

# ACJS Today

## Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

### In Search of Mental Wellness and Justice: The Struggle for Environmentally Safe Communities

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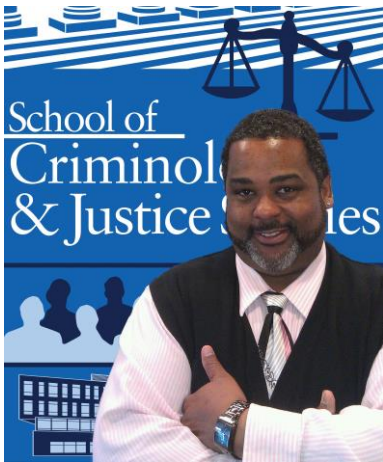
There are many ways to marginalize individuals, groups—a people. Environmental racism, a structural and institutional construct, has been one of the most contentious ways it can be observed in modern American history (Bullard, 1993, 2000). It involves low-income, usually minority communities being consistently targeted for the storage, disposal, and processing of hazardous pollutants (Bullard, 2000; Hockman & Morris, 1998; United Church of Christ, 1987; Taylor, n.d.). While the ramifications regarding the physical health of individuals living near hazardous waste and industrial pollution have been questioned and debated, the mental health of individuals subjected to these environmental stressors is arguably an area that needs more investigation (Downey & Vann Willigen, 2005). This article posits that the mental wellness of these victims continues to be

*Continued on Page 4*

#### INSIDE

Page 1	In Search of Mental Wellness and Justice
Page 2	President's Message
Page 5	Annual Conference
Page 13	Editor's Pick: <i>On the Run</i>
Page 19	Denver Conference Highlights
Page 25	A Conversation with Jeff Ferrell
Page 30	Book Review
Page 33	The Citizen's Approach to Gun Control and Violence Reduction
Page 43	Demographics of ACJS Members

## President's Message



*Lorenzo Boyd, President, ACJS\**

**G**reetings colleagues and fellow ACJS members! First, let me thank you for your support, kind words, and advice as I begin my year as president of ACJS. The 2017 conference will be a special time for me as it marks my 20th year in ACJS. I was a young graduate student at the University of Massachusetts, Boston when my mentor and major professor, the late Dr. Gerald Garrett, encouraged me to attend the 1997 ACJS conference at the Galt House in Louisville, Kentucky. That year, the floodwaters in Louisville were subsiding, but my interest in the academy was, indeed, rising. It was at the Galt House that I was able to not only meet many of the scholars whose textbooks and research I read and cited, but, more vitally, it was where I began to build a strong coalition of friends, mentors, collaborators, and colleagues. Shortly after attending that meeting, I started seeking out synergies between the work I was doing as a practitioner and the theories that underpinned the research I was newly being exposed to.

Across my years as a practitioner, teacher, and scholar, I have noticed that too often there is a disconnect between the empirical research found in many peer-reviewed journal articles and the information that many street-level practitioners are accessing and basing their decisions on. On one side, there is amazing research being conducted by people in the academy who are passionate about criminal justice issues. On the other side, there is also fantastic grass-roots level work that is being done in various communities across the country. Unfortunately, many of the grass-roots practitioners find themselves in metaphoric silos, often trying to find their own way with little guidance, and too often engaging in practices that have been discredited by research. Too many practitioners haven't found or are unable to access the research concerning best practices that can direct their work. If we want practitioners to make evidence-based decisions, we have to supply them with research that is accessible to them. Somehow we have to bridge the gap between research and practice in an effective and meaningful way. I hope that ACJS can help facilitate conversations that will take us in that direction.

In this vein, the theme for the 2017 conference in Kansas City, MO is "*Linking Teaching, Practice, and Research*." As you are planning your abstract submissions for the 2017 annual meeting, I strongly encourage you to include any practitioners or community-based workers or research grantees that are involved in your work. Inviting practitioners to the table will help us have a more robust discussion of issues and best practices in criminal justice. Their voices and perspectives are extremely valuable in

framing future research and, thus, criminal justice policy. Sometimes a clearer perspective on the direction of good research can be obtained by looking through the lens of those doing the job every day.

Bridging the gap between practitioners and academics will also influence the information that we bring into the classroom and set the foundation for future criminologists and practitioners. The beauty of criminal justice education is that we are not simply trying to replenish the professoriate, although that is a worthy goal in itself. Rather, we are imparting critical skills and ideas related to crime and justice to our students, and thus we are equipping them to be difference makers and enlightened decision makers in the broader society. I often tell my students that *theories aren't just theories when real lives are involved*. Helping students move from a theoretical premise to practical application can give them a better appreciation of the world we live in and help them find their place in criminal justice and related fields. That is why it is imperative that current and relevant research is introduced regularly in classroom discussions. Although classic and seminal works set the foundation for the discussion, current research will give new value to current issues.

As we tout the great work conducted at our think tanks and R1 institutions, we must not forget about the yeoman's work being done at the teaching universities, community colleges, and minority-serving institutions across the country. For it is from some of these bastions of higher learning that many of our front-line workers, future professors, and policy makers are first introduced to the concepts and ideals that will shape an efficient and properly working criminal justice system as well as related fields for years to come. There is room at the table for all of these

ideas to develop and flourish. The inclusive nature of ACJS makes it the right venue to include all voices in these conversations, and now is the right time to bring these diverse perspectives together to the table. It is my hope that the ideas, discussions, and debates started in Kansas City in March 2017 will blossom into collaborative ventures that include many more voices in the discussion. Let's move forward in our efforts to link teaching, practice, and research in criminal justice.

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compromised by psychological distress resulting from the impact of environmentally hazardous neighborhoods. Further, it is a call to reawaken this important social justice issue and pursue sustainable ways to support communities, seek corrective measures, and provide better advocacy for these marginalized members of society who often lack the organizational prowess and political power to combat this unrelenting and oppressive practice. Perhaps an unlikely pairing—psychological well-being and environmental inequalities—it is nonetheless still a necessary undertaking in our individual and collective efforts to address injustice wherever it is found.

**Environmental Justice: A Recent History**

Grounded in the struggles of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, the environmental justice movement crystallized in the 1980s seeking the fair application of environmental laws for all people. This movement sounded the alarm about the disproportionate placement of harmful chemicals and hazardous waste facilities in low-income minority communities and led to a burgeoning body of social science literature and public policy engagement (Warner & DeCosse, 2009). Today, the concept of “environmental justice,” as popularized by the *Toxic Wastes and Race* report of the 1980s, has grown into a familiar term and a respected movement among government entities and community agencies. However, unlike the Civil Rights Movement, from which it credits its beginning, environmental justice advocates have found little success in identifying sufficient legal remedies to address incidents of environmental injustice.

Though environmental justice as a concept has only been in existence for a little more than 30

years, its founding principles can be traced to the modern Civil Rights Movement, which, according to Skelton and Miller (2006), had immense utility in future environmental justice litigation. Further, paramount to the evolving environmental justice movement seeking to redress the disproportionate exposure of the poor, working class, and minority populations to environmental pollutants was challenging the erroneous assumption that these communities care less about environmental issues and potential health risks and more about industrial jobs (Mohai & Bryant, 1998). Though the movement has progressed beyond mere grassroots efforts, the 17 guiding principles, which were drafted and adopted at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit held on October 24–27, 1991 in Washington DC, are still intact (United Church of Christ, Commission for Racial Justice, 1991). They form the core and foundational philosophy and activist spirit of advocates, practitioners, and academicians. The environmental justice movement is relatively young; however, its continuing progress is evidenced by a growing literature, academic concentrations and emerging careers, regional networks and national conferences, as well as greater public and social policy engagement.

**Significant Studies**

Warren County, North Carolina served as a pivotal catalysis for the environmental justice movement in the early 1970s when “cancer causing” toxins were dumped along the roadway of a poor African American community and the County was selected as the disposal site for PCB-tainted soil (Hershenberg, 2001). These incidents led to the arrest of more than 500 demonstrators



# ACJS 2017 Annual Conference

**“Linking Teaching, Practice, and Research”**

**March 21-25, 2017  
Kansas City Marriott Downtown  
Kansas City, Missouri**

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*Continued from Page 4*

who protested both the illegal dumping and the proposed disposal sites, marking the first time Americans were incarcerated for protesting the placement of a waste facility (Hershenberg, 2001). These events also prompted several landmark studies aimed at shedding light on the systematic siting of toxic waste in low-income minority communities. The study, authored by the General Accounting Office (1983), found that hazardous waste landfills were overwhelmingly located in poor and minority communities across the southeastern United States. The *Toxic Wastes and Race* report, authored by the United Church of Christ (1987), found that a person's race—as opposed to poverty, land values, or home ownership—was the best predictor in determining where to site toxic waste facilities (Bullard, 2001). The study conducted by the National Law Journal in 1992 found that not only did the government enforce environmental laws more heavily in areas where the populations were predominantly white, but cleanups of environmental disasters also took more time in communities of color as compared to cleanups in white communities (Carder, 2015). These findings, along with *Dumping in Dixie*, a book authored by the father of the environmental justice movement, Robert Bullard, provided tremendous insight into the correlations between race and environmental inequities in the United States, pushing environmental justice into a multifaceted movement (Bullard, 2001).

### Legal Challenges

In 1994, President Clinton responded to the environmental justice studies conducted in the 1980s by issuing Executive Order 12898, which required federal agencies to consider the environmental impact of current policies and

and regulations on low-income and minority populations. The order, however, even with added oversight of other federal agencies such as the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), proved inadequate as a legal remedy for environmental justice advocates. The problem with the order was that it simply reinforced protections that had already been established under equal protection laws and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Under these laws, agencies who were recipients of federal funds were already required to prohibit discrimination, create processes to address discrimination claims, and prohibit agency decisions that have “discriminatory effects” on minority communities. Thus, finding solutions to address existing environmental concerns remained a difficult challenge.

For example, in *Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management Corp.*, a 1979 case commonly referred to as the first piece of environmental justice litigation, minority plaintiffs in a 82% black neighborhood were unsuccessful in prohibiting a garbage dump from being placed within 1,700 feet of their high school because they could not prove that the siting of the dump was a result of purposeful discrimination, as defined in *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp* (1977), the seminal case that established the legal standard for purposeful discrimination (Ulezalka, 2007). In *Arlington*, the court held that a discriminatory effect alone was not enough; discriminatory intent must also be shown to prohibit the placement of garbage dumps in minority communities. The court arrived at the same conclusion in two other prominent siting cases, *East Bibb Twiggs Neighborhood Association v. Mason-Bibb County Planning & Zoning Commission* and *R.I.S.E., Inc.*

*v. Kay*, where permits for garbage dumps in predominately African American communities were also at issue. In both cases, as it was in *Bean*, the court allowed the siting because the plaintiffs could not prove that the siting decision was based solely on discrimination and not some other legitimate reason. Although it took a while, the purposeful discriminatory intent standard was finally met after an eight-year court battle in *Citizens Against Nuclear Trash (CANT) v. the Louisiana Energy Services (LES)*, a 1997 case in which an energy company sought to build an enriched uranium facility in a poor rural community that also happened to be 97% black. Still, despite the decision in *CANT v. LES*, the results of both prior and subsequent environmental justice litigation serve as clear examples of how difficult it is to prove discriminatory intent under the existing laws. Consequently, an alternative pathway to achieving justice from the courts remains one of the movement's greatest challenges.

### **The Mental Wellness Conundrum**

Quality of life issues, as well as potential health concerns, are among the leading talking points for environmental justice advocates (Taylor, 2000). One of the lesser known and discussed impacts is the mental well-being of individuals. There is not a robust literature in this area of scholarly inquiry; rather, there is an evolving body of work and implications regarding the psychological bearings of living near environmentally hazardous neighborhoods. Downey and Vann Willigen (2005) argued that not only does living close to active industrial areas have negative impacts on mental health, but also the scarcity and nonexistence of important environmental features like healthy green spaces, usable parks, and trees. Other limited access

perceived as negative health determinants include blighted housing and lack of public transportation, grocery stores, libraries, and recreational centers (Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003). These deficits in services and resources are defining features in communities disproportionately populated with facilities (e.g., landfills, incinerators, industrial centers) that produce dangerous toxins.

