

ACJS Today

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

Criminology 101: Ten Key Facts about Crime that Criminological Theory and Policy Must Address

Scott H. Decker*

The past two decades have produced an abundance of well-established research findings about crime. These facts have been verified in multiple research settings and provide solid evidence about crime that can be used to build criminological theory and effective criminal justice policy and practice. This brief essay sets forth 10 facts about crime and their implications for theory, practice, and policy. It is my contention that although theory often leads to research and policy, a core of research findings can lead to advances in policy and theory. As criminology “matures” as a science, it is important to benchmark what we know as a means to move ahead. The suggestions

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President's Message



*Brandon Applegate,
President ACJS**

Greetings, fellow ACJS members! As you read this, I hope that you are still feeling the afterglow of a stimulating conference in Orlando. The 2015 conference featured many intriguing presentations, engaging roundtables, and informative seminars, with nearly 500 events on the program. I want to congratulate past President Brian Payne, Program Chair David May, and the wonderful team they assembled for the Program Committee of a highly successful conference.

The 2015 annual meeting also marked the launch of a smart phone app that included all of the information from the printed program (and more!). Many of you probably recall that in 2013, the Executive Board sought to go green by eliminating the printed program. Although the motivation behind this move was admirable, we quickly realized

that simple elimination left too many members unsettled, and a printed book was revived. This year's program app, however, brought unprecedented ease and accessibility. Cathy Barth deserves our most heartfelt thanks for making this full-function app a reality. We will use the app again next year as we continue toward a goal of phasing out paper programs.

Another great initiative launched at the 2015 conference was the doctoral summit. Brian Payne presented the idea of a doctoral summit, and Heather Pfeifer, Deeanna Button, and Cherie Carter made it happen, with spectacular success. We were able to invite students representing more than 30 criminal justice doctoral programs around the country to come to the annual meeting and participate in several professional development workshops and events to build comradery. We intend to expand this initiative to include twice as many doctoral students at the 2016 conference.

Speaking of next year's conference, the abstract submission system should be online through the ACJS website (www.acjs.org) shortly after I finish writing this column. I hope you will think about joining friends and colleagues in Denver. My Program Committee Co-Chairs, Jennifer Hartman and Shelley Listwan, are already planning to ensure that the meeting will include outstanding events. We will not only have the typical panels, open seminars, and roundtables, but we are also looking into opportunities for attendees to participate in some unique Colorado activities... like seeing a Rockies ballgame.

The conference theme—*Advancing Justice on All Fronts*—seeks to convey the importance of

working to improve criminal justice in myriad ways. Whether the focus is on effectiveness, efficiency, fairness, legitimacy, or other dimensions of success, a central part of our research and teaching supports positive progress for criminal justice. This concern is borne out in our teaching as well as our research, and in our efforts to develop our students and our scholarship on best practices, programs, and policies. The conference is a bit later in the year than normal—March 29 through April 2, 2016—but abstract submissions will still be due by September 15, with a final deadline of September 30.

I would like to mention three other things that are on the horizon for ACJS. First, we will be launching a new publication, *JQ Review*, which will publish comprehensive, systematic syntheses and reviews of contemporary topics in criminal justice. This journal will be published in concert with *Justice Quarterly*. Relatedly, Second Vice President Nicky Piquero will be chairing a search for a *JQ* editor this year. *Justice Quarterly* is enjoying enormous success, with an impact factor that now exceeds 2.0. We look forward to editorial leadership that will continue *JQ*'s stature as the top journal in criminal justice. Finally, as you may have already heard, First Vice President Lorenzo Boyd is seeking volunteers for ACJS committees. There are many opportunities to be involved in ACJS, providing avenues to network, learn about the Academy, contribute to developing our organization, and build your CV!

