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# REPEAT VICTIMIZATION: AN OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT OF ITS USEFULNESS FOR CRIME

by **BETH DEVALVE**
*Sam Houston State University*

Just as a small proportion of all offenders represent a large amount of crime committed (Moffitt, 1997), so too do a small proportion of victims represent a surprisingly large (and therefore disproportionate) amount of victimizations (Farrell, 1992; Farrell & Bouloukos, 2001; Farrell & Pease, 1993; Farrell & Pease, 2001). Even more compelling is that this pattern is found despite crime type and method of research (Farrell, 1992). In terms of a crime prevention strategy numerous authors have suggested that in order to curb the crime problem, police should focus on repeat victimizations (or better, repeat victims) to decrease the amount of crime committed ( Farrell, 1995; Farrell & Pease, 1993; Taylor, 1999). In effect, "if repeat or multiple victimization can be prevented, a large proportion of all crime might be prevented" (Farrell, 1992, p. 85). Additionally, recent research suggests a relationship between proximity to targeted repeat victims and future victimization of nearby targets (Bowers & Johnson, 2003). Therefore, not only are primary victims at risk for repeated victimizations, but those close to the primary victim may be at heightened risk when compared to the general public. In essence, crime prevention does not have to occur by tackling offenders only. Addressing victimizations may also accomplish the task of crime prevention, with a specific approach to repeat victims being particularly beneficial.

### Repeat Victimization Defined

There has been some discussion over the definition of repeat victimization. Definitions of repeat victimization range from using repeat victimization as a "catch-all" phrase to include victimizations of multiple crime types by multiple offenders to the obvious, repeated victimization of the same crime type by the same offender (Farrell, 1992). Other researchers suggest that repeat victimization and multiple victimization should be used to define the two markedly different experiences (Outlaw, Ruback & Britt, 1999). They suggest that the term repeat victimization be used only when the victim experiences the same crime type by the same offender (or maybe was "referred" by that offender) (Outlaw, Ruback, & Britt, 1999). Multiple victimizations, therefore, exist when a victim experiences multiple types of crime victimization by multiple offenders. Ratcliffe and McCullagh (1998) question at what point in time do repeat victimizations become new initial victimizations? Six months, one year, two years? And what determines that? They suggest that looking at the initial crime, such as identifying similarities in the modus operandi, the point of entry, and the time of day of the crime, might help to answer that question.

Probably the most prolific writers on repeat victimization, Graham Farrell and Ken Pease, propose that repeat victimization includes the following: "multiple criminal incidents experienced by either a person or place" (Farrell, 1992, p. 86; Farrell & Pease, 2001). They suggest that it can be called by any of the following names—multiple victimization, repeat victimization, recidivist victimization or multi-victimization (Farrell, 1992). Therefore, I have relied on Farrell and Pease's definition when discussing repeat victimization generally.

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**ACJS National Office**
***Contact Information:***

**Laura Monaco: Association Manager**
lmonaco@acjs.org
**Collene Cantner: Executive Assistant**
ccantner@acjs.org
**Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences**
**7319 Hanover Parkway, Suite C**
**Greenbelt, Maryland 20770**
Tel.: (301) 446-6300; (800) 757-ACJS (2257)
Fax: (301) 446-2819
Website: http://www.acjs.org
Webmaster: holden@cmsu1.cmsu.edu

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# PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Greetings!

The 2004 meeting is now behind us and I have had a couple of days to reflect on the past year. It has been a busy time for myself and the Academy, and many of you have been instrumental in the successes we have achieved.

Let me start off by thanking all of you who helped make this year's meeting the largest in our history. While I don't have an exact figure right now, it appears that we broke the 2000 attendee barrier. More importantly, the panels were well attended and a great deal of insightful discussion took place throughout the week. This is extremely gratifying when the meeting was held in a city with myriad distractions with which we had to compete. The feedback I received was overwhelmingly positive and I must thank Larry Travis, the program committee and everyone who attended for making this such as successful year. I also need to pass along my thanks to our two keynote speakers– Gloria Laycock of the Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science, and John Walters, Director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy. Both of these individuals took time to share their insights with us and engage in discussions with participants.

This past year has turned out to be a very productive one for the Academy, and several exciting things are on the horizon for us. First, we are entering into an agreement with Taylor & Francis for the publication and distribution of both Justice Quarterly and the Journal of Criminal Justice Education. Beginning in 2005, both journals will be available electronically, as well as in hard copy. Members will continue to receive the hard copy, while also having access to the electronic version. All back issues of both journals will also be available electronically. While we maintain ownership and full editorial control of the journals, this new publishing arrangement will move our journals into the global market and we are very hopeful that the Academy will become a truly global organization.

