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Managing Editor, Nicole L. Bracy
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Characteristics of Internationally Trafficked Stolen Vehicles along the U.S.-Mexico Border

Steven Block

Central Connecticut State University

Abstract: *Trafficking of stolen vehicles has been the subject of few studies in the United States. Little is known about patterns and characteristics of vehicles that are stolen for international export. The current research constructs a logistic regression model to identify variables associated with international vehicle trafficking in Chula Vista, California. Vehicle, spatial, and temporal independent variables are developed, including those tested in previous research and variables presented in this study for the first time. The results show that the strongest predictors differentiating vehicles recovered in Mexico from domestically recovered thefts are the type of vehicle and age. Specifically, newer sport-utility vehicles, trucks and vans are more likely to be recovered in Mexico than the U.S. None of the variables related to space and time are statistically significant predictors in the model using 95 percent confidence intervals. Policy implications emanating from this research include more focused patrol and public awareness campaigns to proactively reduce this harmful form of vehicle theft.*

Keywords: crime analysis, environmental criminology, motor vehicle theft, transnational crime

INTRODUCTION

The theft of motor vehicles (MVT) for the purpose of international export harms direct victims, communities, and all insured vehicle owners. When vehicles are stolen and taken out of the country, victims may miss work, suffer emotional consequences, and often must pay for some or all of a replacement vehicle. Similarly, indirect victims are affected by the way stolen vehicles are driven and elevated insurance costs. Although international vehicle trafficking has been observed for over 30 years in the United States, changes in the national distribution of MVT indicate that the issue has become a particularly widespread problem at the U.S.-Mexico border over the past two decades. The National Insurance Crime Bureau (NICB) has estimated that approximately 200,000 vehicles are stolen from the U.S. on an annual basis for export (Clarke and Brown 2003; United States General Accounting Office 1999), yet very little has been established about the patterns and characteristics of vehicles illegally taken for this purpose.

Vehicles can be exported from a country via one of three methods: air, sea, and land borders. Based on the immense costs and difficulties associated with flying vehicles out of the country, most exported stolen vehicles are assumed to be moved across borders to Canada or Mexico, or through seaports on the coasts (Brown and Clarke 2004; Clarke and Brown 2003). At the U.S.-Mexico border alone, over 30 international crossings in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas serve as potential routes for vehicle exportation. In addition, the presence of seaports permits vehicles to be shipped out of the country on roll-on/roll-off shipping boats and in 40-foot containers (Clarke and Brown 2003).

Previous studies of vehicle trafficking in the U.S. are mostly limited to qualitative accounts of organized crime groups (Resendiz 1998, 2001; Resendiz and Neal 1999; Richardson and Resendiz 2006), analysis of insurance company data (Field, Clarke and Harris 1991), and evaluations or discussion of prevention measures (Ethridge

and Sorensen 1993; Plouffe and Sampson 2004). The current study seeks to fill gaps in the literature on stolen vehicle exporting by exploring vehicle-related, spatial, and temporal characteristics that differentiate vehicles stolen in the U.S. and recovered in Mexico from vehicles stolen in the U.S. and recovered domestically. Logistic regression models are developed using the recovery country as the dependent variable for theft incidents in Chula Vista, California, a city located only miles from the busiest road border crossing connecting the U.S. to Mexico.

BACKGROUND

The first piece of legislation aimed toward curbing vehicle trafficking was the Dyer Act of 1919. Rather than focusing on international commerce, the Dyer Act was constructed to restrict inter-state trafficking of vehicles (Richburg 1984). During the 1980s and 1990s, news media reported on a new form of crime that was occurring at seaports (for examples, see Dauler 1994; Robles 1996) and land borders (for examples, see Abrams 1988; Bauder 1996; LePage and Romero 1990): the international exportation of stolen vehicles. Based on media reports and expert testimony, the federal Motor Vehicle Theft Law Enforcement Act of 1984 targeted all forms of professional MVT through the initiation of a vehicle identification number (VIN) parts-marking program. Eight years later, the federal Anti-Car Theft Act of 1992 enacted stiffer punishments for participation in vehicle trafficking. Taken together, these two pieces of legislation signaled a growing concern about professional MVT in the U.S., including both domestic chop shops and international exporting.

Concerns about vehicle thefts demonstrated by media coverage and federal legislation are supported by Uniform Crime Report (UCR) MVT trends. By 1995, border area states, such as Arizona and California, had MVT rates far higher than national averages (United States Department of Justice 1996). While states in the northeast experienced sharp decreases in MVT during the 1990s and 2000s, the declines were more modest in the southwest. In the 2010 Uniform Crime Report, Arizona (336.5 per 100,000 population) and California (409.4 per 100,000 population) had two of the highest MVT rates (United States Department of Justice 2011). In response to the growing issue, several states on the U.S.-Mexico border have developed specific initiatives to address the problem. For instance, Texas created the Border Auto Theft Information Center in the Department of Public Safety in 1994 (Aldridge 2007). In California, task forces were formed in many cities and counties targeting MVT (California Highway Patrol). Although empirical research has not adequately assessed the success of these initiatives, the legislative and departmental concerns about MVT are indicative of the scope of vehicle trafficking in the southwestern U.S.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Clarke and Brown (2003) cite several factors that facilitate vehicle trafficking operations including legitimate commerce, low priority, and corruption. Increasingly, international borders, such as the U.S.-Mexico border, are vital to the local economy of border area cities. Thousands of legitimate vehicles travel across the border on a daily basis. The effort to distinguish stolen vehicles from other border crossing vehicles is a formidable task for authorities. MVT is not considered a high law enforcement border priority in comparison to other transnational issues such as human, drug, and firearm trafficking (Clarke and Brown 2003). Importantly, exporting syndicates commonly work in conjunction with corrupt officials (Clarke and Brown 2003; Miller 1987) to ensure that stolen vehicles successfully reach Mexico. Low pay and a lack of oversight breed corrupt activities and relationships with exporters.

Miller (1987), the first researcher to study vehicle trafficking along the U.S.-Mexico border, described the presence of organized “frontera” groups. Although the groups were described as varying in size and scope, their presence was identified in many Texas border area cities. About a decade later, Resendiz’s (1998) interviews with 10 active vehicle thieves operating along the Texas-Mexico border found several roles in the exportation process. Specifically, a “chauffer” shops for vehicles and transports specialists; “specialists” break into vehicles; and “mounters” are responsible for crossing the U.S. border. Additionally, special populations appear to perform particular acts. For instance, Resendiz (2001) found that females often play the “chauffer” role, while Richardson and Resendiz (2006) express that juveniles are assets in the process of stealing cars because of the lack of punishment when they are caught and arrested.

There is some debate about whether most forms of cross-border trafficking are more similar to organized crime syndicates or networks of crime entrepreneurs. Miller (1987) describes vehicle trafficking groups at the U.S.-Mexico border as relatively organized and often sophisticated. Richardson and Resendiz (2006) divide participants in the process into two different categories: those who supplement other incomes with profits and those who make a living off of the crime. In Resendiz’s (1998) ethnographic study, the researcher found relationships and groups to be fluid with little structure and organization. Consequently, Resendiz (1998) stated that these findings were not consistent with a form of organized crime.

Research has also examined which vehicles are targeted for exporting. Miller’s (1987) initial work identified lines of Buicks, Chevrolets, Chryslers, Dodges, Fords, Mercurys, and Volkswagens as the most desired vehicles. Specifically, models that were manufactured in

Mexico, were labeled as high-risk targets. Field, Clarke and Harris (1991) tested Miller's hypothesis using insurance data and found support for the argument. Later, Resendiz (1998) found newer models from General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler to be in greatest demand in Texas. In San Diego County, California, Plouffe and Sampson (2004) reported very low recovery rates for particular models, including Toyota Camrys and Toyota trucks, which indicate a presence of exporting operations for these models. In total, studies on vehicle targets show differences across manufacturer and model, but these distinctions have been somewhat inconsistent.

Also central to the current research are studies that consider the spatial and temporal factors that impact vehicle trafficking. Distance to the border is a variable often tested in predicting increased likelihood of exporting incidents. In a national study, Roberts (2012) identified distance to borders as a predictor of professional thefts in major U.S. cities. Another study found that cities in Texas closer to the Mexican border had lower recovery rates than cities further north (Gallahan 1997). Within San Diego County, California, Plouffe and Sampson (2004) showed that areas in northern portions of the county had substantially higher recovery rates than areas in southern parts of the county, which signals the role of professional, cross-border operations. Locations closer to the U.S.-Mexico border are generally at greater risk for professional MVT than locations further away.

Some researchers (Clarke and Brown 2003; Miller 1987) have argued that vehicle traffic volume is a major element facilitating illegal border crossings; however Resendiz (1998) found that thieves prefer to cross the border during times with less vehicle traffic. Miller's (1987) research discovered that commuter traffic was a major factor in facilitating illegal crossings. Further, it has been argued that corruption within Mexican law enforcement agencies is responsible for the ease with which vehicles move into Mexico (Clarke and Brown 2003; Gallahan 1997; Miller 1987). In contrast, Resendiz's (1998) research found that it is more common for thieves to outrun Mexican authorities than to bribe them. These studies have produced inconclusive results about when vehicles are most often stolen for exporting purposes and moved across the border.

A review of stolen vehicle trafficking literature reveals that studies on MVT in the border region are sparse. Further, most studies relating to the patterns and characteristics of this crime were conducted before the mid-2000s. As a transnational crime, the nature of vehicle exporting has likely changed substantially since much of this research was conducted. The dearth of recent studies creates a need for contemporary work that assists in understanding the current state of the problem.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study of specific crimes, such as MVT across land borders, is supported under the area of environmental criminology. Environmental theories of crime depart from other perspectives that explain variation in criminal behavior through psychological, biological, and social factors. While other theories often portray criminals and non-criminals in two separate, distinct groups, environmental criminology assumes that most people have the potential to offend. Rather than focusing on differences between individuals or groups of people, theories considered as environmental approaches focus on criminal opportunities and the effect of environmental influences on offender decision-making.

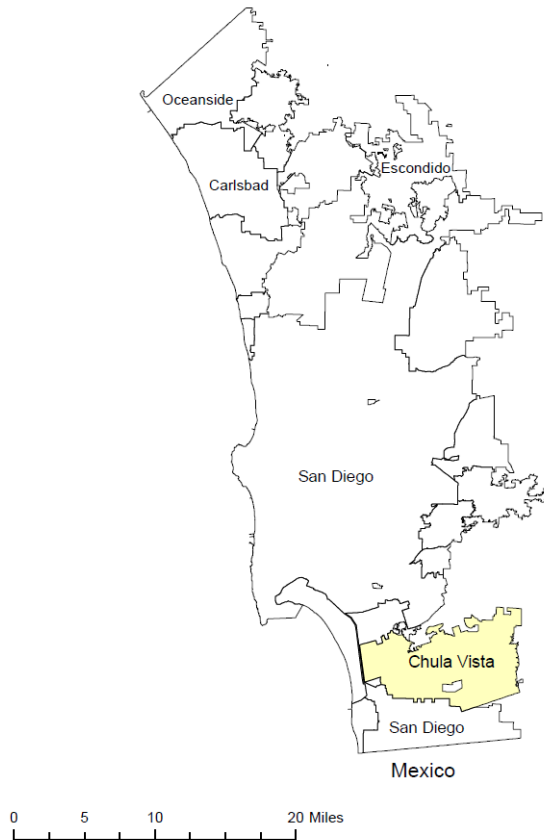
Central to the main themes of environmental criminology, and most specifically, the rational choice perspective is the analysis of crime-specific patterns. Proponents of crime-specific research criticize other theories for lumping several forms of crime into broad categories such as "crime," "property crime," or "burglary." Clarke and Cornish (1985) argue that it is necessary to make distinctions within traditional law enforcement categories of crime. They note that there are several different forms of burglary, vandalism, robbery, rape, and fraud, among other crimes. Analysis of crime-specific categories then leads to more focused explanations of offender behavior and, subsequently, crime prevention measures.

The crime of MVT has been the subject of much research in environmental criminology. Several factors contribute to the evolving nexus of MVT and environmental approaches to the study of crime including the availability of quality data, the multi-dimensional nature of MVT, and the link with prevention. Based on reporting rates higher than most other crimes, MVT data from law enforcement, victim surveys, and insurance agencies provide several potential sources for researchers to apply varied approaches. Further, perhaps more than any other law enforcement crime category, MVT can be categorized more clearly into subgroups based on the offender's intent (e.g. joyriding, chopping or stripping, exporting). The study of specific forms of MVT assists environmental criminologists in understanding not only MVT, but criminal decision-making as a whole. Additionally, studies using an environmental criminology approach commonly arrive at conclusions that can be realistically implemented, ranging from shifts in resource deployment to advances in security.

METHOD

Data for the present research were provided by the Chula Vista Police Department in Chula Vista, California. Chula Vista, located in the southern portion of San Diego County, has a population of approximately 250,000 people. Of the 100 largest U.S. cities, Chula Vista is located closest to the San Ysidro border crossing. The city contains three highways (Interstate 5, Interstate 805, and State Route 125) that lead toward two border crossings. Chula Vista was chosen as the site to study vehicle trafficking based on the detail of data maintained by the Chula Vista Police Department and the city's geographic proximity to major U.S.-Mexico border crossings.