In closing, I would like to say that I am honored to have been elected to lead the Academy. Even a cursory review of the scholars who have held my position in the past reveals many individuals who have contributed

substantially to the study of crime and criminal justice, who have fostered major advances in criminal justice education, and who have guided the development of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. I look forward to continuing these efforts over the coming year and to seeing you in Denver.

**Brandon K. Applegate is professor and chair of the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina. He received his Ph.D. in criminal justice from the University of Cincinnati in 1996 and taught for 14 years at the University of Central Florida before joining USC in 2010. He teaches undergraduate, master's, and Ph.D. courses on corrections, juvenile justice, and methodological issues. He has published more than 50 articles, book chapters, and other publications on punishment and rehabilitation policy, correctional treatment, juvenile justice, public views of correctional policies, jail issues, and decision making among criminal justice professionals. He also co-edited *Offender Rehabilitation: Effective Correctional Intervention* (1997, Dartmouth). Applegate previously served as secretary of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences and as president of the Southern Criminal Justice Association. He has served on the editorial boards of *Justice Quarterly*, *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, and the *American Journal of Criminal Justice*.*

Upcoming ACJS Meetings

March 29-April 2, 2016	Denver, CO
March 21-25, 2017	Kansas City, MO
February 13-17, 2018	New Orleans, LA

ACJS 2016 Annual Conference

“Advancing Justice on All Fronts”

March 29th – April 2, 2016

**Sheraton Denver Downtown Hotel
Denver, Colorado**

Program Chairs:

Jennifer L. Hartman, jhartman@uncc.edu

Shelly Listwan, slistwan@uncc.edu

Host Hotel:

Sheraton Denver Downtown Hotel
1550 Court Place
Denver, Colorado 80202



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offered here are not the only way that such facts may be applied to theory, policy, and practice, but they offer a start in attempting to understand and respond to crime.

10. Gender makes a big difference.

Males are substantially more involved in crime than females, and for violent crime this figure is even higher. These findings have implications for theory as well as responses to crime. This disparity in gender in involvement in crime by no means should be taken as an excuse to ignore the role that women play in crime. Indeed, women deserve attention from criminologists to understand their lower rates of offending and pathways to crime. Here are some facts to consider:

- Male involvement in crime is about 10 times higher than that of females.
- Males are even more overrepresented in violent crime.
- There are some crimes, such as shoplifting, where women participate in crime at a higher rate.
- Most important, domestic violence is a crime for which women are at elevated risk for being victims, much higher than for men.

The differential involvement in crime by gender leads us to consider a number of possible interventions.

- Clearly, prevention programs for young men are especially important. Making sure that young men who appear on the path to getting in trouble are dealt with

effectively can pay substantial dividends in crime prevention later down the road. Such prevention pays off in reduced criminal justice costs, as well as saves involvement in prison, jail, or detention.

- Intervention programs that identify young men at the early stages of trouble—those who have an arrest, have been adjudicated, spent time in detention, have a delinquent sibling—can pay dividends in reducing criminal involvement. Although effective prevention is the lowest cost and most effective approach, all is not lost when a young man gets involved in delinquency.
- Assessing the need for gender-specific prevention and interventions for both men and women is likely to pay dividends.

9. Relational distance matters.

Friends and family are often more dangerous to an individual than strangers. The relationship between victims and offenders is important for understanding the nature of the crime, as well as the history between victims and offenders. Criminology has taught us unequivocally that most victims and offenders are acquainted with each other. Often that acquaintance has occurred through their involvement in crime. Sometimes that involvement is when one person victimizes the other, other times it is when they commit crimes together as offenders.

- For many crimes, “familiarity breeds attempt; that is, individuals who are familiar with each other are more likely to get into disputes.”
- Most victims of violent crime know the offenders.
- A large fraction of property crime victims are acquainted with the offenders who burgle from them or steal their cars. Even though most burglaries and auto thefts are committed by strangers, a surprisingly high number of them are, in fact, committed by people known to the victim.
- Violent crime between intimates reflects the intensity of relationships, often entailing “expressive” violence. In the case of violence against women, likely suspects include spouses, family members, and former lovers. This violence is not committed for an “instrumental” reason (i.e., to gain monetary advantage) but to even a score or right a supposed wrong.

