

NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE
EDUCATIONAL CONSORTIUM



VOLUME IV

CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORAL EDUCATION:
ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

MEMBER SCHOOLS:

Arizona State University
Eastern Kentucky University
Michigan State University
Northeastern University
Portland State University
University of Maryland
University of Nebraska at Omaha

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NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE
EDUCATIONAL CONSORTIUM REPORTS

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(NCJEC Board of Directors)

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ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

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National Criminal Justice
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PREFACE

This volume is the fourth in a series of four Reports growing out of the National Criminal Justice Educational Consortium project. This Consortium was funded in 1973 by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and involved seven universities. The project was a three-year endeavor designed to lead to the development or strengthening of graduate programs in criminal justice at the seven member institutions: the University of Maryland, Michigan State University, Arizona State University, the University of Nebraska at Omaha, Portland State University, Northeastern University, and Eastern Kentucky University. The first two of these universities had master's and doctoral programs in existence at the time of the creation of the Consortium, while the other five were charged with developing new graduate programs.

As in all human events, individual historical episodes are to some degree unique. In the case of this educational development experience, each of the seven member universities differed from the others in a number of important ways. The criminal justice program development events at the individual institutions varied in many ways from one university to another. Volume I, Program Histories: The Seven Consortium Institutions, presents detailed narrative accounts of the particular

experiences at each of the seven universities. The interested reader can learn a good deal about the nuances of university life, curriculum development, and related matters from these seven program analyses in Volume I.

But, the historian's task is also one of extracting commonalities of experience out of somewhat parallel historical experiences. Although no two economic developments, revolutions, wars, or educational experiences are entirely similar, some common threads can be discerned among them. Volume II, An Analysis of the Consortium Endeavor, centers about the shared problems, successes and failures, and other experiences undergone by the seven Consortium institutions. Volume II should be of considerable value not only to those readers who are interested in graduate education in criminal justice but also to students of educational organizations who wish to learn about the broader topics of educational innovation, curriculum development, or educational consortia.

One of the core questions or issues regarding graduate education in criminal justice has to do with manpower needs. How many persons with advanced degrees in criminal justice will be needed in future decades? How many positions in educational institutions, criminal justice agencies, or other organizations will actually open up to holders of graduate degrees in criminal justice? What kinds of specific skills and knowledge will be required of those criminal justice graduates? Volume III, Criminal Justice Education Manpower Survey, presents the results of a comprehensive attempt on the part of the Consortium institutions to provide some tentative answers to these queries.

The issue of the substantive content of criminal justice graduate programs is addressed in various places throughout these four volumes, as is the companion question of the most appropriate institutional location for graduate programs in criminal justice. Each of the seven Consortium institutions had to face these and related questions. However, Volume IV, Criminal Justice Doctoral Education: Issues and Perspectives, is focused specifically upon key issues in criminal justice education. This Report draws heavily from the proceedings of a conference on criminal justice doctoral education held at the University of Nebraska at Omaha on October 21-23, 1975. The reader will encounter a good many provocative analyses of the problems and prospects for the emerging field of criminal justice within the pages of Volume IV.

The Directors and staff members of the seven Consortium institution projects regard these four volumes as a major product of the educational development experience. Final answers to major questions are not presented in these volumes, for such propositions would be highly premature. The final outlines of criminal justice graduate education are not yet entirely clear. Much work remains to be done toward the development of criminal justice graduate education that speaks to the central issues of crime control in modern society. But, if we have managed to identify some of the major problems that cry out for attention, the purposes of these volumes will have been achieved.

The supervision and general editorship of these Reports was the responsibility of the Consortium Board of Directors, composed of the Project Directors of the seven Consortium universities: Peter P. Lejins, Chairman, University of Maryland; Norman Rosenblatt, Vice Chairman, Northeastern University; John H. McNamara, former Chairman, University of Michigan; James W. Fox, Eastern Kentucky University; Don C. Gibbons, Portland State University; I. Gayle Shuman, Arizona State University; and Vincent J. Webb, University of Nebraska at Omaha. A Consortium Reports Committee chaired by Peter P. Lejins was appointed by the Board of Directors. Membership of this committee has included Gilbert H. Bruns, James W. Fox, Norman Rosenblatt, and Vincent J. Webb.

The Board of Directors served as a committee of the whole to oversee the development of Volume IV, with Vincent J. Webb as Chairman; the Chairman in turn appointed Thomas D. Kennedy, Arizona State University, James W. Fox, and John H. McNamara to assist in its preparation. Research Director Samuel Walker of the University of Nebraska at Omaha was coordinator of the conference on Key Issues in Criminal Justice Doctoral Education from which much of the material for Volume IV was taken. In addition to those papers which were presented at the conference and are published in Volume IV, there were some very interesting and valuable contributions which explored issues that were considered peripheral to the main theses of this volume. These papers have been abstracted and appear in an appendix to the volume; they may be obtained from their authors by anyone wishing to read them in their entirety.

Responsibility for the overall organization of these many efforts, including outlining, editing, writing of certain portions, typing, proofreading, reproduction, and assembly of the Reports rested with the staff of the Office of the Coordinator: Gilbert H. Bruns, Coordinator; Pat (Wilson) Young, former Assistant to the Coordinator; Carolyn O'Hearn, Publications Liaison Specialist; Charlotte C. Howard and Elaine Stern, Project Assistants; and Marilyn Thompson, secretary.

The representatives of the National Criminal Justice Educational Consortium wish to take this opportunity to express their appreciation for both the financial and moral support of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, without which these volumes and the achievements reported in them would not have been possible. Gratitude is due especially to Administrator Richard W. Velde, J. Price Foster, Director of the Office of Criminal Justice Education and Training, and Program Managers Carl W. Hamm and Jean Moore.

Although the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration provided the funding for the Consortium, the views presented in these volumes do not necessarily represent the opinions and views of that agency. Instead, the claims and conclusions advanced in these pages should be attributed to the members of the National Criminal Justice Educational Consortium.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1973 the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration provided funding to establish a consortium of universities to develop and enrich criminal justice doctoral education. This newly established National Criminal Justice Educational Consortium was composed of seven universities: Arizona State University, Eastern Kentucky University, Michigan State University, Northeastern University, Portland State University, the University of Maryland, and the University of Nebraska at Omaha. Each of these universities designated a "Project Director" who sat on the Board of Directors of the Consortium.

A Consortium Reports Committee and special subcommittees were established by the Board of Directors to cooperate with the Consortium Coordinator and his office in the production of the Consortium Final Reports comprised in these volumes. The Board of Directors reviewed and approved the text of these Reports and is responsible for the final version of this Report.

The Board of Directors met a total of 20 times with at least one, and frequently more, additional representatives of each university in attendance. In these meetings the representatives participated in topical seminars relative to criminal justice doctoral education as well as in purely administrative discussion sessions. Many of the fruits of these seminars are represented in other volumes of these reports; however, this fourth volume is dedicated to the presentation of issues and perspectives in criminal justice doctoral education which were derived from these seminars and conferences held under the auspices of the Consortium. The Omaha conference in October 1975 entitled "Key Issues in Criminal Justice Doctoral Education" was of particular note, and selected contributions from this conference are included in this volume.

Throughout its history, American higher education has responded to the various needs of a maturing society. In a somewhat similar manner, the American criminal justice system has developed and changed to respond to the dynamic society of which it is a part. These two institutions interact as the pressures upon the criminal justice system result in demands upon the institutions of higher education for more qualified personnel, with higher and higher levels of education.

It is, of course, fitting and proper that educators and criminal justice leaders alike seek to address the issues characteristic of this interaction of two major social institutions. To address the issues is not sufficient, however.

The issues call for responses from the very best of our leaders in criminal justice higher education. To that end, this volume makes a contribution.

The reader is urged to contemplate as he or she reads these issues and perspectives. Whether he or she is a student in this exciting new field, a faculty member, or a professional in one of the many criminal justice agencies in this country, these words can only describe an amorphous dream until you add the form. To the international observer, these comments are our efforts to describe our present criminal justice doctoral education and an effort to add the procedures and structure we feel will be necessary as the world moves to the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER 2. ISSUES IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Post-secondary education in the United States has been remarkably responsive to the everchanging needs of the social system it serves. New programs for technicians and managers of new technologies (e.g., computer technology) have been developed, with courses in applied science, administration of the field, and ethics of data processing and retrieval. So, too, post-secondary education has reacted to changes in the social system, though this response has tended to be slower. It is not hard to understand this difference in response rate when we realize that technological changes are hard to deny and are frequently supported by innovative industrialists, while social changes are more difficult to verify and, even in face of social facts (e.g., rising evidence of crime), there are those who deny their existence.

In addition, not all elements of post-secondary education maintain a flexibility for quick responsiveness to the needs

of society. It appears that those institutions with the least investment in the older system, in terms of faculty, equipment, books, and specialized facilities, can react most quickly. This is particularly so when the innovation does not call for major redirections of resources.

Graduate level higher education, and particularly doctoral level higher education, is typified by greater commitment of academic resources, and therefore change in this aspect of post-secondary education is more difficult. Programs once started, with commitments to highly qualified faculty, to students with specialized talent, and with large commitments of facilities and equipment, tend to maintain a momentum of their own, regardless of changes in society. Many feel the enterprise of teacher education is in such a situation today. It is for this reason that innovative programs at the graduate level, and especially at the doctoral level, are initiated with great caution.

In spite of these concerns, American higher education has been responding to the need for highly educated criminal justice leaders in a democratic society. However, in doing so the university is consciously often redirecting resources which would otherwise be allocated to traditional programs. Even the generous support of federal funds does not alter this fact.

Moreover, in responding to social change, the university enters into the many controversies evolving from the conflicts inherent in a changing society. The issues emanating from

these controversies become issues in the educational setting and are compounded by this interaction of two social institutions, one dedicated to maintaining social order and the other dedicated to the unfettered search for knowledge. In this setting, criminal justice doctoral education represents the effort of higher education to respond to the need for professional criminal justice leaders in a complex social system. There is at once a natural response of democratic institutions in a dynamic society and a clustering of potentially contradictory issues and objectives.

Although there are varied and sometimes divergent philosophies of criminal justice higher education, there seems to be rather general agreement that, as an academic field of study, criminal justice is an interdisciplinary undertaking of scholarly teaching and research focused on the social problems of crime and delinquency. As such, the field draws upon the social and behavioral sciences, the law, and, in some cases, the natural sciences (e.g., medicine, physical anthropology, chemistry) for its content and methodology.

With this vast body of knowledge as a foundation, doctoral education in criminal justice may be viewed as an integrative and applied social science endeavor, the purpose of which is to prepare critical scholars for college and university teaching, applied and pure research, and major decision-making positions in law enforcement, corrections, judicial administration, and criminal justice planning. The thrust of such

an educational program is the preparation of the student to analyze and meet successfully questions and issues of tomorrow, as contrasted with the thrust of training programs which focus upon contemporary problems of administration.

This is not to say that the existing programs in criminal justice higher education are assumed to be identical. Indeed, diversity of specific goals and objectives should be expected and encouraged in such a broad field. Moreover, diversity in either or both educational and criminological philosophy should also be expected and encouraged in a field which has so recently arrived upon the stage of higher education. Such diversity is an asset to the field, since it defies parochialism which could stifle the originality and innovation necessary to deal with the unanswered issues emanating from the search for justice in a free society.

Specifically excluded from this discussion are doctoral programs in traditional disciplines such as sociology, political science, chemistry, or law. These programs, though important in their contributions to knowledge of the broad field of criminal justice, are beyond the scope of this volume. However, reference may be made to programs in sociology or public administration, which provide for specialization in criminology or some aspect of the criminal justice system, for comparative purposes or when such reference enhances understanding of a particular issue. Also not included are graduate programs leading to a master's degree in criminal justice which prepare

students for junior level administrative or supervisory positions in criminal justice agencies or for college teaching.

Our focus is upon doctoral education in criminal justice. It is our purpose to provide those interested in criminal justice higher education with a view of the directions being taken in the field and an insight into the philosophical differences and administrative issues which bear upon the choice of direction.

The following discussion commences with an overview of the growth of criminal justice programs in the last decade, then moving to a consideration of the nature of the criminal justice doctorate. This leads to a discussion of some of the current issues in criminal justice higher education, which is followed by a review of implications for the future. These issues are elaborated upon in the selected papers included from the Omaha Conference on Key Issues in Criminal Justice Doctoral Education.

AN OVERVIEW

Probably the most important immediate impetus to the growth of criminal justice education beginning in the 1960's was strong fiscal action by the federal government. Funding directly for higher educational programs appears to have begun in 1966 when the United States Department of Justice, through its Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, started providing funds for the development of police science degree programs.

(The Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime Control Act of 1961 provided funds for education in conjunction with demonstration projects in youth crime control. However, the thrust of this report is upon those funds specifically for higher education.)

The next major stimulus to criminal justice education came in the form of a report, rather than monies. In 1967 the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice suggested that "all persons with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees" and that "universities and colleges should, with governmental and private participation and support, develop more courses and launch more research . . . on the problems of contemporary corrections." The impact of the President's Commission Report upon criminal justice education has been generally regarded as substantial. Many believe that it was one of the motivating forces behind the emergence of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act in June of 1968.

One of the more important events in the development of criminal justice higher education, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Since its inception, LEAA has been the major conduit for federal monies flowing to educational institutions and students. Insofar as criminal justice education is concerned, an important component of LEAA is its Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP). LEEP has been providing pre-service and in-service criminal justice students with

grants and loans since the second half of the 1968-1969 academic year. Through this financial assistance, LEEP's goals are to improve the professional competence of individual practitioners and to upgrade the performance and effectiveness of the entire criminal justice system.

Still another force contributing to the growth of criminal justice higher education was the formation by LEAA of the National Criminal Justice Educational Consortium in November of 1973. This rather ambitious undertaking was for the express purpose of building and strengthening criminal justice doctoral programs.

As a result of the aforementioned factors, there has been tremendous growth in the criminal justice field. Table 1 documents the growth of criminal justice degree programs for the years 1966-1967 to 1975-1976. That criminal justice has experienced continuous growth since 1966 seems to be an understatement. The rates of increase demonstrate this growth. Comparison of the number of programs in 1975-1976 with the number of programs in 1966-1967 is illustrative.

As can be seen in Table 1, doctoral programs developed rather slowly until 1975-1976 when they doubled in number. This growth pattern is probably to be expected since five or more years are generally required for the development of these programs. During this time span certain requisite activities are necessary, such as recruitment of students, establishment of funding ties, procurement of faculty, library improvement, and curriculum development.

Table 1

Criminal Justice Programs in Colleges and
Universities in the United States

Directory	Associate	Baccalau- reate	Master's	Doctorate	No. of Institu- tions
1966-1967	152	39	14	4	184
1968-1969	199	44	13	5	234
1970-1971	257	55	21	7	292
1972-1973	505	211	41	9	515
1975-1976	729	276	121	19	665

NOTE 1: No data for 1974

NOTE 2: From Richard W. Kobetz, Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Education Directory. Gaithersburg, Maryland: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1975-1976. Reprinted by permission.

THE NATURE OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORATE

Only with the funding of the National Criminal Justice Educational Consortium in 1973 did the federal government provide direct funding for the sole purpose of expanding and improving doctoral education in criminal justice. Prior to this time--with few notable exceptions--little systematic thought was given to the nature of the criminal justice doctorate. Since the inception of the Consortium, the seven member universities have engaged in a continuing dialogue and interchange on this complex but challenging subject. This section addresses some of the ideas which have evolved from these discussions with the hope that further thought will be stimulated.

The specific objectives, the educational processes used, and the educational philosophies involved in doctoral education may vary from one institution to another. One institution may set as an objective the preparation of top administrators for the field of law enforcement, another may seek to prepare scientists for forensic laboratories, and another may set as an objective the preparation of teacher-researchers for the criminal justice system. Few institutions could accomplish the preparation of all varieties of criminal justice doctorates.

As the objectives of the various programs may vary in an educationally sound matrix of criminal justice education, so too may the educational or criminological philosophical premises vary. While one program builds a curriculum encompassing courses taught in the traditional liberal arts in a multidisciplinary fashion, integrating concepts in core courses in criminal justice, another program may integrate the faculty of the various liberal arts disciplines in a broad criminal justice curriculum under an interdisciplinary format. Curricula may reflect an emphasis upon field experiences in a cooperative educational program, or an emphasis upon the use of the seminar-problem area approach in another program, or a retention of the traditional lecture-seminar-research approach in still another program. It is not the purpose of this volume to argue for any particular approach, but rather to observe that sound programs may follow different paths. In fact,

optimal utilization of the strengths of various faculty members or environmental settings may well call for particular variations, and those with compatible educational philosophies may be attracted to such programs.

Faculty with compatible educational or criminological philosophies may also be attracted to one another, resulting in particular emphases for each program. As long as the commitment to an unbiased presentation of alternative philosophies is maintained, these clusters of similar philosophies need not be detrimental. In fact, it would appear that such clustering is a normal social process. The natural result of this process is a diversity of programs. Thus, one program may have a curriculum which reflects an emphasis upon the social process of criminalization, while another may emphasize techniques of administration of a criminal processing system, and yet another may reflect an emphasis upon changing criminal behavior.

Nevertheless, a commonality seems to run through all programs in terms of three basic components: theory, research methodology and statistics, and application. The theoretical component includes the analysis of criminological theory, though it may be broadened to include organizational theory, theory of administration, learning theory, and/or legal theory. In general, criminological theory includes the etiology of crime, victimology, penology, theories of deviance, and theories of delinquency. The emphasis placed upon the theory component may vary extensively from program to program. Also

varying from program to program is whether or not theory is taught in the criminal justice department (school, college, etc.,) or in one or more of the social science departments.

So, too, the research methodology and statistics component may be taught in one or more departments other than criminal justice. (The pros and cons of internal versus external offering of courses in theory and methodology are discussed later in this volume under the topic of current issues.) Regardless of where this component is taught, it is likely to include at least one graduate course in methods of research, two graduate courses in statistics, and, possibly, one course involving the use of the computer. In general, the student should master basic parametric and nonparametric statistics and the use of either one computer language or a suitable computer program (e.g., SPSS, OSIRIS). This component typically exposes the student to a variety of research methodologies, a requirement made more necessary by the variety of types and quality of data in this field. Again, the emphasis would be expected to vary: one program may use this component to prepare a researcher; another may use it to prepare an administrator or a planner.

In any case, the component which one would expect to find taught exclusively in the criminal justice department is that which we have labeled "application." By this is meant those courses specifically related to the criminal justice system including, but not limited to, procedural law, legal ethics,

advanced courses in the administration of law enforcement and corrections, comparative criminal justice systems, criminal justice planning, court management, criminal justice education, and courses in criminalistics or forensic science. The composition of this component is likely to vary greatly from campus to campus and, within one department, it is likely to vary from student to student. Of considerable importance, however, is the development of an awareness of the interface between the elements of the criminal justice system (i.e., courts, corrections, and law enforcement) and the interface between the criminal justice system and the society of which it is a part. It is for this reason that most educators in the field advocate a systemic approach to the study of criminal justice buttressed by a sound foundation in social science.

Some programs may wish to insure that this social science foundation is included by providing an additional component comprising that dimension. Another program may require evidence of a social science background upon admission. In any case, since criminal justice seems to be an integrative social science, a foundation in social science is expected to be necessary for these programs.

Another element in the criminal justice doctoral program is the completion of a dissertation, usually preceded by a comprehensive examination covering the components discussed above. The emphasis of the examination would, of course, vary with the emphases upon the components. The content and the conduct

of the dissertation would also be expected to vary within the scope of good scholarship, but in all cases it should constitute an original and significant contribution to the body of knowledge in the field of criminal justice.

Thus, throughout the field of criminal justice higher education there is room for great variety--variety in substance as well as form, variety in personnel as well as facilities--but basic elements may be found in the components of the various programs. It is yet to be seen which combination is most effective in meeting the needs of the American criminal justice system of tomorrow. The test is in the hands of the graduates of each program.

CURRENT ISSUES

It is not the purpose of this discussion of current issues to pose resolutions, nor is it assumed that every current issue in the field can be dealt with. Rather, it is felt that those interested in learning about criminal justice doctoral education should be aware of some of the prominent issues in the field. Resolution must be sought on each campus in terms of the character of the individual university. Furthermore, the nature and quantity of issues will also vary from institution to institution.

Unfortunately, discussions of academic issues frequently become grounded on a reef of conflicting terminology. For this reason, in the following discussion we will try to define the

basic terms to be used. It is not assumed that these working definitions will be agreeable to every reader, or that they have universal application--only that they are reasonably consistent with common usage and are useful for this analysis.

The distinction is frequently made between education for professionalism and education for research. As used here, professionalism refers to the roles performed in the criminal justice field by the graduates and the complex of value-laden concepts related to these roles. Education for professionalism is therefore education to prepare the individual to assume specific roles or role sets in the field of criminal justice. Education for research, on the other hand, primarily prepares the individual to conduct research and to report research findings. The issue arises when one assumes that the two approaches are incompatible, that is, that the education of a professional is incompatible with the education of the researcher. Thus, the Ph.D. is referred to as a "research degree," and professional degrees are assumed of necessity to be doctorates in criminology (D. Crim.) or doctorates of criminal justice (DCJ) or some similar derivative.

The distinction between the two degrees has been a frequent issue on campuses offering doctoral criminal justice programs, heightened in intensity according to the level of acceptability of the "professional" degree for teaching faculty on the university campus. It would appear that the present trend is toward the Ph.D., the research degree, in doctoral

criminal justice education. However, a review of the content of existing programs reveals a consistently high emphasis upon the "application" component in addition to the emphasis upon the theory and research components.

Another issue faced by those interested in developing criminal justice doctoral programs relates to the type of research acceptable for the dissertation. The academic world has long stressed the importance of "pure" research--research which has as its purpose to test theory in a particular field. However, many problems in criminal justice administration require "applied" research--research which has as its purpose to test or evaluate procedure or practice. The contrast is most readily seen when one compares the type of research typically funded by the National Science Foundation with the "applied" research typically funded by state planning agencies of LEAA. If the doctoral program includes a requirement that dissertation research must be "pure" research, it would appear that the field of criminal justice would miss an opportunity to have necessary "applied" research questions tested. On the other hand, if the requirement were that the research be of the "applied" type, important theoretical questions would be left to other disciplines or would remain unresolved. In many cases, the resolution of the issue of "applied" vs. "pure" research for the dissertation is made as a result of perceived pressures from within the academic community of the individual university. Although this resolves the

issue, it may do so at the cost of responsiveness to the needs of the system.

The issue of criminal justice as a discipline is covered extensively in the comments of those at the Omaha Conference. Whenever doctoral criminal justice education is proposed, one may expect the question of whether or not it is a discipline to be raised.

Another fundamental issue is also raised frequently--the issue of how to achieve content articulation with other levels of education and with other "disciplines." How does one provide for those necessary linkages between the concepts dealt with in a doctoral criminal justice program and the concepts presented in undergraduate programs, or in the social sciences? Efforts to achieve content articulation can result in the absorption of one or the other "discipline." For example, the effort to provide for content articulation with sociology could easily result in a dependence for criminal justice education upon conceptual sets unique to sociology. It is conceivable that the reverse could occur as the result of an effort to articulate with other levels of criminal justice education. An undergraduate program could begin to assume the theory and research orientation of the doctoral program as faculty attempt to facilitate content articulation for the students. Unless this issue is dealt with on a concept-by-concept basis by the entire faculty, and then frequently reviewed, content articulation will surely lead to imbalance in the contextual

exchange between programs. Of course, this "imbalance" may not be viewed as such by every reader. One may view police administration as only an extension of public administration and corrections as an extension of social work; criminal justice as a field of study may be seen as an extension of sociology. Some of the finest scholars in the field take essentially these positions. The point here is not to "view with alarm," but to urge a self-conscious decision-making pattern in dealing with the issue of content articulation.

Closely related to several of the above issues is the issue of field experience in the doctoral program. Opportunity for the student to work in the field under the guidance of a practitioner and a member of the faculty is frequently provided in undergraduate and master's level programs. Many feel that such experience should also be provided the pre-service student at the doctoral level. Others hold that, since the doctoral degree is a research degree, the experience necessary is research experience, rather than "field" experience. Again conscious decision making is called for, decision making which weaves into program development consistent responses to all the issues.

Another related issue is that of the part-time versus the full-time doctoral candidate. It is not unusual for doctoral programs to require that the candidate commit himself or herself to a full-time course load. Such commitment is felt to be necessary for the student to produce the quality of effort

expected in a doctoral level program. However, many potential students hold responsible positions in the field at the present time and have family obligations which prohibit such a commitment. Some have argued that these are the very people we should encourage to enter doctoral programs and accommodation should be made for such part-time students. Others feel that too much dependence upon the part-time student could lead to a very unstable program with fewer graduates, smaller classes, and, possibly, lower academic quality. However, it is also conceivable that too much rigidity in terms of required full-time commitment could inhibit the growth of a new program.

All of these issues may be impossible to resolve if the issue of academic administrative structure is not adequately addressed. Clearly, the more autonomous the faculty of the criminal justice program is, the more they will be able to resolve the academic issues facing the program. However, such autonomy on the college campus is rare indeed. In fact, responsible academicians have held that such autonomy could easily lead to a degeneration in the academic quality demanded in the program. The resolution of the problem of administrative structure necessitates a consistency with the pattern of responses to the other issues. If criminal justice as a field of study is viewed as a social science, the program may be housed in that division of the university. Seen as a "professional" program, it may be housed under a division of professional studies. Viewed as a separate entity entirely, it may have its own division and include several departments.

An aspect of this issue requiring specific attention is the degree to which components of the criminal justice program are taught in other departments. The more required courses taught in other departments, the more difficult content articulation is likely to be and the more difficult quality and substance control is likely to be. The decision on this issue has direct bearing upon the ability of the program to resolve other issues discussed here. However, despite its importance, this issue typically is resolved more often in terms of the realities of the academic political environment than in terms of educational philosophy.

Other issues to be considered in matters relating to the development of criminal justice doctoral education programs deal more directly with the recruitment of faculty and students and the placement of graduates. What should be the requirements for graduate faculty? Traditional academic requirements are that the graduate faculty member must have a Ph.D., must be a full-time faculty member, and must have a record of publications and experience on thesis and dissertation committees. Yet, since criminal justice doctoral education is still relatively new, there are few people with a Ph.D. in criminal justice who meet these requirements. This should not present any major problems or be cause for lower standards, however. Criminal justice as a field of study is interdisciplinary in nature and draws upon existing disciplines for much of its knowledge, theory, and methodology. As a result, the

core of most graduate faculties is composed of social and behavioral scientists trained in one of the traditional academic disciplines who do meet these requirements in varying degrees. And from these individuals have come some of the most scholarly contributions to the body of literature in the field. Whether academicians from other disciplines will continue to form the core of criminal justice graduate faculties or whether this position gradually will be assumed by doctorates in criminal justice over the years remains to be seen. Undoubtedly there will always be a mixture, the composition of which is likely to vary from institution to institution.

Requirements for admission of students into doctoral programs appear to reflect a high degree of consistency, though institutional differences exist here also. Generally, evidence of achievement in an academic program is expected. This evidence may be based exclusively upon a grade point average (e.g., 3.0 is a typical minimum), or it may involve an analysis of a pattern of grades in specific areas of study. The student may be required to have had a specific social science background, or may be required only to have a background in one of the social sciences. Evidence of ability using one of the standard achievement tests is also typically expected; the Graduate Record Examination appears to be in most general use, a score of 1000 being a commonly accepted minimum. In addition, efforts are generally made to evaluate the level of commitment on the part of the applicant, by requiring a written

statement and/or interviews with the faculty concerning educational and professional goals. In every case, the crux of the issue is to select students who demonstrate ability to succeed in the academic program, although occasional concern is expressed regarding criteria to evaluate potential as a criminal justice leader.

Accompanying these concerns is the need to recruit promising minority students and women into doctoral criminal justice programs. This objective is made even more difficult in view of the traditional character of entrance examinations, the cultural biases they represent, and the character of American higher education, which some feel has filtered out both minorities and women at the graduate level. Thus to address this issue is to confront some of the more basic social issues in higher education and in the criminal justice system. If these groups are to be represented in top level criminal justice positions and on the faculty of criminal justice educational programs, they must be recruited by the educational programs preparing personnel for those roles.

Another issue closely aligned to that of recruitment is financial aid. It is often overlooked that doctoral students generally have been recipients of some sort of financial aid, regardless of their field of study. The most common form of aid has been the teaching assistantship or the research assistantship. Fellowships (i.e., outright grants of money with no work requirement) have also been on the scene in doctoral

education for some time, though they are less numerous than assistantships. The direct subsidy to the student, typified by the Veterans Administration program, is another important source of support since World War II. Counterparts of these methods of financial aid have been utilized by LEAA over the past few years.

However, as LEAA support is diminished, with LEEP support and other forms of aid being phased out or reduced, greater pressure will be placed upon institutions to find other sources of financial aid to students. The G.I. Bill may no longer be a buffer for these students. Criminal justice doctoral programs will find themselves in the unfamiliar position of competing with other programs on campus for traditional sources of financial aid for their students. The issue, then, is whether or not means can be found to avoid this circumstance and how best to prepare for this eventuality.

Finally, one needs to consider the issue of placement of graduates of criminal justice doctoral programs. In light of the manpower needs documented in Volume III of these Reports, one would assume that this would be the least difficult of tasks. However, if the vision of a renewed and responsive American criminal justice system of the future is to be realized, particular attention must be given the positions to which these graduates go. The finest educational programs in the country can lose their impact if their graduates are forced into regimented and demeaning positions for extended portions

of their careers. Employment is not enough; employment in positions commensurate with their education is necessary for these doctoral level graduates to have the envisioned impact on the system. Unfortunately, this has been a neglected issue during recent years in almost all programs. All too often we have been satisfied merely to find employment for graduates. But it is exactly here, at the intersection between the criminal justice system and the American system of higher education, that criminal justice doctoral programs will have their impact on the future.

Throughout these comments on issues in criminal justice doctoral education, an effort has been made to avoid arguing for particular positions, though personal biases are most difficult to check entirely. However, no effort has been made to hide the fact that these and other pertinent issues should be addressed directly and self-consciously by educators planning or administering doctoral programs in criminal justice. Failure to do so cannot lead to the stronger, more responsive programs necessary to have an impact upon the American criminal system. As one can see from the papers delivered at the Omaha Conference, addressing these issues does not lead to much complacency.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Perhaps the most critical question now being posed in criminal justice higher education is whether or not there is

truly a need for doctoral programs. Although most of the past or current administrators of criminal justice doctoral programs are supportive of this type of higher education, by no means is there complete agreement in the field.

Critics have noted that the utility value of criminal justice education has yet to be established. However, most of this criticism is based on the relationship between undergraduate criminal justice education--much of which is vocational in nature--and the improvement of police performance. This seems to be a far cry from the doctoral concept of a systemic approach and the preparation of critical scholars to assume leadership roles to effect planned changes in the system.

Questions have also been raised about the quality of faculty and curricula at the undergraduate level and in some master's degree programs. The concern is that building a doctoral program on a weak foundation is of dubious value. This is a legitimate point with which there is no disagreement. The need for extensive upgrading of faculty and curricula, the existence of a strong research component, and the development of high standards of accreditation are major concerns receiving increasing attention among leaders in the field.

Whether doctoral education can prepare future criminal justice leaders better than master's level programs is another point that has been raised. Thus, although Sherman in his paper suggests the possibility of doctorate-holders assuming command and administrative roles in law enforcement agencies,

he qualifies his position by stating that there would be no reason to expect that a Ph.D. could perform any more adequately than he/she would have done without the doctorate (see pp. 159-185 below). As one might expect, proponents of doctoral education are convinced that systemic change and improved criminal justice practice can best be effected by their graduates. Unfortunately, the skeptics and the advocates of criminal justice doctoral programs appear to be talking past each other in this instance. At the roots of this communications impasse are different conceptions of the appropriate roles and occupations for the doctor in criminal justice. Essentially, the skeptics seem to focus on the craft-like skills required for patrol positions, while proponents of doctoral education see graduates occupying professional and administrative positions which call for more than "how-to-do-it" skills. For example, according to Gibbons and Blake, doctoral graduates should possess research skills, theoretical wisdom, and ability to understand and grapple with the larger social trends in society vis-à-vis the criminal justice system as well as the day-to-day problems (see pp. 80-127 below).