Figure 1. Incorporated Cities and Towns in San Diego County



All completed MVT incidents that took place in the city, from January 1, 2005 until December 31, 2007, were included in the sampling frame. This 3-year period was selected because consistent, comparable data had not been collected for all previous years. More recent data were not utilized to allow time for vehicle recovery.

Dependent Variable

Possible outcomes of MVT incidents include a final recovery status of “recovered domestically,” “recovered internationally,” and “unrecovered.” The total number of thefts in Chula Vista from 2005 until 2007 was 7,039. Of these total thefts in Chula Vista, there were 3,804 vehicles recovered in the U.S., 364 recovered in Mexico, and 2,771 that remained unrecovered. These statistics equate to an overall recovery rate of 59.2 percent and a domestic recovery rate of 54.0 percent. For this study, “unrecovered” cases are not included in the analysis because there is no method for accurately identifying which of the “unrecovered” incidents were actually exported. All vehicles that were stolen in Chula Vista and recovered in Mexico from 2005 to 2007 (N=364) are compared to a random sample (n=364) of the 3,804 incidents that were stolen in Chula Vista and recovered domestically in the U.S. A random numbers generator was used to select the 364 domestically recovered incidents for inclusion in this study.

Independent Variables

The independent variables utilized in this study are grouped into three categories: vehicle, spatial, and temporal factors. Several of these variables have been included in previous research (vehicle manufacturer, vehicle type, vehicle value, vehicle age, and distance to the border), while others are tested for the first time in this study (vehicle owner residence jurisdiction, distance to the highway, day of week, and time of day). Five independent variables measure properties and characteristics of the vehicle. The effect of vehicle manufacturer on international demand for stolen vehicles has been proposed in previous MVT studies (Herzog 2002; Miller 1987; Plouffe and Sampson 2004; Resendiz 1998). “Vehicle manufacturer” is categorized here into seven groups: Chevrolets, Dodges, Fords, Hondas, Nissans, Toyotas, and Others. The six manufacturers included in the model are the most commonly stolen in the total sample. Based on previous findings on international vehicle trafficking, it is predicted that there will be significant differences for “vehicle manufacturer” for vehicles recovered in Mexico compared to those recovered in the U.S.

Vehicle type is another variable considered influential in exporting stolen vehicles (Miller 1987; Resendiz 1998). Here, vehicle type is broken down into six categories: 2-door cars, 4-door cars, vans, sport-utility vehicles, pick-up trucks, and other vehicles that do not fit into the categorization, such as commercial vehicles. Studies on vehicle exporting have suggested that there is variation in which vehicle types are stolen for export in the U.S. (Miller 1987) and the U.K. (Clarke and Brown 2003).

Two continuous variables relate to the properties of the vehicle and its attractiveness. The vehicle's worth is assessed by the Kelley Blue Book value for trade-in at "good" condition. Kelley Blue Book analyzes market transactions to provide estimates of prices of used vehicles in various conditions. The values from Kelley Blue Book are widely considered to be the most comprehensive estimates available. Other MVT studies that have included vehicle value have used figures based on victim or law enforcement estimates (Tremblay, Talon and Hurley 2001), which may be subject to bias or exaggeration. Stolen goods market values do not necessarily mirror the prices of legitimate markets. In some cases, vehicles are valued higher outside the U.S. based on a lack of availability. Tremblay and colleagues' (2001) findings indicate that vehicles stolen for export are more expensive than those stolen for other purposes in Canada. This is the first study known to the researcher to use an independent source to assess stolen vehicle value.

Vehicle age is measured by subtracting the year when the vehicle was stolen from the year it was manufactured (Herzog 2002; Tremblay, Talon and Hurley 2001). In Tremblay and colleagues' (2001) study, vehicles that were stolen for export in Canada were newer than those stolen for other reasons. Inclusion of the variables vehicle age and vehicle value allow the researcher to test whether vehicles recovered domestically differ from those recovered internationally on these variables. The final vehicle-related variable, labeled "vehicle owner residence" is a dichotomy based on whether or not the vehicle is registered in the city of Chula Vista. While this variable has not been included in previous research, it can be expected that professional vehicle thieves may target vehicles owned by local residents who demonstrate predictable patterns. Conversely, professionals might seek out vehicles from out-of-town owners who are unfamiliar with the area.

Two independent variables measure the spatial dimension of international vehicle trafficking. Similar to several other studies on MVT (Gallahan 1997; Plouffe and Sampson 2004; Roberts 2012; Roberts and Block 2012) the distance to the border in road miles is included in the analysis. In other research, distance to the border has been a predictor of professional forms of MVT (Gallahan 1997; Plouffe and Sampson 2004; Roberts 2012; Roberts and Block 2012). As Clarke and Brown (2003) mention, vehicles can be stolen and taken across the border before the vehicle is reported as stolen if the distance is relatively close. Distances from the southernmost and northernmost points to the border within Chula Vista range from four to 14 miles.

The second spatial variable is the distance in road miles to the nearest highway entrance of the three north-south highways that flow toward the Mexican border. Highways serve as a facilitator for quick and undetectable access to border crossings, however highway access may

Table 1. Definitions and Coding Scheme for Dependent and Independent Variables

Variable	Coding
Recovery Location (Dependent)	Recovered in U.S. = 0, Recovered in Mexico = 1 (Dichotomous)
Vehicle Manufacturer	Manufacturer of stolen vehicle classified into one of seven groups (Chevrolet, Dodge, Ford, Honda, Nissan, Toyota, Other) (Categorical)
Vehicle Type	Type of vehicle classified into one of six groups (2-Door, 4-Door, Van, SUV, Truck, Other) (Categorical)
Vehicle Value	Value, in thousands of dollars, of vehicle at time of theft based on Kelley Blue Book's "good" trade-in value (Continuous)
Vehicle Age	Number of years since manufacture at time of theft (Continuous)
Vehicle Owner Residence (VOR)	Vehicle registered outside of Chula Vista = 0, Vehicle registered in Chula Vista = 1 (Dichotomous)
Border Distance	Distance in road miles to the nearest of two border crossings to Mexico (Continuous)
Highway Distance	Distance in road miles to the nearest highway entrance to North-South highways (Continuous)
Time	Daytime thefts = 8am to 759pm, Nighttime thefts = 8pm to 759am, Unknown = Overlapping time periods (Categorical)
Day	Weekday thefts = Monday through Thursday, Weekend thefts = Friday through Sunday, Unknown = Overlapping time periods (Categorical)

also be attractive to joyriders. Both spatial variables are calculated utilizing the TravelGIS website (www.travelgis.com), which uses Natural Area Codes to identify

precise traveling distances between any two points in the world. Previous studies have not included measures of accessibility to highways.

Conflicting findings exist about temporal patterns of MVT for export. In this study two temporal variables are included in models. The time of day is dichotomized into thefts occurring during the day (0800am-0759pm) and night (0800pm-0759am) following time frames applied by Shaw, Smith and Bond (2010). A third “unknown” category contains cases in which vehicles are reportedly stolen in a time frame that includes both day and night periods. For instance, if a “start” time for an incident is

5a.m. and the “end” time is 11a.m., the case would be categorized as “unknown.” Similarly, the day of the week of theft is divided between weekday (Monday-Thursday) and weekend (Friday-Sunday) thefts. Vehicles stolen in an overlapping time period across the day categories are classified as “unknown.” Because there is often a lag between the time of the offense and the time the victim becomes aware of the crime, a large percentage of cases fall into unknown categories for both temporal variables. Table 1 presents the coding scheme for the dependent variable and each of the nine independent variables in this study.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Independent Variables

	N	Mean or %	St. Dev	Min	Max
Manufacturer	717				
Chevrolet	86	12.0%			
Dodge	26	3.6%			
Ford	129	18.0%			
Honda	130	18.1%			
Nissan	80	11.2%			
Toyota	63	8.8%			
Other	203	28.3%			
Type	728				
2-Door	114	15.7%			
4-Door	314	43.7%			
Van	37	5.1%			
SUV	104	14.3%			
Trucks	138	19.0%			
Other	21	2.9%			
Value	690	6.60	6.05	.23	48.70
Age	728	7.52	5.70	0	43
VOR	728	.68	.46	0	1
Border Dist.	716	7.96	1.73	4.00	13.10
Highway Dist.	716	1.32	.87	.10	4.90
Time of Day	728				
Day	206	28.3%			
Night	217	29.8%			
Unknown	305	41.9%			
Day of Week	728				
Weekday	365	50.1%			
Weekend	276	37.9%			
Unknown	87	12.0%			

Analytical Strategy

Based on the binary dependent variable that is formed by comparing vehicles recovered in Mexico to vehicles recovered in the U.S., logistic regression models are constructed. Using logistic regression to make a distinction between different groupings of MVT follows Herzog’s (2002) study of MVT in Israel. Correlations were run for each of the independent variables to determine if there were multicollinearity problems. The strongest relationships between independent variables were

between vehicle age and value ($r=.70$), and weekday and weekend thefts ($r=.78$), signifying that all proposed independent variables could be included in the model.

Variance inflation factors (VIFs) were all below 3. The primary aim of the logit model is to determine which predictor variables are influential in differentiating between exported stolen vehicles and non-exported vehicles originating in Chula Vista.

RESULTS

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for the total sample in Chula Vista. Seventeen incidents in which the vehicle was recovered in Mexico and 32 vehicles recovered in the United States were not included because of insufficient data. In most cases there was a lack of information about the precise location where the incident took place or the vehicle's manufacturer and model. The dropped cases only represent 6.7 percent of the original sample. After cases with inadequate data were dropped, 347 exported incidents and 332 non-exported incidents are included for a total of 679 cases. For vehicle manufacturer, Hondas account for 130 (19.1%) of the 679 incidents in the sample, while 129 (19.0%) stolen vehicles were Fords. The "other" category, consisting of 33

manufacturers, included 214 (31.5%) thefts. The most common type of vehicle to be stolen was the 4-door car (n=302, 44.5%). The average assessed value of stolen vehicles was \$6,600 and the mean age was 7.52 years (SD=6.05). About 68.7 percent (SD=.46) of vehicles in the sample were registered in Chula Vista.

The average distance to the border from the point of theft was 7.96 road miles (SD=1.73), while the average distance to the closest highway entrance was 1.32 road miles (SD=.87). The vehicles in the sample were slightly more likely to be stolen at night (29.8%) than during the day (28.3%) when the time of day is known. Yet the largest grouping in this categorization is the "unknown" category. Just over half (n=343, 50.5%) of vehicles were classified as weekday thefts.

Table 3. Logistic Regression Coefficients Predicting Vehicle Recovery Location for Chula Vista Vehicle Thefts, 2005-07 (N=679)

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B (SE)	OR	p.	B (SE)	OR	p.
Chevrolet (ref=Honda)	-.11(.37)	.893	.759	-.15 (.37)	.861	.689
Dodge	.53 (.52)	1.706	.305	.48 (.53)	1.620	.359
Ford	-.11(.34)	.895	.743	-.07 (.34)	.937	.850
Nissan	-.08(.33)	.922	.806	-.09 (.34)	.917	.797
Toyota	-.37(.39)	.693	.353	-.42 (.40)	.656	.292
Other Manufacturer	.04(.28)	1.037	.896	.01 (.29)	1.009	.976
2-Door (ref=4-door)	-.68(.26)	.507	.009	-.67 (.27)	.511	.012
Van	-.02(.40)	.982	.964	.06 (.41)	1.066	.876
Sport-Utility Vehicle	.70(.30)	2.018	.019	.72 (.31)	2.054	.019
Pick-up	.49 (.27)	1.638	.067	.59 (.28)	1.804	.034
Other Type	-2.07(1.11)	.126	.063	-1.77 (1.11)	.170	.109
Value	.04(.03)	1.035	.163	.04 (.03)	1.038	.138
Age	-.13(.03)	.878	.000	-.13 (.03)	.878	.000
VOR	.00(.19)	1.001	.997	-.04 (.19)	.961	.838
Border Distance				-.10 (.06)	.906	.072
Highway Distance				.02 (.11)	1.020	.855
Night (ref=day)				-.12 (.24)	.889	.626
Unknown Time				.28 (.23)	1.319	.220
Weekend(ref=weekday)				-.18 (.19)	.839	.360
Unknown Day				.25 (.29)	1.281	.390
Chi-Square	162.78	p=.000		169.34	p=.000	
CoxR2	.210			.218		
-2 Log Likelihood	793.48			786.92		

Note: Significant Relationships at 95 percent confidence highlighted in bold

Table 3 presents the coefficients, standard errors, and odds ratios in the binary logistic regression models. Model 1 contains only vehicle-related variables, while Model 2 includes all vehicle, spatial, and temporal variables. In Model 1, vehicle age is a significant predictor of recovery country. Each additional vehicle year decreases the likelihood of recovery in Mexico versus the U.S. by 12

percent (p=.000). SUVs were recovered in Mexico more often than 4-door vehicles (p=.009), while 2-door vehicles were more commonly recovered in the U.S. (p=.019). None of the other vehicle-related variables are significant in Model 1 at 95 percent confidence.