A second exciting development is the purchase of a permanent home for the Academy. Over the past year we have seen the return on our investments shrink to almost nothing. On some of our funds, we are earning a paltry ½ percent interest. Even our jumbo investments are returning only about 2 percent! With our lease up for renewal in July and a need for additional office space, I initiated a search for potential property to purchase. We ended up finding a location just one building down from our current address which will provide twice the space for only a small increase in our monthly payments. We are shifting investments into the purchase of the property and, in the future, we will be building our own equity rather than that of a landlord. Since we have no plans to move out of the Washington area, the board agreed that shifting some of our investments into property was a wise move (particularly given the current interest rates). The move should take place sometime in May.

The third major initiative which is forging ahead is the move toward setting up a process for certifying criminal justice programs. A great deal of effort has already been expended on developing this process. Jim Finckenauer is carrying over the efforts into his administration, and the committee will continue to work on this project. A number of issues have been addressed, but a good deal of work remains to be done. Foremost among the unresolved issues is the exact standards that will be used, the training of the reviewers, and the processes for administering the new program. I anticipate that you will hear a great deal about this topic in the coming months, and you will be asked to provide feedback to proposed standards and processes. I think that you will agree with the direction things are taking, and that this effort bodes well for our profession. It is certainly a sign that we are actively trying to move criminal justice forward.

Since this is my last Presidential Message (even though I passed the gavel last week), I need to publicly thank a number of different individuals. First, I have to thank the staff of our National Office– Laura Monaco, Collene Cantner and Amy Cantner. These three ladies run the daily operations of the Academy and do a wonderful job. They respond to the demands of well over 2000 members, any number of solicitors and sales people, many non-members looking for assistance, and the Academy Board. Around all these calls, they try to keep the operations of the Academy running smoothly. Most of the time we only call the office when we need something. What we don't realize is the many things they are handling behind the scenes. They have been an invaluable help to me and do a very good job keeping everything on track.

I also need to thank the members of the Executive Board with whom I have had the pleasure of working over the past years. These individuals are truly dedicated professionals who have the best interests of the Academy and all of its members at heart. These are all volunteers who give of their time, energy and expertise to make certain the organization continues to improve and move forward. The successes of the past year are largely due to their efforts and support.

Finally, I need to thank some special people in Bowling Green for their help and support. The faculty at BGSU really picked up the slack when I was off taking care of Academy business. They are a great group of people and I can't imagine a better group of colleagues. My dean provided me with release time and other support for my Academy duties. Most importantly, I need to thank my wife and daughter, Susie and Danielle, for putting up with all my travels out of town and the extra work I undertook. My successes are really those of everyone who has helped me this past year. Thanks to you all.

See you next year in Chicago!

*Steve Lab*

# IN MEMORY

Criminology, criminal justice, and sociology lost a great spirit last week when Joan McCord passed away at her home on February 24. To those who knew her, it would come as no surprise that Joan died with a book and a book chapter in press; she was also supervising three doctoral dissertations at Temple.

Her resume is an essay in sterling accomplishments, and one would imagine it to be the result of a near perfect academic life. She co-wrote, edited, or co-edited twelve volumes starting in 1956 on topics ranging from delinquency to alcoholism to violence in the inner city to criminological theory to crime prevention. Her journal articles, and book chapters totaled an astonishing one hundred and twenty seven, some co-written with the greatest minds in our fields—both present and past. In the later years of her career, she traveled and lectured extensively, and she received numerous prestigious awards, including the American Society of Criminology's Sutherland Award and the International Society of Criminology awarded her the Prix Emile Durkheim Award. She worked with the National Academy of Sciences on law and justice issues, and in 2002, the Society on Adolescence awarded her its Social Policy Best Journal Article Award.

Her most prescient and timeless body of scholarship revisits Hippocrates' classic caution: "As to diseases, make a habit of two things—to help, or at least to do no harm."

Her now classic evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Project detailed how an array of well intentioned social work interventions not only do failed to prevent delinquency but, in fact, harmed those who received the services. In that classic piece of painstaking evaluation research, she found that the boys in the control group actually fared better long term than their counterparts in the treatment group nearly twenty years after the ambitious project ended. It was to be a lesson she never forgot. She became a passionate advocate for true experimental design in a way that current scholars, absorbed by new issues and concerns, may have a hard time embracing. Her insights, though, are critical, and I would argue particularly relevant at a time when many politically popular programs that claim to incorporate "best practices" are being crafted by our colleagues (some of whom are making a considerable amount of money in the bargain), often with less than disinterested evaluations somewhere in the mix. In times like these, the humbling lessons learned from her evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Project are ones we forget at our peril.

In 1987, Joan McCord was elected the President of the American Society of Criminology—in her own words, "the first woman to have the honor" (McCord, 2002: 105). Herein lies the story within the story. The last real conversation I had with Joan, she urged me to read an autobiographical essay that she'd just finished, "Learning How to Learn and it Sequelae." I wish I'd taken her advice then, for the chapter displayed a side of Joan's life I would never have guessed based on a reading of her resume.

