

# ACJS Today

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

## Mass Incarceration and Prisoner Reentry: A Problem That Will Not Go Away

Daniel P. Mears\* and Joshua C. Cochran\*\*

Responding to inaccurate media accounts, Mark Twain in 1897 wrote to his publisher, Frank Bliss, that “the report of my death was an exaggeration.” Much might be the same for media accounts that, in recent years, have trumpeted statistics indicating that prison populations have declined. We malign newspaper outlets for highlighting only bad news, so perhaps this shift should be viewed as a welcome development. However, the putative decline, in fact, is far from clear. The most recent national census, reported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, indicates that there was a slight increase in the prison population

*Continued on Page 5*

### **SPECIAL ISSUE: EMERGING TOPICS IN CORRECTIONS**

Page 1	Mass Incarceration and Prisoner Reentry
Page 2	President’s Message
Page 11	A Re-Diagnosis of Clinical Captivity
Page 20	A Conversation with Todd Clear
Page 23	The Book Club Goes to Prison
Page 26	Whoever Heard of Michelle Alexander
Page 31	From the Editor’s Desk
Page 33	Historian’s Corner
Page 39	ACJS National Office Information

## President's Message



**Brian Payne, President, ACJS\***

**G**reetings, ACJS members! I hope that your new year is off to a great start. Our annual conference is fast approaching. The ACJS team has been hard at work finalizing details for what promises to be an extraordinary conference. As I have noted in earlier newsletter columns, our keynote speakers will include Julia Pierson (former director of the Secret Service), Lt. Gen. Russel Honoré (author of *Leadership in the New Normal*), and Piper Kerman (author of *Orange is the New Black*). In addition, we will have the Bruce Smith awards presentation by Steven Chermak (on March 4 at 12:30) and an awards luncheon on March 6 at 11:30. We also have a number of other presentations scheduled, including one with a group of death penalty exonerees.

Along with these events, we have 496 panels scheduled. This is the most panels we have ever had at any of our conferences. If you have not already done so, please make sure you make your hotel reservation soon. The rooms are filling up.

I want to thank Robert Worley for his fine efforts in editing *ACJS Today*. Inside this edition you will find a number of articles on the theme of "Emerging Topics in Corrections." As an association, we have the privilege (and the responsibility) to identify issues in our field that should be addressed by various constituents. It is within this framework that I am proud to announce a new journal created by the Corrections section: *Corrections: Policy, Practice, and Research*. The journal will be published by Taylor and Francis. Thank you to Jeff Bouffard and Dave May for their efforts in creating this new journal. As you think about where to send your future articles, please keep the new journal and *ACJS Today* in mind.

**\*Brian K. Payne** received his PhD in Criminology from Indiana University of Pennsylvania in 1993. He is currently the vice provost for graduate and undergraduate academic programs at Old Dominion University, where he is tenured in the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice. He is a former editor of the *American Journal of Criminal Justice* and past president of the Southern Criminal Justice Association. Payne is the author or co-author of more than 160 journal articles and seven books including *White-Collar Crime: The Essentials* (Sage), *Family Violence and Criminal Justice* (Elsevier, with Randy Gainey), and *Crime and Elder Abuse: An Integrated Perspective* (Charles C Thomas). He is currently co-authoring (with Will Oliver and Nancy Marion) *Introduction to Criminal Justice: A Balanced Approach* (Sage).

### Upcoming ACJS Meetings

March 3-7, 2015	Orlando, FL
March 29-April 2, 2016	Denver, CO
March 21-25, 2017	Kansas City, MO

# ACJS 2015 Annual Conference

**“Broadening the Horizon of the Criminal Justice Sciences: Looking Outward Rather than Inward”**

**March 3-7, 2015**

**Caribe Royale All-Suite Hotel and Convention Center  
Orlando, Florida**

**Program Chair:**

David May, Mississippi State University, [dmay@socmsstate.edu](mailto:dmay@socmsstate.edu)

**Host Hotel:**

Caribe Royale All-Suite and Convention Center  
8101 World Center Drive  
Orlando, Florida 32821



**ACJS General Business Meeting:**

**Friday, March 6, 2015**

**9:30 AM – 10:45 AM**

**Caribe Royal Hotel, Orlando, FL, Grand Sierra B in the Hotel  
Convention Center**

*Continued from Page 1*

by the end of 2013 as compared to 2012 and that this increase was the first to have occurred since 2009 (Carson, 2014, p. 1). Will prison populations take off slowly, or rapidly? Will they level off? Or will they decline slowly, or rapidly? It is anyone's guess. For a number of reasons, we believe that the betting money is that prison populations will slowly increase over time in lock-step with corresponding increases in the broader correctional system, including populations on probation and parole and in jail.

That ultimately is speculation. More certain is the following: The large-scale growth in prison populations over the past three decades constitutes a tidal force. From 1980 to 2013, the state and federal prison population grew from 329,821 inmates to 1,574,746 inmates, an increase of 377%. That amounts to the functional equivalent of a household being forced into a mortgage of epic proportions from which it cannot escape. The mortgage forestalls the ability to undertake sizable investments into other potentially important household expenditures.

Put differently, short of dramatic reductions in incarceration, the scale of incarceration in America will weigh heavily on the ability of the federal government and states to fight crime, to reduce recidivism, and to improve life outcomes for the historically unprecedented number of individuals who cycle into and out of prisons annually. It remains relatively safe for policymakers to advocate for "smart justice," but that differs from calling for mass prison closures. And it differs, too, from calling for substantially altering the sentencing law landscape and the sizable investments in law enforcement and courts. The latter steps amount to political suicide.

We present these points not to advocate for less or for more incarceration. Ultimately, an appropriate and effective level of incarceration requires careful assessment of crime trends, their causes, and assessment of the extent to which various sanctions achieve different goals, including retribution, justice, and public safety. Imprisonment serves as one potentially critical piece of a system of sanctions for achieving such goals. Based on available research, however, it appears unlikely that the large-scale growth in prisons provided the most efficient way to achieve crime reductions. It also appears likely that incarceration only marginally reduces recidivism; it appears more probable that it increases recidivism while creating a range of harmful collateral consequences (Nagin et al., 2009; Jonson & Cullen, 2014; Mears et al., 2014; Travis et al., 2014). Whether dramatic increases in prison increased public satisfaction with criminal justice and corrections or accorded with retributive goals of punishment remains largely unknown. Why? No national or state-level monitoring of public views of retribution and how best to achieve it exists.

We are left, then, with a large prison population—and a set of laws and investments in law enforcement, courts, and corrections more broadly—that seems likely to sustain the country's level of incarceration for many years to come. Mass incarceration begets mass reentry, and all that goes with it. Even if prison populations decline by a significant amount, say 10%, the country still will be funding an imprisonment system that grew by well over 300% over a three-decade span.

This consideration lies alongside one alluded to above: Prisons may worsen

recidivism and a host of reentry outcomes. Over two-thirds of released prisoners are re-arrested within three years of release and 77% are rearrested within five years of release (Durose et al., 2014). Consideration of potentially adverse outcomes associated with incarceration creates an even more dismal portrait. Among released prisoners, research typically identifies high rates of homelessness, unemployment, mental illness, physical health problems, drug addiction, and more (Mears & Cochran, 2014). Potential harms to communities—through higher unemployment rates, crime rates, political disenfranchisement, and a generally weakening of informal social control, social capital, and collective efficacy—also raise concerns (Clear, 2007).

### Lessons

In the late 1990s, as violent crime rates began to decline, policymakers recognized that America faced a dilemma. Historically unprecedented numbers of people were released from prisons. Not only that, these individuals faced dim prospects for faring well in society, and they created potential burdens and harms for communities. At the same time, it became clear that a need existed to understand better what was happening to individuals upon release. A starting point was the concern about recidivism and the seeming ineffectiveness of prison in reducing it (Nagin et al., 2009). A body of work on “prisoner reentry” thus soon emerged, spurred on in no small part by the priority that U.S. presidents repeatedly gave to reentry (Petersilia, 2003; Travis, 2005; Jonson & Cullen, 2014). Another development arose close on the heels of this shift in scholarship—research began to investigate, or to call for investigation of, the experiences that inmates have and how such experiences affect them both in prison and after release (Nagin et al.,

2009; Mears, 2012; Travis et al., 2014).

The end result has been the emergence of a voluminous body of theory and research that has focused on mass incarceration and prisoner reentry. Recently, in *Prisoner Reentry in the Era of Mass Incarceration*, we advanced several arguments about what has been learned and the implications of scholarship to date (Mears & Cochran, 2014). Here, we highlight a few lessons that can be gleaned.

*First, mass incarceration and reentry are not going away.* Without significant and sustained attention to its causes and consequences and to potentially more cost-efficient alternatives, prison systems will continue to drain punishment and crime prevention coffers. At the same time, investment in prisons will reduce the likelihood of large-scale investment in alternatives. To be clear, our “bias” here lies not with the idea that prisons should be used less. Rather, it lies with promoting punishment policies that avoid unnecessary harms and that best achieve retribution, justice, and public safety. The presumption behind the dramatic and sustained growth in incarceration is that prisons effectively achieve these goals and cause minimal harm. That presumption cannot easily be reconciled with research. Put differently, in an era in which calls for government accountability and evidence-based policy have been ubiquitous, prison growth has occurred with little evidence of effectiveness and considerable evidence of potential harm (Mears, 2010). More cost-efficient punishment ultimately should better achieve societal goals and likely would result in decreased investment in prisons.

*Second, efforts to reduce crime require local crime prevention efforts that include substantial investment in local sanctions.* Without reductions in the supply of



individuals who could be incarcerated, there is little chance of greatly reducing prison populations and of escaping a cycle of ever-increasing investment in costly penal policies.

*Third, a science of punishment is needed that can guide punishment policies.* At present, local and state government punishes individuals with little to no empirical research to ground their efforts. For example, a judge might impose a one-year prison sentence on a drug offender (and be required to do so under sentencing guidelines). Does that punishment achieve the level of retribution that society wants? Does it achieve the level of “justice,” however defined, that the public expects? Does it deter to a degree commensurate with what the public wants? How much does the public support the prison sentence if it knows the financial costs and if the deterrent or rehabilitative effects are minimal? How much does the public support the sentence if cheaper punishments exist that still achieve certain minimal thresholds of retribution and justice? Such questions are difficult to answer, yet researchers can make headway in answering them (see, e.g., Rossi & Berk, 1997; May & Wood, 2010). They should be answered if we want to avoid investing heavily in sanctions that are of certain high cost and questionable benefit.

*Fourth, efforts to improve the prison experience to make it more likely that inmates will behave and successfully reenter society will need to be individualized and multifaceted.* If one were a caseworker and assigned a prisoner caseload, the prospects would be daunting. Inmates do not typically have “just” one problem. Rather, they have multiple problems. They have histories of offending. Their education levels typically place them several years behind members of the general population. They typically have learning

disabilities, mental disorders, and physical health problems. Drug abuse and drug addiction are common. Inmates’ home lives often are challenging. Poverty is typical. Most inmates come from communities mired in disadvantage. In every instance, the challenge lies in the fact that inmates rarely have one problem—they have multiple problems. Regardless of one’s political persuasion, the logical consequence is the same: Inmates with multiple problems do not magically get better while in prison. Indeed, prison by design and in practice frequently seems to make their problems worse.

