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Criminology and the Fundamental Attribution Error

by

Ronald V Clarke[1]

Like many other criminologists who entered the discipline in the mid-1960s, I had no training in Criminology. I trained as a clinical psychologist, but found that research was more interesting than clinical work. When graduating, I obtained a post as the research officer for a group of residential training schools for delinquent boys in the South-West of England. The post was located at the group's assessment center where all boys were initially sent by the juvenile courts. As might be expected, my bosses, most with social work or educational backgrounds, had little idea what to do with me. However, like the British Home Office, the government department responsible for the schools and that funded my post wanted my research to be "useful". Eventually, it was decided that I would work on absconding, or escaping, from the schools.

This work not only led to the development of situational crime prevention, but, more important in the context of this essay, it led me to recognize the dispositional bias of criminological theories and the source of this bias in what social psychologists call the fundamental attribution error. I will argue that correcting this bias could lead Criminology to important theoretical and policy advances.

But first, back to absconding: boys could easily abscond because the schools were all "open" with doors locked only at night. As many as 40% of the boys absconded at least once during their stay. Absconding caused much worry to the schools as well as the boys' families because absconders often committed burglaries and car thefts to assist their escape. If my research could identify the boys who were particularly prone to abscond, they could then be offered special preventive counselling.

Consistent with my clinical background, I set about comparing boys who did or did not abscond on factors relating to upbringing and home, social circumstances, schooling and delinquent histories, as well as scores on personality and intelligence tests administered by the assessment center's psychologists. Subsequently, the psychologists administered new tests that I thought might better predict absconding. This program of research took about four years to complete, but found almost nothing that distinguished the boys who absconded from other boys, apart from somewhat older ages at admission, slightly earlier starts in delinquent careers and a record of absconding from other forms of residential care.

This would all have been disappointing had I not begun to find that various situational or opportunity factors seemed related to absconding (Clarke 1967; Clarke and Martin 1972). For example, while in the assessment center, boys were more likely to abscond in the dark evenings of autumn (but not in the coldest months of December, January and February), in months where there were extremes of sunshine, when they had not been visited by their families, or if admitted at the same time as other boys with a previous absconding record.

1 School of Criminal Justice, Rutgers. This is an edited version of the writer's acceptance speech on June 9, 2015 for the Stockholm Prize in Criminology (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edjQXd0FmfE. The prize was awarded jointly with Patricia Mayhew for early work on situational crime prevention.

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Almost by chance, however, I stumbled on the most important finding when I obtained unpublished Home Office records of absconding, that showed large differences in absconding rates among the different schools. Table 1 shows the results for Senior Schools for two years: 1964 and 1966. The year 1964 was chosen because it was decided then that boys be allocated to the schools nearest their homes. This meant that the boys in each school varied little from those admitted to the other schools. Despite this, absconding rates varied from 10% of boys in School 1 to 75% in School 17. The results were similar for 1966, the most recent year for which data were available at the time. Even more important was that there was a close fit between the two years in rankings of absconding rates. In other words, the same schools tended to have either low or high absconding rates in both years. Due to the relatively short length of stay of about 15 months, few if any of the boys who were residents in 1966 would also have been residents in 1964.

Table 1: Absconding Rates of Training Schools for Senior Boys South-West England (1964 and 1966)

	Absconding Rates				Absconding Rates	
School	1964	1966		School	1964	1966
1	10 %	10 %		10	26 %	37 %
2	13 %	38 %		11	27 %	25 %
3	14 %	14 %		12	28 %	47 %
4	21 %	18 %		13	29 %	45 %
5	21 %	23 %		14	32 %	43 %
6	22 %	14 %		15	34 %	26 %
7	22 %	21 %		16	46 %	27 %
8	24 %	29 %		17	75 %	50 %
9	25 %	33 %				

Overall, these findings demonstrated that features of school environment and regime (e.g., opportunity factors) were very important in determining rates of absconding and that, whatever these features were, their influence persisted over the years. The findings reminded me of Kurt Lewin's (1936) law of social psychology. He argued that behavior is a function of both personality and the situation, a relationship he expressed in a simple formula: B= f(P.S). This had proved true in my study of absconding, though in my case, situation and opportunity seemed to be more powerful than personality.

I could not investigate the regimes and environments of the schools in more detail because I took a job at the Home Office Research Unit in charge of a section created to undertake research on improving crime control policy. This was when "nothing works" in controlling crime was the prevailing wisdom – not improved policing nor correctional treatments, whether punitive or reformative. It seemed important to find some alternative approach and, with the lessons of the absconding research fresh in my mind, bolstered by U.S. studies of "defensible space" (Oscar Newman 1972) and "crime prevention through environmental design" (C. Ray Jeffery 1971), I resolved to explore the scope for reducing opportunities for crime.

Together with my colleagues, in particular Patricia Mayhew and Mike Hough, our section produced a report, *Crime as Opportunity* (Mayhew et al. 1976), which assembled evidence from a variety of sources showing that opportunity plays a vital role in the occurrence of crime, and which argued that reducing opportunities for crime could become an important part of crime policy. The report included preliminary evidence that suicide in Britain had begun to decline when carbon monoxide in the domestic gas supplied to people's homes was gradually reduced. Because it seemed important for our thesis about the role of opportunity in human behavior, Pat Mayhew and I subsequently investigated this relationship in more detail (Mayhew and Clarke 1988) with results shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Suicides in England and Wales 1958-1976 (alternate years)

Year	All Methods	By Domestic Gas	% By Gas
1958	5,298	2,637	49.8
1960	5,112	2,499	48.9
1962	5,588	2,469	44.2
1964	5,566	2,088	37.5
1966	4,994	1,593	31.9
1968	4,584	988	21.6
1970	3,940	511	13.0
1972	3,770	197	5.2
1974	3,899	50	1.3
1976	3,816	14	0.4
Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (1958-1977)			

The first column of the table shows the numbers of suicides committed each year in England and Wales between 1958 and 1976. During this time the annual numbers of suicide dropped by 30%, when in most other European countries suicides were increasing. The second column explains why the suicides fell. It shows that suicides by domestic gas ("putting one's head in the oven") were wiped out during the period. This occurred because the poisonous content of the gas was steadily reduced.

Table 2 shows, therefore, that suicide, which is usually seen as committed by desperate people, was greatly reduced when an easy opportunity to commit it was removed. It was also apparent that relatively few would-be suicides switched to generally more unpleasant ways to die when they could no longer use gas – a clear demonstration of the power of opportunity in human affairs.

The main policy outcome emerging from the work on crime and opportunity was the development in the Home Office of situational crime prevention – changing the social and physical conditions that make specific crimes possible. Since then, some 200 studies have documented that situational crime prevention has achieved reductions in all kinds of specific crimes (see www.popcenter.org for a listing). This has usually been achieved with little or no displacement of crime elsewhere, to other times, targets, or to other types of crime. A recent review of more than 100 situational prevention studies found no evidence of displacement in two-thirds of these studies (Guerette and Bowers 2009). In addition, nearly 40% of the studies found some evidence of "diffusion of benefits" – the fact that places or targets outside the range of situational prevention measures often show drops in crime as large as those directly targeted (Clarke and Weisburd, 1994). These studies have strengthened the claim that opportunity is a powerful cause of crime (Felson and Clarke, 1998).

The research on situational crime prevention is widely published and this essay focuses on a different topic that draws directly on the absconding research – the "dispositional bias" of Criminology. This was mentioned in the first academic paper to use the term situational crime prevention (Clarke 1980). The bias refers to the fact that nearly all criminological theories explain not why crime occurs, but only why some kinds of people are disposed to become criminally motivated. This is said to be due to various unfavorable factors in upbringing, inherited personality, or social backgrounds. These theories, like my initial efforts to explain absconding, completely neglect the important situational and opportunity determinants of crime.

Sarbin and Miller (1970) had earlier made the same criticism of criminological theory, and it was subsequently sharpened by Hirschi and Gottfredson (1986) who made a distinction between "theories of criminality" and "theories of crime". Theories of criminality – i.e. dispositional theories – constituted the great majority of theories, while theories of crime, which took account of situational and opportunity variables, were in the minority.

The dispositional bias of criminological theory can be directly traced to the sociologist Edwin Sutherland (1937), who in *Principles of Criminology*, urged criminologists to focus on explaining why some people were criminally motivated, while he consigned explanations that took account of opportunity and situations to the realm of trivia. In the preface to his book he wrote:

> The problem in criminology is to explain the criminality of behavior, not the behavior, as such" (page 4)… The situation operates in many ways, of which perhaps the least important is the provision of an opportunity for a criminal act (page 5).[1]

Most criminologists seemed to agree that all that was necessary to explain crime was to explain criminal dispositions, which somehow lead directly to criminal behavior. But scholars do not usually follow slavishly the advice of those coming before them, however eminent. So why did they do this? The answer, once again, comes from social psychologists, such as Nisbett and Ross (1980), who built on Lewin's work in a series of experiments in the 1970s to describe what they called the "fundamental attribution error". This is the pervasive human habit of overstating the role of the person and underestimating the role of the situation in explaining people's behavior. Ken Pease and Gloria Laycock (2012) have described a pernicious little wrinkle of the error—we do not apply it to our own behavior. As they explain:

> "We are happy to acknowledge situational determinants of our own peccadilloes. I am bad tempered because I slept badly. He is bad tempered because he is that sort of person." (p178)

So how would Criminology benefit from devoting more effort to explaining crime rather than criminality? First, the discipline would become less abstract and more theoretically successful. This is because the dependent variable in explanatory research would be a specific form of crime, not an abstract disposition to commit crime. The independent variables would be measured aspects of the immediate physical and social settings in which that specific crime routinely occurred. They would not, as so often is the case in theories of criminality, be proxy measures of long ago influences on the formation of delinquent and criminal motivation such as relative deprivation, disadvantage, discrimination, etc. It should be no surprise, as found by Weisburd and Piquero (2008), that theories of delinquency have produced such dismal predictions in the past 30 years. This is not a criticism of the necessity for, or the quality of work on dispositions, but that it deals only with half the problem of explaining crime.

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2 Sutherland later recanted this view in a little-noticed paper published in 1957 (for details, see Clarke 2012).

The second benefit for Criminology is that it could explain a much broader range of criminal phenomena than today. In Frank Cullen's (2011) words, it would help the discipline escape the confinement of "adolescent-limited criminology". Explaining crimes rather than criminality will require researchers to specify the particular form of crime they are studying. This is because every specific form of crime has its own "opportunity structure", that is to say the unique constellation of social and physical conditions that are different from any other form of crime, even crimes that are apparently similar.

