

"The ASC and Women: One Generation Without, One Generation With"  
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by Freda Adler

(Freda Adler serves as a Professor in the School of Criminal Justice at Rutgers University. Professor Adler served as the President of the American Society of Criminology from 1994 -1995. An earlier version of the article was presented at the plenary session, "25 Years of Women in Criminology," at the 1996 ASC Annual Meetings)

During the years 1932 to 1939, a group of graduate students at the University of California at Berkeley, who were taking courses with August Vollmer, used to get together informally to discuss police administration at the college level. They called themselves the V-Men (Vollmer-Men) and wore lapel buttons with the V etched in the center. The idea for a professional organization began to jell. On the morning of December 30, 1941, eight men met at the home of August Vollmer in Berkeley. They all taught college courses in Police Science and Administration. Their purpose was to improve police training curricula. The meeting turned into a marathon that ran from 10 am until one o'clock in the morning the next day. They organized under the same name, The National Association of College Police Training Officials. In 1946 the organization Society for the Advancement of Criminology. The scope, policy and membership had changed. There were now 40 members, all male. On March 30, 1957, the Executive Committee held an all-day meeting to discuss major concerns. There were ten issues: appointment of a representative to AAAS, naming the chair of the Publications Committee, making recommendations for the Society's Newsletter, surveying the objectives of institutions having criminology programs, updating and distributing the "Directory of Colleges and Universities Offering Criminology Programs," course content, the possibility of Florida State publishing a journal, communication with editors of various journals, soliciting suggestions and comments from the membership with reference to the name of the Society and revision of its constitution ("American Society of Criminology" was one of three --- the other were the "American Criminological Association" and the "American Criminological Society,") and, lastly, the approval and presentation to the members of the redrafted constitution. At the very same time the Membership Directory of 1957 lists 64 persons, all male. Broadening membership to females was not on the agenda.

The Society of the Advancement of Criminology changed its name officially to the American Society of Criminology on August 7, 1958. The report of the Membership Committee on that year stated, "We are pleased to inform you that the membership drive for the 1958 is approaching its peak. Since its inception early in the year, we have nearly doubled our membership rolls."

Still, there were no women members. Yet concern was continually expressed over extending the geographical range of the membership. On this issue there was success. In 1959 the first annual meeting ever convened outside of California took place in Chicago. Annual meetings moved East to New York, Philadelphia, and even San Juan, Puerto Rico; North to Montreal and Toronto; and as far South as Caracas, Venezuela. The Society was officially designated an affiliate of the International Society of Criminology, and was represented in European meetings. Liaisons were made with other organizations, too, among them the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the American Correctional Association. By 1960, there were 200 members from 14 states representing several professional criminological specialties. Still, there were no women members.

Attempts to sustain a Society publication were unsuccessful until 1963. In May of that year Volume I, Number 1 of *Criminologica: Newsletter of the American Society of Criminology* appeared, edited by Charles Newman. The name of the publication was changed in May 1970 to *Criminology: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Volume 8, Number 1). The masthead noted for the first time that it was "The Official Publication of the American Society of Criminology." Since its inception, the journal has had

twelve male editors, one male contributing editors, and one female contributing editor (Dorothy Tompkins). The *Criminologist*, first published in 1976, has had seven men and one woman (Miriam Delone) serving as editors.

It was not until the 1960s that a few women began to join what had been a totally male organization. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Christine Schultz and Barbara Price held the post of Secretary. Sarah Hall accepted the position of Administrator in 1976. Our archival records prior to 1975 are incomplete. We do know, that there were no female members in 1960, that 11 percent of the membership was female in 1972 (59 out of 529 members), and 15 percent in 1975. As of October 31, 1996, 1,031 of the 2,731 members (31 percent) are women.