The need to evaluate the benefit to society of doctoral programs in criminal justice will be very great in the near future. At this time, with few graduates from such programs, it is difficult to point to accomplishments which support the contention of benefit derived from doctoral programs. The proponents are forced to argue in terms of functions graduates

could perform, rather than functions which graduates are performing.

In addition, doctoral education is notoriously expensive when compared to undergraduate education. Coupled with increasing concern on the part of the general public regarding the cost-benefit ratio of higher education, this fact may be expected to have a significant impact upon the future of doctoral programs in criminal justice. In the past, one source of support has been larger undergraduate classes which have balanced out the very small classes in the doctoral programs. A second source of support has been research grants which have provided for graduate assistantships and some faculty support. A third source has been a graduated ratio of funding by the states whereby the state university would receive more money per student for doctoral candidates than for other students. Each of these sources is vulnerable to the cost-benefit criticism as interpreted in state legislatures today. Doctoral criminal justice education does not pay for itself in terms of tuition received. The cost gap is even greater for those programs including forensic science which necessitates expensive laboratories.

Recently the federal government, through LEAA, has provided resources which have filled the cost gap for criminal justice doctoral programs in several institutions. As this source declines, it can be expected that institutions will be forced to utilize traditional sources of funding at the very

time when cost-benefit concerns are increasing. Those who would envision the future of the American criminal justice system to be nothing more than a perpetuation of the existing system will have a strong argument for opposing the necessary funds for doctoral programs in this area. The task is for those who envision a different system for the future to prepare personnel qualified in information retrieval, analysis, transmission, and planning on a systemic level for responsive criminal justice, as well as capable of anticipating and responding to broader social changes. Thus the future of doctoral criminal justice education is intertwined with the future of the American criminal justice system and the future of American higher education, and all are limited by the vision of those responsible for decision making today: educational leaders, legislators, political leaders, LEAA administrators, and voting citizens.

The possibility that the nation may attempt to address the increasingly complex problems of crime and justice tomorrow with the institutions and the system of yesterday is hardly open to question. We have been doing that for the entire twentieth century. The effort to deal with crime, which heeds no political jurisdictional boundaries, with law enforcement agencies limited to obsolete jurisdictions is a good example of this social lag. In short, it is quite possible to imagine a future wherein nineteenth century criminal justice agencies pursue twenty-first century crime.

However, the burden of such a program for the future would not fall evenly upon society's members. Street crime is much more amenable to contemporary criminal justice practices. It is white collar crime, organized crime, and international crime that will have greater opportunities for success. These are the types of crime that benefit most from increased technology, and it is in the pursuit of such crime that the most highly educated criminal justice personnel are needed.

The implications of criminal justice doctoral programs for the future are indeed extensive. They may include a balancing of the scales of justice by more effective pursuit of white collar crime, organized crime, and international crime. They may well include increasingly professional administration of criminal justice agencies, institutions, and programs. They may further include a shifting of emphasis in criminal justice toward a systemic social service approach and away from a segmented, competitive, bureaucratic approach. Indeed they may even include real reduction in crime through a socially responsive criminal justice system. They may, that is, if we have the vision to see.

CHAPTER 3. SIGNIFICANT PERSPECTIVES

Certain significant views concerning criminal justice doctoral education are discussed in the following selected papers which were presented at the Conference on Key Issues in Criminal Justice Doctoral Education sponsored by the University of Nebraska at Omaha in October of 1975. These papers can be divided into two groups--one concerned with the structure and theory of criminal justice doctoral education and the other with certain applications of these educational programs. These papers introduce certain views that are crucial for a proper understanding of the nature and problems of criminal justice higher education.

STRUCTURE AND THEORY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORAL EDUCATION

In his paper, "Nature of the Criminal Justice Doctorate," Richard A. Myren stresses the need for doctoral programs in criminal justice "to organize and develop the cutting edge of knowledge" so that we can better understand the problems of crime in our society and create solutions to those problems. Such solutions require not only a complete understanding of

the nature of our society but also a perception of how planned change can occur. To this end Myren recommends a model academic program which he feels would produce students who are thoroughly educated in the methodology of pure and applied research and who could participate meaningfully in the operation of the criminal justice system.

Whereas Myren recommends a specific academic program, Donald H. Riddle in his paper, "Faculty and Curriculum Development in Criminal Justice Programs," describes the ideal faculty that he feels is necessary in a doctoral program, at least for the present. By using scholars and teachers educated in traditional disciplines, but focusing their professional attention on the problems of social control, social deviance, and the criminal justice system, he concludes meaningful research and teaching programs of high quality could be introduced. Once in existence these programs would produce graduates who could staff future programs. He also urges the creation of a small number of criminal justice doctoral programs spread geographically across the United States to train students in high quality programs.

Don C. Gibbons and Gerald F. Blake in their paper, "Perspectives in Criminology and Criminal Justice: The Implications for Higher Education Programs," contend that criminal justice is not a distinct discipline. They maintain that it is a multidisciplinary field of study which draws its intellectual resources from a number of established disciplines.

One distinctive feature of criminal justice education is that it involves more emphasis upon justice planning, program evaluation skills, and kindred practice tools than do the core disciplines upon which it is based. Gibbons and Blake explore the connections between the field of criminology and the newer area of criminal justice. They note the roots of criminology in conservative thought but devote most of their attention to contemporary, mainstream criminological perspectives. Gibbons and Blake also direct attention to the emergence of radical, critical, or Marxist criminology. Their essay contains a detailed critique of radical views. Although radical criminology currently is characterized by a good deal of theoretical shallowness, Gibbons and Blake argue that certain broad themes found therein which stress the implications for crime and crime control of changes in the American economic order do warrant attention. Indeed, the major challenge to criminal justice education centers about the need for new theoretical perspectives in a time of massive social change.

THE APPLICATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORAL EDUCATION

James W. Parker in his paper, "Graduate Research and Education in Forensic Science," discusses the vital role of forensic science in contemporary criminal investigation and prosecution. Describing forensic science as an emerging profession, he indicates the problems which are inhibiting the proper functioning of forensic science. Poorly educated and undertrained personnel, underequipped laboratories, and

inadequate research programs are some of the problems that might be solved by the creation of doctoral programs in the forensic sciences. According to Parker, at present there seems to be little communication between the forensic science practitioner and the academic community.

Lawrence W. Sherman in his presentation, "The Police and the Doctorate," also raises the issue of poor communications between the academic community and the police agencies in particular. After presenting various models of police-doctoral relationships, he concludes that scholars possessing doctoral degrees cannot participate very effectively in law enforcement agencies either as administrators, planners, or operational staff. On the basis of his studies, he concludes that future Ph.D.'s in criminal justice will not play a meaningful role within the police system as it is presently structured.

John K. Hudzik recommends that doctoral programs introduced in criminal justice reflect the realities of need in our society. In his paper, "Integrating Curriculum Design with Market Forces," he challenges the academic community to respond to the needs of society in the same fashion as business and industry react to the variations of economic change. He urges that colleges and universities adopt realistic and workable plans to create programs that are flexible and able to respond effectively to the pressing social needs, rather than using intellectual freedom as a tool to avoid reality and thus introducing programs that are of no use to the criminal justice system. According to Hudzik, the external market is something the academic community must understand.

STRUCTURE AND THEORY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORAL EDUCATION

NATURE OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORATE

By
Richard A. Myren

Development of the academy through the centuries has been marked by the identification and development of discrete areas of intellectual interest to humankind in its evolving condition. Sometimes the interest led to a completely new area of knowledge useful in the solution of a variety of problems. In others, it led to the application and expansion of disparate bodies of existing knowledge to a particularly pressing problem then facing civilization which, in turn, led to the generation of new knowledge useful in other settings. An example of the latter is the field of criminal justice studies, perhaps the newest and certainly the fastest growing programmatic area on the academic scene today.

Although its crime-related forerunners began about a half century ago and the behavioral and social sciences on which it primarily draws for both content and approach have a history spanning several centuries, criminal justice as a separate area of academic concern dates from the 1960's. Its birthplace was

the United States. There, in that decade, these programs found their identity as integrated interdisciplinary sequences of scholarly teaching and research in the behavioral and social sciences (defined to include law and public administration) focused on the social problem of crime.

Prototypes of these new and new kinds of programs in higher education now exist at all levels: two-year, four-year, and graduate. This discussion centers on the doctorate, the mechanism currently used to organize and develop the cutting edge of knowledge in all fields. Attention will first be devoted to the nature of criminal justice generally as a field of study in higher education and then specifically to the nature of the criminal justice doctorate.

I. CRIMINAL JUSTICE AS AN ACADEMIC FIELD

There is always an element of the arbitrary in the organization of a new or newly assembled body of knowledge for purposes of study and teaching. There is no "correct" approach, but some conceptual arrangements seem more successful than others. That sketched below is one of the oldest in criminal justice graduate study, having been used since 1968 at the School of Criminal Justice at the State University of New York at Albany.

In that program, the field is split into five sequences, each of which seems to have identifiable limits despite some inevitable overlap. The five sequences cover the nature of

crime as a social problem, the reaction of organized society to that problem, the structure and operation of criminal justice systems as one of the primary control mechanisms used by society, accomplishment of planned change (individual, organizational, and social), and the design of and methods used to implement research on the crime problem.

Drawing primarily on the content of psychology and sociology and using a blend of the approaches of those cognate disciplines, the sequence on the nature of crime looks at the phenomenon as one defined by society as being deviant, a departure from the social norm, despite the fact that crime is not always deviant in any scientific sense. It looks at the relationship of crime to other kinds of social deviance and that of deviance generally to conformity. Putting crime into this more general context seems to make it more readily understood.

Society's reaction to crime has been both formal and informal. With industrial development and its resulting peculiar brand of impersonal interdependence, the role of formal governmental crime control measures has become increasingly important. These measures are almost always legal. Yet law remains only one of a variety of social control mechanisms. Its prominence does seem, however, to merit focus on legal measures, on their capacities and limitations, in our more general discussion of crime control efforts. For that reason, it is convenient to refer to this sequence as law and social control.

To the detriment of the effort without a doubt, society has placed principal reliance on the criminal law among all possible legal institutions for the control of socially deviant behavior. That seems to justify special concentration on criminal justice systems in our higher educational effort. In this discussion, a criminal justice system is defined as comprising those units of government that create and administer the criminal law. Speaking generally, this includes legislatures, planning agencies, the police, prosecutors, courts, probation, prison, and parole agencies dealing with adults, children, and youth. It would also include specialized criminal justice information agencies and units such as the New York State Drug Abuse Control Commission. In studying criminal justice systems as systems, attention is given to the price paid for over-reliance on the criminal sanction in dealing with social deviance. Stress is laid on the fact that not everything illegal must be made criminal.

In the hope that someday insights into the crime problem will lead to new ideas about control that merit trial, it is believed that the task of achieving planned change should also be studied by those seeking to become knowledgeable about crime as a social problem. There are a number of facets to that task: theory, strategy, and skills. In addition, one would predict that not only personal and organizational but broader general social change is necessary. Personal change has been the essence of our correctional philosophy; organizational

change is necessary if agencies currently conceived solely as separate entities are to be redefined as system elements; and broader general social change is required if society is to develop the capacity to cope with rather than be defeated by the crime problem.

Study of each of these four substantive areas reveals a need for more and more reliable information, better ordering of what is known, and better analytical tools for interpretation of available knowledge. This defines a need for research. Perhaps the most difficult part of any research program is definition of the problem in such a way that research is possible. Next comes design of the particular research approach to be used and then choice of the methods implementing the design. Research design and methodology must be learned both in separate courses concentrating on their content more or less as abstractions and in the context of more general study of the crime problem. New information leading to more meaningful insight is necessary in each of the problem-oriented substantive areas outlined above.

Because it is keyed to society's approach to an eternal although ever-changing problem, control of crime, this new academic area has several objectives. Not only do these include a need to study the problem in order to develop new knowledge for knowledge's own sake (a traditional goal of the academy), but also to generate new models for social policy and the structures and operational procedures necessary for

implementation of those policies. This blend of the pure and the applied presents a new challenge to higher education in the social and behavioral sciences. At the same time, it presents a unique opportunity to establish a knowledge-generating system in which new models can be tested very quickly in the crucible of application. That testing will inevitably reveal flaws and lead to modification of the models which in turn can then be tried in real life.

In carrying out this process of development of theory through testing in governmental and other social settings, academicians must recognize and work within the constraints of political systems. Social and behavioral scientists must strive to be amoral and value-free while generating new knowledge but must then, when testing their models as scientists in a democratic society, take into consideration the morals and values of the system in which that testing is done. The difficulty of playing this role has been well delineated by Kalman H. Silvert (1965) in this passage:

To expect . . . macrosocial problems to submit themselves to mere social scientific manipulation, or to think that the policy advice of social scientists is magically efficacious is a denial of the statesman's art and a burdening of the social scientist with what he is incompetent to handle.

Under the very best of conditions, the social scientist can do the following for governments with his special skills:

- a. He can generate and make available new data.

- b. He can order these data to permit informed guessing about the nature of the lacunae.
- c. He can indicate relevant theoretical patterns for the interpretation of the data.
- d. He can--explaining himself carefully-- indicate the probabilities of effectiveness of various selected courses of action.
- e. He can indicate which choices are foreclosed by the adoption of given courses of action.
- f. He can indicate which new choices will be made available by the adoption of given courses of action.

Needless to say, very few if any scholarly documents submitted to any government have satisfied these difficult requirements. The temptation to take the easy path straight from description to prescription is great. But to go past these limits is to assume a vested interest in the ensuing policy itself, thereby rendering the scholar suspect in further objective analysis.

This means that there must always be some distance between academics and practitioners and leads to the almost inevitable dynamic tension between the two groups. The mutual obligation of each is to ensure that this tension is constructive rather than destructive.

In a sense, this conference on the nature of the criminal justice doctorate is a microcosmic example in the macrocosmic field. The participants as individuals are social and behavioral scientists faced with the issue of development of curriculum models. Those colleagues who will set educational policy for criminal justice programs in higher education, whether they be individual administrators or members of collegial policy-setting bodies, are the "government" to which

the product of the deliberations will be submitted. For that reason, an attempt will be made to heed Silvert's caveat in what follows.

II. NATURE OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORATE

Discussions during the last decade about the nature of the criminal justice doctorate have seemed to center on whether it should be disciplinary or professional. There has been very little appreciation of the third obvious alternative--a specialized interdisciplinary program that is neither disciplinary nor professional.

One of the more recent relevant discussions of the disciplinary/professional dichotomy is that in the report of President Derek C. Bok to his Board of Overseers in March of 1975 regarding the 1973-74 academic year at Harvard University. That report focused on the need for a new profession in the public services. Because his analysis is very cogent and also because what happens at Harvard is apt to be precedent-setting in higher education, a rather detailed summary of and commentary on that report follow.

President Bok begins by pointing out that government in the United States now faces these pressing difficulties:

First, it is much harder to develop programs that can respond to the legitimate needs of one group without impinging on other interests that the government considers important.

Second, as the government grows larger, its officials can more easily lose sight of what happens to the human beings whose lives are affected by public programs. . . .

Third, it is now a much more complicated task to coordinate the activities of many different agencies to achieve a coherent effort to resolve public problems in a manner consistent with the intentions of elected officials.

Those working in a criminal justice setting can hardly fail to agree.

To meet these problems, Bok finds government agencies staffed by highly educated civil service specialists and by politically appointed lawyers and businessmen. Very few of the civil servants possess "the general skills required to take the work of many specialists and transform it into coherent plans and programs to deal with major public problems" or to "have acquired any serious training in administering complex organizations." Nor does he find that either the lawyers or businessmen supply the needed talent. Lawyers are found to lack the experience in administration required to direct the very large and complex agencies that make up government in the United States today. Businessmen, on the other hand, although more skilled in administration, are found lacking in two other areas of experience. The first is in managing organizations that have only intangible goals such as are present in many governmental programs. The second is that experience in business does not prepare one to utilize political processes to reconcile groups with conflicting interests, a skill vital in

the negotiations leading to the forging of new governmental policies. As a result, Bok concludes that "what is needed is nothing less than the education of a new profession." The remainder of his report deals with what the core content of that education should be and with how Harvard might structure its participation in that educational process. He does not, unfortunately, discuss the need for development of mechanisms for wedding the new profession to knowledge-generation structures.

President Bok's analysis goes on to identify trends that indicate that career opportunities do exist for potential members of the new public service profession he envisages. However, he finds the public service too "disorderly and varied in its needs" to permit a single graduate program with a single curriculum to meet all of those needs in the same way that law schools and medical schools meet the needs of the law and medical professions. In his judgment, no single graduate school can be expected to provide education for the entire public sector.

This conclusion certainly rings true to those educational leaders who have, during the last ten years or so, been attempting to build graduate programs for just one portion of the governmental service, the criminal justice system. It also seems to justify the attempt to build educational programs concentrating on governmental reaction to the single social problem of crime.

Bok's suggested curriculum core would seek to attain three objectives:

a familiarity with the more sophisticated analytic methods that are increasingly used in the planning and evaluation of public programs; a knowledge of methods of organization and management together with an understanding of the political processes that influence government action; and a sensitivity to the problems of ethics and competing values that inhere in all forms of public activity.

To these one can make a strong argument for adding two more: development of an ability to identify and define issues requiring public attention, and familiarity with the skills, strategies, and theory of planned change.

When he turns to the problems of implementing his plan for education of a new public service profession, President Bok limits himself, as have many of those who have built the new academic field of criminal justice studies during the past ten years, to consideration of two possibilities: a professional school or a graduate school of applied social science. Before stating his preference he lists what he considers to be the basic differences:

The primary aim of a professional school will be to educate students for positions of leadership in elective or appointed offices, while a graduate school will take fewer students and prepare them for academic careers or for staff positions as sophisticated policy analysts.

A graduate school will gather a faculty composed of members trained in one of the traditional academic disciplines who share a taste for policy issues. A professional school will likewise include such persons within its faculty, but it

will also attract many professors who have received their training in professional schools and have spent some portion of their career in public service.

A graduate school will be chiefly concerned with research, often of a disciplinary-oriented nature, and even its educational program will be directed toward the development of research skills. A professional school, on the other hand, will place greater importance on teaching and will emphasize curriculum development and pedagogic methods aimed at instilling a capacity to make policy decisions with the help of a variety of skills and disciplines. (No separations in the original.)

Apparently swayed by the fact that at Harvard research on public service policy issues is well-established while there is no focus for coherent training for careers in public service, Bok comes out for a new professional school at Harvard. Having done so, he then lists five problems that he foresees in the development of such a school:

The first of these problems is the risk of devoting disproportionate emphasis to formal analytic techniques. . . .

In selecting students for the professional programs, will the admissions office seek out those who are most likely to pursue broad public careers, or will they simply choose the applicants with the highest academic records and the highest quantitative aptitude? . . .

The third problem has less to do with what is taught than it does with how the teaching is carried out. . . . The price to be paid is a deliberate sacrifice in the amount of material covered, in order to emphasize student participation and the patient development of a capacity for careful analysis. . . .

Still another major problem involves the need to convey to students the ability to synthesize all the skills they have learned in order to resolve complex policy problems. . . .

In short, the ideal faculty must retain a delicate balance between discipline-oriented specialists and professionally oriented generalists. . . .

To determine how Harvard will avoid these pitfalls in its effort to make an increased contribution to the education of the new public service profession, President Bok has appointed and elected to chair a University-wide Committee on the Harvard Program in Public Policy and Administration. All of higher education in the United States awaits the outcome of the deliberation of that Committee.

Despite the cogency of the Bok analysis, it does not consider the possibility of a third approach advanced by the Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey that seems ideal for the criminal justice doctorate. That approach is outlined in The Behavioral and Social Sciences: Outlook and Needs (1969), a comprehensive survey of the current state and potential for growth of the behavioral and social sciences, known popularly as the BASS report. Because that study has not been discussed in higher education to the extent that it should, its background will be summarized briefly.

Late in 1966, a Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey Committee was appointed jointly by the National Academy of Sciences and the Social Science Research Council.¹ Its work was supported financially by the National Institutes of Health,

the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Science Foundation, and the Russell Sage Foundation. In addition to the summary report of primary interest to this discussion, a series of disciplinary reports was prepared on Anthropology, Economics, Geography, History as a Social Science, Linguistics, Political Science, Psychiatry as a Behavioral Science, Psychology, Sociology, and Statistics, Mathematics, and Computation in the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

Each report has been prepared by the chairman (or chairman and co-chairman) of the panel, with the [sic] participation and review by panel members. Each report has also been reviewed by representatives of the Committee on Science and Public Policy, National Academy of Sciences, and the Committee on Problems and Policy, Social Science Research Council.
(p. xi)

Based on the prestige of the sponsoring agencies and the carefulness of the group carrying out the survey, the lack of attention given to the report by higher education is surprising.² Because the model suggested seems to be particularly relevant to criminal justice, it is presented here as a third alternative to Bok's professional and disciplinary choices.

Of the six major recommendations in the report, three dealt with national needs for the development of social indicators, of an annual social report, and of a national data system. The fourth stressed the need for protection of anonymity, and the fifth suggested a rate of federal funding for normal behavioral and social science research support. It is the sixth major recommendation that is of interest to this discussion:

The committee recommended that universities consider the establishment of broadly based training and research programs in the form of a Graduate School of Applied Behavioral Science (or some local equivalent) under administrative arrangements that lie outside the established disciplines. Such training and research should be multidisciplinary (going beyond the behavioral and social sciences as necessary), and the school should accept responsibility for contributing through its research both to a basic understanding of human relationships and behavior and to the solution of persistent social problems. (pp. 12, 201)

This recommendation is elaborated somewhat in the initial summary chapter and more fully in Chapter 12. One of the problems it raises concerns the use of the word "applied." That usage is clarified in the following passage: "The expression 'applied behavioral science' is also somewhat misleading as it suggests a sharp distinction between basic and applied research--a distinction that we do not accept. . . . Many problems of a basic nature can be worked on best in a school of the kind proposed" (p. 203). The term is used because "this expression calls attention to the intent to be unabashedly concerned with making behavioral and social science research bear directly on issues of public policy and social problems" (p. 203). The report goes on to make it clear that the basic research commitment of the suggested school should include attention to both substantive and methodological issues. It assumes that both research and theory construction would go on in the school at a high level. "There can be little doubt that the behavioral and social sciences will become better

basic sciences if their methods and findings are repeatedly and continuously tested for relevance to actual social behavior" (pp. 200-201). Research and theory formation would thus accompany teaching at primarily the graduate level as the basic function of the school. "Great care will be required in recruiting able students motivated for public service and also capable of the necessary scientific detachment to work as scientists on research projects and in the associated areas of development and innovation" (p. 206). It is suggested that the school might offer some undergraduate courses, but that an undergraduate major should not be considered until the graduate program was very well-established.

Organizationally, it is suggested that the school be organized much like the common professional schools, "with a full-time faculty, a guaranteed budget, and degree programs" (p. 205). The hope is expressed that status as a separate school with maximum control over its own destiny will attract scientists of the highest caliber to the faculty. The text warns against heavy reliance on joint and part-time appointments, arguing that the core faculty should be full-time. Budget security is required to attract and retain that kind of faculty. An argument is also made for award of the Ph.D. "It would grant the usual advanced degrees of the social science departments, especially the doctoral degree (Ph.D.). The Ph.D. degree signifies a scientific orientation in contrast to a professional one--professional in the narrower sense of a

service profession" (p. 205). Another suggestion is that the school avoid subunits paralleling those of the disciplinary departments. No need is foreseen for any departmentalization, but, should such an organization become indicated, the subunits should be organized along social problem lines. To give the new graduates of such school professional identity, the report urges close continuing contact of the graduates with the faculty, the creation of a new professional society for the graduates, and the establishment of new journals as outlets for research reports from the field created by the new schools.

These suggestions from the literature seem to raise the issues pertinent for consideration by colleges and universities considering establishment of doctoral programs in criminal justice. Some comments on their value now conclude this essay.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

There seem to be three choices for the nature of the doctorate in criminal justice. It can be made disciplinary, professional, or a blend of the two. Each merits further discussion.

To make the criminal justice doctorate disciplinary will require the building of a new discipline. Although that may occur over the next two or three generations, it certainly cannot be done overnight. Approach to crime as a social

problem requires an amalgam of the insights from a variety of existing disciplines. It must call on both the methodologies and substantive knowledge of at least law, political science, psychology, public administration, and sociology. It must also concern itself not only with "academic" study of the problem for its own sake but also with preparation of young men and women for active careers in the criminal justice system. Therefore the logic that leads Harvard's President Bok away from a disciplinary orientation that "will take fewer students and prepare them for academic careers or for staff positions as sophisticated policy analysts" seems quite persuasive. This is particularly true if, as is argued below, it is possible to create a program at the graduate level that will accomplish that end along with achievement of other desirable goals.

Making the criminal justice doctorate professional would, in Bok's words, make the primary aim of the school "to educate students for positions of leadership in elective or appointed offices." This we must do, but we must also prepare students for those academic careers and as sophisticated policy analysts. In addition, these educational efforts must be closely related to the generation of new knowledge about the crime problem.

This analysis seems to argue for the establishment of specialized graduate schools that will simultaneously prepare students for academic and professional careers, the difference

being not in the core of their preparation but in the electives dictated by the inclination of the student. Although the suggestion made here differs somewhat from that in the BASS report, it is essentially an implementation of the recommendation made there. Doctoral programs in criminal justice should therefore have as their objectives:

1. the education of young men and women for careers in higher education, as sophisticated policy analysts, or as line practitioners in criminal justice agencies where, with the maturity that comes with experience, they can provide the leadership necessary in high elective or appointive office;
2. the bringing of behavioral and social science research to bear directly on the issues of public policy and administration raised by the social problem of crime;
3. the generation of new social and behavioral knowledge and theory, using the crime problem as the vehicle for study, with repeated and continuous testing of that new knowledge and theory for relevance to an actual social behavior problem--crime.

There seems to be no reason why all of these objectives cannot be realized by a single faculty teaching a core curriculum with permitted electives, a curriculum that requires

of all students at least some sophistication in the handling of empirical data. Today that knowledge is fully as important to administrators and other practitioners as it is to those doing research in an academic setting. One cannot even understand the literature without a basic knowledge of research design and methodology. As Bok puts it, "Even the critics must acknowledge that key policymakers should be acquainted with these methods if only to appreciate their pitfalls and avoid becoming captive to elaborate staff studies which they cannot adequately comprehend." Research is no longer an esoteric enterprise of interest only to absentminded professors who have no concept of reality if that, in fact, ever was the case. It is an essential tool for coping with complex modern problems and for administering complex governmental agencies.

Doctoral programs in criminal justice should seek to develop in each doctoral candidate:

1. a knowledge of the history and nature of crime and society's reaction to it;
2. the ability to identify and define those issues arising out of the criminal justice system that require public attention;
3. the knowledge of research design and methodology necessary to conduct and utilize research for purposes of improvement, planning, management, and education in criminal justice systems;

4. a familiarity with the skills, strategies, and theory of planned change, including "an understanding of the political processes that influence governmental action;"
5. "a sensitivity to the problems of ethics and competing values that inhere in all forms of public activity."

To do this, a faculty should be sought from among academicians trained in the few existing criminal justice doctoral programs, among those trained in the professions, and among outstanding practitioners. The test for all should be a demonstrated interest in and capacity for teaching and research on crime as a social problem. Students should be sought from among those college graduates "motivated for public service" who are "also capable of the necessary scientific detachment to work as scientists on research projects and in the associated areas of development and innovation."

Because of the mix of objectives sought, great care must be taken in structuring all three components of a successful school: curriculum, faculty, and students. Leadership of the program is particularly important, calling for mastery of what Silvert calls "the statesman's art" as well as the qualifications listed above for all members of the faculty.

A criminal justice doctoral program organized in this way would seem to meet all of the recommendations of the BASS report except that it would not attempt to deal with all

possible applications of behavioral and social science to social problems but would, for the reasons cited above by President Bok, focus exclusively on the social problem of crime. Its graduates could, however, because of the concentration in their training on how to define and analyze problems, easily adapt to working in other social problem areas. Such a program would make them not only criminal justice generalists but potentially social problem generalists. Because the program has that breadth as well as the scientific depth, the degree awarded should be the traditional degree of scholarship--the Ph.D.

In designing the criminal justice doctorate, it must be kept in mind that no formal educational experience can prepare any person for all of the demands that a successful career will make. The careerist must recognize that self-study must continue throughout one's professional life. Continuing education must develop the base laid in graduate school to meet the ever-changing requirements of a developing career, particularly in a field like criminal justice which is itself changing rapidly. An important part of the doctorate should be preparation for successful participation in this continuing refreshment and updating enterprise. The program sketched above seems to meet that requirement.

NOTES

1. Membership of the Central Planning Committee for the Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey Committee was as follows:

- . Ernest R. Hilgard, Stanford University, Chairman
- . Henry W. Rieckson, Social Science Research Council, Co-chairman
- . Kenneth E. Clark, University of Rochester
- . James A. Davis, Dartmouth College
- . Fred R. Egan, University of Chicago
- . Heinz Eulau, Stanford University
- . Charles A. Ferguson, Stanford University
- . John L. Fisher, Tulane University of Louisiana
- . David A. Hamburg, Stanford University
- . Carl Kaysen, Institute for Advanced Study
- . William H. Kruskal, University of Chicago
- . David S. Landes, Harvard University
- . James G. March, University of California, Irvine
- . George A. Miller, Rockefeller University
- . Carl Pfaffmann, Rockefeller University
- . Neil J. Smelser, University of California, Berkeley
- . Allan H. Smith, Washington State University
- . Robert M. Solow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- . Edward Taaffe, Ohio State University
- . Charles Tilly, University of Michigan
- . Stephen Viederman, National Academy of Sciences, Executive Officer

This Committee worked under the joint auspices of the following parent committees:

- . Committee on Science and Public Policy
- . National Academy of Sciences
 - Harvey Brooks, Harvard University, Chairman
 - W. O. Baker, Bell Telephone Laboratories
 - Lipman Bers, Columbia University
 - Preston E. Cloud, Jr., University of California, Santa Barbara
 - Harry Eagle, Albert Einstein College of Medicine
 - Carl Eckort, University of California, San Diego
 - Herbert Friedman, U. S. Naval Research Laboratory
 - Ralph W. Gerard, University of California, Irvine
 - J. G. Harrar, Rockefeller Foundation
 - Sterling B. Hendricks, Department of Agriculture
 - Mark G. Inghram, University of Chicago

- Clement L. Markert, Yale University
- George A. Miller, Rockefeller University
- Kenneth B. Raper, University of Wisconsin
- Herbert A. Simm, Carnegie-Mellon University
- Robert E. Green, National Academy of Sciences,
Executive Secretary

. Problems and Policy Committee

. Social Science Research Council

- Gardner Lindzey, University of Texas, Chairman
- Harold C. Conklin, Yale University
- Samuel P. Hays, University of Pittsburgh
- Frederick Mosteller, Harvard University
- Albert Rees, Princeton University
- Henry W. Riecken, Social Science Research
Council
- William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin
- Herbert A. Simon, Carnegie-Mellon University
- Robert E. Ward, University of Michigan

²Although it is difficult to track down, there have been some reviews of the reports. See, for example, the summaries of four reviews in the Book Review Digest 1970 at pages 100-101. An interesting reaction from economists is found in "The State of Economics: The Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey." American Economic Review: Papers and Procedures, May 1971, 61, 43-62. A caveat from psychologists is expressed by Nathan Caplan and Stephen D. Nelson, "On Being Useful: The Nature and Consequences of Psychological Research on Social Problems." American Psychologist, March 1973, pp. 199-211.

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FACULTY AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN
CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROGRAMS

By
Donald H. Riddle

In the last decade, criminal justice programs in higher education have come a long way. In 1965, when the John Jay College of Criminal Justice (then the College of Police Science) opened its doors, most of the programs in this field were police science or police administration. At the present time, probably a substantial majority carry the label criminal justice, or some variation of that label, which suggests a much broader approach. In some cases, the change in name was the result of the movement to institute programs in corrections, but in many more there has been a genuine effort to broaden the approach to include the entire system. Although the development is uneven, it is my judgment that the field can take pride and satisfaction from the really considerable progress that has been made in a relatively short time. However, there is a great deal more to be done.