For example, stealing hub caps in the inner city is a form of car theft, but so is stealing a car, giving it a new identity and successfully selling it overseas. The opportunity structures for these two kinds of car theft, and the skill sets, knowledge and contacts of the offenders involved, are completely different. Dispositional theories might help to explain theft of hub caps, but not the more sophisticated crime of stealing a car, giving it a new identity and sending it to an overseas buyer. No adolescent offender in the inner city would be capable of undertaking that crime.

If this point is accepted, consider how much more varied are the opportunity structures and relevant explanatory variables for the following very different forms of crime featured recently in the media:

- Acquaintance rape
- Cyberbullying
- Maritime Piracy
- Tomb raiding
- Acid attacks on women in India
- Human smuggling
- Enslavement of young girls by militias
- Insider trading
- Workers' compensation fraud
- Poaching rhino horns
- Ransom kidnapping

The list is almost endless. Careful studies of these specific forms of crime, explaining them and making suggestions for reducing their incidence and harm, would be fertile ground for young criminologists. There would be new and challenging theoretical questions to investigate, including detailed accounts of how offenders act as the "situated decision makers" that Derek Cornish and I described (Cornish and Clarke 1986). These accounts would explain how offenders: (i) perceive, define and judge criminal opportunities; (ii) decide to take advantage of them or not; (iii) sometimes create such opportunities; and (iv) eventually desist from these crimes.

The research agendas resulting from the switch to explaining crime rather than criminality are exciting and almost unlimited. Specialties would develop in broad categories of crime – fraud, corruption, cybercrime, retail crime, transport crime, etc. – that would provide interesting and useful careers.

Whatever the benefits for Criminology, the real benefits of a greater focus on crime than criminality would be for crime policy. The fundamental attribution error is the main impediment to formulating a broader set of policies to control crime. Nearly everyone believes that the best way to control crime is to prevent people from developing into criminals in the first place or, failing that, to use the criminal justice system to deter or rehabilitate them. This has led directly to overuse of the system at vast human and economic cost.

Hardly anyone recognizes – whether politicians, public intellectuals, government policy makers, police or social workers – that focusing on the offender is dealing with only half the problem. We need also to deal with the many and varied ways in which society inadvertently creates the opportunities for crime that motivated offenders exploit by (i) manufacturing crime-prone goods, (ii) practicing poor management in many spheres of everyday life, (iii) permitting poor layout and design of places, (iv) neglecting the security of the vast numbers of electronic systems that regulate our everyday lives and, (v) enacting laws with unintended benefits for crime.

Situational prevention has accumulated dozens of successes in chipping away at some of the problems created by these conditions, which attests to the principles formulated so many years ago in Home Office research. Much more surprising, however, is that the same thing has been happening in every sector of modern life without any assistance from governments or academics. I am referring to the security measures that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of private and public organizations have been taking in the past 2-3 decades to protect themselves from crime.

This has involved every sector of modern society – shops, banks, schools, colleges, hospitals, offices, transport systems, the airline industry, fast food restaurants credit card companies, motels, and any other business or organization that is open to some form of criminal exploitation – which is all of them.[1] They have all been tightening up security (Table 3).

3 Loosely referred to herein as "the private sector"

Table 3: Selected Examples of the Avalanche of Increased Security

1. **Public housing**: 1000s of high rise blocks demolished worldwide and replaced by defensible space designs
2. **Private housing**: burglar alarms and security design standards
3. **Public transport**: help points; more guards, better CPTED designs
4. **Shops**: Electronic article surveillance, ink tags, CCTV, bar coding and RFID
5. **Convenience stores**: cash reduction, "two clerks"
6. **Banks**: Large scale heists eliminated by security guards, reduced cash in tills, time release safes and bullet proof screens.
7. **Offices**: controlled access; ID tags
8. **Pubs and clubs**: bouncers, responsible drinking practices
9. **Cars**: steering locks in 1970s, immobilizers and central locking in 1990s
10. **Credit cards**: Improved delivery of cards, POS verification, smart chips
11. **Computers**: anti-virus programs; spam filters; encryption
12. **Bank notes**: progressive introduction of anti-counterfeiting features
13. **Cell phones**: anti-cloning technology; kill switches when stolen
14. **Public phones**: card-operated, strengthened cash boxes.
15. **Motoring offenses**: Speed/red light cameras and breath tests
16. **Street offences**: city guards, neighborhood watch, improved lighting
17. **Security guards**: Now outnumber police in many countries
18. **Video-surveillance by CCTV**: Campuses, parking lots, schools, hospitals, city centers, shopping malls, buses, subways and trains, banks and ATMs

So what explains this avalanche of security? It is surely not because these businesses and organizations are trying to make society safer from crime. Rather, it is because experience has taught them they get only limited help from the authorities when they become crime victims. Therefore if they are to become more efficient and reduce their costs they must make themselves less vulnerable to crime. To do so they must make crime more difficult, more risky, less tempting and less rewarding.

In other words, they have arrived at the same solutions advocated by situational prevention. However, they have not had to worry about displacement as long as it is to some other agency or entity. They probably care little about diffusion of benefits, if they have even heard of it, except in so far as it might benefit their competitors. Finally, they have not been obliged to spend time defending their commonsense actions against a phalanx of social critics. What matters to them is the bottom line of profitability.

This change in security practice is so strong and widespread and is happening in all Westernized countries that some criminologists, especially Jan van Dijk, Nick Tilley and Graham Farrell have claimed that it explains the substantial crime drops that most of these countries have experienced in recent decades (see for example Farrell et al. 2014).

This avalanche of security should permanently change the dialogue about crime control. It was brought about by the private sector acting with little help from government. It has resulted in a wholesale change in the opportunities for crime without any deliberate effort to manipulate criminal dispositions. It clearly signals that major sectors of our society understand that crime can be prevented by changing the situations that permit crime without any, or little, contribution from the criminal justice system. In other words, many of society's leaders, pursuing their own interests, have realized that they have the capacity to protect their businesses and organizations from crime by reducing the opportunities they provide for crime. While they might never have heard of the fundamental attribution error, they have avoided making it.

So, however welcome is the greater involvement of the private sector in crime policy, it will not solve all the problems of crime. The private sector has demonstrated that crime can be reduced, not just by changing offenders, but by reducing crime opportunities. Accepting this point will help us formulate more effective crime reduction policies. It will also help to deal more quickly with the new manifestations of crime that will inevitably appear with changes in society. In sum, it means we should be in a better position to reduce the harms of those mostly selfish and greedy behaviors that we call crime.

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Criminology and the Zookeepers of War: A View from Across the Pond

by

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For the past few months we have been reading with interest the entries to *The Criminologist* by John Hagan (2015), Ronald Berger (2016), and Raymond Michalowski and Ronald Kramer (2016) regarding the (in)attention paid to the 2003 war in Iraq and what this allegedly tells us about the nature and state of criminology's engagement with the topic of war. This interchange appears to hinge upon three key propositions. First, Hagan (2015) suggests that the war in Iraq has suffered from a considerable lack of attention within the lexicon of '*American* criminology' despite this geographical enclave of the discipline being apparently well equipped to do so. In his view the discipline has the legal and conceptual tools to bring a critical socio-legal analysis to what is a blatant state crime of considerable proportions. Second, while Berger (2016: 9) suggests that this accusation is 'arguably correct', he avers that it is not entirely accurate nor uncharted criminological terrain. This counterargument is made on the evidence of his own work, and that of scholars such as Kramer and Michalowski (2006) who have indeed paid close criminological attention to the illegality of the war in Iraq as a 'war of aggression'. As Hagan (2015) suggests, we do perhaps forget quite how corrupt the instigation and conduct of the war in Iraq was: corruption which at present remains entirely unaccounted for. Third however, in a further response, both Michalowski and Kramer (2016) rejoinder themselves to suggest that not only is Hagan's (2015) reading of criminological literature relating to the Iraq war partial, it is also misconceived, being presented as constituting *all* of criminology rather than the 'mainstream' (read positivist) core of the discipline. In the main each of these propositions hold elements of truth. However there are deeper issues at play here that we wish to elaborate.

In their critique, Michalowski and Kramer (2016) chide Hagan (2015) for his claims making regarding the novelty of studying the war in Iraq as relevant criminological subject matter. These are claims that have of course been made before. Hagan et al.'s (2012) previous exposition of the astronomical socioeconomic costs of this war's aftermath is pivotal in illustrating just how grave the ongoing consequences of post-war violence continues to be for the Iraqi population. However, although this rare and exemplary study does shine light on some of the unseen consequences of Western Imperialist warmongering, it also claimed that "Criminology is only beginning to consider the mass violence associated with war, armed conflict, and political repression" (Hagan et al., 2012: 482). Here we agree with Michalowski and Kramer (2016) that this is simply not the case. Advocating criminology to study war - as among other things environments perpetuating mass gendered violence and victimization in extremis - was penned some time ago by Ruth Jamieson (1998) in her seminal paper "Towards a Criminology of War in Europe." Previous contributions from sociologists and criminologists have also long before critically observed war as a means of controlling populations and borders, and exploiting territory for capital gain (Bonger, 1916); as a display of nation building, resource acquisition and affording the state purpose (Park, 1941); or as outright crime if conducted without just cause (Mannheim, 1941) or when profiteered from as 'white collar crime' (Sutherland, 1949).

Although Hagan (2015) does note the work of Sutherland (1949) in this way, in all of the recent accounts in *The Criminologist* there is slippage in the failure to recognise other scholars working outside of '*American* criminology' who have had critical things to say about the conduct of the 2003 war in Iraq as epitomizing 'every crime in the book' (see Green and Ward, 2004: 194). Indeed there is further inattention to criminological scholars in the UK who have attempted more broadly to decontextualize the aftermath of 9/11 from being merely an issue of 'security' to one situated in a geo-political framework of 'war' (see Scraton, 2002). Others have also illustrated the violent and corrupting aftermath of this war as a pillaging of Iraq's natural resources by capitalist economic means (see Whyte, 2007), or as feeding the expansion of the torturous and invasive domestic security agendas of US and UK governments (see Hudson, 2009). However our purpose here is not to keep tussling over the same issues raised previously within these pages. We instead want to capitalize on this opportunity to encourage a more progressive discussion of war for the discipline as a whole, and as sociologically informed and critically engaged criminologists. In part we wish to reconnect with some of Berger's (2016) sage advice in his rejoinder to Hagan (2015). Here he advocates that we look 'outside of criminology' to the likes of C. Wright Mills (1959) to reflect upon our own participation within society as influencing and intersecting with our perceptions of the social world (Berger, 2016: 9). Taking this on board, there are two points of departure that we wish to advocate as a means of progressing a meaningful criminological engagement with war: the first relates to imagination, the second to borders.