Women began to attend annual meetings in the mid-1960s, but the programs do not reflect their presence. In November 1967, for example, the annual meeting, held at New York University, consisted of 17 presenters, all male. Among other, we know that two very distinguished women colleagues were in attendance: There was Eleanor Turo Glueck, the behavioral scientist who worked with her husband, Harvard Law Professor Sheldon Glueck. (It is interesting to note that Harvard Law School denied Dr. Eleanor Turo Glueck a professorship, according her merely the status of a senior research scholar, attached to the work of her husband.) The award which our Society bestows annually honors not only Thorsten Sellin and Sheldon Glueck, but also Eleanor Glueck. And the second distinguished woman present was Dr. Melitta Schmideberg. Melitta was the daughter of the psychoanalyst Melaine Klein, who was Sigmund Freud's follower -- and later nemesis. Dr. Schmideberg is best known as the creator of APTO, the Association for the Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders, and its journal, now called the *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. She was responsible for introducing into the New York courts the idea for diversion prior to adjudication. What she would do is talk (some said "con") New York trial judges into releasing offenders into her custody for treatment by any one of her 100-plus close collaborators, especially herself. A year later the offenders would be in court again and if no new charges had been placed, their cases would be dismissed. (Incidentally, Melitta and her mother Melanie Klein were feathered in the highly acclaimed off Broadway play, "Melanie Klein," just this last season.) Besides these distinguished senior colleagues, a few young female students were in attendance, including Edith Flynn and a couple of us from the Center for Criminal Law and Criminology (now the Sellin Center) at the University of Pennsylvania.

As I noted, there were now women on the 1967 program. In 1975 they made up 14 percent, 22 percent in 1980, 26 percent in 1985, 30 percent in 1990, and 37 percent in 1995. At the 1974 annual meeting, Edith Flynn, as program chair, placed "critical criminology" on the agenda for the first time -- and women were participating, thus signaling a parallelism of concern. Altogether six, 17 percent of all Program Chairs, were women (Freda Adler, 1972; Edith Flynn, 1974; Barbara Price, 1986; Susan White, 1989; Ruth Petersen, 1991; and Marcia Chaiken, 1993) This figure does not include Debbie Curran who will serve in 1997.

The first panel ever held at the ASC on the topic of Women and Crime took place at the 1975 annual meeting in Toronto. I chaired that panel and Frank Scarpitti was the discussant. I will never forget that we expected a very small group (maybe just the panelists), but had to be given a room change to accommodate the crowd, crammed even behind the speakers -- and out in the hall leading to the elevators. Most, I believe, came out of curiosity. Seven papers were presented: (1) *The Female Offender in Washington, D.C.* (Susan Katzenelson); *Middle Class Delinquency* (Joseph Weiss); *Police Perceptions of the Female Offender* (Ira Silverman, Manuel Vega and John Accardi); *The "Chivalrous" Treatment of the Female Offender in the Arms of the Criminal Justice System: A Review of the literature* (Etta Anderson); *Attitudes Toward Policewomen on Active Patrol* (Ibtihaj Arafat and Kathleen McCaherty); *Styles of Doing Time in a Co-Ed Prison: Masculine and Feminine Alternatives* (Nanci Koser Wilson); and *Are Men and Women Equal in the Operation of the Criminal Justice*

System in Canada (Jim Ortega.) Gender papers increased to 6 percent of all papers presented in 1976, 13 percent in 1982, and 15 percent in 1995.

