	1.07	0.07	1.18	0.12	1.07	0.09	1	0.02
Low Job Commitment	1.24	0.08***	1.27	0.13*	1.22	0.09**	1.02	0.02
Work-Family Conflict	1.18	0.03***	1.11	0.06*	1.16	0.04***	1	0.02
Female	1.35	0.17*	0.94	0.24	1.35	0.17**	1.4	0.17*
Non-White	1.41	0.18**	1.42	0.18**	0.88	0.28	1.4	0.18**
Self-Control	1.03	0.02	1.03	0.02	1.03	0.02	1.02	0.02
Social Support	0.80	0.06**	0.80	0.06**	0.81	0.06**	0.81	0.06**
Married	0.99	0.11	0.99	0.11	0.98	0.11	1	0.11
Household Income	0.98	0.03	0.98	0.03	0.98	0.03	0.98	0.07
Female*Job Strain			1.12	0.07				
Female*Dissatisfaction			0.81	0.10				
Female*Low Commitment			0.95	0.13				
Female*Conflict			1.10	0.08				
Nonwhite*Job Strain					1.09	0.06		
Nonwhite*Dissatisfaction					0.98	0.13		
Nonwhite*Low Commitment					1.03	0.13		
Nonwhite*Conflict					1.05	0.06		
Income*Job Strain							1.00	0.02
Income*Dissatisfaction							1.00	0.02
Income*Low Commitment							1.02	0.02
Income*Conflict							1.00	0.01
constant	0.09	0.03***	0.11	0.04***	0.11	0.04***	0.09	0.07**
N	5,998		5,998		5,998		5,998	
* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001.								
OR = Odds Ratio								
SE = Standard Error								

Logistic Regression Results for Arrest

Table 5 presents regression results concerning arrest and all four independent variables: only low job commitment was significantly associated with arrest. Holding all other variables constant, every one-unit increase in low job commitment was associated with about a 12% increase in the odds of arrest ($p < .01$). Concerning control variables, being female, marital status, and household income/SES were negatively associated with criminal offending. Low self-control was positively associated with criminal offending. In Models 2, 3, and 4, moderation analyses

did not show any significant interaction terms, suggesting that the associations between independent variables and arrest were not moderated by sex, race/ethnicity, or income.

TABLE 5. Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Arrest

Variables/ Models	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE
Job Strain	1.05	0.03	1.07	0.04*	1.06	0.03	1.01	0.01
Job Dissatisfaction	1.02	0.05	1.00	0.07	1.06	0.06	1.01	0.02
Low Job Commitment	1.12	0.05 **	1.10	0.07	1.09	0.05	1.02	0.01
Work-Family Conflict	1.00	0.03	0.98	0.03	0.97	0.03	0.99	0.01
Female	0.27	0.02***	0.29	0.06***	0.27	0.02***	0.26	0.02***
Non-White	1.02	0.09	1.11	0.02	1.03	0.25	1.01	0.09
Self-Control	1.11	0.02***	0.99	0.06***	1.11	0.02***	1.11	0.02***
Social Support	0.99	0.06	0.60	0.05	0.98	0.06	0.98	0.06
Married	0.59	0.05***	0.93	0.02***	0.59	0.05***	0.60	0.05***
Household Income	0.93	0.02***	0.66	0.19***	0.93	0.02***	0.88	0.04**
Female*Job Strain			0.93	0.04				
Female*Dissatisfaction			1.06	0.10				
Female*Low Commitment			1.04	0.11				
Female*Conflict			1.04	0.06				
Nonwhite*Job Strain					0.97	0.06		
Nonwhite*Dissatisfaction					0.86	0.08		
Nonwhite*Low Commitment					1.09	0.12		
Nonwhite*Conflict					1.12	0.07		
Income*Job Strain							1.01	0.01
Income*Dissatisfaction							1.01	0.02
Income*Low Commitment							1.02	0.02
Income*Conflict							0.99	0.01
constant	0.68	0.20	0.66	0.19	0.69	0.21	1.22	0.61
N	6,179		6,179		6,179		6,179	

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.
OR = Odds Ratio
SE = Standard Error

Logistic Regression Results for Incarceration

Table 6 presents regression results concerning the incarceration variable. Model 1 showed that there were several statistically significant associations between independent variables and incarceration. Specifically, job strain and low job commitment were positively, and job dissatisfaction was negatively associated with incarceration. For every one-unit increase of the level of job strain, incarceration odds rose by about 11%, all else equal (p < .05). For every one-

unit increase in the level of low job commitment, odds increased about 19% ($p < .05$). Holding all else equal, for every one unit increase of job dissatisfaction, the odds of incarceration decreased by nearly 15% ($p < .05$).