Stressors associated with residing in environmentally unsafe communities easily foster psychological dispositions for mental disorder effects such as depression, anxiety, and stress. An accurate diagnosis should be made through careful and comprehensive screenings, evaluations, and assessments by a qualified mental health professional (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Depression is generally characterized by sadness that persists long enough to interfere with normal functioning of individuals and decreases their interests in or pleasure once afforded by certain activities (Davidsen & Fosgerau, 2014). It can also lead to emotional and physical problems. The diagnosis of a mood disorder such as major depressive disorder, which is often called *clinical depression* or just *depression*, needs to meet several diagnostic criteria (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

The seminal study by Downey and Vann Willigen (2005), *Environmental Stressors: The Mental Health Impacts of Living Near Industrial Activity*, is pointedly instructive. Their study involved 1,210 respondents from a geographic location that included 18 Illinois counties, including all counties in the Chicago metropolitan area. In support of the thesis for this article, Downey and Vann Willigen's (2005, p. 12) research demonstrated that: 1.) residential proximity to industrial activity has a direct, positive association with perceptions of

neighborhood disorder, feelings of personal powerlessness, and depression; 2.) perceptions of disorder mediate the relationship between residential proximity and feelings of personal powerlessness; and 3.) Perceptions of disorder and feelings of personal powerlessness mediate the relationship between residential proximity and depression when proximity is measured using the average number of facilities in a tract but not when it is measured using average waste generated.

Downey and Vann Willigen (2005) also noted that additional scholarly inquiry is needed to further examine the relationship between the activity of industries and the variables of their study: perceived disorder, powerlessness, and depression. A second area of inquiry is the association between industrial activity and depression and the degree to which it is influenced by actual physical exposure to industrial pollutants (p. 14).

Roy-Byrne et al. (2009, p. 1190) maintains that “a number of studies have shown that low socioeconomic status is associated with premature mortality and poor physical health, [and] low socioeconomic status is related to an increased point prevalence of psychological distress and depression.” The prevalence of poor people living in or near hazardous waste sites and industrial pollution is well documented. Further, they are the same individuals and families less likely to have access to adequate health care (Bezruchka, 2010). Disturbingly, Markstrom and Charley (2003) posit that discriminatory practices and conditions that render marginalized groups vulnerable to environmental racism are also problematic in the accessibility to mental health care.

The overall health of individuals who have been impacted by environmentally unsafe communities is compromised by psychological stressors. Good health is not defined merely as absence of physiological disease. Satcher (1999) argued that mental health is fundamental to physical health. Depression, which is the most common mental illness, also can be framed as potentially the leading associated mental health problem for residents in environmentally toxic areas. Yet, other gateways are created for additional mental health issues (e.g., anxiety, stress, and adjustment difficulties), as well as unhealthy coping mechanisms such as alcohol and substance use and abuse. Feelings of hopelessness and lack of power and control can be psychologically debilitating for individuals experiencing persistent lack of success in changing their environments and unrelenting marginalization (Geis & Ross, 1998). Greater attention from members of the academy, as well as practitioners, has the capacity to include psychological well-being in the larger and expanding narrative of environmental justice. This journey and struggle continues.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations: A Renewed Commitment**

Firmly anchored and positioned ethical principles in the legal and mental health professions call upon us to become advocates for marginalized individuals. Environment justice is a practice issue and space that is rich with opportunities. Community and social context are important when exploring ways to not only mitigate the instances of industrial activity in proximity to residential areas but also seek mental health resources for impacted individuals. Though the following recommendations are not



exhaustive, they nonetheless afford several entry points that can serve as a renewed commitment to this important issue.

*Mental health resources* should be holistic and accessible. Intractable life stressors can impact the psychological well-being of individuals to a greater degree and can be longer lasting than life events (Avison & Turner, 1998). The larger society of empowered individuals and influential policy makers in health care arenas, especially in mental health settings, should advocate for increased awareness, greater accessibility, and adequate assistance from local community mental health centers and other affordable health care providers for negatively impacted neighborhoods. Targeted print and media campaigns for individuals who may be experiencing psychological harm from living near industrial activity should also focus on removing the traditional stigma associated with mental health issues. Public and private entities forming collaborations that include universities to conduct empirical and longitudinal studies that demonstrate the immediate and long-term mental well-being of impacted individuals must become an immediate and critical research agenda.

*Advocacy* can take many forms in this battle. A strategic plan would be to empower the very individuals who are the victims of environmental racism that has resulted in unsafe neighborhoods. Often these individuals are without many viable residential choices due to historically structural and systemic occurrences of socioeconomic and racial segregation, which also plague modern-day America (Downey & Vann Willigen, 2005; Massey, 1996). There is room at the proverbial table for grassroots, legislative, and social activists. Local colleges and universities are fertile grounds to start a movement via class

projects or campus-wide service activities. The undertow of the ensuing dialogues should challenge imbalanced narratives and assumptions about how we view the poor and other marginalized members of our immediate and larger society.

*Legal remedies* are often the first, and at times the last, salvo for social justice issues. And as mentioned above, the difficulty of proving discriminatory intent in such cases often poses a great challenge for those seeking legal redress. Thus in addition to bringing constitutional claims for political value, in most instances they should be brought alongside environmental and statutory civil rights claims (Faerstein, 2004). Only a few environmental justice cases have realized the success enjoyed by the plaintiffs in *CANT v. LES*, due to the difficulty involved in clearing the discriminatory intent hurdle established in *Arlington*. Some argue that an alternative route may be to bring claims under existing environmental statutes where judges who rule on such cases have a more thorough understanding of environmental statutes and consequently may have a better vantage to assess the credibility of plaintiffs (Cole, 1993). An example of one such environmental law, and perhaps one that may serve as the best option when bringing an environmental justice claim, is the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), a statute that requires all government agencies to give proper consideration to the implications of their actions before undertaking actions that may significantly affect the environment. A NEPA argument, even if successful, will not serve as a complete remedy for curbing instances of injustice. However, such an argument may serve as a great strategy to delay and dissuade the siting of dumps and other environmental hazards; under NEPA, the polluters cannot totally be prevented from siting a

facility (Cole, 1993). The upside to a NEPA-led strategy is that it can be used to slow down the siting process, thereby allowing environmental justice advocates to engage community stakeholders who are often overlooked (Cole, 1993). And in some instances, building support and raising awareness about the implications of unfavorable siting decisions may be the best victory for plaintiffs.

Public nuisance claims, which require plaintiffs to prove the existence of some unreasonable interference with the rights of the general public, may also offer relief for environmental justice advocates. These claims can be successful if plaintiffs are able to show that environmental harms are of a continuous nature, have produced permanent or ongoing effects, and the individuals who took such action either knew or should have known that their actions would significantly infringe upon the rights of the public (Cole, 1993). Thus the siting of a toxic waste facility may be prohibited if sufficient evidence exists to show that the mere siting of such a facility would have a significant effect upon a public right.

Finally, black civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1963, p. 88) cautions us that “injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.” The persistent struggle for environmentally safe communities and the clarion call to add psychological well-being, or the lack thereof, to the litany of deleterious outcomes associated with environmental inequalities, should serve as a catalyst to place our socioeconomic and political privilege, as well as our individual and collective sense of secured justice, in check. This is a good place to start the

renewed commitment and search for mental wellness, justice, and safer communities for today and our tomorrow.

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## Book Review: Editor's Recommendation

Goffman, Alice (2014). *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. New York: Picador.

### FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK



**Robert M. Worley\***

In her book, *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*, sociologist Alice Goffman provides readers with an eye-opening and evocative examination of how urban young men become hopelessly entangled in the criminal justice juggernaut. To conduct her ethnographic study, the author spent seven years living in an impoverished neighborhood in Philadelphia, which she refers to throughout the book as “6th Street.” According to Goffman, 93% of the residents in this neighborhood are African American and virtually all of the families in the community receive some type of government assistance. Throughout her book, Goffman documents the various methods by which law enforcement personnel seek to control the urban poor. The author candidly discusses how young men living in these inner city areas are often

subjected to police harassment, and she claims to have witnessed numerous acts of police brutality. As she writes in the opening of her book, “I watched the police punch, choke, kick, stomp on, or beat young men with their nightsticks” (p. 4).

One aspect of Goffman’s book that may be of particular interest to many scholars is the differentiation she makes between *clean* and *dirty* residents, namely young men who live in and around 6th Street. The author contends that if an individual is *clean*, he does not have any impeding legal entanglements and therefore has the ability to successfully navigate his way through the neighborhood with little or no interference from authorities. All too often, however, Goffman contends that residents of 6th Street and the adjoining neighborhood blocks are *dirty*, a term that indicates officials will likely seize this individual if they come into contact with him. Goffman also asserts that in addition to having run-ins with law enforcement authorities, young men who are *dirty* are often taken advantage of by other people living in impoverished communities. For example, two residents invited a man who was on the run to their home for the sole purpose of robbing him at gunpoint. Goffman remarks that this individual was an easy mark because he had a warrant out for his arrest, which virtually guaranteed he would not contact the police after he had been victimized.

In *On the Run*, Goffman also informs her readers that residents who are wanted by the authorities (or those considered to be *dirty*) may avoid seeking medical attention. She writes that on a slow night, police officers stake out hospitals, which are hotspots where they can

find young men who are wanted by the criminal justice system. Goffman even claims in her book that police routinely examine the names of individuals who visit the hospital as well as the names of those who are admitted. For instance, she writes, "It is standard practice in the hospitals serving the Black community for police to run the names of visitors or patients while they are waiting around and to take into custody those with warrants or those whose injuries or presence there constitutes grounds for a new arrest or a violation of probation or parole" (p. 34). Goffman also witnessed young fathers who were unwilling to be present at the birth of their child out of a genuine sense of fear that they might be arrested or detained should they go to the hospital. I found this aspect of the book to be particularly unsettling, especially in light of the fact that medical facilities are required by federal law to grant patients a certain amount of confidentiality.

In her book, Goffman also asserts that one of her subjects, "Chuck," a divorced father, was reluctant to visit his child on Sundays at a court-supervised daycare site. As he confided to the author, "Every time I walk in the door, I wonder, like, is it today? Are they going to come grab me, like, right out of daycare? I can just see [my daughter's] face, like, 'Daddy, where you going?'" (p. 31). The author also reports that other respondents, especially those with open warrants, were reluctant to attend the funerals of their loved ones. Goffman writes that young men who are on the run will also avoid seeking legal employment, which puts them at risk of being arrested. They will also abstain from spending time with their friends, neighbors, and family members who occasionally are compelled by law enforcement officers to act as informants. "Young men are so wary that their relatives, girlfriends, or neighbors may set them up that they take any request from

from those close to them to show up or stop by as a potential threat" (p. 39). After having reflected upon this aspect of the book in particular, it seemed evident to me that the law enforcement practices Goffman describes are doing more harm than good to impoverished African American communities, an observation which has been made by others (see Alexander, 2012; Clear, 2009).

It is apparent that Goffman became intimately acquainted with her research subjects. Early in her study, the author was fortunate enough to meet "Mike," a 22-year-old African American young man who would ultimately become Goffman's gatekeeper and help her gain entrée into the research setting. According to the book, when Goffman began her study, some of the residents of 6th Street initially believed that she was a lesbian who enjoyed tutoring teenage girls. However, being the clever ethnographic researcher that she is, Goffman was able to manage this stigma by going on a date with Mike, which gave those in the neighborhood the impression she was simply "one of those white girls who liked Black guys" (p. 223). Doing this helped the author become accepted by others in the community and also allowed her to cultivate a close friendship with a key informant. Mike also introduced Goffman to others as his "adopted sister," which gave cues to other residents that she was unavailable for sex or romance.

Interestingly, Goffman's relationship with Mike was strictly platonic. She writes that Mike had a number of women in the neighborhood who were pursuing him, and occasionally he would have sexual relationships with them whenever he needed cash or room and board. But like many young men living around 6th Street, Mike tended to regard sex as something of a chore as well as a method to manipulate women into doing what he

wanted. Goffman suggests that her gatekeeper assumed a protective older-brother relationship with her because “he liked having a female friend who wasn’t asking for sex” (p. 228). In a community where female residents outnumber males by two to one, the gender dynamics are quite different. It seems evident that females living around 6th Street tend to be the primary breadwinners and are often the ones who initiate sexual relationships with men. As Goffman contends, most of the young men who reside around 6th Street tend to be either incarcerated or on the run from authorities. Given this, they have few financial resources to court members of the opposite sex and instead expect women to spend money on them.