These findings have important implications for policy and practice. They already inform much of the police response to domestic violence.

- Overlooking family violence is likely to lead to additional violence. To reduce violence, police agencies should address domestic violence with vigor, based on known evidence-based practices.
- Stranger-on-stranger violence is increasingly rare; most violent

events have a link between victims and offenders, and this is true with regard to serious crimes like sexual assault. Property crime often involves individuals who know each other, more often than was suspected 20 years ago. Thus, focusing on property crime can reduce violent crime, especially if analysis can identify property crime hot spots in which the perpetrators live locally and are more likely to be known by victims. Property crime can often create motives for retaliation, thus an example of crime causing more crime.

8. Region matters.

We know that crime varies from one social or physical organization to another. These forms of organization include population and building density, land use, proximity to transportation hubs, and the sheer size of cities in both space and population. For example, crime in urban areas is higher than in suburban or rural areas, and population density is generally associated with higher levels of crime (but not always).

- Violent crime rates in urban areas are generally higher than in other areas.
- Crime has increased in suburban and rural areas in the past several decades.
- In large metropolitan areas, central cities have an influence on crime rates of adjacent municipalities.

These criminological facts suggest a number of important things that the criminal

justice system can do, particularly in the policy arena.

- Because crime takes a different form by region, it is important to conduct local problem analyses and craft different responses by region, especially for rural areas.
- Suburbs have seen increasing crime, some of which migrates from cities, and should look to best practices from urban areas.
- The demography and physical structure of an area has important implications for patrol, interventions, and effective policing.

Criminological theory needs to pay closer attention to these facts and integrate them into explanations of crime at the aggregate level.

7. The earlier the criminal and juvenile justice system can identify a high-risk delinquent, the more likely his path to becoming a career adult criminal can be altered.

Research on risk factors has been one of the most important developments in criminology over the past two decades. Risk factors are behaviors, relationships, and activities that identify youth who are most likely to be involved in offending. In general, the more risk factors a child has, the more likely a child is to become involved in serious crime. In addition, the earlier a risk factor occurs, the more serious its consequences are. Early onset (early smoking, drinking, drug use, sexual behavior) makes problems worse. There are also protective factors, things that help to insulate young people

from getting in trouble. Research has consistently found continuity in offending; that is, at both the individual and aggregate level, past offending is a strong correlate of future offending.

- Key risk factors for involvement in delinquency among juveniles include delinquent friends, delinquent belief systems, traumatic life events, lack of parental supervision, early childhood aggression, and commitment to street-oriented peers.
- Protective factors identified in the literature include strong parents, pro-social peers, effective schools, and living in neighborhoods with low levels of crime.

The identification of risk factors leads to a number of important areas for intervention and theory. These interventions can take place in communities, schools, or homes and can be led by police, social service, or other concerned groups.

- First, it is important to be able to identify risk factors accurately. The sooner this can be done in the life course of a child, the more likely their negative impact is to be minimized. Additionally, this is an area of importance for theory. Because many risk factors occur early in the life course, they must be accounted for in theories of crime in developmental theories.

- It is possible to make risk factors worse by ignoring them or reinforcing them. Police can often do this through strategies that emphasize enforcement.

6. The process of becoming a victim more often precedes offending than follows it.

One of the most important findings from criminological research over the past two decades involves our understanding of victimization. Becoming a victim has identifiable steps and risk factors, just as becoming a delinquent or an offender does. In many instances, we should be thinking about victimization prevention rather than delinquency prevention because preventing victimization (while good in and of itself) also can prevent delinquent involvement. Police should be thinking about delinquency prevention whenever children are witnesses to or victims of crime.