The risk for society? More crime, intergenerational transmission of crime and poverty, greater community disadvantage, and a public that is no more happy with the state of criminal justice than it was prior to the emergence of mass incarceration. Programs do exist to improve reentry (Jonson & Cullen, 2014; Mears & Cochran, 2014; Travis et al., 2014). But to improve prison life and reentry on a large scale, a system of individualizing treatment and reentry is necessary. Such individualization should include consideration of the fact that the factors that give rise to offending for some individuals or groups may vary in amount or effect.

*Fifth, efforts to improve reentry should be embedded within larger-scale, systematic efforts to improve sanctioning, to minimize collateral harms, and to promote the health and well-being of families and communities.* At present, courts can sanction offenders with little regard for the ripple effects on families and communities. The approach has some logic. If two people commit the same crime, the punishment should be equal. However, punishing two people equally is

short-sighted if, for one of them, it results in harm to family members and communities. For example, a prison term for a mother of three children may result in them being placed in foster care and be disruptive to their education and psychological and emotional development. Should that dictate that we not incarcerate the mother? No. But allowing for prison sentences with virtually no regard for its consequences for society is self-defeating.

The alternative? Invest substantially in a science of sentencing and in research infrastructure that can be used to inform policymaker and court decisions about the cost-efficiency of various sanctions (Mears, 2010). In assessing efficiency, estimates of system goals—such as retribution, justice, and public safety—should be included, and so, too, should estimates of collateral harms to offenders and their families and communities. Without such information, policymakers and the courts can impose costly sanctions with little impunity and achieve little for society. Indeed, they can do so and cause harm. And as long as the harms go undocumented, they can be assumed to be trivial as compared to the assumed benefit.

*Sixth, the room for advancing criminological theory and criminal justice theory by focusing on mass incarceration and reentry are considerable.* Theory is essential for cutting through mountains of data, identifying patterns, and making sense of them. “Criminological theory” sometimes is equated with the study of offending and crime rates. “Criminal justice theory” therefore must somehow be the study of other topics, such as the police, courts, and corrections. There is, in our view, little scientific basis for

the distinction or merit in it. As but one example, many prominent theories of offending arose from studying delinquency among youth populations. We might as easily develop theories of offending based on studying released prisoners. Both approaches have their limitations and both provide for unique insight into a range of factors that can influence offending. Studies of desistance illustrate the point and have drawn attention to the importance of understanding a constellation of individual, family, and community factors that create a greater probability of criminal behavior. They also lead to insights about the potential benefits of examining the reciprocal and interactive effects of different causes of offending over the life course. A focus on mass incarceration and reentry can lead to a wealth of insight into, and theory on, offending, how we respond to it, societal views about punishment and justice, why states vary in their punishment practices, how crime control efforts affect offenders and communities alike, and much more.

*Seventh, make reentry planning a priority and make it science-based.* Plenty of risk prediction instruments exist, but they tend to be atheoretical and involve considerable error (Latessa et al., 2014). Plenty of reentry efforts exist, too, but relatively few are consistently subject to evaluation. Given abundant evidence that poor implementation of programs occurs regularly, we can expect that many promising or even “evidence-based” programs in fact do not create improved outcomes. Reliance on well-established risk prediction instruments and reentry principles and practices that rest on sound theory and research, and that are regularly evaluated, should be the norm. More generally, reentry must be made a priority

(Jonson & Cullen, 2014; Mears & Cochran, 2014; Travis et al., 2014). That means institutionalizing research on crime, criminal justice, and corrections; creating and sustaining bridges across diverse parts of the criminal justice and correctional system as well as with legislatures and the research community; and funding reentry commensurate with the potential for improving public safety and well-being.

### Conclusion

More lessons could be enumerated. In the end, though, these should suffice to underscore three points. First, as a society and as a scholarly community, we should continue to care deeply about mass incarceration and reentry. They are not phenomena that will go away any time soon, and the historically unprecedented levels mean that the ripple effects for offenders and their families and communities, and for taxpayers, will not be going away soon either.

Second, from a scholarly perspective, the situation creates enormous opportunities to advance theory and research, and to do so in ways that bridge “divides” between work that sometimes is characterized as “criminological” and work that sometimes is characterized as “criminal justice.”

Third, the substantial costs of failing to cost-efficiently punish underscores the further importance of carefully studying and understanding how best to prevent crime and to punish. The bar here in some respects is, unfortunately, low. Many states invest precious little in monitoring or empirically evaluating many of their criminal justice and correctional

system policies and practices (Mears & Bacon, 2009; Blumstein, 1997, 2013). Viewed from a glass half-full perspective, the situation should give rise to considerable optimism. Even small improvements in insights about the operations and effects of crime and justice and correctional system policy may yield tremendous gains in public safety and community well-being (Mears, 2010; Sampson et al., 2014).

### References

- Blumstein, A. (1997). “Interaction of Criminological Research and Public Policy.” *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 12, 349–362.
- Blumstein, A. (2013). “Linking Evidence and Criminal Justice Policy.” *Criminology and Public Policy*, 12, 721–730.
- Carson, E. A. (2014). *Prisoners in 2013*. Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Clear, T. R. (2007). *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Durose, M. R., Cooper, A. D., & Snyder, H. N. (2014). *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 30 States in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Jonson, C. L., & Cullen, F. T. (in press). “Prisoner Reentry Programs.” In Michael Tonry (ed.), *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* (Vol. 44). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.



- Kraska, P. B. (2006). "Criminal Justice Theory: Toward Legitimacy and an Infrastructure." *Justice Quarterly*, 23, 167–185.
- Latessa, E. J., Listwan, S. J., & Koetzle, D. (2014). *What Works (and Doesn't) in Reducing Recidivism*. Waltham, MA: Anderson.
- May, D. C., & Wood, P. B. (2010). *Ranking Correctional Punishments*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Mears, D. P. (2010). *American Criminal Justice Policy: An Evaluation Approach to Increasing Accountability and Effectiveness*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mears, D. P. (2012). "The Prison Experience." *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 40, 345–347.
- Mears, D. P., & Bacon, S. (2009). "Improving Criminal Justice through Better Decisionmaking: Lessons from the Medical System." *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37, 142–154.
- Mears, D. P., & Cochran, J. C. (2014). *Prisoner Reentry in the Era of Mass Incarceration*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mears, D. P., Cochran, J. C., & Cullen, F. T. (in press). "Incarceration Heterogeneity and Its Implications for Assessing the Effectiveness of Imprisonment on Recidivism." *Criminal Justice Policy Review*.
- Nagin, D. S., Cullen, F. T., & Jonson, C. L. (2009). "Imprisonment and Reoffending." In Michael H. Tonry (ed.), *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* (Vol. 38). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Petersilia, J. (2003). *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rossi, P. H., & Berk, R. A. (1997). *Just Punishments: Federal Guidelines and Public Views Compared*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Sampson, R. J., Winship, C., & Knight, C. (2014). "Translating Causal Claims: Principles and Strategies for Policy-Relevant Criminology." *Criminology and Public Policy*, 12, 587–616.
- Travis, J. (2005). *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.
- Travis, J., Western, B., & Redburn, S. (Eds.). (2014). *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.
- Editor's Note:** I would very much like to thank Dan and Josh for writing such an insightful and timely piece. I highly recommend that you pick up a copy of their latest book, [Prisoner Reentry in the Era of Mass Incarceration](#) (Sage Publications). It is very well-written and researched and would make an excellent supplemental text for either an upper-level undergraduate or graduate course in corrections.

**\*Daniel P. Mears, Ph.D.** is the Mark C. Stafford Professor of Criminology at Florida State University's College of Criminology and Criminal Justice. He conducts basic and applied research on a range of crime and justice topics, including studies of juvenile justice, supermax prisons, domestic violence, homicide, and prisoner reentry. His work has appeared in *Criminology*, the *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, and other crime and policy journals. He is the author of *American Criminal Justice Policy* (Cambridge University Press), which won the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Outstanding Book Award, and, with Joshua C. Cochran, *Prisoner Reentry in the Era of Mass Incarceration* (Sage Publications).

**\*\*Joshua C. Cochran, Ph.D.** is an assistant professor at University of South Florida's Department of Criminology. His research interests include criminological theory, imprisonment, and juvenile court sentencing. He has published recently in *Criminology*, *Justice Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, and is the co-author, with Daniel P. Mears, of *Prisoner Reentry in the Era of Mass Incarceration* (Sage Publications).

## Revisiting the Subject of Crime: Toward a Re-Diagnosis of Clinical Captivity and a Reformulation of Desistance Philosophy



*Bruce A. Arrigo\**

The subject of crime begins as a captivity metaphor. This metaphor is presented in Plato's *Republic* in the form of a dialogue called "The Allegory of the Cave."<sup>1</sup> Among the many issues addressed in this dialogue is the nature of the good. For Plato, knowledge of the good (i.e., justice as constituted in the psyche of citizens and in the concerns of the state) is not sourced in the world of material change (i.e., the visible world; the world of senses). Instead, the good resides within consciousness or the reservoir of the mind (i.e., the invisible world; the world of ideas). Thus, for Plato, the truest and most fundamental of possible realities about the good comes from the ideas (or the ideal forms) of existence that one can only have knowledge of if freed from the "captivity of shadows." In the allegory, several men are shackled to a wall in the cave, only able to know the world beyond the cave through the faint sounds of subjects

and the spectral appearances of phenomena cast upon the wall by a fire's nearby light. As such, they (the enslaved men) are only able to know the good through the "whispers and glimpses" of human relatedness. These are the shadowy exchanges cast upon the cave's wall by the flame's brightness. For Plato, these faint and spectral exchanges represent the bondage of the good held clinically captive by (and psychically captivating for) the men in their veritable existences.<sup>2</sup>

When we—each of us uniquely, everyone collectively, all of us interdependently—pursue and/or experience the good through the shadows of human relatedness, then a society of captives is made more imminent.<sup>3</sup> Much like the enslaved men of Plato's allegory, these relations of goodness (i.e., human justice) can only ever manufacture docility and conformity, obedience and banality.<sup>4</sup> In this society, the symbols and signs, texts and codes, practices and customs by which reality is assembled, embodied, and reenacted as knowledge are less than what they could be for all those who dwell (i.e. perceive, choose, act) within its confines. This form of existence is troubling because of its capacity to render the good as deferred and/or as lacking in consciousness. The good that is postponed and/or rendered absent includes the unimagined perceptions (in how to interpersonally relate), unnamed choices (in how to intersubjectively connect), and untried actions (in what to interdependently do) that

could revolutionize *shared* consciousness for and about a more just (e.g., intelligently dignifying and compassionate) human existence. Located within this mutual reservoir of untapped mindfulness are the more emancipatory forms (ideas) of human relatedness that await a people yet to come, a people yet to be.