In *The Sociological Imagination*. C. Wright Mills (1959: 9-10) states that the conduct and aftermath of war should be squarely leveled at "the unorganized irresponsibility of a world of nation-states," in particular for perpetuating consequences that directly affect structural elements of social, political, cultural and familial life. Taking some of the observations made in the three previous contributions to this debate we can include the illegitimate conduct of the 2003 war in Iraq and its aftermath as an act of such 'irresponsibility'. Critical criminologists are likely to call this state crime', but war is more complex than to simply be reduced to abstract or socio-legal notions of 'crimes of the state'. As Jock Young (2011: 215) noted in *The Criminological Imagination*, war is one of the "ten ironies" of a critical criminology. This implies that it is juxtaposed and interconnected to everyday life: civilian deaths become 'collateral damage', 'legitimate' mass violence becomes committed in the name of 'liberation' and so on, while all around

us security agendas become caustic with separatism, essentialisms of the 'other' and fear of the unknown or unknowable. Within such contexts, as Richard Quinney (1972) and Nils Christie (1986) have both suggested, how we as citizens and scholars see the touchstones of victimization in social life is contingent upon our own sociological and criminological imaginations; who we are and where we come from matter for our capacity to identify 'personal troubles' as 'public issues' (qua Mills, 1959). Prescient examples of this can be squarely evidenced in the current global migrant crisis. Rather than considering the worldwide displacement of vulnerable individuals and communities from Iraq and Syria as populations in need of safety and humanitarian aid, they are frequently received as populations to be controlled, monitored and pilloried as a problem of their own making, rather than victims of war violence. As such we may also be compelled to ask if our capacity to make such observations instead depends upon where we find ourselves situated in the criminological embrace of the violence of the metropole (qua Connell, 2007). Once this question has been asked, the intellectual space and place so generated maps the hinterland of criminological imaginations. Hence we point to our own work in an edited collection of original essays published during 2015 entitled *Criminology and War: Transgressing the Borders* (Walklate and McGarry, 2015).

Within this book we aver that the restrictive and intermittent nature of criminological scholarship's engagement with war as a central part of its concerns has been hindered by the conservative central interests of the discipline; it is hamstrung by its own imagination (or lack thereof). To illustrate this conservatism we urge readers to consider criminological literature that exists at the global borders of the discipline where mainstream criminology is to be found re-establishing agendas firmly tied to the 'moorings' of positivism, pathological notions of crime, criminality and state ordering (as Jock Young, 2011: 83-110 would have it). As such, if these are the roots of the centerfold of the discipline it is no wonder that war violence is temporally displaced from mainstream interests, and what we consider as victimization is spatially contingent upon our own domestic contexts. However if, as criminologists, we are to discuss issues of global concern (such as war) meaningfully, then we are obliged to look beyond our own national and intellectual borders for the answer to the questions we pose. In doing so we will hopefully be reminded that none of us are the criminological zookeepers of war.

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AROUND THE ASC

CODE OF ETHICS APPROVED

The membership of the American Society of Criminology has voted to approved the proposed Code of Ethics (see www.asc41.com/ethicspg.html). This document will now be added to the Society's Policy and Procedures manual, and will be posted on the ASC webpage as our official Code of Ethics.

ASC HOSTS PANEL AT AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE CONFERENCE

The American Society of Criminology hosted a panel at the American Association for the Advancement of Science annual meetings in Washington, DC, in February. This high profile venue is the premier general science conference in the nation. There are a limited number of panels and only a handful of social science panels, so ASC's representation on the program is significant. The title of the panel was *Situational Dynamics of Interpersonal Violence and Conflict Escalation.* William Alex Pridemore (University at Albany – SUNY, School of Criminal Justice), who is ASC's Liaison to AAAS, organized and moderated the panel. Andrew Papachristos (Yale, Sociology), Rod Brunson (Rutgers, Criminal Justice), and Mark Berg (Iowa, Sociology) were presenters. Julie Horney (Penn State, Sociology and Criminology) was discussant. Deanna Wilkinson (Ohio State, Human Sciences) was originally scheduled to be a presenter but was unable to attend. All panelists are ASC members.

The theme of this year's AAAS meeting was "global science engagement." Thus, the ASC panel addressed a topic of global concern that demands engagement between scientists, policymakers, and the community. Papachristos discussed use of network science and gunshot victimization and arrest data to study diffusion of gun violence within high-risk populations, finding that odds of being a gunshot victim increase sharply with exposure to other gunshot victims and that 70% of gunshot victims are part of co-offending networks comprising less than 6% of the population. Brunson's presentation focused on research on activist black clergy's motivations and mechanisms to reduce street violence, the varied methods through which they develop strategic coalitions and manage violence reduction initiatives, and the ways they address the complex challenges involved in doing this work. Berg presented research using data from inmates and non-incarcerated controls to examine how personal traits and situational dynamics interact to affect violence and conflict escalation, suggesting aggressive people do not abide by norms of social interaction and that the nature and social settings of their conflicts are distinct. Results from these studies have direct implications for policy and violence prevention, including interventions that (1) teach strategies of non-violent conflict management and (2) disrupt processes that enable violence to become a resource for decision making.

Pridemore is currently in the process of preparing ASC's proposal for the 2017 AAAS meeting. The theme is "serving society through science policy" and the meeting will be held in Boston.

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR 2017 ELECTION SLATE OF 2018 - 2019 OFFICERS

The ASC Nominations Committee is seeking nominations for the positions of President, Vice-President and Executive Counselor. Nominees must be current members of the ASC, and members in good standing for the year prior to the nomination. Send the names of nominees, position for which they are being nominated, and, if possible, a current C.V. to the Chair of the Nominations Committee at the address below (preferably via email). Nominations must be received by **August 1, 2016** to be considered by the Committee.

Marjorie Zatz, University of California Merced
Graduate Division
5200 North Lake Rd.
Merced, CA 95343
209-228-2408 (Ph), 209-228-6906 (Fax)
mzatz@ucmerced.edu

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DCS Handbook on Corrections and Sentencing
Volume 3: Collateral Consequences of Punishment
Call for Abstract

We invite abstracts for the third edition of DCS's Handbook series, entitled *The Collateral Consequences of Punishment*, edited by Beth Huebner and Natasha Frost**.** The volume is designed to include contemporary essays on the consequences of punishment during an era of mass incarceration and supervision.

The editors seek contributions that detail collateral consequences of a conviction on voting, immigration status, family relationships, and offender health and well-being. We also encourage investigations that consider the consequences of imprisonment ranging from pre-trial detention, to incarceration, to community supervision. Contributions that describe the unique effects of punishment for women, juveniles, immigrants, LGBTQ individuals, and offender sub-populations (i.e., drug and sex offenders) are also welcomed. In addition, we are seeking works that detail the broader societal impacts of punishment on the economy, democracy and voting, the decarceration movement, and prison and jail privatization. Finally, chapters that detail the broader historical trends in growth in legal sanctions and incarceration over the past three decades are also needed.

We seek contributions that summarize what is known in each topical area, but as important, identify emerging theoretical, empirical, and policy work. We encourage authors to discuss work conducted in an international context and to incorporate discussion of qualitative methodologies when appropriate. In addition, volumes that include a discussion of disparity including: the intersection of race/ethnicity, gender, age, citizenship/immigration status, or socioeconomic status will be prioritized. In this way the book will be grounded in the current knowledge about the specific topics, but also have new, synthetic material that reflects the knowledge of the leading minds in the field.

Please submit abstracts to Beth Huebner huebnerb@umsl.edu or Natasha Frost n.frost@neu.edu. Abstracts are due by September 15, 2016. The target date for Volume 3's publication is early 2018.

CRIME & JUSTICE RESEARCH ALLIANCE

COSSA Summary
March 21, 2016

On March 15, more than 100 representatives from the social and behavioral science community gathered at the 2016 Consortium of Social Science Associations (COSSA) annual meeting in Washington, D.C. to discuss federal issues impacting social and behavioral science research and the many ways this research serves the national interest.

Nancy La Vigne, Director of the Justice Policy Center at the Urban Institute and COSSA board member on behalf of the American Society of Criminology (ASC), led a discussion on social and behavioral science and the media. Panelists Dara Lind, Criminal Justice Reporter at Vox; Ted Gest, Washington Bureau Chief of The Crime Report; and Ted Scheinman, Senior Editor at Pacific Standard offered practical advice, unique insight and useful tips on how experts and researchers should engage with members of the media. The panelists encouraged researchers to highlight key findings, know the readership of the outlets they pursue and be responsive to interview requests.

During a panel on social and behavioral science across federal agencies, Nancy Rodriguez, Director of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), announced the institute would focus on investing in young scholars and expanding researcher-practitioner activities over the next year. She addressed the importance of social science in criminal justice practice, referencing a current example and solicitation to test and evaluate the impact of police body cameras. Dr. Rodriguez emphasized her firm commitment to expanding NIJ's interdisciplinary work, inviting proposals that tap into a wide array of social science disciplines. She also outlined the research areas of importance to NIJ, which include restrictive housing in prisons, policing, institutional corrections, school safety, sexual assault on campus and violent extremism.

Other panels at the 2016 COSSA annual meeting addressed social and behavioral science trends in federal statistics, the importance of the peer review process and why industry needs social science. As a gold sponsor of the event, ASC was promoted in the agenda, during opening remarks and throughout the event on screens, social media channels and marketing materials.

RECENT PHD GRADUATES

Matz, Adam K., *"Enhancing Community Supervision: A Unified Voice for Community Corrections Concerning Police-Probation/Parole Partnerships",* Chaired by Dr. Bitna Kim, May, 2016, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Terranova. Victoria. *"Assessing the effects of the ignition-interlock device on recidivism."* Chaired by Mark C Stafford, Ph.D. May 2016. Texas State University.

POLICY CORNER

Progress in Justice Reform

by

Laura Dugan, ASC National Policy Committee Chair

The Latest in Washington:

The following information comes from the Crime & Justice Research Alliance (CJRA) policy consultant, Thomas Culligan of the Brimley Group for March 25, 2016. Of course, by the time you read this, you might now more than this report gives.

Congressional Update:

The Senate spent nearly two weeks in March with the Comprehensive Addiction and Recovery Act on the floor, ultimately passing the bill by a vote of 94-1. This bill would authorize additional resources to address prevent, treatment, recovery, law enforcement and criminal justice reform relating to the opiate and heroin epidemic. The strong Senate vote, which had the support of several Presidential candidates, demonstrates the public concern about heroin and opiate overdoses in many states across the country.