In that essay I learned that the perfect academic life that Joan dreamed of as a young woman was not hers without a great deal of struggle. She writes of meeting her husband of many years while still in high school in Arizona; together they attended Stanford, married while undergraduates, and, upon graduation "agreed that I would support [my husband] while he got his credentials before going on for my own."

Despite her love for philosophy, she put her own career on hold, traveled with her husband to Harvard, and took a position teaching sixth graders in Concord, Massachusetts in the mid-fifties. As a relentless scholar, while teaching she began a focus on youthful aggression that would result in her first book. Ultimately, she followed her husband back to Stanford, where he finds a teaching position. Hoping to study philosophy there, she received a fellowship. He, though, objected to her attempts to have a career, and at the same time "began drinking heavily and became abusive." It was during this period that "not wanting to be in the middle of a domestic argument, the Stanford philosophy department withdrew its financial support for me." (McCord, 2002: 101). About all these experiences, she would write, "I sometimes wonder whether women today realize how different it is both to have support from other women and to have a legal system that allows for their independence."

Ultimately, McCord sought a divorce, and "needing to support myself and two sons," she could not continue her studies. She took in boarders, tought tennis, and tutored—esperiencing a dramatic loss in status from faculty wife to single mother. But, true to form, she persisted, got another fellowship, this time in the social sciences, and, in fact, made the study of "the impact of status" the material for her Ph.D. dissertation. She graduated in June of 1968, a time "before there were any legal barriers to discrimination against women, so it was particularly difficult for me to find employment" (McCord, 2002: 103). Ultimately, she finds a position at an engineering college, Drexel, though an old friend from Harvard. She would spend nearly twenty years there—and true to form she flourished.

The rest of the tale takes us to where we began; with her amazing life as an academic. At the end of her essay, she concludes with advice for a next generation of scholars. Her words not only sum up her life but also provide us with very wise counsel:

> I would urge women to obtain credentials so they can find interesting things to do, activities that will not be heavily dependent on events over which they will have little control. I would not trade being a mother for any opportunity at all, though I recognize that a state for being a parent is far from universal. I would suggest to anyone considering academe, male or female, that it is better to work on a project you believe to be important than to select with an eye to winning praise or prizes" (McCord, 2002: 107).

Aloha, Joan

*Meda Chesney-Lind*
*University of Hawaii at Manoa*
*March 2, 2004*

# Book Review Submission Guidelines For *ACJS Today*

- Provide a review that will help the readership determine how useful the book will be for teaching of particular courses.
- Identify how the book is applicable to criminal justice, criminology, sociology, and other related curriculums.
- Identify the courses for which the book will be useful and why.
- Identify the level of students most likely to find the book useful.
- Identify the teaching style most consistent with the book's approach.
- **Send reviews to Alex del Carmen, the *ACJS Today* Editor, at adelcarmen@uta.edu.**
- Book review should be limited to no more than three (3) single-spaced pages with references in APA style.
- Reviews sent as e-mail attachments in Word are acceptable.
- Submission of a review to *ACJS Today* implies that the review has not been published elsewhere nor is it currently under submission to another publication.

## ACJS Today Submissions Information

The deadline for submissions to be included in the **May/June** *ACJS Today* is **April 20, 2004**. Submissions, in **Microsoft Word** format should be e-mailed or sent to:

**Alex del Carmen**
Associate Professor and Graduate Advisor
Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice
Box 19595
University of Texas at Arlington
Arlington, Texas 76019-0595
Office Phone: (817) 272-3318
Fax: (817) 272-5673
E-mail: adelcarmen@uta.edu

**Visit the ACJS website**

**at:**

**http://www.acjs.org**

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The discussion on the definition of repeat victimization is important because researchers and police departments alike may label victims differently depending on their own definition of repeat victimization; therefore, accurate accounts of the prevalence of repeat victimization both through research and police records may vary according to the persons or agency responsible for the collection of information.

According to Ellingworth, Farrell, and Pease (1995) "[a]ll official sources of crime information are misleading…police recording systems…have been more or less inadequate in identifying repeated victimization of the same dwellings or the same people," whereas,"victimization surveys … underestimate repeat victimization by limits placed upon the number of victim forms completed, and upon the maximum number of incidents in a series of victimizations" (p. 360). These problems affect both academic and practitioner arenas. Police records and victimization surveys suffer from problematic recording schemes and inadequate measurement techniques. Academic research oftentimes relies on police records and victimization surveys to estimate the prevalence of repeat victimization, so the problems stated above apply to academia as well.

Ratcliffe and McCullagh (1998) suggest that police forms may record addresses in multiple text fields, thereby not allowing the computer system to identify easily repeat spots for victimizations. Additionally, victimizations may occur at one dwelling, but there may be multiple residences within that dwelling. Finally, officers or dispatchers (whoever the recording person may be) might record the same address different ways but denote different "addresses" for the establishments within the databases. For instance, Chenery (2003) found that in one instance a police department listed one location by four different names; therefore, any type of database request would fail to link these four establishments as experiencing repeat victimizations but instead would report single incidents of victimization.