- The relationship between victimization and offending is particularly strong among juveniles. This calls attention to times when juveniles are most vulnerable to victimization, such as right after school before parents and other guardians may be home.
- Victimization often creates a “motive” to become an offender. A youth whose locker is burgled or who is beaten up after school now has a motive to retaliate. In this context, the cycle of retaliation reflects the relationship between

victimization and offending. This relationship between victimization and offending creates an important foundation for creating theories of crime.

- Property victimizations can lead to violent retaliation. Criminologists have identified important links between property victimizations and involvement in violent crime, owing to the retaliation that many victims engage in.
- The probability of being victimized a second time is higher than the initial probability of being a victim of crime. This is true for crimes against persons as well as property.

Taken together, these facts should raise our interest in understanding victimization, particularly among juveniles. Paying attention to these facts should lead us to consider steps to reduce youth vulnerability to victimization. The following should be considered for intervention and theory.

- The police should work in conjunction with partners who understand victimization patterns and risks for young people and can work to address their victimizations. These partnerships should include a broad array of groups.
- Victimization prevention should be part of the focus of police and other partners. Emphasis on preventing future “repeat”

victimizations should be put in place after initial victimizations of persons and places. This may include “target hardening” but also lessons on ways to reduce the risk of being a victim.

- Identifying key times and place of risk for victimization is an important task. For example, the time between the end of school and when parents arrive home from work is a period of great risk for victimization for juveniles.

5. Maturational reform is the process of becoming an adult over the life course. This process serves to dramatically reduce involvement in crime.

There are two great periods of time in the life course when participation in crime drops considerably. The first is in the late teens as youth mature and become adults. The second decline in crime is not as precipitous but is important nonetheless and occurs in the late 20s or early 30s. This is particularly true among individuals who are imprisoned, as their rates of recidivism decline dramatically as they approach their thirties. It is thought that the threat of finishing one’s life in prison is an effective agent for reforming involvement in crime.

- The age-crime curve for both violent and property crimes demonstrates that involvement in crime increases dramatically in the early teens, peaking at about age 16 or 17. The decline in participation in property crime is steeper than for violent crime.

- The police can play an important role in enhancing the natural processes of maturational reform. They can do this through refraining from targeting youth who have begun to be engaged in such reforms, while focusing attention and resources that contribute to youth desistance from offending.
- Another key finding from the age-crime curve has to do with the use of criminal justice resources in the most efficient manner. Not many individuals become involved in crime after age 50; finding alternatives for them to the more expensive prison alternative represents an efficient use of resources.
- Criminological theory must integrate this fact into explanations of involvement in crime more effectively. This underscores the importance of theories such as developmental criminology that address change over the life course.

4. The relationship between race, ethnicity, and crime has been an important topic for criminologists for more than 100 years.

Two major commissions (Wickersham, formed in 1929, and Kerner, formed in 1967) both made race a major topic of study and policy recommendations. The Chicago School paid close attention to the role of immigration in crime, especially the neighborhood context of crime. Official data show disproportionate involvement of African Americans as both

victims and offenders, while self-reported data reveal a much smaller gap. Hispanics tend to have lower rates of offending and victimization, though they are somewhat higher than whites. Further complicating this relationship is the relationship between ethnicity, immigration, and crime, which consistently shows lower levels of involvement as offenders by recent immigrants. Criminological theory, policy, and practice must account for race and ethnicity.

- Racial disparities in offending have been described as invariant; that is, high levels of offending are found for all races that have common scores on a disparity index that measures concentrated disadvantage.
- For all race and most ethnic groups, rates of victimization and offending have declined dramatically.
- Immigrants, especially recent immigrants, have lower rates of offending than do individuals who have been in the United States for several generations.
- Victimization rates by race generally mirror offending rates. There are a number of issues of policy and practice that can be mounted to address the racial disparities observed across crime rates.
- Provide training for all law enforcement, corrections, and juvenile justice personnel on racial sensitivity. Such training should take place in academy as well as in-service settings.