How does the Allegory of the Cave inform and further our understanding about the subject of crime? If the good (i.e., justice) that is summoned within consciousness takes up residence within the captivity of shadows, then the reach of the good is either forestalled (limited in existence) or foreclosed (denied an existence). The former is a harm of reduction in human relatedness; the latter, a harm of repression in human relatedness. These harms consign relational existence to its predictable and static forms. These forms are the cognitive maps and summary representations into and out of which perception, choice, and action for and about the good are reasoned and grasped. Moreover, if this good that is both limited in existence and denied an existence is then reified (i.e., spoken of, practiced, and lived) and fetishized (reenacted, reproduced, and ritualized) such that it (this reduced/repressed good) functions as a prescription for human affairs or an ethic by which to experience the reach of human relatedness, then a condition of recurring harm prevails. This is the harm of shared consciousness as fragmented. This is the mutual fragmentation of being in which the shadows of interrelating (i.e., Platonic-like whispers and glimpses of humanness) territorialize knowledge, homogenize identity, and vanquish the good. Conversely, when efforts are undertaken to overcome the harm of this mutually fragmented and fragmenting false consciousness, then more and/or other

possibilities for and about the awaiting or invisible good can be rendered conceivable, expressible, and inhabitable. Thus, the contested terrain over and through which knowledge about the good is traversed requires that we recognize and resist the captivity-generating shadowy exchanges of human relatedness; otherwise, the engendered pains of imprisonment that follow will be totalizing in their iterative power to harm. Indeed, when dwelling (i.e., perceiving, choosing, and/or acting) with a society of captives, the recurring harms of mutual fragmentation have the power to eventually engulf collective consciousness. Situated within this communal reservoir of faint and spectral mindfulness are images of offenders, victims, and communities; narratives of responsibility, violence, and victimization; and practices of forgiveness, restoration, and reparation that are all held perilously bound and in check by the harm-perpetuating cultural forms of existence sustained by interrelationally fragmented and interdependently false consciousness.<sup>5</sup>

The power of these cultural forms of iterative existence is that they are violence generating (e.g., harm intensifying and injury producing). These violence-promulgating relations of humanness are the *subject* of crime. This is the crime of dwelling (perceiving, choosing, and acting) within the Platonic cave of bondage in which the shadows of interdependent and shared humanness consign and confine every one of us. This form of harmful and injurious (i.e., criminal) relatedness nurtures the incapacitating ontologies of alienation (Marx), anomie (Durkheim), bad faith (Sartre), insecurity (Laing), and neuroticism (Adler). These are the mind-numbing and trauma-inducing

criminogenic symptoms of clinical captivity.<sup>6</sup> Clinical captivity is a condition in which the shadowy exchanges of human relatedness dominate the reservoir of the mind. This is the bondage of the possible (e.g., the potential reach and depth of the good) held captive by and captivating everyone's everyday existence. This captivity is totalizing in its power to harm. Sustaining such totalizing harm is madness!<sup>7</sup> If the nature of the good's possibilities are held bound *in* existence (a harm of reduction) and in check *as* an existence (a harm of repression) in ways that reify and fetishize this bondage, then the condition of clinical captivity criminogenically functions in its hegemonic power to harm. This is the hegemony of fragmented and false consciousness about the good (in perception, choice, and action) legitimized as the dominant cultural form about and for the totality of the good's existence in consciousness.

The thesis outlined above is relevant to *all* current crime control policy debates. One case in point is the status of desistance philosophy as both culturally informed critique and as clinically based prescription. At issue are the shadowy exchanges of human relatedness that saturate consciousness with respect to knowing this good (e.g., the emotionally intelligent justice of offender responsibility, restoration, and reparation) for a people yet to be. The remaining portion of this essay briefly reinterprets the nature of the good that follows from desistance philosophy as crime control policy. This reformulation radicalizes the construct of desistance, mindful of the previously postulated *subject* of crime thesis and its corresponding clinical captivity diagnosis.

## Desistance Philosophy as (Radicalized) Crime Control Policy

What is the aesthetics of desistance? The answer to this question requires that one first locate and examine the dominant images that saturate consciousness for and about the phenomenon of "desistance from crime." Current consciousness in crime control policy conflates the problem of desistance with the image of the offender symbolized (i.e., represented) as a dangerous, diseased, and/or deviant person. Thus, offenders (the kept) are portrayed as "bodies" to be disciplined (by the keepers of the kept, correctional staff and educational experts); "surfaces" to be engineered (by the regulators of the kept, treatment specialists and penal managers); and "commodities" to be manufactured (by the watchers of the kept, the general public and political officials). This aesthetic leaves much to be desired. Indeed, in this portrait of humanness, the good of desistance exists outside its object of responsibility (i.e., to wit, overcoming the *subject* of crime), and it (this exogenous desistance) captivates through and is captivated by recurring forms of increasingly dehumanizing and depersonalizing criminogenic forms of relatedness.<sup>8</sup> This is the art of relating through fragmentation. These falsehoods include docility and conformity, obedience and banality, predictability and stasis.

What is the epistemology of desistance? Once the (fragmented/fragmenting) images that engulf consciousness for and about desistance from crime are spoken, they (these incomplete stories) can only fictionalize the kept and their keepers, regulators, and watchers. In present-



day crime control consciousness, the narratives of desistance reduce and repress the possible forms of “making good,” of “good living,” and even of good “restoration” to the cognitive schemas that map the landscape of shared consciousness. But these narratives theorize, mathematize, and politicize the offender as a body, a surface, and a commodity to be disconnected from the very inter-relatedness that constitutes and is constituted by a society of captives. As such, consciousness of and about desistance from crime tells of a fictionalized (i.e., other-worldly) existence that defers and postpones the good, favoring instead forms of relatedness that reason reality through the desistance logics of exclusion (i.e., separating and isolating the captivity-sustaining parts from their whole system complexity). The iterations that ensue are harm generating. The texts of these iterations re/form (i.e., re/inscribe reductive/repressively) the epistemology of human relatedness in desistance from crime philosophy.<sup>9</sup>

What is the ethics of desistance? Once the fictionalized narratives of desistance are inscribed, they become a living breathing history. The repetition of this history (as reified custom, as fetishized practice) reaches into the psyche of citizens and into the affairs of the state. It is this repetition that condemns the good as justice to the good of “just us,” sentencing it (the reach and depth of the good) to the ethic of doing (e.g., the utilities of reparation as justice, the utilities of reconciliation as justice). But these calculations merely endorse the technologies of the marketplace, the visible world of material and manufactured change. They (these technologies) render absent the ethic of being. The ethic of being elevates the forms of

existence (being just) so that the functions of existence (doing justice) can evolve. The ethic of being technologizes the self, rendering desistance from crime a life-long project in being otherwise for all who dwell within a society of captives.<sup>10</sup> The choice to be otherwise reveals the scope of our humanity. It (this pending revelation) is the promise of the invisible good made known in consciousness. This consciousness of and about desisting otherwise from crime awaits its science. The constitutive features of this science establish a radicalized philosophy of crime control ethics for a people yet to be.<sup>11</sup>

## Conclusions

Current desistance policy reifies the aesthetics of fragmentation, fetishizes the epistemology of fiction, and historicizes the ethics of fabrication. These forms of interrelatedness are injury producing and trauma perpetuating. The good that follows from such crime control finalizes justice in its art (innovations), reason (theories), and science (research). These finalizations defer or render absent a culture of transformation in desistance philosophy and policy. This essay outlined several directions for better comprehending this Platonic-inspired criminology based on the subject of crime thesis and its resultant clinical captivity diagnosis.

**Editor's Note:** I would like to thank Bruce for writing such a thought provoking piece for this special issue. His piece is based on his “in progress” book (coauthored with Heather Bersot and Chris Williams) titled, *Unleashing criminology: On the Subject of Crime*.

## References

- Arrigo, B. A. (2012). The ultramodern condition: On the phenomenology of the shadow as transgression. *Human Studies: A Journal for Philosophy and the Social Sciences*, 35(3), 429–445.
- Arrigo, B. A. (2013). Managing risk and marginalizing identities: On the society of captives thesis and the harm of social dis-ease. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 57(6), 572–593.
- Arrigo, B. A. (2015). Responding to crime: Psychological jurisprudence, normative philosophy, and trans-desistance theory. *Criminal Justice and Behavior: An International Journal*, 42(1), 1–12.
- Arrigo, B. A., & Milovanovic, D. (2009). *Revolution in penology: Rethinking the society of captives*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Arrigo, B. A., Bersot, H. Y., & Sellers, B. G. (2011). *The ethics of total confinement: A critique of madness, citizenship, and social justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Braithwaite, J. (2006). Doing justice intelligently in civil society. *Journal of Social Issues*, 62(2), 393–409.
- Deleuze, G. (1983). *Nietzsche and philosophy*. (H. Tomlinson, trans.) New York: Columbia University Press.
- Flyn, N. (2014). Advancing emotionally intelligent justice within public life and popular culture. *Theoretical Criminology*, 18(1), 354–370.
- Foucault, M. (1988). *Technologies of the self*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Prison notebooks*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Karstedt, S., Loader, I., & Strang, H. (eds.) (2011). *Emotions, crime and justice*. Oxford: Hart.
- Plato. (2008). *Republic* (R. Waterfield, trans.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Polizzi, D., Draper, M., & Andersen, M. (2014). Fabricated selves and the rehabilitative machine: Toward a phenomenology of the social construction of offender treatment. In B. A. Arrigo & H. Y. Bersot (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of international crime and justice studies* (pp. 231–255). New York: Routledge.
- Sherman, L. W. (2003) Reason for emotion: Reinventing justice with theories, innovations, and research—The American Society of Criminology 2002 Presidential Address. *Criminology*, 41(1), 1–38.

**\*Bruce A. Arrigo** is a Professor of Criminology, Law and Society in the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology and Professor of Public Policy at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte; barrigo@unc Charlotte.edu. His upcoming book titled, *Unleashing Criminology: On the Subject of Crime* represents a critical reappraisal of the crime problem informed by continental philosophy and cultural analysis.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> See, Plato (2008); and for crime and justice amplification, see, Arrigo (2012).

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that even when one of the enslaved men is able to escape the cave's confines and to experience liberating existence (i.e., goodness) beyond captivity, his return to the cave and the news of an awaiting (freeing) world does not change the consciousness of those chained to the cave's wall. For Plato, these conditions of abject captivity justify the need for the "warrior poet" (i.e., the philosopher king).

<sup>3</sup> In the current era, this is the captivity engendered by the meditation that is and the metaphor that has become PRISON (Arrigo & Milovanovic, 2009). PRISON is a symbolic, material, corporeal, and existential "complex" whose socio-cultural forms (e.g., panopticon/synopticon surveillance, actuarial penology as justice, mass incarceration, and the industries that sustain them all) are the shadowy exchanges that both captivate and are held captive by PRISON'S society of captives. Indeed, PRISON's teleology is to discipline the kept, and to domesticate their keepers, regulators, and watchers through its (PRISON'S) whole-system complexity. It is this complexity that is Plato's cave clinically re-diagnosed.

<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, the significance of this Platonic critique of captivity is revisited both directly and indirectly throughout the development of continental philosophy (Arrigo, 2012). Consider, among others, Hegel's historical idealism and the phenomenology of an absolute spirit; Marx's dialectical materialism and the abstraction of being into having; Nietzsche's will-to-power dynamic and his thesis on "overcoming" or trans-praxis; Lacan's schematizations on the unconscious as structured like a language in which the desiring subject exists as *pas tout / e* (the not-all, the "lack") in consciousness; Foucault's diagrams of power, archeology of knowledge, and microphysics of knowledge/truth; and the Deleuzoguattarian critique of the subject as the contested/contesting site of libidinal (desiring) and political economic (de/re-territorializing) production. Much like Plato, each postulates a metaphysics regarding consciousness and the project (i.e., the struggle) of/for humanity.