Farrell (1995) suggests that measurement of repeat victimization with victimization surveys is difficult because most often victimization surveys ask the participants to recall information for only a year prior to the phone call. Because repeat victimization occurs quite soon after an initial victimization, if a caller were to disclose that the victimization recently occurred the incidence of repeat victimization may not be accounted. Additionally, if an individual were to report victimization in the early part of the year there is no way to tell if this was an initial victimization or a repeat victimization because of the time period limitations. Internal validity problems exist with victimization surveys when victims drop out for any reason. Ybarra and Lohr (2002) suggest this problem could be particularly difficult for studies of repeat victimization because if repeat victims are dropping out of the studies then true estimates as to the prevalence of repeat victimization will be further disturbed. Finally, not all victims will be able to remember or define actions occurring to them as crimes. The reluctance or refusal of victims to disclose what is identified as victimization is also a problem for researching the actual incidence of repeat victimizations.

Finally, as evidenced from the discussion above, the problems associated with recording repeat victimization lead to conclusions that there must be validity problems in most estimates (i.e., what are people really recording and studying?).

## Repeat victimization and "hot spots"

Ratcliffe and McCullagh (1998) suggest that because there are so many problems with identifying repeat victims (both places and persons) through police records because of the problems mentioned above, the use of geographic information systems (GIS) might be a good alternative to identifying repeat victimization. The purpose for this is that GIS can eliminate the address text-based system of police agencies and that GIS locations are static, as opposed to reliant on the individual who inputs the data.

Farrell and Sousa (2001) suggest a need to "examine overlap between repeat victimization and hot spots in relation to high-crime areas and repeat offending for different crime types" (p. 221). They indicate that repeat victimization may be more likely to happen in hot spots and may vary by crime time and that hot spot policing might prevent a range of crimes from repeating. The prevention of repeat victimization within hot spots may be more effective than policing hot spots for new crimes themselves and for the prevention of repeat victimization alone because offenses at hot spots may be more frequent and more serious (Farrell & Sousa, 2001). For the repeat victim, this may mean that victimizations become more intense and have confounding effects on the target or individual. Additionally, in terms of allocation of policing resources, if police are most useful at spots where there is high-crime activity, focusing policing efforts in hot spots with high repeat victimization is "administration-friendly." Farrell and Sousa (2001) further suggest that targeting repeat victims may also help to detect offenders, in particular "super-predators." Indubitably, the placement of police officers in hot spot areas with the purpose of preventing new and repeat crime, and detecting chronic offenders can lead to a decreased crime rate.

Bowers and Johnson (2003) are working on a spatial analysis technique to identify "prospective" hotspots. So far, they have found that there is a particular population of victims who are vulnerable because of their proximity to a victimized target. They call this phenomenon "near repeats," meaning that those nearest to a victimized target are more at risk of becoming victims as well because of their proximity to the primary victim. Their study focuses on burglary victimizations, but other research suggests that the same phenomenon can be found for personal victimization as well (Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garofalo, 1978). This is especially interesting as it helps to focus on problem areas and prediction for future risks of primary victims and proximity-oriented victims. They suggest that in addition to focusing on where initial victimizations occur police departments should also look at prospective victimizations, or near repeats. Bowers and Johnson's spatial analysis technique highlights the most vulnerable predicted areas of victimization and has been highly successful, predicting 90% of future burglaries, an improvement over traditional hot spot analysis (Bowers & Johnson, 2003). Overall, targeting hot spots, and particularly prospective hotspots, for prevention of crime could accomplish four things: decreased repeat victimizations (and possibly new victimizations), detection of chronic and more serious offenders, more useful allocation of police resources and/or time, and safer communities.

## Prevalence

The majority of the public will not be victimized in their lifetimes (Ellingworth, Farrell & Pease, 1995). For instance, findings from the 1982-1992 British Crime Surveys suggest that overall 6% of people are victims of property crime and 3% are victims of personal crime (Ellingworth, Farrell and Pease, 1995).

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However, for those people who are victimized, it is estimated that between 24% and 38% of crime "is suffered by people who experience five or more such offences…over a year" (Ellingworth, Farrell & Pease, 1995, p. 362). Farrell (1992) reports that in the 1982 wave of the British Crime Survey only 14% of all victims experienced over 70% of all offenses.