In the full model, Model 2, only vehicle-related predictors are statistically significant. For vehicle type,

both sport-utility vehicles (OR=2.05, $p=.019$) and pick-up trucks (OR=1.80, $p=.034$) were 105 percent and 80 percent, respectively, more likely to be recovered in Mexico than in the United States when compared to the reference category of 4-door vehicles. Conversely, 2-door vehicles were 49 percent less likely than 4-doors (OR=.51, $p=.012$) to be recovered in Mexico than in the U.S. Vehicle age is the strongest predictor of recovery country in the model. For each additional year of age, vehicles were 12 percent less likely to be recovered in Mexico compared to the U.S. (OR=.88, $p=.000$). Other vehicle characteristics including each vehicle manufacturer variable, vehicle value, and vehicle owner residence are not statistically significant.

None of the spatial and temporal variables are found to be significant predictors of vehicle recovery country at the 95 percent confidence threshold in Model 2. The variable measuring distance to the Mexican border is significant at only 90 percent confidence ($p=.072$). The “distance to highway” variable is not a significant predictor of recovery location. Additionally, temporal variables for “time of day” and “day of week” are also not significant predictors of the dependent variable. In total, both models are similar in explanatory power and the addition of spatial and temporal variables do not change the vehicle characteristic relationships.

DISCUSSION

The findings from this study continue along the path of research differentiating between forms of MVT (Clarke and Harris 1992; Herzog 2002; Roberts 2012; Roberts and Block 2012; Tremblay et al. 1994). More research has examined joyriding (Kellett and Gross 2006; McDonagh, Wortley and Homel 2002; O’Connell 2006) than other professional types of theft, such as exporting. Yet, the lasting negative effects of this type of theft, such as obtaining a replacement vehicle and the illegal use of the stolen vehicle, warrant serious inquiry toward its patterns and subsequent prevention measures.

Consistent with previous findings (Miller 1987), there are notable differences found here between vehicles stolen for export and vehicles stolen for domestic use. Foremost, vehicles stolen in Chula Vista and recovered in Mexico are more likely to be SUVs and pick-up trucks. There are several possible interpretations of this finding. First, although the data is not available in this analysis, it is possible that SUVs and trucks are stolen for export most because they are more common in Mexico and will blend in with the vehicle fleet. This explanation is similar to the logic of Miller (1987) and Field et al. (1991), stating that vehicle models manufactured and found in Mexico would be stolen for export in the U.S. A second explanation is that SUVs and pick-up trucks are better suited for the rough terrain in Mexico. Unpaved or poorly maintained roads in Mexico increase the demand for such vehicles.

Third, as vehicle trafficking can be tied to other forms of cross-border trafficking, such as the movement of people (Miller 1987; Petrossian and Clarke 2012), drugs (Miller 1987; Petrossian and Clarke 2012), or firearms, SUVs and trucks are more useful than smaller vehicles for moving large amounts people and contraband back across the border. If vehicles are stolen for purposes of facilitating other forms of organized crime, this finding would serve as a strong justification to increase focus on vehicles leaving the U.S., which is not currently a high priority (Clarke and Brown 2003; Petrossian and Clarke 2012). The vehicle-specific findings noted in this study relate closely to Plouffe and Sampson’s (2004) argument that the rational choice perspective’s focus on reasonable decision-making is taking place.

There are also strong relationships found for the variable of vehicle age. There is evidence that thieves moving vehicles across the border target much newer vehicles than domestic thieves. This finding indicates that uses in Mexico are likely not limited to cross-border trafficking, but also personal use. Both older and newer large vans, SUVs, and pick-up trucks would likely suffice for cross-border operations. The suggestion that amateur thieves are stealing older cars may also reflect the role of immobilizers that are more commonly found on newer vehicles. Several international evaluations have found that vehicle immobilizers decrease MVT (Brown 2004; Farrell, Tseloni and Tilley 2011; Potter and Thomas 2001), but many of the findings have shown that immobilizers deter amateur thieves more than professionals. Professional thieves who are responsible for bringing many of the vehicles illegally across the U.S.-Mexico border do not appear to be deterred by the forms of security found on many of the vehicles built after the year 2000. However, amateur thieves seem to target older vehicles that are likely not equipped with immobilizers or which have very early versions of immobilizing technology. Another possible explanation for the significant findings for the “age” variable is related to the role of “chop shops.” While most vehicles stolen for chopping are considered to be professional-oriented and rarely recovered, many of the 3,804 vehicles recovered in the U.S. are likely linked to “chop shops.” Thieves targeting vehicles for chopping are more likely to steal older vehicles with older parts that are desirable in illegal markets, although research on chop shop operations is lacking. The “age” variable is further complicated by permanent importing restrictions on vehicles manufactured outside of Mexico (Petrossian and Clarke 2012). Complex legislation passed in Mexico greatly reduces the legal import of both new and old vehicles to protect the Mexican automobile industry and address concerns about harmful emissions. While there is no evidence that these laws substantially impact illegal exporting, the extensive limitations do present a possible confounding explanation for these findings.

Other studies including vehicle value have found mixed results linking professional forms of theft to higher vehicle values. This variable was not significant in the multi-variate model, but was a statistically significant predictor of vehicle recovery location in bi-variate analyses (not shown).

Neither of the two spatial variables included in this analysis are significant predictors. Most notably, distance to the border is not a significant predictor differentiating between the two forms of MVT. This finding establishes a preliminary threshold in which distance plays a role in cross-border theft operations. Each MVT within Chula Vista was committed within 15 miles of a border crossing. The lack of significant findings suggests that thieves are willing to travel this distance to export vehicles, while Plouffe and Sampson (2004) found stark differences in recovery rates between the southern and northern portions of San Diego County. Other studies also concluded that distance to borders influences trafficking in the U.S. (Gallahan 1997; Roberts 2012; Roberts and Block 2012) and in international settings (Herzog 2002). Therefore, these results indicate that within cities along the border, distance is not as important as in county, state, or national analyses. Based on the current research and previous studies, traffickers appear willing to consistently travel between 5 and 15 miles to steal and export a car, but not 50 to 100 miles.

Policy Implications

Based on the overall vehicle theft population in Chula Vista, there is strong evidence that international vehicle trafficking trends identified in other studies (e.g. Plouffe and Sampson 2004) have not subsided. Of the 4,168 recovered vehicle thefts, nearly 9 percent of those recoveries occurred in Mexico. Considering that these recoveries only represent a portion of exported stolen vehicles, in addition to unrecovered vehicles that are not returned, hundreds of vehicles are being exported illegally on a yearly basis from this one border city alone. When these numbers are extrapolated to other areas, the statistics suggest that estimates from the NICB and other studies (Block et al. 2011) are correct in stating that trafficking to Mexico remains a problem.

The city of Chula Vista has consistently had the lowest recovery rates in San Diego County (Plouffe and Sampson 2004). Chula Vista and other similar cities near the Mexican border face unique challenges in preventing MVT that require assistance and partnerships involving multiple agencies and organizations. For instance, the San Diego County Regional Auto Theft Task Force (RATTF), established in 1992, consists of agents from police and probation departments, representatives from insurance agencies, and attorneys. The San Diego County RATTF is responsible for assisting in apprehending and prosecuting MVT cases. Similar organizations exist in other border

areas in Arizona and Texas. The RATTF participates in undercover investigations, Vehicle Identification Number etching programs, and developing relationships with communities. In addition to the RATTF, state and local law enforcement agencies collaborate in prevention and recovery measures.

The findings in this study contain policy ramifications for such regional task forces, local police agencies, and other persons responsible for crime prevention. Along the U.S.-Mexico border, vehicle-related factors appear to be more influential than spatial and temporal factors for international vehicle trafficking. If international thefts are deemed to be more harmful than vehicles that are normally recovered in the U.S. and returned to owners within a shorter time frame, police departments along the border should focus on recently manufactured sport-utility vehicles and pick-up trucks. Additionally, MVT prevention requires the attention of vehicle owners and communities, in addition to law enforcement. Petrossian and Clarke (2012) note that one proposed response to vehicle exporting across land borders is to distribute newsletters and flyers about the crime. They add that such campaigns could focus on increasing awareness for owners of these vehicles. These interventions build upon components of awareness campaigns described by Barthe (2004) and Copes and Cherbonneau (2006) by publicizing the vehicles that are at highest risk for permanent theft, particularly in areas such as Chula Vista. By focusing on high-risk vehicle types for exportation, owners of these vehicles should be more likely to take the initiative to increase surveillance and security of their vehicles. These campaigns increase the difficulties of MVT, and, according to Petrossian and Clarke (2012), vehicle-specific campaigns have experienced moderate success in Australia.

There is no evidence from this study that there are consistent temporal patterns in existence for vehicle trafficking incidents. The lack of significant findings for the "time of day" and "day of week" variables shows that vehicle thieves in Chula Vista who move vehicles across the border maintain similar temporal patterns as thieves who steal vehicles for domestic use. The descriptive statistics show that slightly less than half of incidents in which the MVT time is known occur during the day time hours. This null finding is noteworthy because Miller (1987) previously asserted that organized rings worked during business hours, while Resendiz (1998) found both day and night thefts. The contemporary circumstances in Chula Vista are most closely matched to Resendiz's (1998) findings, showing that vehicles recovered in Mexico are not stolen at different times than the vehicles recovered in the U.S. Initiatives that focus on increasing resources based on the time of day or day of week should reassess the approach.

Theoretical Implications

The findings in this study can be interpreted theoretically by applying components of the rational choice perspective. According to the rational choice perspective, offenders often seek to increase rewards associated with crime while seeking to minimize risks and effort. However, we know very little about whether specific offenders and patterns of criminality reflect a focus on one of these dimensions over the others. Perhaps some types of criminals focus on increasing rewards without extensive concern about increasing their chances of apprehension or making the process more difficult and time-consuming. Conversely, other criminals are most focused on simply minimizing effort and risk with less concern placed on the rewards of their offense.

Based on the results of this study, the vehicles that are being stolen for export purposes are vehicles that are newer and more useful for certain specific purposes (i.e. trafficking, resale, managing terrain). By identifying vehicle-choice differences in patterns of forms of MVT offending, we observe that thieves likely do consider the primary rewards. In many cases, the effort to steal these vehicles is actually greater, because the offenders must bypass or defeat more advanced forms of vehicle immobilizers and other types of vehicle security equipped on recently produced vehicles. Further, based on the spatial and temporal variables in the study, the thieves taking vehicles to Mexico are not stealing the vehicles significantly closer to border crossings and highway access points. They are also not stealing the vehicles at different temporal points than thieves who are operating for domestic purposes. While this study makes no effort to support or reject the core principles of the rational choice perspective, the findings can be interpreted as preliminary support for studying the particular motivations associated with the theory.

Limitations

The main limitations of this study are related to measurement issues capturing vehicle trafficking incidents. The methodology in the study assures that each MVT case was correctly classified; a large number of cases are not included, because their status was unresolved as an “unrecovered” theft. These unrecovered cases account for 46 percent of all Chula Vista MVT incidents. Undoubtedly, some of these thefts in Chula Vista were actually destined for Mexico or other international locations. It is not clear whether the export cases that are recovered are representative of all exporting incidents, including those which are unrecovered. Further, some of the significant findings in this study may relate to qualities of recovery rather than actual differences between exported and non-exported thefts. For instance, sport-utility vehicles and trucks are larger and more identifiable which can lead to an increase in the chances of recovery in

Mexico. However, Rice and Smith (2002) cite an unpublished study finding that police behavior only influences about 3 percent of recoveries. If the role of law enforcement is similarly minimal for international recoveries, this limitation is less of a concern. The variables measuring space and time of the theft incident are likely not influenced by characteristics of the recovery process. Future improvements to this methodology rely upon access to currently unobtainable forms of data such as border traffic cameras that document all vehicle crossings from the U.S. into Mexico rather than relying on recovery data alone.

A related issue is the complex nature of the vehicle recovery process. The findings in the study may be affected by differences in the process of reclaiming stolen vehicles internationally and domestically. In the U.S., law enforcement agencies may spot stolen vehicles or rely on recovery devices that are equipped on vehicles. When vehicles are stolen and taken across international boundaries there are several methods of possible recovery. Bilateral treaties between the U.S. and Mexico mandate that vehicles noticed by Mexican authorities are returned to the U.S. Citizens may also play a role if they find their own vehicles that have been exported to Mexico. Increasingly, recovery systems such as Lojack have become more capable on both sides of the border. U.S. authorities, such as state law enforcement and task forces work with other agencies to investigate claims where vehicles are suspected to have been taken to Mexico. The different aspects of the recovery process may affect the variables in this study, because the domestic and international processes are not identical.

Another limit to this work is the focus on data only in Chula Vista, California. There are several other areas with high theft rates along the border in parts of southern Texas, southern Arizona, and southern California. In San Diego County alone, cities such as San Diego, Oceanside, Carlsbad, and Escondido likely contribute to stolen vehicles that enter Mexico through San Ysidro crossing. As Miller (1987) explains, the organization and characteristics of MVT participants can vary by location. Future quantitative and qualitative studies in other locations along the U.S.-Mexico border, such as Laredo and El Paso, Texas, and Nogales, Arizona, would add to our understanding of the topic.