<sup>5</sup> Gramsci (1971) describes this condition as the recurrence of "cultural hegemony." The norms of exchange are derived from and based on a dominant ideology, notwithstanding cultural diverse societal groups. These groups (unwittingly) legitimize this governance when they actively participate in and consent to such ideological dominance. Now, consider the problem of correctional treatment and offender therapy. As Polizzi, Draper, and Andersen (2014 p. 24) have noted, for patient and psychologist alike fragmented and false exchanges promulgate the social construction of "fabricated selves" and the ideological reproduction of the "rehabilitative machine" as disciplining/domesticating apparatus.

<sup>6</sup> Consistent with this view, Flynn (2014 p. 361) recently noted the following: “A rich tradition of philosophical, social and cultural theory has demonstrated the centrality of emotion to social life, in particular collective feelings of ‘estrangement’, ‘anxiety’, ‘separation’ and ‘isolation’ engendered by materialistic conditions of capitalism.” These conditions of *shared* existence represent a basis for furthering an “emotionally intelligent justice” (Sherman, 2003 pp. 1-2) in civic discourse, public life, and cultural practice, including the setting of crime control policy (e.g., Karstedt, Loader, & Strang, 2011). I contend that in order to meaningfully establish purchase with this yet-to-be realized (i.e., invisible) set of policies, the *subject* of crime must first and foremost be revisited (Arrigo, 2013, 2015). This re-visitation is a pivot “to holism and to civil society” (Braithwaite, 2006 p. 393) as key dimensions of intelligently recognizing and making justice (i.e., the good).

<sup>7</sup> For commentary on how institutional levers (i.e., U.S. Supreme Court decision-making) help to sustain the folly of current-day crime control policy, see, Arrigo, Bersot and Sellers (2011).

<sup>8</sup> As Polizzi et al. (2014 p. 241) have cautioned: “the apparatus of the correctional machine seeks to not only manage and control those held by its disciplinary regime [i.e., the kept], but also seeks to manifest that control within the thoughts and behaviors of these incarcerated individuals, which in turn attempts to re-fabricate the very identity of the [social] self.” The reach of this re-fabrication extends to all those who dwell within a society of captives.

<sup>9</sup> Missing from this logic “is the recognition that being in [PRISON] *is* being in society. The two are inextricably bound. This is because [PRISON] is

physically, socio-culturally, and symbolically integrated into our everyday experience. Thus, the conviction that there exist impermeable walls of imprisonment is a myth. Instead, there is continuity between what occurs within the [so-called] ‘prison’ environment and what [so-called] occurs outside of it” (Arrigo & Milovanovic, 2009 p. 39). To be clear, this continuity implicates one and all who dwell within a society of captives.

<sup>10</sup> To illustrate, consider the insights of Foucault (e.g., 1988) and Deleuze (e.g., 1983). For Foucault, apparatuses of bio-power (i.e., technologies of the self) can be used to resist “governmentality” (e.g., dwelling within the dominant/dominating images, text, and practices of a society of captives), and to grow self-governing care against “responsibilisation” (e.g., overcoming whole-system power-to-harm clinical captivity). For Deleuze, resistance and flourishing require “becoming” (i.e., mutating in being as the journey of revolutionizing ethics). This is becoming in consciousness borne of the de/re-territorialization of consciousness – a “war machine” of nomadic (i.e., perpetually transforming) good for and about a just people yet to come.

<sup>11</sup> Ethically revolutionizing the whole-system PRISON complex in all of its meditative and metaphorical forms commences in consciousness as a journey for and about the invisible good (i.e., ideal forms of human justice) intelligently imagined, spoken, and lived. These are forms of existence that seek to recognize, resist, and overcome the offenses of captivity that are assembled, embodied, and reenacted by those who inhabit a society of captives. What is needed, then, is an ethic of trans-desistance as antidote to clinical captivity and the *subject* of crime (for more on this radicalized ethic and its philosophical development, see, Arrigo, 2015).



#1 NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

"Fascinating . . . The true subject of this unforgettable book is female bonding and the ties that even bars can't unbind."  
—*People* (four stars)

NETFLIX  
NOW A NETFLIX  
ORIGINAL SERIES

# ORANGE is the new BLACK

MY YEAR IN A WOMEN'S PRISON



PIPER KERMAN

*A question and answer session and book signing will follow the presentation.*

**Date: March 6, 2015****Time: 2:00-3:00****Location: Royal Caribe****Event: ACJS Annual Meeting****Keynote Speaker: Piper Kerman**

In her memoir *Orange is the New Black: My Year in a Woman's Prison*, Piper Kerman recounts the year that she spent in the Danbury Correctional Facility for a crime she had committed 10 years prior as a very brief, very careless dalliance in the world of drug trafficking. Compelling, moving, and often hilarious, the stories of the women she met while in prison raise issues of friendship and family, mental illness, the odd cliques and codes of behavior, the role of religion, the uneasy relationship between prisoner and jailor, and the almost complete lack of guidance for life after prison.

The memoir was adapted into an original Netflix series of the same name by Jenji Kohan. The Peabody Award-winning show, which has been nominated for 12 Emmys, has been called "the best TV show about prison ever made" by *The Washington Post* and was lauded by *Time's* TV critic James Poniewozik for "the stunningly matter-of-fact way it uses the prison to create one of TV's most racially and sexually diverse—and as important, complex—dramas [and] contrasts the power and class dynamics inside the prison with those outside the prison."



**Date: March 5, 2015**  
**Time: 2:00-3:00**  
**Location: Royal Caribe**  
**Event: ACJS Annual Meeting**  
**Keynote Speaker: Lt. Gen. Russel Honoré**



Prior to his command of Joint Task Force Katrina – leading the Department of Defense response to Hurricanes Katrina and Rita in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana – General Honoré served in a variety of command and staff positions. As Vice Director for Operations, J-3, The Joint Staff, Washington, D.C. and as the Commander, Standing Joint Force Headquarters-Homeland Security, United States Northern Command, General Honoré's focus was Defense Support to Civil

Authorities and Homeland Defense. He supported the Department of Defense planning and response for Hurricanes Floyd in 1999; Lilli and Isidore in 2002 (both hit the Gulf Coast); Isabel in 2003; and Charley, Frances, Ivan, and Jeanne in 2004.

General Honoré also planned and supported the United States military response to the devastating floods that swept Venezuela 1999 and Mozambique in 2000. As Vice Director for Operations, he led the Defense Department's planning and preparation for the anticipated Y2K Millennium anomaly. As Commander of SJFHQ-HLS under NORTHCOM direction, he planned and oversaw the military response to the Space Shuttle Columbia tragedy and the D.C. sniper shootings. Additionally, General Honoré participated in three TOPOFF (Top Officials) exercises as well as the United Endeavor series of Homeland Defense exercises.

General Honoré is the author of *Survival: How a Culture of Preparedness Can Save You and Your Family from Disasters* and the new book *Leadership in the New Normal*, which details how to be an effective leader in the 21st century. He continues to speak and consult.

*A question and answer session and book signing will follow the presentation.*

## **‘Pick one idea and dedicate your career to it,’ says Founder’s Award Winner Todd Clear**



*Todd Clear\**

*At the last ACJS Conference in Philadelphia, Professor Todd Clear was the recipient of the ACJS Founder’s Award which recognizes outstanding contributions to criminal justice education. Recently, I had the opportunity to ask him a few questions about winning this prestigious award.*

**RW:** What made you decide to become a criminologist?

**TC:** I got the idea of becoming involved in criminal justice during my senior year in college, when I did a placement at the local prison as part of my major in social work. That experience led me to apply for graduate school in criminal justice as well as social work, and I got a fellowship at SUNY-Albany to study criminal justice.

**RW:** Who has influenced your work the most?

**TC:** I owe my entire career to Vincent O’Leary, who hired me as a grad student, mentored me as a scholar, and showed me the ropes as an applied criminologist.

**RW:** You have won one of the most coveted and prestigious ACJS awards. What does this accomplishment mean to you?

**TC:** ACJS was my first professional/scholarly organization, and I have always felt more at home in ACJS meetings than any other professional organization I belong to. To be honored in this way is hard to describe. It means colleagues—people I admire—have noticed my work and my contributions. Wow!

**RW:** Most of us know that you write extensively in the area of corrections. Is there a new issue that you are particularly interested in?

**TC:** I think we are turning the corner on the “get tough” movement that has dominated the field for four decades. So I am interested now in looking for ways that we can get the most out of this new era through new policies and a significant reduction in the number of people behind bars.

**RW:** Is there any topic in criminology or criminal justice that you would like to pursue but haven’t as of yet?

**TC:** Yes, I am working on a national model for prison-based college education and reentry as a

college student. If this strategy proves successful, it will be the most important program reform in corrections in my lifetime.

**RW:** That's extremely interesting, and I wish you luck with that. Of all the studies that you have published, which are you the most proud of and why?

**TC:** I am most proud of my 1996 article *Backfire: When Incarceration Increases Crime*. *Journal of the Oklahoma Criminal Justice Research Consortium*, 3(2), 1–10. The journal does not exist anymore, I think, but the article became the foundation for a bunch of my later work exploring the unintended collateral costs of prison. The arguments were thought of as wild-eyed at the time, but many of them have become mainstream ideas.

**RW:** Many scholars, such as yourself, have argued that the criminal justice juggernaut is out of control. It's expensive, costing taxpayers more than \$200 billion a year, with the carceral function constituting more than one-third of the price tag. Yet, in spite of this, America is a nation that loves to punish. The U.S. has 5% of the world's population but incarcerates 25% of the world's prisoners. How can the penal harm movement be stopped?

**TC:** There have been several recent papers that identify what has to be done to reduce mass incarceration. Michael Tonry, writing in this edition of *Criminology & Public Policy*, identifies 10 strategies that can reduce the number of people behind bars. The keys among them are eliminating mandatory sentencing and reducing long sentences. The National Research Council identified changing sentences for drug crimes, eliminating mandatory penalties, and reducing sentences for repeat crimes. In the end, it all comes down to the Iron Law of Prison Populations: the

number of prisoners depends on how many people are sentenced to prison, and for how long. To reduce imprisonment we have to reduce the number of people sentenced to prison (eliminate mandatory penalties) and also how long their sentences are for (eliminate enhanced sentences). Here is the key fact: If we went back to the sentencing policies of the 1980s, in a few years we would have the prison population of the 1980s.

**RW:** Well put. Hey, I know that you're now a Provost, which probably keeps you away from the classroom more than you'd like to be. But what type of classes do you like to teach when you have an opportunity to do so?

**TC:** I love teaching research methods and criminal justice management.

**RW:** And, how would you describe your style of mentoring?

**TC:** I am not the best person to answer this question; my students would be better. But I think I am a "supporter." I encourage people to explore their ideas, push their thinking, and do what they love.

**RW:** I would imagine that your success results in a high number of invitations to contribute to various works and requests for mentorship from graduate students and junior faculty. How do you handle the high demand?