Farrell and Bouloukos (2001) assessed repeat victimization internationally by focusing on the 1989, 1992 and 1996 versions of the International Crime Victims Survey. They found that repeat victimization was widespread in the industrialized countries surveyed. Additionally, personal crimes had a higher rate of revictimization than property crimes (40 to 60% of sexual incidents perpetrated against the same women and 30 to 40% of assaults and threats were found to be against the same persons) (Farrell & Bouloukos, 2001). Even in countries with notoriously low crime rates (such as Japan) it appeared that for those people or places that were victimized they were repeatedly victimized, whatever mechanism contributing to low crime rates did not contribute to low rates of repeat victimization (Farrell & Bouloukos, 2001).

## Time frame for repeat victimization

It appears that with property crime once a person or place has been victimized the next victimization, if any, will occur quite soon after the initial victimization (Farrell, 1992; Bridgeman & Hobbs, 1997; Kleemans, 2001; Mawby, 2001; Ratcliffe & McCullagh, 1998; van Dijk, 2001). This presents a very narrow time frame when taking into consideration crime prevention efforts of victims and/or police departments (Ratcliffe & McCullagh, 1998). Additionally, Ratcliffe and McCullagh state that Anderson et al. (1995) found that 40 percent of repeat calls occurred within one month of the initial victimization and Burquest et al. (1992) "found an even greater figure of 79 per cent of revictimization incidents occurring within one month for school burglaries" (cited Ratcliffe & McCullagh, 1998, p. 657). In their own study, Ratcliffe and McCullagh (1998) found that 27.8% of revictimizations of non-residential locations occurred within one year of the preceding victimization. van Dijk (2001) found similar findings in his analysis of the International Crime Victims Survey. van Dijk (2001) found that across developed, transitional and developing nations repeat victimization was common, and approximately 20% of repeat victimization occurred within months of the initial incident. Additionally, he found that 24% of burglary victims and 41% of women victims of violence experienced repeat victimizations within one year of the initial victimization.

## Police response to victimization

In addition to the problem of how to record repeat victimizations, it is easy to see that police response to repeat victimizations may remain reactive and they may tend to perceive each incident as not connected. No doubt police officers are well aware that the same places and/or people are being victimized, but internal policing policy typically does not always address the need to focus on repeat victimizations. Furthermore, Bracey (1996) states that police response to a crime often is merely symbolic as in a great deal of cases there is not much the police can do after the fact without good leads to the perpetrator of a crime. This is especially true for burglaries, for without information on the perpetrator the most the police can do is acknowledge that items were stolen from a home or an establishment. The expectations for police may be a bit different for repeat victimization, however. Because we know that repeat victimizations occur relatively soon after the initial victimization, the visitation of the police to the crime scene may result in a crime prevention discussion in addition to the symbolic role of acknowledging that something has been taken.

## Victim's call for service—expectations of the police and victim satisfaction

According to van Dijk (2001) repeat victims contact the police more often and with greater demands than singular victims. In a comparison of developed versus poor countries it was found that those in developed countries were more likely to report victimizations than those in transitional or developing nations. The motivation for reporting also differs by country. In developed countries, van Dijk (2001) suggests that motivation for reporting results from a belief that crimes should be reported and a desire to comply with insurance purposes. In transitional and developing countries victims report crimes in order to recover items, to see the perpetrator caught and sentenced, and to request help to avoid future victimization (van Dijk, 2001). It appears that repeat victims generally are less certain that police can meet the needs of the victims and hence, are often less satisfied with police. Additionally, dissatisfaction occurs not only because of inability to find the perpetrator or solve the crime, but also from mistreatment by police officers. Though those in developed nations report greater satisfaction, van Dijk (2001) suggests this may be not only because of better services, but also because of lower expectations of victims. van Dijk (2001) found that burglary victims were two times more likely to file police reports than women victims of violence. He suggests that perhaps financial considerations as well as wanting protection from the offender were the reasons for reporting. For women victims of violence, he suggests that the victimization is reported because the woman wants the offender caught and punished.

van Dijk (2001) presents an interesting juxtaposition, however. Though he reports that repeat victims are less satisfied with police and at times may feel neglected because of their inability to solve the crimes, repeat victims tend to demand more protection, and/or services, than other callers. In this sense, perhaps a shift in policing policy needs to occur to better address repeat victimization.

## Conclusion

Crime prevention can be approached by both searching for offenders (in particular "super-predators"), and also by addressing victimization issues with crime victims. In particular, because repeat victimization accounts for a great deal of crime, serving the needs of those repeatedly victimized may help decrease overall crime rates. Academics and practitioners alike need to search for a common definition to decrease validity issues when identifying repeat victimizations, to help enhance recording mechanisms for repeat victimization and to search for approaches to best address those repeatedly victimized. It may be easier to address crime with an audience of victimized persons as opposed to concentrating the majority of efforts reactively searching for offenders.