Models 2, 3, and 4 included the interaction terms of independent variables with sex, race/ethnicity, and household income. Sex and race/ethnicity did not moderate the associations between incarceration and the other independent variables. The interaction of household income/SES with low job commitment, however, was statistically significant. More specifically, individuals with a higher level of income had greater odds of incarceration as their levels of low job commitment increased.

TABLE 6. Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Incarceration

Variables/ Models	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE
Job Strain	1.11	0.05*			1.13	0.06*		
Job Dissatisfaction	0.86	0.05*	0.82	0.06*	0.83	0.07*	0.97	0.02
Low Job Commitment	1.19	0.09*	1.19	0.11	1.17	0.11	1.05	0.02
Work-Family Conflict	1.06	0.05	1.04	0.05	1.04	0.05	0.98	0.01
Female	0.20	0.03***	0.23	0.09***	0.20	0.03***	0.20	0.03***
Non-White	1.00	0.13	1.00	0.13	0.95	0.37	0.99	0.12
Self-Control	1.11	0.02***	1.11	0.02***	1.11	0.02***	1.11	0.02***
Social Support	0.91	0.07	0.91	0.07	0.90	0.07	0.90	0.07
Married	0.51	0.07***	0.51	0.07***	0.51	0.07***	0.53	0.07***
Household Income	0.88	0.02***	0.88	0.02***	0.88	0.02***	0.80	0.05***
Female*Job Strain			0.88	0.06				
Female*Dissatisfaction			1.20	0.14				
Female*Low Commitment			1.05	0.14				
Female*Conflict			1.09	0.09				
Nonwhite*Job Strain					0.94	0.08		
Nonwhite*Dissatisfaction					1.10	0.17		
Nonwhite*Low Commitment					1.07	0.15		
Nonwhite*Conflict					1.07	0.09		
Income*Job Strain							1.02	0.01
Income*Dissatisfaction							0.97	0.02
Income*Low Commitment							1.05	0.02*
Income*Conflict							0.98	0.01
constant	0.34	0.14***	0.34	0.14**	0.36	0.15*	0.87	0.56
N	6,197		6,197		6,197		6197.00	

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.
OR = Odds Ratio
SE = Standard Error

Mediation Analyses

Table 7 presents the results of the KHB analyses, including the coefficients for each dependent variable and percentages representing the total effect and the proportion of the total effect accounted for by the direct and indirect effects via mediating variables. Only low job commitment was shown to be associated in the first model; however, it did not prove to be statistically significant. Mediation analyses were also conducted concerning the IPV variable which showed low commitment as having an indirect affect: about 8.8% of the association was due to mediation, 1.36% via anxiety, and 7.47% via depression. Likewise, 12% of the association

between work-family conflict and IPV perpetration was an indirect affect; 2.48% was via anxiety and 9.51% via depression. Mediation analysis showed a mainly direct association between low job commitment and arrest, with depression and anxiety not having a moderating affect. Results suggested that job strain, job dissatisfaction, low job commitment, and incarceration were all direct associations that were not mediated by depression and anxiety.