For those scholars who may not know, Alice Goffman is the daughter of the prominent sociologist and fieldworker Erving Goffman. Although he died when she was only an infant, the author writes that “the shadow of my late father may have pushed me to go farther than was safe or expected” (p. 231). During her participant observational research study, Goffman adopted her subjects’ dress habits, attitudes, and language. She even abandoned her vegetarian diet and drank wine coolers and malt liquor to build rapport with residents living on 6th Street. While Goffman chose to avoid smoking marijuana with her subjects (since it hampered her ability to take field notes), she still managed to cultivate close friendships with her respondents and especially her gatekeeper, Mike—the author even permitted Mike to stay in her apartment for four days when he was wanted by police for attempted murder. When one of her key subjects was murdered in a gang shootout, Goffman assisted Mike in seeking retribution against the killers. As she writes in her book, “We started out around 3:00 a.m., with

Mike in the passenger seat, his hand on his Glock as he directed me around the area...I got into the car because, like Mike and Reggie, I wanted Chuck’s killer to die” (p. 262).

Though Goffman is to be commended for her honesty, harboring fugitives and avenging murders falls a bit outside the boundaries of acceptable social science research. The above examples illustrate that the author may have, at times, over-identified with her research subjects or “gone native.” It is quite fortunate Goffman did not come across the victim’s killer, otherwise she could have very well been involved in a homicide and might have wound up as an inmate rather than an assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. This, indeed, illustrates the dangers of conducting fieldwork in criminal worlds, a topic that often makes for very interesting reading (see Inciardi, 1991; Jacobs, 1998; Jankowski, 1991).

While this book in its entirety proved to be quite interesting (I read it in three evenings, despite having a large stack of papers to grade), I was particularly fascinated reading about how the residents of 6th Street tried to conceal their identities from law enforcement officers. As Goffman writes, “When young men are taken in, they sometimes use the grate in the holding cell at the police station to scrape their fingertips down past the first few layers of skin, so that the police can’t obtain the prints necessary to identify them and attach them to their already pending legal matters” (p. 29). The author also describes how the norms of 6th Street discourage residents from learning one another’s last name. Goffman explains that it is, in fact, a social faux pas for even close friends to ask each other their last names. She discusses in her book how young men

also used their legal entanglements as a rationalization for not working, not paying child support, not securing an apartment, and not fulfilling basic obligations. In this sense, these actors used neutralization strategies to make themselves feel better.

Goffman reveals in *On the Run* how she was occasionally subjected to police harassment as a result of associating with some of her subjects. According to the book, officers on more than one occasion used racial epithets to illustrate their disapproval of her conversing with African American men. The racial epithets that were used by these so-called law enforcement professionals were quite repugnant and need not be repeated here. Goffman also describes how she found herself in the middle of a police raid. As Goffman writes in her book, she was sleeping on a subject's couch only to be abruptly awoken by officers in SWAT gear armed with guns who busted open the front door. The author was thrown on the floor, and plastic handcuffs were put tightly on her wrists while another officer pointed a loaded gun at her. Goffman reports that during these raids, police often pressure uncooperative women to reveal the whereabouts of young men who are on the run. She discusses how officers routinely threaten women with promises that they will be evicted from their government housing, lose precious welfare benefits, will be arrested, or lose custody of their children if they do not divulge information that will aid in the capture of individuals who are wanted by law enforcement. The author writes that police are driven by informal quotas and will use virtually any means necessary to make arrests to satisfy their superiors. In addition to being in the center of one particular police raid, Goffman also observed 24 of these raids during her field study.

From reading the book, it seemed evident to me that the police officers Goffman came into contact with went out of their way to make lockups, even if those who were arrested posed little, if any, real threat to the community. Many officers also used excessive force against the residents of 6th Street. For example, the author writes, "On a hot afternoon in July, Aisha and I stood on a crowded corner of a major commercial street and watched four officers chase down her older sister's boyfriend and strangle him. He was unarmed and did not fight back. The newspapers reported his death as heart failure" (p. 72). I was shocked by this revelation. From reading the book, it did not seem as though Goffman reported this act of official misconduct. I cannot help but wonder why not. Even though Goffman was bound to honor the confidentiality of her research subjects (namely the residents of 6th Street), she was under no obligation to keep the above act a secret and, in fact, had a moral obligation to report it. Perhaps at this point in her ethnographic study, Goffman had internalized the code of the street values, which emphasize secrecy, keeping to one's self, and avoiding brushes with authority at all costs (Anderson, 2000). Of course, it is also possible that Goffman may have reported the above incident to the appropriate authorities but opted not to disclose this in her book.

While I found *On the Run* to be a riveting account of the hyperpolicing and mass incarceration of the urban poor, it should be noted that this book has nevertheless been subject to its fair share of criticism. Most recently, Paul F. Campos, a legal scholar at the University of Colorado Boulder, skewered



Goffman's book and argued that it had significant inconsistencies and contradictions. In this review, Campos (2015) also criticized Goffman for attempting to avenge the murder of one of her key informants and writes:

If [B]lack lives matter, why did no one care that Goffman may have come close to participating in the murder of a young [B]lack man? Why was someone who recounted driving a would-be getaway car rewarded with a big book contract and a TED talk that has been viewed almost one million times?...For all the talk about how [B]lack lives matter, the (non)reaction in the academy and in the elite media to Goffman's description of driving around Philadelphia with Mike suggests that such lives still don't matter much—at least not if the lives in question are those of people low enough in social status that they find themselves trapped in the web of poverty, chaos, and violence that *On the Run* repeatedly deplores, yet also exploits to maximum voyeuristic advantage (p. B15).

Paul Campos's review is very well-researched and casts doubt on some of the claims Goffman makes throughout her book. At best, Campos accuses Goffman of sloppy reportage, and at worst, he insinuates she may have fabricated some of the data. I did not find any evidence of the latter charge; however, after reflecting upon Campos's (2015) review, it is possible that there may have been some

inconsistencies throughout the book. Nevertheless, in spite of this charge, I strongly believe that *On the Run* is worth reading. It should give us pause as researchers and serve as a warning to scholars in regard to where these types of studies can go legally. It is an important book and is bound to generate significant discussions in virtually any classroom. Those in academe should carefully read it, as well as Campos's scathing review and decide for themselves whether or not Goffman's work has scholarly merit. I strongly believe that it does, and for this reason, I am delighted to recommend *On the Run* to others.

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## Highlights From the ACJS Conference in Denver



Brandon Applegate delivering his presidential address.



Risdon Slate receiving the John Howard Award from the Corrections Section.



ACJS Members enjoying themselves at the awards luncheon.



ACJS Executive Board Members Brandon Applegate, Lorenzo 'Renz' Boyd and Brian Payne finding some time to relax.





Plenary speaker Owen Jones and President Brandon Applegate



The ACJS President Brandon Applegate and Vice-Presidents Lorenzo Boyd, Nicky Piquero and Faith Lutze meeting with NIJ Director Nancy Rodriguez (middle)



ACJS Conferences are all about good friends coming together to enjoy the three P's: Posters, Panels, and Presentations.



Members of the ACJS International Section enjoying themselves at the conference.





Alpha Phi Sigma students donning their jackets at the conference.



ACJS President Applegate and his mentor, Professor Frank Cullen



From left to right: James Marquart, Darin Haerle, Jonathan Caudill, Matt De Lisi, and Chad Trulson had a great panel where they discussed their new book, *Lost Causes: Blended Sentencing, Second Chances, and the Texas Youth Commission*.



Every year Association Manager Cathy Barth sings the national anthem for the Alpha Phi Sigma meeting that meets in tandem with ACJS (has done so for 30 some years).



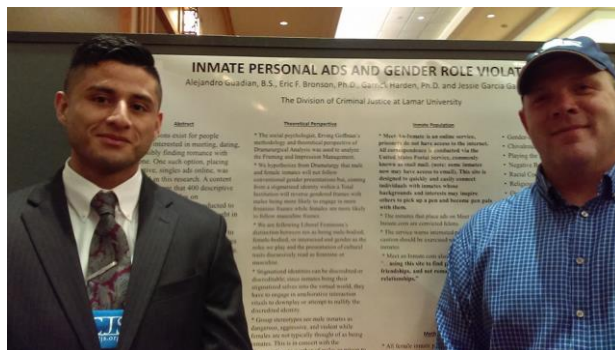
Dr. Janice Joseph (right) and some members of the editorial board for the journal she edits titled, *Ethnicity and Criminal Justice*.



Past ACJS President, Craig Hemmens and ACJS Executive Director, Mary Stohr scored some tickets to the Bruce Springsteen during the conference in Denver.



Dr. Michael S. Vaughn (left) receiving the prestigious Academy Fellow Award.



Mr. Alejandro Guadian and his mentor, Dr. Eric F. Bronson, presenting their poster titled, "Inmate Personal Ads and Gender Role Violations."





Immediate Past President Brandon Applegate (right) turning over the gavel to President Lorenzo Boyd.



Cassia Spohn was awarded the Bruce Smith award this year. Here she is about to deliver the address associated with that award.



Dr. Bob Bing and Dr. Dodson (former and current chairs of the Minorities and Women's Section).



Past ACJS President, Alida Merlo (center) with her daughter Alexandra (left) and her sister (right)



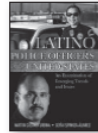
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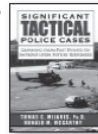
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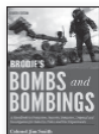
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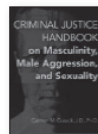
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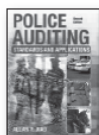
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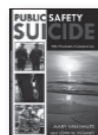
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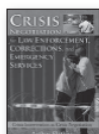
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## Criminological Verstehen: A Conversation with Jeff Ferrell



**Jeff Ferrell\***



**Vidisha Barua  
Worley\*\***

*Lately, it seems as though there is renewed interest in the ethnographic method. This may be due, in part, to the fact that many scholars, such as Jeff Ferrell, are publishing fascinating ethnographic works. Jeff Ferrell, in fact, has been using the variations of the ethnographic method for over 25 years. ACJS Member, Vidisha Barua Worley recently had the opportunity to visit with Jeff and ask him a few questions about his very interesting work.*

**VW:** You graduated with your Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Texas at Austin. What was your dissertation topic?

**JF:** The topic of my dissertation was the conflict between a radical union, the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, and the Southern lumber trust in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The research was an historical ethnography focusing on labor/capital conflict and social movement dynamics. In conducting the research, though, I came to realize that the legal dimensions of the conflict were a key to the way it played out; the first article I published from my dissertation was in fact on legal repression and resistance within this

historical conflict. More generally, I was trained in critical/conflict theory and in labeling theory, and in my early research I increasingly realized how these models could be brought to bear on issues of law, crime, and justice.

**VW:** Your ethnographic research work sounds like a lot of fun albeit fraught with danger. What do you do to protect yourself?

**JF:** As a long-time street ethnographer, I'd say the best protection comes from both granting respect to others and demanding respect from them; I've found that this sort of reciprocal, negotiated relationship generally calms situations and produces at least some sense of community. In another sense, though, I think it's important *not* to protect yourself – that is, to embrace at least some of the same vulnerability that afflicts those you are studying. Sharing in the risks, dangers, and discomforts that others face generates a deep sort of verstehen with them.

**VW:** What was it early on in your career that made you decide to take this path, and how did it start?

**JF:** Early on my ethnographic research started from the straightforward assumption that the best way to learn about social situations and social interactions is to immerse oneself in them. In addition, I've always been genuinely curious as to how other people accomplish their lives, based in turn on another assumption: that there is far more complexity and nuance to any situation or social role than can be understood from afar. Also, I've always been interested in building

bridges between academic scholarship and the larger community; while there are many ways to do this, certainly one way is to bring your scholarly training and ideas out into the world as a researcher – that is, to engage in a sort of ongoing conversation between scholarly analysis and on-the-ground involvement.