**TC:** These days I always try to coauthor papers because it is more fun and the only way I can get the work done.

**RW:** There are a lot of junior faculty members as well as graduate students who may be reading this. So, what advice would you give to scholars just starting out in their academic careers?



**TC:** Do what you love. Pick one idea and dedicate your career to it. Become deeper and more committed to that line of work than you ever thought possible.

**RW:** Wow! Great advice.

**TC:** Thanks. As, I mentioned earlier, I am involved in a national movement to bring college education to prison, and that is really exciting. I am also involved in two projects using Social Impact Bonds as funding strategies. It's very important to follow your passions.

**RW:** I agree. And, what do you like to do in your leisure time when you are not teaching or researching?

**TC:** I really enjoy playing fantasy football with my son and his friends. I also like to travel with my wife and daughter.

*\***Todd Clear** is Provost at Rutgers University-Newark; previously, he was Dean of the School of Criminal Justice. He has authored 13 books and over 100 articles and book chapters. His most recent book is The Punishment Imperative, by NYU Press. Clear has also written on community justice, correctional classification, prediction methods in correctional programming, community-based correctional methods, intermediate sanctions, and sentencing policy. He is currently involved in studies of the criminological implications of "place," and the economics of justice reinvestment. Clear has served as president of The Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, The American Society of Criminology, and The Association of Doctoral Programs in Criminology and Criminal Justice.*

# On the Road to Anamosa State Penitentiary: The Book Club Goes to Prison

Amanda Mathias Humphrey \*

Service learning is “hands on” learning that attempts to relate the topics discussed in a classroom to the larger community. When service learning is utilized effectively, students are more responsible, moral, ethical, and active citizens who have a deeper level of understanding than students who do not engage in service learning (Oates & Leavitt, 2003). The components of service learning refer to active student participation in designing and facilitating the service project, team or group work, learning from the realities of others, use of an interdisciplinary framework, and opportunities for students to evaluate their experience. The Mount Mercy University Prison Book Club Project is a service learning program that combines the skills and areas of expertise of English and criminal justice faculty by introducing undergraduate students to the world of corrections and inmates to the world of literature.

Students enrolled in general education English literature courses and select upper division criminal justice courses are required to organize and facilitate a book discussion about one of their required course texts with a group of inmates housed at Anamosa State Penitentiary. The English faculty assists students from all classes with techniques for literature discussion while the criminal justice faculty provides instruction on incarceration and the life of an inmate to all students. The students who volunteer for the service learning assignment are divided into groups and are required to tour the prison, attend a volunteer orientation session at the prison, read the selected

text, create a discussion plan, facilitate the book discussion, and write a reflective essay on their experiences throughout the project. All the students who volunteer have to pass a background check in order to tour the prison and participate in the book clubs. The purpose of the prison tour is to allow the student volunteers to see what the prison looks like and learn about the operation of the prison and inmate life inside the prison walls.

The inmates who participate are deemed appropriate based on their low security risk and ability to read and understand the selected texts. Those inmates who participate are required to read the books, with their compliance monitored by education staff at the prison. The book club discussions are held in one of the education classrooms at the prison. The inmates are not handcuffed, shackled, or restrained in any way. The inmates are provided a list of discussion questions about each of the selected texts several weeks prior to the book club meetings in order to help them prepare for the discussions. The texts utilized for the book club discussions include *The Road* by Cormac McCarthy, *Walkin' the Dog* by Walter Mosley, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Great Expectations* by Charles Dickens, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* by Robert Louis Stevenson, *Dead Man*



*Walking* by Sister Helen Prejean, and *My Antonia* by Willa Cather.

### **For the Students: Prison Myths vs. Reality**

One of the predominant themes that emerges in the students' reflective essays concerns myths about prison and prisoners versus the reality of prison life and who prisoners are. The students overwhelmingly write about their nervousness and anxiety before entering the prison. Many of the students cite television and the media as their only source of knowledge about prison and prisoners. This "knowledge" primarily consists of the expectation that prisoners are violent, loud, scary looking, and vulgar, and prisons are dark, ugly, depressing places. Several of the students cite movies such as *Felon*, *The Green Mile*, and *The Shawshank Redemption* along with the television show *Lock Up* as the source of their prison knowledge. It quickly became apparent that one of the outcomes of the book club project is that the students realize that most of their ideas and their "knowledge" about prison and prisoners were skewed. Although the prison was not as scary as they assumed, in some ways the reality of prison life was worse than what the students expected. Further, participation in the book club project seems to impact the students' perception of inmates in such a way that they recognize the humanity of the inmates. They recognize that they share many of the same feelings as the inmates and sometimes similar life experiences. After seeing the prison and spending time with inmates, the students seem to reflect on definitions of justice and why people commit crime, and they question the rehabilitative power of prison and the lack of educational opportunities available to prisoners.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Service learning activity can result in several areas of growth for the students who participate. These areas include self-esteem, confidence, tolerance of diversity, and the value of community service. The students who participated in the book club project gained confidence in their skills as leaders and communicators. They acknowledged that they were proud of their engagement with the inmates in the book club setting. The students were exposed to racial diversity, with which many of the students had little prior experience, and to diversity of economic class, education level, and life experience. The reflective essays exhibit that the students recognized the diversity to which they were exposed, recognized that they may not have been as tolerant as they thought, and gained an appreciation for diversity in its many forms. Finally, involvement in the book club project seemed to have inspired many of the students to think about the role of service in their lives and the lives of others, making it a viable interdisciplinary service learning activity.

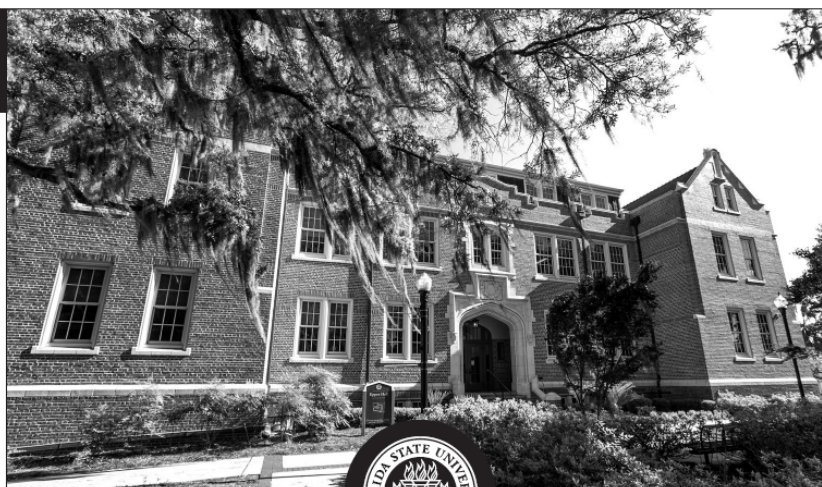
### **Reference**

Oates, K. K., & Leavitt, L. H. (2003). *Service-Learning and Learning Communities: Tools for Integration and Assessment*. Washington, DC: American Colleges and Universities.

*\*Amanda Mathias Humphrey is an Associate Professor and Director of the Master's Program in Criminal Justice at Mount Mercy University.*

## MEET Our Faculty

- **BILL BALES**  
*Professor and Director,  
Center for Criminology  
and Public Policy Research*
- **ERIC BAUMER**  
*Allen E. Liska Professor  
of Criminology*
- **KEVIN BEAVER**  
*Professor and Director,  
Distance Learning Program*
- **THOMAS BLOMBERG**  
*Dean and  
Sheldon L. Messinger  
Professor of Criminology*
- **TED CHIRICOS**  
*William Julius Wilson  
Professor of Criminology*
- **BILLY CLOSE**  
*Assistant Professor*
- **JENNIFER COPP**  
*Assistant Professor*
- **BILL DOERNER**  
*Professor*
- **MARC GERTZ**  
*Professor*
- **CARTER HAY**  
*Professor and Director,  
Graduate Program*
- **KECIA JOHNSON**  
*Assistant Professor*
- **GARY KLECK**  
*David J. Bordua  
Professor of Criminology*
- **DAN MAIER-KATKIN**  
*Professor*
- **DAN MEARS**  
*Mark C. Stafford  
Professor of Criminology*
- **ASHLEY RUBIN**  
*Assistant Professor*
- **SONJA SIENNICK**  
*Assistant Professor*
- **ERIC STEWART**  
*Professor*
- **BRIAN STULTS**  
*Associate Professor*
- **JILLIAN TURANOVIC**  
*Assistant Professor*
- **GORDON WALDO**  
*Professor Emeritus*
- **PATRICIA WARREN**  
*Associate Professor and  
Director, Undergraduate  
Program*



**FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY**  
COLLEGE OF CRIMINOLOGY & CRIMINAL JUSTICE

## AREAS of Expertise

CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY • LIFE COURSE CRIMINOLOGY  
NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS ON CRIME • PEER ASSOCIATION • SENTENCING  
CORRECTIONS • BIOSOCIAL CRIMINOLOGY • GUN CONTROL  
JUVENILE JUSTICE • SOCIAL CONTROL • RACIAL DISPARITIES

## RESEARCH Brought to Life



- The Center for Criminology and Public Policy Research expands the influence of scholarship in the public policy arena and promotes evidence-based policy-making and practice at the local, state, and national levels.
- The Institute for the Prevention of Financial Fraud, a subsidiary of the Center, promotes research about

financial fraud in the banking, insurance, and financial industries.

- An indicator of the College's national reputation and major achievement has been the selection of the College and College faculty to edit four respected and widely read professional journals: *Criminology and Public Policy*, *Criminology*, *Justice Quarterly*, and *Social Problems*.

## BUILDING An Intellectual Community

- The College's new home, historic Eppes Hall, features redesigned research environments which increase collaboration by integrating student and faculty office suites, offering state-of-the-art technology, and promoting interdisciplinary learning across areas of study like computer

science, accounting, public administration, social work, and law.

- The College of Criminology and Criminal Justice is expanding its faculty to accommodate the needs of one of the most in-demand programs on campus.

PHONE: 850.644.4050 • WEB LINK: [criminology.fsu.edu](http://criminology.fsu.edu)

## Whoever Heard of Michelle Alexander? Contesting a Scholar-Activist's Exclusion from Introductory Criminal Justice Textbooks



*Dennis E. Hoffman\**

conceptualization of mass incarceration (Fagin, 2014), and none discuss her activism in spearheading the national movement to end mass incarceration. Is Alexander's exclusion just a mistake, or is it a case of racialized textbook bias?

"Racialized textbook bias" refers to the tendency of a text to highlight or show preference for white majority perspectives and interpretations of social reality—a tendency that usually results in either treating people of color and their ideas unfairly or ignoring altogether people of color and their points of view. Racialized textbook bias manifests itself in marginalization, compartmentalization, and omission (Mitchell, 2013).