CONCLUSION

A central component to several criminological theories, mainly those falling within environmental criminology, is that research should be crime-specific (Clarke and Felson 2004). The findings in this study support the continuation of crime-specific research. As home burglaries are different than commercial burglaries and bank robberies are different from ATM robberies, MVT is also best understood when intent and motivation

are taken into consideration. In this instance, offender decision-making of thieves operating across the U.S.-Mexico border is different than the decision-making of thieves working domestically.

The research findings show that characteristics of U.S. vehicles recovered in Mexico are significantly different than vehicles that remain in the country. The vehicles recovered in Mexico are more likely to be larger vehicles such as sport-utility vehicles and pick-up trucks. Additionally, younger vehicles are recovered in Mexico more often than in the U.S. While none of the spatial and temporal variables in the study differentiated between vehicles recovered in Mexico and the U.S., vehicles stolen closer to the border crossings were more likely to be recovered in Mexico using 90 percent confidence intervals.

Considering the wide-ranging effects, the lack of public concern and academic attention toward international vehicle trafficking is troublesome. This oversight is partially caused by the even distribution of negative outcomes across insured vehicle owners. MVT insurance companies assure that owners will not suffer the same financial losses that they would incur if other uninsured property was targeted (Field 1993). However, all insured vehicle owners and other members of the community are financially and physically threatened by stolen vehicles, the ways that they are driven (Copes and Tewksbury 2011; Halsey 2008; Kellett and Gross 2006; Marshall, Boyd and Moran 1996; O'Connell 2006), and the strong links with other forms of crime (Herzog 2002; McCaghy, Giordano and Henson 1977; Miller 1987). These secondary costs of vehicle crimes warrant increased attention to better understand the patterns associated with each individual form of MVT.

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About the author:

Steven Block (Ph.D., Rutgers University) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Central Connecticut State University in New Britain, Connecticut. He has published on motor vehicle theft and crime data. His research interests include motor vehicle theft and victimless crimes.

Contact Information: Steven Block, Assistant Professor, Central Connecticut State, Vance Academic Center, Room 208-300, 1615 Stanley Street, New Britain, CT, 06050; Phone: 908-313-9113; Fax: 860-832-3014; E-mail: sblock@ccsu.edu

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2012 Critical Criminology & Justice Studies Conference
Keynote Address
Rethinking Intervention: Consciousness, Solidarity, and Hope
as Criminological Principles

Elliott Currie
University of California, Irvine

Keywords: transformative intervention, rehabilitation, prevention

What do I mean by “rethinking” intervention, and why do I think it matters?

For a very long time, I’ve found myself deeply conflicted about the role of rehabilitation, or “treatment,” in a progressive vision of justice. Like a lot of other criminologists on the Left, I’ve rejected the conservative idea that there’s nothing we can do to help people who “offend” to turn their lives around for the better—and so all we can do is lock them up and essentially forget about them. It’s hard to overstate how much that argument fed into the growth of mass incarceration as our main response to crime in the United States—or the magnitude of the waste of human potential this has represented. And so I’ve felt it’s very important to kick back against the idea that “nothing works,” and I’ve done that. On several occasions I’ve looked hard at the evidence on various kinds of intervention programs and argued that some things *do* work—at least a little and that investing in those things is a lot better use of our resources than doing what we’ve been doing. I’ve been buried up to my ears in that research literature again recently (Currie forthcoming), and I’d make the same argument today.

But that’s not the whole story.

As I said, I think that the defense of the idea of rehabilitation, within limits, is necessary and correct. But the limits are very real. And in the haste to fight back against the conservative argument, we have sometimes fallen by default into supporting programs that we

shouldn’t support—or at least lumping all kinds of things together in our defense of what works, without asking too many questions about what some of those interventions actually involve. And maybe even more importantly, we haven’t put much energy into thinking harder about what a genuinely progressive approach to intervention would look like—and how we would deliver it (Currie 2008).

Some people on the progressive side, of course, would say we don’t need to think about that question—and would probably scratch their heads when I bring it up as an issue. There is a strong and enduring current of “non-interventionism” on the left - a sense that if we just got the state and its justice system off people’s backs, everything would be okay. But I don’t think that view will cut it in the face of today’s realities.

Last year in Oakland, California, more than 100 people lost their lives to violence, almost entirely people of color, mostly young, who were killed by people very much like themselves. Progressive people around the world were rightly appalled by the spectacle of over a thousand people, very disproportionately black and poor, who died in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005. But violence, mostly concentrated in the same kind of communities, has taken a toll in lives equal to several *hundred* Katrinas over the last generation. And beyond the death toll, there is the pervasive victimization by violence that doesn’t kill you but that makes your life scary and intolerable. There are many places in the United States

where girls and women are afraid to go out of their houses to school or work for fear that they'll be attacked by men. But then again, they may also be afraid to stay *in* their houses because they're afraid they'll be attacked by the men who live there.

In the face of this situation, to me, simple nonintervention is not an option, morally or politically. People really do engage in behavior that is destructive, predatory, and exploitative—as well as often self-destructive. They do things that violate the most basic human rights, dignity, and security of other people, and that can accumulate, over time, to destroy the social fabric of whole communities. They engage in behavior that's fueled by values that go against what most of us progressives believe and that we couldn't in a million years support. And in the process lives are destroyed—both those of victims and those of perpetrators. In the hardest-hit communities in the United States it's safe to say that *most* people are scarred in one way or another by the experience, or the threat, of violence.

That's true also, to a lesser degree, in other advanced societies, and it's true in spades for some of the most afflicted countries of the developing world—like Mexico, or Brazil, or Venezuela, or South Africa—where violence is considerably worse than it is in the United States. In all of these places, there are plenty of people who don't really care very much about the resulting damage, because it mostly happens to people whose lives are considered expendable. But that can't be *our* position. Instead, I think that we, as progressive criminologists, need to come up with strategies of intervention that unflinchingly confront the reality of violence and predation, but do so in ways that fit our progressive values and our democratic aspirations—strategies of intervention that mesh with our vision of the kind of societies we want to build. Part of that strategy has to involve creative efforts to change the hearts and minds of the people who are doing the damage, or are likely to in the future.

That's of course only *one* part of a larger progressive strategy against violence and predation. Another part of the progressive response surely has to be structural: we need to affirm that without broader social change addressing the glaring social deficits in the communities I'm talking about, nothing else we do will get very far. So we need to keep insisting on job policies and antipoverty policies and a health care policy that's real, on economic development policies that distribute the gains from growth more equitably, and more. But that's not the only realm we need to work on. The kind of predatory global capitalism we now live under has deep cultural and psychological effects as well as structural and material ones. We need to work on that level as well. We need, in short, to work with the people who are doing the violence, or "at risk" of doing it; we need to intervene. That puts us squarely up against the question of what we want intervention to accomplish—want intervention to *mean*.

I don't think we want it to mean just the extension of the kinds of things we now do in the name of treatment or rehabilitation. Again, I'm not suggesting that nothing good now happens in this vein. There are some good programs that are worthy of our support: I've written about them, and so have others. But too much of what's now offered up as rehabilitation, or treatment, or as preventive work with high-risk people, is at best not enough, at worst bogus and even scary. Too much of it falls under the heading of what I call "conformist" intervention. By that I mean that ultimately what it's about is trying to help people we deem to be at risk, or who have already gotten involved in the justice system, *fit in* to the existing society around them.

Conformist intervention is about getting people to accept the usually fairly bleak conditions of life that have put them at risk, or turned them into "offenders," in the first place. It teaches them to locate the source of their problems mainly, if not entirely, in themselves. So "rehabilitation" comes to mean channeling vulnerable people into chronically marginal and stultifying lives. We then measure the "success" of these efforts in quite minimal and essentially negative ways: they commit fewer crimes, do fewer drugs or different drugs, and maybe get (at least briefly), some sort of job. Even if the job is basically exploitative and short-lived, their future options are slim and their present lives are still pinched and precarious, we still count that as all good.

But the problem with this kind of intervention is twofold. One, it doesn't really work—at least not very well, and not very reliably. Two, even to the extent that it does work, it fails the test of living up to anything approaching a genuinely progressive or democratic vision of what we want peoples' lives to be. These two things are connected. Much of what I'm calling conformist intervention, even when it's done right—implemented thoroughly—is still "thin" intervention. At best, it aims for relatively minor changes to what are very often deeply disadvantaged, stressed, and troubled lives—lives that may have been stripped of meaning, purpose, and opportunity. It makes no attempt to alter any of the larger surrounding circumstances that shape those lives for the worse. So it's actually fairly miraculous that these kinds of interventions "work" as well as some of them sometimes do.

That kind of intervention can't address the most powerful forces affecting the lives of the people it is designed to help. It also can't *inspire* the people whose values and behavior we want to change, and therefore can't offer a compelling alternative to the lures of street crime, or of drugs. It can't reliably counter the devastating sense of powerlessness and meaninglessness that often overwhelms people with the kinds of problems and the kinds of circumstances that often get them in to the justice system in the first place. The rewards offered by simply accepting your place in the society around you, with its meager opportunities, its gutted social supports, and its corrosive everyday stresses, are also not enough to

compete with the pull of the predatory, profit-oriented individualism that animates the drugs/crime nexus in the U.S. and around the world today. That helps explain why even reasonably good, well-intentioned programs often don't make much difference in most peoples' lives or behavior. To counter those things you need something much more compelling. You need a transforming vision that can take offenders outside themselves, take them beyond their immediate troubles and beyond that regressive and predatory culture that often enmeshes them, that can provide a larger sense of meaning and purpose that can inspire and mobilize them.

Against that kind of "conformist" intervention, I want to counterpose what I call "transformative" intervention: intervention designed not to try to fit people into the existing society around them, but to involve them in the process of transforming themselves by working to *challenge* the conditions that now diminish and distort their lives. Transformative intervention involves helping people to move beyond the individualistic, often exploitative, often uncaring, cultural orientations that now suffuse their communities—and our society as a whole—and to begin to relate differently to themselves, to those around them, and to the larger community (and the planet). Through this process, they grow an alternative way of looking at the world and their place in it that, among other things, will be less violent, less predatory, and less exploitative.

What are the elements of the kind of alternative way of looking at the world I'm talking about? I think it might have three fundamental themes or fundamental principles; I call them consciousness, solidarity, and hope. By "consciousness" I mean the understanding that their troubles and frustrations, and the troubles and frustrations of those around them, have causes *outside themselves*—are rooted in the systemic injustices and deprivations that are inflicted on them by the society around them. Consciousness, in this sense, is about gaining the understanding that the things that make you angry, the things that make you desperate, have a lot to do with your particular location in a society where life chances and supports are profoundly shaped by race, class, gender, and age. Put another way, it's the capacity to recognize that it's no accident that the population of our prisons and our youth institutions comes overwhelmingly from certain places and not others. It's no accident that in the community you live in there are only crummy schools, and not much health care, and not many real jobs—but a lot of "law enforcement." It's the ability to absorb the lesson that the real 'enemy' is not your own inner flaws, or your girlfriend, or the other guys on the next block, but the social arrangements that put all of you at risk.

Note that this principle runs exactly counter to the one that so often dominates our current approach to intervention and rehabilitation. The models of intervention that you now mostly find in our systems of social

control—in juvenile institutions or drug treatment, for example—usually urge people to locate the source of their troubles in themselves: in the "bad choices" they've made, in their lack of personal responsibility. They are taught not to "externalize" their problems, as the mental health people say. But I'm saying "externalizing" is precisely what we should encourage. The beginning of transformation lies in doing what C. Wright Mills (1959) talked about when he spoke of the importance of linking "private troubles" with "public issues." Nurturing that ability to link their private angers and despairs with malfunctioning or negligent or exploitative institutions is absolutely central in helping people to move beyond their immediate problems and beyond individual solutions, to think about how those problems are embedded in larger social structures, and to begin to think about how those structures might be challenged.

The second principle is closely related to social consciousness: it's what I call "solidarity." By that I mean that you come to see those around you—the kid in the other gang, for example—not as a natural enemy who is somehow "other" and irrevocably on the wrong side, but as someone who is actually very much like you, and whose life is shaped and constrained by the same larger forces. That other kid is not an implacable enemy or competitor whose disrespect toward you has to be met with a violent response in order to preserve your own standing and security. That other kid is, at least potentially, your brother or sister—your potential comrade in arms in common action against the real sources of your problems.

Solidarity, in other words, is about the recognition that you're in the same boat with others around you—not just people in your own gang or your own block, but a much wider circle or circles of people all facing similar deprivations and injustices, even if they are a different color, or gender, or speak a different language, or live on the other side of town. As a corollary, it requires recognition that, if you really want to attack those injustices and deprivations at their source, you will need to work *with* those others, not against them in a kind of Hobbesian war of each against all. Again, to me this is crucially important because it goes directly against the predatory individualism—the "me first" attitude—that so powerfully suffuses American culture in general, and in fact suffuses contemporary capitalism around the world. This orientation is one that leads people to view each other as targets rather than comrades—as opportunities for material or sexual gain rather than as members of a common and respected community.