**VW:** Among the different participant observation studies that you have carried out, which was the most interesting to you and why?

**JF:** I've found all the long-term ethnographies I've done very interesting, and have in every case remained involved with the people and the issues long after my research was published. But among them I suppose I found two most interesting. First was the five years I spent as an ethnographic researcher and graffiti writer, which led to the book *Crimes of Style*. Here I discovered a complex, elaborate subculture suffused with alternative meanings and practices – a full-blown, illicit world of graffiti writing that has developed over the past forty years or so and that has now spread worldwide. Second would be the year I spent living as a dumpster diver (leading to the book *Empire of Scrounge*), and my ongoing participation and research in this area. As I found, there is indeed an 'empire' of different sorts of people and situations that make up the world of trash picking; but moreover, there are also the ongoing insights into consumerism, waste, and reclamation that come from this research, and the understandings of new forms of urban economy and urban policing.

**VW:** What mental and or physical abilities does a researcher need to embark on the not-often trodden path of ethnographic research?

**JF:** Above all else is the ability to interact comfortably with various sorts of people, and in various sorts of situations, many of them unfamiliar or even unsettling. Throughout my decades of street ethnography, as I said above, I've also found it essential to negotiate the balance between demanding respect and giving respect – often the key to new or uncertain situations. Finally, I'd say you have to be willing to 'kill your ego' -- that is, to put aside your assumptions, to be in the moment, and to humble yourself by learning from those you are studying.

**VW:** Have you ever been averse to any of the tactics of the people that you've studied?

**JF:** I've rarely found the everyday tactics of those I've studied to be offensive or problematic. This is in part due to the types of groups on which I've focused; my colleague Mark Hamm, who has spent his career studying domestic and international terrorists, would no doubt have a different answer! But it's also explainable through the classic concepts of folk devils and moral panic. Many of the groups I've studied have been the target of aggressive criminalization campaigns on the part of legal and political authorities; that is, they have been constructed as folk devils within larger episodes of moral panic. Because of this, they have been falsely labeled as dangerous, violent, and destructive – and so what I've often discovered is that their tactics and behaviors are often far less problematic than media, political, and legal characterizations would have us believe. To me, this shows once again the value of ethnographic research, and its role as a critical practice.

**VW:** Obviously, there are a lot of ethical issues that come into play whenever one takes a

participant observational approach. What are some of the ethical issues that you have encountered over the years, and how did you overcome these?

**JF:** As a criminological field researcher, I'd say the essential ethic issue has to do with the researcher's relationship to the law. In doing participant observation with criminal or criminalized groups, legal entanglement and ambiguity is inevitable; you unavoidably end up with some sort of 'dirty knowledge,' and crossways with the law in one way or another. This in turn requires directly facing up to the law and your orientation toward it. It's one thing to develop a general critique of legal injustice, or a theoretical analysis of law enforcement; it's quite another to have to decide, in the field and in the moment, which laws you are willing to obey and which you are willing to break, and with what consequences for yourself and your research participants.

**VW:** I particularly like the idea of criminological *verstehen* that you have written about in the past. In your opinion, can participant observational research truly be unbiased and objective?

**JF:** On the one hand participant observation can and must be objective, in the sense of dedicating oneself as a researcher to recording carefully and precisely what you see and hear. At another level, though – at the level of meaning and emotion -- objectivity is neither possible nor desirable. In this realm the goal is informed subjectivity; that is, a researcher's ability to go deep inside the situated logics and collective emotions that give meaning to groups and events. This is the goal of criminological *verstehen* – learning to see and experience the world as one's research subjects do. In this sense both descriptive accuracy and emotional accuracy are essential to good field work.

**VW:** How does a fieldworker know when he or she has enough data?

**JF:** A field researcher has perhaps done sufficient work when the descriptive details on the page (or these days in the film or video) begin to capture and communicate the richness of the situation being studied. Likewise, when the researcher begins to be able to think like those being studied, to see the world through their frames of reference, and to experience some of the same shared emotions – that is, to make sense of the world in the way that they do – then perhaps enough research has been done.

**VB:** When the project comes to an end, how does a fieldworker graciously exit the scene?

**JF:** In my experience, the subsequent exit from the scene of research is gracious to the extent that reciprocity has been achieved – to the extent that the researcher has understood the needs and vulnerabilities of those being studied and found ways for her research to address these in some way.

**VW:** Do you think your research has changed you as a person?

**JF:** My research has profoundly changed me as a person; in fact, I would argue that if ethnographic research doesn't change you as a person, you're probably not doing it correctly. To learn new codes of conduct, make sense of new situations, acquire new bodies of knowledge, and achieve a degree of *verstehen* with those you study is not just to engage in good ethnography; it is to become a new person yourself. This is why autoethnography is important: not as some sort of narcissistic endeavor, but as a way of thinking through how

an ethnographer's changing sense of self tells us something significant about socialization, meaning, and interaction in the realm being studied. In addition, I've realized that the ethnographic work I've done has taught me new orientations toward time, spatial arrangements, and even my way of living in the world – existential changes, you might say.

**VW:** What message do you have for graduate students who might be interested in conducting ethnographies?

**JF:** I would urge students not to be put off by the long-term commitments that are often required in traditional ethnography. Of course, years-long ethnographies are valuable; but if as a student you are not in a position to do such ethnography, you can still engage in short-term ethnographies, and you can still develop an ethnographic sensibility in your research and in your everyday life. Ethnography is in some ways as much a way of seeing and engaging with the world as it is a 'method' – a matter of being attentive to nuances and details, curious as to alternative ways of living, and eager to put aside biases and assumptions and explore other people's lives – and you can do this at any time, and as part of any research project.

**VW:** What do you suggest for burgeoning young scholars who are interested in conducting ethnographic research?

**JF:** Traditional ethnographic research takes time and commitment, and when done as part of criminology or criminal justice, almost always crosses some sort of legal or moral boundary. Consequently, it is difficult and demanding, especially as compared to other research methods. On the other hand, ethnographic work often produces scholarship that achieves great visibility

and influence, and that endures far longer than scholarship produced by other methods. So, while young scholars may want to think about the demands of ethnography, and perhaps balance ethnographic work with other forms of research, I would strongly urge them to undertake ethnography, for their own sake and for the sake of the disciplines in which we work.

*\*Jeff Ferrell is currently Professor of Sociology at Texas Christian University, USA, and Visiting Professor of Criminology at the University of Kent, UK. He is the author of the books Crimes of Style, Tearing Down the Streets, Empire of Scrounge, and, with Keith Hayward and Jock Young, Cultural Criminology: An Invitation, winner of the 2009 Distinguished Book Award from the American Society of Criminology's Division of International Criminology. Professor Ferrell is also one of the founding editors of the journal, Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal, winner of the Association of Learned and Professional Society Publishers' 2006 Charlesworth Award for Best New Journal. In 1998 he received the Critical Criminologist of the Year Award from the Division of Critical Criminology of the American Society of Criminology.*

*\*Vidisha Barua Worley is an Associate Professor of Criminal Justice at Lamar University. She is also a licensed attorney in New York and India and a former contributing editor of Criminal Law Bulletin. Vidisha received her Ph.D. in Criminal Justice from Sam Houston State University and earned her LLM in Criminal Law from State University of New York at Buffalo. She specializes in issues related to civil liability for police and correctional officers for the inappropriate use of tasers and stun guns.*





## CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

The ACJS Nominations and Elections Committee is soliciting nominations for the following Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences offices: Second Vice President, Treasurer, Trustee-At-Large, Region Two Trustee, and Region Three Trustee. All candidates for office must be regular ACJS members in good standing. The individuals who are elected will take office at the Friday 2017 ACJS Executive Board Meeting.

The person elected to the office of Second Vice President will have a four-year term of office on the ACJS Executive Board and will hold the offices of Second Vice President, First Vice President, President, and Immediate Past President in turn. The person elected to the office of Treasurer will have a three-year term. The person elected to the office of Trustee-at-Large will have a three-year term. The person elected to a Regional Trustee position will have a three-year term. Only current ACJS Regular members holding professional employment affiliation in the Region and having been a member of the respective regional association for at least one full year immediately prior to being nominated or petitioning may run for the respective Trustee position. Region Two includes the states Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Region Three includes the states Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

Individuals seeking ACJS office may achieve candidacy by either petition or nomination. Individuals who use the petition process automatically secure candidacy, as long as the petitions are deemed to meet the minimum number of signatures required. Individuals who are nominated for office shall compete for placement on the slate via review by the Nominations and Elections Committee, which will make a recommendation to the ACJS Executive Board regarding the final slate of candidates.

Those nominating individuals for ACJS office are expected to contact the nominee to ensure that the nominee is willing to run for the office in question. An ACJS member seeking an office via petition must obtain seventy-five (75) signatures of Regular ACJS members in good standing. The petition must state the name and complete address of the candidate, e-mail address, home and office phone numbers, and the office the candidate is seeking. To facilitate verification, the petition must also include the clearly printed name, signature, and institutional affiliation or address of each ACJS member signing it and the signature date. More than one petition form may be submitted on behalf of a specific candidate.

Nomination Forms Must Be **Postmarked** By July 1, 2016. The Nomination Form can be accessed directly from the ACJS Home Page or at: <http://www.acjs.org/pubs/uploads/callfornominationsFORM.doc>.

Petition Forms Must Be **Received** No Later Than June 15, 2016. The Petition Form can be accessed directly from the ACJS Home Page or at: <http://www.acjs.org/pubs/uploads/Petition.doc>.

**Mail all nominations and petitions to:**

Brandon Applegate, Chair  
ACJS Nominations and Elections Committee  
Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences  
7339 Hanover Parkway, Suite A  
Greenbelt, MD 20770.

Address any questions to the Committee by contacting Dr. Applegate at [applegab@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:applegab@mailbox.sc.edu).

As per ACJS Policy 303.01, the following rank-ordered criteria will be used by the Nominations and Elections Committee in making recommendations to the ACJS Executive Board regarding the final slate of candidates.

1. *Dependability, demonstrated experience, record of accomplishments.*
2. *Demonstrable service to the Academy.*
3. *Demonstrable record of scholarship or contributions to the field of criminal justice.*

ACJS Policy 104.01 states its goal of inclusivity. ACJS seeks to provide opportunities for all its members to participate in the business of the Academy, including policy and decision-making.

**NOTE:** *The final slate of candidates approved by the ACJS Executive Board will be asked to complete a Candidate's Information Form. This document will include length of ACJS membership, previous service for ACJS, previous service to other criminal justice organizations, major publications, and a candidate's statement.*

## Book Review

Taylor, Robert W. and Swanson, Charles R. (2016). *Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security*. Pearson.

Selecting a textbook for an upper-level course on terrorism is much easier today than when I taught my first terrorism course in the early 1980s. The number of authors of such texts and readers has increased, as have the number of topics covered. The challenge has been to integrate material on such topics into a book that is comprehensive, balanced, and relevant to changing events and circumstances. Robert Taylor and Charles Swanson have succeeded in meeting that challenge in their new textbook, *Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security*.

Clearly this work is identifiable as *good criminology*. Taylor and Swanson go beyond what you might expect to whet the reader's appetite to learn more about the historical antecedents, or "roots of terrorism," reflected in modern-day conflicts; how and why different forms of terrorism emerge from failed international and social relationships; and their impact on societies, communities, and our future.

My students became sensitized to the importance of understanding world events and developed a better understanding of the geopolitical contexts, such as the role of political ideology and religion in the Middle East, the rise of radical Islam, and the influence of state actors. Taylor and Swanson's treatment of the Middle East and the impact of radical Islam are straightforward and easy to understand, making the early chapters foundational in comprehending a very complex subject matter.

Students learned about the four forms of terrorism—transnational, international, domestic, and state terrorism—discussed by the authors, and they used this framework to complete a semester-long exercise resulting in a critical analysis of terrorist organizations and incidents in six different regions of the world. They could distinguish domestic, single-, and special-issue movements and went beyond to explore new manifestations such as lone wolves, wolf packs, narcoterrorism, and cyberterrorism, to name just a few.

Taylor and Swanson do a solid job of explaining the genesis and organization of terrorist groups while helping us understand the dynamic nature of terrorism as a phenomenon in a constant state of change. Students, scholars, and professionals interested in understanding terrorism as a group or collective enterprise benefit from their discussion of the organizational structures, tactics, and critical processes necessary for terrorist organization to grow and function based on their shared vision, reflected in the goal structure of each group.