Criminal justice constitutes a field of study drawing most of its knowledge, theory, and methodology from existing disciplines. This should not trouble us for I am skeptical that there is any distinctive theory and methodology to be developed in criminal justice that will be unique to that field. However, there is theory and methodology to be drawn from the social sciences to be applied to the field of criminal justice, its processes, problems, and institutions. We should take encouragement from this fact for some of the most interesting intellectual developments in the academic world are for the most part being done outside the confines of traditional disciplines or in the development of new combinations or permutations of existing ones--for example, urban studies, chemical genetics, and a number of various combinations within the natural sciences--and in combination with other fields, such as humanities and social sciences. To illustrate, ethology and ecology are both derivative fields which represent combinations and new relationships among existing disciplines and which carry the extraordinary excitement of discovery. As a field of study, criminal justice can stand on its own and need not apologize for the fact that it is a derivative field drawing theories, methods, and knowledge from existing disciplines--primarily, but not exclusively, from the social sciences. Our developing field of study draws heavily from anthropology, sociology, psychology, political science, and

law, with important elements taken also from economics, philosophy, literature, history, and the natural sciences.

In broad terms, the field of criminal justice seems to me to embrace three subcategories of knowledge and theory:

First, there is social control, by which I mean the theories of control of the behavior of man in behalf of social order and the various methods utilized by different societies for controlling the social behavior of their members. Given the heavy reliance upon the criminal law in this society, any program offered by American institutions is likely to contain a heavy emphasis on the law. In general, however, this subfield would seem to me to draw most heavily upon anthropology, sociology, and political theory, with some philosophy of law as an important component.

The second subfield would be that of social deviance, including both theories and patterns of deviant behavior, and also including, but not confined to, traditional definitions of crime. This draws most heavily from sociology, particularly its subfield of criminology, and from social psychology. It is the only one of the fields which one could reasonably say has been adequately integrated for teaching purposes.

The third subfield of study is that of the institutions of the entire criminal justice system and the processes by which they function. In this category, I would include not only each of the institutions which comprise the system of

criminal justice in this and other countries, but also study of the impact of the system as a whole. The system may appear to be disjointed, with each of its institutions operating in relative isolation from the others except at the point where one institution transfers clients to another, such as police to courts, courts to corrections, and prisons to parole. However, from the point of view of the client--the individual caught in its meshes--it has an impact on him as though it were a system. Further, at least one or two sociologists have suggested that there is more unity in the system than appears at first glance, even though its disjointed nature may give it a Kafkaesque character, or seem to be based on the principles of "Catch 22." Obviously, this field draws heavily from all of the social sciences, and it is the one which can provide a student with the widest variety for specialization and intensive study.

Going further, let us look at what we might subsume under each of these three subfields:

1. Social control. Social control is not a difficult subfield to put together from the existing bodies of theory and knowledge. We would begin with informal social controls, rooted in concepts of anthropology and sociology, dealing with the primary group, the concept of culture and cultural imperatives, and norms and values. Concepts of caste and class, and the impact on the individual of the various status groups to which he belongs, all make up part of the subject. Somewhere in here, attention should be paid to the origins of

conflict and of conflict resolution which are characteristic of informal social groups.

We need, also, to include the origins of law in primitive man; the role of law, custom, ritual, magic, and symbol; and the relationships between law and culture. The whole concept of punishment and of the threat of punishment as a deterrence should also be incorporated.

With this theoretical base, the idea of social control in the nation state can be included, with an emphasis on the conflict and coincidence of social and private interests, resting as it does on differing concepts of property and rights, and on the emergence of law and the judicial method as a way of both enforcing rights and obligations on individuals and against the state and of the state's enforcing standards of behavior upon its individual members.

Certainly at the graduate level, although not necessarily at the undergraduate, some attention might be paid to problems of social control in the international community. In fact, this might be a convenient rubric under which to bring in concepts of ethics and natural law and some of the knottier problems of jurisdiction.

2. Social deviance. Since this is the best studied and best integrated of the three subfields, perhaps the least needs to be said about it, but it certainly should cover the relationship between social norms and deviance, including what one

scholar has called "the abnormality of being normal." The relationship between culture and norms and between social stratification and deviant behavior, as well as the process by which social typing and labeling are done, should be included. Furthermore, deviance is a form of social conflict. It is an important element in this society, as is the notion of deviant behavior as an adjustment to social reality. This leads naturally into the question of subcultures, the patterns of self-regulation of behavior which they engender and enforce, and of personal identity and its relationship to deviant behavior.

This topic would include the customary list of defined crimes in this and other societies. Finally, this subfield subsumes under it the whole range of responses by different societies to deviant behavior on the part of their members, such as stigmatizing and ostracizing, the various preventive methods, and the use of legal processes and institutions and of private group methods for purposes of social reintegration.

3. Institutions. Much of what is now being done in our field falls in this third subfield of criminal justice. It includes the study of police, of courts, of prisons and penitentiaries, and of the institutions of probation and parole. But, we would extend it further--and I believe necessarily--to cover regulatory agencies and authorities of rehabilitation such as Synanon-type agencies, mental hospitals, and therapeutic centers. As I have indicated earlier, I would suggest that one of the major emphases at the moment should

be on the study of the operation of the system of criminal justice as a whole upon its clients, and the systems as wholes should be assessed in terms of their capacity to meet the needs of the societies which they serve. I would suggest also that, as the field of criminal justice achieves full academic status, we should look into the future and develop models of institutions and systems of criminal justice yet to be.

At present, do we do all this? Not really. In general, criminal justice really neglects social control and legal theory. We have not incorporated into our more basic courses, or into criminal justice programs in general, very much of the existing material about informal social controls, alternatives to the criminal law as a method of controlling social behavior, or what Herbert Packer calls "the limits of the criminal sanction." I believe that one of the reasons for this is that, in the study of social deviance, we have put far too much emphasis on individual deviance and not enough on deviance as social behavior. If we did, we might look to some of the materials in legal anthropology and legal theory which would help us to understand deviant behavior on a mass scale as being essentially social behavior rather than individual deviance. Also, if we paid more attention to crime or deviance as social behavior, it might suggest different social and institutional strategies than we now use for coping with crime and its social effects.

In the subfield of institutions, criminal justice programs in general, at least in their developmental stages, have been put together from police science and corrections programs without developing a systemic approach to the study of the entire system. The programs have also tended to be quite heavy on professional courses which have an emphasis on specific operational techniques. Although there is justification for the inclusion in any program of some courses of this character, in most programs they have tended to overbalance the smaller number offered which concentrate on the analytical, the theoretical, the general and the "what if . . ." kind of question. I have mentioned that in my belief we have not adequately concentrated on the system as a whole, and one result has been to accept and, therefore, help to perpetuate the fragmentation of the system. Given the disjointed nature of the system and its consequent conflicts and tensions, it is vitally important to root the study of any one of the institutions that comprise the system in an understanding of the whole and of the relationship of that institution to the others and to the whole.

Another area in which I find us sadly deficient is the study of comparative criminal justice systems--either viewed in the whole or in their respective parts. The comparative literature on police systems is virtually nonexistent. There is a limited field of comparative law and a modest amount of literature on the correctional institutions and the corrections process in some other societies, but taken as a whole, with

the possible exception of law, there is little in which the approach is truly comparative. We have an obligation to begin to fill this gap, both in the literature and in teaching, for we need the added perspective toward our own system which this kind of study can provide.

A major reason for our failure to develop more rapidly as an integrated field of study labeled criminal justice is the problem of faculty development. From my sketching out the field as I see it, one can see what kind of ideal faculty would be required to put together an ideal department. Putting together a faculty drawn from existing disciplines would require the following group of faculty to deal adequately with the sub-field of social control:

1. a legal anthropologist
2. a legal philosopher
3. a political scientist interested in theory
4. a political scientist specializing in state and local government
5. a legal scholar whose primary scholarly concern was the theory of law.

With respect to deviance, we would need at least two criminologists, one carrying forth the main thrust of that field on individual deviance and one whose specialty was dealing with the phenomenon of crime in social terms. We would also need a social psychologist.

In the third subfield, that of institutions, we would need a scholar whose prime concern is the operation of the whole system, as well as people with scholarly specialties in police, the courts, corrections, and probation and parole.

In addition, of course, my well-rounded ideal department would need someone whose scholarly field was comparative law, one with an interest in comparative criminal justice systems (someone with expertise on the comparative study of police and corrections would also be helpful) and, finally, at least one historian seriously interested in the history of criminal justice and/or its component parts.

Put this way, it is obvious why we do not have such departments and why we have not pulled the field together more effectively than we have. The size of such a department is beyond the means of any institution offering criminal justice, with the possible exception of John Jay College, and it is possible there only because one has an entire college devoted to the mission and to the study and teaching of criminal justice. Equally important, however, is the shortage of faculty with the requisite expertise and interests. There are not very many legal anthropologists or legal philosophers. There are not many people who have seriously studied the entire system of criminal justice. There are practically no qualified faculty who are experts in the comparative systems I have mentioned, and there are very few historians who have devoted serious attention to the history of criminal justice

or any of its component parts. Fortunately, I can report that there is an increasing number of each of these, but in the foreseeable future it does not seem likely that even Ph.D. programs in criminal justice can expect to muster anything like the complete roster of scholars and knowledge that will enable them to approach my ideal department.

Before looking at what we can do about this, let us take a quick look, broadly, at the kinds of faculty who have gone into this field and devoted their professional lives to its development.

First, and still by far the most important and most numerous, is the group of faculty who have been drawn from operating agencies. Although some members of this group have gone on to take full academic training, in most cases agency experience has been recognized as a substitute for formal training in the appointment process to college faculties. The field of criminal justice, particularly its component called police science or police administration, owes an enormous debt to these faculty. They started the field virtually alone and are responsible for nearly all of its early development. They brought to that task an intimate knowledge of the agency from which they had come, a belief in what they were doing and a commitment to it, and the ability to relate and talk to an often suspicious and reluctant clientele. Like other human beings, they tended to confine their teaching to what they knew, which accounts for the understandably very heavy

emphasis on operational techniques in the early stages of development of our field.

What the practitioners-turned-college-faculty lacked was formal training in research techniques which, more than the techniques themselves, helps to develop a commitment to research in a field which desperately needs it--even still. The lack of formal training tended, although by no means completely, to produce a lack of the critical and skeptical detachment which is an important characteristic of the scholar and teacher. My observation is that many of the ex-police on college faculties tended to embrace the police rather uncritically or to reject their police associations almost completely. Neither seems an appropriate response for faculty members committed to the life of the mind and a critical, though sympathetic and friendly, attitude toward the institutions which they study and teach.

Today, the second most important group of faculty has been those with formal academic training in some other discipline who have turned their interest to the criminal justice system or some aspect of it. These faculty, because of their formal training, have had a greater commitment to research and have been more adequately socialized into the mores and attitudes characteristic of the college faculty. However, they have often lacked a commitment to the field. Indeed, some of them have never joined, in a formal way, the faculties of institutions offering criminal justice programs, nor

participated in them. Nevertheless, they have produced some of the most useful contributions to the growing body of literature in the field. Ten years ago, when I first arrived at John Jay College, I did what any normal academic not familiar with the field would try to do. I gathered the books on police and tried to remedy my deficiencies by reading. Unfortunately, I found a dearth of useful books. In the intervening years, I have accumulated a fairly sizable shelf of books on the police which are worth reading. Except for a very small number of textbooks, not one of them has been produced by a police science faculty member. Quite a number of them have been produced by academics from other fields who have taken up the study of police as a diversion from their other interests or because research funds were available or because of a genuine shift in interest.

In terms of the long-run development of the field, there are some problems with relying on this group for the staffing of criminal justice programs. One is the problem of commitment to the field which is often, although by no means always, lacking. Frequently the interest in criminal justice is a transitory one, to do one more article or a book and then go back to one's major interest. Another is that in hiring a faculty member in one of those other specialties, one is often buying more than one needs, and that the coverage of the field requires far more people than one can justify or use. Some of

the insights and knowledge of a legal anthropologist seem to me to be essential, at least in graduate work, but the legal anthropologist has invested a great deal of effort and study on things that are not needed in criminal justice programs. Finally, there is still often suspicion on the part of our students, the agencies we deal with, and even our faculty, of the Doctor of Philosophy in another field who moves into criminal justice.

It has been suggested that one way to develop criminal justice faculty would be to run "retreading" programs in criminal justice for unemployed Ph.D.'s from other fields. Although we certainly need the knowledge, insights, and expertise that faculty trained in other fields can bring to the study and teaching of criminal justice, this appears to be a questionable method. For the immediate future some of the more luminous members of criminal justice faculties are likely to be drawn from the ranks of this group, but they will have made the choice because of genuine interest, rather than to avoid the unemployment lines. Furthermore, most of the specialists in other fields for which we have the greatest need are, as I have noted, in relatively limited supply. In short, while we should continue to value--even cherish--those faculty trained in other disciplines who make a career commitment to research and teaching in criminal justice programs, I am not convinced that we can rely upon them to supply the faculty required to meet our long-term needs.

In the long run, I believe the development of the field rests on a third group of faculty which up to now has been small, but is growing. Faculty members who have been trained to the doctoral level in criminal justice comprise this group. These are the faculty members who should have been trained in research in this field and have a commitment to it, who have committed themselves to a career embracing the study of criminal justice as a system of social institutions warranting a lifetime of study, research, and teaching, and who have developed the habits of mind which we hope for in all faculty. The doctorate in criminal justice need not preclude our use of specialists in the other academic fields I enumerated earlier, but when we have produced enough doctorates in criminal justice, they should constitute the solid core of any criminal justice department. Many of these, I hope, would have had experience in agencies in the system. On the other hand, I do not believe that we can any longer regard experience as an essential characteristic of a faculty member in criminal justice programs. All of education rests on the notion that accumulated human experience can be absorbed vicariously through the process of teaching and learning. If we cannot accept this proposition, our participation in the intellectual academic enterprise is spurious. If one can only learn by doing, learning will indeed come in very small increments. At best, what one learns by doing can and must be broadened by reading, study, and research.

Nor can we regard agency experience as a sufficient qualification of criminal justice faculty. As valuable as this experience is--and it is indeed valuable and should be represented in academic criminal justice departments--it does not of itself usually provide all of the kinds of experience that are needed in the academic: a passion for learning, the habit of critical analysis, and a commitment to real scholarship. We should, therefore, help and encourage and pressure (through tenure and promotion policies) the continued development to the doctoral level of those faculty in criminal justice who have come to the academic world from criminal justice agencies.

What about lawyers? The J.D. can legitimately be recognized as a terminal degree for membership in criminal justice departments--for some of its faculty. However, the J.D. is not a research degree, and research is a critical need of our field. Many lawyers have successfully become legal scholars, and that is what we need. However, even when we get these legal scholars, the Ph.D. in Criminal Justice is likely to become the credential of the core of faculty in a solid criminal justice department.

The preparation of Ph.D.'s in criminal justice is, I think, not quite as formidable as it may appear in my delineation of the components of the field. There is not as much academic work here as appears on the surface. It is my belief that, even at the doctoral level, the first two subfields,

i.e., social control and deviance, can be mastered through one seminar, each of a year's duration, although a student might wish to devote more attention to these areas in the course of his education and, obviously, there would be some tendency to specialize in one's lifelong research. It is also my belief that one undergraduate course of an introductory character can give the student a sufficient background in the subjects above so that specialized work in his area is rooted in some knowledge of what the whole field is about, although many of my colleagues would no doubt argue the insufficiency of that amount.

Although doctoral work in criminal justice is not the only way to get the kind of faculty that will constitute a solid, integrated, well-rounded criminal justice faculty, it is probably the best way to develop the core that each department needs of people who have the requisite training, knowledge, theoretical framework, habits of mind, and commitment to criminal justice as a lifelong field for their study, teaching, and research. The financial and human resources available, as well as the long-term need, suggest that the number of doctoral programs in criminal justice in the nation should be relatively small. I do not know how many small is, but the human resources (even if the financial resources were unlimited) are not available to institute high-quality doctoral programs at anything like all the four-year institutions now offering master's level work in criminal

justice. What the field needs most in terms of its future curricular development and its future faculty development is a number of high quality doctoral programs, geographically spread across the nation, producing the kind of faculty who will build on the progress already made to develop criminal justice as a field of study which can stand the test of comparison with any other academic field.

PERSPECTIVES IN CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE:
THE IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS

By
Don C. Gibbons
Gerald F. Blake

INTRODUCTION

We have bitten off a considerable chunk of material to digest in this paper. In it, we first offer a few brief remarks about the nature of criminology and "criminal justice." These terms are employed in different ways in current discussions of disciplinary boundaries, educational needs, and the like; thus we need to make clear what we mean by these designations. A second and more substantial portion of the essay is given over to observations about emerging perspectives in criminology having to do with crime and crime causation. Third, we present a few observations about current and future trends in criminality in American society. Finally, we provide some discussion regarding the implications of emerging viewpoints and crime trends for criminal justice thinking, criminal justice educational needs of the future, and criminal

justice practice. In this relatively brief paper, we quite obviously will have to be content with a few terse remarks on all of these matters, for full treatment of them would require a book-length treatise.

CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Let us begin with some comments on criminology and criminal justice. In our view, criminal justice is not a discipline; rather it is a synthetic and multidisciplinary field of study devoted to analysis and control of lawbreaking. There is no distinctive, unitary criminal justice perspective comparable to the disciplines of sociology, economics, or political science. Instead, criminal justice educators draw upon the varied contributions of these and other established disciplines in order to pose economic, sociological, legal, geographical, or other kinds of questions about crime and responses to it.

Criminal justice borrows heavily from the work of sociologists. Indeed, it is fair to say that a very sizable portion of the theoretical and research work that has been done on causes of criminality and the organization of criminal justice agencies and processes has been carried on by sociologists, many of whom call themselves "criminologists." Criminology is a relatively distinct and well-established specialization within sociology. Sociologists have traditionally attended to three major questions: the social-structural dynamics and processes that produce criminality, the socialization

and learning experiences through which persons come to embark on criminal acts and criminal careers, and organizational analysis of elements of the criminal justice system such as the police, courts, and prisons. Then too, sociologists have had much to say about rehabilitation efforts and treatment programs.

Economic inquiries on crime have been uncommon in the past, but in recent years, a fairly pronounced increase of interest in criminal justice topics has grown up among economists. By and large, they have centered their attention upon deterrence, economic trends and crime, historical shifts in production systems and attendant alterations in crime control practices, and the costs of crime. A few have also been involved in articulating radical, Marxist interpretations of criminality.

A sizable body of work on lawbreaking has also been produced by psychologists, much of it centered about the issues of the extent to which offenders are characterized by personality patterns that differentiate them from nonoffenders. Historical analyses of crime and responses to lawbreaking can be found in such works as those by Rothman (1971), Mennel (1973), Tobias (1967), and some of the legal historians such as Jerome Hall (1952). There has also been a fairly prominent growth of political science interest in the criminal law and the criminal justice machinery in recent years, as indicated by the emergence of the journal, Law and Society Review. Political scientists also have much to contribute to our

understanding of responses to crime through their attention to the interweaving of various governmental organizations, the impact of political processes upon criminal justice systems, and kindred topics.

Although geographers have had little to say about criminological matters, these scholars have the potential to contribute significantly to the understanding of criminality (Harries, 1974). Finally, the area of criminal justice ought to draw upon the work of anthropologists having to do with comparative legal systems, varied social control systems, and the like.

To this point, we have stressed the theoretical content upon which criminal justice draws. But, is not criminal justice an applied field? Let us clarify our views on that issue. We agree with those who have advocated new forms of graduate education that will prepare graduates to do things, to perform important tasks in the real world of public policy. Thus we have no quarrel with the thesis that criminal justice education ought to involve program evaluation skills, program budgeting, program planning, criminal justice research, and kindred topics that are usually given less stress in traditional criminology programs. At the same time, we assert that what the sophisticated criminal justice practitioner needs to acquire from his educational experience, more than anything else, is theoretical wisdom. We have no patience with those who employ "theoretical" as a pejorative term and who charge

criminal justice graduate programs with being "too theoretical" for we do not think that criminal justice education ought to be centered about inculcation of pedestrian kinds of "how-to-do-it" skills.

Criminal justice practice cries out for sophisticated analysts who can think creatively about how to bring about major alterations in social institutions such as schools or the world of work so as to reduce criminogenic pressures upon youths and adults. Graduate education ought to do more than equip graduates to fit into existing criminal justice agencies and to tinker with the status quo. One of the unequivocal conclusions that has been reached in recent years in surveys of existing responses to criminality is that most of them are ineffective. It is time to move beyond the intervention recipes and strategies of the 1950's in the direction of truly innovative and imaginative criminal justice programs.

The visionary criminal justice planner would be that individual who can grapple with the larger social trends in American society and with their implications for criminal justice, as well as the day-to-day problems of planning. This requirement is particularly pressing today when American society appears to be ineluctably involved in fundamental major shifts in the economic order, most of which do not augur well for social stability over the coming decades. Although immediate crises and problems will continue to require the attention of criminal justice administrators, we are probably going to

require criminal justice leaders in the years ahead who can diagnose major problems in the social anatomy and who can direct the application of massive curative efforts at those problems. These tasks call for social science theorists rather than trained criminal justice mechanics.

So much for the matter of criminal justice and criminology. Let us now turn to more detailed commentary on criminological perspectives and particularly to some emerging viewpoints that challenge traditional thoughtways. These divergent approaches to the analysis of crime pose some fundamental issues regarding crime control and criminal justice systems. Accordingly, these perspectives ought to be centrally involved in criminal justice education.

EMERGING PERSPECTIVES IN CRIMINOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

During the past several years, hardly a day has gone by without someone announcing either that a new paradigm is needed in sociology or that one is on the horizon.¹ New thoughtways and perspectives are in order, so it is said. Criminology has had its share of this commentary as, for example, when Gresham Sykes (1974) recently declared that "in the last 10 to 15 years, criminology in the United States has witnessed a transformation of one of its most fundamental paradigms for interpreting criminal behavior."

In 1974 Gibbons and Garabedian called attention to the different perspectives that have prevailed in criminological thought, terming them the conservative, liberal-cynical, and radical viewpoints. They were particularly interested in that essay in noting the rise of radical thought, the most recent development in criminological theorizing. In recent years, others have announced the arrival of "new criminology" (Dole-schal and Klapmuts, 1963; Taylor, Walton, and Young, 1973), "critical criminology" (Sykes, 1974; Taylor, Walton, and Young, 1974), "radical criminology" (Gordon, 1971, 1973), "Marxist criminology" (Quinney, 1974), or "conflict criminology" (Turk, 1969; Quinney, 1970; Hills, 1971; Chambliss and Seidman, 1971). To a considerable extent, these are all synonymous designations for what is discussed in this paper as radical criminological thought.

Although much of the commentary in this essay will center about the three-part distinction between conservative, liberal, and radical modes of thought, we also want to comment upon the extent to which these viewpoints merge into each other, such that it is sometimes difficult to determine precisely where one orientation leaves off and the other begins. These labels--conservative, liberal-cynical, and radical--imply different "schools" of thought but are more correctly to be seen as some points along a continuum of theoretical positions. Thus "liberal-cynical" is a summary term for a collection of viewpoints which differ somewhat in specifics. Furthermore,

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as we shall note in more detail later, there is a recent development of a brand of thought that might be termed "neoconservative," represented by writings of Banfield, James Q. Wilson, and some others, that is difficult to place in this scheme.

Our main task in this section is to provide a summary and critique of radical arguments on criminality which have increased markedly in prominence in recent years. The advocates of this orientation have become fairly numerous and their claims have grown in stridency, if not commensurately in logical rigor or empirical precision. Accordingly, the radical position is one that must be reckoned with, even if large chunks of it are ultimately rejected as unsound.

CONSERVATIVE, LIBERAL-CYNICAL, AND RADICAL CRIMINOLOGY

In their earlier paper, Gibbons and Garabedian asserted that 20th century criminology has changed over the decades from a conservative posture to a dominant liberal-cynical one, with some further shifting in the direction of radical criminological thought now discernible. Some elaboration upon these distinctions is in order.

CONSERVATIVE CRIMINOLOGY

The conservative pioneers in American criminology would include such persons as Philip A. Parson, Maurice F. Parmelee, and John Gillin.² These scholars took the criminal law as given and as the codification of moral law. Criminals were seen

as morally defective members of the "criminal classes." Causal analysis asked how moral weaklings were produced, and etiological hypotheses pointed in the direction of hereditary taint, aberrant family life, or other specific conditions thought to produce defective or amoral persons. Societal defects were either ignored or downplayed.

Conservative criminology is also represented by the kind of endeavor found in the writings of Barnes and Teeters (1959) and a host of other scholars in the period up to the 1950's, characterized by a relatively low level of conceptualization. A "good guy" and "bad guy" image of criminality was advocated, in which it was asserted that criminality was the result of some stew or mixture of negative social factors. Indeed, "good guy-bad guy" views have not passed entirely from the scene even now for we can see them revealed from time to time, both in the opinions of laymen and in the scholarly literature.

Conservative criminology sometimes involved some critical observations about the police for the use of the "third degree" and the like, along with some concern about vile prison conditions and the lack of resources for correctional treatment. But in general, old-time criminology tended toward a faith in the ultimate perfectibility of the police and criminal justice machinery. In this view, these were "good" institutions staffed by "bad" (incompetent) persons; thus if we "throw the rascals out" who currently manage these operations and replace

them with "professionals," high-caliber police work and effective correctional therapy would be within our grasp.

LIBERAL-CYNICAL CRIMINOLOGY

It was not until the 1930's that criminologists began to ask social questions about the nature of crime and criminals. By and large, their queries centered on the behavior of criminals rather than on the criminality of behavior and rarely asked, "Why have certain kinds of behavior (and people) come to be defined by others as criminal?"³ The question of the early Americans, which finally developed into differential association theory, was, "How do people learn to be burglars, rapists, etc.?" This was the query behind Merton's anomie formulation as well: "Why do people engage in deviant acts?" rather than "Why are those acts defined as 'deviant' in the first place?"

The movement toward a sociologically sophisticated version of criminology became accelerated in the writings of Sutherland, particularly as summarized in his Principles of Criminology (1974).⁴ Gibbons and Garabedian termed this version of criminological thought "liberal-cynical criminology."

In liberal instances of modern criminological analysis, the social order or societal structure is seen as relatively viable. While many liberal criminologists are quick to concede that the social and economic discrimination that is at the heart of "the racial problem" in American society is a

major "criminogenic" social condition and that other social-structural defects play a major role in crime causation, they view these as relatively short-run problems, or at least ones that are eradicable through low-level social repair. Liberals do not entertain the view that the problems of American society are inherent in the social-economic order and incapable of solution short of social revolution. However, liberal-cynical criminology does acknowledge that the criminogenic influences which produce criminality are exceedingly pervasive and intimately bound up with the core institutions of modern society. The task of uncovering etiological influences in lawbreaking requires that we engage in a penetrating examination of many central features of American society. The theoretical and empirical work produced by Cloward and Ohlin, Cohen, Short, Cressey, Hirschi, and a host of others in the past two decades represents this type of examination.

Sykes (1972) has recently summarized the main directions of modern liberal sociological theorizing about criminality.⁵ He identifies three perspectives, including the view that lawbreaking is the result of ordinary learning processes within a criminogenic culture, exemplified by the paired formulations of Sutherland and Cressey (1974) about differential social organization and differential association. Second, the social control position holds that criminality breaks out when personal and social controls become attenuated. Hirschi's (1969) study illustrates this approach. Third, the anomie argument

(Merton, 1957) asserts that criminality is a normal, innovative response to a situation of cultural discontinuity between ends and means.⁶

Some recent departures from earlier modes of liberal criminological analysis which centered upon offenders and their behavior are found in the work of Turk (1969), Hills (1971), and Chambliss and Seidman (1971), among others. These theorists would have us pay less attention to criminal persons and queries of the "Why-do-they-do-it?" sort and more attention to criminality and criminal lawmaking processes. They tell us that "crime" reflects social power struggles in that some groups manage to get their norms and values embodied in criminal law, with the deviations from these standards being defined as "crimes." Persons labeled as criminals come from the ranks of those who lack social power, e.g., Blacks, lower-class individuals, transients, youths, women, and so on.

Although conflict views in criminology blur into more recent radical writings to some extent, making their placement along the theoretical continuum somewhat difficult, many of these statements seem not to be, in any fundamental way, major departures from liberal criminology. While they contend that lawbreaking is often the outcome of struggles between the powerless and the powerful, they do not offer any basic challenge to the assumption that American society and its institutions are in a relatively healthy state. Also, they do not challenge the claim that persons labeled as criminal usually have engaged in behavior that is proscribed by the criminal law.

A word or two is in order regarding use of the label "cynical" to characterize modern criminological thought. Perhaps "pessimistic" would be a more appropriate adjective for theories of causation, in that the growing awareness that crime causation is an exceedingly complex phenomenon tends to make the criminologist chary about his ability to completely account for it. Then too, contemporary criminologists armed with an appreciation of the complex interweaving of factors in lawbreaking are not very sanguine about the prospects for its amelioration.

The cynical posture of modern criminologists emerges more strikingly in their observations about the criminal justice and correctional systems. The sociologist is an "inside dopester" who is aware that social organizations are often "screwed up," operating in ways quite different from those limned out in organization charts or manuals of procedure. This growing sophistication of criminological analysis has been paralleled by a marked decline in the criminologist's faith in the perfectibility of the legal-correctional machinery.

Take the burgeoning literature on the social organization of the police. Wilson (1968) has observed a number of police departments in detail, reporting that they depart in many ways from the idealized version of professional police departments. Chevigny (1969), Reiss (1971), and Stark (1972), among others, provide a number of details regarding police abuse of citizens, all of which suggest that it is a complex problem which is not amenable to simple solutions.

Along this same line, studies of the court system show a great gulf between the justice system in theory and in actual operation. For example, Blumberg (1967) claims that the court organization of prosecutors, defense attorneys, judges, and kindred persons is a people-processing "con game" in which the interests of the accused are given short shrift. A similarly negative view of the juvenile court is contained in Emerson's (1969) study. Much of the recent advocacy of diversion efforts, decriminalization, judicious nonintervention, and similar recommendations being made by criminologists has grown out of this liberal pessimism about the justice system.

All of these arguments and analyses noted to this point are cases of liberal-cynical criminology in that they all eschew any questioning of the moral basis of the American corporate capitalistic economy or any kind of analysis of "criminogenic" conditions that would suggest that these are insoluble through reform or liberal tinkering. Although it is acknowledged that crime will continue to plague us, it is assumed that it will continue pretty much in its present form. Also, it may be possible to make some dent in it if we manage to divert more state and federal funds to a "war on crime." Similarly, although skeptical about the perfectibility of the criminal justice and correctional machinery, the liberal-cynical criminologist assumes that this apparatus will continue to creak along, doing at least a minimally acceptable job of containing criminality. If we patch up the justice system

here and there and the larger social order in which it is contained, these structures will continue to function well enough.

A FOOTNOTE ON "NEO-CONSERVATISM"

In the decades of the 1950's and 1960's, considerable enthusiasm existed for rehabilitative ventures directed at offenders. Books were written about changing the lawbreaker (Gibbons, 1965), and much was heard about group therapy, milieu treatment, and other intervention strategies. However, in the past ten years or so, a number of critical assessments of rehabilitative experiments and treatment ventures have been produced, all seeming to indicate that correctional treatment is pretty much an illusory goal.⁷ These evaluations of the efficacy of correctional treatment are not all in agreement, but even the most optimistic of them tend to be fairly discouraging. Accordingly, few contemporary criminologists still retain great optimism about the prospects of doing correctional treatment, in institutions or on the outside.

One consequence of these negative reports on criminal rehabilitation has been the emergence of a modern kind of "neo-conservatism," involving recommendations that treatment goals be abandoned in favor of deterrent efforts that would emphasize swift and relatively certain punitive sanctions being levied against offenders. Neo-conservatism has been voiced by Banfield (1968, 1974) and, more recently, by James Q. Wilson (1975) who has come out forcefully for deterrence policies instead of rehabilitative ventures.