That sense that you're on your own in a pervasive struggle against others around you is fostered by the bleak conditions of life in many American communities and is absolutely fundamental to the way many people who wind up in the justice system think about the world. I remember very vividly how enormously saddened I was once when I was interviewing a sixteen year old girl who was a fairly

major drug dealer back at the height of the crack epidemic in California in the late 1980s. She told me how slowly but surely as she grew up she had come to realize that “you for your own and your own self only.” She had come to learn that nobody was going to help her—not family, not friends, certainly not any public agency-- and the beginning of wisdom, even of responsibility, was to understand that and to learn to become good at taking matters into your own hands.

One of the best descriptions I know of the way in which these attitudes have spread is in the work of Simon Winlow, Steve Hall, and Craig Ancrum (2008) in their book *Criminal Identities and Consumer Culture*. They look at communities in the North of England that used to be solidly working class places—places that may have been poor, but still had a deep-rooted ethos of collective solidarity born of the common experience of industrial work. When that was lost because of de-industrialization, the predatory individualism of consumer capitalism rushed in to fill the cultural vacuum. And that’s a culture that facilitates people thinking that it’s perfectly OK to rip off others in the community with impunity and without remorse.

Solidarity as a way of orienting yourself to the world involves a new kind of conception of responsibility. It’s not the same as the mantra of personal responsibility that dominates the way we think about social issues in America. It doesn’t say you are responsible, and you alone, for your troubles, or that you’re solely responsible for fixing them—which is what most therapeutic interventions in and out of the juvenile and adult justice systems now tell you. But it does say that you’re part of a larger community, or set of communities, and that you have responsibilities to those communities just as they do to you. Part of the responsibility of the larger community to you is to treat you as a full-fledged human being with rights to security, opportunity, and dignity. You then have a responsibility to insist on the same rights for everyone else, and to practice that principle in your own life.

Nowhere is this principle of solidarity more important than when it comes to gender. The hard fact is that the culture of predatory individualism that now suffuses many of the most violence-ridden communities, both in this country and around the world, is also typically a profoundly sexist culture that routinely denigrates and exploits women and at the extreme makes it virtually impossible for women to live their lives, in the home or on the street, without more or less constant fear. Here too, nonintervention is not a serious option. Challenging that culture is urgent and imperative, and would strike an enormous blow against violence around the world.

The *third* principle of what I’m calling “transformative” intervention is what, at the risk of sounding a little hokey, I call “hope.” Hope might at first blush seem like a fairly unusual criminological concept, but I think it’s actually central both in understanding the

roots of crime and understanding how it might be enduringly prevented—in progressive ways. Hope is important because in its absence people can feel as if what they do or don’t do doesn’t matter, that consequences are not very important. It can also breed a focus on short-term personal gain and comfort as opposed to making the harder effort to become a fully contributing member of a larger community. Hope, in the sense I want to use it, is the opposite of the sense of hopelessness and not giving a damn that I think are such central parts of the mind-set that breeds violence and self-destruction.

When I talk about the importance of hope, I don’t mean hope in the superficial sense of the power of positive thinking—the belief that if you just have a positive outlook on life than everything will be just fine. I use it in the sense that Vaclav Havel, the former Czech president and writer who passed away recently, once put it--which has really stuck with me ever since I first read it. Havel makes a distinction between hope and “optimism.” He says optimism is the belief that everything is going to be OK, that all will work out for the best. Hope, on the other hand, is “an orientation of the spirit” (1991, p. 181)--the conviction that you know what the right path is and that you can strive to make things happen that you believe need to happen: that you can work to realize your values and that this work will matter.

Hope in that sense is closely related to the social consciousness I talked about before. It’s rooted in the understanding that the conditions around you—conditions that you’ve come to understand have a lot to do with the way you’ve been hurting yourself, or hurting others—are not inevitable facts of nature but are human creations and are at least potentially changeable through your own actions in concert with others. Hope doesn’t presume that doing this will be easy, but that common action against the forces that are distorting your life and destroying your community is possible, that it’s a worthy thing to dedicate yourself to and that it can make a difference.

Again, this is very different from the Darwinian notion that you are responsible for taking on your own problems in isolation from others—that if you just make the right personal choices you can live a happy life—which is often a set-up for failure and subsequent despair. It’s a way of affirming that working to create a different kind of world for yourself and others can provide a transcendent sense of meaning and purpose—a sense that may have been very hard to find before. If you have that sense, it can be an enormously important source of motivation and resilience, and can get you through a lot. If you don’t have it, life can become very bleak and purposeless very fast.

Without that sense of meaning and purpose, you can fall into what I called, when I was studying middle-class adolescents who’d gotten in big trouble, a sense of “carelessness”—the bone deep feeling that you really don’t care what happens to you or to anybody else. Father Greg

Boyle, who founded Homeboy industries in Los Angeles to provide work and community to gang youth, similarly talks about the “lethal absence of hope” in the places they come from. The absence of hope is lethal because it puts you in a frame of mind in which anything is possible, no matter how destructive or self-destructive, because there is insufficient reason *not* to do it. Without hope in this sense, all courses of action become equally meaningful—or equally meaningless.

So those are three central themes in what I call transformative intervention. Again, you’ll notice that they run parallel to, but in complete opposition to, the principles of what I call conformist intervention. Where this vision of personal transformation centers on nurturing the social and political awareness of people who have typically been systematically deprived, neglected and exploited, the conventional, conformist approach aims to promote *unconsciousness* about those conditions, a kind of willful blindness toward the forces that shape your life. Where the transformative approach stresses working collectively with others to change those external conditions, the conformist model urges people to look inward and to regard looking outward as an excuse. Where the fostering of a sense of hope and collective aspiration, collective challenge to life as it now is, is central to what I’m calling transformative intervention, the conformist model encourages acquiescence and lowered aspirations, the acceptance of constricted lives and shattered opportunities. As one kid I interviewed in a drug program once said to me, parroting what the program had taught him, “The world don’t change for you; you change for the world.” The message of transformative intervention is: you can—and should—change the world, and in the process you’ll change yourself.

These three principles are themes, rather than strategies. They’re about the kind of worldview that I think we want intervention to encourage, to nurture. By themselves they leave unanswered what might be considered the tougher questions of how to translate those principles into practice—and who can or should do that? Since I’m going to run out of time, let me just close with a couple of thoughts.

These ideas aren’t completely new, of course, and somewhat similar ideas have been put into practice before—especially in the movement around education and social justice. My own thinking on this has been influenced by the great Brazilian education theorist and advocate, Paulo Freire (1970), and Freire’s ideas, or ones along similar lines, have been a big influence on people both in the U.S. and elsewhere who have tried to introduce a social justice orientation in the schools. Tim Goddard and Randy Myers (forthcoming) have recently written eloquently about some American examples of alternative schools committed to a vision of social justice. There’s a

lot that criminologists can learn from the schools and social justice movement and a lot of useful collaboration that may be possible.

There are also some specific ideas about youth involvement in the community that I think can fit very nicely with the principles I’m talking about. One is to get “at risk” youth involved in mapping the social deficits in the communities they live in—charting the lack of good schools, the absence of accessible health care, the overpresence of law enforcement, the lack of jobs or the loss of them, the overwhelming impact of the prison system. Kids who might otherwise be going off on each other or nodding out can be enlisted to gather information—by doing interviews, collecting institutional data, taking pictures, all of the above—that describes the patterns of neglect and exploitation that impinge on their lives.

We can also do what’s essentially a critical education curriculum for kids who are coming out of institutional custody—or at risk of going in: something that doesn’t at all resemble the frequently bogus “education” that kids in trouble now most often get, if they get anything at all.

There are a lot of possibilities. The point is that as criminologists we need to begin thinking harder about them than we’ve done before, and begin to develop the kinds of concrete interventions that align with our best values.

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About the author:

Elliott Currie is a Professor of Criminology, Law and Society at the University of California, Irvine. His research interests include criminal justice policy in the U.S. and other countries, causes of violent crime, social context of delinquency and youth violence, etiology of drug abuse and the assessment of drug policy, and race and criminal justice.

Contact information: Elliott Currie, Department of Criminology, Law and Society, University of California, Irvine, 2301 Social Ecology II, Irvine, CA 92697-7080; Phone: (949) 824-1387; Email: ecurrie@uci.edu



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The Marginalization of Critical Perspectives in Public Criminal Justice Core Curricula

Brian Jay Frederick
University of Kent at Canterbury

Abstract: *Although critical perspective courses in criminal justice programs have grown considerably since the 1960s, the failure of contemporary public criminal justice programs to require critical perspectives in their undergraduate core curricula threatens to leave students without a framework for discussion of these issues within the greater context of their degree programs. Students must thus look to the other social sciences to further their knowledge in these areas, thereby perpetuating the neglect of criminal justice departments to present these views. Within most academic criminal justice programs, preference is given to the administrative facets of the criminal justice system and the theories and methods of social scientific research; for this reason, even general discussions of critical topics are limited. Furthermore, because many elective courses also focus on various aspects of the administration of justice, critical perspectives are conspicuously absent overall. This paper reveals the extent to which core, cognate, and other required critical perspective courses are marginalized within public criminal justice programs, and how, on average, private institutions require more of these courses.*

Keywords: critical perspectives, criminal justice pedagogy, general education, liberal education

INTRODUCTION

Within the core curricula of most academic criminal justice programs, there is a preference for courses that examine the administrative facets of the criminal justice system, as well as the theories and methods associated with mainstream criminological research. Unfortunately, this predilection for "cops, courts, and corrections" (also known as the "Three C's") leaves little room for the addition of core courses devoted to other topics or theoretical perspectives, especially those which might be critical of the criminal justice system's handling of issues related to race, class, gender or culture. The present study thus sought to determine if core, cognate, and prerequisite criminal justice coursework at public institutions has evolved to include these *critical perspectives* at a lesser degree than at private institutions, which are largely autonomous from state control.

In his treatise on class conflict and law, Karl Marx asserted that, "the State will never look for the cause of social imperfections in the State and social institutions

themselves" (Bottomore 1956:124). Those who subscribe to a Marxist perspective, then, might expect public institutions of higher learning to be unlikely places to look for solutions to the State's shortcomings, especially where issues of inequality are concerned. Indeed, because compulsory education was originally meant to preserve the values of bourgeois society, it was believed that institutions that taught students to be critical thinkers would potentially contribute to the development of "problem populations" (Spitzer 1975:644). This viewpoint is bolstered by Mills, who described public education as a politically and economically tasked "mass medium" that fails to impart knowledge, "directly relevant to the human need of the troubled person...or to the social practices of the citizen" (1956:319). According to Mills, the task of public education is to create workers, not thinkers; instead of promoting individual struggle and transcendence, it encourages the "happy acceptance" of the status quo (1956:319).

Though a criminal justice education is certainly not compulsory, the core curriculum for the baccalaureate

degree consists of required courses designed to lay the foundation for further study in the discipline; in addition to these requirements, students must also complete courses in other disciplines. For public institutions, these courses make up what is commonly referred to as a *general education*—distinct from the major—whereby the student freely chooses a minimum number of courses within specified disciplines. On the contrary, private institutions tend to emphasize a *liberal education*—one that integrates the core requirements of the major with specific courses in other disciplines (Flanagan 2006). The differences in these approaches are striking and can have vast implications for the overall experience of the criminal justice student.

Richard Quinney (1980), in his Marxist phase,¹ described criminal justice as a euphemism for the State's control of class struggles. Given this observation, criminal justice programs within public institutions might also be unlikely places to confront the problems associated with structural inequality in society. Yet, critical criminologists, whose approaches are rooted in such perspectives as neo-Marxism, feminism, social constructionism, and post-modernism,² strive to do just that. The barriers they face, however, are real, as resistance from mainstream criminologists abounds (Lynch and Michalowski 2006).

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Few studies have quantified the marginalization of critical perspectives using criminal justice coursework as a benchmark. In fact, with the exception of a study that measured the total space devoted to state crime in introductory criminology textbooks (Rothe and Ross 2008), most of the research has examined the *overall* curricula of criminal justice programs. For instance, in their assessment of graduate criminal justice programs, Lytle and Travis (2008) found that less than five percent of required courses were devoted to the intersection of race and justice. Moreover, they reported less than one percent of classes dedicated to gender-related topics (e.g., *Women in Crime*); social class and culture courses were not represented in their sample. Another study found that 13 percent of master's programs and 22 percent of undergraduate programs required courses in race, ethnicity or gender (Fradella, Owen and Burke 2009).³

Despite the paucity of quantitative research, the literature is rife with calls for critical criminologists to incorporate critical perspectives into their courses and programs. Since 1970, when Herman and Julia Schwendinger first used the word "critical" to describe those who would challenge any unjust "system of domination" (Schwendinger and Schwendinger 1970), critical criminologists have recognized the, "quite staggering diversity of perspectives, theories, and models," (Lippens 2008:146; see also Michalowski 1996) within critical criminology, and have debated the importance of adding these alternative world views to criminal justice

discussions (see Ratner 1989; Presdee 2004; Martel, Hogeveen and Woolford 2006; Owen et al. 2006; Cannon and Dirks-Linhorst 2007; Williams and Robinson 2006; Fradella et al. 2009).