- Take steps to increase perceptions of the legitimacy of legal sanctions and actors among groups with the highest levels of offending and victimization.
- Engage in long-term strategies to reduce the most extreme levels of concentrated disadvantage.
- Criminologists should examine why some groups, based on their demographic, social, and economic backgrounds, have relatively low rates of offending. If there is evidence of a “Latino Paradox” for crime as there is for health, more understanding of this phenomena is needed.

3. Being a member of a deviant group enhances involvement in crime.

Deviant groups encourage more crime and more serious crime, particularly among juveniles. In gang research this is known as the *selection-facilitation effect*, where individuals who have an orientation toward involvement in crime select into gangs, and once in the gang, the gang itself facilitates more crime. What we understand better as a consequence of several decades of research on groups is the role they play in facilitating increased involvement in crime.

- For juveniles, more than 90% of delinquency is committed in groups. “Lone” offenders tend to engage in different kinds of crime than groups.
- Groups are more heavily involved in violent crime than property crime. For example, gang

- members are twice as likely to be offenders and victims of violent crime as non-gang members.
- Gangs and terrorist groups are perhaps the best examples of how groups facilitate violent crime through breaking down barriers against using violence. In addition, acts against an individual member of a group are generalized to all other members, spreading the motive for retaliation throughout the group. The process of legitimating violence—arguing that the use of violence is justified or expected—in groups is important to understand.

Responding to the challenges of group crime can be difficult for those in the criminal justice system. Targeting groups can be a tricky proposition because too much outside (police) attention can increase group solidarity and give groups recognition they might otherwise not have. It is an irony that being targeted by the police can increase the prestige and desirability of a group.

- Tracking membership in groups accurately, including the onset and termination of membership, is an important task for police and other groups.
- Recent work in the use of social network analysis to better understand relationships within groups and how to best disrupt those relationships is worth looking into.

- Criminological theory must pay closer attention to group processes. We understand far too little about how groups affect involvement in crime and involvement in criminal groups.

2. A small fraction of individuals account for a large volume of crime.

In the famous Wolfgang study of juvenile court youth, 6% of juveniles accounted for more than half of all crimes. Accurately identifying and dealing with these high rate offenders can help many communities get a handle on crime. Indeed, if these individuals aren't dealt with effectively, the prospects of lowering crime rates is not likely to be achieved. Study after study shows that in any community, a small number of offenders account for a large proportion of crime in that community.

- Many high-rate offenders are on criminal justice supervision of some sort, such as probation or parole. This means that the system knows who they are and (usually) where they are and has the means to compel them to act.
- The same "formula" also applies to places; a small number of places account for a disproportionately high number of victimizations. Some studies have shown that as few as 2% of street addresses or zip codes account for more than three-quarters of reported crime.
- Careful and accurate identification of high-rate offenders should be a top priority for police. Police should

develop an objective, crime-based set of criteria for identifying such individuals.

1. Crime is geographically concentrated.

This has become known as “hot spots” research, and most police departments use some version of this. The expansion of mapping capability to most large- and medium-sized police departments has aided this research, and the crime analysts and criminologists have worked to push the boundaries of our knowledge forward. The more concentrated these are and the higher their incidence, the more likely it is that neighborhoods will have higher rates of crime. That said, processes of collective efficacy can counteract such concentrations.

- There are “hotspots” of crime in most communities. These hotspots are areas where a disproportionate number of criminal offenses are reported.
- Hotspots vary in size, crime types, duration, and intensity.
- Hotspots co-exist with some of these other facts, particularly disorder, risk factors, groups, and demography.

This leads to a number of important observations about crime and interventions.

- Correct and careful identification of concentrations of crime are an important task for police. Crime analysts are effective at doing this, as are criminologists.
- Policing hot spots is more than placing “cops on dots.” Effective police responses to such

concentrations of crime involve innovative use of principles of community policing. Suppression is not always the best approach; it can be used in conjunction with other approaches.