Discussion of these neo-conservative recommendations would take us too far afield. However, let us offer a few brief comments on this brand of argument. First, these viewpoints are not markedly at variance with many other pessimistic and cynical assessments of correctional intervention offered by liberal criminologists. Second, the underlying perspectives on crime and the social order that are apparently subscribed to by persons such as Wilson seem not to depart from basic liberal postulates about the viability of the existing social order. Calls for more punitive and deterrent strategies appear to be based on an implicit assumption that both law-abiding and lawbreaking citizens are sufficiently satisfied with, and attached to, the existing social-economic order that massive alienation will not ensue from a return to a "hard-line." Third, the evidence is still far from clear as to the extent to which punitive sanctions are, or are not, effective as specific deterrents (Tittle and Logan, 1973). Finally, we are of the view that neither "people-changing," based on clinical images of lawbreaking and lawbreakers, nor hard-line programs of deterrence offer much promise as ways of bringing about marked reductions in criminality in the long run. It may be possible to intimidate some offenders through increasing the certainty, celerity, and severity of sanctions, but these strategems will not be adequate in the long run.⁸

We shall return to this claim later in this essay.

RADICAL CRIMINOLOGY

What is the nature of "radical criminology," some of which has emerged out of the angry prose of the underground press and the writings of the "New Left"? To begin with, we have already noted that the margins of much social conflict theorizing are difficult to distinguish from the edges of radical criminological thought. Then too, paralleling the situation within liberal criminology, there is considerable variation among theorists in the radical camp. Radicals differ both in the care with which they explicate their arguments and in the revolutionary fervor they exude, so that it is a long way from the relatively careful development of propositions in the work of David M. Gordon (1971, 1973) to the more polemical writings of Quinney (1974), the sketchy arguments of Krisberg (1975), or to the Schwendingers' (1970) call for a redefinition of crime in terms of "basic human rights."

In its most extreme form, radical criminology contains premises such as the following: First, it is argued that a relatively small collection of corporation officials, governmental leaders, and military men comprise a "ruling class," that is, a close-knit power structure bent upon economic exploitation of "the people," both in the United States and in formerly colonialized nations elsewhere. Laws are used to compel the masses to remain docile. CIA agents, FBI personnel, and a motley collection of paid informants, infiltrators, and other shadowy figures working with these agencies lurk in the

background doing the dirty business of "the ruling class," assassinating foreign leaders, spying on citizens, and the like.⁹ The police are "pigs," mercenaries of oppression, and the hired lackeys of powerful interests. Exploitation and repression are most severe in the case of Blacks, Chicanos, and other ethnic minorities who are "surplus" persons for whom the economic system has no place. Black convicts are political prisoners deliberately being held captive, the innocent victims of a corrupt, capitalistic, exploitive society which hopes to defuse their revolutionary potential by harassing and jailing them. Finally, the police are involved in deliberate policies of genocide through systematic attempts to murder those Black Panthers and others who have dared to fight against the exploitive system.

More moderate versions of radical thought eschew some of these claims about police repression, genocide, and the like while retaining the central proposition that crime, racism, sexism, and international exploitation are all manifestations of the inherent contradictions of the political-economic organization of monopoly capitalism. This being the case, major reductions in criminality are impossible without the overthrow of corporate capitalism. Liberal tinkering through the criminal justice system is actually a part of repression, for any attenuation of crime resulting from such activities only aids in the continuation of the system which engenders lawbreaking in the first place.

VARIATIONS IN RADICAL CRIMINOLOGICAL THOUGHT

Gresham Sykes (1974) has presented one summary of radical criminological arguments, or what he has termed "critical criminology." His characterization of radical thought is one that falls on the moderate end of the radical scale. He notes that critical criminology involves skepticism about theories of causation with markedly more focus upon how stigmatizing labels get attached to some social actors and not to others. Then too, according to Sykes, critical or radical criminology views lawmaking and the operations of criminal justice agencies as centered about maximizing the interests of powerful overdogs and suppression of the underdogs, that is, lower-class, powerless members of society. Sykes (1974) contends that:

At the heart of this orientation lies the perspective of a stratified society in which the operation of the criminal law is a means of controlling the poor (and members of minority groups) by those in power who use the legal apparatus to 1) impose their particular morality and standards of good behavior on the entire society; 2) protect their property and physical safety from the depredations of the have-nots, even though the cost may be high in terms of the legal rights of those it perceives as a threat; and 3) extend the definition of illegal or criminal behavior to encompass those who might threaten the status quo. The middle classes or the lower classes are drawn into this pattern because 1) they are led to believe that they too have a stake in maintaining the status quo; or 2) they are made part of agencies of social control and the rewards of organizational careers provide inducements for keeping the poor in their place. (p. 210)

Sykes' commentary describes the moderate end of the radical category in that he is fairly fuzzy in identifying precisely who "those in power" might be or the forms or mechanisms through which they go about exercising those powers. Then too, Sykes has relatively little to say about the dynamics of oppression in which the wielders of power are engaged.

Economist David M. Gordon (1971, 1973) has offered a version of radical criminological thought that also shows some points of convergence with prevailing liberal-cynical perspectives. His analysis avers that nearly all crimes in capitalistic societies represent rational responses to the organization of capitalist institutions in that they constitute attempts by offenders to survive in a situation of economic precariousness generated by that social order. Further, he argues that many of the important differences among particular kinds of lawbreaking such as garden-variety property violations, organized crime, or white collar offenses are related to the class structure of corporate societies and to the class biases of the State. Many theorists of a liberal persuasion would find little to cavil with in such assertions as "the government in a capitalist society like the United States exists primarily to preserve the stability of the system which provides, preserves, and protects returns to the owners of capital. As long as crimes among the corporate class tend in general to harm members of other classes, like those in the 'consuming class,' the State will not spontaneously move to prevent

those crimes from taking place" (Gordon, 1971, p. 66). Such a conclusion surely is implicit in Sutherland's (1949) examination of white collar crime.

Gordon also develops a "functional" argument regarding current patterns of crime and punishment in capitalistic societies, contending that imprisonment of Blacks and other minority persons serves to keep them out of the job market and also operates to prevent them from organizing with others to attempt to change the economic system that oppresses them. Some of that argument is less than persuasive, insofar as it is suggested that these are the manifest and deliberate functions of prisons, although it certainly may be the case that prisons do contribute to such ends. At any rate, it would be difficult to argue that Gordon's claims are wildly or totally inaccurate. The main thing to be said about his views is that they are radical to the extent that they call for fundamental and sweeping alterations in the structure of basic economic institutions in American society.

The recent writings of Richard Quinney represent quite a different version of radical thought. His is a more polemical position which is more bombastic in tone, at the same time that it is deficient in compelling logical cogency or detailed empirical support. The intellectual development of Quinney is worth tracing for he has changed over the years from a mainstream liberal criminologist, turning out studies of criminal violations by pharmacists or typological schemes for

categorizing offenders, to a representative of conflict perspectives.¹⁰ Most recently, Quinney has become "radicalized" to the point that his latest essays stand as some of the most prominent work in emerging radical criminology.

There is no beating around the bush in Quinney's explanation of radical criminological thought. The identity of the villain is clear at the outset: the capitalist ruling class that has produced the criminal law and the ideology of the rule of law. The ruling class is a quite small, monolithic group made up of the economically powerful who fill the board rooms of major corporations and whose tentacles of influence stretch out to control governmental figures and key members of the military establishment. Let us consult Quinney's (1974) own words, where he sets out the structure of his argument:

1. American society is based on an advanced capitalist economy.
2. The state is organized to serve the interests of the dominant economic class, the capitalist ruling class.
3. Criminal law is an instrument of the state and ruling class to maintain and perpetuate the existing social and economic order.
4. Crime control in capitalist society is accomplished through a variety of institutions and agencies established and administered by a governmental elite, representing ruling class interests, for the purpose of establishing domestic order.
5. The contradictions of advanced capitalism--the disjunction between essence and existence--require that the subordinate classes remain oppressed by whatever means necessary, especially through the coercion and violence of the legal system.

6. Only with the collapse of capitalist society and the creation of a new society, based on socialist principles, will there be a solution to the crime problem. (p. 16)

A CRITIQUE OF RADICAL THOUGHT

There are a number of criticisms that can be leveled at radical criminological arguments, most of which have already been offered by others. For one, contemporary radicals are incorrect in implying that earlier generations of criminologists were completely oblivious to the origins of criminal laws in social and economic conflicts.¹¹ For example, Sutherland (Cohen, Lindesmith, and Schuessler, 1956) sketched out the beginnings of a "social conflict" perspective on the law about forty years ago when he observed that:

[Crime] is a part of a process of conflict of which law and punishment are other parts. This process begins in the community before the law is enacted, and continues in the community and in the behavior of particular offenders after punishment is inflicted. This process seems to go somewhat as follows: A certain group of people feel that one of their values--life, property, beauty of landscape, theological doctrine--is endangered by the behavior of others. If the group is politically influential, the value important, and the danger serious, the members of the group secure the enactment of a law and thus win the cooperation of the State in the effort to protect their value. The law is a device of one party in conflict with another party, at least in modern times. Those in the other group do not appreciate so highly this value which the law was designed to protect and do the thing which before was not a crime, but which has been made a crime by the cooperation of the State. This is a continuation of the conflict which the law was designed to eliminate, but the conflict has become larger in one respect, in that the State is now involved. Punishment is another step in the same conflict. This, also, is a device used by the first

group through the agency of the State in the conflict with the second group. This conflict has been described in terms of groups for the reason that almost all crimes do involve either the active participation of more than one person or the passive or active support, so that the particular individual who is before the court may be regarded as merely a representative of the group. (pp. 103-104)

Another relatively early statement of social conflict views regarding the criminal law and its implementation can be found in the writings of Vold (1958). The radical rejoinder to this observation would be that Sutherland, Vold, and other liberal criminologists have been overly equivocal and fuzzy in delineating the nature of power in societies dominated by monopoly capitalism. Liberals opt for a diffuse, pluralistic model of countervailing influence and power balances while radicals maintain that, in the real world, a small group of persons holds a monopoly on effective power and influence.

Many critics would concede that radical theorists are partially correct in that some lawbreaking appears to represent violations of laws that are protective of the interests of overdogs. At the same time, some would argue, first, that more research is in order regarding the social sources of various criminal laws. Additionally, some critics would contend that the radical position has been overextended, that there are some criminal statutes, including homicide and rape laws, that are supported by general societal consensus and that do not grow out of interest group processes or represent the exercise of oppressive power.¹²

A related argument, raised by some critics, is that radical theorists are off the mark in implying that criminal laws grow up as the codification of the interests of socially powerful groups only in corporate capitalist societies. Instead, so the counter argument goes, social conflict among classes may be characteristic of all complex industrialist societies with laws arising out of this conflict in all of them (Rock, 1973). Accordingly, many would question Quinney's (1974) assertion that "only with the building of a socialist society will there be a world without the need for crime control" (p. 16). No existing socialist society can be found that is devoid of criminal laws and criminal justice machinery.¹³

None of the problems of radical theory enumerated so far can be considered to be fatal flaws. However, there is another, larger difficulty with the radical perspective which relates to a common charge by radical theorists that liberal analysis is beclouded by "mystification" and that the radical task is to demystify our understanding of crime. For example, Quinney (1974) claims that "the role of social theory in capitalist society is to legitimize existing authority, thereby securing the dominant social and economic arrangements. Such knowledge is actually an ideology for the existing order; and those who engage in this kind of knowledge are the ideologues and servants of the ruling class" (p. 22). The radical goal is to strip away the false accounts of the nature of the social world as presented in liberal criminology, that is, to demystify

criminality. But in truth, much existing radical work also contains large amounts of mystification and reification of social processes and structures. Many of the radical, conspiratorial accounts of exploitive, monolithic power structures of corporate capitalism surely are deficient in specifics. Much of the commentary of radicals regarding racism, sexism, exploitation, repression, and the like is short on details, such that radical theorizing often fails to direct attention to concrete manifestation of these phenomena and to indicate with some degree of precision how these factors operate to cause lawbreaking.¹⁴

Consider a sampling of claims in Quinney's most recent and most radical book (1974). In one place, speaking of LEAA-sponsored research programs, he offers a series of contentious and exaggerated claims about this work, concluding that "the above research can best be regarded as 'counter-insurgency research'" (p. 42).¹⁵

Quinney's analysis revolves around arguments about "the ruling class" and its machinations that (1) produce criminality, and (2) have conjured up a monstrous criminal justice apparatus to deal with those who threaten the interests of the ruling class. At one point, he declares that "the ruling class pulled off another of its schemes" (p. 75). The image here and in other places in his essay is of a small group of powerful corporation heads who are in constant touch with each other, who call each other on the telephone, or who meet

surreptitiously to decide the destinies of the rest of us. For example, in another place, he avers that "the Omnibus Crime Control Bill that came out of this committee was an outright device to control the underclass" (p. 81).

Although most of Quinney's commentary offers up the picture of a small malevolent band of corporate overdogs making up "the ruling class," at one point he tells us that this class "is composed of (1) members of the upper economic class (those who own or control the means of production) and (2) those who benefit in some way from the present capitalist economic system" (p. 55, emphasis added). Whatever else might be said about this concept of the ruling class, it surely is an elastic one, shrinking at times to include only a handful of corporate officials while stretching at other times to take in most of us!

There are numerous other gross contentions of this kind in Quinney's book, but there is no point to be served by enumerating more of them.¹⁶ Instead, let us emphasize that the main conclusion to be drawn from these and other radical writings is that radical criminological thought is still in infancy, or to use the more elegant jargon of sociology, in the "pre-paradigmatic stage." Questions of the sort, "How valid is radical criminological thought?" are unanswerable at present because there is not yet in existence any well-worked-out, comprehensive, rigorously stated radical theory of criminality and responses to crime which can be subjected to empirical test.

What is available is a loose collection of themes and arguments, standing in contrast to "the conventional wisdom" of contemporary liberal-cynical criminology.¹⁷ If radical theorists are to have any lasting impact upon the world of ideas, they are going to be compelled to devote a good deal of hard work to explicating their perspective.¹⁸ Criminal justice can ill-afford to tolerate mystification of the real world, whether by liberal scholars or by radical spokesmen.

We need to acknowledge the signal contribution of radical theorists to criminological thought, to wit, their insistence that we recognize that crime and responses to it are no less a "natural" outcome of the political-economic organization of society than are various kinds of socially applauded activities. The thrust of this operating assumption is that we need to probe deeper into the social reality of crime (Quinney, 1970) and into "criminogenic" features of society than has been done in such theorizing as the Sutherland and Cressey (1974) notions about differential social organization or other liberal perspectives on the social order.

The major flaw in the radical theorizing produced to date is that, once having enunciated this working principle, radical theorists have usually turned away from detailed description and structural analysis of lawmaking processes, the ordering and exercise of social power, crime-producing processes, and kindred matters. Too often radical theorizing has degenerated into "devil theories" centered upon allegations about the

ruling class, devoid of much indication of how this ruling class actually goes about the business of ruling. Then too, radicals have offered us much hyperbole about racism, sexism, oppression, and repression, but relatively little in the way of detailed explication of the social indicators of the phenomena to which these labels apply.¹⁹ That kind of analysis will not do. We need much more than bombastic rhetoric and shallow intellectual analysis if we are to understand crime in modern society.²⁰

CRIME TRENDS AND CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY

It should be apparent by now that, although we have no patience with most current versions of "critical" or "radical" criminology, we do think that some of the themes that find expression there need to be taken seriously. In particular, we suspect that the apocalyptic vision of the future implied in much of that work may be borne out unless massive efforts are made in the direction of social reform. In some respects, we have the choice between two kinds of "income redistribution": one in which orderly, governmentally induced changes are made in income policies, taxation, employment, and other economic relationships; and the other in which individuals effect income redistribution through robbery and the like.

We do not have space to develop this thesis here. But in passing, let us note that Hancock and Gibbons (1975) are currently engaged in forming up some forecasts about the future

of crime in American society, drawing upon the social-economic analyses of Anderson (1974), Baran and Sweezy (1966), Willhelm (1970), and others. Their work attempts to anticipate some of the likely effects in the area of conventional lawbreaking of major alterations now taking place in the internal and external economic patterns of the United States. Their discussion is also concerned with "political" or social movement forms of crime that may arise out of the growing discontent felt by those upon whom the adverse economic changes fall most heavily.

Hancock and Gibbons' theorizing revolves around the structural strains in corporate capitalism. They borrow from Gordon's (1971) views regarding conventional crime as growing out of economic precariousness engendered by the economic system. They contend that economic precariousness will very probably spread in the next few years with the result that predatory crime will increase. The exacerbation of economic difficulties is related, in turn, to the changing international situation and its impact upon the domestic economic scene (Magdoff, 1969; Sweezy and Magdoff, 1972). It appears that we may be moving toward a "no-growth" society with declining living standards for the majority of citizens in part because of major economic changes now going on in the Middle East, Latin America, and elsewhere in the "Third World." If so, groups for whom economic well-being has always been problematic will discover social and economic gains increasingly difficult to come by. On this point, there is little evidence that American

Blacks have become more affluent in recent decades or that major ghetto disturbances have abated because of any solution to basic economic dilemmas (Willhelm, 1970).

Parallel views to those of Hancock and Gibbons have recently been offered by journalist Tom Wicker (1975), who tells us that:

It seems self-evident that these patterns of unemployment are bound to have a stimulating effect on crime--particularly street crime (although it is not so clear that unemployment similarly affects murder and rape). Not only is street crime committed in most cases for economic gain, it also seems reasonable to suppose that much of it stems also from the anger and frustration and alienation of those essentially rejected by a highly technological society--the enjoyable fruits of which, for the affluent many, are plainly visible to the poor and embittered few. . . .

In attempted refutation of these views, it is sometimes asked why crime did not rise so spectacularly during the Great Depression as it has recently. One reason could be that the economic disaster of the 1930's was more general, and the current contrast between widespread affluence and abject poverty was not so apparent. Another surely is that unskilled blacks had not then, to the degree that they have since, migrated from the South into the urban ghettos of the North and West.

Is it not possible, in fact, that the swift and frightening increase in the crime rate in America in recent decades is due not least to the concurrent development of something like a permanent underclass, not so much exploited as left behind--an economic substratum unable to rise by unskilled labor that is no longer in demand, unable to compete in a highly organized technological society, heavily damaged by being--in the cities--predominately black in a white environment, and profoundly embittered by the evidence all around of its hopeless disadvantage?

So much for garden variety crime. Hancock and Gibbons also advance the thesis that American society is likely to witness a marked increase in forms of violent, expressive "political" crime, taking the form of bombings and related acts in years to come, as groups of disgruntled citizens vent their anger in collective acts of violence directed at an economic and social system perceived as unjust. They take note of a series of violent incidents in recent years which they view as harbingers of the future.²¹

If these prognostications are on the mark, they surely suggest that correctional efforts and crime control measures will have to go well beyond the relatively feeble efforts that have been made to date if we are to make a significant dent in American crime. Much more attention will need to be focused upon engineered or planned societal change and less upon tinkering with apprehended lawbreakers.

Several disclaimers are in order at this point. First, we have sketched out the Hancock and Gibbons' line of conjecture with a few bold strokes so that there are many details missing from this commentary. Second and more important, we recognize that this theorizing about social change and responses to criminality is both speculative and controversial. There are some criminologists who exhibit more sanguine views of the social-structural sources of criminality, who place less stress upon social and economic conflict and more upon a pluralistic model of society, and who, accordingly, would hold

that crime reduction can be brought about by less drastic measures than implied in our commentary here. In short, many contemporary criminologists cling to a more optimistic brand of theorizing than found in our exposition.

Let us also hasten to point out that we are not attempting to pose some forced choice between all-out, social-economic reconstruction versus minor tinkering with the status quo. Although we hold that marked reductions in criminality will require equally striking efforts at planned social change, we also would contend that it is possible to bring about less dramatic but significant changes in crime patterns through relatively circumscribed programs of criminal justice innovation. For example, we suspect that a federal program now being inaugurated, dealing with diversion of youthful offenders from the juvenile justice system, will have some positive consequences in the way of reducing the number of youthful offenders who move into criminal careers. In the same way, we would argue that it is possible to achieve some positive payoff from other state and federal efforts to reduce crime. But whatever the level at which crime reduction programs are pitched, one thing is clear--namely, that these efforts are likely to succeed only if they are informed by the best available social theory.

CONCLUSIONS

We began this essay by asserting that the core of criminal justice education ought to be theoretical wisdom rather than technical skills of one kind or another. The body of this paper has been concerned with pointing up the complexities of social-structural analyses of crime found in contemporary criminological perspectives. Each of the theoretical viewpoints on lawbreaking has analogs in the form of crime control proposals: old-time liberal criminologists would opt for tinkering with offenders; liberal-cynical thinkers project a more pessimistic set of proposals but also call for efforts at decriminalization, diversion, community treatment, and the like; radical theorists are led by their theories to call for socialist revolution.

It is by no means clear at this point what blends or combination of these viewpoints will emerge in the future as the guide to crime control proposals and endeavors. But if this paper has accomplished anything, it would be to make it clear that the educated criminal justice planner, administrator, or researcher must certainly have a solid grasp of these differing views of the world of crime and responses to it.

NOTES

¹We prefer not to issue a call for a new "paradigm" in criminology. The notion of paradigm is discussed at length in Kuhn (1970). Recent applications of the term threaten to denude it of meaning, much in the same way that "theories of the middle range" and other terms have been rendered almost meaningless through loose and varied usage. Also, there is serious question about the extent to which Kuhn's claims about "normal science," "anomalies," "paradigms," and the like can be applied to sociology (Lebowitz, 1971).

²For a more detailed commentary on the works of these early figures, with particular emphasis upon Parmelee's writings and career, see Gibbons (1974). One point that is revealed in an examination of Parmelee's writings is that the precise degree of conservative-liberal-radical mix is sometimes hard to establish. While "radical" is not quite the word one might use to describe his life, he was certainly something of an eccentric rebel. We can find a number of signs of concern with the criminalization process, i.e., the making of laws and tagging of persons as criminals, in his writings. It is also the case that Parmelee's 1918 text contains some faintly radical arguments about the social conflict origins of laws as well.

³On this point, see Jeffery (1956), Vold (1958), Turk (1969), and Quinney (1970).

⁴Donald R. Cressey made a number of important substantive changes and revisions in the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th editions of this book which he prepared following Sutherland's death.

⁵Among other things, Sykes claims that liberals, both of the sociological kind and of other varieties too, tend to minimize the seriousness of the "crime wave" which is now alleged to be engulfing the United States. Those of a liberal persuasion tend to argue that "crime in the streets" is a slogan or code word for bigotry, that the alleged crime rate is mainly an artifact of improved reporting procedures, and the police are lawless. However, Sykes agrees with those who maintain that much of the crime wave is real and that it demands vigorous crime control measures. He then goes on to claim that the face of crime is changing in America, calling for new responses to it.

⁶Other variants of liberal-cynical thought can be identified. As one case-in-point, Gibbons (1971, 1972) has argued that situational elements in crime causation need to be given more emphasis, along with more attention to various kinds of relatively mundane "folk crime" in modern societies. This shift in orientation would reduce the emphasis now given to motivational factors thought to distinguish offenders from the rest of us and is consistent with the perspectives of the "labeling" school of deviance analysis which argues that deviant behavior of various kinds arises out of value-pluralism in contemporary society, that initial acts of nonconformity represent cases of "risk-taking" behavior, and that societal responses to the deviant play a major role in determining the subsequent course pursued by him.

In a somewhat similar vein, Sykes (1972, pp. 411-15) argues that new forms of criminality are coming to light in the United States and that some fundamental changes in American lawbreaking are now occurring. First, Sykes alleges that crime and delinquency are beginning to emerge as a species of sport or play in which some of these activities, such as automobile theft-joyriding, vandalism, and students defrauding the telephone company by means of elaborate electronic gimmicks, are engaged in for hedonistic rather than instrumental ends. A second and more ominous form of lawbreaking consists of various kinds of "political crime," including assassinations, destruction of draft records, dynamiting of transmission towers, and so forth. A third form of "new lawbreaking" revolves around alienation from societal values; "breaking the law becomes an important symbolic gesture, not simply a rationally selected means or act of retaliation directed against a specific person, but a deliberate affront to society as a whole" (p. 414). A fourth form of "new crime" centers about the violation of laws which most people do not regard as having moral force, e.g., premarital sexual behavior which is illegal but about which the person feels no sense of right or wrong, so that the decision to engage in it becomes a pragmatic one, that is, the risk of getting caught is the main contingency in the decision.

⁷A generous share of the literature on correctional projects and experiments is reviewed by Gibbons (1973, pp. 501-43). The various surveys of correctional treatment programs and experiments are reviewed by Adams (1975, pp. 7-11).

Contemporary criminologists tend to agree, first, that we ought to strive to reduce criminality by expunging many statutes, thereby "decriminalizing" the prohibited behavior. See, for example, Packer (1968) and Schur (1965). Second, most would agree that Youth Services Bureaus and other devices should be developed in order to divert offenders away from the

regular correctional apparatus. Then too, there is growing consensus that prison populations should be reduced drastically, sentences should be shortened, and more concern for due process and the rights of offenders ought to be stressed. Finally, many criminologists would be loath to suggest that the "crime problem" is going to be drastically altered by any of the correctional and preventive efforts now under way.

⁸In our view, it may be too early to write off as clearly inadequate the rehabilitative efforts directed at individual offenders. We would agree that "people-changing" efforts based on clinical models of offenders have been shown to be ineffectual, but that does not mean that new and innovative efforts would also be doomed to failure. What the experimental studies and other research investigations of treatment so far tend to show is that psychogenic forms of intervention do not work, and that short-term rehabilitative ventures are not sufficient to counteract the negative experiences encountered by offenders during the parole or other posttreatment period. Also, the evidence tends to indicate that it is difficult, if not impossible, to convert custodial institutions of one kind or another into therapeutic communities. Someone with an optimistic turn of mind might well argue that correctional efforts directed at opening up opportunities for offenders to become engaged in meaningful and challenging social roles might have more positive consequences. Perhaps programs that create a "stake in conformity" on the part of lawbreakers would be considerably more effective than those feeble ventures that to date have been tried. The case of John Irwin, an ex-armed robber turned prominent criminologist, comes to mind here. The likelihood that he will return to crime appears quite slight, and certainly less than had his postprison occupational opportunities been restricted to car wash employee or unskilled laborer. Some support for this argument can be found in Glaser's (1964) inquiry into the federal prison system. Also, for an insightful discussion of the problems encountered by parolees, many of whom appear to be motivated to become disengaged from criminality but who nonetheless become parole failures, see Irwin (1970).

⁹ Parenthetically, it is worth noting that such utterances were usually dismissed by liberals as the ravings of members of the lunatic fringe a few years ago. With the recent disclosures produced by the Rockefeller commission and congressional investigators, it has now become apparent that these claims accurately described a bizarre reality.

¹⁰For examples of "early" Quinney, see Quinney (1963, 1964, 1965, 1967). His "conflict"-oriented works include Quinney (1969, 1970). His most detailed radical statement is Critique of Legal Order (1974).

¹¹For example, Parmelee had a few brief observations to make about the social conflict origins of laws. See Gibbons (1974).

¹²However, for a contrary and compelling analysis of the sexist and discriminatory nature of rape laws in American society, see LeGrand (1973).

¹³Still another deficiency of radical theorizing, in the eyes of many critics, is its tendency to romanticize the behavior of garden-variety offenders and to gloss over the real pains caused for others by these lawbreakers. This is the sort of thing that is involved when members of the "Hell's Angels" are viewed as "noble ruffians" or when the rapist activities of Eldridge Cleaver are glossed over by some. Although rape may be a form of symbolic revenge conducted by persons who feel the sting of racial discrimination, the fact remains that innocent persons are victimized by rapists. Some convoluted logic is required in order to transform the rape victim into an appropriate target for someone who wishes to make a symbolic gesture against repression. Rape is rape, whatever the motives of the rapist. Those who are willing to slur over the pains to the victims caused by "symbolic" rapes are engaged in a version of the sexism which they often rail against.

¹⁴We would also point out that radical arguments are frequently quite ambiguous as far as commentaries on repression and the like are concerned. These terms are sometimes used to direct attention to specific acts of violation of citizens' rights by the police or kindred phenomena while, on other occasions, radical theorists speak elliptically of repression or oppression when they have in mind such things as enforcement of laws against lower-class offenders. To radicals, the latter cases qualify as instances of oppression in that the laws being violated by garden-variety offenders are seen as favoring the interests of overdogs in our society. Although radicals are free to employ language in these discordant ways, their practices do not make for clarity of exposition or for unambiguous theorizing.

¹⁵In our examination of the report on LEAA-sponsored research from which Quinney derives this generalization, we found it almost impossible to identify a single thread, focus, or thrust by which these studies could be adequately characterized (U. S. Department of Justice, 1975). In another place, Quinney (1974) asserts that "In the name of 'criminal justice,' the national government is providing a comprehensive, coordinated system of repression" (p. 109). Left unanswered in this and other statements is the question of whether such aims or functions of LEAA programs are to be viewed as resulting

from intentional or deliberate decisions of the ruling class, although Quinney's commentary would certainly seem to imply as much. Others of a less radical persuasion might well argue that the repressive goals of governmental programs are considerably less clear and also that they did not arise out of deliberate, conspiratorial machinations by a ruling class.

The massive federal bureaucratic structure of LEAA does not lend itself easily to facile descriptions that identify it as having some single-minded purpose. Whatever else LEAA might be, it is a multiheaded organization, pursuing a variety of not-entirely coordinated goals and fulfilling various "functions," some latent and some manifest. Our impression of LEAA and its officials, drawn out of a fairly rich variety of experiences with this agency and its administrators, is that those who run this organization are often better described as somewhat perplexed and bewildered liberals and bureaucrats, overwhelmed by the complexity of their tasks.

It does not take much skill to divine another major accomplishment of LEAA-funded programs and other crime control activities, additional to controlling crime. These people-processing and people-changing endeavors function as a modern-day WPA for middle-class, college-educated persons who might otherwise be unemployed. Durkheim, Coser, and others may be wide of the mark in their claims about positive contributions crime makes to the affirmation of social solidarity, but it seems obvious enough that crime is functional in that it has resulted in a public service industry in which hordes of persons are currently being employed. Were there no criminals to process, manage, treat, and study, perhaps another group would have to be found to serve as the raw material for this social machinery. For some data bearing on this point, see U. S. Department of Justice (1975). That report indicates that NILE spent \$32,642,401 on projects in 1974, of which \$4,877,023 went to universities and \$16,016,421 to private firms. Similarly, the total LEAA budget has grown from \$63,000,000 in 1969 to \$880,000,000 in 1975.

Sykes (1974, pp. 212-213) has also commented upon the tendency of radical theorists to discover "latent functions" of criminal justice organizations and to convert them, by verbal sleight-of-hand, to manifest ones. For example, some radicals have noted the increasing proportions of Blacks being imprisoned in recent years and have leaped to the conclusion that prisons are being used deliberately by the ruling class to warehouse Blacks and defuse whatever revolutionary potential they might exhibit.

¹⁶For example, at another point Quinney (1974) argues that "The rates of crime in any state are an indication of the extent to which the ruling class, through its machinery of criminal law, must coerce the rest of the population, thereby preventing any threats to its ability to rule and possess" (p. 52). One might well ask whether crime rates are an index of anything else as well. Surely many would contend that Quinney's account of the nature of crime rates is, at best, incomplete.

In another place we find Quinney (1974) contending that "Criminal law is not the only tool used by the ruling class to preserve domestic order. Any kind of perceived attack on domestic stability that may threaten the existing distribution of economic power in the country is subject to manipulation by the ruling class. . . . The 1960's furnished the ruling class with the challenge and opportunity to preserve domestic order. Its response was to invoke the authority of national commissions" (p. 68).

Quinney's "proof" of these kinds of claims comes down to listing the persons who served on the presidential crime commission, the violence commission, and other commissions. But it is not enough to show only that these individuals are fairly similar types, being drawn from the ranks of the better educated, wealthy, successful corporation leaders, political figures, and educators. What is lacking in this kind of discussion is any concrete indication of the ways in which these persons congeal into a "ruling class" and the ways in which this ruling class goes about "manipulating tools," "hatching schemes," and doing the other sorts of acts of oppression claimed by Quinney. In short, Quinney's "model" of the power relationships in American society and of the exercise of social and economic power appears to be markedly oversimplified and sketchy in the extreme. On this point, see Sykes (1974, pp. 212-213).