Both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees continue to focus on efforts to pass small criminal justice and sentencing reform packages, although the fight over the Supreme Court vacancy is expected to limit bipartisan cooperation to reach a deal which significantly reduces the odds of an agree prior to the Congressional recess this summer. House Speaker Paul Ryan, however, did indicate in a press conference on March 23 that he has asked Judiciary Chairman Bob Goodlatte to bring some of the bills approved by the committee on this topic to the House floor this year.

The House and Senate Appropriations Committees have been holding hearings in advance of their anticipated mark-ups of the FY 2017 Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations bills, which fund justice research programs, in late April or May. Neither chamber has yet to approve a FY17 budget, so it is expected that the committees will use the discretionary allocation agreed to in the 2015 two-year budget agreement as their notional funding levels. The committees are determined to move as many bills as possible through committee and on to the House and Senate floors in May and June, however floor time may be limited if a budget agreement isn't reached (which would make the committee funding levels subject to a point of order). No matter the outcome, we anticipate a lengthy Continuing Resolution at the FY16 levels from Oct. 1 through at least mid-December, and possibly until well after the new President takes office in 2017.

On March 17, CJRA sent its letter to the House and Senate Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations Subcommittee leadership calling for an increase to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) and National Institute of Justice (NIJ), given that funding for these agencies has been flat for many years, despite the increased demand by policymakers for objective research and program evaluation on a range of justice issues. CJRA shared its support for the increases proposed in the President's FY17 Budget request, but also indicated that we would support any level of increase above the FY16 Omnibus levels that would be available under the discretionary allocations made available to the subcommittee.

Crime & Justice Research Alliance (CJRA):

As part of our effort to bring evidence based research to the public's attention, CJRA's communications consultant, Caitlin Kizielewicz of KIZCOMM, is planning a media training either before or during the 2016 ASC Annual Meeting. This event will train 10 to 30 ASC members on how to promote research and to serve as reliable, trustworthy sources to reporters. The training will be customized to focus on specific goals, which may include proactive outreach strategies, reporter relationships, message development, message reinforcement, interviewing tips, handling tough questions, and social media channels. Keep an eye out for an email from me (Laura Dugan) letting you know how to be a participant.

POLICY CORNER

Policy Panels for the 2016 ASC Annual Meetings

Thank you all for responding to my request for policy panels for the 2016 Annual Meeting in Washington DC. The following panels were selected as Policy Panels. Each includes a mixture of researchers and policy experts or practitioners. The sessions should be lively!

Session Title
Addressing Barriers to Access to Counsel in Criminal Courts
Assessing the Use of Restrictive Housing: Using Research and Policy to Effect Change
Causes and Consequences of a Constitutional Crisis: Research on Public Defense in Louisiana under "Restriction of Services"
Challenges and Workarounds in Testing, Investigating, and Prosecuting 'Backlogged' Sexual Assault Kits (SAKs): Findings from the BJA's Sexual Assault Kit Initiative—the Cuyahoga County (Cleveland, OH) Sexual Assault Kit Task Force
Consent to Change: Will NOLA's Consent Decree Be Successful?
Creating and Implementing Defender-Driven Research Agendas
Creating Lasting Justice Reinvestment Reforms in Criminal Justice and Juvenile Justice
Federal Prisons at a Crossroads
Guns at the intersection of criminology and public health
Officer Decertification in the United States: Directions, Challenges and Opportunities
Peace by Piece NOLA: Youth organising for social justice, unity and peace after Katrina
Perspectives on Jail and Prison Visitation
Putting "What Works" into Action: Violence Reduction in the United States and Latin America
Putting the 'Smart' in the Smart Decarceration Movement: Using Research, Policy and Practice to Transform the Criminal Justice System
Research for the Real World in Seattle: Establishing a Community of Research and Practice
Strengthening Law Enforcement through Police Oversight
The Great Experiment: Realigning Criminal Justice in California and Beyond
The *Real* Reform in Community Corrections: Changing Organizational Culture
The Victimization and Collateral Damage Caused by Wrongful Conviction
Theoretical and Practical Issues Facing Veterans Treatment Courts and Those in Contact with Them
Translating Police Research and Reform into Practice

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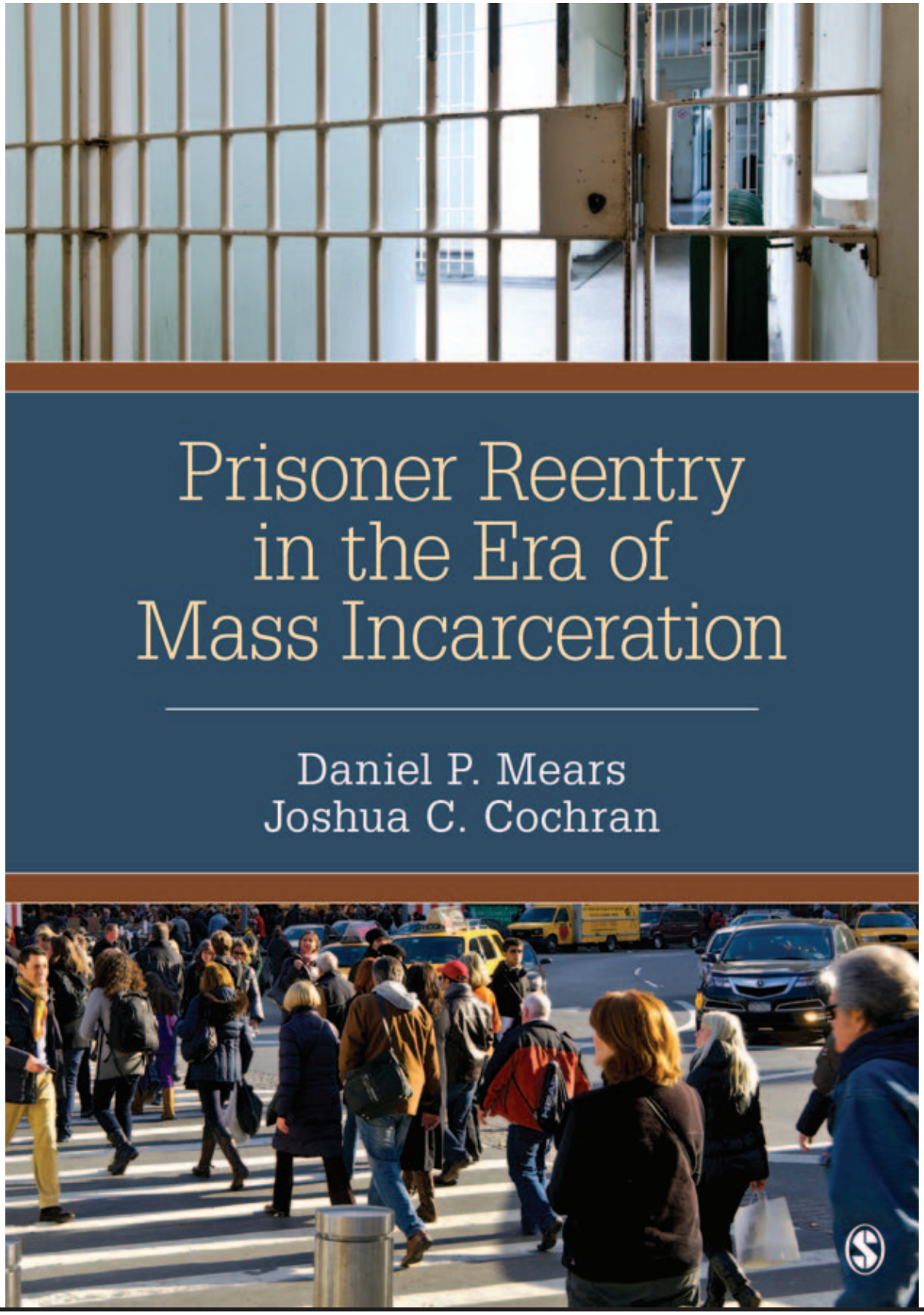

DOCTORAL STUDENT FORUM

Breaking Out of Your Cell: The Virtues of Peer Collaboration and Writing Clubs

by

Sean Patrick Roche (sroche@albany.edu), University at Albany, SUNY

In the March/April 2015 issue of *The Criminologist*, Janne E. Gaub and Lisa M. Dario outlined best practices for collaboration, building on their 2013 piece advocating for collaboration as a key to success (Dario & Gaub, 2013; Gaub & Dario, 2015). Both columns touch on a broader issue that is often overlooked – being a graduate student can be a lonely experience. However, it need not necessarily be so. Indeed, there are enormous benefits to letting your peers into your creative process, both as collaborators and editors, and also involving yourself in the work of your peers. This column will discuss some of the barriers to this kind of involvement, and then provide some strategies and benefits for seeking out writing clubs and collaboration opportunities.

It has been my experience that both writing and collaboration are often taboo subjects for doctoral students. Most have spent a lifetime excelling *as individuals* in academic environments. Many arrive directly from undergraduate programs where writing does not go through rounds of revision, and where working with others (unless explicitly authorized) is considered cheating. Nearly all are deeply impressed by the members of their faculty and their peers and are afraid to disappoint them. And so, many of us start off and end up staying in isolation, deeply insecure about showing our work to anyone, even (or especially) to our advisors. To make matters worse, program requirements like comprehensive exams and dissertations loom large, and collaborating or cooperating with others can seem like a luxury. It makes sense then that many of us go through graduate school obsessed with excelling on our own and distrustful of collaboration, particularly with our peers.

At one time, working alone may have been sufficient for success in graduate school and beyond. However, as Dario and Gaub (2013) have pointed out, that time may have come and gone. As recently as the 1970s, well over half of all social science articles were written by single authors (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2011, p. 13). Today, collaboration is the norm and single-authored pieces are increasingly the exception (Fisher et al., 1998; Lemke, 2013; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2011). This is true not only in criminology and criminal justice, but in a variety of other fields (González-Alcaide et al., 2013, p. 30). Additionally, it is true not just for academic "superstars" who publish prodigiously, but the majority of scholars (Lemke, 2013, p. 333). So in order to succeed as modern scholars, we need to embrace something beyond our previous experiences. Here are two helpful strategies for becoming part of a community of scholars.

1. Find a writing club, or start one yourself.

How do you identify peers that you may want to collaborate with? What about other doctoral students who you probably will never work with, but who you like and respect? A writing club may be the answer. In addition to serving as a networking opportunity, participating in a writing club can help you overcome shyness about sharing your writing, and expose you to the excellent work of other students. Club membership usually entails writing a few pages each week, then bringing them to a meeting where members read each other's work and offer constructive criticism. There are many guides online to help structure writing club meetings. I prefer the principles laid out in Dr. Tara Gray's (2005) *Publish & Flourish*.