Still, no study has measured the extent to which critical perspectives are marginalized within *public* institutions of higher learning. In light of the foregoing, it was expected that autonomous undergraduate criminal justice programs (i.e., programs that are not embedded within other departments such as sociology) would require fewer core/compulsory courses devoted to critical perspectives than their private counterparts.

Defining Criminology and Criminal Justice

Quinney's definition notwithstanding, criminologists tend to view criminal justice as the systemic study of the policies and institutions designed to control crime—namely police, criminal courts, and correctional systems—as well as their actors and their administration (Clear 2001; Lytle and Travis 2008; Owen et al. 2006; Southerland et al. 2007; Wimshurst and Allard 2007). In contrast, criminology is typically viewed as behavioral or social science that explores the origins of criminal behavior and the social response to crime, as distinct from the workings of the criminal justice system (Owen et al. 2006; Ratner 1989). For this reason, academic criminology programs include studies of the biological, psychological, and sociological causes of crime, as well as the methods of controlling criminal behavior; they may also incorporate theoretical and practical insights from other social sciences and select humanities. Interestingly, use of the word "criminology" to describe academic programs was once considered "political anathema" (Morn 1995:129); however, some criminal justice programs have recently begun to combine a structural study of the institutions of social control with the theoretical and methodological enterprise of the behavioral and social sciences (Clear 2001; Owen et al. 2006; Southerland 2002).

What is Critical Criminology?

Critical criminology has been generally defined as, "any criminological topic area that takes into account the contextual factors of crime or simply goes beyond the scope of topics covered in mainstream criminology" (Hopkins-Burke 2001:173). Lippens defines it as, "attempt[ing] to analyse or assess theories, as well as practices, of criminal justice and related social policy, with an eye on alternatives, or on 'negative' ... reform" (2008:145). Indeed, critical, or *radical* criminology was born out of a movement of early deviance theorists who suggested that social control was actually a mitigating factor that led to deviant behavior (Ratner 1989).

Ultimately, critical criminologists are troubled by mainstream criminology's reliance on *normal-science* to

explain criminal behavior; because crime is often highly politicized, critical scholars question the “value-free” assumption required by the scientific model (Lynch and Michalowski 2006). Moreover, they are not convinced that crime can be explained by examining only, “defective individuals or disorganized communities” (Lynch and Michalowski 2006:3). For critical criminologists, many of the theories typically associated with mainstream criminology are simply not comprehensive enough to provide answers to the macro-level factors that also contribute to crime and delinquency. Critical scholars have thus created and adopted new theoretical frameworks that attempt to get at crime’s social etiology: gender-relations (“feminists”), race relations (“critical-race theorists”), social class (“political-economists”), and cultural processes (“post-modernists”), to name a few. Despite these seemingly separate fields of inquiry, collectively, critical criminologists believe crime to be a *relational* (not fixed) sociological and organizational phenomenon. As such, when examining crime, critical scholars—to varying degrees—explore the underlying *interplay* of race, gender, class, and culture.

Critical criminologists have also contributed to the development of numerous distinct fields of study. For instance, *cultural criminology* explores the cultural machinations of crime and social control—it holds that crime is a socially constructed phenomenon largely shaped by cultural meanings, and it characterizes social control as less of a necessary response to crime than it is a potential causal factor (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008). *Peacemaking criminology* utilizes philosophical inquiry and emphasizes the humanistic principles of, “mutual aid...existentialism, Buddhism, pacificism, and socialism” (Barak 2005:132); it is sometimes confused with restorative justice in that both address the suffering of individuals.⁴ *Newsmaking criminology* studies the influence of the media in shaping society’s interpretations of crime and justice; it confronts the spectacle of “serious crime” as portrayed by the media, and it encourages criminologists to utilize the media as a tool for becoming more involved in the dissemination of ideas, as well as in the formation of policy (Barak 2007). *State crime* criminologists consider the role of both the State and its bureaucrats as actors capable of inflicting and perpetuating human suffering through such acts as war, state-sanctioned violence, and human rights violations; in doing so, they typically move beyond the usual legalistic definitions of crime (Kauzlarich 2007). *Feminist* criminologists are primarily focused on the inclusion of women in criminological inquiries; however, they also espouse the criminogenic consequences of male-dominated society, and they are concerned with the subjugation of women by the criminal justice system, as well as its failure to adequately address female victimization (Wright and Friedrichs 1998). *Postmodern criminology*, still somewhat amorphous as a field of study, rejects the existence of

objective truth and attempts to deconstruct the distinctions attributed to knowledge that is touted as “scientific” (and thus, privileged and exclusionary). Postmodern criminologists largely believe that a social harm arises when a dominant group portrays its subjective knowledge as objective truth, thus marginalizing the subjective knowledge of other, less powerful groups (Henry and Milovanovic 1996). Last, *critical race* theorists believe that racism is not an aberration of American society, but rather, it is a function of the American way of life. Accordingly, critical race theory holds that society and the law should be less concerned with punishing those who have enacted discrimination, and should instead focus on helping those who have been victimized because of their race (Asch 2004).

Indeed, since its radical infancy, the theoretical hegemony that united early critical criminologists has loosened to include new and exciting insights. Today, multidisciplinary perspectives related to both criminology and criminal justice are embedded in the curricula of many leading programs at both the undergraduate and graduate levels (Lytle and Travis 2008; Owen et al. 2006). Notably, this movement expanded opportunities for the further integration of critical perspectives into justice education (Barton et al. 2010). According to Martel, Hogeveen and Woolford (2006), contemporary critical criminologists now study, “crime- or law-related issues [from] within economic, socio-political, and cultural frameworks, and by means of sociological, philosophical, anthropological, and legal perspectives and methodologies” (2006:641).

Despite the numerous theoretical perspectives that influence critical criminology, mainstream criminologists have often rejected critical approaches as being idealistically utopian; some have even accused critical scholars of encouraging resistance to societal institutions (e.g., Ferrell et al. 2008). In actuality, negative characterizations such as these may be more attributable to unfamiliarity with the critical academy than with an unwavering attachment to mainstream paradigms. For example, Wright and Friedrichs (1998) found that, of the many names associated with critical criminology, Richard Quinney was the only scholar whose name appeared on the lists of mainstream citation studies with any regularity.

For the undergraduate criminal justice program, these mainstream misgivings often translate into degree programs heavily weighted in administrative criminology. In fact, Robinson (2001) criticized criminologists and criminal justices as having become, “little more than producers of criminal justice employees,” and that, “as our nation has shifted its crime reduction approach to ‘get tough’ mechanisms ... the result [has been] more jobs for criminal justice majors and thus more criminal justice students for the discipline” (2001:99); according to Robinson, “We are, in essence, a facilitator of a larger, more intrusive and destructive criminal justice system” (2001:99).

Research has shown that critical perspectives are marginalized in introductory criminology textbooks (Olivero and Murataya 2001; Rothe and Ross 2008); in introductory criminal justice course discussions (Owen et al. 2006); and in the overall pedagogical approaches employed by those who teach criminal justice (Williams and Robinson 2006; Barton et al. 2010). As well, critical scholars may experience difficulties acquiring and maintaining academic posts in traditionally administrative criminal justice departments (Schrecker 1998). Last, because there are fewer critical criminology journals than mainstream journals, there are fewer opportunities for critical scholars to publish their research; in fact, some critical scholars have even reported experiencing difficulty obtaining government funds to begin research (Brickey 1989; Ratner 1989; Martel et al. 2006). For the critical scholar who must satisfy tenure requirements, then, he or she must decide to either publish (in the mainstream), or perish (for the sake of critical criminology).

ACJS Recommendations for Certification of Criminal Justice Baccalaureate Programs

In 1988, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) promulgated its first standards for undergraduate curricula in criminal justice. Southerland, et al. (2007), explained that ACJS, having revised its standards in 2005 in order to make criminal justice education more rigorous, implemented a certification protocol that led to formal accreditation for criminal justice baccalaureate and master’s programs. Although the ACJS accreditation standards focus heavily on traditional criminal justice areas, several of these standards sought to integrate criminology, including several subareas that fell within the critical paradigm. Table 1 includes the most current ACJS standards (ACJS 2010) with recommendations for each.

The revised standards emphasize the use of interdisciplinary approaches (e.g., Section B.1), an examination and understanding of diversity (e.g., Section B.6, Section B.9), and the need for students to think critically (Section B.9). This represents a significant departure from the previous approach to criminal justice education in the United States, which functioned more as an apparatus to prepare students for careers in law enforcement (Hensarling and del Carmen 2002). Though not a call for the inclusion of critical perspectives *specifically*, the revisions seem to blur the lines between criminology and criminal justice. At the very least, the new emphasis on diversity and interrelatedness can be interpreted as recognition of the need to expand the mainstream repertoire.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study sought to determine if core, cognate, and prerequisite criminal justice coursework at

public institutions has evolved in accordance with ACJS Certification and Accreditation Standards to include critical perspectives *at a lesser degree* than at private institutions, which are largely autonomous from state control. To accomplish this, courses that are required to complete a baccalaureate degree in criminal justice were evaluated for evidence of coverage of critical topics such as race, gender, culture, class/social problems,⁵ state crime, peacekeeping/restorative justice, and other theoretical perspectives from the related social, behavioral, and political sciences.

Table 1. ACJS Standards

Section	Description
Section B.1: Interdisciplinary Studies	Criminal Justice students should “develop a mastery of the knowledge, methods of inquiry, and intellectual skills pertinent to the study of the causes, consequences, and responses to crime and its interrelatedness to other areas of inquiry.”
Section B.6: Examination of Diversity	Undergraduate programs should provide a “systematic examination of diversity”
Section B.5: Recommended Core Coursework	Administration of Justice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Contemporary CJ Systems</i> • <i>Social Control Systems</i> • <i>Victimology</i> • <i>Juveniles</i> • <i>Comparative Studies</i> Corrections Theory Law Adjudication Law Enforcement Research and Analytic Methods
Section B.9: Educational Goals	“Educate students to be critical thinkers” “Quantitative reasoning” “Ethical decision-making” “Understanding of diversity”

Methodology

Sample. A total of 608 institutions offering baccalaureate degrees in criminal justice were identified through a search using the *criminaljusticeprograms.com* website. As with other studies that measured variables within criminal justice programs (Wimshurst and Allard 2007; Lytle and Travis 2008), programs such as *criminology*, *justice studies*, and *peace studies*, as well as programs that were offered as concentrations within cognate disciplines (e.g., sociology, behavioral sciences, social ecology, etc.) were excluded from the final sampling frame. While it is understood that not all academic

programs emphasize the same theoretical underpinnings, intuitively, it made sense to compare only criminal justice programs—much the same as choosing to compare only “sociology” or “psychology” programs. Southerland (2002) recognized that while some programs had chosen names other than criminal justice, those programs that identified as such should logically be expected to share similarities in their curricula; however, others have shown that the typical curriculum for criminal justice programs is still largely ambiguous (Wimshurst and Allard 2007; Lytle and Travis 2008).

When conceptualizing institution type, it was decided that only state-funded/state operated institutions would be included in the public sample. Conversely, only institutions that identified as private or independently operated (including nonsectarian and faith-based liberal arts colleges and universities) were included in the private sample. The final sampling frame was comprised of 404 criminal justice programs at both private institutions ($n=209$) and public institutions ($n=195$), from which simple random samples of public ($n=33$) and private ($n=34$) were then drawn.

Measures. Using the departmental websites and the 2010-2011 academic catalogs for each of the schools in both samples, the content of each program was measured to determine which courses were required for the baccalaureate degree in criminal justice. Most of the schools’ criminal justice departments posted graduation guidelines on the department’s website listing the prerequisites (if any) for admission to the program, as well as the specific courses needed to satisfy the core curriculum for the degree. Additionally, some departments also listed courses that could be chosen by students to satisfy a cognate, correlated, or elective category. For courses in these categories, only those specifically designated as *required* were selected for content analysis. Courses taught by other departments were measured, as well; for instance, many programs required students to complete courses such as “Introduction to Sociology” or “Multicultural Diversity” before being admitted to the department. Other programs gave students a choice of courses within other disciplines—usually one of the social or behavioral sciences. Again, only courses designated as required were analyzed.

Having selected the courses, course titles were then measured for words associated with critical topics (e.g., “race,” “gender,” “class,” “culture,” “media,” etc.), and a classification corresponding to the type of perspective represented was assigned (see Table 2). Two additional categories were created for introductory sociology courses and criminological theory courses, the assumption being that such courses would at the very least expose students to the theoretical underpinnings of critical criminology (Owen et al. 2006; Rothe and Ross 2008).