As a senior scholar, I enjoyed their historical discussion of typologies of terrorism on the right and left wings of the political spectrum and the separatist and nationalist movements. However, millennial students sometimes struggled with the 40-plus-year chronology of events and settings that required identifying and discussing modern-day equivalents. Thankfully, Taylor and Swanson included illustrations of current events sufficient to provide a coherent focus, which served as a productive framework to keep these discussions on point.

Taylor and Swanson's work does an outstanding job of articulating and explaining the critical roles played by intelligence agencies in responding to the challenges of terrorism. There are critical chapters that give balanced discussion to such controversies as extraordinary rendition, enhanced interrogation techniques, electronic surveillance, and the use of drones in the fight against terrorism. These topics are often overlooked in other works on the subject.

They also provide an excellent overview of the legal authority (e.g., Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act [FISA], Posse Comitatus Act, and U.S.A. Patriot Act), missions, and functions of the many law enforcement and national security agencies and organizations engaged in combating terrorism. They devote specific treatment to agencies making up the U.S. intelligence community, including the relatively new Department of Homeland Security. They also provide detailed coverage of the U.S. Special Operations Command, focusing on the role of the military in counterterrorism. This includes an excellent discussion on the various forms of military action (open warfare, raids, preemptive strikes, direct action, and hostage rescue) that can be undertaken to prevent, deter, and respond to terrorist threats, both in the homeland and abroad. Their discussions stimulated my natural curiosity about current inner workings of these organizations, propelling me to look beyond the material covered for critical assessments of the antiterrorism and counterterrorism capabilities of federal, state, and local agencies and implications for the future. Perhaps Taylor and Swanson will expand upon these topics in future work. I certainly hope so; they will be warmly received.

In their final chapter, Taylor and Swanson offer several prescriptions for

constructive measures to guide and strengthen future antiterrorism and counterterrorism strategy, policy, and capabilities. They provide a good discussion of trends in terrorist activities and what the data reveal for the future. In many respects, their predictions were right on. Here, again, I hope they will expand upon these recommendations and that we will see more on these topics in future work.

My students very much appreciated the authors' efforts in compiling a glossary of terms, which understandably must be treated as a work in progress. The book also has solid pedagogical features that include learning objectives and chapter summaries for each chapter and highlighted key terms in the margins that help pique student interest and understanding of complex issues. Each chapter also has review questions and critical thinking exercises that can be used to spark lively class discussions, which are always a treat in a course that addresses topics found in the news almost every day. Pearson does a nice job of providing instructor supplements, including PowerPoint presentations for each chapter, multiple e-Book formats, and of course, a solid array of test bank questions and alternative testing methodologies. In sum, *Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security* is an excellent textbook primarily aimed at the undergraduate market. However, their in-depth treatment and discussion of major issues and the scope of topics they address make this book worthy of serving as a comprehensive reference for students at the graduate level.

I enthusiastically endorse and recommend you consider adopting Taylor and Swanson's book for your next course on terrorism.

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**Call for Nominations**  
***Academy Awards***

To be presented at the  
**2017 ACJS Awards Ceremony**

Kansas City Marriott Downtown  
Kansas City, MO

**2017 ACJS Awards – Nominations Deadline – August 15, 2016**

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Academy Fellow Award  
Academy Founder's Award  
Outstanding Book Award  
The William L. Simon/Routledge Outstanding Paper Award  
The Michael C. Braswell/Routledge Outstanding Student Paper Award  
ACJS Minority Mentorship Grant Award  
Academy New Scholar Award  
Outstanding Mentor Awards  
Donal MacNamara Award

**SAGE Junior Faculty Professional Development Teaching Award –  
Nominations Deadline – October 15, 2016**

***Award descriptions, nominations criteria, and submission information are  
available in the "Awards" Section of the ACJS website at [www.acjs.org](http://www.acjs.org).***

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## The Citizen's Approach to Gun Control and Violence Reduction



**Martin Alan Greenberg\***

On April 14, 1965, five days after General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General Ulysses S. Grant, President Lincoln was killed by a .44-caliber, single shot 5.87-inch derringer that was directly fired at

Lincoln's head. Among other consequences, the South probably endured a harder period of reconstruction as a result of Lincoln's assassination. The National Park Service oversees more than 100 million historic items and museum pieces. The derringer pistol and other related artifacts are displayed at Ford's Theatre National Historic Site in Washington, D.C. (Slomski, 2016). One hundred and eleven years later, in 1976, the D.C. Council adopted a law restricting the District's residents, with some exceptions, from acquiring handguns.<sup>1</sup> The District's gun law, among the strictest in the nation, was held to be unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2008. The Supreme Court decision upheld a lower court decision, which had ruled unconstitutional the District of Columbia's law banning handguns for private citizens; the same law also required that other firearms be stored unloaded or locked (see *District of Columbia v. Heller*). Since that time, the court's decision has been cited in most debates over gun regulation.

Recently, Dr. Alice Chen, the executive director of Doctors for America, stated, "Gun

violence is probably the only thing in this country that kills so many people, injures so many people, that we are not actually doing sufficient research on" (Schumaker, 2015). In a nation awash in weapons that have been largely acquired for personal and household protection, when threatened, it seems rather natural to think about the need for guns and less about their control. Recently, these thoughts have been intensified for Americans as a consequence of the tragic Paris and San Bernardino mass shootings. For example, at the time of the massacre in December 2015 in San Bernardino, David Keene, a National Rifle Association (NRA) board member, said, "It was all hands on deck....we needed to find out whether these senators were with us or not" (Lichtblau, 2016, p. A19). In the United States, since 1996, the Dickey Amendment has stopped federal gun violence research almost entirely.<sup>2</sup> However, former Rep. Jay Dickey, the Republican congressman from Arkansas who authored the so-called Dickey Amendment, now wishes he hadn't. "I wish we had started the proper research and kept it going all this time....I have regrets" (quoted in Schumaker, 2015).

Citizens young and old are concerned about their safety, especially the threat of gun violence. Students, faculty, and staff, in particular, have good reason to be concerned. The FBI has found that education environments are the second-largest location grouping for active shooters, totaling 39 incidents at K-12 and institutes of higher education from 2000 to 2013 (Ye Hee Lee, 2015). In recent years, a debate has

arisen with respect to the utility of permitting college students to carry weapons on campus (see Defilippis & Hughes, 2015). It appears as each incident involving a school or mass shooting arises, the public's fears rise ever higher. The continuation of such attacks has made it less likely for meaningful control laws to pass (e.g., closing the third party and gun show sale loopholes).<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the advocates for greater gun control might want to try a new tactic. This approach could involve what Americans have generally agreed upon in times of crises: the use of conflict resolution techniques, victim assistance, emergency preparation and response, law and order training, and any of the other elements of prevention. Michael Ignatieff, a civil and human rights expert, is the Edward R. Murrow Professor of Practice at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. In writing about the protection of civilians, Ignatieff has emphasized "that protecting civilians is about preventing harm, not primarily using force. The public knows an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" (Ignatieff, 2013, p. A19). He contends that this approach should always be the "first step," and the use of force is to be used only as the last resort.

When reasonable gun control measures are blocked by Congress, it should not deter the advancement of other preventive efforts to reduce harm. Therefore, the debate about gun control within our nation should be about how best to reduce the harm that people cause to one another. Limiting the availability of weapons to the mentally ill and suspected terrorists and closing any loopholes in existing laws should be undertaken. On the other hand, we should also consider ways to better educate and protect our children, to provide healthy recreation and safe

outlets for youth, and to reduce discrimination in all facets of public life (i.e., promote civility). Civilian preparedness and the ability to know what to do in an emergency should also underpin efforts for citizen safety.

The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) currently advocates a "whole community" approach to reduce the harm associated with active shooters. The agency now provides various resources (e.g., a brief training course, video, webinar, pamphlets, and posters) on issues such as active shooter awareness, incident response, and workplace violence. In many cases, there is no pattern or method to the selection of victims by an active shooter, and these situations, by their very nature, are unpredictable and evolve quickly. Perhaps the most widely available resource is the independent online study course *Active Shooter: What You Can Do*. This one-hour online training is available through the Federal Emergency Management Agency Emergency Management Institute (<http://training.fema.gov/is/courseoverview.aspx>), and a DHS four-minute video titled *Options for Consideration* can be found at <http://www.dhs.gov/video/options-consideration-active-shooter-preparedness-video>. The video presents possible actions to take if confronted with an active shooter as well as how to assist authorities once law enforcement enters the scene.

For a number of years, a variety of states and institutions have required that childcare workers and various first responders report suspected child abuse or neglect and have advertised that "if you suspect something, say something." Such a message is also part of the arsenal of violence reduction. Currently, the official website of the DHS has borrowed from

the previous admonition by stating, “It’s easy to take for granted the routine moments in our every day—going to work or school, the grocery store or the gas station. But your every day is different than your neighbor’s—filled with the moments that make it uniquely yours. So if you see something you know shouldn’t be there—or someone’s behavior that doesn’t seem quite right—say something. Because only you know what’s supposed to be in your everyday” (U.S. Dept. of Homeland Security, 2016). Nevertheless, the idea of spying is still an anathema to many, and in an era of “political correctness,” neighbors may be quite hesitant to report on one another.

One way to overcome the abhorrence of reporting suspicious conduct is to receive training. At the time of the mobilization of civilians for World War II, entire communities got together at the behest of their national and local officials to form a variety of civil defense units. In American cities and throughout rural areas, neighbors, colleagues, family, and friends received training to guard against saboteurs or the aftermath of an attack. They learned that the best way to report suspicious activity was by contacting their local law enforcement agency. Their observed information was to include who or what they saw; when they saw it; where it occurred; and why it was suspicious. The same approach is advocated by current authorities, but the absence of wartime mobilization and information about local organizations may be inhibiting the necessary training. Although no official citizen mobilization for national defense has been proclaimed, the following organizations exist and participation is encouraged by citizens who want to make their communities safer places: Community Emergency Response Teams (CERT); American Red Cross; Medical Reserve Corps; Neighborhood Watch; Volunteers in

Police Service; Voluntary Organizations Active in Disaster; and the Fire Corps.<sup>4</sup>

In 2001, Robert Putnam made headlines when he revealed his research findings about Americans’ changing behavior. He found that many persons had become increasingly disconnected from one another and various social structures had seen reduced memberships—PTAs, churches, and political parties. Consequently, both the quantity and quality of civic activities and participation had declined. His account may also help explain why instances of gun violence, drug dealing, domestic violence, and other social outrages are often underreported in many of the worst harm-afflicted neighborhoods. On the other hand, the public’s acceptance of new types of social media, driven by advances in technology, may offer opportunities for new avenues of connectivity and social behavior. Of course, the latter may have good or bad outcomes.

Generally, the harm caused by gun-related violence in American society has been widely reported. In a speech at the White House on January 5, 2016, President Obama included these statements: “Every single year, more than 30,000 Americans have their lives cut short by guns—30,000. Suicides, domestic violence, gang shootouts, accidents....we’re going to do everything we can to ensure the smart and effective enforcement of gun safety laws that are already on the books” (quoted in Cillizza, 2016). Nevertheless, even after President Obama issued an executive order following the Sandy Hook massacre, calling for the Centers for Disease Control to “sponsor research into the causes of gun violence and the ways to prevent it” (quoted in Schumaker, 2015), the agency still hasn’t returned to studying gun

violence due to the passage of the aforementioned Dickey Amendment.

In the early days of the United States, all physically able adult white males between certain ages were required to muster with their neighbors in what the first clause of the Second Amendment refers to as the “well-regulated militia.”<sup>5</sup> Surely, it is a good idea in the current era of continuing high rates of drug addiction, terrorism weariness, drone-flying/spying, and constant cellphone use to contemplate a few new initiatives to encourage civic engagement and tolerance for others. Certainly, citizens should work together in their schools, churches, civic clubs, and other social institutions to participate in training sessions about how best to safeguard their persons and families in the event of emergencies. In addition, they should also consider borrowing a page or two from WW II about how best to mobilize during a crisis (i.e., by actually affiliating with such first responder community organizations as fire, rescue, and auxiliary police units). Over time, these efforts might prove to be more beneficial with respect to harm reduction than seeking firearms for self-protection while ignoring the importance of collaborative efforts to improve social conditions and to safeguard neighborhoods and workplaces.