¹⁷The inchoate character of radical criminology is also revealed in the recent, influential book by Taylor, Walton, and Young (1973). That book provoked a large number of critical reviews, including Currie (1974), Jensen (1974), and Turk (1974). Most reviewers have found a great many points with which to agree or disagree in the Taylor, Walton, and Young book. Their treatment of biological theories, Marxist thought, ethnomethodology, etc., has all received a great deal of comment. However, the most important single thing to be said about this book, in our estimation, is that it has precious little "new criminology" in it. The authors expend most of their efforts on criticism of the "old criminology," i.e., liberal-cynical and earlier perspectives. They devote fewer

than 10 pages out of 300 to the barest of outlines of a new criminology. On this point, see Quinney (1973), Rock (1973), Platt (1973), and Sherman (1975). Rock's (1973, p. 594) description of the "new criminology" as it is presented in the Taylor, Walton, and Young book holds that it is in utero, rather than in infancy.

¹⁸Many radical theorists claim intellectual kinship with Marx and assert that theirs is a Marxist criminology. At the same time, Hirst (1972), Mugford (1974), and others have pointed out that there is no theory of crime or deviance to be found in the writings of Marx. The appropriate response to that point is, of course, that contemporary scholars ought not restrict themselves to Dead Marxism, insisting upon Marxist fundamentalism and allegiance solely to Marx's original writings on socioeconomic theory (Rock, 1974a; Anderson, 1974, p. 3).

There is much merit to the argument that a Marxism tailored to the world of the last quarter of the twentieth century is needed. A fullblown radical or Marxist theory of criminality ought to draw sustenance from the theoretical cornerstone of Marxism: "that the way people relate to one another and organize the productive forces of society gives shape to other social, cultural, and political institutions" (Anderson, 1974, p. 3). That kind of endeavor would involve examination of how the organization of the economic order shapes the processes of lawmaking, the identification of "criminals," and the strategies of social control. That brand of theorizing would also tell us more than we currently know about how alienating elements of economic organizations get "inside the heads," so to speak, of individuals and lead to various outcomes, but particularly to "criminal" patterns.

It should be apparent from our remarks that when we speak positively about Marxist analysis of criminality, we mean to draw attention to an important and complex intellectual tradition and pattern of theorizing about economic structure and the social order. Unfortunately, Marxism is also associated with a variety of ideological quarrels, political arguments, and "cold war" phenomena. All of this is separate from the Marxism about which we speak.

¹⁹Rock (1974b) has made this same point about the conspiratorial theories of lawmaking now contained in much radical theorizing: "Although there are exceptions, it is difficult to discover in the writings on deviancy a description of legislation and rule-making which embodies more than anthropomorphic conspiracy theory. There is little conception of history. If the social contract were not imposed today, it was certainly imposed in the recent past. The contract conceived

by the deviancy theorists contains a pristine set of vested interests which have not lost their immediate connections with a dominating elite. The perspective offers no vision of law as a complex and variegated rule-system whose origins are frequently as mysterious to elites as to governed. It offers no vision of a legal system as a series of constraints upon law-giver and ruled alike. It does not refer to legitimacy and authority other than in the context of manipulation and mystification. It does not provide for the elaborate patterns of accommodation that characterize many situations of social control" (p. 144).

²⁰A modest beginning on this activity is contained in a paper by Spitzer (1975).

There is another glaring omission in radical theorizing which we do not have time to consider in this essay. Radical criminologists are mute on the question of strategies for bringing about social and economic revolution so that, although they suggest that crime can only be eradicated through revolutionary action, they tell us little about how that outcome is to be achieved. Moreover, radical theorists have little or nothing to say about the nature of the new social structure that they would bring about by social revolution, except to hint that it would be some Utopian form of socialism that would be almost entirely free of lawbreaking. This fuzzy version of the socialist future is projected in Quinney (1972). By contrast, we suspect that crime will persist in all complex, modern societies, although absolute levels of lawbreaking would be reduced through certain changes in economic relationships. If our views are on target, they indicate the need for continued, detailed attention to development of strategies for crime prevention, reduction, and control. Radical writings are devoid of any helpful advice on these matters, so that this is a perspective without identifiable social utility.

²¹These cases would include the bombing of California Attorney General Younger's office on May 31, 1974, apparently by Weathermen. Then too, there is the June 13, 1974, bombing of Gulf Oil headquarters in Pittsburgh; the attempted takeover of a Montgomery, Alabama, radio station by Black militants on October 12, 1974; and the explosion of a large bomb on the 19th floor of the Union Bank Building in San Francisco on December 20, 1974. In this latter case, a telephone caller who billed herself as a member of the New World Liberation Front alerted the police to the bomb, but they were unsuccessful in locating it before it went off, causing extensive damage. On February 7, 1975, a bomb exploded in a San Francisco television station, following a telephone call from a member of the "New World Liberation Front." In March and April of 1975, persons claiming

to be members of the "Red Guerilla Family" were responsible for bombing of an FBI building in Berkeley and the Standard Oil offices in San Francisco. These episodes were among the two dozen terrorist bombings in San Francisco since 1973. Elsewhere, a bomb exploded at the federal court house in Denver on August 8, 1975. That bomb was preceded by 6 others in 1975 and by 51 bombings in 1974, including 18 involving explosives with the rest being firebombs.

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THE APPLICATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE DOCTORAL EDUCATION

GRADUATE RESEARCH AND EDUCATION IN FORENSIC SCIENCE

By
James W. Parker

INTRODUCTION

When the principles of science were first applied in furtherance of the purpose of the law, forensic science was born. The precise date of the first forensic science "case" may never be known, but in the 1700's chemistry was being developed as a scientific discipline and it is indeed reported that Lavoisier's classic experiments with oxygen provided the explanation for death by asphyxia (Thomas, 1974).

The current state of forensic science and its research and educational components should never be assessed or evaluated without resorting first to a careful study of the historical development of this multidiscipline. While there are a number of texts and periodical reviews outlining the growth of forensic science, Thorwald's Crime and Science (1966) is particularly enlightening. This author has emphasized major European and American contributions in forensic science, and

perhaps of equal importance, he has portrayed the violence and public outrage which has preceded or attended the establishment of laboratories of forensic science. Curry (1972), Walls (1974), Thomas (1974), and Maehly (1974) provide a further review of highlights and recent developments in this area. The present status is treated in exemplary fashion by English (1970) and Davies (1975). Historical facets and their relationships to education have been examined by Turner (1975).

FORENSIC SCIENCE: FUNCTION AND DEFINITION

America's first crime laboratory was established in Chicago in 1929 after the notorious Valentine's Day Massacre (Kondis, 1974) and was soon followed by that of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1932. As crime continued to increase, so did the number and size of scientific laboratories (Levitt, 1972). A reasonable current estimate would place the number of laboratories at more than two hundred.

As laboratories were generally established pursuant to public pressure in response to growing criminal activity, the major purpose, historically, has been to provide law enforcement investigative agencies with technological skills and knowledge. The scientific units have been variously designated as a crime or police laboratory, or a laboratory of criminalistics, forensic chemistry, science, or toxicology. Similarly, there has been no uniformity of position titles within the laboratories. The scientific investigator may be a chemist,

criminalist, toxicologist, forensic chemist or biologist, trace evidence analyst, or document, firearms, toolmark, or polygraph examiner. In addition to these titles which represent specialties and particular operative components (though not to one outside the criminal justice system), there exist in forensic science more clearly defined disciplines, i.e., forensic pathology, forensic psychiatry, forensic anthropology, and forensic odontology.

The commonly accepted role for the forensic scientist is the application of the principles of scientific analysis to the detection of crime. In this connection, the author has recently enumerated a few of the numerous felony and misdemeanor crimes in which major laboratories are daily required to render assistance (Karger, Parker, Giessen, and Davies, 1975). They include:

1. death--establishment of homicide, suicide, accidental or natural death
2. auto collisions--fatal and nonfatal hit-and-run cases
3. assaults--aggravated, intent to kill or maim, sexual
4. arson and explosion
5. fraud and deceit
6. burglary
7. firearms violations
8. drug abuse cases
9. poisoning and other toxicology.

Additionally, the laboratory may be required to maintain a capability of providing crime scene examinations. The forensic scientist must also be prepared to present expert witness testimony in court, and indeed a sizable portion of time may be spent in court appearances.

Although the role of the forensic scientist is primarily defined in response to crime, it is to be observed that in recent years more responsibilities in other areas must be assumed. I refer to the more frequent utilization of forensic science expert witness testimony in civil litigation. Noteworthy here are problems of scientific analysis in environmental chemistry and water and air pollution monitoring completed pursuant to legislation and for agency regulations. Likewise, the results of scientific analysis frequently aid in the resolution of disputed civil liability, i.e., in insurance and other tort claims

From the above it is clear that the scope of forensic science is great, and the varying demands on the laboratory are many. After examining these and other complexities confronting forensic science such as variation in quality and capability of different laboratories, Maehly (1974) made the significant observation that these factors result in a negative feedback--a low level of recognition which does not tend to attract high-caliber individuals. Until recently the ill-defined forensic sciences were further hampered by a lack of interlaboratory communication. Remedies for the latter began to appear in 1948 with the formation of the American Academy of

Forensic Sciences, later, the Forensic Science Foundation, and just recently, the American Society of Crime Laboratory Directors.

OCCUPATIONAL OBJECTIVES

The prime occupational objectives of modern forensic scientists are concerned with the capacity to conduct casework, research, training, and teaching. A brief exploration of these facets will be useful prior to a discussion of graduate research and education.

CASEWORK

In the framework of investigative and judicial inquiry, the scientist is presented tremendous quantities of items of material and biological origin. It is hoped that his or her examination of the items and interpretation of the results in relation to a specific incident will aid the criminal justice system by proving that a crime has occurred, how a crime occurred (reconstruction of crime scene events), and by associating or dissociating individuals and events.

In the past few years, most laboratories have been inundated with items submitted for examination in a broad range of investigations, particularly in attempts at keeping pace with spiraling drug abuse evidence. In addition to drug and related chemical substances, forensic scientists routinely examine and compare such items as hairs, natural and synthetic textile fibers, chips of paint, glass, whole and dried blood,

semen, saliva, perspiration, documents, firearms and tools and their markings (striations), vaginal smears, garments of all descriptions, and toxicological samples.

The backlog of cases and limited time per case (analysis may have to be done before a suspect's hearing is scheduled, or the material may decompose if not examined quickly) mandate procedures which are accurate, reliable, and quickly routinized. Unless the case is major, as in a mysterious homicide, the selections of items to be tested and the examinations to be utilized must be done quickly as other cases are pending. Thus, there is little time for research, experimental procedures, or even evaluation and reflection on how the case might have been better handled in the laboratory.

In view of the caseload and the need to employ more recent instrumental and method developments, efforts have been intensified at expansion, departmentalization, and manpower specialization. More team effort is being employed in case-work analysis. For a review of the current technological advances applicable to specific forensic analyses, one is again referred to the respective articles by Curry (1972), English (1970), and Davies (1975).

RESEARCH

At the time of the Stanford Research Institute Report (Parker and Gurgin, 1972), only one forensic science agency in the United States was reported to have a designated research

position. Prior to that there was little long-term forensic research effort except that which was conducted by a very few older, more established university programs. In this respect, Paul Kirk, the University of California at Berkeley, and their graduates must be singled out for recognition.

Research at forensic laboratories in the past has been frustrated by heavy caseloads, administrative obstacles, and lack of funds, facilities, instrumentation, and research-oriented personnel. The relatively obscure location of the forensic laboratory within the law enforcement agencies somewhere in the labyrinth of governmental complexes contributed to a kind of anonymity. Laboratory recognition was generally present in flashes during major or "headline" investigations or in sensational trials. Thus, where laboratory directors sought research funds, they were unsuccessful because governmental leaders failed to appreciate the need for and value of forensic science research.

The scientific method was very much in operation, however. Data and observations and experiences were being recorded, and after the formation of the American Academy of Forensic Science and its Journal of Forensic Sciences, there began to appear a wealth of information. But it was almost exclusively short-term project results, case analyses, and reports of unusual cases, i.e., unique poisonings, extraordinary death by suicide or homicide, or noteworthy autopsy reports. There were, and despite federal funding still are, few exhaustive forensic science research efforts under way.

Through the contracts and grants administered by the U. S. government's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), industrial, university, and operating agency laboratory research is being promoted. In terms of dollars spent for forensic physical science research in comparison to other projects, the fraction is quite small and so is the level of research. Research is an endeavor which must not be neglected for it is here that the greatest contributions to the body of forensic science knowledge can be made. Quality research will aid in the professionalization of the field.

TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Major laboratory personnel functions include orientation and on-the-job training for newly employed scientists. They also conduct classes at police academies and in and out of the laboratory for special detective or investigative bureaus; a growing number participate as instructors at local or community colleges. Unfortunately, the concepts of training and education are apt to be commingled by busy practitioners with too little time to discriminate separate roles for universities and operating agencies.

Differentiation of the processes of training and education is important to the future development of forensic science as a profession. Education is the responsibility of colleges and universities, and while training may be offered in these academic institutions, it is not a part of the degree-granting

function. The university is the basic domain of knowledge, and education is a broad, frequently abstract experience, incorporating an understanding of the fundamentals of a discipline and the application of these fundamentals to a variety of settings.

Training, on the other hand, represents a very specific learning experience in which a student acquires particular skills and becomes proficient in certain technical areas, usually applied to one definite setting or occupation. Training is important and must always be conducted in all occupations and professions. In forensic science this process is best exemplified in the on-the-job training courses, experiments, and other experiences initially afforded new members of the forensic agency.

PERSONNEL IN FORENSIC SCIENCE

Traditionally, personnel have not entered the laboratory with college or university forensic science education; rather they have been recruited from the broad and more standard disciplines of chemistry, biology, and physics. In terms of education level, most practitioners have been employed at the baccalaureate level.

In a survey by Stein, Laessig, and Indriksons (1973), 147 forensic analysts reported on their academic levels. Of that number, only 3 had Doctor of Philosophy degrees, while 20 had Master of Science degrees, 83 held the baccalaureate, and high

school was the upper level for 1 individual. Should these be fairly indicative of forensic scientists' educational backgrounds across the country, this emerging profession must address itself to the problem of defining the appropriate educational level required of, or desired from, future forensic scientists in each specialty or subspecialty.

Several laboratories in the United States already are requiring doctoral degrees for individuals in supervisory, research, and other upper levels (director, assistant director). During the past few years some laboratories have set the master's degree as a requirement for entry. A significant number of practicing forensic scientists have returned to the colleges and universities part-time, or on leaves of absence, to begin work toward graduate degrees.

FORENSIC SCIENCE AS AN EMERGING PROFESSION

It has been suggested that major changes affecting personnel in forensic science will be seen in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Crown, 1975). That this is true cannot now be disputed. Members of the leading association of forensic scientists, the American Academy of Forensic Sciences, are currently developing and evaluating proposals for certification of individuals.

Whether this move toward independence as an organized entity bound by peer-group recognition represents an advance for forensic science depends upon how the organized body conducts

the "professionalization" process. The metamorphosis by which occupations become professions is not a well-defined pathway. Professionalization for forensic science occupations will represent extremely complex interactions not only within their own divisions and subspecialties, but also within the law enforcement, legal, political, technological, societal, and educational processes.

Although they seem very different, all modern professions have certain features or characteristics in common. They maintain positions of special competence, argue in favor of the right to perform certain work, and control training and access to the profession. The core characteristics of a profession are: (1) service orientation, (2) maintaining a body of theoretical knowledge and, as a result of these, (3) autonomy of the group. Forensic science is decidedly service-oriented, and through its organizing and certification activities, it is on its way towards the third characteristic--autonomy. Through the latter, professional representatives may eventually have the sole power to police the membership and monitor the quality of service. A logical and future extension of certification is the final autonomy: acknowledgement by executive, legislative, judicial, or administrative agency.

It is the second characteristic that forensic science organizations must protect and expand--the professional knowledge area. University affiliation must be sought, for this is an historical requirement for all professions. Professional

university programs can communicate to students the knowledge, skills, norms, and values essential to the profession. Perhaps of equal or greater importance, forensic science educational programs at the graduate level can encourage and sustain effective student and faculty research, thereby increasing and making more meaningful the body of knowledge of forensic science. It is not likely that concentrated forensic science research will occur separate from the association-university relationship.

It is a reality of life that university affiliation can lend prestige to emerging professions. Similarly, attainment of the highest academic accolade, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, should be available in forensic science to those scientists who will seek a career in forensic research and teaching. Without the Ph.D. degree, the possibility exists that talented forensic scientists remaining at the baccalaureate and master's levels may never be appointed to major educational and research institutions. Growth of the profession, therefore, would not be promoted.

FORENSIC SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTION

The governmental agency most directly concerned with forensic science is the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of the Department of Justice. This agency was created pursuant to the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. Its goal is to reduce crime and improve the nation's criminal justice system.

The research branch of LEAA is the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (NILECJ). The role of NILECJ's research program has been presented by Peterson (1975). He summarized several categories of research which related to personnel assessment, identification of science education and training centers, management and evaluation of laboratories, measures of laboratory performance and effectiveness, and laboratory techniques. Awards have been made for research in blood and bloodstain, characterization and individualization of semen and other forensically important fluids, and hair. The government has provided funds for standard reference collections and computerized crime laboratory information systems, as well as a laboratory proficiency testing project.

These are not all-encompassing but do represent a significant impetus in the further development and modernization of forensic science. These research projects have been awarded to industry, hospitals, and colleges and universities, as well as to closely affiliated combinations thereof.

Students and faculty have been directly aided by Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) loans and grants, research, and Ph.D. Research Fellowships. Additionally, in July 1973, the following seven universities were awarded grants by LEAA to develop and strengthen their research activities and criminal justice graduate programs: Arizona State University, Eastern Kentucky University, University of Maryland, Michigan State University, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Northeastern

University, and Portland State University. The graduate programs at these schools are now coordinated through the National Criminal Justice Educational Consortium (NCJEC) which was established in November 1973. The Consortium promotes the exchange of ideas and experience in research and curriculum development among its members and thereby strengthens the resources of each school in achieving its particular goals.

The member schools offer a cross-section of graduate programs in the criminal justice field, including corrections, rehabilitation, operations research, law enforcement, criminal law, police training, and forensic science. The Consortium effort is assisted by a coordinator who arranges regular meetings of Consortium members and facilitates their cooperative efforts. There are several areas in which this Consortium can be expected to have an impact on the overall development of educational programs in criminal justice:

1. Two of the member schools have well-established doctoral programs; the other five can benefit greatly from Consortium interaction;
2. A duplication of effort can be avoided; member schools can provide special courses and services which are not available in individual programs;
3. Coordination of the broad scope of Consortium activities can lead to the development of valuable operational guidelines for other schools interested in the development of criminal justice programs.

In retrospect, there might have been a more effective impact in forensic science had LEAA separately funded a consortium of institutions incorporating new and more established schools offering graduate forensic science educational programs.

The profession will grow at a rapid rate if more funds are allocated to research and educational institutions. It is hoped that there will be support for central research establishments on a regional if not state basis, with functions similar to that of the Home Office Central Research Establishment in England (Curry, 1972) but with a strong emphasis on educational development.

UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Probably the first formalized program in forensic science was that in the Department of Criminalistics, School of Criminology, the University of California at Berkeley (Levitt, 1972); later criminalistics was taught at the Universities of Wisconsin, Michigan State, and Illinois (Turner, 1975). There has been much educational expansion in the last several years, and there are probably at least two dozen forensic science degree-granting programs across the country now.

In a 1974 Forensic Science Symposium meeting of the American Chemical Society in Atlantic City, New Jersey, major historical events and perspectives in forensic science education were examined (Turner, 1975). At the same meeting, the forensic science educator was presented as the "man in the middle"

(McGee, 1975) between the practitioners' needs and the constraints of colleges or universities.

At the undergraduate forensic science level, the curriculum becomes relatively inflexible since the student must become well-versed in basic sciences before proceeding to study varied forensic disciplines and legal concepts and participating in an internship. In these programs, there is little time remaining for research or the liberal arts.

In several respects, undergraduate programs in forensic science are more appealing to the practitioners. Many forensic science employers prefer to employ chemistry, biology, or undergraduate forensic science majors in the belief that they are the best candidates for the on-the-job or in-service training at their particular laboratories. These incoming individuals also are much more compatible with the present operating agency salary levels.

At all levels of forensic science education, there are constraints of funds for programs of such diverse disciplines and instrumentation, and availability of professional educators with forensic experience (without which the program would suffer a "credibility gap") and terminal degrees. There seems to be mutual agreement on the part of practitioners and educators concerning the importance of an internship component in any forensic curriculum. Positive features of this component will be discussed further.

GRADUATE RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

Discussion of graduate research and education by this author is undoubtedly influenced by his experience in a major crime laboratory (Pittsburgh and Allegheny County Crime Laboratory) and with a University offering the first graduate degree program in Forensic Chemistry (Criminalistics) (University of Pittsburgh, Department of Chemistry). But greatest reference will be made to programs at his present University and Institute affiliation (Northeastern University, the College of Criminal Justice and the Institute of Chemical Analysis, Applications, and Forensic Science).

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN FORENSIC SCIENCE PROGRAM

A listing of schools offering graduate forensic science degree programs with their respective degrees and concentrations is as follows:

<u>School</u>	<u>Degree Offered</u>	<u>Concentration</u>
California State Univ. (Los Angeles)	M.S.	Criminalistics
Georgetown University	M.S.	Forensic Science
George Washington Univ.	M.S.	Forensic Science
Indiana University	M.A.	Forensic Science
John Jay College of Criminal Justice	M.A.	Forensic Science
Michigan State University	M.S., Ph.D.	Social Science with option in Criminal Justice and Criminology

<u>School</u>	<u>Degree Offered</u>	<u>Concentration</u>
University of Calif. (Berkeley)	M.Crim. D.Crim.	Criminology and Criminalistics
University of Pittsburgh	M.S.	Forensic Chemistry
Northeastern University	M.S. Ph.D.	Foresnic Chemistry Interdisciplinary Forensic Chemistry with Specialization in 1) Analytical Chemistry, 2) Materials Science, or 3) Toxicology

In recognition of technological advances, diverse operations, and requirements of forensic science, it becomes obvious that graduate programs must build on and strengthen the background of student graduates in physical and/or life sciences. Thus a master's program will normally require an additional core of courses in the basic sciences. It will offer specialty courses in forensic science, legal aspects, and areas designed to give the student an overview of the system of criminal justice administration.

In preparation for the graduate program at Northeastern University, extended discussions were held with faculty members from various schools and departments. Advice was solicited and received from many forensic scientists, particularly crime laboratory directors. Several of their suggestions were incorporated in the program.

The program was viewed as one which would offer a "terminal" degree for students seeking general forensic laboratory

employment while at the same time serving as an ultimate source of qualified applicants for doctor of philosophy degree programs. The results of our analysis of forensic science indicated that graduate degree programs could be founded on chemistry or biology as these two disciplines form a thread of continuity with, or are more directly applicable to, forensic science than others. In recognition of strengths and limitations at the University, forensic chemistry was selected as the basis for an interdisciplinary Master of Science degree program.

In addition to offering the student a broader, more conceptualized forensic education, the program was designed to introduce students to theory and practice of new techniques and instrumentation not routinely available at in-service training programs. The student will study the traditional methods of analysis used in forensic chemistry and will compare those procedures with techniques made available through modern technology. He or she will then examine the role of science and technology in the criminal justice system.

The University entities most directly concerned with the program include: the College of Criminal Justice, the College of Liberal Arts, the Departments of Chemistry and Pharmacology/Medicinal Chemistry, and most significantly for research purposes, the Institute of Chemical Analysis, Applications, and Forensic Science. Maintaining a forensic science research environment at the Institute is, in our estimation, an extremely important aspect of the program finally developed. The specific research programs have been discussed elsewhere (Karger et al, 1975).

The final curriculum was shaped by a compromise involving internal and external pressures. The internal factors include: the need to recruit talented research faculty especially in the forensic sciences; the persuasion of University leaders that there is a need for the program and that there is at least some possibility of continued funding from outside; and convincing faculty members of the need for, and the academic quality of, such a program. Further, a balance or compromise must be made along the scientific, sociological, and legal elements as to the program content of each.

External issues include the fact that graduate science programs are costly, enroll few students, and research must generally be supported by outside agencies. Indeed, the decision as to whether researchers will study problems in serology, trace element, or drug analysis is determined by those who grant funds for the projects.

An important feature of the final 42-quarter hour curriculum is a three-month internship which requires the student to devote full-time to work in an approved, practicing forensic laboratory. This in-service training is scheduled for summer and, although it is a requirement of the program, it will carry no academic credit.

A list of the required courses incorporates the following:

<u>Courses</u>	<u>Credit</u>	<u>Lecture Hours</u>	<u>Lab Hours</u>
Modern Methods of Analysis	3	2	3
Concepts in Toxicology I	2	2	0
Biometrics	2	2	0
Biochemistry I	2	2	-
Legal Aspects of Forensic Science	3	2	0
Administration of Criminal Justice	3	2	0
Arson and Explosives	3	-	-
Crime Scene Investigation	3	-	-
Forensic Materials	2	2	0
Forensic Chemistry Tech. I	4	3	3
Forensic Chemistry Tech. II	4	3	3
Seminar	1	-	-
M.S. Paper	4	-	-

The program consists of four quarter-year periods of course work and one quarter-year internship. We view the first quarter of the academic program as providing the student a foundation in forensic chemistry with courses in graduate level instrumental analysis (lecture and laboratory), biochemistry, basic criminal justice, and forensic materials science. For example, in the analytical chemistry course the student will learn a number of methods such as modern liquid chromatography, gas chromatography-mass spectrometry, scanning

electron microscopy, and X-ray diffraction. This basic information will then be applied in the two lecture/laboratory quarters. These courses will involve an examination of different classes of evidence (e.g., inks, drugs, paints, blood stains), including the use of modern instrumentation. Forensic microscopy will also be taught in the courses.

The course on crime scene investigation will be offered by the College of Criminal Justice and will emphasize the importance of scene examination and evidence sampling. The course on toxicology will emphasize the forensic aspects of the subject.

In the third quarter, we plan to offer a course which includes the presentation of expert witness testimony in a mock court of law with the assistance of the Northeastern University Law School. Practice trial sessions with student attorneys are envisioned. The course on arson and explosives will deal with detection of related crimes, and biometrics in the fifth quarter will cover concepts of statistics important in forensic chemistry.

The student will take three electives during his degree program. Typically, we expect he will enroll in graduate lecture courses in analytical chemistry (e.g., separations, optical methods of analysis, computerized instrumentation). However, if he is so inclined, further specialization in biochemistry, toxicology, or materials science will be possible. A course on management offered by the College of Business might

also be selected if the student wished ultimately to play an administrative role in the crime laboratory.

In the M.S. program we have tried to achieve a balance between the theoretical and practical aspects of forensic chemistry. Fundamental principles are presented in the first quarter, and the emphasis is then gradually shifted to the more operational aspects of the profession, leading ultimately to the in-service training period. Some flexibility is built into the program through the electives and by the type of position taken in the crime laboratory during the three-month work period.

INTERDISCIPLINARY DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE WITH
SPECIALIZATION IN FORENSIC CHEMISTRY

A doctoral program must always be in existence before meaningful research can be accomplished by a large number of faculty simply because a doctoral degree in universities is considered a research degree. One must conduct research in order to teach students how to perform independently on research projects. But graduate programs are extremely costly, and developing a Ph.D. program is not a simple task.

Fortunately, at Northeastern, interdisciplinary Ph.D. programs were already available. Students can be accepted into interdisciplinary studies by the doctoral degree-granting Departments of Chemistry and Medicinal Chemistry/Pharmacology serving as host or sponsoring departments. The supporting school for each area is the College of Criminal Justice. The degree will be an interdisciplinary Ph.D. in Forensic Chemistry

with specialization. Three major areas of specialization will be available: (1) analytical chemistry, (2) materials science, both in the Chemistry Department, and (3) toxicology in the Department of Medicinal Chemistry/Pharmacology.

The doctoral program is designed to emphasize high quality and begin at a low level. It is a logical extension from the master's curriculum and indeed incorporates that curriculum for students who do not possess a master's on entry into the program. Expansion here will be, as with the M.S. program, closely related to the manpower needs of the profession. Beyond the master's level the student would complete an additional seven to nine courses in one of the three areas of concentration and then conduct forensic research in that area. An optional feature of the degree program will be a 6- to 12-month internship in a top-level national or international criminalistics laboratory. Through this Ph.D. program, students will be prepared to enter university teaching or to assume the more responsible positions in practicing laboratories. They will be able to perform high quality research, a component necessary for the advancement of the profession.

RATIONALE REVIEW FOR GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN FORENSIC CHEMISTRY

The rationale underlying the development of graduate programs in forensic chemistry, in part, represents appreciation of the need for knowledge of the latest theories and techniques of analysis for individuals employed as forensic chemists.

The Master's and Doctor of Philosophy degrees in Forensic Chemistry are important since both degrees reflect the educational background necessary to introduce and evaluate new methodologies for the crime laboratory. A forensic chemist is faced in his/her laboratory with a multitude of problems demanding a variety of approaches. The individual with graduate education ought to be able to appreciate the interrelationships of the various methods to the solution of a given problem.

Although some suggest that a graduate degree in chemistry might be just as, or even more, advantageous to a student than one in forensic chemistry, we feel strongly that students wishing to embark upon a forensic career should possess, in addition to their scientific background, a thorough understanding and appreciation of the social and legal environment around which their work will revolve. A forensic chemist in a laboratory is really a part of a team of professionals all dedicated to a common goal--the solution of crimes. To be a part of that team, the scientist must comprehend fully the problems faced by the criminal investigator, the court prosecutor, the judge, and the accused. He must also understand the legal guidelines under which the criminal justice system works. The specialized needs and focus of forensic chemistry are not dealt with in the traditional graduate programs in chemistry.

In addition, a major facet of university graduate programs is research. By providing resources through a program in forensic chemistry, a university encourages effective and

meaningful research in that area. The most talented researchers, not only in chemistry but also in other related fields, can be brought together and, in conjunction with their students, carry out research programs in the field of forensic chemistry which will expand the knowledge base of forensic science. Such concentrated research can only occur if a graduate program exists.

Finally the rationale recognizes that the highest academic degree, the Ph.D., should be available in the specialty of a rapidly growing profession. It is especially needed by the few who intend to become leaders in forensic science teaching and research.

SUMMARY

Before concluding, the need for interrelationships between the academic and professional forensic science community should be stressed. Although it is not always easy to accomplish, universities must establish close ties with the forensic science community. Students and faculty in an academic program must interact with professionals in crime laboratories to gain as much insight as possible into the realities of the forensic profession. Moreover, such interaction can produce significant benefits to the professional in the laboratory. Joint efforts involving students (e.g. internships), faculty, and in-service personnel using the resources and facilities of both university and forensic laboratory would not only strengthen

the educational and research activities of the university, but would also tend to enhance the work performed in the crime laboratory. Just as in the health and legal professions where there exists a meaningful collaboration between the academic and professional communities, so should there be a similar collaboration in the field of forensic science.

The presentation has reviewed some of the problems confronting the forensic scientists, the educators, and the funding agencies. It has also shown that considerable progress has been made in each of the areas, particularly at academic institutions.

Forensic science appears at a crossroad: the practitioners must align themselves with universities and aid in the further development of degree programs in their profession or refrain from so doing and thereby permit schools to operate on their own without adequate academic recognition of the profession or its subject matter.

Educators can have a vital role in the process. More interaction is needed. As the practitioners consider certification, so should the educators take the initiative and consult members of the profession in attempts to formulate university accreditation committees to evaluate educational programs in forensic science.

Many forensic scientists are already teachers, and perhaps one way to promote the profession and its goals is to consider formation of a forensic science educational association.

In addition to academic personnel, the latter could include education and training committees of presently existing organizations. Indeed, an alternative may be to form a separate educational division within the American Academy of Forensic Sciences.