- The more concentrated these are and the higher their incidence, the more likely it is that neighborhoods will have higher rates of crime. That said, processes of collective efficacy can counteract such concentrations.
- Cooperation with city agencies and strong police-community relationships can pay dividends in responding to concentrations of crime. Such city agencies can include streets, zoning, land use commissions, traffic, and nuisance abatement.

Conclusion

Are these the only criminological facts that theory, policy, and practice need attend to? Not by any means. There are multiple others, but these all have strong evidence. Additional facts include such things as the impact of single-parent families in poor neighborhoods on crime, the role that crime plays in causing more crime, and the reasons behind the 20-year decline in crime in the United States.

**Scott H. Decker, Ph.D. is a foundation professor of criminology and criminal justice at Arizona State University.*



CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

The ACJS Nominations and Elections Committee is soliciting nominations for the following Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences offices: Second Vice President, Secretary, Trustee-At-Large, Region One Trustee, and Region Five Trustee. All candidates for office must be regular ACJS members in good standing. The individuals who are elected will take office at the Friday 2016 ACJS Executive Board Meeting.

The person elected to the office of Second Vice President will have a four-year term of office on the ACJS Executive Board and will hold the offices of Second Vice President, First Vice President, President, and Immediate Past President in turn. The person elected to the office of Secretary will have a three-year term. The person elected to the office of Trustee-at-Large will have a three-year term. The person elected to a Regional Trustee position will have a three-year term. Only current ACJS Regular members holding professional employment affiliation in the Region and having been a member of the respective regional association for at least one full year immediately prior to being nominated or petitioning may run for the respective Trustee position. Region One includes the states Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, the District of Columbia, and the Canadian Provinces of New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec. Region Five includes the states Alaska, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming, the Canadian Provinces of Alberta or British Columbia, and the Pacific Territories and Possessions.

Individuals seeking ACJS office may achieve candidacy by either petition or nomination. Individuals who use the petition process automatically secure candidacy, as long as the petitions are deemed to meet the minimum number of signatures required. Individuals who are nominated for office shall compete for placement on the slate via review by the Nominations and Elections Committee, which will make a recommendation to the ACJS Executive Board regarding the final slate of candidates.

Those nominating individuals for ACJS office are expected to contact the nominee to ensure that the nominee is willing to run for the office in question. An ACJS member seeking an office via petition must obtain seventy-five (75) signatures of Regular ACJS members in good standing. The petition must state the name and complete address of the candidate, e-mail address, home and office phone numbers, and the office the candidate is seeking. To facilitate verification, the petition must also include the clearly printed name, signature, and institutional affiliation or address of each ACJS member signing it and the signature date. More than one petition form may be submitted on behalf of a specific candidate.

Nomination Forms Must Be Postmarked By July 1, 2015. The Nomination Form can be accessed directly from the ACJS Home Page or at: <http://www.acjs.org/pubs/uploads/callfor nominationsFORM.doc>.

Petition Forms Must Be Received No Later Than June 15, 2015. The Petition Form can be accessed directly from the ACJS Home Page or at: <http://www.acjs.org/pubs/uploads/Petition.doc>.

Mail all nominations and petitions to:

Brian Payne, Chair
ACJS Nominations and Elections Committee
Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences
7339 Hanover Parkway, Suite A
Greenbelt, MD 20770.

Address any questions to the Committee by contacting Dr. Payne at bpayne@odu.edu

As per ACJS Policy 303.01, the following rank-ordered criteria will be used by the Nominations and Elections Committee in making recommendations to the ACJS Executive Board regarding the final slate of candidates.

1. *Dependability, demonstrated experience, record of accomplishments.*
2. *Demonstrable service to the Academy.*
3. *Demonstrable record of scholarship or contributions to the field of criminal justice.*

ACJS Policy 104.01 states its goal of inclusivity. ACJS seeks to provide opportunities for all its members to participate in the business of the Academy, including policy and decision-making.