## References

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*References continued on page 9*

# BOOK REVIEWS

**Sullum, J. (2003). *Saying Yes.* New York: Penguin.**

**REVIEWER: LAURA L. FINLEY,**
**ADJUNCT PROFESSOR**
*The University of Northern Colorado*
*Colorado State University*
*Metropolitan State College of Denver*

Sullum's goal in writing *Saying Yes*, as he states, is "to contrast drug use as it is described by politicians and propagandists with drug use as it is experienced by the silent majority of users: The decent, respectable people who, despite their politically incorrect choice of intoxicants, earn a living and meet their responsibilities" (p. 10). Much of the focus, then, is on describing the difference between drug dabblers, who constitute the majority of users, and those who have substance abuse problems. While recognizing the limitations of self-reports of drug use, Sullum utilizes them appropriately to show trends and to look at usage at the aggregate-level. He supplements these sources with detailed interviews from 32 self-selected users as well as his own experience with drug experimentation.

Sullum does several things quite well. First, while straying from his goal on occasion, in general the text nicely contrasts the image of drug users with reality. For instance, he begins his juxtaposition of casual and excessive users with the story of Peter Lewis. Lewis is the former CEO of Progressive Insurance, the nation's fifth largest auto insurer, a position he held for 36 years. Lewis is a regular user of marijuana and is most definitely the antithesis of the lazy-loser pothead image. While Sullum admits that Lewis is not typical—most marijuana users are not millionaires—the stereotypical pothead image, engrained in the public conscience through popular culture like the *Cheech and Chong* movies, is not representative either. Similarly, Sullum casts doubts on some of the rhetoric about heroin. Despite the image of heroin as all consuming, there are moderate users who generally apply self-imposed rules regarding when, where, and with whom they will use. Here he provides the example of William Halsted, a successful surgeon who regularly used morphine.

Second, the impact of the demonizing images associated with even casual use of drugs can be felt in myriad ways. One group that decidedly benefits from the negative focus on drugs is the drug testing industry, now a multi-billion dollar per year megamoney maker (Schlosser, 2003). The image that pot-smokers suffer from "a-motivational syndrome" has led to assumptions about the productivity of workers; consequently drug testing in the workplace has become relatively commonplace, despite the fact that it has not proven effective. Drug testing only detects previous use, generally use three or more days prior. Thus it will typically not show if an employee is working under the influence, nor does it generally include tests for alcohol, more likely to be a workplace problem. It has also not been shown to be a deterrent. Further, there are many ways around the tests. As a spokesman for the drug testing industry stated, "It's an IQ test" (p.119). Interviews with users show that most have no interest in mixing their use with their work anyway.

In the zeal to demonize users as abusers, politicians and other public figures have often waxed hypocritical. The message sent about drug and alcohol use, especially to adolescents, becomes convoluted, at best, and is far less likely to be believed than if everyone were more forthcoming. In a great example of the way that public figures generally discuss casual use, Sullum quotes former LA Police Chief Daryl Gates, who once said, "casual drug users 'ought to be taken out and shot' for committing 'treason' in the war on drugs" (p. 20). Sullum explains this by saying, "Politicians have to pretend, regardless of their own experience to the contrary, that drug users are different from you and me" (p. 20). Those politicians who were caught or admitted trying drugs tend to be especially tough on users. Even those in favor of reforming drug laws are often quick to renounce personal use. Unfortunately, Sullum fails to point out the problem with some of these celebrity advocates; they are viewed by the public as flakes and thus any useful perspective they might offer is not generally believed by the public. Take Woody Harrelson. He has made some great points about the usefulness of hemp and how asinine it is that such a useful substance is banned, yet he is rarely taken seriously because of his over-the-top approach.

Third, Sullum's discussion of the positive effects of drugs not typically touted as beneficial, such as Ecstasy and LSD, provides a perspective that is generally not considered. Ecstasy, for example, does not make anyone commit sexual assault, crack almost never causes crime directly but rather through the violent nature of the drug trade (alcohol is the drug most linked to violence, especially domestic violence), PCP does not make people violent or give them super-human strength, and heroin is not nearly as addictive as we are told. In contrast to these media-propagated falsehoods, Ecstasy has been found to enhance communication and self-insight and to help dissolve fear, arguably quite useful in certain types of therapy. LSD usage may also be beneficial in psychotherapy, as many have reported great self-discovery when they use. It, as well as other psychedelics, may also assist in gaining spiritual connections. The peyote used by the Native American Church provides a case in point. And, of course, marijuana has proven effective as a pain reliever for patients with cancer as well as offering a multitude of other health benefits.

Fourth, Sullum ably contrasts the American discourse about drugs with that about alcohol. He asserts that discussions about drugs are encased in "voodoo pharmacology," but that we should be able to discuss drug use and abuse in the same ways that we discuss alcohol use and abuse. We distinguish between responsible and irresponsible drinking but refuse to do the same with drugs. Those who attempt to look at drug use in any kind of positive way have a hard time acquiring funding, so most studies have addressed the negative effects of use, not potential benefits. The few who have managed to study drug use without a negative focus have generally found that the typical user is well educated, has full-time employment, is a registered and regular voter, participates in his or her community, and is in good physical condition. Reactions to both alcohol and drug use depend on individual characteristics as well as social context. As Frank Zappa has stated, "A drug is neither moral nor immoral—it's a chemical compound. The compound itself is not a men-

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ace to society until a human being treats it as if consumption bestowed a temporary license to act like an asshole" (pp. 12-13).