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THE POLICE AND THE DOCTORATE

By
Lawrence W. Sherman

The police and the doctorate have had a fickle history at best. The past decade in one city, New York, is instructive. When Dr. Albert Reiss tried to observe police operations in 1965, Police Commissioner Howard Leary denied the request. A few years later, when then-detective (now Dean) Richard Ward returned to the Department with a D. Crim. from Berkeley, the Chief of Personnel told him, in effect, "That's nice. Now why don't you get back to work and make some arrests?" But only a year after that, Dr. Morton Bard was engineering a dramatic change in the patrol structure of an entire New York City precinct (Bard, 1969). Within a few more years, six doctoral level specialists had been hired by the NYCPD with a much-publicized Police Foundation grant, a Ph.D. in operations research had been appointed Assistant Commissioner as head of the planning division, and a Professor from the SUNY School of Criminal Justice at Albany was doing a study of no less

sensitive an issue than police corruption! Today, while access for academics continues, only one civilian Ph.D. is employed by the New York City police in any policy-making capacity. This capsule history has parallels in many other cities. It follows the general trend of policing away from insularity, prompted by riots and LEAA money, and the subsequent return to "essential" uniformed staffing prompted by municipal budget cuts.

The New York City experience also illustrates the four basic role structures of the doctor in American policing:

1. the completely detached university researcher or teacher of police-students;
 2. the completely attached police officer-doctor;
- and in between those affiliational extremes, the more liminal:
3. academic employed as a part-time or temporary consultant to a police department;
 4. the civilian Ph.D. (or D. Crim., D.P.A., Ed.D., etc.) employed full-time as staff or line official of the department.

Each of these role structures has had very different problems, and each will probably have different prospects for the future. Each merits separate consideration for the questions I believe to be relevant to the training of doctorates in criminal justice. First, how is a relationship between the police agency and any sort of doctor established; more precisely, who initiates such relationships and how? Who expects to benefit, what have

been the historical currents shaping the relationships, and where are those currents going? Second, what has been the frequency of police-doctor relations in recent years? How has the frequency varied over time, and what factors can explain that variation? Finally, which kinds of police-doctor relations have succeeded, and which have failed? Indeed, how can success be defined? What can explain success or failure? I have no final answers to any of these questions, but I can report some personal conclusions on most of them.

I. COMPLETELY DETACHED: RESEARCH AND TEACHING

The least complex of all roles a doctor can play is to remain totally affiliated with an academic institution while studying the police or teaching police officers as students. The role is far from easy, but the boundaries of the interaction are clearly drawn and historically legitimated. The initiation of the relationship is simple and mostly one-sided; the Ph.D. decides to do some research, or the police officer decides to enroll.

The few difficulties which do arise in this role account for its variation in frequency over time. First, there is the problem of academic rewards for doing research on the police. For many years, police research suffered the same low social status as the police themselves. The 1960's raised the status of the research--if not of the police--by making it "relevant," and the continuing pressure on academia for products of practical value should keep police research respectable for the foreseeable future.

More important, at least for empirical research on policing, has been the problem of access to police situations and records. This problem also diminished in the 1960's because of pressure on the police to open themselves to all kinds of public scrutiny, not just academic. At the same time, some police agencies are now virtually closed to research because previous studies uncovered findings which were too embarrassing. The growth of militant police unionism has also made access more difficult. For example, Boston reneged on a promise to give me access because union issues had made the department "too tense." Finally, some departments now claim that they have been over-studied. Denver says bluntly that their job is fighting crime, not assisting researchers.

The future of empirical research on policing may well depend upon the researcher's ability to promise useful results. To the extent that police executives will be satisfied with results that are useful to the police profession in general, such research can still be done on a completely detached basis. But to the extent that police executives will demand results that are immediately useful to their own departments, empirical research will increasingly be performed in a consultant role for reasons of both funding and control over the product.

The success of academic research can be measured either by its contribution to the theory and knowledge of a discipline or by its usefulness to police policymakers. Much police research succeeds by the former measure, if only because it has added

"new knowledge" and because academics have no clear criteria for a research failure. But much police research has also proven useful to police policymakers, which is an unusual development indeed for any body of academic research. The explanation for such success lies in the nature of the variables developed in the research conclusions. As Scott and Shore (1974) have suggested about sociology and policy analysis,

At the root of this problem of translating knowledge into policy prescriptions is the fact that, to be useful, some of the independent variables used in policy research must be susceptible to manipulation and control. (p. 2)

A recent conference on sociology and social policy concluded that very little social research has developed such "tractable" variables (Demerath, et al, 1975); one participant even charged that sociologists seem to "lust after nonmanipulable variables" (Davies, 1975, p. 236). Curiously, that has not generally been the case in police research. In a recent review of the police literature, I listed ten major research conclusions and noted their impact on policy (Sherman, 1974). On reexamination, every one of the conclusions which has been successful in influencing policy appears to have used tractable variables; every one of the failures (in terms of policy impact) used nonmanipulable variables such as "civic culture."

It would be unwise, however, to rely solely on academic police researchers for useful policy analysis. Even police research using tractable variables has rarely spelled out the policy implications, leaving that task to policymakers. Fortunately, the latter have been adept at extracting policy guidance from research, but leaving it solely to them is tantamount to leaving it to chance, as Scott and Shore (1974) have argued. Academic researchers are obligated first to increase understanding, and only secondly to be useful. Useful knowledge does not necessarily increase understanding, and understanding is not often immediately useful (Coleman, 1972). Policy research on policing might best be served by people in a variety of roles--not just in the detachment of academia--as long as they communicate their findings to one another.

The enrollment of police officers in college courses is as old as August Vollmer's program at Berkeley in the early 1920's. Since then policemen have attended college in large numbers only when a vocationally oriented curriculum made them feel welcome and when public financing and class schedules made college possible for them in practical terms. All three conditions were created nationwide after the Crime Commission recommended that all police officers be college-educated. In the mad scramble to find teachers for all of these new students, retired policemen with M.A.'s (or B.A.'s, or with no degree) were the prime candidates, particularly at the community college

level. While many are now tenured, they will probably be replaced with Ph.D.'s in criminal justice, many of whom have not been police officers. The advertisements for such posts at present still often read "police experience necessary," but academic credentialism no doubt will win out.

Whether "civilian" Ph.D.'s will successfully be able to teach "cops" is far less certain. History and literature professors command legalistic authority (e.g., the Ph.D. in history) when teaching police-students, but the legalistic authority of a Ph.D. in criminal justice is weak in the face of the police view of their work as a "craft" which can only be learned by doing (Wilson, 1960, p. 203). The problem will be more severe in courses that concentrate solely on the police, excluding other components of the criminal justice system. In my own experience, the more specific the facts mentioned in lecture (for police expertise is articulable only in general terms of "good police work") and the farther away from the locale of the police-students the examples are (for police expertise tends to be highly localized), the better.

However, teaching success is not simply a question of the teacher's credibility. While the Crime Commission may have set behavioral or personality change as their purpose in recommending college for police officers, colleges generally have more modest goals for their students. "Broader outlook," "ability to think clearly," and "job marketability" are some of the goals often

mentioned. But for the teacher of policing (its history, sociology, politics, and administration), success might simply be getting his police-officer students to think more critically about their job and role and to examine some of their taken-for-granted assumptions about society. Since I know of no way to measure such success, I cannot say what would produce it. I can suggest that it is a more reasonable goal than using college credentials as a basis for structuring the police hierarchy.

II. COMPLETELY ATTACHED: THE POLICEMAN-DOCTORATE

The policeman with a doctorate is a very recent development in this country, in contrast to Europe.

A Viennese citizen who makes a complaint at his precinct station . . . or who comes to see any department head will probably transact business with a college graduate, who [often] must be addressed with the title "Doctor." (Fosdick, 1915, p. 191)

It is unlikely that Americans will soon be addressing their middle level police officials as "doctor," no matter how well we fund criminal justice education. But the appointment of former New York City Police Captain (Dr.) Joseph McNamara as Kansas City Chief of Police does suggest that policemen-doctorates are no longer doomed to staff jobs or encouraged to retire early to teach. Another example of a line job held by a doctor is the creator and director of the New York City Police Department Hostage Unit, Sargent Harvey Schlossberg. Using his training in clinical psychology, Schlossberg researched

a large number of hostage situations to develop a general approach (quite the opposite of television's S.W.A.T.) that would minimize violence and fatalities in such encounters. His job requires 24-hour-a-day availability to take command of life-and-death situations.

Other examples are still hard to come by, but the many officers now enrolled in doctoral programs may soon provide more. Worsening economic conditions and tightening of the teaching market should also induce policemen-doctorates to stay on the force. And just "being there," in a job that takes some advantage of doctoral level skills, might be a sufficient definition for success. If promoted to command the crime analysis, planning, personnel, or training units, a policeman-doctorate would clearly be a personal success. But a more stringent test would be whether he does that job any better than he would have done it without doctoral education or whether he can do the job better than any other officer who lacks his level of education. Such success would be nearly impossible to measure, but there would be no reason to expect positive results. The jobs listed above are all very different from one another, and a single Ph.D. program--even in the multidisciplinary field of criminal justice--could hardly be expected to prepare officers for such a wide range of tasks. A master's degree and experience, or special courses in subjects such as personnel management or training methods, might prepare

police officials just as well for such jobs. Just because the doctorate is the hardest degree to get does not necessarily mean that it is the best training for any given job.

The modal degree among police administrators will probably become--and probably should be--the master's in a wide range of disciplines; that is already the case in much of government and industry. The general degrees of public administration or criminal justice will probably be the best credentials for promotion since specialization in such fields as statistics may make an officer too valuable to be promoted out of a job which requires such skills. The increasingly numerous policemen-doctorates may be quite successful at using their credentials to gain power, but that says only that policemen who earn doctorates are highly motivated to begin with. No doubt many will make valuable contributions and will explain their success by their doctoral education. But until we know that their explanation is correct, any increase in doctoral education for future police administrators would probably be a poor use of our resources.

III. ON THE BOUNDARY: OUTSIDE CONSULTANTS

Police consultants have been around for most of this century. Throughout the 1920's and 1930's, August Vollmer was frequently called in to "survey" scandal-ridden police departments. Often he would be made chief of police, though he

rarely stayed on for more than a year. As a realist, Vollmer was not surprised when his reforms were quickly abandoned upon his departure, and the problems he had been called in to correct returned (Woods, 1973, pp. 162-220, Carte, 1973). As a utopian progressive, Vollmer would be quick to agree that neither he, nor Bruce Smith, nor the IACP ever had much success in substantially improving police operations through survey recommendations.

However, after the OLEA (LEAA's predecessor) was established in 1965, police consultants began to appear from academic disciplines other than public or police administration, and they began to undertake tasks other than surveys. Those tasks were generally far more specific and narrowly defined than the global approach of the surveys had been, and the intended product was more action-oriented than a survey report. Sadly, the results were often no more successful at producing change than the surveys had been. For example, one of the first OLEA-funded consulting jobs was the University of Chicago's attempt to construct psychological profiles of good and bad police officers which were to be used by the Chicago police in screening applicants. The consultants performed their task, and the department (with much public fanfare) adopted the product--but only for personnel uses after recruits had already been hired (Milton, 1971).

Another famous OLEA project was technically a failure although it had highly successful impact across the nation. After Dr. Morton Bard demonstrated good results in the pilot phase

of his Family Crisis Intervention project, a dispute with New York Police Commissioner Leary terminated the project. The concept has since been implemented elsewhere in varying forms, but its failure to take root in the first department to try it is instructive.

Without exploring the specifics of either example of the consultant role, it appears that the unspoken assumption of the consultants was that the police knew nothing about the problem or task at hand. Indeed, the "know-nothing" assumption may have seemed necessary to legitimize the presence of the consultant and the need for his task. While the police executives involved may have shared that assumption at the initiation of the consultant task, by the point of completion they may have found that assumption uncomfortable. This comment is not intended to fault the diplomatic skills of the directors of the two projects mentioned for the "know-nothing" assumption--and its unhappy consequences--was characteristic of a whole genre of consultant work with police departments by both doctors and others.

A more successful approach to consulting has taken the opposite assumption, at least on the surface, that the police know everything. Specifically, this assumption is that the police, and particularly the street patrol officer, already have the raw data for solving a large number of their problems and that the task of the consultant is merely to serve as a catalyst for transforming that knowledge into well-articulated (and evaluated) policy changes. The consultants themselves have formulated

and initiated this approach, based loosely on the Lewin School of organizational change. Police executives as diverse as Charles Gain (formerly of Oakland) and Clarence Kelly (formerly of Kansas City) have been highly receptive to it from initiation straight through to implementation.

Dr. Hans Toch was the first consultant I know of to try the "know-everything" assumption. A thorough account of the work of Toch and his colleagues has just been published (Toch, Grant, and Galvin, 1975). It underlines the extreme complexity of both the catalyst, or knowledge-extracting, role of the consultant and the knowledge-articulating role of the police officers. The consultants were perpetually unsure of how directive or authoritarian they should be; the police officers, for their part, were reluctant to take on very much of a social scientist's role. Frequent moments of tension, of pessimism, and of apathy threatened to disrupt the project. But the bottom line was the design and implementation by police officers of one major and several minor programs which produced a measurable (if slight) decline in the rate of citizen-police violence.

Rather independently of Dr. Toch's NIMH-funded project, the Police Foundation funded a similar "know-everything" kind of approach in Kansas City in 1971. Both the problems and the successes were similar to the Oakland experiment although the structure of the projects differed somewhat. Whereas Toch took some of the more violent men in the Oakland department to study

violence, the Kansas City Police assigned each member of the Police Foundation consulting team (including myself) to work with a single patrol division, represented by a task force drawn from all ranks. One task force immediately found a project, now famous, which measured the effects of preventive patrol on crime (KCPD & Police Foundation, 1974). Another task force visited the Oakland project started by Toch and implemented a variation of the concept of using peer review panels with officers who frequently use force. A third was less decisive, drifting while the others moved ahead. Although the democratic philosophy of the "bottom-up" change program made the department more difficult for the succeeding chief to administer, the on-site results and replication of the programs in other cities suggest a generally successful outcome.

Other differences between the "know-nothing" and the "know-everything" approaches include the ways in which the consultant defines his client, his product, and himself. The "know-nothing" consultant is a social engineer (Janowitz, 1970) whose mission is to construct a preplanned change that his client, the police administrator, has agreed to in advance. The consultant who assumes the police "know everything" sees himself as an enlightener whose product is assistance for his client, the problem-solving group of officers, in formulating, implementing, and evaluating plans for change. These differing definitions constitute very different task structures. Both are complex, but one of them has delivered its intended product far more often than the other.

If the success of a consultant can be defined as the implementation of fairly permanent changes (and failure defined as the nonimplementation of proposed changes), then a key factor in achieving success has been the use of the "know-everything" assumption. But success might well be defined more rigorously. Once a change has been implemented, what are its effects? Are they good or bad, and from whose perspective are such evaluations to be made? Ultimately, any definition of a police consultant's success must rest on a value choice--just as what the police do must rest on value choices.

Police consultants have rarely explicated or even thought in terms of value choices. Though often not obvious, the choices are nonetheless real. A goal such as "reduction of violence in police-citizen encounters" may seem to attract undivided consensus, but that cannot be the case. Each goal implies necessary means; somebody--in this case the violence-prone police officers subjected to peer review--usually has to bear the onus of the means to the goal. Even the goal itself can be disputed; many officers and citizens believe there is a need for more, not less, violence in police-citizen encounters in order to deter crime. In Oakland, the consultants were aware of these value conflicts and spoke out clearly on one side of the clash.

But in Kansas City, the process of "participative planning" and "bottom-up" change took on a value in itself so that other values become secondary or--what is worse--obscured. The line officers were so well sold on the idea that their opinions had

finally become important for policymaking that their own values were almost the only ones they would recognize. Police democracy can, and I think did, hinder social democracy, most visibly over the issue of shooting fleeing felons when there was no immediate danger that the suspect would harm life or property. When, in protest of an order not to shoot such suspects, the officers of the patrol division I had worked with reported to duty with bananas in their holsters, this police consultant felt a bit like Dr. Frankenstein. Despite the value of the Kansas City patrol experiments in producing new knowledge useful to all police agencies, I am still uncertain whether the overall effects of the consultants' presence in Kansas City were beneficial to that community.

However, the frequency of police-consultant work with police agencies will not depend on this stringent, "ultimate-effects" definition of success--nor, perhaps, on any criteria of past success. Availability of funding, program goals of funding agencies, political pressures on the police executive, and his own administrative goals are likely to be the most important factors determining the frequency of police-consultant cooperation. None of those factors can be directly affected by the individual Dr. Consultant, although the academic centers of the criminal justice profession might be able to exert influence at the national level. What the individual consultant can do, and might well be trained to do in graduate school, is to sell himself and his ideas to funding agencies and police executives.

As the recession persists and municipal austerity increases, salesmanship may become even more important in initiating consultant work with the police, for California may set a trend in refusing to spend even federal monies for programs of uncertain value. Under such conditions, police chiefs will become even less likely than they have been to initiate consultant contracts. If there is a need for a consultant in a given police agency, the burden of proving that need will fall heavily on the consultant.

Apart from the material problems of funding, the central sociological obstacle to consultant work will continue to be the liminality of the consultant role. The police, as a uniformed service, are very conscious of boundaries, boundaries which a consultant blurs and threatens. As Joseph and Alex (1972) have observed, "The uniform is a device used to . . . define their boundaries, to assure that members will conform to their goals, and to eliminate conflicts in the status set of their members." The consultant--with his access to all of the private, backstage places of the police, his unknown power, his unknown goals, and his freedom to bypass the chain of command--complicates all of the issues that the totem of the uniform was created to resolve. He is liminal, sitting on the boundary, neither "we" (policemen) nor "they" (public). As Mary Douglas (1966) has argues from anthropological data, "all margins are dangerous" (p. 120) and threatening, often more so than an opposite. It may be far less fearful and threatening

for a police officer to deal with a burglar than a consultant, and there is little a consultant can do to change that structural fact.

The saving grace of the consultant role is that his "death" in the police agency is preordained. He will not be staying on for twenty years to get a pension. From the moment he begins to work with a department, there is a shared assumption that when the work is finished, he will leave. This keeps him sitting on the boundary between police and society, but it reduces the threat of his marginality.

IV. CROSSING THE BOUNDARY: THE CIVILIAN DOCTOR AS POLICE EMPLOYEE

The doctor who has never been a policeman before entering the full-time employment of a police agency (regardless of the source of funds for the position) is even more liminal than his colleague, the consultant. While his status is clarified by his allotment to an identifiable locus in the chain of command, his permanence poses a great threat to the very definition of the organization. He has crossed over the boundary from society into the police, but he cannot enter the inner sanctum of the uniformed: he cannot make arrests, and he cannot carry a weapon. He cannot command uniformed officers--or can he? If he can command a headquarters staff unit, can he command the members of that unit if they confront a robbery in progress while returning from lunch? This ambiguity of power brings him even closer to, and hence more threatening to, the essence of being a cop.

It is just this kind of dilemma which kept civilians out of police administration--with the exception of lawyers and commissioners--until the 1960's. Herman Goldstein in Chicago, Hobart Reinier in St. Louis, and a few others pioneered in the role of civilian executive aide to the top police executive. Theirs was a staff role, exercising informal (though enormous) power in the name of the administrator. Their liminality was minimized by their lack of direct authority over any officer. Their positions were created by the police executive at his own initiative because of a felt need to have someone with skills and perspective that no uniformed officers had.

However, those skills were not doctoral level, specialist skills, they were rather generalist skills in public administration, combined with native intelligence and a varied background in a number of organizations. Later in the decade, in New York, Washington, and other cities, young lawyers were also hired in the executive assistant role for their generalist skills, although their presence was legitimated by their specialized legal skills.

As the police problems of the 1960's became more complex, police administrators sought more specialized skills to perform a variety of tasks. Civilian specialists were placed lower down in the hierarchy to meet those needs. Several large departments hired a Ph.D. in clinical psychology to provide counseling services and to screen recruits. The Baltimore police hired a Ph.D. in sociology to head the Planning Division,

and New York hired a number of operations researchers and mathematicians to apply Pentagon-style analysis to logistical problems of organization and distribution of patrol manpower.

A large number of police agencies--though only a tiny proportion of the total--hired civilians to command such staff bureaus as training, personnel, planning, and even inspectional services. With few exceptions, those civilians have not held the doctorate: some may have dropped out of doctoral programs while others were law school graduates. Most doctors employed by police departments, to the best of my knowledge, have been confined to professional rather than administrative roles. Whether doctors have failed to gain the necessary administrative experience to be trusted with command or whether the doctorate carries too much of an "absent-minded-professor" stigma is unclear. The fact has been confinement to giving advice rather than making decisions.

Given their limited scope of action, it is nearly impossible to define success or failure for doctoral police employees. Their efforts are so well merged with the actions of others in the agency that credit or blame cannot be clearly assigned. In agencies in which civilians without doctorates have also been hired, the agency's general evaluation of "the civilians" is apt to be more personality-oriented than degree-oriented. The only formal evaluation of civilians in policy-related roles that I know of draws no distinctions between the

two Ph.D.'s, three M.A.'s, and one J.D. it studied, the differences in degrees are never mentioned (Alevy, 1973). However, that report did conclude that a solely academic background was poor preparation for working at a high level in a large police agency.

The future frequency of all civilian positions, both for doctors and others, will depend on two kinds of judgments. First, the individual police administrator must decide that previous experience with civilians in policy-related positions (both in his own agency and elsewhere) has indeed been successful and that his agency will gain more benefits than costs by employing civilians. Second, and more important, the police administrator must persuade his fiscal superior or an outside funding agency to pay for his civilians. The future does not look bright for either judgment to be positive with any great frequency. Civilians have not produced any miracles in police agencies, and the public pressure to improve police service has declined from its peak of the late 1960's. As police officers are laid off, any headquarters job--let alone those filled by civilians--becomes increasingly hard to justify. Only where civilians have replaced high-ranking, uniformed personnel through attrition have the budget people been cooperative, but the cries of lateral entry, "political" appointment, and violation of civil service are apt to become louder from increasingly militant police unions.

Even under the best fiscal conditions, my own feeling is that no police agency needs more than one or two doctorates in the field of criminal justice. Other disciplines are needed as well, and the total number of positions is apt to be so small that they must be rationed out with care. Criminal justice doctors might be best placed in planning, crime analysis, or liaison with other criminal justice agencies. Training, personnel, and other civilianizable positions, however, might be better filled by people schooled in psychology or business administration. If one of the latent purposes of hiring civilians is to bring in new perspectives and values as well as new skills (Alevy, 1973), then a civilian staff drawn from many different backgrounds might be preferable to a concentration of criminal justice graduates.

V. IMPLICATIONS FOR DOCTORAL TRAINING

Each role structure of doctors working with the police suggests different things for doctoral programs in criminal justice. But this emphasis on role differences should not suggest that doctoral programs should be divided on the basis of those differences. The separate existence of doctoral programs in criminal justice is specialization enough. Moreover, doctors filling each of these roles may profit by having filled others as well. Given Culbertson's projection of an oversupply of criminal justice doctorates, the reality of job finding can best be confronted by people who can fill any of these roles.

In training students for university-based research and teaching about policing, more emphasis should be given to finding tractable, manipulable variables amenable to policy decisions. That is not to say that "pure" research of a comparative or historical sort should be slighted; both understanding and useful knowledge will depend upon each other for long-run progress. But access to empirical data will become more difficult unless university research adopts a more policy-oriented approach. That data source must remain open for better understanding and the improvement of policing.

In training students for the teaching of police officers, the issue of teachers' classroom legitimacy should be addressed squarely. Teaching assistantships combined with patrol car rides with the students might be a direct preparation for teaching craftsmen about their craft. The more a prospective teacher learns about police language, culture, and perspectives, the less alien he will feel and appear in his future classroom.

I cannot see any justification for increasing the enrollment in doctoral programs of police officers who intend to remain police officers. Educational opportunity should, of course, be open to all, but it would be misleading to let police officers assume that doctoral training will necessarily assist them in their work. It may even become a stigma, depending on how they manage the doctorate as a symbol. The fact that civilian doctors are recruited for high positions does not alter this point for,

in their case, their outside perspective and risk-taking inclinations as civilians are as important as their doctoral training.

Doctoral training for future consultants should devote more attention to articulating and dealing with the problems of value choices. Attempting to change the police is an extremely delicate task in which life and death consequences might be involved. Just because a consultant works with one interest group i.e., line officers, does not relieve him of responsibility to the police administrator, the mayor, the Blacks, the Italians, the family disputants, and the felons. Police consulting is surrounded by an aura of value-free technocracy that needs to be continually challenged by an awareness of value conflicts.

Finally, the training of doctors for civilian jobs in police agencies--assuming the jobs will be available--might be improved through internship. Volunteer work in several different staff bureaus might lead to a dissertation topic for which the student might then serve a year in a single bureau. In the office setting he can gather that experience with personal politics, gossip, and friendship networks that is so essential to success in a bureaucracy.

But the quality of graduate training for any of these roles will ultimately depend upon the faculty. The ideal faculty would include people who have played each of these roles and who are sensitive to the basic issues suggested here. If academic



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criminal justice is to survive, it will require a graduate faculty that can impart the sense of delicate balance between scientific discipline, applied craft, and political moral philosophy that characterizes the relations between the police and the doctorate.

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INTEGRATING CURRICULUM DESIGN WITH MARKET FORCES

By
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POINT FOR DEPARTURE

This paper stresses the advisability of systematically probing and developing nonuniversity employment opportunities for criminal justice Ph.D. graduates. The argument is advanced that such development requires a systematic analysis of market demand applied to the design of criminal justice Ph.D. curricula. The essential market link between the producer and the buyer of Ph.D.'s is taken to be skills rather than the degree as such. Skills are defined as the job-related tasks which an individual has been prepared to undertake. Systematic market analysis seeks to analyze which skills are demanded by the employment market and in what amounts. Data from market analysis is seen as one critical and necessary input for decisions involving how the productive resources of a Ph.D. graduate program are to be arranged. Curriculum design is the arranging of productive resources toward desirable

ends, and these desirable ends are seen to be defined in terms of skills possessed by graduates.

The application of a market veto power to curriculum design in higher education no doubt conjures up sinister notions. Universities and their faculties are often found to take great pride in the view that curriculum design is the exclusive province of the faculty, if not the senior faculty alone. The underpinnings of this view exist in the assumption that the world outside the university is unaware, incapable, and perhaps uninterested in new frontiers in thinking and action. The reality is that many academics still operate on a model of the university appropriate to the elitist world of old Heidelberg in which the aristocracy, traditional professions, and aspirants to the professorial ranks attended college. Indeed, the avid acceptance and protection of intellectual freedom in university communities is meant precisely to provide isolation from the baser, short-sighted understandings of the society at large. More to the point, it is to isolate the intellectual enterprise from outside prejudice and avarice.

Maintaining freedom in the classroom and in curriculum design is not without its critics. Put simply, the criticism is that universities have used arguments of intellectual freedom as a tool to avoid reality. Intellectual freedom protects the prejudice and avarice of a faculty ill informed and uninterested in doing the nitty-gritty work of "being relevant."

More pointedly, the argument is that universities produce dunderheaded graduates that need to be reeducated to the real world and that university faculty do research which has little or no practical application to the real needs of the society and its component parts.

These criticisms taken in blanket form are ludicrous exaggerations, but they are suggestive of a broader problem. At one time a college education at the baccalaureate level was the magic key to preferable kinds of employment. This was because employers used college degrees as a convenient and cheap screening device. It worked well as long as a small minority attended college. We know that it is no longer a small minority which attends college, perhaps even at the Ph.D. level. This has led to a devaluation of degrees and their use as screening devices. The United States Department of Commerce estimates that, in the years immediately ahead, only one out of four jobs will require a college degree. We may note further the current trend toward lowering education requirements for jobs which in the immediate past required a B.A., an M.A., or a Ph.D. This is taking place while the number of graduates at each level is increasing.

At the Ph.D. level, most new doctorates have traditionally entered faculty careers in universities and colleges. Historically, universities have placed the emphasis in designing Ph.D. curricula on reproducing themselves, that is, providing new recruits to the professorial ranks. Universities

became both the suppliers and the demanders of the Ph.D. However, with the greatly expanded enrollments in Ph.D. programs taking place in the last 15 to 20 years, supply has come to outstrip demand for new faculty.¹ One might assume that cutting back supply would solve the problem, and indeed, unless additional markets are found for the Ph.D., this is precisely what will need to be done to prevent increasing the number of unemployed and underemployed Ph.D.'s. But reducing supply is not an easy alternative given the huge capital investment already made in hardware and faculty to teach large numbers of Ph.D.'s.

The alternative to supply cutback is finding additional markets for Ph.D. graduates, and that seems already to be in operation. We may note, for example, a growing trend toward first-time employment in jobs other than college and university faculty positions. Criminal justice Ph.D.'s are not likely to be an exception to this trend; they may help lead the trend not only because of the possibility of oversupply for faculty openings but because of the professional-applied nature of the criminal justice discipline itself. We are probably advised to admit that many, if not most, criminal justice Ph.D.'s will be entering positions other than college teaching. If this becomes the case, serious questions arise concerning what a criminal justice Ph.D. is trained to do in relation to what the "outside" employing markets need. With the control of both supply and demand for Ph.D.'s (criminal

justice Ph.D.'s included) out of the hands of faculty, universities are faced with the necessity of understanding the needs of external employment markets. Such understanding is the key to providing realistic market conditions for new criminal justice Ph.D.'s.

The concern of this paper is the meshing of criminal justice Ph.D. programs with the needs of the employment market in nonfaculty positions. Meshing, as taken here, concentrates on the means by which criminal justice programs increase the employability of their graduate level students in nonfaculty positions by analyzing at a concrete level the nonfaculty market needs for their majors. The essential focus of this paper is the use of a management-oriented marketing approach to curriculum design in criminal justice Ph.D. programs.

Unfortunately, concreteness has characterized few, if any, past attempts at analyzing the nonfaculty criminal justice market. The wrong questions have been asked; namely, "Would you hire a criminal justice Ph.D.?" "Do you need criminal justice Ph.D.'s?" and "How many criminal justice Ph.D.'s will be required in the next ten years?" The "wrongness" of this approach is apparent on several levels. First, it does nothing to answer the question of employability with respect to competitive graduate programs (e.g., law, political science, sociology, computer science). Secondly, the approach assumes that there is some specified meaning to a criminal justice Ph.D. In fact, there is little evidence to support

the view that employing agencies know much about a criminal justice Ph.D. beyond the fact that it is a Ph.D.

Third, there is an implicit assumption in these past approaches that a criminal justice Ph.D. implies a distinct category of individuals who hold skills no one else possesses. This point is due particular note. From a legal point of view, public and private agencies are under increasing pressure to refrain from maintaining spurious qualifications in job hiring. Put simplistically, a criminal justice Ph.D. must mean something demonstrably unique and relatable to a job position; otherwise, it must compete with individuals having substitutable credentials. If you ask an agency of its willingness to hire criminal justice Ph.D.'s, the answer may be yes. However, it may be significantly "less than yes" if you ask the question with respect to employability vis-à-vis competing credentials, formal as well as informal.

The important question, so far quite successfully avoided by criminal justice educators, is not whether there is a market for criminal justice Ph.D.'s, but rather, which shares of which markets are uniquely or partially ours.² The corollary question is how do we improve our market shares. These questions launch no pogroms against brethren in sociology, law, and political science, assuming we have something distinct and useful to offer. If we have nothing distinct and useful to offer, what are we doing expending critical educational resources?

AN EMPHASIS ON CONTENT

A university functions to produce something that is valued. This may be either information (research) or a skilled individual (graduate). In a free-market economy, value is defined as economic value, and economic value in turn is determined by utility and social/cultural values. Universities traditionally have not been bound in their productive activities by measures of economic value and utility to the extent other business enterprises have. Universities are unique in the sense that inventories do not pile up, given a nonreceptive market, and few universities make even a half-hearted attempt at determining where their products sell and if they sell at all. When attempts are made, they appear to be largely limited to lists of undergraduates being accepted for graduate education and Ph.D.'s being hired into faculty ranks. Graduates not falling into one of these two categories are largely ignored precisely for the reason, one might presume, that they are no longer involved in the internal demand/supply structure of university communities themselves.

Relative isolation from value and utility markets has had its benefits; certainly it has increased the freedom of faculty to design curricula without the need to pay undue heed to the market outside the dominant influence of the university. Not all that has benefit or value is recognized by marketplace economics. At the same time, however, this relative isolation from outside market forces and "the growing need to

sell" to outside buyers has created a dangerous condition of nonaccountability. Without a perceived accountability to the nonuniversity employment marketplace, how do faculties ensure, as well as measure, the value of their products to these markets?