A writing club can help bring your department closer together, improve morale, and spur your own productivity. If there is already an established writing club in your department or college, see if you can attend as an observer for the first few meetings. If you are going to begin your own writing club, try to find just one or two likeminded peers. They are important because a club can easily function with only two or three constant members at its core. Graduate student association meetings, department social functions, and even the department's listserv are all ways to connect with these initial group members. Once you have a strong routine established, word of mouth will help attract more members and you can also advertise more broadly. The following are two important advantages to participating in a writing club.

Break out of your silo and get out of your own head

Pinker (2011) writes, "No one is smart enough to invent anything in isolation that anyone else would want to use" (p. 478). Ironically, obtaining a doctorate often pushes you into a very narrow field of study, so narrow that there are only a handful of people in the world who share your precise interests. This can make your feel detached from others in your department. Poisonous ideas about yourself and your work can flourish in that isolation. You might think that everyone else seems to being doing so well, that you are hopeless, or that others would cringe if they saw your work. Oddly enough, sharing work can be helpful for dispelling these self-devouring thoughts. A writing club allows you to showcase your ideas in a

safe space, and gives you a great view of your peers' work. You will quickly realize that reading some of your unedited dissertation proposal will not cause others to recoil in disgust. Your peers have useful insights about how to structure the introduction, where the tables should go, etc. Also, you will feel empowered when you get to dole out helpful advice yourself.

Be accountable to yourself by being accountable to others

Some scholars have no problem with setting and meeting the goals that they make for themselves. However, many of us struggle with personal accountability. Teaching and service have accountability to others built into them. Usually, our personal projects do not. Both peer collaboration and writing clubs can help you meet the expectations you set for yourself by letting others in on the enterprise. The writing club is especially effective because it pushes small, short-term goals (a couple pages, once a week) that most people can meet. Perhaps more importantly, regular participation in the writing club signals to others that you are reliable and trustworthy. Showing off these qualities can be the first step into fostering collaborative relationships, not just with your writing club members, but elsewhere. This leads to the second strategy.

2. Collaborate, but not just with your advisor. Seek out peers.

There is no way to overstate the importance of collaboration with your advisor. However, the student-mentor relationship does not generalize well to the majority of collaborations. There is a distinct power gap between you and your advisor – he or she will often set the course and agenda for your project, and you will often defer to their knowledge and experience. So in addition to working with your advisor, seek out collaboration opportunities with your peers. This can include fellow PhD students in your program, doctoral students in other programs, or practitioners like police officers, attorneys, or government officials.

There are many ways to identify potential collaborators. First, groups like writing clubs and graduate student associations are excellent venues for discussing scholarly work. Second, one-time events such as film screenings, workshops, brown-bag seminars, and symposiums can help you identify people who share your research interests. It is important to attend events in other departments as well as your own. Third, if your department has Master's students, seek them out. Many practitioners, particularly police officers, pursue Master's degrees in criminology and criminal justice programs. Remember, whether someone is a scholar, student, or practitioner, they will probably be flattered by your interest, and excited to tell you about their life and experiences. There are many benefits to peer collaboration, and I have found the following two to be particularly important.

You discover your own distinct collaboration style

Gaub and Dario (2015) lay out some excellent best practices for maintaining healthy collaborations, but not all of your research partnerships will be successful, and that is okay, too. Collaborating, like writing, is not just a mounting series of successes. It is often a chain of false starts, miscommunications, and other blunders. This cannot be avoided. However, collaborating early and often with peers helps you to a) confine your gaffes to a low-stakes environment, b) learn more about others, and c) learn more about yourself.

Are you a formatting perfectionist? What are your scheduling peccadillos? What, specifically, are your feelings about the Oxford comma? You may have a sense of these things, but often you cannot answer definitively until you try to work with a peer. In addition, we are often loath to abandon a project if we have invested even a small amount of time. Collaborating helps you become comfortable with accepting failures and cutting your losses when things are just not working out.

Multidisciplinary work is easier with people from other disciplines

Criminology/criminal justice draws insights from psychology, sociology, economics, and many other fields. Coupled with the field's rising popularity, this means that more people are thinking and talking about crime and criminal justice issues in more ways than ever before (Lemke, 2013, p. 336). This is wonderful, but as a graduate student it can be overwhelming. Learning one literature is difficult enough – where can you find time to learn everything *else*?

One way of course is to forgo sleep for months at a time. Another, much healthier, way is to collaborate with a peer who works in a different field or outside of academia altogether. For example, I am working with friend employed by the NYPD on a survey of police officers' attitudes and behaviors. He has been an invaluable partner because of his experiences and insights. We met while he was a Master's student in my program. Our project grew out of conversations in and out of class, and had now grown to include two other PhD students. Finding collaborators is often dependent on building relationships and openly sharing ideas. Coauthors from different walks of life can open up new areas for you to apply your knowledge, or they can lead you to reconsider territory you

DOCTORAL STUDENT FORUM

thought was barren.

Lastly, it is important to remember that collaboration and writing are not pursuits for the far-off future. Start soon. Start today, in fact. You need not be any more knowledgeable or accomplished than you are right now to start working with peers. It will do a world of good in preparing you for life as a member of the scholarly community.

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POSITION ANNOUNCEMENT

The Department of Criminal Justice at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee invites applications for a tenure track position at the rank of Assistant Professor to begin Fall 2016. Primary preference is a specialty in quantitative methods, spatial statistics and analysis. Candidate must have the ability to teach in our undergraduate and graduate crime analysis programs. Position requires an earned doctorate in Criminology, Criminal Justice, or closely related social science discipline. ABDs will also be considered. JD alone is not sufficient for the position. Successful candidate will have demonstrated potential for excellence in teaching and research, along with the ability to mentor graduate students in the Crime Analytics Concentration of our MS in Criminal Justice.

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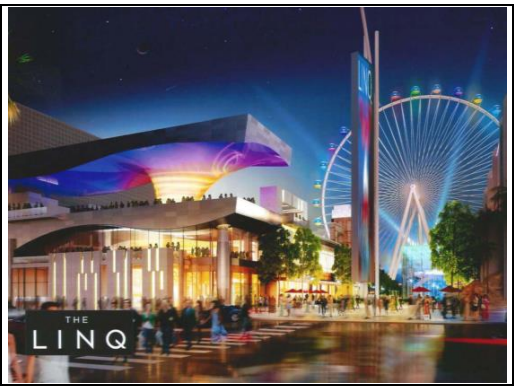

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TEACHING TIPS

Updated Criminal Activity Checklist: "Challenging the 'Us versus Them' Thinking in Undergraduate Criminology"

by

Shanell Sanchez, Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice, Colorado Mesa University
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Society often portrays the criminal as "abnormal, irrational, evil, or untrustworthy," whereas the law-abiding citizen is "normal, rational, good, and trustworthy" (Bohm & Walker, 2013). These portrayals can influence perceptions of crime, criminals, and reform in the criminal justice system. Recent highly publicized events in the criminal justice realm have revived debates about reform among politicians, the media, and citizens. Perceptions of crime and criminals impact how we think about and approach reform. Although criminal justice and sociology students are familiar with numerous issues related to policing, adjudication, imprisonment, and re-entry, many often struggle to recognize the impact of the social construction of crime and criminals on how laws are enforced and who ultimately becomes "criminals." More specifically, students struggle to recognize their own sources of privilege in society that may have protected them from having formal interaction with the criminal justice system. While few college students are immune to ever having committed a crime in their lives, it can be challenging to help them recognize how systemic and cultural advantages are applied to certain populations and understand its relevance to the criminal justice field. In order to demonstrate the "us versus them" mentality that results from the social construction of the "criminal" and the "law abiding citizen," we updated the *Criminal Activities Checklist,* which aims to illustrate the importance of recognizing privilege in society and understanding how it interacts with the criminal justice system.

The *Criminal Activities Checklist* was originally developed by Philip Reichel in 1975 in an effort to "make sociological aspects of criminology more relevant to students" (Reichel, 1982: 94). Based upon feedback from students, we have updated this checklist by adding and removing crimes to reflect greater relevancy concerning their current behaviors and experiences. Instructors can use this activity in several different courses such as Criminology, Crime and Inequality, Social Problems, and Juvenile Delinquency. First, instructors administer the 30-item checklist (figure 1), which delineates a list of actions that violate a section of state criminal code (Colorado in this example). Students are instructed to check an item only once, regardless of how many times they may have engaged in the action, and to only check items that never came to the attention of authorities. Students may complete the checklist on their own, however, it helps to have the instructor go through the checklist with the class to offer clarification and examples of the actions listed. Following administration of the checklist, the instructor uses the sanctions answer sheet (figure 2) to help students calculate how much time (i.e. prison or jail sentence) or money (i.e. fines) they would be sanctioned had they been caught and punished for behaviors they marked on the checklist. After calculating their sanctions, the instructor can open up the discussion by asking students to share their thoughts and reflections on the activity. By highlighting the fact that most of them have committed a crime at some point in their lives, the goal is to to draw attention to the various life circumstances that can create unintended privileges that may protect some groups from being formally processed through the criminal justice system. Following the class exercise, the instructor gives a brief homework assignment (figure 3), designed to help students reflect upon their experience with the activity.

In our experiences using the *Criminal Activities Checklist,* it often provides the *first* opportunity for students to recognize their own sources of privilege and to see that they too are "criminals." Additionally, it helps students identify their preconceived misperceptions about crime and criminals, and it works to challenge the "us versus them" mentality that they are somehow different from those who are caught up in the criminal justice system. This facilitates different thinking patterns and enables students to open their minds in a rather unique way. It is recommended that instructors use the *Criminal Activities Checklist* toward the beginning of the semester, so as to set the foundation for understanding social constructionism and its influence on developing common myths and misperceptions about crime and criminals. The *Criminal Activities Checklist* can also serve as a common reference point when discussing applicable criminological theories throughout the semester, in order to remind students of the importance of recognizing the social construction of criminality.

Overall, the Criminal Activity Checklist is designed to highlight the reality that most people have committed a crime, and, therefore, have been a criminal at some point in their lives. In a more concrete way, the activity draws attention to how systemic and cultural privileges may work to protect some groups from being formally involved in the criminal justice system, despite not always being "law-abiding citizens." Our goal was to create a non-judgmental environment in the classroom that discourages students from falling into the "us versus them" mentality and promote a peace-making criminological perspective that can be tied in throughout

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the course. By updating Reichel's original checklist, this activity is more relevant to students' life experiences. Additionally, we hope that students will begin to reflect upon and challenge their original views about crime, criminals, and the criminal justice system, which may be fueled by socially constructed myths and misconceptions. The ability to recognize their own roles in the social construction of criminality provides them the opportunity to begin critically assessing the inequities and injustices that exist in the criminal justice system, as well as the mechanisms that help to reinforce them. As a result, students are better equipped to identify and evaluate the numerous challenges currently facing the criminal justice system and generate potential ideas for reform.