TABLE 7. Decomposition of Direct and Indirect Effects on Intimate Partner Violence

	B (SE)	%	N
<i>Low Job Commitment</i>			
Total	0.23 (0.06) ***	100%	6,121
Direct	0.21 (0.06) **	91.17%	
Indirect	0.02 (0.007) **	8.83%	
Via Depression	0.02 (0.007) **	1.36%	
Via Anxiety	0.003 (0.003) **	7.47%	
<i>Work-Family Conflict</i>			
Total	0.16 (0.03) ***	100%	6,127
Direct	0.14 (0.03) ***	88%	
Indirect	0.02 (0.006) **	12%	
Via Depression	0.02 (0.007) **	9.51%	
Via Anxiety	0.003 (0.003) **	2.48%	
Note: All models are adjusted for sex, race/ethnicity, household income, self-control, social support, and marital status.			
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.			
B = coefficient			
SE = standard errors			
IPV=Intimate Partner Violence			
N = sample size			

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to emphasize how important and influential work is to an individual's mental health and likelihood of engaging in criminal behavior. The impact of the workplace on one's personal and social goals cannot be understated: when one sphere suffers, another is impacted. Consequently, certain work-related factors could cause various types of strain which could then lead to criminal activity inside and outside the workplace. To review, my

initial hypotheses were that increased work-related stress would increase the odds for criminal activity, that work-related stress would be more exaggerated for traditionally marginalized groups, and that the relationship between work-related stress and crime would be mediated by depression and anxiety.

The findings of logistic regression analyses partially supported the first hypothesis. Job strain seemed to contribute to higher rates of incarceration, and low commitment to one's job increased the odds of criminal offending. Low job commitment was also associated with higher rates of arrest and incarceration, suggesting the negative impact that "bad jobs" could possibly have. An alternative explanation could be due to the increasing proliferation of low-quality jobs: since they usually don't fit into workers long-term career goals, they may be less likely to focus on producing a high-quality product. Lastly, it is possible that those who hold low quality jobs generally have more social issues like poor health and family conflict, which incentivizes them to focus on short-term rather than long-term goals such as careers.

My second hypothesis was partially supported, but not to the degree that was expected. Race was not as influential as expected and was only positively associated with IPV. Females were less likely to be arrested, and their commitment to their work possibly affected whether they would offend. This suggests that the importance of work is not universal across cultures, class, and sex, or at least it does not drive one to commit criminal acts. Study findings suggest a very different relationship on how SES/ income may moderate job factors and crime, a relationship that is expanded upon below.

Lastly, findings concerning anxiety and depression confirmed the third hypothesis: depression and anxiety were found to indirectly mediate the relationship between several dependent variables. Depression is one of the leading causes of unemployment worldwide, and

research has shown its link to poor occupational outcomes, IPV, and work-family conflict which is supported by this study as well (Ezawa, Graham, and Strunk 2021).

One surprising finding in this study was that individuals with higher levels of household income had greater odds of criminal offending as a result of work-family conflict and greater odds of incarceration as a result of low job commitment. This finding may be explained in several ways. First, as individuals' socioeconomic status improves, their work-related goals may be more important and lead them to abstain from criminal activity (Dennison 2016). The higher the income, greater odds of criminal offending through work-family conflict since a higher income often means hours at work are longer, causing less time for family and causing strain for others. Researchers also argue that employment and criminal activity have an inverse relationship: the more one works, the less motivation and time they could have to commit crime. It would then make sense that if one is less committed to their job, they would be more apt to pursue crime—especially if they have a history of recidivism, and many offenders do (Apel and Horney 2017). White Collar Crime could also be to blame for some of these associations. These offenders have been said to process strain and negative affective states differently than others, although much more research needs to be done to identify these differences (Clarkson and Darjee 2022; Langton and Piquero 2007). Even organizational deviance could possibly be embraced and healthy in certain situations even though it is typically regarded as problematic (Fox and Harding 2005).

The possible association between work-related factors and IPV proved to be one of the more interesting findings for this study as well. The fact that conflict between the work and family spheres can exacerbate IPV is a testament to the impact that work can have on families' overall well-being. This underscores the importance of the illusive work-life balance that is

highly sought after as the indicator of a high-quality “good job.” Lastly, the finding that as job dissatisfaction increased, incarceration odds decreased may underscore the extremely high likelihood of recidivism. Offenders have an unfortunate time finding work due to their criminal history, forcing them to take the lowest quality jobs. The same argument applies to the finding that high levels of job dissatisfaction decrease incarceration: offenders having any job (subjectively “good” or not) will decrease incarceration simply because they are working (Apel and Horney 2017).