Some value of a criminal justice Ph.D. will be intrinsic, that is, good in and of itself, producing a more educated person, possessing more and higher level skills. A three-year Ph.D. program with, for example, statistics, research design, and substantive coursework has intrinsic value, at least, assuming that you accept knowledge as intrinsically valuable.

However, it can be charged that many curricula in universities are designed with such intrinsic values alone in mind. It may further be suggested that some curricula have been designed to protect the vested teaching and research competencies of the established faculty without regard to questions of eventual market accountability of graduates in both internal and external markets.

But what is the extrinsic value of a criminal justice Ph.D. beyond that for the student himself? The measure of extrinsic value here is whether or not society, or some portion of society outside the academic community, has a use or need for the skills developed in a criminal justice Ph.D. program. In other words, the product must have utility for the buyer, and this implies a need to clarify the relationship of the university to the larger social system.

It is really in the measuring of extrinsic value that universities and most criminal justice programs have failed to gather and implement concrete market data. Of course, the belief is advanced by some that intrinsic value is usually assured in curricula through calls for creation of a "demanding set of courses" which teach specified skills and provide sufficient understanding of essential substantive information. Some extrinsic value is seen as being assured where there has been use of manpower projections or target setting (faculty estimations of what the field needs or should have).

Special attention needs to be paid to the use of manpower studies and their attempts to provide projections of future manpower needs for certain segments of the economy. In criminal justice, the studies include analysis of crime rate data, public expenditure projections for criminal justice programs, a myriad of demographic variables, and a score of other variables, all meant to provide reasonable forecasts of job opportunities in the field. Several new criminal justice graduate programs have used data such as this in the last few years to justify the creation or expansion of their graduate programs, orientation, and programmatic commitments.

In general, manpower studies suffer from several deficiencies.³ First, they have not proved to be highly reliable predictors of future employment opportunities (Carter, 1974). Secondly, most of them project only for a five-year period; this is particularly unfortunate vis-à-vis their use in

curriculum design. The first products of a new curriculum will usually hit the market slightly before or after this five-year period comes to an end.

The third deficiency is perhaps the most serious as it confronts criminal justice educators. Traditional manpower studies only answer the most peripheral of questions; namely, how many job opportunities will there be in a given field in the immediate future?⁴ Aside from the fact that these projections themselves are often erroneous, the studies do little to suggest what kinds of persons (training and experience) will be needed to fill these vacancies. To say that there will be x number of vacancies in the next five years is one thing; it is an entirely different proposition to query what skills will be necessary to fill these positions. It is the latter question which should be of prime interest to criminal justice educators in designing curricula. Too often programs have been created and designed with little or no concrete information concerning specific skill needs of the market, let alone projections of these skill needs into the future.⁵ The problem must also be faced that manpower forecasts assume a static condition in terms of the type of employment that will be available in the future.

Target-setting is offered by some as an alternative approach to manpower forecasting.⁶ Instead of forecasting the future, it attempts to influence and determine the future by creating needs or wants along targeted directions. Although

this is not precisely like the "Madison Avenue" approach to creating product demand, it does clearly seek to alter market conditions rather than passively accepting them as does manpower forecasting.

Additionally, target-setting more closely approximates the view that universities are to lead than does manpower forecasting; that is, for example, criminal justice faculty could provide leadership in the field of criminal justice by establishing employment targets and working for their adoption. We should not, in other words, merely measure what the market presently demands in terms of skills and capabilities; rather, we should provide guidance for change by producing graduates now with skills targeted along preferable lines.⁷

While meeting its leadership role, target-setting as employed in designing criminal justice curricula can have serious deficiencies in providing graduates with employment opportunities. Targets run the risk of being pie-in-the-sky goals unless they are grounded in reality. The creation of new skills, given a marketing perspective, requires that there is some degree of documented proof of market receptivity. Secondly, the receptivity must be more than a simple desire on the part of potential employers to hire the new skills; there must be reasonable evidence that resources exist or will exist to fund such new skills. Third, targets must be specific; that is, they must announce the specific skills and particular kinds of knowledge which are to be developed, and these in

turn must be related to identifiable and specific skill needs in the market. Authoritative statements of standards and goals often will offer initial data of appraisals related to this last point.

Market forecasting is primarily concerned with three questions: (1) What will the market purchase? (2) How much will it purchase? (3) What conditions are necessary for the market to purchase? Traditionally manpower studies concentrate on the latter two questions by forecasting how many employment opportunities will exist in a specified field, given certain conditions (e.g., population, crime rate, budget, etc.).⁸ However, "what the market will purchase" ought to be the first concern (Bombach, 1966). The American automobile industry has been made painfully aware of how "what" can profoundly influence their profits. Likewise, American higher education is beginning to feel the impact of an employment market more constrained and more critical of the qualitative features of graduates. In part, the problem confronting both the auto industry and education is restricted money supply. However, more significant for both in the long run is a change in which products are to be bought and from which sources. It is already a fact of life that markets veto not only executives in the auto industry, but faculty in higher education as well. We may recall that already numerous curricular and programmatic changes have taken place in universities as a result of employment trends in the last five

years; the demise of departments is not the least of these "happenings." Thus, the traditional isolation of universities from market forces is apparently now something less than a simple truth.

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE MARKET

The principal features which characterize the nonfaculty employment market faced by criminal justice Ph.D. programs are (1) competitiveness, (2) complexity, and (3) ambiguity. Each of these characteristics bears some discussion.

(1) Criminal justice programs certainly lack the employment monopolies enjoyed by medical schools or even engineering schools. Graduates from several other graduate programs may be seen to compete quite effectively with criminal justice graduates for jobs in the criminal justice field. Additionally, it may be seen that non-Ph.D.'s compete effectively for jobs in the agency market. One reason for this latter condition is the apparent agency preference for previous field experience which many current Ph.D. programs neglect or severely limit.

(2) Complexity as a feature of the employment market refers to the wide array of employing units as well as functional job classifications comprising the criminal justice market. Corrections, courts, enforcement, planning, training, research, evaluation, and staff or line management are a few examples of this array. The implication of complexity in

array is that criminal justice Ph.D. programs confront a market situation which belies the offering of a static, single-track Ph.D. program. That is, static, single-track curricula are deniable if one accepts the proposition that employment opportunities should be maximized for Ph.D. graduates.

This is not to suggest that common cores in Ph.D. curricula should be discarded. Certain concepts and substantive data are of universal value in a criminal justice program if for no other reason than that they contribute to soundness in education as well as intellectual flexibility and stability for the graduate. Indeed, there are concepts and substantive data which can be identified as core requirements for nearly any job possibility in the field of criminal justice.

Given such complexity in the marketplace, we must concern ourselves with the issue of product mix. The mix is the meshing of a product line with varied market needs. The product line is intended to satisfy all or some deliberately selected part of the various market needs. Theoretically, one could posit a single product (or curriculum) which would simultaneously seek to meet all or the larger part of the employing market's needs. An alternative approach, and one which is more realistic, provides identifiable specializations in a criminal justice curriculum, each realistically matched to a subset of the specific and distinguishable demand markets. Of course, the key in identifying the most appropriate mix is discovering precisely what is being demanded. Designing

an effective product mix is the result of market analysis, beginning with what the market needs or wants. Product mix is not the result of providing for intrinsic value alone or of data coming from the type of traditional manpower study described earlier. Rather, it is the result of a type of systematic and concrete market analysis which will be described later in this paper.

(3) Ambiguity characterizes the present criminal justice employment market. In the first place, many of the employment opportunities for criminal justice Ph.D.'s in universities and public agencies are currently funded on soft money (primarily federal). Second, the field of criminal justice is in the midst of a major reappraisal which in the end is likely to alter radically the substantive nature and content of employment in the field. Thus, the ambiguity may be seen in two respects: (a) How many positions will there be? (b) What kinds of positions are developing?

A far more serious ambiguity is that which has settled about the criminal justice Ph.D. itself. That may best be described as market unfamiliarity with what the degree is and may lead to statements such as "It's a nice looking gadget, but what does it do?" There is nothing surprising about this as a criminal justice Ph.D. is a relatively new commodity, and almost all new products have difficulty gaining initial market familiarity. The problem is complicated, however, by the array of criminal justice Ph.D. programs and the difference

in what they mean from one university to another in terms of quality and quantity. Marketing a new product requires that particular attention be paid to describing its value, and this is especially true where the market itself is unsettled. There is, of course, an advantage to be gained when the employment market itself is in an ambiguous state. New products, such as the criminal justice Ph.D., have easier entry where consuming habits are in upheaval and the value of older, more established products is under question.

In summary, the criminal justice Ph.D. may be seen to face a highly complex and competitive market situation with attached conditions of ambiguity and novelty, and by no means is it a market which is likely to be settled in the foreseeable future. Effective management of a criminal justice Ph.D. program under these conditions becomes most difficult if one assumes the Ph.D. product should mesh with the needs of the marketplace. The position clearly taken in this paper is that effective management of criminal justice Ph.D. programs is defined to a large degree by effective product-market meshing.

The preconditions for proper meshing involve reducing uncertainties concerning the marketplace: (1) understanding the complexity, (2) establishing a competitive position, and (3) reducing ambiguities at least in the product itself by relieving the pains of novelty through the communication of product value.

The above is easily said but hard to do. What follows is a broad outline of one possible conceptual model for analyzing the nonuniversity market for criminal justice Ph.D.'s. Its intent is to focus on concrete issues concerning market needs and preferences. Its purpose is to provide managers of criminal justice Ph.D. programs with an approach to the kind of data collection necessary to introduce realistic and systematic market appraisals into the process of designing curricula.

COMPONENTS TO A SYSTEMATIC APPROACH

Traditionally, design and management of a criminal justice Ph.D. curriculum have focused in general on the nonmarket issues of securing resources and faculty sufficient to maintain an acceptable instructional program, attracting qualified graduate students in appropriate numbers, and in organizing curricula. At the same time, market issues have not been ignored, albeit their inclusion in the issues of curriculum design has been less than systematic. Criminal justice has tended to follow this model despite its unique commitment to interact with systems (agencies) outside the academic environment.

A systematic approach to market analysis focuses on the adequate sensing of market conditions through continuous surveillance techniques. Systematic also refers to the functional purpose of collecting data from a market surveillance;

namely, that such data is systematically included in designing curricula. Feedback regarding sales, placement, and utilization of Ph.D.'s is, of course, an important part of this data.

A critical point needs to be underscored with respect to the reasons for doing market analysis in the first place. The kind of market research described here assumes that products are to be designed to meet market conditions, thereby attracting some share of that market. To put it in other words, this type of market analysis is intended to gather basic data to be used either to affirm the basic appeal of the criminal justice Ph.D. or to redesign it to increase its appeal. This approach is not to be confused with simpler sales analyses which are concerned only with how much has been sold and to whom. Clearly, the intent of the market approach here is to provide data for the meshing of Ph.D. curricula with market demands; the purpose is not simply to report "sales figures."

The focus of systematic marketing techniques is simultaneously one of determining basic product acceptance and brand name appeal. In the case of a criminal justice Ph.D., the basic product acceptance concerns buyer need for the package of specific skills inherent in a graduate of the program. Brand-name appeal refers to the title of the package, i.e., criminal justice Ph.D. The consumers of criminal justice graduates really have two buying questions to answer: What do I need? and From whom shall I buy it? These two questions

appear in every competitive market; the particular problem faced by the criminal justice Ph.D. is that it is essentially a pioneering name brand. It faces a market which in the past has bought from the more established name brands, most of whom already produce roughly equivalent base products.

Thus, we may identify three key elements to systematic market analysis: (1) continuous surveillance, (2) brand-name appeal, (3) basic product acceptance. Continuous surveillance comprises designing a feedback system which constantly monitors market acceptance of the product as well as making assessments of market wants.

Brand-name appeal concerns market preferences for competing brand names. More specifically it queries consumer knowledge of the brand name, loyalties for particular brand names, and relative preferences. Questions such as "Would you hire a criminal justice Ph.D.?" approach concern for brand name appeal but fall significantly short of providing usable information by ignoring the competitive nature of the employment market. It would certainly be a mistake to assume that a new brand-name entry such as a criminal justice Ph.D. automatically has the competitive edge.

Brand name may also be seen to refer to broader institutional links. To put it bluntly, universities are viewed relatively to one another; some will enjoy much higher overall reputations than others. We may note the effect of institutional loyalties in the auto industry where consumers will buy

only from General Motors, no matter "how good" a Mercury may be. Thus, brand name issues revolve not only around the actual name of a product but who manufactures it as well.

Basic product analysis is of crucial importance in the analysis of the criminal justice Ph.D. market. Given that the brand name, being new and untried, may elicit scoffs of uncertainty, it will quickly fall to the composition of the product to establish its name acceptance. For a criminal justice Ph.D., that composition is a package of marketable skills.

SKILL ANALYSIS

Agencies buy skills, not degrees; universities buy degrees rather than, manifestly, skills. Employment markets demand skills, universities produce skills, and Ph.D. programs are intended to produce high-order skills. Skills are the essential meshing agents between employment markets and university programs, including criminal justice Ph.D. programs. Skills may be defined broadly as are the general knowledge skills of liberal arts majors, or they may be defined pointedly as are tax accounting, chip circuitry electronics, or primate research. More often than not, employment markets, especially for higher level positions, will list both general and specific skill preferences. Market analyses of skill levels for criminal justice Ph.D.'s are thus likely to produce complicated data matrices. This is doubly so given the complexity of skill needs in the market discussed previously.

One alternative to approaching this complexity and conceptualizing it is the use of Functional Job Analysis Scales. Sidney A. Fine pioneered development of these scales which were initially developed under his direction at the U. S. Employment Service in the early 1950's. Functional job scales are meant to describe intended behavior in the work setting as a means for classifying jobs. Jobs are seen as being composed of tasks, and the classification of jobs relies on an assessment of how complex and at what level the tasks are for the job. "Recruitment and selection criteria are based upon the requirements or qualifications to perform specified tasks" (Fine and Wiley, 1971, p. 9). The clear implication of recruitment done in this fashion is not so much whether a recruit has, for example, a criminal justice Ph.D., but whether he possesses defined skills related to the specified tasks.

The basic approach employed by Fine is to classify a job conceptually by defining its relationship to "people, data, and things." Functions, graduated by complexity and difficulty, are ranked below the people, data, and things categories. Jobs are thus classified in respect of the scales, and initial judgments concerning skill requirements can be made.

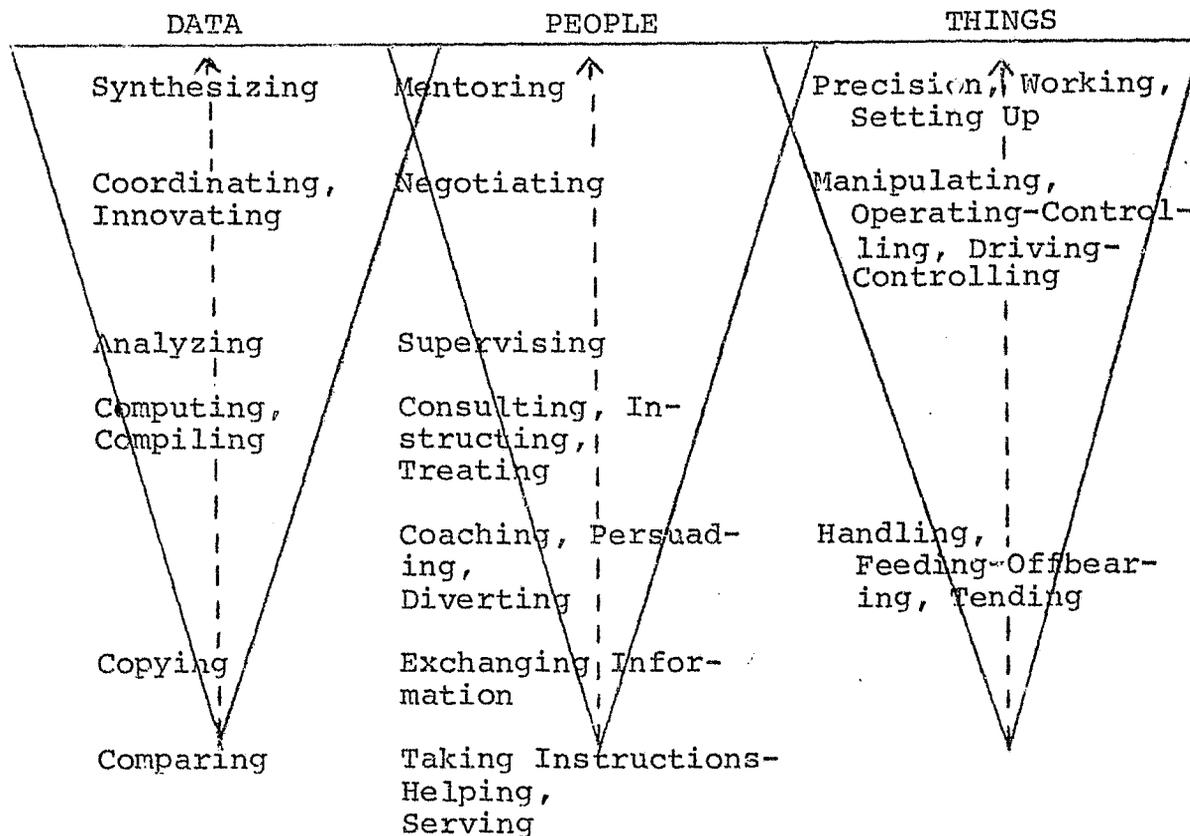
The National Planning Association, Bureau of Social Science Research, and the American Institute for Research are currently conducting a "Nationwide Survey of Law Enforcement Criminal Justice Personnel Needs and Resources." Representative jobs in police, courts, and corrections are being analyzed

to provide data on skill, knowledge, and ability requirements for these respective jobs. Functional job analysis methods are in use here. Although results are not expected for at least a year, this study might prove an interesting source for initial understanding of skills in demand in the criminal justice employment market.⁹

The reason for calling attention to Functional Job Analysis is that it exemplifies one operational approach to the kind of market skill analysis lobbied for in this paper. Other conceptual approaches will probably have to be developed when matching employment opportunities to criminal justice Ph.D.'s.¹⁰ In this respect, it is most important to note the dual issues of targeting and ambiguity. Functional job scales are most useful in the analysis of established professions and industry. In such situations job needs are fairly well established through experience and are fairly static through time. Analysis of jobs in such established organizations is made relatively easier than analysis in burgeoning, rapidly changing employment fields. Criminal justice agencies are immersed in change. New agencies, expanded agencies, new concepts, and new and expanded views of purposes and missions for operational and educational components of the criminal justice system do not enforce static views of job positions and skill needs. Thus, straightforward analysis of existing jobs, using functional scales, is likely to develop only a partial picture of market skill needs. The agency market for the criminal justice

FJA Scales for Controlling the Language
of Task Statements

Summary Chart of Worker Function Scales



NOTE 1: Each successive function reading down usually or typically involves all those that follow it. The functions separated by a comma are separate functions on the same level separately defined. They are on the same level because empirical evidence does not make a hierarchical distinction clear.

The hyphenated functions: "Taking Instructions-Helping," "Operating-Controlling," "Driving-Controlling," and "Feeding-Offbearing" are single functions.

"Setting Up," "Operating-Controlling," "Driving-Controlling," "Feeding-Offbearing," and "Tending" are special cases involving machines and equipment of "Precision Working," "Manipulating," and "Handling," respectively, and hence are indented under them.

NOTE 2: From Functional Job Analysis Scales: A Desk Aid, Methods for Manpower Analysis No. 7, by Sidney A. Fine (Kalamazoo, Michigan, The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1973). Reprinted by permission.

Ph.D. may be viewed as having only partial knowledge of what it wants in terms of skilled individuals. Target setting or normative forecasting is the only alternative in filling the gap.

DEFINING THE MARKET

The process of identifying markets for criminal justice Ph.D.'s focuses on two markets: the manifest market and the latent market. The manifest market may be defined as skills currently demanded, falling under certain current job classifications. The latent market may be defined as those skills not presently demanded, but for which there is an identifiable need now or a need which can be hypothesized for the definable future. There would be no need to delve into latent or future markets were it not for the fact that the process of training Ph.D.'s is so time-consuming. This time element is particularly important to note in respect of the frequent changes taking place now in the foreseeable future in the criminal justice skills market. However, analysis of the manifest market remains important even given this dilemma. Only segments of the skills market will change over relatively short periods of time, leaving present skill demands intact. Additionally, a thorough analysis of present market needs is an essential component to effective determinations concerning future trends in the market.

At least two prior questions need answers before a survey of the manifest market is constructed and administered: (1) To whom shall the survey be administered? and (2) What is the product for which market analysis is being undertaken? The approach preferred here is surveying the consumer market. That market here is defined as the potential market of employers for criminal justice Ph.D.'s. This potential market may be initially defined according to known core areas of employment for criminal justice Ph.D. types and according to certain targeted job areas where few Ph.D.'s are now found but for which there is an hypothesized need. For example, planning and research positions in state criminal justice planning agencies might be identified (among others) as known core employment areas. Headships of operational police agencies might be identified as targets for a new sales market.

Thus, simply to identify the present potential in terms of where Ph.D.'s have been placed in the past is an incomplete approach. We should also be concerned with current jobs where criminal justice Ph.D.'s are not presently employed but could be. This is essentially the reason for emphasizing a product approach to market analysis rather than a simple sales approach. Of course, one may not escape the normative dimensions of determining where criminal justice Ph.D.'s should be placed in addition to traditional employing jobs.

To whom the survey is administered will also be influenced by what the graduate program sees itself providing, or what its emphases are. A clear view of intended emphases, whether police, courts, correctional, research, etc., or some combination of these, will provide necessary focus for the market survey in much the same manner as industrial market analyses are focused by individual product lines. This focus may be provided by existing curricular emphases or by plans to introduce new curricular options.

Once it has been determined who will be surveyed and which product markets are of interest, consideration needs to be given to what the survey will query and how it will do it. No research design for uncovering the nature of market demand should rely on one method of data collection alone. Ideally, data collection should be the result of several operations, each providing a check on the other as well as providing specialized pieces of information. Three methods have traditionally comprised market analysis in the business community: the historical method, the survey method, and the buildup method. All three approaches have a contribution to make in the effort to uncover market data concerning criminal justice Ph.D.'s, albeit differing contributions.

The historical method typically makes use of secondary data and of internal company records. The intent of the historical method is to analyze past patterns to predict the future. The predictions are based on manipulations of independent variables, while consumption is treated as the dependent

variable. This process, although somewhat different from the procedures used in manpower forecasting, enjoys a basic similarity with manpower studies in that both use secondary data sources and both manipulate independent variables.

Historical or manpower studies are useful in that they provide data on general environment. Specifically, they take into account information on turnover rates, conditions of the economy, etc., and give us some general feel for the preconditions for employment in given fields. But in view of the inadequacies of such studies (described earlier), caution needs to be exercised in using results from them. At best, they draw only rough estimates of general quantities of jobs that will be available. Additionally, because the criminal justice Ph.D. is such a relatively new degree, historical analysis treating the employment of the criminal justice Ph.D. as a dependent variable is likely to be quite suspect.

The survey method offers wider application. By this method consumers themselves are asked the relevant market questions. It is important here to remember that consumers are not simply defined by whether or not they traditionally hire Ph.D.'s; included are the targeted consumers (where we would like to place criminal justice Ph.D.'s). Also, only part of the intent of a survey is to query receptivity to hiring a criminal justice Ph.D. type. Much closer to the principal intent of a survey is the gathering of skills information on what consumers look for in filling targeted positions.

It is likely that no survey, no matter how broad, will provide sufficient data for drawing an accurate picture of market skill demands. Likewise, no one university or criminal justice program will probably be able to accomplish drawing such an accurate picture. What may be called for is a cooperative venture, over several years, among several components of the criminal justice system, to complete the picture.

Any and all market surveys must be careful to distinguish between demand and consumption. Typically, demand outstrips consumption. Frequently, consumers will say that they will buy a dozen of this or that, only in actuality to purchase none or a few. This is particularly true if the market survey is constructed to question only what the employer would like to buy. To offset this problem, the survey must determine what the employer is likely to buy in actuality as well. Survey data of this latter sort may be supplemented with manpower study data to improve our understanding of future realities.

The buildup approach is particularly beneficial for attempts at appraising the market for a new product. For new products, reasonable estimates of product consumptions are "built up" from analysis of what the product does and who constitutes the pool of potential users. The buildup, however, is likely to go through a number of stages before accurate pictures can be gained. For example, when Ford introduced the Mustang in the early sixties, their initial buildup analysis

indicated a young market. Much to their surprise, subsequent analysis indicated a substantial "add-on" market of older purchasers as well. New uses for a given product also will be discovered over time, thereby expanding the definition of the market. DuPont's marketing of nylon and polyethylene is a good case in point.

Constantly redefining the market in terms of uses and users is the essential meaning of the buildup approach. As such, it has important application not only to defining initially and updating market knowledge but for subsequent feedback and alterations in our views of the market as well. Buildup analyses can also help answer the two prior questions to a market survey: i.e., To whom shall a market survey be administered? and What is the product for which market analysis is being undertaken? Logically, the two issues of uses and users are interrelated, each helping to define the other.

SURVEY OF THE MANIFEST MARKET

The manifest market is defined as the existing job market. Specifically, it is that segment of the present job market with which skills taught in criminal justice Ph.D. programs could conceivably mesh. The market is given initial definition through use of a buildup analysis of criminal justice Ph.D. uses and users. The market survey of these consumers should concentrate on a variety of issues as sketched in general fashion in the outline below. This outline is not

ANALYSIS OF MARKET ISSUES

- I. Brand Name Issues:
 - A. Product Awareness: Survey of consumer understanding of what constitutes a criminal justice Ph.D.
 - B. Product Competition: Consumer views as to what constitutes competitive products to a criminal justice Ph.D.
 - C. Producer Competition: Consumer views as to competitive standing of the universities and/or departments offering a criminal justice Ph.D.

- II. Product Demand Issues:
 - A. Skill Enumeration: Survey of consumer for skill criteria on which employment is awarded.
 - B. Demand Definition: Categorization and construction of typologies from skills data to draw generalized pictures of market needs.

- III. Product Consumption Issues:
 - A. Enabling Conditions: Survey of consumer resources, including budgets, access to money, physical support systems, etc.
 - B. Environmental Conditions: Attention to turnover rates, civil service requirements, condition of the economy, formal and informal resource utilization priorities, etc., as they relate to the quantity demanded by the consumer.
 - C. Quantity Projections: Construction of estimates for annual hiring in defined market areas.

intended to list all types of data necessary to analyze the manifest market. It does, however, broadly categorize the full range of general issues relevant to such an analysis. The manner in which such data is useful from the standpoint of managing a criminal justice Ph.D. program will be discussed under "Product Development."

ANALYZING THE LATENT MARKET

The planning effort to meet latent market demands involves reasonable estimates of future technologies, probable demands for new skills or improvement of old ones, and the designing of new products or new skill components in the curriculum to meet the challenge.

The problems of planning for latent markets are several. First, potential uses for new skills cannot be completely identified, and thus the size of the market is a virtual unknown. Secondly, resistance to hiring new skills cannot be accurately assessed, and thus the rate at which the demand for new skills will grow is another unknown. Resistance may be the result of budget inflexibilities, professional jealousies, and/or program priorities. In any event, the introduction of curricular components intended to meet latent markets should be prefaced with caution. The process may begin with a single course and a few students to test the water as it were.

Analysis of latent markets should begin with the development and testing of reasonable hypotheses regarding the market's wish and ability to use a new skill. That is, a target approach to forecasting latent market needs must begin with a supportable assumption that some demand is there or will be there regardless of the current catalog of jobs. In other words, criminal justice graduate faculties should not forget that they are in a position to make determinations concerning skills needed, build them into a criminal justice Ph.D., and thereby preempt a market that does not formally exist.

The latent market must be treated as a natural outgrowth of both the manifest market and of broader developments in the field. For example, in the not-too-distant past, a reasonable prediction was possible that evaluation research would comprise an ever larger portion of concern for many criminal justice agencies. In this not-too-distant past, the number of job openings for evaluation projects was quite small, but the latent market aspects of demand for evaluation skills should not only have been predictable, but targetable. Various LEAA fundings have carried evaluation requirements in the awarding of grants, and increased job openings requiring evaluation skills could have been inferred from the broad impact of LEAA fundings. Criminal justice programs might well have introduced (as some have) curricular components to teach evaluation skills.

PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

A criminal justice Ph.D. curriculum should be the result of realistic market analyses coupled with the goal of producing something of value. Extrinsic value may be defined as either what the market demands, or as what, in the best judgment of the producer, it will demand. Value thus is defined by present and future buyers. Such a view offers an opportunity to reintroduce a view of accountability discussed in the beginning of this paper. Accountability may be viewed simply as meshing products with market forces. The point is that criminal justice educators are in a position to determine what a criminal justice Ph.D. will be. The question is what will be used as the criteria to make the definition.

The key to meshing is the convergence of what the market defines a criminal justice Ph.D. to be and what the market wants. When market wants are highly diverse, as with the complexity which exists in the criminal justice employment market, exactly matching a single product to market demands becomes difficult. One possibility is product diversification, or the designing of a wide-ranging product line, each product of which is meant to match a specific segment of the diverse market. In theory, perfect matches will result when there is a product designed to meet every special demand in the market.

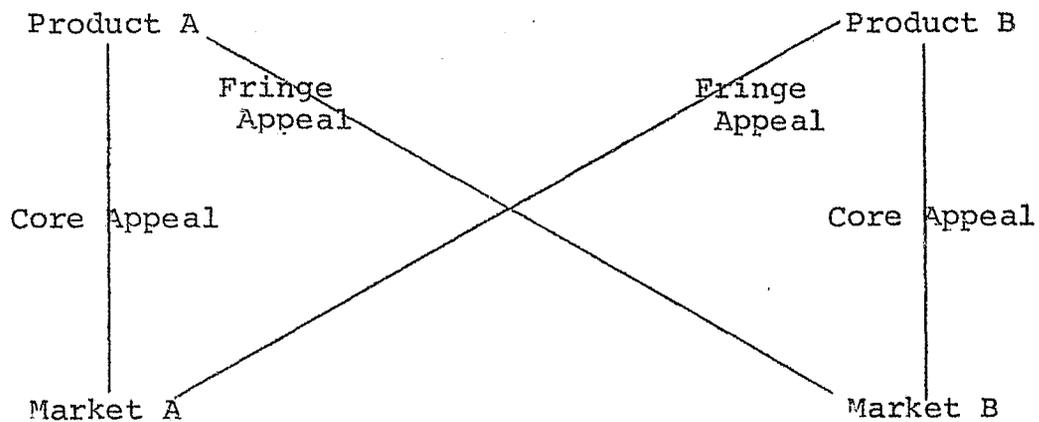
In designing criminal justice Ph.D. curricula, exact matches are impossible unless we are willing to tailor individual criminal justice Ph.D.'s to specific and individual

employment openings. However, such tailor-made programs tend to have higher per unit production costs than mass production of a single uniform product. The essential problem may be characterized in terms of costs-benefits: Product diversification yields wider market penetration with high production costs while product homogeneity diminishes the scope of market penetration but decreases production costs.

Managers of criminal justice Ph.D. curricula must face decisions concerning the cost-benefit of various product mixes. The maintenance of numerous curricular options enhances the opportunity to appeal to a wider portion of the market, but at the same time, it may also spread scarce resources so thin (money, faculty, etc.) as to negate the production of quality criminal justice Ph.D.'s. Such a condition may reduce market appeal for all. Likewise, the cost of maintaining numerous high-quality options may be prohibitive in the face of fixed or restricted resources. If resources are restricted, decisions must be made as to which segments of the market are to be attracted. Realistic limitations must be set to the design of the product line, and setting realistic limits involves defining core markets and fringe markets.

Any particular product will have a core market defined as that portion of the buying market most attracted to the product. The core market represents a fairly homogeneous segment of the market demand. The fringe market constitutes that area of demand where a product becomes less and less compatible

with analyzed market preferences and vice versa. Thus, for example, a curriculum directed at general policy analysis skills may have fringe attraction to employment in budget openings but not as much attraction as a specialist trained in budget. What is a core market for one product may be the fringe market for another and vice versa. Both may claim appeal in two market areas. But in each case, one has the advantage over the other in terms of having a closer fit between itself and the demands of the specific market.