Content analysis. Recognizing that course titles do not always represent course content, an analysis of each course description was performed to confirm that a critical perspective was, in fact, presented. For instance, at one institution, a course titled “White Collar Crime” was found to also include a study of state crime, and was thus included; in other instances, courses with names such as

Table 2. Examples of Critical Perspectives Courses in Criminal Justice Programs

Course Type	Course Title
Race	Blacks in the American Justice System Minorities and Criminal Justice Policies in Crime in Heterogeneous Societies Race and Crime
Gender	Gender and Issues in Law and Society Gender, Crime, and Justice Women and Criminal Justice Women in Crime
Class	Constructing Social Problems Social Inequality Social Stratification Wealth and Power
Combined Perspectives (“Other”)	Crime and Inequality Race, Class, and Gender in a Correctional Context Special Populations in Criminal Justice Woman and Minorities in Criminal Justice
Newsmaking Criminology	Crime and the Mass Media Fair Trial/Free Press Conflicts Justice and the Media Media, Justice, and Crime
State Crime	Corporate and Governmental Crime Environmental Crimes Political Violence Politics of Crime
Peacekeeping Criminology	Alternative Social Control Systems Behind Bars: Incarceration and Creative Alternatives Restorative Justice History of Social Control in the United States

“Alternatives to Incarceration” were not found to include a study of restorative justice or peacekeeping criminology, and thus were not included. To ensure reliability, a second researcher coded a random sample of about ten percent of the course descriptions selected for inclusion in the study.

Analysis using the Kappa statistic was performed to determine consistency between the two.

Findings. Using SPSS 18, the total number of critical perspectives courses was measured in each sample and a standard *t-test* was employed to compare means. For private institutions, an average of 2.94 courses were listed as core, cognate, or prerequisite requirements; conversely, programs at public institutions averaged 2.00 courses. This difference was found to be statistically significant ($t_{65} = 2.503$, $p < .05$). Additionally, for *class* courses, on average, more private institutions required these courses ($n = .22$) than public institutions ($n = .04$); again, this difference was found to be statistically significant ($t_{65} = 2.364$, $p < .05$). When comparing only *race* courses, or only *gender* courses, private institutions required more of these courses than public institutions; however, these differences did not reach statistical significance. Last, the interrater reliability for the coders was found to be $\kappa = 0.68$ ($p < 0.001$), 95% confidence interval (0.525, 0.845); the strength of agreement is thus considered substantial.

Table 3. Percentage of Institutions Requiring Critical Perspectives Courses, by Type

Course Type	Public <i>N</i> = 33		Private <i>N</i> = 34	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Race	7	21.2	9	26.5
Gender	4	12.1	8	23.5
Class	2	6.7	8	23.5
Culture	2	0.3	5	14.7
Other critical perspectives	9	27.3	12	32.4
Newsmaking Criminology	0	-	2	0.6
State crime	1	0.3	0	-
Peacekeeping Criminology	2	6.0	3	11.8
Introductory sociology	14	42.4	20	58.8
Criminological theory	29	87.9	33	97.0

Despite these findings, it is clear that critical perspectives courses, *overall*, are severely under-represented in the required curricula for all institutions in the study, regardless of their designation as public or private (Table 3 reveals the actual percentage of public and private institutions requiring critical perspective courses in each category). In the public sample, the least represented course types were those covering culture (0.3%), state crime (0.3%), peacekeeping criminology (6.0%), and class (6.7%). Newsmaking criminology was not a required course at any of the public institutions. For the private

sample, only newsmaking criminology (0.6%) and state crime (not represented) fared poorer than their public counterparts. For all remaining categories, on average, more private than public institutions required critical perspective courses for the baccalaureate degree.

CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to test two hypotheses: 1) that critical perspectives are marginalized in the core curricula of public criminal justice programs, and, 2) that private criminal justice programs require more critical perspective courses than their counterparts at public institutions. As expected, the findings support both hypotheses. The data also confirm that, for the majority of programs in both samples, the core curricula were characterized by mostly administrative criminology courses (i.e., ‘cops’, ‘courts’, ‘corrections’); this is consistent with the findings of past research (e.g., Clear 2001; Lytle and Travis 2008; Owen et al. 2006; Southerland et al. 2007; Wimshurst and Allard 2007).

Many of the programs in both samples require that students complete several research-oriented courses such as criminological theory, research methods, and/or statistics; most of these courses, when offered, were taught by the criminal justice department itself. Moreover, in her study on criminal justice curricula, Southerland (1991) reported that in 1988-89, over thirty-three percent of a sample of criminal justice programs required a course in sociology, psychology and political science. That number dropped to “less than 12%” (Southerland 2002:595) in 1999-2000. Interestingly, while the present study measured *only* introductory sociology courses, programs in both the public (42%) and private (59%) samples were found to require completion of this course at much higher rates than even Southerland’s 1989-90 study; indeed, for some programs it is a pre-requisite for admission to the major.

Still, the majority of programs failed to require the study of more than one critical theory, perspective or methodology in their core curricula. For programs at public institutions, this neglect was even more pronounced. Why?

Public vs. Private

Despite the neo-Marxist critique of state-funded education, which suggests that there is perhaps more academic freedom at private institutions than at public ones, one study did not reveal any meaningful differences in academic autonomy, or in the level or type of control perceived by faculty at either public or private institutions of higher learning (Volkwein and Parmley 2000). Yet, public and private institutions of higher learning *do* differ in that the former are typically operated by the state, while the latter are largely autonomous from direct state control. Factors such as cost to attend, available programs of study,

and diversity of students and faculty may also differ for public and private institutions; however, the extent to which these differences affect a criminal justice department's decision to require critical perspective coursework is perhaps minimal, at best.

Funding, however, may play a role. Public institutions must fill classrooms to receive state and federal funds, and "sexy" classes such as "Terrorism and Homeland Security," "Forensic Science," and "Serial Killers & Psychopaths" may, in fact, be more popular than courses related to race, gender, class, and culture. In a study of student input regarding criminal justice baccalaureate curricula, Kelley (2004) found that almost sixty-six percent of students at Wayne State University preferred the addition of more courses related to criminal investigation. While over fifty percent of students did favor the inclusion of race and gender courses, this number still represents a lower level of student interest than for courses related to administrative criminology.

General Education vs. Liberal Education

Unlike most public institutions, which tend to emphasize a general education, many private institutions utilize a liberal arts-based approach—in fact, of the private institutions sampled, fifty-six percent identified as liberal arts colleges. Both approaches require students to satisfy a minimum number of courses in disciplines outside their major; however, the liberal education approach is usually more integrated with interdisciplinary coursework typically pre-determined by the institution. This translates into student experiences that, "consciously incorporate perspectives from [other] disciplines into the study of crime and justice," and, "intentionally and productively integrate[s]" criminal justice with those disciplines (Flanagan 2000:9). This increases the likelihood that criminal justice students will be exposed to critical perspectives that are both meaningful to their major course of study, and that will enable them to enter their respective professions with an understanding of the greater factors contributing to crime and delinquency.

Unfortunately, attempts to make criminal justice programs more interdisciplinary at general education-based institutions have been met with resistance from older, more established academic departments. Owen et al. (2006) discuss one such endeavor wherein a college curriculum committee vetoed the inclusion of an introductory criminal justice course into the general education curriculum. The criminal justice department had sought to make the course more theoretical and less survey-based; however, the committee believed the new course was "too academic for criminal justice" (Owen et al. 2006:3-4).

Assuming other public programs have experienced similar resistance, criminal justice departments at public institutions must then take it upon themselves to present

critical perspectives within their own curriculum. Indeed, if academic criminal justice is to emerge from its pre-professional roots, those who teach criminal justice must encourage students to "question the American way of doing justice and reducing crime by...considering possible alternatives" (Williams and Robinson 2004:379). Williams and Robinson go on to say:

Without basic theoretical principles and associated criteria, criminal justice students will be at a loss to develop a general understanding of why our systems of criminal justice behave as they do, and the current pedagogical paradigm will continue to be viewed as an ill-defined, poorly articulated, intellectual outcast among the academic community. (2004:380).

Secular vs. Nonsecular

Another potential factor affecting the presentation of critical perspectives is whether a program is affiliated with a nonsecular institution. Sixty-two percent of the private sample was comprised of criminal justice programs associated with such institutions—all of which were affiliated with a Christian denomination. While a review of the literature did not reveal any studies on the differences between these and secular criminal justice programs, one article did discuss the differing concepts of justice held by Catholic universities, in particular. According to Kolvenbach, "the meaning of justice within the Jesuit (and Catholic) tradition is hardly synonymous with the meaning of justice within the field of criminal justice," and that, this is attributed to the core Catholic value of "promoting dignity, freedom and charity in relation to justice" (1985:320). Indeed, many Catholic colleges and universities have encouraged students to be change agents, as well as to consider such issues as poverty, oppression, and human rights as they relate to justice (Wolfer and Friedrichs 2001). Perhaps this difference in core values affects a nonsecular institution's decision to require more courses related to marginalized groups such as women, African-Americans, and the poor. It may also affect a department's faculty hiring preferences in that only those whose theoretical preferences mirror those of the department may be sought.

Limitations

Because only one source was utilized to identify undergraduate criminal justice programs, the sampling frame may not be a complete list of all criminal justice programs in the United States. Certainly, there are other sources, such as professional organizations, that provide lists of academic criminal justice and criminology programs (e.g., Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, American Society of Criminology); however, the website used in the present study identified as many programs, if

not more, than the programs listed on the websites for these organizations.

Another limitation may lie in the assumption that, because critical perspectives courses are not required, they are not encouraged either. This is simply not true. First, undergraduate faculty advisors may provide individual guidance as to the general education courses a student should consider in order to make their education more critically oriented. Second, faculty may incorporate critical perspectives into classroom discussions, or, they may utilize textbooks that offer a broader exposure to the theoretical underpinnings of critical criminology; they may even assign additional readings that present unconventional viewpoints. Third, departments that do not present critical perspectives in the normal curriculum may utilize pedagogical methods such as capstone experiences, directed readings courses, and special topics courses that allow for students to explore such areas as race, gender, class, and culture as they pertain to crime and the criminal justice system.

SUMMARY

Obviously, the importance of critical discourse is apparent to critical criminologists; however, without cultivating new scholars to the field, the degree to which both critical and mainstream criminologists can collectively address the societal sources of crime will be severely limited. Although critical perspectives have grown considerably since the 1960s, the failure of contemporary criminal justice programs to require critically-oriented courses as a component of their undergraduate core curricula threatens to leave students without a framework for discussion of these issues within the greater context of their degree programs. Students must thus look to the other social sciences to further their knowledge of critical perspectives, thereby perpetuating the neglect of criminal justice departments to present these views in meaningful ways. By continuing to require criminology courses that are predominantly administrative in nature (i.e., cops, courts and corrections), criminal justice departments inadvertently send a message to students that nothing else is important. The continued failure to present alternative theoretical frameworks thus has the potential for reinforcing ineffective or outdated status quo policies and procedures within the administration of justice. To counter this, students should be encouraged to draw upon multiple frameworks when addressing crime- or law-related issues; in doing so, they will be more effective change agents for their organizations and for the criminal justice system as a whole.

Notes

- ¹ Quinney varied his position throughout his career from social constructionist, to conflict theorist, to Marxist and then to humanist.
- ² Marxist criminologists have criticized other critical criminologists for fragmenting the field of critical criminology that was once dominated by radical criminologists. See Russell's (1997) critique of postmodern criminology, for example.
- ³ Because the researchers grouped these three topics as one measure, individual figures for each category were not available.
- ⁴ Unlike restorative justice (which utilizes techniques such as victim-offender mediation), peacemaking criminology addresses the suffering of victims after a crime has been committed; it holds that, because personal suffering, in of itself, leads to crime, the conditions that inflict suffering must be dealt with proactively (Quinney, 1991).
- ⁵ Sexual orientation was not included because so few courses mention sexuality in the curricula of both public and private universities (Fradella, Owen, & Burke, 2009).