Fifth, the text also provides some interesting historical evidence regarding the images of various drugs over time, although at times the history portions are repetitive. For instance, while laughable today, marijuana bans were sold to the public by linking the drug with violence, and opiates were connected to loose sexuality, especially between foreign men and white women. This is despite the fact that their use often decreases sex drive.

Finally, Sullum's links between the prohibition of alcohol and of drugs are nicely set up and thought provoking. Modern-day Alcoholics Anonymous programs utilize many of the ideas from the prohibition era. Yet Sullum points out that the disease model utilized by AA is not always supported by evidence; real-life alcoholics often can drink lightly with no problem. Current legislation requiring labels on alcohol also reflects prohibition era thinking in that manufacturers cannot publicize the benefits of wine, yet all alcohol products are required by the BATF since 1989 to contain the surgeon general's warning. Similarly, concerns about drinking by pregnant women and driving while under the influence, while legitimate, are also over-emphasized. This all-or-nothing approach virtually ignores the dangers of other distractions while driving, such as use of cell phones. Another important effect of alcohol prohibition that we see today with drug prohibition is that it undermined respect for the law, as there was widespread disobedience and corruption, and jurors often refused to convict clearly guilty offenders.

On the other hand, there are several areas ripe for improvement. In discussing the history of attitudes toward alcohol, Sullum provides useful context for understanding how attitudes toward other drugs have been shaped. Yet these parts of the book often get somewhat tedious, and are not always clearly linked back to his thesis. For example, chapter one addresses Mormon and Muslim approaches to alcohol and drugs. It seems his goal here was to show that some groups do recognize the similarities between drug and alcohol use; however, the chapter as a whole falls somewhat short.

In addition, Sullum spends very little time discussing the issue of adult versus teen use. As Males (1999) points out, the number of adults who are hospitalized for or even die from overdose is far greater than the rates for teens, yet teen users are demonized to a greater degree than adults, and media efforts in the drug war are largely directed to them.

Further, while he ably compares attitudes over time, Sullum could do quite a bit more with comparing U.S attitudes and those of other countries that have taken decidedly different approaches regarding legalization, such as those in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is exploring the notion of giving heroin addicts small amounts of heroin as part of their treatment and finding great success (van den Brink, Hendriks, Blanken, van Zwieten, & Ree, 2003). England once covered this as part of the national health system and found that recipients were able to live "normal" lives (hold jobs, care for their children, etc.), contrary to the image of the typical heroin junkie who will do anything to get his or her next fix (Gray, 1998). Additionally, addressing why we have failed to even consider policies that have shown remarkable results elsewhere would nicely feed into his image versus reality message.

It would also be useful to see a more thorough discussion of the hypocrisy in the U.S approach; we are a drug culture, proscribing medicine for virtually any ailment and numbing ourselves through other means, such as television, yet we arbitrarily elect to prohibit certain drugs while pushing others. Sullum does bring up this point when he contrasts attitudes toward Viagra, the miracle sex drug, and Ecstasy, but the text would benefit from a more thorough look at this issue. Especially interesting would be a discussion of the over-prescription of Ritalin, which is occurring both in the U.S and the U.K ("U.K. schools force parents to give Ritalin to children," 2003). To do so would nicely link back to the point about voodoo pharmacology.

Finally, while the author does integrate examples of how racial and ethnic minorities have been targeted over time for their real or perceived drug use, including Mexicans for marijuana, Chinese for opiates, and Blacks for crack, he fails to address clearly issues of social class and the impact of selective enforcement today. The treatment of drug using minorities is tied to stereotypes. For example, Lusane (1991) describes the daily bombardment of media images of Black men in shackles, despite the reality that the majority of users are white. Further exploration of this issue fits nicely with the goal of Sullum's book.

The book would not likely be useful as a required text aside from, perhaps, a course on the history or sociology of drugs and alcohol. *Saying Yes* might, however, make a nice supplemental text in a Criminal Justice or Criminology course because, although he's not a sociologist, Sullum does take a generally sociological and historical perspective. Selected chapters could be used to illustrate certain points in such courses; for example, if the instructor's goal was to discuss legalization of marijuana for medicinal purposes, chapter eight would serve adequately. The book could also be used to introduce the contradictions between images of drug use versus reality and, coupled perhaps with some film clips or other examples from popular culture, could provoke thoughtful discussion. Another source that can be used to critique various facets of the war on drugs is *The Onion*, a satirical newspaper that can be accessed online. A great article that could also prompt discussion and debate was entitled, "Drugs win war on drugs." Students can read the articles associated with the drug war then even write their own, incorporating information from their reading of *Saying Yes*.