There are numerous ways in which core markets may be defined. In general, however, the essential point is that the more generally the core market is defined, the more heterogeneous that market becomes. Any attempt to mesh a single product or basically similar product line with such an expanded core definition will usually yield incompatibilities between the product and the demand characteristics of various components of the expanded heterogeneous market.

In such a situation, a single product which is designed comprisingly for a large segment of the total market will not perfectly match many, if any, of the parts of that large market. There would appear to be only two choices in resolving this dilemma: (1) Offer one product designed for a small homogeneous part of the market and hope that it sells as well in the fringe market areas, or (2) Offer a multiproduct line, each product designed to appeal to specific homogeneous cores. The first alternative is dangerous since all eggs are placed in one basket as it were. Additionally, a single homogeneous market for criminal justice Ph.D.'s is not likely to offer enough employment opportunity to support adequately a full-fledged graduate program. The second alternative is more appealing if a way can be found to reduce the costs of maintaining a multiple product line.

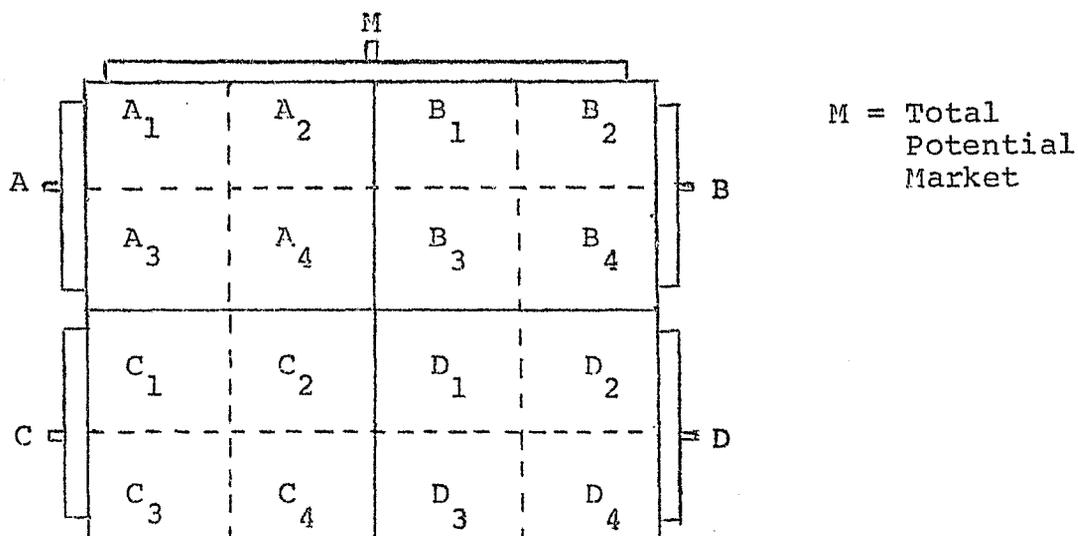
The critical issue in product design, therefore, is product mix. Product mix is the line of products being presented to the market. There are two strategies employed by the business community which may be of some aid to the integration of criminal justice Ph.D. curricula with the heterogeneous market: modular assembly and postponement (Staudt and Taylor, 1965, p: 197).

Modular assembly involves the construction of a variety of products built from common building blocks. Applied to designing criminal justice Ph.D. curricula, this would involve the construction of a basic curriculum core to which

adjustments or additions could be made to broaden the product line. Production costs are kept down by employing as many common components as possible. This is not unlike the approach followed currently in many criminal justice Ph.D. programs where a core is required and an area or areas of specialization are chosen. However, just as a curriculum core relates to realistic market conditions, so must the areas of specialization. Thus, for a particular student, the curricular specialization will define his core target employment area while the core curriculum will define the applicable fringe markets. Likewise, at a general curricular level, the variety of specializations offered will announce the targeted core employment areas while the core curriculum will define the broader fringe markets.

Using modular assembly, the basic product may be seen to appeal variously to a relatively wide segment of the market. Identification of such segments of the market is based on a clustering of all market skill demands under several general titles. The general titles identify the clusters of job titles which are roughly associated with one another. In the graph below, the four major blockings, labeled "A", "B", "C", and "D" represent an example of such a clustering and segmentation of the broader employment market. The smaller dotted-line squares represent the specific job titles falling within each general cluster. Ideally, a core curriculum is related to the larger blocks, and specializations within the curriculum are related to the smaller dotted boxes.

If a particular Ph.D. program identifies cluster A as the target market for its Ph.D., then the core curriculum is designed to build a product basically applicable to all of A. Specializations in the curriculum are created to provide a greater degree of fit with the specific segments of the cluster (i.e., A_1, A_2, A_3, A_4).



A, B, C, D = Categories of general clusters in the market

A_1, A_2, A_3, A_4 , etc. = Specific components of the market subsets

The importance of designing a basic core curriculum in reference to a clearly delineated and defined market segment cannot be underscored enough. If the basic curriculum is not associated with related market demands, then the advantages of modular assembly are lost. That is A_1, A_2 , etc., must have certain basic commonalities.

Postponement is a scheduling device whereby final adjustments in product composition are delayed until the product is nearly ready for sale. In matters of curriculum design, this means scheduling core components of the curriculum first to build the basic product. Thus, curriculum becomes a processing technique.¹¹ The specialized additions or packagings of products are delayed until late in the student's program. This approach allows a final "tuning in" of the product at a point relatively close to its being put on the market. The approach offsets some of the negative consequences of having a criminal justice Ph.D. go through a three- or four-year production timetable. Markets can change greatly in three or four years, and the ability to make specialized adjustments in the product within a year or so of introduction to the market is better than having no flexibility to adjust at all.

Modular assembly and postponement are approaches to balancing the competing problems of market heterogeneity and production cost. In particular they afford an opportunity to expand the product line while holding down costs and to defer final product adjustments until the last possible moment. All of this is for the purpose of producing greater similarity between the product and the specific demands of a heterogeneous and changing market.

Market analysis supplies the basic data on which the total market may be segmentalized and defined at a concrete level. However, market analysis does not supply decisions for

which segments of the market products should be designed. Such decisions are management decisions which involve not only the analysis of the external market forces, but internal productive forces as well.

Decisions relating to curriculum design should rely on two sets of information: internal conditions and external conditions. The analyses of internal conditions have traditionally occupied managers of doctoral curricula. Budgets, qualifications of faculty, goals of the department or school, and internal priority systems will influence the nature of any given criminal justice Ph.D. By like measure, however, the external conditions of the marketplace ought also to influence curriculum design. In other words, curriculum design should not only be based on "what are we equipped to produce" but also on "what can be sold." To an extent universities have brought both these concerns to bear on the designing of curricula. However, the definition of what can be sold has traditionally been limited to what universities themselves have bought. The luxury of such a restricted market view is no longer compatible with a large, fixed productive capability able to outproduce grossly for the needs of the traditional internal market and, at the same time, able, with adjustments, to produce effectively for an external market as well. If adjustments cannot be made to programs which, now or in the near future, produce large quantities of poorly demanded graduates, the scale of their existence at least ought to be questioned.

The outline originally entitled "Analysis of Market Issues" thus is only the first step in bringing about a more effective mesh between product and market. A more complete view of the entire process is as follows:

- I. Analysis of Market Issues
 - A. Brand Name Issues
 - B. Product Demand Issues
 - C. Product Consumption Issues
- II. Analysis of Production Issues
 - A. Resource Inventory
 - 1. Budgets: Availability of money for salaries, supplies and services, equipment, graduate support, etc.
 - 2. Manpower: Analysis of skills and talents of faculty available to the production effort.
 - 3. Capital Supports: Inventories of space, library resources, computers, etc., available to the production effort.
 - B. Goals and Priority Issues
 - 1. Production Preferences: Analysis of existing preferences and priorities of faculty related to what kind of product or products ought to be produced.
 - 2. Production Priorities: Analysis of relative preferences among faculty for the creation of certain kinds of curricular packages.
- III. The Meshing of Product and Market
 - A. Data Integration: Analysis of production issues in relation to market issues.
 - B. Core Markets: Identification and selection of target markets based on production capabilities and goal preferences.
 - C. Product Design: Design of products to mesh with selected markets.
 - D. Integration: Evaluation of skill demands of target market in terms of skill components of product.

LOOSE ENDS

This paper has emphasized employment opportunities in nonuniversity positions. Such an emphasis is not intended to discard the importance of preparing candidates for university positions in teaching and research. Such preparation is, and will remain, an important segment of the "productive" activities of criminal justice Ph.D. programs. But as a segment of criminal justice programs, it has been argued that it should not dominate curriculum design to the exclusion of meeting the needs of the nonuniversity employment markets. However, insofar as research and teaching in criminal justice programs are seen to have a necessary connection with agencies and practitioners in the criminal justice system, the preparation of candidates for employment in university positions will resemble the preparation of candidates for employment in nonuniversity positions.

The intent of market analysis, as described here, is to provide assessment of what is demanded by the nonuniversity employment market. The use of such market data as the exclusive guiding agent in designing Ph.D. curricula is not deemed proper or warranted; analysis of market demand is not necessarily synonymous with what should be. Market analysis leaves a great deal of room for faculties to design elements of innovation into the skill packages of their curricula. These innovative components may represent the important contributions of educational institutions to improving the criminal justice

system. Indeed, providing new skills for a better tomorrow rests at least as heavily on having a creative faculty as on market analysis. However, as one ingredient in the design process, market analysis is indispensable. It provides an important reference point for designs of the future, and it yields understanding of the criteria by which employing markets will make decisions on recruiting and selecting personnel.

NOTES

¹Alan M. Carter. "The Academic Labor Market." In Higher Education and the Labor Market (No. 4). McGraw Hill, 1974, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission, pp. 281-307. This article, supported by figures and computations, stresses that the supply of Ph.D.'s will greatly outstrip demand in the next decade such that a constantly shrinking fraction of Ph.D.'s awarded will be needed to staff the nation's colleges and universities. For further support of this thesis, see Richard B. Freeman and David W. Brenaman. Forecasting the Ph.D. Labor Market: Pitfalls for Policy (Technical Report No. 2). Presented to the National Board on Graduate Education, Washington, D.C., April 1974. Also see National Board on Graduate Education. Doctorate Manpower and Forecasts (No. 2). Washington, D.C., November 1973

²John K. Folger, Helen S. Astin, and Alen E. Bayer. Human Resources and Higher Education. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970, pp. 354-355. This point is made rather forcefully that "The substitution of persons with lesser educational qualifications will probably occur in any occupation that includes a wide variety of jobs and employment settings, that has flexible or undefined educational standards for job performance and that does not control entry requirements rigidly." This would seem to be a near perfect description of most of the criminal justice system.

³Richard Lester. Manpower Planning in a Free Society. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966. Contains a good account of some of the shortcomings of manpower forecasting.

⁴Tore Thonstad. Education and Manpower: Theoretical Models and Empirical Applications. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., 1969. A good example of a theoretical modeling of forecasting which emphasizes how many jobs will be available but nearly neglects what these jobs entail in terms of skills.

⁵State University System of Florida. Manpower and Education for Criminal Justice in Florida. Tallahassee: State of Florida, 1973. This study represented one such static model approach which could prove disruptive to predictions. See Griswold and DeShane, "Criminal Justice Manpower Projections: Is there an Alternative," an April 1975 paper, Portland State University, for similar remarks on the Florida material. See also Job Information Center for Corrections, Institute of Contemporary Corrections and the Behavioral Sciences. Manpower Study for Corrections: State of Texas 1973-1974, Sam Houston State University. This study includes sections which list and analyze classified job positions in corrections in

Texas. The particularly interesting feature of this approach is the publishing of actual job descriptions and the number of positions for these various descriptions. Such data could provide valuable information for market analysis done at a skills level.

⁶F. A. Harbison and C. A. Meyers. Education, Manpower and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resource Development. New York: McGraw Hill, 1964. Several worthwhile points are made throughout the book concerning targeting and the strategic application of high-level manpower in development and upgrading activities (see page 15 in particular).

⁷Folger et al, p. 33. Here, the authors suggest that a supply of highly trained candidates can have the effect of upgrading employment entry requirements.

⁸Harold Goldstein. "Government Techniques for Projecting Occupational Manpower Needs." In Manpower Planning (Industrial Relations Monograph No. 31). New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, 1970, pp. 23-25. Contains a good description of the process and model used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in making manpower forecasts. Also, see G. E. Morton. On the Evolution of Manpower Statistics. Kalamazoo, Michigan: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, December 1969. For critiques of manpower forecasting, see Ahamad Bashir and Mark Blaug. The Practice of Manpower Forecasting. Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, 1973. See Chapter 3 in particular. Also see Harbison and Meyers.

⁹Project Star, although not using Functional Job Analysis Scales as such, has examined the issue of skills needed in the criminal justice system. Data was gathered by surveying a variety of personnel in operational agencies (courts, corrections and police) in an attempt to measure what various personnel (judges, prosecutors, police officers, etc.) actually do, as well as should do. The approach may have very useful application to functional analysis of the job market for criminal justice Ph.D.'s. The questionnaire used by Project Star is: American Justice Institute. Survey of Role Perceptions for Operational Criminal Justice Personnel: Questionnaire, Project Star. Marina Del Rey, California: American Justice Institute, 1972.

¹⁰D. R. G. Layard and J. C. Saigal. "Educational and Occupational Characteristics of Manpower: An International Comparison." British Journal of Industrial Relations, July 1966. Proposal of a theoretical approach using skills as a basis for predicting kinds and amounts of manpower needs. Provides an interesting starting point for formally introducing

skills analysis into manpower forecasting. The model also attempts to forge a theoretical link between skills and levels of educational attainment. Also, see C. C. Cain, "Occupational Classification: An Economic Approach." Monthly Labor Review, February 1967, 90, 48-52. An alternative classification system using skills as a basis for forecasting job opportunities.

¹¹D. Katz and R. L. Kahn. Social Psychology of Organizations. New York: Wiley, 1966. Katz and Kahn describe an input-output processing view of organizations which is quite similar to the processing technique intended in this paper.

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CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSIONS

The rise of undergraduate programs in Administration of Justice, Criminal Justice, or allied rubrics, along with the burgeoning of graduate programs in Criminal Justice, is one of the most recent and prominent developments in American higher education. A whole new field of study, involving sizable numbers of faculty members and a large body of students, has sprung up almost overnight. The rise of these programs is a reflection of heightened concern about crime in contemporary America. More directly, these ventures in higher education have been stimulated by a number of responses to the crime problem at the federal government level, including the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, the passage of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. A major theme running through all of these responses has been that increased and sharpened intellectual weaponry, in the form of trained manpower supplied by American colleges and universities, must be developed for the war on crime.

The birth of this new field of study, criminal justice, has not been without individually felt pains and a good deal of institutional discomfort. At the time of the establishment of the National Criminal Justice Educational Consortium and even today, three years later, a number of basic issues and questions concerning criminal justice education are still mooted. This volume was intended to identify some of the major issues and to stimulate dialogue upon them, but was not designed to provide final answers to these key issues. Indeed, one thrust of many of the papers in this volume is that it would be premature to seek closure on many of these issues. The educational development experience has not yet run its course, criminal justice studies are still at a developing, adolescent stage, and there is still much to be learned before the final outlines of a mature field of criminal justice inquiry will be clear to all concerned.

But, while many of the key issues in criminal justice education will continue to be matters of lively debate for some time to come, it is possible to offer some broad and tentative observations, drawn from the experiences of the seven Consortium institutions in criminal justice educational development activities, discussions with other educators outside the Consortium, and from the contributed essays in this volume.

First, nearly all would agree that there is a body of knowledge pertaining to crime, its causes and control, that can be brought together to provide the intellectual focus for crime-

fighting activities. Then too, many of the papers in this volume have indicated that there are a number of practical or organizational arguments in favor of locating educational programs which deal with this knowledge in relatively autonomous academic units.

At the same time, a number of commentators on criminal justice education, including some of the contributors to this volume, have hastened to argue that criminal justice is a synthetic and multidisciplinary field of study, rather than a new, coherent, single discipline. Criminal justice education at both the undergraduate and graduate levels draws much of its intellectual sustenance from a variety of long-established disciplines and areas of inquiry, such as sociology, criminology, anthropology, economics, political science, and kindred fields. The preceding pages of this volume reveal a good deal of disagreement among criminal justice educators regarding the long-term prospects for a wholly separate and viable discipline of criminal justice.

Whatever the ultimate outcome of the movement toward criminal justice educational programs, it seems likely that criminal justice education will need to nurture and sustain continued intellectual interchange with the ancillary fields of inquiry such as criminology, political science, economics, and sociology. In these times of challenge, rapid social change, social and economic dislocation, and social turmoil, criminal justice education can ill afford to become isolated from other

fields of inquiry in which analyses of crime and responses to it are being carried forth.

Another point on which most observers are in general agreement is that the crime control apparatus in America today does not yet operate as an entirely well-coordinated system. In considerable part, it is a misnomer to speak of the criminal justice system, for what is often more apparent is a halting, uncoordinated justice machinery. At the same time, there is a growing chorus of commentary in which criminal justice administrators, governmental officials, and criminal justice educators are all calling for increased attention to the development of a more coordinated system of law enforcement, judicial processing, correctional activities, and preventive endeavors. The warning has been sounded that unless greater system coordination is achieved within coming years, the entire criminal justice processing apparatus will collapse.

However, once we move beyond these broad recommendations, continuing disagreements again become evident. Some of the papers in this volume tend to imply that the current structure of justice operations is relatively viable and only in need of infusions of more money and trained manpower, while some of the essays here and elsewhere in the criminal justice literature are much less sanguine about existing structures and operations, arguing instead for marked innovations and radical changes in responses to lawbreaking. Then too, some of the preceding pages indicate that some students of the crime problem would

advocate wholesale societal restructuring as the most sensible approach to dealing with crime in modern society. These discordant views are symptomatic of broader quarrels about the most sensible or promising approaches to crime control that are currently raging across the United States. Also, they point up the inadequacies of existing knowledge on crime and its control, which preclude unequivocal conclusions about the most efficacious crime control strategies.

The preceding paragraphs have hinted at some of the complex and profound quarrels and issues that characterize the struggling fields of criminal justice education and practice. These are thorny issues that create a good deal of anxiety and concern, but they are at the same time the stuff out of which the spirit of intellectual excitement is created. Hopefully, the pages of this volume will have stimulated the reader to struggle further with these key concerns.

APPENDIX

Culbertson, Robert G., The Grand Valley State Colleges, Allendale, Michigan. "Criminal Justice Education: The Latent Consequences of Overfunding."

The proliferation of criminal justice educational programs over the past ten years in part can be attributed to the various funding programs of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Although little disagreement on the need for criminal justice education exists, much criticism has recently been directed at the quality of criminal justice programs. For the most part, criminal justice education has not been based on a rationally defined model. The confusion surrounding the programming of criminal justice education is traced to three conditions: (1) incomplete analysis of the role task structure of criminal justice education requirements, (2) unidentified or nonconsensual goals, and (3) differing expectations for educational programs stemming from a decentralized and fragmented criminal justice system. This confusion has produced educational programs that are without an understanding of the needs of present and aspiring criminal justice practitioners. Alternative program models such as the Social Science Model and the Professional Model are reviewed, as well as the criticism that has been directed at these models. There is an extended discussion of a number of problems in colleges and universities associated with the Social Science Model which appear to call for further development of the Professional Model. These problems exist in the realm of: (1) developing collaborative relationships between criminal justice agencies and universities,

(2) a curriculum that is irrelevant to the needs of present day society, (3) antivocationalism among academics, (4) a rejection of criminal justice education by traditional disciplines and (5) an academic elite that perceives limited educational potential among criminal justice personnel. The failure to develop clearly defined goals for criminal justice education has resulted in two major problems--program quality and competency of personnel. The proliferation of programs due to the influx of LEEP funding produced qualitative problems in a number of areas. The domination of criminal justice courses in students' programs, the emphasis on criminal justice coursework early in students' careers with basic social science courses remaining until the junior and senior year, and the denial of foundational social science courses to criminal justice students are attributed to the absence of criminal justice program planning. This, in turn, has resulted in defeating the basic rationale underlying criminal justice education--the development of a breadth of perspective. The unplanned proliferation of criminal justice educational programs created an instant demand for instructional personnel that was met by the recruitment of faculty from police agencies. The bridging of the gap between agency experience and academic experience was used as a rationale for the recruitment of police for program faculty. Although many police teachers have kept current with theory and research, others have had little in the way of academic preparation for involvement in criminal justice education. These factors have

in turn made the provision of a breadth of perspective problematic in criminal justice education. Specific problems in the employment of police as criminal justice faculty exist in at least four different areas. First, the problem of isolation--characteristic of the police role--remains within the academy; criminal justice education programs tend to be isolated from the rest of the university. Second, unfamiliarity with textbooks, theory, and research results in a tendency to "tell it like it is." Third, the role of police as teacher in the recruitment of minorities and women and in transmitting values supportive of equal opportunity and affirmative action is questionable. Fourth, the police as teacher presents the potential for the transmission of old concepts and old ideologies inappropriate for law enforcement in contemporary society. The controversy surrounding criminal justice education is not only attributable to program proliferation stimulated by federal funding; the criminal justice bureaucracy has developed a number of characteristics such as selective recruitment, a contempt for "book knowledge," opposition to lateral entry, a socialization process which tends to cancel out educational benefits, and structurally produced anxiety, frustration, and stress--all of which function to limit educational efforts severely. Academicians have a professional responsibility in resolving the problematic characteristics of criminal justice education. The development of standards and quality control by criminal justice educational program funding agencies must be insisted on by

academicians. Increased effort must be directed toward the study of organizational structures in which criminal justice personnel function. Such study should improve the data base for structural change and should aid educators in insulating agency personnel from the consequences of organizational role-taking.

Olson, Bruce T., Regional Criminal Justice Training Center, Modesto, California. "Notes on a Philosophy of Criminal Justice Education."

This paper reviews a number of curriculum and administrative issues which have important consequences for criminal justice education. The development of criminal justice educational programs should not produce large programs in terms of faculty size or support staff. This conclusion stems from the author's perspective on the nature of undergraduate criminal justice curricula. Twenty curriculum elements or subject matter areas are suggested as essential for criminal justice curricula. Some of these elements can be presented in a few lectures; others may require a semester or more. Not all of the curricular elements should be offered by a criminal justice faculty. "Farming out" the elements to other departments should be done as much as possible. The criminal justice curriculum should consist of no more than 21 hours in a typical 120-hour undergraduate curriculum. Three major administrative issues in criminal justice education are reviewed: First, the establishment of formally organized academic departments of criminal justice should be avoided. Departmentalization results in isolation, specialization, and hinders an interdisciplinary approach. Secondly (and related to the first issue), is the view that the creation of departments is likely to result in the student's overall program being dominated by criminal justice courses. The result of our domination is that the student never really learns enough about another field or discipline to exploit it

productively in professional practice. The third issue is one of equity. Criminal justice students should receive the same treatment as other students. Criminal justice majors should not by virtue of their occupation and/or course work be graded differently or given unusual assignments or singled out in class as embodiments of social injustice. Given these administrative concerns, a limited curriculum generalist approach is to be preferred. An interdisciplinary approach with an "open" curriculum not only symbolizes a willingness to relate to all other established departments, it reduces anxiety among these disciplines over resource allocation and is a cost-effective concept.

Pate, Mary Ann, Dallas Evaluation Office, The Police Foundation. "Police and Universities: Problems of Collaboration."

Ms. Pate's essay questions the importance and/or feasibility of programs in criminal justice that are intended to improve and upgrade the quality of police work in American society. Although most of her attention focuses on the question of criminal justice doctoral programs for police officers and administrators, she also devotes some attention to current problems of police-oriented undergraduate programs in criminal justice. Ms. Pate points out that it is not entirely accurate to speak of a single criminal justice system since the actors in different components of the justice machinery have varied mandates and obligations. Accordingly, a system-oriented brand of education may not meet the special needs of police workers. Then too, she argues that much police work involves matters of public order and other activities having little to do with crime control, so that it may be more sensible to stress diversified, multidisciplinary training of police agents rather than specialized criminal justice education. Finally, she contends that little attention has been paid to role and task analyses of police work through which the most urgent educational needs of policemen would be identified. Even assuming that a case could be made for specialized criminal justice education for police agents, Ms. Pate questions whether undergraduate programs in this area are yet well enough developed to warrant the creation of specialized criminal justice graduate programs. She notes

that criminal justice is an embryonic area of study that borrows heavily from established fields of inquiry. There is little in the way of a distinctive core literature in criminal justice to which a specialized doctoral degree might be anchored. She argues that, if a sophisticated, distinctive, specialized doctoral program related to policing is to develop, it will most likely grow out of developmental activities at the undergraduate level. She questions whether it is possible to build quality educational programs in criminal justice from the top down. A substantial portion of Ms. Pate's paper deals with problems of conducting graduate research studies within police agencies. She contends that a major obstacle in the path of doctoral education centers about the difficulties graduate students would encounter in doing research in police departments. She suggests that many graduate students will be lacking in the specialized research talents that are required in these settings. Also, they will often lack the time to become enmeshed in police organizations so as to be able to conduct research in a nondisruptive manner. For these and other reasons, she feels that graduate student researchers are likely to do poor quality research, alienate police departments, and exacerbate the difficulties of research in police organizations. Ms. Pate's summary of her essay notes:

1. I am not at all convinced that the discipline of criminal justice has any unique educational contribution to make to the practice and management of police service. To the contrary, I feel it may promote a dysfunctional intellectual bias.

2. If it does have a special contribution, it is in the area of credentialing, which depends completely on the quality of the discipline. Given the current state of criminal justice programs, I feel that academics are only being self-serving to give energy to the development of a graduate program before there is a respectable undergraduate program to support it.
3. Inadequate consideration has been given to the substance and purpose of the criminal justice doctorate. It is not clear whether the degree is intended to be an academic or a practice degree. If there are to be two distinct doctoral degrees, the different substantive contents of the two should be established.
4. Since doctoral programs do and will exist, careful consideration must be given the quality of the degree. The establishment of a research-based degree program will require close attention to the research needs of the field and to the conditions of graduate research. The quality of the information created and the continued freedom to do field research depend on rigorous management of the research experience. The development of the doctorate should be done in measured steps in order to guarantee its quality and to assure that a body of knowledge can be developed.

Treger, Harvey, and Narayan Viswanathan, Jane Addams School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle. "Interdisciplinary Education in a Macrosystems Perspective."

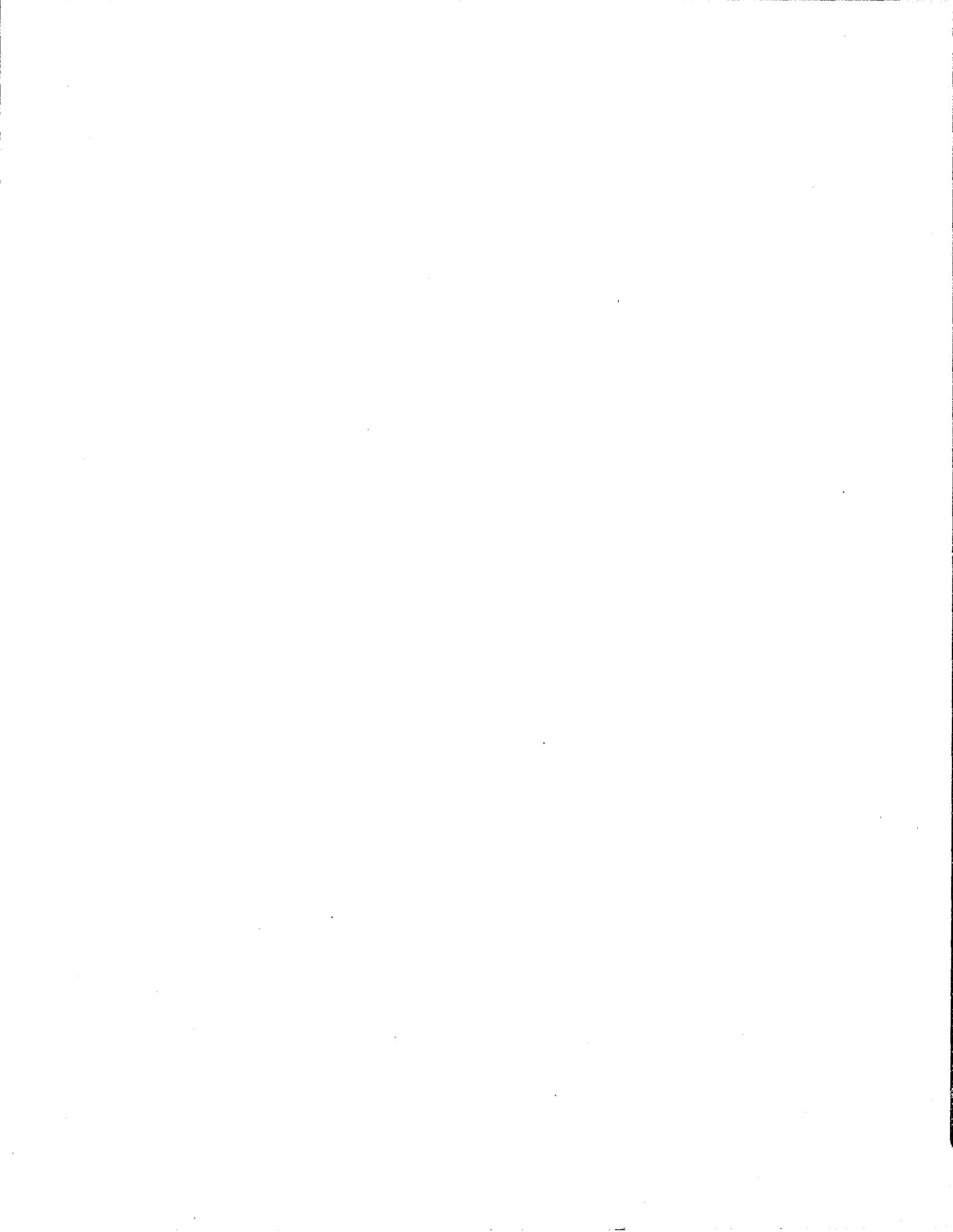
The authors of this paper begin by stressing the need for a synthesis of educational preparation, research training, and practice skills in human services fields, including criminal justice. They also contend that criminal justice should be a multidisciplinary field, drawing intellectual sustenance from a variety of established disciplines. Then too, they contend that it should be broad and probing in scope, taking a macrosystems perspective, rather than being narrowly focused on crime control measures and the like. Treger and Viswanathan devote a good deal of attention to the need for system-thinking applied to the criminal justice apparatus. At the same time, they point out that in its actual operations, the criminal justice machinery is often a discoordinated, creaking nonsystem. These authors agree with a number of other scholars who have argued that improvement of the justice system ought to be a high-priority task. Treger and Viswanathan contend that an improved justice system will be one which endeavors to attend both to the needs and rights of "society" and to those of offenders. They stress that an improved system will be one that includes heavy emphasis upon justice, both to the citizenry and to lawbreakers. They eschew those "hard-line" proposals which would deliver more severe punishment to conventional lawbreakers, arguing instead for an ameliorative approach to the crime problem.

An ameliorative attack on crime would endeavor to improve the general quality of life in American society, thereby attenuating the criminogenic pressures that now operate upon offenders. Treger and Viswanathan emphasize a triad of activities in which criminal justice graduate students ought to be engaged: theory-building, research, and practice. They suggest that:

1. Students will need to learn about the kinds of reciprocal inputs each profession can make into the other's system; areas of congruence and cooperation as well as conflict will need to be explicated.
2. Core content including courses in deviance, social science theory, human growth and development, psychopathology, ethnicity, poverty, and systems theory would be included in both criminal justice and social work.
3. Knowledge and skills should be developed to appreciate the meaning and process of change (individual, organizational, and systems) in social planning and program development.
4. The process of interprofessional cooperation in planning, program innovation, and social policy development should be included in classroom and field experience.
5. A course in professional consultation would be useful.
6. Evaluation and research methodology courses would be required.

A substantial portion of the Treger and Viswanathan essay is given over to a detailed analysis of the "Police-Social Work Interprofessional Cooperation Project" of the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle. This project illustrates a number of broad points raised in this paper.





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