Alexander's invisibility in introductory criminal justice textbooks should concern all criminal justice educators because experts on multicultural education, such as William A. Howe and Penelope L. Lisi (2014), identify invisibility or omission as one of the main forms of bias in curriculum. The exclusion of women and people of color from textbooks at all levels of education is a long-standing problem, and the existence of this problem in criminology and criminal justice has been well-documented (Young & Sulton, 1991; Gabbidon, Taylor Greene, & Wilder, 2004; Gabbidon & Taylor Greene, 2001; Free, 1999; Taylor Greene, 2001; Taylor Greene & Gabbidon, 2003). Having a system

Mistakes come in different shapes. One kind was the fatal police shooting of an unarmed black teenager in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014. Another kind is the excluding of Ohio State University law professor and civil rights advocate Michelle Alexander from current introductory criminal justice textbooks. Baffled by the omission of the author of *The New Jim Crow*, I decided to look into this matter. My own analysis of 20 introductory criminal justice textbooks in print in 2014 (Hoffman, 2014) discovered that only two textbooks mention Alexander (Fagin, 2014; Wright, 2012), only one provides a cursory discussion of her

by which to identify and analyze bias in textbooks and other teaching materials is essential. Systems adopted by schools include checklists and guidelines for assessing patterns of bias in entire textbooks. Identification becomes challenging, however, when one tries to decide whether the treatment of a particular person and/or her work in textbooks constitutes bias.

A good way to begin is to do a sniff test or reality check. If it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, then it is a duck. If the writers of the textbooks in which an alleged omission occurs all appear to be white (as is the case with the 37 male and 7 female authors of the 20 introductory criminal justice textbooks in the 2014 sample I analyzed), if the person whose work has been snubbed or ignored is a member of an underrepresented group, and if this person's work has had a significant impact on either science or policy, then the omission is more than suspicious.

In the case of the African American law professor in question, no one familiar with Alexander's work would quarrel with the claim that Michelle Alexander matters in contemporary criminal justice. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (Alexander, 2010) has received international acclaim for revealing the racial inequalities underlying the mass incarceration system in the United States. *The New Jim Crow* intends to, as Alexander writes, "stimulate a much-needed conversation about the role of the criminal justice system in creating and perpetuating racial hierarchy in the United States" (p. 16). The criminal justice system functions as a system of racial control, Alexander explains, disguising itself in the

rhetoric of color blindness and exercising control through the large-scale rounding up and imprisoning of people of color. Through both her *New York Times* best-selling book and her activism, Alexander has succeeded in sparking a provocative public dialogue about this issue. As Professor Emily Goffman, the author of *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*, recently declared during the American Sociological Association meetings in San Francisco in August 2014, "Michelle Alexander has done more to end mass incarceration than 100 academics" (personal communication with Professor Pete Simi, 2014). Indeed, policy makers at the highest levels, including Senator Rand Paul (2014), who cites Alexander favorably in literature posted on his website, have been prompted to look at the disparate impact of certain drug and sentencing policies on communities of color and poor communities. Some of the progressive policy changes that are occurring, albeit slowly, with respect to sentencing and charging policies, especially at the federal level, are directly traceable to Michelle Alexander's work.

Having passed the sniff test, some might think, "Case closed." Not so fast. Skeptics won't buy it. There are plenty of academics both inside and outside the discipline of criminal justice who would deny that Alexander's exclusion was a mistake in the first place.

If you start with the supposition that the textbooks in a discipline should represent the theories and research covered in the journals within that same field, then a case can be made that Alexander doesn't belong in introductory criminal justice textbooks. This case would rest, in part, on the assumption that Alexander's book, which she published in 2010, is not regarded as influential in mainstream criminal justice and criminology, as measured by citation counts in mainstream criminal justice and criminology journals. Alexander's presumed lack of



influence on scholarly work published in mainstream criminal justice and criminology journals could be grounds to justify her exclusion.

Then, too, naysayers can also point to another arguably valid reason for Alexander's exclusion: She is not in the club. That is, Alexander doesn't belong in introductory criminal justice textbooks because she is not a scholar. Take a closer look at the compliment Emily Goffman paid to Alexander. Upon reflection, Goffman's praise appears to be a "left-handed compliment" because Goffman inadvertently constructed the sentence so as to imply that Alexander isn't an academic. I belabor the point of whether or not Alexander is considered within some academic circles as an activist rather than a scholar because of the longstanding practice inside the academy of drawing a bright line between scholarship and activism. Once academics cross this imaginary line (as Noam Chomsky, Cornell West, and many others have done), then traditionalists downgrade their status from scholars to "public intellectuals" and dismiss their work as irrelevant to the academy.

Now what should we make of these counter-arguments? Although Alexander is not one of the most-cited scholars in mainstream criminal justice and criminology journals, this should not disqualify her from inclusion in introductory criminal justice textbooks. Even those criminal justice education experts like Professor Richard Wright (1997), whose research has focused on the "match" between what journals report and textbooks discuss, admit that textbooks and journals have different audiences and purposes. As such, Professor Wright

acknowledges the two mediums should feature somewhat divergent subject matter.

As for the argument that Alexander should be excluded because she is more of an activist than a criminal justice scholar, this is a red herring. Criminal justice cannot be divorced from the law because the system of crime and punishment is the result of the legal labels that the legal and political systems place on conduct. Michelle Alexander herself correctly points to the overcriminalization of conduct in the War on Drugs as a prime example, and indeed a root cause, of the current mass incarceration mess. Although I am aware that the academy prides itself on remaining pristine, in criminal justice, civil rights lawyers, civil rights activists, criminologists, criminal justice scholars, legislators, policy makers, and ordinary citizens are inextricably intertwined. The problems of the criminal justice system cannot be neatly cabined. Just as the causes of the problems are myriad, solutions come from myriad sources.

Ultimately, Alexander's exclusion should be seen as more than just a mistake; it's a case of racialized textbook bias. For those doubters who remain unconvinced, I recommend considering the harm that Alexander's exclusion does to students enrolled in introductory criminal justice courses. If students in criminal justice are to have any hope of making meaningful contributions to changing the criminal justice system, they need to have the causes and solutions to the most serious problems laid bare through an honest, critical appraisal in their textbooks. The exclusion of Alexander very likely denies students an opportunity to learn about the number one civil rights issue today, mass incarceration. It also marginalizes the power of Michelle Alexander as a role model for citizen participation in criminal justice reform—a role model who, through networking and resistance, has



demonstrated it is possible to confront racialized governmental policies such as the War on Drugs and Get Tough sentencing. Finally, excluding someone like Alexander who speaks truth to power cheats all students out of one of the benefits of education that W. E. B. DuBois (1903, 2003) expressed as follows: “for education among all kinds of men always has had, and always will have, an element of danger and revolution, of dissatisfaction and discontent” (p. 29).

## References

- Alexander, M. (2010). *The new Jim Crow*. New York: The New Press.
- DuBois, W. E. B. (2003). *The souls of black folk*. New York: Barnes and Noble. (Original work published 1903)
- Fagin, J. A. (2014). *CJ2014*. Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Free, M. (1999). Racial issues in contemporary criminology textbooks: The case of African Americans. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 1, 429–466.
- Gabbidon, S. L., & Taylor Greene, H. (2001). The presence of African American scholarship in early American criminology texts (1918–1960). *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 12, 301–310.
- Gabbidon, S. L., Taylor Greene, H., & Wilder, K. (2004). Still excluded? An update on the status of African American scholars in the discipline of criminology and criminal justice. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 41, 384–406.
- Hoffman, D. E. (2014). “Racialized bias in introductory criminal justice textbooks: A content analysis.” Unpublished manuscript.
- Howe, W. A., & Lisi, P. L. (2014). *Becoming a multicultural educator*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Mitchell, M. D. (2013). The color line and Georgia history textbooks: A content analysis. (MA Thesis). Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA.
- Paul, R. (2014). *Rand Paul United States Senator*. <http://www.paul.senate.gov>.
- Taylor Greene, H. (2001). A multi-faceted analysis of the presence of African Americans in juvenile delinquency texts published between 1997 and 2000. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 24, 87–101.
- Taylor Greene, H., & Gabbidon, S. L. (2003). African American scholarship in criminological research published in the 1990s. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 14, 1–15.
- Wright, J. (2012). *Introduction to criminal justice*. Bridgeport, CT: Bridgeport Education.
- Wright, R. (1997). Do introductory criminal justice textbooks cite the most influential criminal justicians? *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 8, 81–90.

Young, V., & Sulton, A. T. (1991). Excluded: The current status of African American scholars in the field of criminology and criminal justice. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 28, 101–116.

*\*Dennis E. Hoffman is a professor in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Nebraska at Omaha (UNO) where he was named “Teacher of the Year” in 2012. Currently, he chairs the Diversity Committee in the College of Public Affairs and Community Services. The Committee’s priority is faculty diversification. Hoffman’s current research focus is racialized bias in criminal justice textbooks.*

## From the Editor's Desk



***Robert M. Worley,  
Editor of ACJS Today***

**G**reetings, friends! I hope your 2015 is off to a wonderful start!

It seems as though lately there is a renewed interest in institutional and community corrections. Given this, it is my pleasure to present this special issue of *ACJS Today*: "Emerging Topics in Corrections." I am deeply indebted to all of the extraordinary scholars who graciously contributed their important work to this issue. Thanks, Dan, Josh, Bruce, Amanda, and Dennis for helping to make this issue a success!

I'd also like to thank Past ACJS President, Todd Clear, who kindly answered a few of my questions, despite the fact that he was in the midst of his holiday travel. And, of course, thanks goes out to ACJS Historian, Will Oliver, who consistently contributes interesting columns for all of us to enjoy. I'd also like to thank Diana Breti and Mayra Picon for assisting

me with this issue. And, a very special thanks goes out to ACJS President, Brian Payne, who always manages to write informative columns, in spite of being so busy preparing for the upcoming conference with the other Executive Board Members.

Finally, I wanted to remind everyone that *ACJS Today* is now referenced in the EBSCO database: *Criminal Justice Abstracts with Full Text*. And, in addition to this, all of these issues are also indexed via (EDS) EBSCO Discovery Service which provides outstanding visibility and exposure. This means that articles which appear in *ACJS Today* can still be easily accessed long after they have been published! Also, all newsletter items and interviews will be indexed on these search engines as well. The above measure is sure to increase the visibility of our fine organization!

I hope everyone has a fantastic 2015 filled with laughter, joy, multiple publications, and great teaching evaluations! I look forward seeing to everyone in sunny Orlando!

All the best,

*Robert M. Worley*



## ACJS Seeking Committee Volunteers for 2016-2017

Lorenzo Boyd, ACJS 1<sup>st</sup> Vice President, is actively seeking Committee volunteers to serve during his presidency, March 2016 – March 2017. If you are interested in learning more about how to be actively involved in service to ACJS, contact Lorenzo at [lorenzo\\_boyd@uml.edu](mailto:lorenzo_boyd@uml.edu) to volunteer. Every ACJS member who volunteers will be placed on a standing or *ad hoc* Committee, to the extent possible.

Committee membership is limited to ACJS members. The composition of all committees will be as diverse as possible with regards to gender, race, region, and length of Academy membership.