The ASC honors its own with a number of offices and awards. By now, 7 percent of the 88 Fellows are women (Ruth Cavan, Sue Titus Reid, Rita Simon, Anne White, Freda Adler, Meda Chesney-Lind). Five percent of the 37 Sutherland Awards were presented to women (Lee Robins, Joan McCord), 13 percent of the 37 August Vollmer Awards (Eleanor Glueck, Patricia Wald, Joan Petersilia, Rebecca Dobash, Betsy Stanko), 17 percent of the 23 Sellin-Glueck Awards (Inkeri Anttila, Maureen Caine, Josine Junger-Tas, Ulla Bondeson), and 29 percent of the 24 Herbert Block Awards (Freda Adler, Barbara Price, Sarah Hall, Phyllis Jo Baunach, Joan McCord, Ruth Peterson, Meda Chesney-Lind). The first woman president, Joan McCord, was elected in 1988, followed in 1989 by Joan Petersilia and by myself in 1994, for a total of 5 percent of all presidents. This does not count our incoming president, Margery Zahn. Seven women (12 percent of all Vice-Presidents) served as Vice-President. Barbara Price was the first (1981), followed by Marguerite Warren (1982), Joan Petersilia (1985), Edith Flynn (1986), Margaret Zahn (1990), Meda Chesney Lind (1993), and my teammate Merry Morash (1994). Since 1965 (as far back as our records go), 4 women (12%) have served as Executive Secretary : Christine Schultz, Barbara Price, Christy Visher and Sally Simpson, and 28 women as Executive Counselors (Freda Adler, 1971 and 1974; Edith Flynn, 1975; Barbara Price, 1978; Marguerite Warren, 1979; Vernetta Young, 1980; Phyllis Jo Baunach, 1981; Marilyn Slivak, 1981; Peggy Giordano, 1982; Joan Petersilia, 1982; Diane Vaughn, 1983; Margaret Zahn, 1983; Susan Martin, 1984; Nicole Rafter, 1985; Phyllis Jo Baunach, 1987; M. Kay Harris, 1998; Kathleen Daly, 1989; Susan Martin, 1990; Martha Myers, 1991; Ruth Peterson, 1992; Christy Visher, 1993; Marjorie Zatz, 1994; Marsha Chaiken, 1995; Lynne Goodstein, 1996; and Carolyn Rebecca Block, 1996).

The major impetus behind the increasing roles of women in ASC is, of course, the Division on Women and Crime. From the late 1970s, when the Division was only an idea in the minds of a few, to today when it is making a major contribution to the life of the Society, it has served as a major support system for its members.

I tried to piece together the history of the Division, with the help of those few who were around at the time. There is agreement that it began in Atlanta in 1976, when a small group of women met informally in a hotel room to discuss the creation of a forum to address issues concerning women as professionals in the criminal justice system and as researchers on gender and crime. (Among those present were P.J. Baunach, Nanci Koser Wilson, Nicole Rafter, Chris Rasche, Barbara Price and Betsy Stanko.) Out of this get-together grew the Women's Caucus and, eventually, the Division on Women and Crime (DWC). After many deliberations, a final draft of the DWC Constitution was approved by the ASC Executive Board on November 6, 1982. An interim Executive Board was elected for a two-year term: P.J. Baunach, Chair; Nanci Koser Wilson, Vice Chair; Anna Kuhl, Secretary; Cathy Spatz-Widom, Christine Rasche and Ira Silverman, Division Executive Counselors.

The first records that we have of the number of persons attending DWC meetings is from the 1982 minutes. There were 25 attendees. The first official elections took place in 1984. The Executive Board was made up of P.J. Baunach, Chair; Nanci Koser Wilson, Vice Chair; Francis Cole, Secretary; and Chris Rasche, Nicole Rafter and Virginia Morris, Division Executive Counselors. Donna Hale and Martha Myers were asked to serve as Division program chairs for the 1985 meeting. By 1986 the membership had increased to 165. Chris Rasche became Vice President and Clarice Feinman was elected Secretary (the Chair is elected by mailed ballot during regular ASC elections). Merry Morash, Donna Hale and Lynn Goodstein became Division Executive Counselors. In 1987 the DWC set up its first booth in the exhibit hall.

In 1988 a new journal emerged, *Women and Criminal Justice*, under the editorship of Clarice Feinman, the then Secretary Treasurer of the Division. (Donna Hale is the present editor.) This journal is the only periodical specifically devoted to scholarly research and the criminal justice system as it pertains to women.

Anna Kuhl too over from P.J. Baunach in 1988 as Division Chairperson. Chris Rasche became Vice Chair and Kathy Daly, Secretary-Treasurer. Merry Morash completed a major project -- the compilation of syllabi for teaching courses on women and crime, entitled "Women and Crime Curriculum Guide and Bibliography."