The book most certainly is useful to professors for their own background information and could be a helpful reference to recommend to students writing on drug-related issues, specifically, anything regarding the issues of images versus reality, contrasting attitudes toward alcohol with those toward drugs, or the effects of prohibition. It is most appropriate for undergraduates as the book reads quite quickly and is not heavy on the academic jargon. There are, however, other reader-friendly texts with a similar goal that should also be reviewed; Gray's *Drug crazy: How We Got into this Mess and How We Can Get Out* provides similar information in a readable format. *Saying Yes* is arguably not the best text regarding drug issues, but it definitely does some things quite well.

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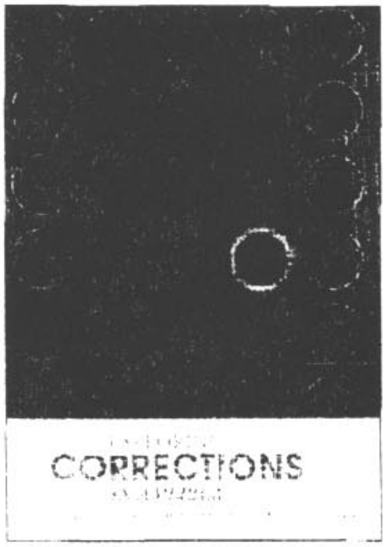

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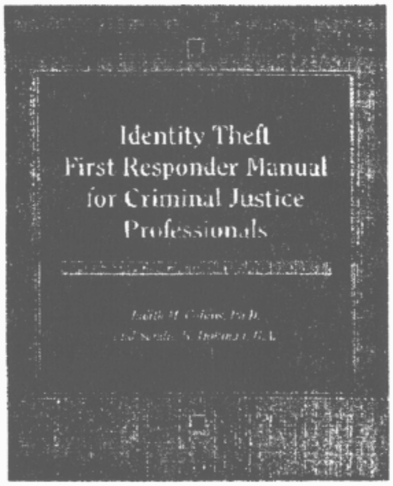

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Post Office Box 161600
Orlando, FL 32816
(407) 823-3739 • Fax: (407) 823-5360
bapplega@mail.ucf.edu

**Trustee-at-Large (2003-2006)**
**Leanne Fiftal Alarid**
University of Missouri at Kansas City
Department of Sociology & Criminal Justice
5100 Rockhill Road
208 Haag Hall
Kansas City, MO 64110
(816) 235-5706 • Fax: (816) 235-1117
alaridl@umkc.edu

**Trustee-at-Large (2001-2004)**
**Richard N. Holden**
Central Missouri State University
Department of Criminal Justice
Warrensburg, MO 64093
(660) 543-4950 • Fax: (660) 543-8306
holden@cmsu1.cmsu.edu

**Trustee-at-Large (2002-2005)**
**Joycelyn Pollock**
Southwest Texas State University
Department of Criminal Justice
HAC 120
San Marcos, TX 78666
(512) 245-7706 • Fax: (512) 245-8063
jp12@swt.edu

**Trustee (Region One) (2001-2004)**
**Roslyn Muraskin**
Long Island University—C.W. Post Campus
Department of Criminal Justice
720 Northern Boulevard
Post Hall 3C3
Brookville, NY 11548
(516) 299-3146 • Fax: (516) 299-2640
Roslyn.Muraskin@liu.edu

**Trustee (Region Two) (2002-2005)**
**Ronald D. Hunter**
State University of West Georgia
Dept of Sociology, Anthropology & Crim.
Carrollton, GA 30118-2110
(770) 836-4301 • Fax: (770) 838-3036
rhunter@westga.edu

**Trustee (Region Three) (2002-2005)**
**Jody L. Sundt**
University of Indiana
Department of Criminal Justice
Sycamore Hall 203
Bloomington, IN 47405-7005
(812) 856-2677 • Fax: (812) 853-5527
jsundt@indiana.edu

**Trustee (Region Four) (2003-2006)**
**W. Wesley Johnson**
Sam Houston State University
College of Criminal Justice
Post Office Box 2296
Huntsville, TX 77341-2296
(936) 294-1640 • Fax: (936) 294-1653
johnson@shsu.edu

**Trustee (Region Five) (2002-2004)**
**Faith Lutze**
Washington State University
Criminal Justice Program
Post Office Box 644880
Pullman, WA 99164-4880
(509) 335-2272 • Fax: (509) 335-7990
lutze@mial.wsu.edu

**Association Manager**
**Laura Monaco**
ACJS
7319 Hanover Parkway, Suite C
Greenbelt, MD 20770
(301) 446-6300; (800) 757-ACJS (2257); Fax: (301) 446-2819
http://www.acjs.org