Every year, ACJS needs volunteers for the Academy's Standing Committees. Committee volunteers usually serve for one year, beginning with the Friday of the Annual Meeting after the Executive Board meets. Appointments to the following ACJS Standing Committees are for one year, unless otherwise stated:

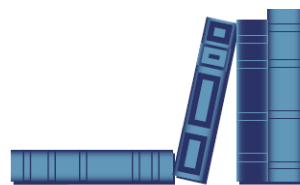
- **Academic Review** (members serve three-year terms and membership is restricted to trained certification reviewers)
- **Affirmative Action**
- **Assessment** (members serve three-year terms)
- **Awards**
- **Business, Finance, and Audit** (members are appointed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vice President)
- **Committee on National Criminal Justice Month**
- **Constitution and By-Laws** (members are appointed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vice President and serve three-year terms)
- **Ethics** (members serve three-year terms and are nominated by the Trustees-At-Large and appointed by the ACJS Executive Board)
- **Membership**
- **Nominations and Elections** (members are appointed by the Immediate Past President)
- **Program**
- **Public Policy**
- **Publications**
- **Student Affairs**

*The success of ACJS depends on having a dedicated cadre of volunteers.  
Committee membership is an excellent way to make a  
difference in the future of ACJS.*





# Historian's Corner



**Willard M. Oliver\***

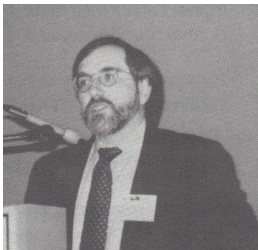
## GREETINGS!

I hope this special issue of *ACJS Today* finds everyone doing well as you begin to start out the Spring Semester. As many of you may know, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS)

came into the existence by way of a split with the American Society of Criminology (ASC; Oliver, 2013). ASC had originally been created as the National Association of College Police Training Officials on December 30, 1941, in the living room of the legendary police chief and first police professor, August Vollmer, along with his disciple V. A. Leonard, a newly appointed professor of policing at Washington State University (Oliver, 2014). The mission of the association, which later changed its name to the American Society of Criminology, was to promote higher education programs for police officers. After Vollmer's death in 1955, it began to take a decidedly different turn, one that emphasized the sociological theories of crime causation. Many of the old guard, who agreed with Vollmer's vision of the organization, became disaffected. In 1963, at V. A. Leonard's retirement party from Washington State University, those in attendance decided to break away from ASC and create their own organization, the International Association of Police Professors (IAPP). This new organization, the IAPP, later changed its name to the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

The two organizations have grown and expanded over the years since that split, and ACJS recently celebrated its 50th Anniversary in 2013. Although not exclusively, the Society has long emphasized criminology, the theory testing of crime causation, while the Academy has focused on the administrative response to crime through the criminal justice system (police, courts, and corrections). Although there are some in academia who are members of both, many self-identify with either criminology or criminal justice and are dedicated to only one of the organizations. Since the early split, there has been a divisive debate over the proper role of each discipline, and much of that debate manifested in how the two organizations developed. A recent study highlights the division as it stands today when the authors concluded, "While the debate itself may have subsided, the academic and prestige-based rifts within the discipline continue" (Steinmetz, Schaefer, del Carmen, & Hemmens, 2014, p. 369).

In light of this separation, debate, and rift, one would think it impossible for one to bridge the gap between the two organizations and to be seen as an equal advocate for both criminology and criminal justice. Assuredly, each organization would be sensitive to these differences, thus disallowing the opportunity for anyone to gain a leadership position within both organizations. Yet somehow, four individuals managed to overcome these obstacles, bridge the gap, and find themselves serving as president of both the Academy and the Society. It is a look at these four individuals that is the focus of this Historian's Corner.



The four individuals shown above are: Richard O. Hankey, Harry E. Allen, Francis T. Cullen, and Todd Clear. Each of these gentlemen served as president of both ACJS and ASC. Richard Hankey was the first to serve as president, when he was elected president of ASC in 1956. At that time, the organization had evolved to its second nomenclature, the Society for the Advancement of Criminology, and was still under the influence of the police scholars. Hankey was then elected ten years later to serve as the president of ACJS when it was still the International Association of Police Professors, and he served from 1966–1967. The second to hold this unique distinction was Harry E. Allen, who first served as president of ASC in 1982 and then ACJS in the 1994–1995 term. While the first two were presidents of ASC first and then ACJS, the next two presidents achieved their dual presidencies in the reverse manner. Francis T. Cullen first became the president of ACJS, having served the term just prior to Allen (1993–1994), before serving as the president of ASC in 2004. And, Todd

Clear served as the president of ACJS from 2000 to 2001, and then ASC in 2009.

Taking a deeper look, the first of these dual presidents, Richard “Dick” O. Hankey, had been a student of August Vollmer’s in the 1930s at the University of California at Berkeley, before joining the Berkeley Police Department and then enlisting in the military during World War II. Upon his return from Germany, he accepted a position at Visalia College (later the College of the Sequoias) and was active in the Society for the Advancement of Criminology. Clearly a Vollmerite, Hankey was elected president in 1956, one year after Vollmer’s death and still a time when the Society was focused on police scholarship. When the breakaway occurred in 1963, Hankey was teaching at Los Angeles State College, and he became active in the IAPP, becoming its president in 1966–1967. In fact, Hankey ended up with such a strong passion for organizational commitment that he became president of several other organizations, including the Oregon Association of Criminal Justice Education in 1974. One colleague was left to quip, “Does Dick belong to anything he is not president of?” (Oliver, 2013, p. 59). Hankey died on January 1, 1980.

Harry E. Allen, the second dual president first served as a professor at Florida State University where he explained, “I got my first taste of teaching” (ASC, 1996). Despite his love for teaching, Allen was also committed to the corrections field, and he accepted the position of executive secretary with the Ohio Governor’s Task Force on Corrections. His work on the task force led him to a position at Ohio State University, before he made his final move to warmer climes in 1978, joining the faculty at San Jose State University. Active in ASC, he was

elected to serve as the president in 1982. Although a self-identified criminologist, his passion for corrections research kept him active in the Academy, and after serving as Program Committee Chair and Secretary-Treasurer, he was elected to serve as president in the 1994–1995 term. Although retired today, one would not know it, for he continues to teach online, conduct research, and is the author or co-author of multiple books on corrections.

Francis “Frank” T. Cullen, after earning his Ph.D. at Columbia University, began teaching at Western Illinois and then, in 1982, moved to his current faculty post at the University of Cincinnati. He was active in the Academy and served as the second editor of *Justice Quarterly* before being elected to serve as president for the 1993–1994 term. Cullen was also active in the Society and was eventually asked to run for president, and he was elected to serve in 2004. In addition to having been president of both organizations, Cullen was also the only one of the four dual presidents to have been awarded all three of the Academy’s distinguished awards, as well as the ACJS Outstanding Book of the Year Award. Cullen remains at the University of Cincinnati where he serves as a distinguished research professor.

The most recent dual president, Todd Clear, is a graduate of SUNY-Albany and a scholar whose research has focused primarily on American corrections. After teaching at his alma mater as a visiting lecturer, he held academic posts at DePaul University and Ball State University, before moving to Rutgers University in 1978. Clear then served as an Associate Dean at Florida State University before moving to John Jay College in 1999. While there, he was elected to serve as the president of the Academy for the 2000 to 2001 term. Clear also became very active in the Society through the first decade of the 21st century, and in 2009, he served as

their president. Clear returned to Rutgers University the following year, where he served as Dean and now Provost.

I caught up with several of the dual presidents and asked them to share their experiences and memories. I inquired as to their early membership in the organization, and Cullen recalled joining ASC first and then soon thereafter he joined ACJS. He saw ASC as his “natural home” because he was trained as a sociologist, and “it was not until I moved to Cincinnati and was with Ed (Latessa) that ACJS became a primary organization for me.” Both Allen and Hankey had also been members of ASC first, followed by ACJS. Clear, on the other hand, held membership in ACJS first and then the following year joined ASC, making him the stand-out membership-wise. However, other than Hankey, who did not have the advantage of both organizations being available for membership at the same time, the other three all joined both organizations very early in their careers.

What led each of the dual presidents to their first presidency was also considered. Hankey was very active in many organizations having a relationship to criminal justice and, more specifically, policing. When he first became president of ASC, as previously noted, it was more police focused, so being a Vollmerite, it proved a natural fit. By the time Allen became president of ASC, it had become more criminology focused and because Allen came out of Ohio State and had studied under Walter Reckless, who was himself a highly committed criminologist, it, too, was a natural fit (Morn, 1995). More specifically, Allen noted that when he became a member of ASC, he was asked to help with recruitment, and when his efforts saw a dramatic increase in membership, he was invited to serve on the executive board and soon thereafter run for the presidency (ASC 1996).

For Cullen, his motivation came on the heels of having served as the second editor of *Justice Quarterly*, for as he explained, “My editorial involvement made me fully committed to ACJS.” And for Clear, the motivation for running for president the first time, with ACJS, came from the nomination committee asking him to run for president. Each of these presidents have also acknowledged the impact that others had on their becoming president: Hankey attributed his presidency to Vollmer; Allen to Reckless; Cullen to Richard Cloward and Ed Latessa; while Clear noted the assistance of Mittie Southerland and Dick Bennett. In fact, each president has acknowledged the assistance of so many people with their presidency it would require a lengthy Appendix just to name them all.

Knowing full well that regardless of which organization came first, the first presidency would hold their fondest memories and experiences, I asked them about this. Todd Clear noted that “being president of ACJS was, for me, a steep learning curve” because, as he explained, “ACJS is a very hands-on leadership organization, and I had a lot to learn very quickly about how it worked and all the tasks that needed to be done.” For Frank Cullen, he fondly remembered that “It was a fun time to be in ACJS because there was a true sense that we were building an exciting professional organization that would provide opportunities to all sorts of younger academics who were outside the networks of ASC.” Allen saw his first presidency as presenting the opportunity to move ASC forward, “to drag it out of this parochial interest to be something bigger, perhaps more impactful in policy and practice” (ASC, 1996). And although the reaction of Hankey goes unrecorded, knowing that he was carrying on the legacy of his mentor August Vollmer, so soon after the Chief’s death, was probably his fondest memory, if not his own personal legacy.

Thus far, it is not uncommon that active participation, associations with colleagues in the respective organization, and the specific guidance of certain people would lead these four to their first presidency. However, what is most unique is that all four of these individuals became the president of the other organization, and it is to that unique experience the interviews (and investigation) turned. Although Hankey was not present at the retirement party for V. A. Leonard, which was the catalyst for the creation of ACJS, Hankey was fully committed to the new organization because of the fact it was intent on reaffirming the legacy of August Vollmer. One, however, does have to wonder about the political reaction to the first former president of ASC becoming the president of the IAPP, only four years after it splintered from the “parent” association.

Harry Allen’s presidency can probably attest to the political reaction that Hankey received, for Allen experienced it and recorded it for posterity. Ed Latessa, in interviewing his former professor, asked Allen about this very topic (ASC, 1996). Allen was forthcoming when he stated that “Some of my critics were very unhappy that I went over to ACJS to become the president. They felt it was a betrayal of interest in criminology.” Allen succinctly concluded, what Hankey no doubt thought himself, “I think that reflects a split between criminal justice and criminology” (ASC, 1996).

Cullen, having first served as the president of ACJS, explained that his “running for ASC president was something of a fluke.” While he stated he “had no immediate aspirations,” his name was suggested by the nominations committee and when asked if he would run, as he explained, “I was deeply honored and agreed.” Cullen did point out that there are subtle differences in the way ACJS and ASC elect their president. “The membership of



ACJS gives a lot of weight to electing a president (second vice-president first, of course) who has served the organization in a number of ways” while “in general, ASC nominates presidents based primarily on their scholarly influence.” Cullen believes that “the fact that each organization has its own style of electing presidents is a good thing” and that “it opens up these two presidencies to different sorts of people.” “I am fortunate,” Cullen observed, “to have been elected by both memberships.”