Labor affects every sphere of the human experience. Individually, it encourages both positive and negative coping strategies for stress. In this study negative affective states seemed to mediate the association between work and crime, and the individual-level experiences of job satisfaction and commitment were associated with reduced criminal activity. Organizationally, it defines how and to what degree we interact with each other. Work-family strain and job strain both increased the odds of criminal outcomes in this study, showing how a balance between spheres could be associated with overall well-being. Structurally, our ingrained belief systems are focused on this capital’s stratification. Socioeconomic status—measured here as the level of household income—was shown to significantly moderate the types of crime one commits and to what extent. Overall, this study shows the overwhelming impact that labor has on us and our relationship with world at large; consequently, it needs to be given the attention it deserves and researched thoroughly by every academic discipline.

Wilcox and Koontz (2022:10) offer the most comprehensive recommendations for future policies to enhance well-being at work. These positive coping skills for stress would decrease the likelihood of an individual resorting to criminal means to deal with stress from work. These positive coping skills could include quiet spaces for breaks, childcare options for working

families, and proactive accommodations for employees with disabilities. Researchers also suggested shorter workweeks and remote work as formal gender equity efforts since implementing these might help to alleviate the strain on anyone experiencing work-family conflict. As for white collar work, fraud is generally not perpetrated by those in financial distress, so research stresses the importance of maintaining other positive work-based factors such as setting reasonable goals for production, employee recognition programs, and other pro-social activities to foster a healthy workplace (Bergsma 2015). Self-reports are typically not reliable since self-awareness varies considerably (and is difficult to measure), so other types of studies in the future could help alleviate this concern. In this light one should consider social desirability bias, which pressures survey respondents to respond as they think is acceptable to their peers. This research is based on longitudinal data which is beneficial since it establishes a temporal order between variables, but it also cannot be used to prove causation since it is an observational study.

Also, the utilization of other criminological theories such as life course theory and the general theory of crime could help add to the dearth of sociological research on the relationship between job factors and crime. Future research should also include perceived socioeconomic status as opposed to actual income data as it has been shown to be a more accurate predictor of criminal activity (Dennison 2016). More data on specific occupational groups and their criminal proclivity would further help explain what types of jobs are more or less harmful to one's mental health. IPV research also desperately needs to examine other perpetrators outside of the law enforcement profession. Many studies have emphasized this relationship, so others need to explore why this type of work seems to breed violence at home.

CONCLUSION

Knowledge regarding the influence of workplace strain on the propensity for criminal activity remains sparse. The focus on the individual level of analysis limits the types of conclusions that can be made regarding strain and crime. There seems to be a wealth of knowledge pertaining to this subject in other countries: perhaps this is a direction that further studies in the U.S. need to pursue. Furthermore, while law enforcement personnel have rightfully been examined at length, research concerning other occupations needs to be examined to determine if this is a generalizable issue. To assist with this goal additional data needs to be collected that compiles occupation groups, criminal behavior, and mental health so that associations can be more readily drawn.

Policy recommendations abound regarding the subject of stress-reduction in the workplace. Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy is a proven method of self-care that has been successfully integrated into the criminal justice setting, as well as peer group settings. At-risk professions, including law enforcement, having anonymous outsourced counseling available would have a tremendous beneficial effect on workplace well-being. Work-family conflict was also an aspect of workplace well-being that can be ameliorated by forward thinking policies such as the implementation of Zoom meetings instead of in-person to accommodate employees and especially mothers experiencing strain in the work-family spheres (Stefanidis 2023:18).

Supportive workplace cultures are also a high priority for promoting workplace well-being. Workplaces that embrace difference and dismantle the ideal worker narrative by increasing inclusivity and authenticity would have far-reaching implications for increasing group cohesiveness and limiting negative affects at work, therefore increasing productivity, happiness, and profits in the workplace. Further studies need to emphasize the capitalistic gain from having

happy employees, as this will provide the largest incentives for corporations to change for the better and reduce the overwhelming losses sustained by workplace deviance.

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