While legislators and other policy makers may debate the merits of mobilizing large segments of America’s population on behalf of terrorism prevention, emergency preparation, and gun control, the National Institute of Justice<sup>6</sup> has positively vetted several initiatives for reducing gun violence. These include Operation Ceasefire; Directed Police Patrols; Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI); and Project Safe Neighborhoods. It would also be very advantageous for citizens who are really

interested in the implementation of strategies for reducing gun-related violence in U.S. cities to support such national and local initiatives.

The two main elements of Operation Ceasefire (also known as the Boston Gun Control Project) were (1) a direct attack on illicit firearms traffickers and (2) a set of intervention actions that gave gang members a strong deterrent to gun violence. Police placed strong and targeted enforcement pressure on gang members to discourage gun carrying. The researchers called this strategy “lever pulling” and called efforts to spread the word among gang members about increased enforcement “retailing.” The “levers” were the youths’ vulnerabilities to a wide range of penalties, from deportation, to going to prison for parole violations, to receiving a sentence for 10 years without parole in a federal penitentiary. A key part of the “retailing” was ensuring gang members knew that the police were cracking down because of the violence and that “if this violence does not stop, you are next” (NIJ Office of Justice Programs, 2016b).

The first experiments involving Directed Police Patrols to attempt a reduction in gun violence were in Kansas City and Indianapolis. The key elements of directed patrol (now commonly called “focused patrol”) are that officers are dedicated to the program, do not have to respond to 911 calls, and are trained about citizen interaction and gun seizure. Usually both pedestrian and vehicle traffic are stopped, either as a blanketing effort or by targeting suspicious activity (NIJ Office of Justice Programs, 2016a).

SACSI was a national program that helped establish the value of multiagency,



federal-local partnerships (led by local U.S. Attorneys' Offices) in responding to gun crime. All but one of the SACSI sites targeted homicide, youth violence, and firearms violence. SACSI attempted to replicate in other cities the following best practices: multiagency collaboration; strategic problem solving by including the researchers in the planning and execution of intervention strategies; and using the most effective tactics previously researched (NIJ Office of Justice Programs, 2016d).

Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) was an NIJ-funded multiyear evaluation (2001–2008) of the effectiveness of gun violence prevention efforts involving numerous agencies; the expenditure of three billion dollars; the utilization of the best practices gained from previous research (especially the Boston Ceasefire project, the 10-city SACSI, and Richmond's Project Exile<sup>7</sup>). The national PSN program developed training opportunities for participating agencies and implemented a major media campaign involving public service announcements broadcast nationally and made available for use by individual PSN task forces (see McGarrell et al., 2009, pp. iv–v). The nationwide study reviewed the efforts of all 94 U.S. Attorney districts to respond to gun violence. In particular, crime statistics were used to analyze whether the level of PSN implementation (e.g., the level of federal prosecution of gun crime) affected violent crime. The factors that contributed to the best crime reductions were U.S. Attorneys' Offices leadership in the operation and organization of their respective task forces; cross agency buy-in; and the flexibility of the task force to adjust to the realities of individual

jurisdictions. The agency leaders and task force members who were found to be most important contributors to program success were the chief of police, the local prosecutor, the chief of probation and parole, and the mayor or city manager. In essence, their support or "buy-in" was essential (NIJ Office of Justice Programs, 2016c). Nevertheless, "partnerships were not exclusive to other criminal justice agencies as three-quarters of task forces reported partnerships with community leaders and organizations beyond the criminal justice sector" (McGarrell et al., 2009, p. iv). The final 231-page report of the PSN program was published in 2009 and is available online (<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/226686.pdf>).

Significantly, each of the federal programs involved task forces and other tactics to focus on the prosecution of the unlawful possession of guns and their use in the commission of crimes. Trainings were provided to participating agency partners and their leaders. "The most common strategies employed by PSN task forces were increased federal prosecution; joint federal-local prosecution case screening; directed police patrol; chronic violent offender programs; street level firearms enforcement teams; offender notification meetings; re-entry programs; and firearms supply-side interventions. The most common prevention strategies included neighborhood development; education; and school-based prevention programs" (McGarrell et al., 2009, p. v). Average citizens can promote such activities by bringing these initiatives to the attention of their membership groups and seeking support for their strengthening and continuation.

## Notes

1. The law was adopted by a 12 to 1 vote by the D.C. Council in June 1976, eighteen months after Congress established home rule for the District. The law exempted guards, police officers, and owners who had registered their handguns before it took effect. Under the bill, all firearms (including rifles and shotguns, which were not restricted by the law) had to be kept unloaded and disassembled, except those in business establishments (Smith & Carliner, 2008).
2. “The ban came about after a 1993 study funded by the CDC’s National Center for Injury Prevention showed homes with firearms were at an increased risk for homicide in the home. After the study came out, the National Rifle Association lobbied to shut down the Center for Injury Prevention altogether. What emerged instead was the 1996 Dickey Amendment, which stipulated that ‘none of the funds made available for injury prevention and control at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention may be used to advocate or promote gun control’” (Schumaker, 2015).
3. Known as the “gun show loophole,” most states do not require background checks for firearms purchased at gun shows from private individuals—federal law only requires licensed dealers to conduct checks. Under the Gun Control Act of 1968, federal law clearly defined private sellers as anyone who sold no more than four firearms per year.
4. Additional information about these organizations, as well as such groups as the Civil Air Patrol and the American Radio Relay League, can be found at <http://www.ready.gov/volunteer>. Since the 9/11 attacks on the U.S., the federal government has advertised the existence of the “Citizen Corps,” a rather loose group of organizations whose collective mission is “to harness the power of every individual through education, training, and volunteer service to make communities safer, stronger, and better prepared to respond to the threats of terrorism, crime, public health issues, and disasters of all kinds” (see <http://www.ready.gov/citizen-corps>). It was officially launched in January 2002. FEMA has posted two useful resource guides regarding Citizen Corps participation. These are available at <http://www.ready.gov/guides>. In addition, anyone with computer access can enter his or her ZIP code and search for local Citizen Corps Councils, Community Emergency Response Teams, Medical Reserve Corps, Fire Corps, and Neighborhood Watch programs at: <http://www.citizencorps.fema.gov/cc/searchCouncil.do?submitByZip>
5. In *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008), Justice Scalia delivered the opinion of the Court, in which Chief Justice Roberts and Justices Kennedy, Thomas, and Alito joined. Here is an excerpt from the opinion describing the meaning of the term “militia” that was adopted in the majority opinion: “Unlike armies and navies, which Congress is

given the power to create ('to raise . . . Armies'; 'to provide . . . a Navy,' Art. I, §8, cls. 12–13), the militia is assumed by Article I already to be in existence. Congress is given the power to 'provide for calling forth the militia,' §8, cl. 15; and the power not to create, but to 'organiz[e]' it—and not to organize 'a' militia, which is what one would expect if the militia were to be a federal creation, but to organize 'the' militia, connoting a body already in existence, *ibid.*, cl. 16. This is fully consistent with the ordinary definition of the militia as all able-bodied men. From that pool, Congress has plenary power to organize the units that will make up an effective fighting force. That is what Congress did in the first militia Act, which specified that 'each and every free able-bodied white male citizen of the respective states, resident therein, who is or shall be of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years (except as is herein after excepted) shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia.' therein, who is or shall be of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years (except as is herein after excepted) shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia.'

6. The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) is the research, development, and evaluation agency of the U.S. Department of Justice. NIJ's mission is to advance scientific research, development, and evaluation to enhance the administration of justice and public safety (NIJ Office of Justice Programs, 2016e).

7. "Project Exile seeks to increase the threat of punishment for illegal possession and use of firearms as a way of discouraging gun possession and carrying among high-risk individuals (prior felons, misdemeanants with domestic violence convictions, mentally ill, and youths). The strict provisions of federal law, including no right to bail, long sentences with minimal good-time, and incarceration in the federal prison system, are considered key elements of the deterrence message. This message is then communicated through a variety of media including billboards, posters in jails and lock-ups, radio and television public service announcements. The model was originally developed in Richmond, Virginia" (McGarrell et al., 2009, p. 178).

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# ACJS

## Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

### ACJS Editor Position: *ACJS Today*

The Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences is seeking applications for the position of **Editor** of *ACJS Today*, the official online newsletter of ACJS.

The Editor of *ACJS Today* will be responsible for producing a high quality professional online newsletter for the membership of the Academy. The Editor will set editorial policy, solicit materials, consider unsolicited submissions for publication, develop features of interest to the membership, and manage the newsletter.

The Executive Board of the Academy will appoint the Editor for a three-year term. *ACJS Today* is published five times a year, with issues in January, March, May, September, and November. The Editor's first issue will be in September 2017 and will be determined by the date of appointment and in consultation with the current Editor, Robert Worley. There is a \$1,500 summer stipend for the Editor.

Applicants must meet the following criteria:

- Demonstrated record of scholarly activity as measured by such indicators as publications in refereed journals, book publication, and research.
- Prior editorial experience as measured by such indicators as editorial responsibilities for other scholarly publications and past experience as a referee or associate/deputy editor of an academic journal, or other editorial experience demonstrating the applicant's ability to implement and maintain the integrity of blind review, to improve or maintain the quality of the publication, to communicate effectively, and to behave in a professional manner that is supportive of the mission and goals of the ACJS and consistent with the ACJS statement of ethics.
- Commitment to the ACJS Code of Ethics, particularly to Section III.C regarding research and publication.
- Earned Ph.D. or terminal degree in area of specialization.
- Formal declaration of support from host institution, including release time, space, and other support services the institution will commit to editorship.
- ACJS membership in good standing for three continuous years at the time of application.

Application materials are due no later than **November 1, 2016**. Please feel free to address questions to either Heather Pfeifer, Chair of the *ACJS Today* Editor Search Committee [hpfeifer@ubalt.edu](mailto:hpfeifer@ubalt.edu) or the current Editor, Robert Worley [rworley@lamar.edu](mailto:rworley@lamar.edu)

## Demographics of ACJS Members, 2014-2015

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For the past four years, members of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) were surveyed about their demographics in a questionnaire administered by ACJS. To better serve the membership, the Executive Board approved the development and administration of this questionnaire at the Midyear 2012 meeting, as part of the membership application. The data compiled for this 2014–2015 report were gathered from the applicants for ACJS membership between October 2014 and January 2015 (first collection of data) and Fall 2015 (second collection of data). The questionnaire for this year was collected in two waves and could be completed in either a hard copy or online format. A total of 1,110 respondents filled out the questionnaire between the two waves. Therefore, we estimate that fewer than 50% of eligible respondents completed some part of the membership questionnaire for each wave. This report presents the demographic data of ACJS membership gathered for the year (see tables below).

As indicated in Table 1, the majority of ACJS members who responded in all waves were white, middle-aged men. The respondents, on the whole, typically had a PhD, were employed at some level of professorship, and earned a mean salary of around \$69,000 per year. Slightly more members were affiliated with the Southern region over others and more than half (55% in 2012 and 2014; 51.7% in 2013) were also members of the American Society of Criminology. For 2015, the question

about ASC membership was omitted and most membership was omitted and most member respondents were middle aged and white. Only about half of the respondents were male this year. Respondents, as a whole, were employed as a professor at some level, typically had a PhD, and earned an average salary between \$60,000 and \$80,000.

Table 2 specifies the average yearly salary of ACJS members by their position, educational level, and demographics. Emeritus professors, though few in number, had the highest salaries of all positions, followed by professors. Members with a PhD reported average yearly earnings of between \$75,300 and \$80,500. The high end of this average range represents an increase of more than \$3,000 since 2013. Individuals who identified as students working on their graduate degrees, or who only had an associate's degree, reported the lowest salaries.