By the time Todd Clear ran for president of ASC, because of Cullen, it was not such an unusual contemporary phenomenon. As he explained, “I was nominated to run by the nominations committee for both organizations.” Clear described his running for ASC president by noting, “I ran on a platform of increased policy relevance and closer connection to ACJS,” and that earlier, “I remember running on the same ideas for ACJS president.” “These two aims,” he observed, “policy relevance and professional integration, are still important, and great strides have been made on each.” Time also seems to have played a major role in perspective. Hankey assuredly felt the separation between criminal justice and criminology, the same as Allen spoke of in his interview. However, both Cullen and Clear noted the similarities between the two organizations. Cullen observed that “I am not sure that I see the two organizations as being that different in the content of meetings,” while Clear articulated that “the organizations have such tremendous overlap in membership.” The differences, they both agreed, despite their own personal circumstances, tended to lie in the leadership. While Clear noted that ACJS and ASC are similar in membership, he did add the qualifier, “But not in leadership.” Cullen elaborated that “I think that ACJS is perhaps different in drawing more people into its leadership positions who are younger and, perhaps, not as famous of

scholars” and “is an organization that rewards those who have worked for the organization.”

When asked about the future of ASC and ACJS, especially based on the rhetoric of a merger, to which Clear has been something of an advocate (Clear, 2012), Cullen and Clear, at first, appeared to agree. Clear argued that “We need to find a way to build a single, large and strong organization for criminology/criminal justice. I worry that having two organizations makes us compete for institutional resources and also waters down our ability to influence educational and criminal justice policy. The meetings are nearly the same in terms of topics covered. The lead journals [*JQ* and *Criminology*] are also very similar. By finding a way to connect the two organizations into a single group, we would increase the significance of our academic work while also declaring a new level of importance for our pedagogical aims.” Cullen agreed “on one level” when he said, “It would be better for the discipline if we simply had one organization to which everyone belonged.”

Cullen, however, then took a more pragmatic approach when he concluded, “But this is not going to happen.” As he elaborated, “There is an imbalance of power. ASC has grown very large and all the top scholars now attend it. I am sure that ASC would not mind subsuming ACJS, but it would have nothing to gain by a true, equal merger. If ACJS tried to merge, it would simply lose its identity. Maybe it is a good thing that we have two organizations. We have two flagship journals and other journals that the organizations publish. Each organization provides a different type of professional home for members of the

discipline. For ACJS, those who are good scholars and who wish to work for the organization will have the ability to become president. Without ACJS, these professional opportunities would not exist and enrich the lives of many academics who now enjoy them. So, perhaps we should just leave well enough alone! I have benefited from both organizations and I trust others have done so—and will do so—as well.”

It would seem that vestiges of the justification for the original split that created ACJS and caused the two organizations to develop simultaneously still remain today. Whether the debate is over criminology versus criminal justice or some modicum of prestige, the debate does still remain, and it is the fact that these four individuals still managed to bridge the gap between the two organizations by becoming president of both the Academy and the Society is something to marvel over. Service and scholarship appear to be the two elements that made their unusual circumstances possible, and there is little doubt that in the future, others will also find a way to bridge the gap. For now, however, these four individuals should be recognized for their ability to do so, for this is currently our history.

### References

- American Society of Criminology. (1996). *Harry Allen interviewed by Ed Latessa*. Retrieved [https://www.asc41.com/videos/Oral\\_History/Harry\\_Allen.html](https://www.asc41.com/videos/Oral_History/Harry_Allen.html).
- Clear, T. (2012). The ASC and ACJS should merge. *The Criminologist*, 37, 22–24.
- Morn, F. (1995). *Academic politics and the history of criminal justice education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Oliver, W. M. (2013). *The history of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS): Celebrating 50 years, 1963–2013*. <http://www.acjs.org/pubs/uploads/ACJS50thAnniversaryHistoryBook.pdf>.
- Oliver, W. M. (2014). *V. A. Leonard: The focal point in the creation of ASC, APS, and ACJS*. Retrieved from [http://www.acjs.org/uploads/file/ACJS\\_VA\\_Leonard.pdf](http://www.acjs.org/uploads/file/ACJS_VA_Leonard.pdf).
- Steinmetz, K. F., Schaefer, B. P., del Carmen, R. V., & Hemmens, C. (2014). Assessing the between criminal justice and criminology. *Criminal Justice Review*, 39, 357–376.

**\*Willard M. Oliver, Ph.D., is a Professor of Criminal Justice at Sam Houston State University and the ACJS Historian. He is currently working on a biography of August Vollmer for Carolina Academic Press.**

# ACJS Today

**Editor:** **Robert M. Worley, Ph.D.**  
Lamar University  
Department of Sociology, Social  
Work, and Criminal Justice  
P.O. Box 10026  
Beaumont, TX 77710  
Phone: 409.880.7827  
[rworley@lamar.edu](mailto:rworley@lamar.edu)

**Historian:** Willard Oliver, Ph.D.  
Sam Houston State University  
College of Criminal Justice  
P.O. Box 2296  
Huntsville, TX 77341  
Phone: 936.294.4173  
[woliver@shsu.edu](mailto:woliver@shsu.edu)

## ACJS National Office

Mary K. Stohr: Executive Director  
[execdir@acjs.org](mailto:execdir@acjs.org)

Mittie D. Southerland: Executive  
Director Emeritus  
[mittie.southerland@gmail.com](mailto:mittie.southerland@gmail.com)

Cathy L. Barth: Association Manager  
[manager@acjs.org](mailto:manager@acjs.org)

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences  
P. O. Box 960  
Greenbelt, Maryland 20770

Office Location:  
7339 Hanover Parkway, Suite A  
Greenbelt, MD 20768-0960  
Tel.: (301) 446-6300; (800) 757-ACJS (2257)  
Fax: (301) 446-2819  
Website: <http://www.acjs.org>

## ACJS Today Publication Dates

January  
March  
May  
September  
November

Copyright © 2000 by the Academy of Criminal  
Justice Sciences. All rights reserved. Distributed  
to all current members of ACJS.

## Submission Deadlines

December 15<sup>th</sup>  
February 15<sup>th</sup>  
April 15<sup>th</sup>  
August 15<sup>th</sup>  
October 15<sup>th</sup>

*The editor will use his discretion to accept, reject or  
postpone manuscripts.*

## Article Guidelines

Articles may vary in writing style (i.e. tone) and  
length. Articles should be relevant to the field of  
criminal justice, criminology, law, sociology or related  
curriculum and interesting to our readership. Please  
include your name, affiliation and email address,  
which will be used as your biographical information.  
Submission of an article to *ACJS Today* implies that  
the article has not been published elsewhere nor is it  
currently under submission to another publication.

**Minimum length:** 700 words

**Maximum length:** 2000 words

**Photos:** jpeg or gif

**Text format:** Microsoft Word, RTF, TXT, or ASCII

**Citation Style:** APA 5th Edition

# ACJS 2013 – 2014 Executive Board

## President

**Brian Payne**  
Old Dominion University  
Graduate and Undergraduate Academic Programs  
University 210E Koch Hall  
Norfolk, VA 25329  
757-683-4757

[bpayne@odu.edu](mailto:bpayne@odu.edu)

## First Vice President

**Brandon Applegate**  
University of South Carolina  
Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice  
1305 Greene Street  
Columbia, SC 29208  
803-777-7065

[applegatep@sc.edu](mailto:applegatep@sc.edu)

## Second Vice President

**Lorenzo Boyd**  
University of Massachusetts – Lowell  
School of Criminology and Justice Studies  
113 Wilder Street, HSSB Room 411  
Lowell, MA 01854-3060  
978-934-4160

[lorenzo\\_boyd@uml.edu](mailto:lorenzo_boyd@uml.edu)

## Immediate Past President

**James Frank**  
University of Cincinnati  
School of Criminal Justice  
P.O. Box 210389  
Cincinnati, OH 45221-0389  
513-556-5832

[james.frank@uc.edu](mailto:james.frank@uc.edu)

## Treasurer

**L. Edward Day**  
Chapman University  
One University Drive  
Orange, CA 92866  
714-997-6621

[lday@chapman.edu](mailto:lday@chapman.edu)

## Secretary

**Prabha Unnithan**  
Colorado State University  
Department of Sociology  
200 West Lake Street  
Fort Collins, CO 80523  
970-491-6615

[prabha@lamar.colostate.edu](mailto:prabha@lamar.colostate.edu)

## Trustees-at-Large

**Barbara Sims**  
Mars Hill University  
316 Cornwell  
Mars Hill, NC 28754-0370  
828-689-1276

[bsims@mhu.edu](mailto:bsims@mhu.edu)

## Heather L. Pfeifer

University of Baltimore  
1420 North Charles Street  
Baltimore, MD 21201  
410-837-5292

[hpfeifer@ubalt.edu](mailto:hpfeifer@ubalt.edu)

## Philip L. Reichel

University of Northern Colorado  
2506 57<sup>th</sup> Avenue  
Greeley, CO 80634  
970-351-2107

[philip.reichel@unco.edu](mailto:philip.reichel@unco.edu)

## Regional Trustees

### Region 1—Northeast

**Denise Kindschi Gosselin**  
Western New England University  
Herman 206A  
1215 Wilbraham Road – BOX H5164  
413-320-7576

[denise.gosselin@wne.edu](mailto:denise.gosselin@wne.edu)

### Region 2—Southern

**Dean Dabney**  
Georgia State University  
140 Decatur Street  
1201 Urban Life Building  
Atlanta, GA 30303  
404-413-1039

[ddabney@gsu.edu](mailto:ddabney@gsu.edu)

### Region 3—Midwest

**Joseph Schafer**  
Southern Illinois University Carbondale  
4248 Faner Hall  
Carbondale, IL 62901-4504  
618-453-6376

[jschafer@siu.edu](mailto:jschafer@siu.edu)

### Region 4—Southwest

**David Montague**  
University of Arkansas at Little Rock  
Department of Criminal Justice  
2801 South University Avenue  
RH-539

Little Rock, AR 72204

501-683-7509

[drmoutague@ualr.edu](mailto:drmoutague@ualr.edu)

### Region 5—Western/Pacific

**Marlyn J. Jones**  
California State University, Sacramento  
6000 J Street  
Sacramento, CA 95819  
916-278-7048

[marlyn@csus.edu](mailto:marlyn@csus.edu)

## Executive Director

**Mary K. Stohr**  
Washington State University  
Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology  
P.O. Box 644872  
Pullman, WA 99164

[execdir@acjs.org](mailto:execdir@acjs.org)

## Executive Director Emeritus

**Mittie D. Southerland**

1525 State Route 2151

Melber, KY 42069

270-674-5697

270-674-6097 (fax)

[mittie.southerland@gmail.com](mailto:mittie.southerland@gmail.com)

## Association Manager—Ex Officio

**Cathy L. Barth**  
P.O. Box 960  
Greenbelt, MD 20768-0960  
301-446-6300  
800-757-2257

301-446-2819 (fax)

[manager@acjs.org](mailto:manager@acjs.org)

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences  
ACJS Today  
P.O. Box 960  
Greenbelt, Maryland 20768-0960