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Appendix A. Private Institutions

1. Albertus Magnus College (*R, LA*)
2. Ashland University
3. Baldwin-Wallace College (*LA*)
4. Carroll University (*LA*)
5. Cedarville University (*R, LA*)
6. Centenary College
7. Central Methodist University (*R, LA*)
8. Concordia University (*R, LA*)
9. Doane College (*LA*)
10. Drexel University
11. Farleigh-Dickinson University, Metropolitan Campus
12. Faulkner University (*R*)
13. Grand View University (*R, LA*)
14. Greenville College (*R, LA*)
15. Hannibal-LaGrange University (*R, LA*)
16. Johnson & Wales University
17. Lincoln Memorial University (*LA*)
18. Madonna University (*R*)
19. Miles College (*R, LA*)
20. Mount St. Mary's University (*R, LA*)
21. Muskingum University (*LA*)
22. Oakland City University (*R*)
23. Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College (*R, LA*)
24. Siena Heights University (*R*)
25. Simpson College (*LA*)
26. St. Louis University (*R*)
27. St. Thomas University (*R*)
28. Temple University
29. The University of Great Falls (*R*)
30. Trinity Washington University (*R, LA*)
31. University of Indianapolis (*R*)
32. University of Sioux Falls (*R, LA*)
33. Widener University
34. Wiley College (*R, LA*)

R = Religious Affiliation

LA = Liberal Arts College

Appendix B. Public Institutions

1. Bemidji State University
2. Bridgewater State University
3. California State University, East Bay
4. California State University, Long Beach
5. California State University, San Bernardino
6. Cameron University
7. Coppin State University
8. Fairmont State University
9. Ferris State University
10. Florida Atlantic University
11. Fort Valley State University
12. Indiana University Bloomington
13. John Jay College of Criminal Justice
14. Kean University
15. Mesa State College
16. Mississippi Valley State University
17. Missouri Western State University
18. Ohio University, Chillicothe Campus
19. Pennsylvania State University, Altoona
20. Prairie View A&M University
21. San Diego State University
22. Southeastern Oklahoma State University
23. Southern Utah University
24. SUNY Albany
25. SUNY Brockport
26. SUNY Plattsburgh
27. University of Alabama
28. University of Mississippi
29. University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg
30. University of Texas at El Paso
31. University of West Florida
32. University of Wisconsin, Platteville
33. Utah Valley University

About the Author

Brian J. Frederick received his B.A. in Criminal Justice at CSU Fullerton and his M.Sc. in Criminal Justice at CSU Long Beach. Mr. Frederick was named a *CSULB RIMI Health Scholar* and was awarded his department's *Promising Scholar* and *Outstanding Thesis* awards. He has presented research at numerous conferences and worked as a graduate research fellow at CSULB's *Center for Behavioral & Services*. In addition to cultural and critical criminological pedagogy, Mr. Frederick is exploring the connection between popular online social networking and the emergence of deviant global subcultures. He was recently awarded an *Erasmus Mundus Doctoral Fellowship* by the European Commission's *Education, Audiovisual & Cultural Executive Agency*, and has since begun the *Joint Doctorate of Cultural & Global Criminology* program at both the University of Kent at Canterbury and the University of Hamburg.

Contact Information: Brian J. Frederick, M.Sc., School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Research, Tizard Postgraduate Office, University of Kent, Cornwallis North East, Canterbury, Kent CT2 7NF (UK); Phone: +44 (0)7449 798 093; 673-2673; Email: bjf9@kent.ac.uk.



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Observations on Student-Faculty Collaborative Research and the Ethics of Joint Publishing

Gilbert Geis

University of California, Irvine

Before his recent passing, Gil Geis submitted this article on faculty-student collaboration with publishing. You'll find the work here as an invitation for commentary by others on collaborative authorship. The next edition of WCR will include responses to Gil Geis' call as well as commemoration of his life and work.

Keywords: authorship, ethics, publishing, student-faculty collaboration

When I first began writing for publication in criminology and criminal justice outlets, shortly following the Second World War, it was customary for a scholar to write an article alone. The manuscript would be rejected or accepted (sometimes with a few suggested changes that often were made by the editor with the author's approval) and then published. Universities were likely to pay for reprints because they believed that circulating the publication would contribute to their own prestige. Today, of course, it is somewhat unusual to see an article in a criminological journal with a single author. My oddest experience with this phenomenon was a piece we published with five authors and eight subjects (Geis, et al. 1985).

I got into the business of co-authoring with students while at the University of Oklahoma when, in the last of my five years there, I taught a research seminar with seven seniors. We focused on publishing, stressing that surveys are (or were) the easiest approach to producing a publishable article. Four of the seven students turned in papers that were published and, having acted as midwife, I co-authored all of them. One was with Herb Costner, who later became graduate dean at the University of Washington (Costner and Geis 1968). Another was with Joseph Cook, who, as a medical doctor, would become executive director of the International Trachoma Institute that fought that disease in Africa and the Mideast (Cook and Geis 1957). The third was with Robert E. L. Talley, subsequently a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army (Geis

and Talley 1957). The fourth article, the most prestigious, was with Marilyn Kunkel who, following the path of many women of the times, married during her senior year, raised a family, and disappeared from my radar screen (Kunkel and Geis 1958). Forty-two years later that article would be the impetus for a comprehensive legal analysis of the issue we had raised: whether the defense or the prosecution has the advantage of speaking last in criminal trial (Mitchell 2000). Another senior, Donald Parker, not in the class, became a "with the help of" co-author of a book that we wrote with an anthropologist about the migration to Africa from Boley, an all-black Oklahoma town (Bittle, Geis and Parker 1964). Parker rose to the rank of captain in the Navy, retired, and became dean of business schools, first at the University of Wyoming, and then at Oregon State.

In the remainder of this article I primarily want to address matters regarding the logistics and ethics of faculty-student collaborative research and, secondarily, to comment on some aspects of what I regard as problems with the processes involved in the publication of criminological articles. I claim the right to pontificate on the subject of co-authorship because I've written articles, book chapters, or books with 124 persons, about a third of them students. And with some of the 124, there have been multiple co-authored publications.

A major snake pit in regard to collaborative work is a situation in which a student proclaims that a faculty member has stolen something that he or she produced, be it a term paper, a research proposal, a comment in an

informal setting, a classroom observation or some other source. The allegation is that the faculty member had or was going to publish something based on the student's input as his or her own and original work. Few veteran scholars have escaped being informed by a student about a colleague at their college or university or elsewhere who is alleged to have been guilty of such behavior.

Obviously, scrupulous avoidance of conditions under which such an allegation might fester is in order, although such conditions may be difficult to recognize and to adjudicate. If it is likely that the accusation may have some truth, person-to-person negotiations should be started post haste, preferably with a third person acceptable to both parties. The burden of proof has to shift to the faculty member if credible evidence is forthcoming that there had been, or was likely to be, a meaningful infringement on the student's informational territory. The simplest resolution, if the infringement is not substantial, could involve (unless there is blatant plagiarism) a gracious footnote acknowledgement. If the student provided key ideas or information, I prefer co-authorship. To do so will hardly hurt the faculty member significantly, and it hopefully could generate goodwill that will have a payoff, perhaps (although not likely) in a later, amiable collaboration. At least, it should lay the matter to rest.

There exist other problems in faculty-student co-authored publications. Even if the faculty member places his or her name second, hiring committees are quite likely to presume that the work was basically the product of the faculty person. This prejudice can be overcome in a letter of reference, although sophisticated reviewers are not likely to take such letters as the literal truth. Indeed, I had a colleague who always indicated in such letters that who he was writing about was the very best student he ever had mentored. As far as I know, he never had two students apply for the same job. A more direct resolution is to list the student as the first author, although this will not totally avoid the suspicion that the student could not have produced the publication without the input of the faculty member.

Very recently, I was told by a graduate student of a rather unusual situation. A faculty member insisted on submitting a jointly composed article with the student as the sole author. She had tried to cajole the faculty member, who had contributed notably to the thrust of the article and its statistical material, to share in the authorship. She thought he was a comer in the field and she wanted that public affiliation with him. She had a doubt, albeit a very slight one, that he didn't think the article, which had been submitted to the top journal in the field, was worthy of him.

She probably didn't adequately appreciate that the faculty member was offering her a valuable gift. Hiring committees tend to have considerable respect for single-authored student publications. But they also know that collaboration with a well-published senior colleague, who

knows the game, often offers the best prospect for an uncluttered path to tenure.

The most ingenious route-to-tenure scheme (probably apocryphal) is said to have involved two quite competent economics graduate students who agreed to put each other's name on everything that they wrote. They easily got tenure, the story goes, and then went their individual ways.

My strong tendency these days is to list my name last on anything involving collaborators; in part, because I'm retired and it makes no difference—and in part, I'm sure, because it is a kind of reverse snobbery. One of the great advantages for me of placing my name at the tail end of the collaborating authors' names is that the first author has to bear the burden of the submission and the nagging sequelae that follows before an article finally appears in print.

Collaborative cross-disciplinary work is one of the more challenging options for students. After all, both criminology and criminal justice inherently involve issues and interpretations that fall within the purview of a variety of distinctive academic domains. During a year when I was a visiting professor in the School of Criminal Justice at SUNY Albany, the faculty included a social psychologist (with a specialty in penology), three sociologists, two lawyers, a social worker, and a retired police officer, plus the polymath Leslie Wilkins, a man who never earned a Ph.D., but had served as dean of the late-lamented School of Criminology at the University of California, Berkeley. For me it was an invigorating intellectual climate, although the actual climate of upstate New York drove me back to southern California, to an area with a deserved reputation of having sunny weather for shady people.

Andrew Abbott, a top-notch scholar at the University of Chicago, has maintained that the traditional boundaries of college and university departments lead to an outpouring of insular, uni-dimensional, and parochial research (Abbott 2001). For a student contemplating collaboration with someone in a distinctively different field, the reward can be a reputation as a team that does pioneering collaborative work and is unique in its approach and subject matter. It also is likely that the effort, in due time, will take unchallenged command of the cross-disciplinary subject that has been selected, presuming it is a "hot" subject, such as environmental crime. Another advantage is that some journals tend to be hospitable to research products that go beyond the boundaries of their own limited concerns. Medical journals, for instance, are particularly receptive to social science contributions and, blessedly, the articles they publish tend to be quite short and to the point. In one notable instance, Stephen Rosoff, at the time, a graduate student in our department did a survey of students' ratings of different medical specialties as part of his dissertation on medical fraud. Dermatology came out the poorest,

perhaps because of the experience of the students with acne conditions. We nudged him to turn his finding into a journal article. He did, and to our surprise, a dermatology journal accepted it (Rosoff and Leone 1989).

Law journals are another matter. They tend to be highly erudite (though not always), but have the advantage that there are more than one hundred of them and they permit multiple submissions; that is, you may send your manuscript to as many law journals as you think may accept it. Dealing with the senior class law students who edit these journals can be a taxing job or, if you are lucky, an excellent learning experience about meticulous attention to all elements of your contribution. The footnoting demands for law journals and reviews, most outsiders and many insiders agree, are daunting and tend grimly toward the pedantic. But all persons working in the field of criminology and criminal justice ought to understand the elements of legal research. At Wisconsin, where I did my Ph.D., Marshall Clinard required all his graduate students to spend a year taking classes in the law school. However, it might have been more appropriate to enroll the students in composition classes.

The disadvantage of cross-disciplinary collaboration is that it can prove to be a rather lonely enterprise. Also the need to command to some extent a field beyond your own can be overwhelming. In addition, it is always arguable how senior criminology and criminal justice professors will view a vita that includes publications in areas unfamiliar to them. When my department was interdisciplinary, there was a question of hiring Albert Cohen, an eminent criminal justice scholar (Cohen 1955). "Is he a psychiatrist?" asked one faculty member, himself a psychologist. Not long after, we broke up into traditional groupings, with criminology extending its boundaries to incorporate what was called "law and society," a field of study particularly attractive to pre-law students.

For me, the major problem with collaborative work inheres in my sense of responsibility and guilt if what is submitted, especially with a student collaborator, is not accepted. I take rejections of my own solo writing rather casually, certain that the outcome is a product of the poor judgment of the reviewers or, more likely, their good judgment and my failure. I dislike greatly "Revise and Resubmit" recommendations, now almost par for the course, although I plan to have the phrase engraved on my tombstone.

The best way I've found to avoid a sense of guilt and responsibility for failed collaborations is to truncate the roster of articles that I will attempt to write with student collaboration. I strive to increase considerably the likelihood that what we do will see the light of print by working with students largely on articles that have been solicited for an edited book or journals that are seeking manuscripts on specified topics. Typically, I'll write the editor to learn if what I have in mind jells with what he or she might like to see. It seems to me that, with enough

deadline leeway, it is possible to write sensibly and constructively on almost any subject about which you have some basic understanding and that interests you. I would emphasize this last item strongly: it is yourself that you ought to seek to delight with your scholarship; otherwise, research and writing is likely to become a drag.

I also find emphases on whether a journal is or is not peer-reviewed silly, since it is the quality of the material that is of essential importance. I also am not impressed with the whole process of manuscript review. I think it is arguable that the elaborate machinery produces better work than those articles that appeared in *Crime & Delinquency* when Don Gibbons, as editor, made publication decisions on his own. Besides, since peer reviewing involves editors sending submissions to persons with a vested interest in the subject, there is a strong tendency to replicate mainstream matters to the neglect of more heterodox material. [Similar iconoclastic views have been put forward by Abbott (1999)].

It is essential to determine beforehand, with some precision, who is going to do what and when in collaborative research, and yet to be flexible about unanticipated delays and barriers. If there is a discussion of the strategy of the effort, and there should be, one of the parties ought to produce a memorandum, indicating this is what I believe we agreed upon; please let me know if I omitted anything or have gotten anything wrong.

Finally, I would encourage graduate students (and at times their faculty) to learn to write well: editors will lovingly review your material with a mellow attitude if it is literate. It need not sparkle like a *New Yorker* contribution, but it should not be turgid or loaded with jargon.

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About the author:

Dr. Gilbert Geis was a Professor Emeritus of Criminology, Law and Society at the University of California, Irvine. He was best known for his research on white collar crime, though his work spanned the fields of sociology, psychology, history, criminology, criminal justice, law, media studies, education, and policy studies. He published 30 books, 250 journal articles, 100 chapters and 30 monographs. In addition to the many awards and honors he received, Dr. Geis was awarded the Western Society of Criminology Paul Tappan award for outstanding contributions to the field of criminology in 1979. Dr. Geis passed away in November 2012, shortly before the publication of this commentary.

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