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Figure 1: Criminal Activities Checklist

Instructions: Identify which behaviors you have engaged in by answering *yes* or *no* to each action described. Only answer yes to actions that have NOT come to the attention of authorities. In other words, only answer yes to behaviors for which you have never been caught by law enforcement.

1. Threatened or attempted to threaten a person and provoked fear of serious bodily injury to him or her. _____
2. Been in a fight that knowingly or recklessly resulted in injury to another person (even if you were provoked). _____
3. Fought with another person in a public place, verbally and/or physically. _____
4. Intended to harass, annoy, or alarm another person (including insults, taunts, or making communications in offensively coarse language to another person, which can include obscene language or gestures). _____
5. Followed another person in public and/or repeatedly initiated or attempted to initiate communication with the other person (including calling, texting, social media, etc.). _____
6. Knowingly obtained or exercised control over anything of value between $50 and $300 that belonged to another without their permission, or that you believed may have been stolen. _____
7. Knowingly obtained or exercised control over anything valued at less than $50 that belonged to another without their permission, or that you believed may have been stolen. _____
8. Knowingly damaged the property of another (where damage costs less than $500). _____
9. Destroyed, defaced, removed, or damaged any historical monument, public or private property, by use of paint, ink, or other method that mars the surface of the property. _____
10. Knowingly or recklessly started or maintained an illegal fire or an explosion. _____
11. Unlawfully entered or remained upon premises that are enclosed in such a manner designed to exclude intruders or which are fenced (includes being at a park past designated hours). _____
12. Operated a motor vehicle while your driver's license was revoked. _____
13. Wrote a check or used a debit card while knowing there were insufficient funds in the account to cover the amount paid (less than $500). _____
14. Accessed, used, or exceeded authorized access of a computer, computer network, or computer system without permission (i.e. hacking). _____
15. Illegally carried a concealed knife (i.e. a switchblade) or firearm. _____
16. Recklessly endangered the health or safety of another person in order to initiate or admit them into an affiliation or organization such as a fraternity or sports team. _____
17. Consumed or possessed alcohol while under twenty-one years of age. _____
18. Operated, manipulated, or rode water skis, an aquaplane, a surfboard, an inner tube, snowboard, snow skis, etc., while under the influence of any substance. _____
19. Drove a vehicle while your blood alcohol content exceeded the legal limit. _____
20. Performed, offered, or consented to perform an act of sexual intercourse for money or some other benefit exchanged (can include drugs, higher grades, etc.). _____
21. Engaged in sexual intercourse with a minor according to State law. _____
22. Posted or shared a private image or video in order to gain revenge towards another person. _____
23. Had sexual intercourse (or attempted to) with a person without his or her consent. _____
24. Illegally used any controlled substance (includes prescription drugs). _____
25. Knowingly smelled or inhaled the fumes of toxic vapors or for the purpose of "getting high." _____
26. Sold, served, gave away, or permitted the sale of an alcoholic beverage to anyone under the age of 21. _____
27. Drove a motor vehicle in a careless and imprudent manner (includes texting while driving). _____
28. Had sexual interactions with another in a public place, or exposed an intimate body part in public in such a manner that is likely to cause affront or alarm. _____
29. Made unreasonable noise in a public place or near a private residence. _____
30. Littered on public or private property, or in any waters. _____

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Figure 2: Sanctions Answer Sheet

#	Offense Classification	Maximum Possible Sentence
1	Class 3 misdemeanor	6 months jail, $750 fine
2	Class 1 misdemeanor	18 months jail, $5,000 fine
3	Class 1 petty offense	6 months in jail, $500 fine
4	Class 3 misdemeanor	6 months jail, $750 fine
5	Class 3 misdemeanor	6 months jail, $750 fine
6	Class 3 misdemeanor	6 months jail, $750 fine
7	Class 1 petty offense	6 months in jail, $500 fine
8	Class 2 misdemeanor	12 months jail, $1,000 fine
9	Class 2 misdemeanor	12 months jail, $1,000 fine
10	Class 2 misdemeanor	12 months jail, $1,000 fine
11	Class 3 misdemeanor	6 months jail, $750 fine
12	Class 1 petty offense	6 months in jail, $500 fine
13	Class 2 misdemeanor	12 months jail, $1,000 fine
14	Class 2 misdemeanor	12 months jail, $1,000 fine
15	Class 2 misdemeanor	12 months jail, $1,000 fine
16	Class 3 misdemeanor	6 months jail, $750 fine
17	Class 2 petty offense	$250 fine (first offense), $500 fine (second offense)
18	Class 1 traffic misd.	$1,000 fine, 1 year in jail
19	Class 1 traffic misd.	$1,000 fine, 1 year in jail, 96 hours community service
20	Class 3 misdemeanor	6 months jail, $750 fine
21	Class 1 misdemeanor Class 4 felony	Any person (at least ten years older than the victim) who knowingly inflicts sexual intrusion or penetration on a victim between the ages of 15 and 17 → 18 months jail, $5,000 fine Any person (at least four years older than the victim) who knowingly inflicts sexual intrusion or penetration on a victim under the age of 15 → 6 years in prison
22	Class 1 misdemeanor	18 months jail, $5,000 fine
23	Class 3 felony	12 years prison, $750,000 fine
24	Level 2 drug misd.	12 months, $750 fine
25	Level 2 drug misd.	12 months, $750 fine
26	Class 2 misdemeanor	12 months jail, $1,000 fine
27	Class 1 traffic misd.	90 days jail, $300 fine
28	Class 1 petty offense	6 months in jail, a $500 fine
29	Class 1 petty offense	6 months in jail, a $500 fine
30	Class 2 petty offense	$500 fine

Figure 3: Reflection Assignment on Criminal Activities Checklist

1. Upon completion of the activity, how has your definition of crime changed?
2. Upon completion of the activity, how has your view of who is considered a criminal changed?
3. What is the most important thing you learned from this activity?
4. How effective do you think this activity is as a learning tool? Explain.
5. If you could summarize the main purpose of this activity, what would you say it is?
6. What suggestions do you have to improve the activity?

TEACHING TIPS

Using Badging in the Criminal Justice Classroom as a Motivational Tool

by

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Introduction

As a motivational tool, badging can be a powerful resource within the classroom. Badges are described as: "digital tokens that appear as icons or logos on a web page or other online venue. Awarded by institutions, organizations, groups, or individuals, badges signify accomplishments such as completion of a project, mastery of a skill, or marks of experience" (EDUCAUSE, 2012). Though the definition provided discusses badges being awarded through an online venue, badges can also be awarded within a physical classroom.

The use of badging as a motivational tool has been successfully applied by the author along with a colleague within several undergraduate online criminal justice classrooms with overall retention rates improved and failure rates decreased. In addition, students spent significantly more time in the online classroom after the implementation of badging into the classroom. As such, providing students with a digital or physical badge can be an effective tool for instructors to potentially motivate their students to increase engagement, collaboration, and interaction within the criminal justice classroom.

Beyond motivating students' learning and development of skills and competencies (Carey, 2012), the benefits of awarding badges to students include: 1) providing evidence of knowledge gained through the completion of a respective task; 2) focusing learning on specific goals, and improved quality of a student's work; 3) providing a supportive environment in which students' learning encourages an action-oriented understanding of course objectives; 4) fostering deeper learning of course material; 5) creating opportunities for public recognition; and 6) badges add an element of fun to the classroom, as students are encouraged to compete against their classmates in a cooperative manner (Vah Seliskar, 2014). By earning a badge, the element of recognition may be further enhanced for some students, as the badge can be viewed as symbolic of their personal and professional aspirations beyond the classroom, as many professions in various criminal justice and public service professions require the wearing of a badge.

Implementing badging in the classroom

There are several free websites instructors can use to implement badging in the classroom, and to create the badges to be shared with students. The badges can be shared with students through email communication, posted to a community bulletin board in a physical classroom, distributed to students during a physical class meeting, or shared within the institution's learning management system (such as eCollege or Blackboard), embedded within classroom announcements, a shared online file, a class website or a class blog. Below is a short list of websites instructors can use to create badges for their classroom:

- Big Huge Labs- https://bighugelabs.com/
- ClassBadges- http://classbadges.com/
- Google Drawings-http://www.google.com
- Blackinton-http://www2.blackinton.com/Pages/index.aspx
- Credly-https://credly.com/
- Mozilla Backpack-https://backpack.openbadges.org/backpack/login

Several steps are needed in order to implement the use of badging within the classroom. The first step is to answer the following questions: 1) What skills (writing, understanding difficult concepts, exam preparation, time management, researching, grammar, spelling, sentence structure, APA Format and Citation Style, etc.) do students seem to struggle with? 2) What tasks could students use more help with? 3) What courses will be best suited for badging? 4) What assignments and tasks are most appropriate for the purposes of awarding a badge to a student? 5) Should badges be awarded for completing required tasks, or for tasks going 'above and beyond' within the classroom?

The second step is to consider how many badges to implement within the classroom, while considering the context of the class, and the ways in which badges will be awarded to students. It is important to ensure the number of badges is manageable for instructors to award throughout the term or semester. As a best practice, I would suggest starting with no more than five badges to be awarded within each classroom, as badges can be awarded to several students, several times throughout each week of the term/semester.

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The third step to consider is whether the use of awarding badges to students will be connected to a grade, or will be used entirely as a motivational tool for student engagement and interaction. If students typically struggle with difficult concepts and ideas, connecting the badge to a grade may cause greater strain on the student. However, if students struggle with time management, researching skills or writing skills, connecting the badge to a grade may improve these skills. It is imperative to consider the context of the classroom, as well as the abilities and skills of students as badges are implemented into the classroom. (Please note: the badging program that was successfully implemented by the author and her colleague did not connect the awarding of badges to a grade, and were used entirely as a motivational tool.)

The fourth step is to consider how to share information regarding the use of badges in the classroom, as public recognition is a key element to successfully implementing badges within the classroom. As a best practice, a 'Frequently Asked Questions' [FAQ] document should be created and shared with students at the beginning of each new term/semester. The document should include at a minimum, the following information:

- A description of the badges
- Where the badges can be found in the classroom
- What the badges mean in terms of public recognition and public sharing in the classroom
- What badges can be earned, and how students can earn the badges
- A screenshot or picture of the badges (consider using the aforementioned websites to create all badges)
- A screenshot or picture of the public recognition piece or "Badging Leader Board"

If the badges are being awarded in a physical classroom, instructors can post the name of the student, the badge name, and the unit or week the badge was awarded on a community bulletin board, and students receiving badges can be mentioned at the beginning or end of the class meetings; if the classroom is online, students can be emailed the same information, or the information can be discussed during online synchronous meetings. Alternatively, a free tool called Padlet (http://www.padlet.com) is a simple way to create an 'online community bulletin board', in which instructors can embed the bulletin board into their online classroom announcements within the institution's learning management system.