Also shown in Table 2 is the breakdown of salary across race and gender. As indicated by the data presented in this table, for 2012 to 2014, white respondents consistently earned the largest salaries (between \$68,400 and \$76,500). Similarly, the number of male respondents accounted for almost double that of females in survey

responses on salary, and they reported earnings that were at least \$15,000 more than female respondents' salaries across the three survey waves. It should be noted, though, that a greater proportion of the higher paying positions (full professors and administrators) were occupied by white, male members (see Table 5).

For the current survey, respondents were asked to select their salary range. This is a change from previous years in which respondents were asked to fill in their actual salary amount. Table 3 presents the average yearly salary range of the ACJS members by their position, level of education, race, and gender for 2015. Members with a PhD earned the most per year. When broken down by position, full professors earned the most per year, averaging over \$100,000. Associate professors typically earned between \$60,000 and \$80,000, while others earned between \$80,000 and \$100,000. Assistant professors typically earned between \$60,000 and \$80,000, while others earned between \$40,000 and \$60,000. Those who were white had higher salary ranges compared to all other races and ethnic groups. One notable change from past years is that those who identified as multiracial had higher salaries compared to past survey responses.

Tables 4 through 9 display the demographics for ACJS members by their position. As indicated in Table 4, assistant professors between the ages of 30–39 were the largest group across both years, making up approximately 12% of respondents in both 2012 and 2013. In 2014, however, the largest group consisted of assistant professors, who fell between the ages of 40–49. The second largest group for 2012 was made up of full professors of 60–69 years of age (11% in 2012). This changed in 2013 and 2014, as the second largest group consisted of graduate students aged 19–29 (in 2013) and 30–39 (in 2014). For 2015, as compared to previous years, most

assistant professors were between 30 and 39 years old, most associate professors were between 40 and 49 years old, and most full professors were between 60 and 69 years old.

Most members who completed the questionnaire identified as academics and as white (see Table 5). There was an ebb and flow across the years in the number of respondents identifying as African American, Hispanic, and Asian American, but there was a substantial increase in the respondents claiming a multiracial background from 2012 to 2015, moving from 8 to 159, consecutively.

With regard to gender, the findings presented in Table 6 indicate that while most member respondents were male, among assistant professors and graduate students, the majority identified as female for all four years of the questionnaire administration. Unlike other iterations of this survey, there was about an even split between men and women at the level of assistant professor; it varied from year to year for associate professors. In 2015, there were more male assistants and associates than females. Full professors for all years of the questionnaire administration were mostly male. Of our practitioner members, most were between the ages of 40 and 59, were mostly white, and mostly male.

Table 7 demonstrates that the majority of ACJS members have a dual membership with the American Society of Criminology (ASC), though it is only a little over half of the respondents (65% in 2012, 53% in 2013, and 62% 2014). Of the respondents with ASC membership, far more self-identified as academics, including graduate students, than any practitioner positions. For 2015, this question was not asked.



The findings contained in Table 8 suggest that a majority of ACJS member respondents had a PhD, followed by a master's and then a JD degree. The position of assistant professor had the most members with a PhD degree, followed by full professors for each year of the administration. Respondents who had a JD, or both a PhD and JD, were usually employed as a professor. Members who had a master's degree more typically identified as instructors, though a sizable portion were also associate and full professors. More than half of practitioners in management who responded reported having a degree higher than a bachelor's. For 2015, the majority of respondents, namely professors at all levels, held a PhD, with next largest grouping holding a master's degree. Most instructors held a master's degree along with some assistant professors. Most practitioners held a master's degree while some had a PhD.

Lastly, Table 9 findings include the characteristics of regional members of ACJS.

More respondents were also members from the Southern region, followed by the Midwestern and Northeastern regions, and then the Southwestern and Western regions, respectively. Over the years there seems to be sizable growth among those holding a dual regional membership and ACJS membership. The number of members from the Southern region, for instance, has almost doubled since 2012 (from 59 in 2012 to 115 in 2014). Perhaps due to a change in questionnaire administration, however, the responses on regional membership were down for 2015. Of those who were members of multiple regions, most appeared to be in tenure-track positions, and of those most were either full or associate professors. For 2015, in terms of overall regional conference attendance, assistant and associate professors attend the most regional conferences, with full professors not too far behind. The Southern regional conference is the regional conference most attended by the respondents.

*Kindly, find each of the tables associated with this report beginning on the next page.*

**Table 1 – Membership demographics**

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>Number of Responses</b>	<b>889</b>	<b>1,376</b>	<b>1,246</b>	<b>1,110</b>
<b>Age</b>				
Range	20-83	20-83	19-96	20-87
Mean	48.03	46.76	47.13	46.40
Standard Deviation	13.24	13.29	13.82	13.78
<b>Gender</b>				
Male	60.7%	59.2%	54.7%	55.8%
Female	37.2	39.8	42.1	42.2
Missing	2.0	1.1	3.3	2.5
<b>Race</b>				
White	79.1%	76.2%	77.6%	55.6%
African-American	7.1	8.9	7.5	9.4
Hispanic/Latino/Latina	3.5	3.4	2.4	-- <sup>1</sup>
Asian	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.4
Pacific Islander	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.6
American Indian	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.4
Multiracial	1.0	1.9	1.8	21.0
Other	0.3	0.4	1.1	2.0
Missing	5.7	7.0	5.9	7.7
<b>Identified as Latino, Latina, or Hispanic</b>				
Yes	--	--	--	4.7%
No	--	--	--	73.4
Missing	--	--	--	23.0
<b>Position</b>				
Undergraduate Student	1.6%	2.2%	1.5%	1.9%
Graduate Student	12.9	16.6	15.5	14.0
Instructor	7.3	7.3	6.4	3.2
Adjunct Professor	1.2	1.3	1.1	-- <sup>2</sup>
Assistant Professor	21.6	20.6	20.5	16.0
Associate Professor	16.1	16.1	14.3	12.7
Professor	19.3	16.4	17.4	14.7
Emeritus	2.5	1.7	2.1	1.2
Administration	5.6	5.8	6.0	0.4
Practitioner – Line	0.4	0.4	1.1	8.5 <sup>3</sup>
Practitioner – Management	2.4	2.3	2.7	--
Researcher	1.1	1.2	0.8	-- <sup>4</sup>
Other	1.3	1.5	1.4	2.9
Missing	19.7	23.3	9.2	24.7

**Table 1 – Membership demographics (continued)**

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>Number of Responses</b>	<b>889</b>	<b>1,376</b>	<b>1,246</b>	<b>1,110</b>
<b>Education</b>				
Less than AA Degree	0.2%	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%
Associate's Degree	0.3	0.8	0.6	0.5
Bachelor's Degree	4.8	5.4	4.0	4.8
Masters	23.6	26.2	26.5	27.0
J.D. or L.L.M.	4.6	5.1	5.2	4.5
Ed.D.	1.9	1.8	1.8	3.1
Ph.D.	59.5	55.1	56.6	55.9
J.D., Ph.D.	1.2	0.9	0.2	-- <sup>5</sup>
Other	0.6	0.5	--	1.1
Missing	3.1	3.9	4.7	2.7
<b>Salary</b>				
Range	\$2,000 - \$175,000	\$2,000 - \$170,000	\$2,000 - \$170,000	-- <sup>6</sup>
Mean	70,687	67,520	69,086	--
Standard Deviation	31,644	30,838	32,222	--
<b>Regions</b>				
Southern	7.2%	7.7%	6.2%	6.1%
Midwest	5.7	5.1	3.5	4.6
Northeast	5.4	4.2	3.9	4.6
Southwest	3.7	3.8	2.8	3.8
West	3.4	3.1	2.3	2.2
Multiple	1.6	1.2	1.4	0.7
Missing	73.0	74.9	79.9	78.0
<b>ASC Member</b>				
Yes	55.5%	51.7%	55%	-- <sup>7</sup>
No	44.5	48.3	45	--

**Table 2 – Average Yearly Salary by Position, Education, Race, and Gender<sup>8</sup>**

	N	2012	N	2013	N	2014
<b>Total Responses</b>	436		658		576	
<b>Position</b>						
Undergraduate Student	6	\$29,000	11	\$32,409	8	\$37,625
Graduate Student	53	34,990	106	33,504	87	29,281
Instructor	38	58,421	57	58,807	52	52,875
Adjunct Professor	2	46,000	4	30,500	5	56,250
Assistant Professor	105	60,885	147	61,374	131	62,908
Associate Professor	75	72,906	112	73,982	86	74,436
Professor	87	97,011	115	93,495	114	96,526
Emeritus	7	106,857	10	104,300	8	118,000
Administration	22	91,818	40	89,387	30	97,933
Practitioner – Line	2	37,500	3	51,667	8	64,875
Practitioner – Management	10	86,000	12	78,333	14	87,285
Researcher	5	63,200	6	59,333	3	86,655
Other	5	94,000	7	79,714	5	79,000
<b>Education</b>						
Less than AA Degree	--	-	2	\$50,000	2	\$22,500
Associate's Degree	2	\$47,000	4	60,375	2	77,000
Bachelor's Degree	15	32,266	32	37,656	23	34,652
Masters	105	57,061	176	51,701	165	50,506
J.D. or L.L.M.	18	69,833	27	73,925	18	75,222
Ed.D.	10	69,200	12	69,750	13	64,307
Ph.D.	259	79,185	375	77,593	342	80,587
J.D., Ph.D.	9	75,333	9	75,333	2	77,500
Other	4	97,500	6	82,500	-	-
<b>Race</b>						
White	369	\$76,536	559	\$68,438	466	\$70,546
African-American	29	63,086	53	59,971	41	67,670
Hispanic/Latino/Latina	16	58,875	26	60,692	17	47,235
Asian	6	87,500	10	67,800	19	59,210
American Indian	2	62,500	4	93,750	5	86,000
Multiracial	6	48,166	6	62,333	13	64,307
Other	2	61,500	3	55,000	5	65,000
<b>Gender</b>						
Male	276	\$77,398	413	\$73,199	346	\$75,296
Female	154	58,882	245	58,257	225	59,984



**Table 3 – 2015 Yearly Salary by Position (N=667), Education (N=862), Race (N=831), and Gender (N=860)**

Total Responses	Under 20K	20-40K	40-60K	60-80K	80-100K	Over 100K
<b>Position</b>						
Undergraduate Student	10	2	2	1	1	1
Graduate Student	69	31	16	9	3	5
Instructor	1	2	13	7	2	2
Assistant Professor	1	0	59	70	11	5
Associate Professor	0	1	9	54	33	8
Professor	0	0	10	26	33	53
Emeritus	0	0	2	1	3	1
University Administrator*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Practitioner	6	4	14	18	15	30
Other	1	4	6	6	4	2
<b>Education</b>						
Less than Associate's Degree	2	0	1	0	0	0
Associate's Degree	3	1	0	0	1	0
B.A./B.S.	21	4	11	4	2	3
Master's	54	34	62	47	29	27
J.D. or L.L.M.	2	2	7	9	8	5
Ed.D.	1	1	3	10	6	7
Ph.D.	10	12	90	194	93	85
Other	1	0	1	4	3	2
<b>Race</b>						
African-American	6	4	21	31	16	7
Asian	13	1	3	10	3	2
Native American/American Indian/Alaskan Native	0	0	1	2	1	0
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	1	0	1	1	1	3
White	32	32	83	154	85	87
Multiracial	29	14	53	59	33	25
Other	3	1	3	8	1	1
<b>Gender</b>						
Male	38	25	83	145	90	96
Female	57	29	90	124	49	34

\*University administrators did not answer the salary question.