Meda Chesney-Lind was elected Chair of DWC in 1989, Sue Manhan, Vice-Chair, and Virginia Morris, Secretary-Treasurer. Carol Thompson, Angela Brown and P.J. Baunach were elected Division Executive Counselors. There were by then 220 members.

Kaylene Richards Ekch, Angela Browne and Lynne Goodstein became Division Executive Counselors in 1990, and in 1991 Carole Garrison was elected Chair. Membership was up to 232 and the treasure had \$3,446.00. When the Chair left for Cambodia in 1992, Lynne Goodstein became Acting Chair. Chris Rasche was elected Vice-Chair; Imogene Moyer, Secretary-Treasurer; and Coramae Mann, Drew Humphries, Laura Fishman, Division Executive Counselors. Meda Chesney-Lind's book won the Hindelang Award in that year.

In 1993 Nancy Wonders and Nancy Jurik were elected Division Executive Counselors. The Division established two awards: Distinguished Scholar and New Scholar. The second edition of the teaching guide, "Teaching About Women in Criminal Justice and Criminology Courses: A Resource Guide," compiled by Chris Rasche and Lynne Goodstein, appeared in 1994.

In 1994 Lynne Goodstein was elected Chair; Nicole Rafter, Vice-Chair; Joanne Belknap, Secretary-Treasurer; and Chinita Heard, Nancy Jurik and Nancy Wonders, Division Executive Counselors. The WC presented its first awards. The Outstanding Scholar award went to Meda Chesney-Lind and Kathleen Daly; and Susan Miller and the recipient of the New Scholar Award.

In 1995 Chris Rasche took over as Chair. Susan Caulfield and Phoebe Stambaugh were Division Counselors. Coramae Mann received the Distinguished Scholar Award and Helen Eisenberg, the New Scholar Award. Sarah Hall was honored at the annual social hour. The number of members had reached 300.

Chris Rasche remained Chair in 1996. Evelyn Gilbert took over as Vice-Chair. Brenda Sims Blackwell and Carolyn Rebecca Block were elected Division Counselors. The first Division award for the student paper competition was presented to Liena Gurevich of New York University.

A driving force behind the cohesiveness of the DWC is its newsletter. Published throughout the year, it serves to bring members together, remind them to vote (and pay their dues), call attention to DWC-sponsored panels, update members on pending issues, allow those not attending annual meetings to be up to date on events and decisions; it also offers special feature stories. Nanci Koser Wilson was editor from 1982 to 1986, Chris Rasche, 1987 to 1995, and now the editorship has been transferred to Sue Caulfield, Susan Caringella-MacDonal and Zoann Snyder-Joy.

The Division on Women and Crime serves many functions. First, it is an organization that specifically deals with women in the criminal justice system, as professionals working in the system, as scholars and researchers, as offenders and as victims. Second, it has been the driving force behind the steady progress in the participation of women within the ASC. It is a working group (for example, the Task

Forces on Decarceration, headed by Karlene Faith, and on Women in Academia) and it is a social group. It is a group that networks - and, above all, mentors our student members and new professors.

I'll end on a personal note. As a youngster, I did not know "who was who" at the meetings. At a plenary session in 1967, while sitting attentively listening to presentations of Ferracuti, Wolfgang, Martinson, and Mueller, among others, there was a gentle tap on my shoulder, from behind. A woman asked me: Are you Freda Adler? I believe you're getting your degree at Penn and that you have three children. I like the topic you've chosen for your dissertation. . . . "With that, the brief conversation ended. Once outside of the auditorium, I whispered to a friend, "Who is that woman over in the corner?" My friend smiled. "That's Eleanor Glueck." I'll never forget how embarrassed I was that she had approached me -- and I didn't even know who she was. I'll also never forget how great I felt that such a senior scholar knew what a grad student was doing. She was an inspiration and a friend for those short years before she passed away -- I learned how much it means to a young scholar to have support and recognition. And that is just what friendships and mentoring in the ASC provide (Note: The 1996 Chicago meeting marked the 30th anniversary of my membership in the ASC. Much of the information in this article comes from written material and notes that I have saved through those years. If my account has overlooked any significant historical items, please let me know -- for the archives.)