Badging throughout the term/semester

Throughout the term or semester, there are a few tasks that will need to be completed on a weekly basis:

- Update the public recognition piece each week/unit of the term/semester to reflect which students have earned a badge over the week/unit
- Email students on a weekly basis congratulating those students who earned a badge
- During the midterm week/unit and the final week/unit of the course, email a congratulatory message to the 'top' badge earners, or post to the community classroom board
- Discuss badges each week, for five to ten minutes to encourage cooperative competition amongst students, and to pub licly recognize any students earning a badge

Challenges to using badging in the classroom

Unless a specific software program for badging is being used by an educational institution, the use of badging will not be built into a specific course, and will require more manual labor by the instructor to issue badges, monitor student progress, and to create badges for those students going 'above and beyond' in the classroom. Instructors will need to familiarize themselves with the technology they choose to award badges prior to sharing the information with students, as instructors will become the Technical Support for this tool within their specific classroom. Creating an FAQ document will be extremely beneficial for instructors as students will likely have some questions regarding the use of badging in the classroom. Instructors should also be aware of accommodating those students with disabilities or special needs. The website Adaptech Research Network (http://www.adaptech.org/en/research) provides a comprehensive list of adaptable tools that are free or fairly inexpensive to use. Additionally, some challenges may arise in the classroom if there are a large percentage of international students as language barriers can at times persist, and may affect the overall performance and participation international students may have within an individual classroom. To assist international students in overcoming language barriers, some educational institutions have English Language Centers, International Student Support Services, and other English language learning workshops, classes, and tutors available for international students. Instructors may need to spend time ensuring that international students have a clear understanding of what a badge is, and how it will be used within the classroom, which may require the removal of any slang terms, idioms, or American customs that may

not be familiar to international students. If instructors are cognizant of cultural and language barriers they will be less likely to encounter a situation in which a student may feel alienated or confused. The University of Denver and the University of Michigan have each compiled a helpful list of strategies instructors can use when teaching international students, which may be helpful when implementing badges into the classroom (please see Suggested Resources).

As a best practice, instructors should carefully explain badging to their students while being mindful of who their students are and what their unique learning needs are, while being sensitive to the cultural backgrounds of their students, which may be very different from their own. Maintaining a level of flexibility while implementing the use of badges into a classroom with an understanding that some degree of 'trial and error' is to be expected can assist an instructor with the successful integration of badges into the classroom.

Conclusion

Awarding badges to students as a motivational tool within the criminal justice classroom can result in greater interaction, engagement, and collaboration between the instructor and their students. Badging creates a cooperative environment in which students can compete with one another through a respective and inclusive manner. Badges can encourage students to go 'above and beyond' in the classroom, as badges have the potential to motivate students beyond what is required of them, as the incentive to be publicly recognized by both their instructor and their peers can be a powerful motivational tool.

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Traditional Media, Social Media and Professional Pages

How to Share Your Findings and Expertise with Media Outlets

As crime and criminal justice topics dominate the news, reporters need credible, knowledgeable and prepared experts to address trending issues. While some criminologists discuss their research, there is an opportunity for more experts to proactively share their findings through traditional media, social media and professional pages. Below are best practices and recommended tactics to effectively share your expertise with target audiences:

Traditional Media

Media outlets inform the general public, key influencers and decision-makers about the latest news, findings and recommendations from academia. News websites, reporter profiles and online templates have made it easier for experts to engage with reporters. When pursuing print, online or broadcast journalists, consider the following:

1. *Establish Reporter Relationships* – Identify influential reporters, news outlets and relevant blogs that cover topics similar to your areas of expertise. Find their contact information on the outlet's website or engage with the reporter on social media. Introduce yourself, share your areas of expertise and offer yourself as a resource for future articles.

2. *Make Yourself Available* – Reporters are always on deadline, working on multiple stories at any given time. They need to speak with experts in a timely manner and move to the next issue. Try to respond to a reporter's request within an hour. Ask for his or her deadline, and schedule a time to talk if the request is not urgent. Research the topic of discussion, create your message points and prepare for the interview.

3. *Identify Key Messages* – Recognizing reporters only have 10-20 minutes for an interview, identify the top three messages you want the reporter to know. Consider what makes your research unique, the impact of your findings and why the reporter should share this information with his or her readers. Write down these messages before your interview to ensure you hit every point.

Social Media

Social media can amplify the number of people and organizations that are aware of your findings. Some of the most frequently used channels include Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Instagram and Google+ – all targeting specific audiences. Whether you are already active or new to social media, consider the following:

1. *Explore the Channels* – Experiment with each channel and determine which platform is best to reach your desired audience. The most commonly used platforms for professional use are LinkedIn and Twitter. If you are new to social media, consider creating one or two manageable accounts to promote your expertise. Explore the channels, learn the language (e.g., hashtag, retweet, favorites, etc.) and create your accounts. Make sure your account names are professional, concise and consistent.

2. *Provide Original Content* – After experimenting, consider what content you will share. Revisit the key messages developed during the traditional media outreach and remember that your social media posts are public. Once you finalize your channels and content, use its analytic tools to determine what time of day and which day of the week to post in order to maximize awareness.

3. *Maintain Your Community* – Build, engage and maintain your social media communities. Once you create your accounts, you will need to post frequently, interact with followers and continue to offer your research and expertise. Shares, retweets and favorites are metrics that will help you determine if you are successfully engaging with your community.

Professional Pages

It is important to have a centralized location where reporters, followers and audiences can learn more about you. If you are interested in increasing your web and media presence, simply being on your department's website and providing a copy of your CV is not enough. Consider the following:

1. *Create a Website* – If you want to work within the parameters of your university, save your peer-reviewed publications in PDFs and hyperlink the PDF to your article citations in your online CV. If you are not satisfied with the accessibility of your university website, consider creating your own. This will allow you to control the content and expand your web presence.

2. *Start a Blog* – Consider creating a blog or join the list of editorial contributors for an existing blog. A blog post offers an organic writing experience, without the structural limitations of a peer-reviewed paper. You can expand on discussions that are not in your paper or highlight other policy implications. A blog will enhance your web presence and help you establish another forum where audiences can view your posts.

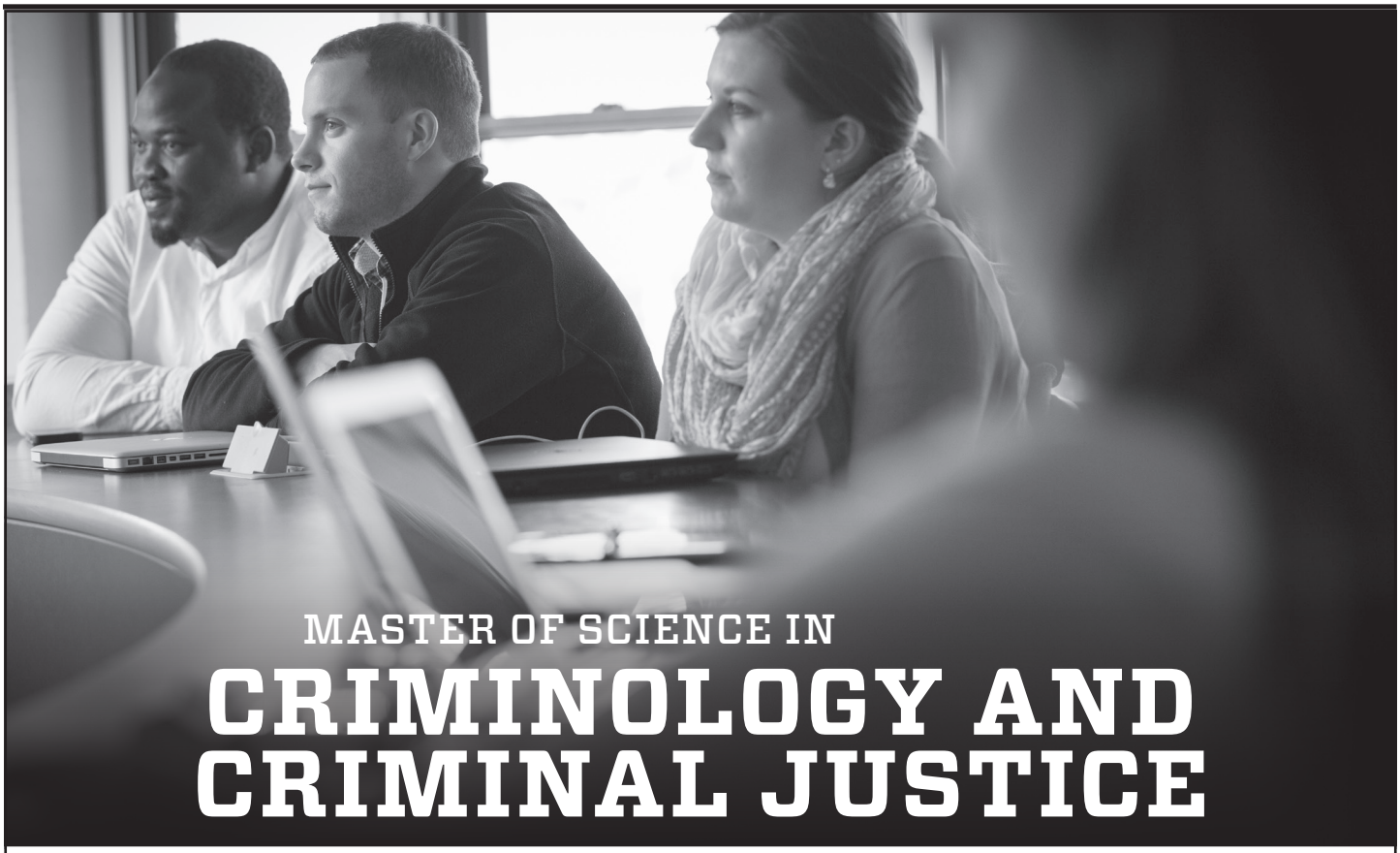
3. *Use Existing Resources* – Most universities have a media relations department comprised of publicists and journalists, who want to promote your findings. In the book, Crime and Media Studies: Diversity of Method, Medium and Communication,[1] you will find step-by-step instructions on how to break down peer-reviewed research articles, identify reading levels of intended audiences and construct press releases and blog posts.