**Table 4 – 2015 Position and Age (N=744)**

Position	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Undergraduate Student	15	2	2	2	0	0
Graduate Student	65	53	17	6	2	0
Instructor	3	4	7	8	10	1
Assistant Professor	8	74	36	21	16	0
Associate Professor	0	20	43	29	26	2
Professor	0	8	29	35	53	15
Emeritus	0	0	0	1	7	3
University Administrator	0	0	1	2	1	0
Practitioner	5	17	26	26	13	2
Other	2	10	4	6	5	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>24</b>

**2014 Position and Age (N=1,189)**

Position	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Undergraduate Student	1	12	3	4	0	0
Graduate Student	11	89	71	22	10	1
Instructor	5	4	17	19	21	17
Adjunct Professor	0	0	1	2	3	5
Assistant Professor	33	15	95	59	37	24
Associate Professor	24	0	25	70	30	34
Professor	32	1	7	48	50	82
Emeritus	2	0	0	0	1	17
Administration	16	0	3	18	19	16
Line Practitioner	2	3	1	4	2	2
Management	6	0	0	10	14	6
Researcher	3	0	0	4	1	2
Other	3	0	2	2	4	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>210</b>

## 2013 Position and Age (N=1,052)

Position	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Undergraduate Student	16	7	4	0	0	0
Graduate Student	91	69	30	15	2	0
Instructor	4	13	18	20	21	1
Adjunct Professor	1	2	0	4	2	1
Assistant Professor	16	104	58	38	13	1
Associate Professor	0	34	65	39	43	5
Professor	0	8	38	55	75	9
Emeritus	0	0	0	1	10	10
Administration	0	6	15	21	13	1
Line Practitioner	0	2	2	0	1	0
Management	0	2	7	9	2	0
Researcher	0	4	4	2	2	0
Other	0	1	4	5	3	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>31</b>

## 2012 Position and Age (N=819)

Position	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Undergraduate Student	9	2	2	0	0	0
Graduate Student	51	31	16	5	1	0
Instructor	3	10	13	13	18	1
Adjunct Professor	0	1	0	3	2	1
Assistant Professor	11	73	39	22	7	1
Associate Professor	0	18	42	27	32	4
Professor	0	5	27	34	65	6
Emeritus	0	0	0	1	9	10
Administration	0	2	14	12	8	1
Line Practitioner	0	3	0	0	1	0
Management	0	3	4	7	4	0
Researcher	0	2	4	2	0	0
Other	1	0	3	3	1	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>26</b>

**Table 5 – 2015 Position and Race/Ethnicity (N=777)**

Position	White	African-American	Hispanic <sup>9</sup>	Asian	American Indian	Multiracial	Other
Undergraduate Student	6	2	2	0	0	10	0
Graduate Student	64	19	7	13	0	41	5
Instructor	24	2	1	0	0	5	1
Assistant Professor	112	14	4	6	0	30	4
Associate Professor	85	17	3	4	2	20	5
Professor	110	11	4	2	1	26	1
Emeritus	10	0	0	0	0	2	0
University Administrator	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Practitioner	52	11	3	1	1	21	1
Other	20	1	2	3	0	4	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>487</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>18</b>

**2014 Position and Race/Ethnicity (N=1,144)**

Position	White	African-American	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	Multiracial	Other
Undergraduate Student	14	2	3	0	0	1	0
Graduate Student	147	18	9	13	1	8	1
Instructor	65	10	2	0	0	4	0
Adjunct Professor	12	2	0	0	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	204	24	9	10	0	3	7
Associate Professor	148	18	4	7	3	1	0
Professor	198	12	2	5	0	2	1
Emeritus	26	0	0	0	1	0	0
Administration	63	4	0	3	1	0	1
Line Practitioner	12	0	1	0	0	0	0
Management	31	0	1	1	0	2	0
Researcher	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>946</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>10</b>



## 2013 Position and Race/Ethnicity (N=986)

Position	White	African-American	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	Multiracial	Other
Undergraduate Student	15	6	5	0	0	3	0
Graduate Student	164	30	13	11	1	2	2
Instructor	73	7	3	0	0	0	2
Adjunct Professor	12	0	1	0	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	219	20	10	11	1	3	0
Associate Professor	167	24	4	3	3	1	0
Professor	184	15	7	4	1	3	1
Emeritus	22	0	0	0	1	0	0
Administration	65	5	1	0	1	0	0
Line Practitioner	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
Management	20	3	1	1	0	0	0
Researcher	11	1	0	0	0	0	1
Other	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>971</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>

## 2012 Position and Race/Ethnicity (N=776)

Position	White	African-American	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	Multiracial	Other
Undergraduate Student	7	3	2	0	0	2	0
Graduate Student	79	14	7	6	1	1	2
Instructor	50	6	4	0	0	0	1
Adjunct Professor	8	0	1	0	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	159	7	7	7	0	2	0
Associate Professor	109	16	3	2	3	1	0
Professor	148	6	4	3	0	2	0
Emeritus	20	0	0	0	1	0	0
Administration	42	3	1	0	1	0	0
Line Practitioner	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Management	18	1	1	1	0	0	0
Researcher	7	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>654</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>

**Table 6 – Position and Gender**

	2012 (N=807)		2013 (N=1,255)		2014 (N=1,172)		2015 (N=819)	
Position	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Undergraduate Student	4	10	12	18	10	10	9	12
Graduate Student	57	57	112	117	76	126	63	91
Instructor	44	21	58	31	49	34	23	11
Adjunct Professor	10	1	13	2	12	2	--	--
Assistant Professor	89	98	137	143	127	138	90	81
Associate Professor	87	55	126	95	92	92	77	62
Professor	129	40	167	58	160	66	117	42
Emeritus	18	4	19	5	20	7	9	4
Administration	36	14	54	25	48	28	3	1
Line Practitioner	3	1	3	2	8	5	63	29
Management	17	4	20	5	25	10	--	--
Researcher	3	5	7	7	6	4	--	--
Other	7	5	11	8	12	5	14	18
TOTAL	496	311	739	516	645	527	469	351

**Table 7 – Position and ASC Membership<sup>10</sup>**

	2012 (N=714)		2013 (N=1,261)		2014 (N=1,097)	
Position	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Undergraduate Student	3	11	3	27	5	15
Graduate Student	67	48	119	110	120	84
Instructor	26	34	32	57	36	49
Adjunct Professor	6	4	7	8	4	10
Assistant Professor	122	70	176	105	178	92
Associate Professor	84	59	129	93	105	84
Professor	107	65	137	89	157	73
Emeritus	10	12	10	14	13	15
Administration	29	21	35	44	34	45
Line Practitioner	0	3	0	5	4	10
Management	5	15	8	17	12	24
Researcher	6	3	10	5	8	2
Other	5	5	10	11	8	10
TOTAL	470	350	676	585	684	513

**Table 8 – 2015 Position and Level of Education (N=820)**

Position	Less then Associate	AA	BA/BS	MA/MS	JD/LLM	PhD	EdD	Other
Undergraduate Student	5	4	10	0	0	0	0	1
Graduate Student	0	0	26	105	3	17	0	1
Instructor	0	0	0	21	1	12	0	0
Assistant Professor	0	0	0	20	7	137	9	1
Associate Professor	0	0	0	4	10	116	6	2
Professor	0	0	0	19	10	124	7	1
Emeritus	0	0	0	2	1	10	0	0
University Administrator	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Practitioner	0	1	3	53	5	20	6	4
Other	0	0	6	14	0	11	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>11</b>

**2014 Position and Level of Education (N=1,157)**

Position	AA	BA/BS	MA/MS	JD, LLM	PhD	JD, PhD	Ed.D	Other
Undergraduate Student	6	10	0	0	0	0	0	3
Graduate Student	0	28	142	7	20	0	0	0
Instructor	0	1	54	4	20	0	1	0
Adjunct Professor	0	0	10	0	4	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	0	0	25	13	218	0	5	0
Associate Professor	0	0	11	11	155	0	6	0
Professor	0	0	19	10	187	2	8	0
Emeritus	0	0	3	1	23	0	0	0
Administration	0	0	13	13	49	0	3	0
Line Practitioner	2	1	5	1	3	0	0	1
Management	0	2	17	2	12	0	0	0
Researcher	0	0	5	1	4	0	0	0
Other	0	3	2	0	11	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>706</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4</b>

## 2013 Position and Level of Education (N=1,030)

Position	AA	BA/BS	MA/MS	JD, LLM	PhD	JD, PhD	Ed.D	Other
Undergraduate Student	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0
Graduate Student	0	6	13	0	1	0	0	0
Instructor	0	3	59	5	27	0	2	0
Adjunct Professor	0	0	8	4	4	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	1	0	29	14	228	1	3	2
Associate Professor	0	0	14	11	184	4	5	2
Professor	1	0	14	10	182	5	7	0
Emeritus	0	0	1	0	22	0	0	1
Administration	0	1	16	9	43	2	6	0
Line Practitioner	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0
Management	0	5	15	1	7	0	0	0
Researcher	0	0	7	1	9	0	0	0
Other	0	6	3	2	9	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>6</b>

## 2012 Position and Level of Education (N=698)

Position	AA	BA/BS	MA/MS	JD, LLM	PhD	JD, PhD	Ed.D	Other
Undergraduate Student	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Graduate Student	0	2	5	0	1	0	0	0
Instructor	0	2	34	3	21	0	2	0
Adjunct Professor	0	0	6	1	3	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	0	0	19	8	157	1	3	1
Associate Professor	0	0	13	6	117	3	1	1
Professor	1	0	10	6	140	5	7	0
Emeritus	0	0	1	0	20	0	0	1
Administration	0	0	9	7	28	2	2	0
Line Practitioner	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
Management	0	2	11	1	6	0	0	1
Researcher	0	0	3	1	6	0	0	0
Other	0	5	1	1	5	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>504</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>



**Table 9 – 2015 Position and Region (N=186)**

Position	Northeastern	Southern	Midwestern	Southwestern	Western	More than one
Undergraduate Student	0	0	1	0	0	0
Graduate Student	8	7	8	4	4	0
Instructor	1	2	1	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	11	13	5	10	6	1
Associate Professor	7	11	7	13	5	4
Professor	7	14	6	5	6	3
Emeritus	0	1	0	0	0	0
University Administrator	1	0	1	0	0	0
Practitioner	2	1	4	2	0	0
Other	0	1	1	1	1	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>8</b>

**2014 Position and Region (N=884)**

Position	Northeastern	Southern	Midwestern	Southwestern	Western	Multiple
Undergraduate Student	1	0	1	0	1	1
Graduate Student	11	20	11	8	8	1
Instructor	4	6	8	1	2	1
Adjunct Professor	0	0	1	0	0	1
Assistant Professor	22	31	15	13	11	1
Associate Professor	15	17	13	15	8	1
Professor	11	28	13	10	10	8
Emeritus	3	6	0	2	1	0
Administration	8	2	7	1	3	2
Line Practitioner	1	0	0	0	0	0
Management	3	3	0	0	1	1
Researcher	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	2	1	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>17</b>

## 2013 Position and Region (N=305)

Position	Northeastern	Southern	Midwestern	Southwestern	Western	Multiple
Undergraduate Student	0	1	0	1	0	0
Graduate Student	1	1	2	0	1	0
Instructor	3	2	2	2	1	1
Adjunct Professor	3	2	2	2	1	1
Assistant Professor	17	26	16	15	12	3
Associate Professor	11	25	20	12	8	3
Professor	14	27	15	10	11	6
Emeritus	1	4	0	1	0	0
Administration	5	6	2	3	2	1
Line Practitioner	0	0	0	0	0	0
Management	0	3	1	2	3	1
Researcher	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	1	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	53	96	58	47	38	13

## 2012 Position and Region (N=214)

Position	Northeastern	Southern	Midwestern	Southwestern	Western	Multiple
Undergraduate Student	0	0	0	0	0	0
Graduate Student	0	0	2	0	0	0
Instructor	3	2	2	2	1	1
Adjunct Professor	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	14	15	15	8	8	1
Associate Professor	8	11	12	8	8	4
Professor	12	20	10	7	8	5
Emeritus	1	3	1	0	0	0
Administration	5	5	2	2	1	1
Line Practitioner	0	0	0	0	0	0
Management	1	2	0	1	0	0
Researcher	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	1	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	44	59	44	29	26	12

**NOTES:**

<sup>1</sup> Measured by a different question for 2015.

<sup>2</sup> The “adjunct professor” category was coded into the “Other” category due to the small number of responses.

<sup>3</sup> Practitioner category includes both line and management responses.

<sup>4</sup> The “researcher” category was coded into the “Other” category due to the small number of responses.

<sup>5</sup> Not measured for 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Salary question was redesigned for 2015. See additional table (Table 3) for 2015 salary information.

<sup>7</sup> This question was not asked for 2015.

<sup>8</sup> Excludes some outliers.

<sup>9</sup> It is noteworthy that the number of Hispanic respondents has dropped significantly since the 2013 and 2014 membership reports.

<sup>10</sup> This question was not asked for 2015.

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