By following these tips for traditional media, social media and professional pages, your voice will be accurately heard and represented in the national crime and criminal justice discussion.

Join the authors of this article for a media training workshop at the 2016 ASC Conference. Details to follow in the next issue of *The Criminologist.*

Franklin T. Wilson, Ph.D., Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Indiana State University
Caitlin Kizielewicz, Communication Consultant, Crime & Justice Research Alliance (CJRA)

[1] Wilson, F. T. (2014). Crime and Media Studies: Diversity of Method, Medium, and Communication (1st Ed.). San Diego, CA: Cognella Academic Publishing.



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PROGRAM LEADERSHIP

Tom Nolan
Program Director, Criminology and Criminal Justice, Merrimack College

A former senior policy analyst in the Office of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties at the Department of Homeland Security in Washington, DC, as well as a 27-year veteran (and former lieutenant) of the Boston Police Department, Tom Nolan is consulted regularly by local, national, and international media outlets for his expertise in policing and civil rights and civil liberties issues, police practices and procedures, the police subculture, and crime trends and criminal behavior. Nolan's scholarly publications are in the areas of gender roles in policing, the police subculture, and the influence of the popular culture on criminal justice processes. Tom writes regularly for the *American Constitution Society* in Washington, DC as well as *The Daily Beast*.

Dr. Thomas Nolan is an Associate Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice.

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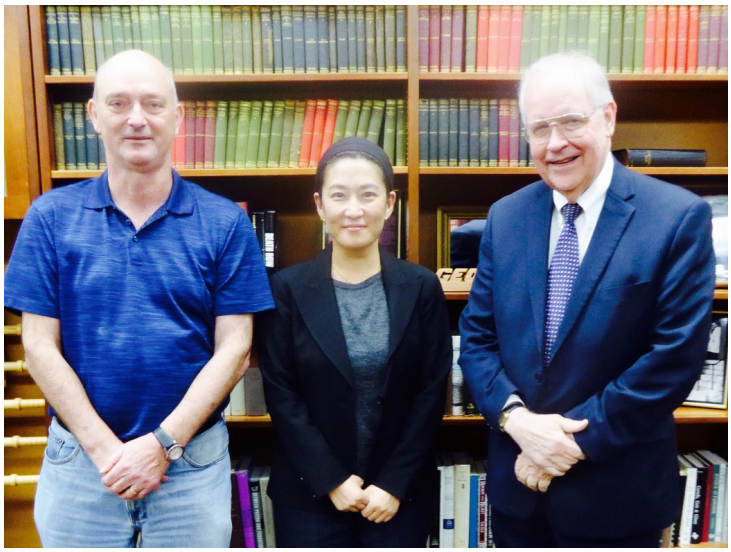
CRIMINOLOGY AROUND THE WORLD

If you have news, views, reviews, or announcements relating to international or comparative criminology, please send it here! We appreciate brevity (always under 1,000 words), and welcome your input and feedback. – Vesna Markovic at vmarkovic@newhaven.edu

Beto Chair Scholar in Residence

by

Bitna Kim, Associate Professor, Indiana University of Pennsylvania



Dr. Jurg Gerber, Dr. Bitna Kim, and Dan Beto (son of George J. Beto)

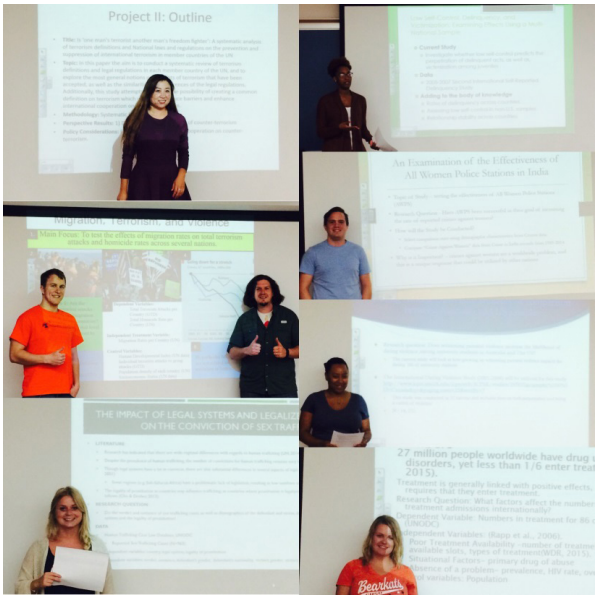
I returned to my *alma mater* (2008) Sam Houston State University this spring as the first Beto Chair Scholar in Residence in nearly 20 years. The Beto Chair is a flagship program at the SHSU College of Criminal Justice initiated in 1981 and named in honor of George J. Beto, a founder of the college and well-known corrections systems reformer. During the 1980s and 1990s, the Beto program hosted a number of top scholars on campus for a semester to interact with students and collaborate with faculty. In later years the program invited several prestigious scholars annually to present an invited address on their latest research.

Dr. Kim with her students

CRIMINOLOGY AROUND THE WORLD

As the Beto Chair Scholar in Residence I updated the Law Enforcement and Community Corrections Partnership, a 2007 grant-supported program that provided a national resource center for collaborative efforts among local law enforcement, sheriffs, parole officers, and probation officers in Texas. In addition, while on sabbatical leave from Indiana University of Pennsylvania I am teaching a graduate-level course in "International and Comparative Criminal Justice." Four 2nd year MA students, two 1st year PhD students, and two 3rd year doctoral students are enrolled in this course.

Borrowing a number of ideas from the *Comparative and International Criminal Justice Course Guide,* I included various approaches that have been developed to characterize how criminal justice systems are organized and how practice is carried out in quite different ways around the world. Given my own personal background and research interests, I shared my experiences working in South Korea and in Asian and European communities and discussed some of the findings on gender and crime, policing, and criminal justice education I have made in the course of my work. At the beginning of the semester each of the students picked one country of focus, and their charge was that of conducting an in-depth exploration of the major areas of criminal justice systems for the country they chose. The countries selected were Spain, the Netherlands, Norway, Singapore, Costa Rica, China, India, and Canada. Three international students from the Netherlands, Canada, and China chose their own countries for this project, and other students chose a country based on their personal interest. The student who is researching Spain already purchased a ticket for a flight to Spain for summer travel and follow-up research.



Students presenting their final projects

Students are required to conduct their research and prepare a final project report for the course. The topic of this paper is the choice of each student. The topics selected included the effects of migration on terrorism and homicide, a systematic review of studies on terrorism, a test of self-control theory across countries using an international delinquency dataset, a comparison between U.S. and Australia on the effect of witnessing domestic violence on dating violence, the effect of All Women Police Stations (AWPS) in India, comparative study on drug use and treatment issues, and the impact of legal systems and legalized prostitution on the conviction of sex trafficking. Such interesting topics illustrates well how such a course enhances the appreciation of, and respect for, the criminal justice systems and procedures of other countries. It is my hope as well that the students in this course learn the value of international/comparative research and incorporate this area of study into their own future teaching and research.

Emerging Terrorist Financing Risks – October 2015

The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) released a report that focuses on various financing mechanisms used by terrorist organizations. It discusses the various emerging threats and risks posed by foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs), fundraising through social media, new payment products and services, and the exploitation of natural resources. For example, the FTFs have been found to use traditional methods, including self-funding, in order to be able to fund their travel to conflict areas. The report also found that there were major vulnerabilities from social media due to the anonymity it provides, as well as providing access to a larger number of potential donors and sympathizers. Online methods of payments and transfer are also a source of concern. The use of natural resources was also considered a threat in the context of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL also known as ISIS)

The report is available online at the following address: http://www.fatf-gafi.org/publications/methodsandtrends/documents/emerging-terrorist-financing-risks.html

New International Books of Interest

Croydon, S. (2016 – Forthcoming) *The Politics of Police Detention in Japan: Consensus of Convenience*. (Oxford University Press).

Heil, E. and Nichols, A.J. (2016 – Forthcoming) *Broadening the Scope of Human Trafficking: A Reader.* (Carolina Academic Press).

Laverick, W. (2016) *Global Injustice and Crime Control.* (Routledge).

Schweppe, J. and Austin, M. (2016 – Forthcoming) *The Globalisation of Hate: Internationalising Hate Crime?* (Oxford University Press).

UPCOMING CONFERENCES & EVENTS

CRIMINOLOGY MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES

DOMESTIC

Racial Democracy, Crime And Justice Network's Summer Research Institute: Broadening Participation & Perspectives
June 27th - July 15th, 2016
Rutgers University, School of Criminal Justice

INTERNATIONAL

International Conference on CyberCrime and Computer Forensics (ICCCF)
June 12-14, 2016
Simon Fraser University Harbour Centre
Vancouver, Canada

Asian Criminological Society (ACS) Annual Conference
June 17-19, 2016
Beijing, Chin

The ICCJ 2016: 18th International Conference on Criminal Justice
June 20-21 , 2016
Paris, France

Crime and Justice in Asia and the Global South: An International Conference
Co-hosted by the Crime and Justice Research Centre (QUT) and the Asian Criminological Society
July 10-13, 2017
Shangri-La Hotel, Cairns, Australia http://crimejusticeconference.com.au/

2016 ISPCAN International Congress on Child Abuse and Neglect
August 28-30, 2016
Telus Convention Center
Calgary, Canada

European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control
September 1-3, 2016
University of Minho
Braga, Portugal

The 16th Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology
September 21-24, 2016
Muenster, Germany http://www.eurocrim2016.com/

Criminal Justice and Security in Central and Eastern Europe
September 26-27, 2016
Ljubljana, Slovenia http://www.fvv.um.si/conf2016/

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FUTURE ASC ANNUAL MEETING DATES

2017	November 15 -- 18	Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia Marriott Downtown
2018	November 14 -- 17	Atlanta, GA	Atlanta Marriott Marquis
2019	November 20 -- 23	San Francisco, CA	San Francisco Marriott Marquis
2020	November 18 -- 21	Washington, D.C.	Washington D.C. Marriott Marquis
2021	November 17 -- 20	Chicago, IL	Palmer House Hilton
2022	November 16 -- 19	Atlanta, GA	Atlanta Marriott Marquis
2023	November 15 -- 18	Philadelphia, PA	Philiadelphia Marriot Downtown
2024	November 20 -- 23	San Francisco, CA	San Francisco Marriott Marquis
2025	November 19 - 22	Washington, D.C.	Washington D.C. Marriott Marquis
2026	November 18 - 21	Chicago, IL	Palmer House Hilton
2027	November 17 -- 20	Dallas, TX	Dallas Anatole Hilton
2028	November 15 -- 18	New Orleans, LA	Hilton New Orleans Riverside

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