NOTE: The final slate of candidates approved by the ACJS Executive Board will be asked to complete a Candidate's Information Form. This document will include length of ACJS membership, previous service for ACJS, previous service to other criminal justice organizations, major publications, and a candidate's statement.

Kids, Cops, and Confessions: Reflecting Upon Barry Feld's Award-Winning Book and the Author Meets Critics Session in Orlando



Vidisha B. Worley*

At the “Author Meets Critic” session of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences annual meeting, Professor Barry C. Feld, author of *Kids, Cops, and Confessions: Inside the Interrogation Room*, met face-to-face with his critics, Ronald Hunter of Georgia Gwinnett College, Darrell Ross of Valdosta State University, Henda Hsu of Lamar University, and myself, Vidisha Barua Worley of Lamar University. The session was organized by Robert M. Worley of Lamar University and Lisa Nored of the University of Southern Mississippi.

At the beginning of the session, Professor Feld gave a brief summary of his book, including the method he used to gather

the data for his research. As Feld explained during the session, he pored over pages of transcripts and records at four county attorneys’ and their deputies’ offices in Minnesota to get a detailed idea and gather enough empirical evidence for his research. Being a former prosecutor himself, covering both adult and juvenile cases earlier in his career, Professor Feld also used the *verstehen* approach and was able to sensitize the readers to the intricacies of the world of juvenile interrogations.

In this fascinating book, Feld examines various significant factors that were at play during the interrogation of 307 juveniles in Minnesota who were charged with felonies. The waiver of Miranda warnings by juveniles in the vast majority of these cases raised questions about the proper manner in which the warnings were given to the juveniles in the first place. In his book, Feld delves deep into each step of the process and logically presents empirical evidence to demonstrate key factors. The first two chapters lay the foundation for the book, giving a very thorough background of the legal precedents that govern the law on juveniles in general and interrogation in particular.

As Professor Feld explained during the session as well as in the book, Miranda warnings are given to suspects when they are

in custody and being interrogated. These two requirements are to be met for the Miranda warnings to be given, whether they are juveniles or adults. In his book, Feld cites developmental psychologists to demonstrate how the cognitive ability of juveniles, especially those who are below 14 years of age, does not allow them to fully appreciate the purpose and meaning of the Miranda warnings. He looks at both younger and older juveniles. The older ones and those with prior offenses and familiarity with the criminal justice system appeared to have a better understanding of the right to remain silent and the right to an attorney. At this author-meets-critics session, Professor Ronald Hunter, in his critique of the book, agreed with Feld's contention that impoverished youth are usually more vulnerable than middle class youth, unless they are hardened offenders, as they usually grow up with fewer opportunities and are less likely to believe that they are entitled to certain rights.

Chapter 3 of Professor Feld's book discusses how and why juveniles waive their rights. In this chapter, as well as at the session, Feld illustrated techniques used by some law enforcement officers to ensure that juveniles knowingly, intelligently, and voluntarily waive their rights. Besides *Scales* tapes (the U.S. Supreme Court in *State v. Scales*, 1994, required police to record custodial interrogations of criminal suspects, including juveniles, in Minnesota) and signed forms, officers used dumbed-down versions of the warnings and even asked some juveniles to repeat the warnings. In his book, Feld discusses how custodial settings and method of giving the warnings affect waiver rates and understanding of the rights.

After reflecting upon both the book and the author-meets-critics session, I found it very interesting that the presence of parents during interrogation did not necessarily result in those juveniles invoking their rights. Feld explained at the session that not all parents are savvy about criminal justice issues nor have taught their children to tell the truth. As Feld opined, parents of juvenile suspects usually think honesty is the best policy. Often, this results in juveniles incriminating themselves. As Feld explains in this book, Minnesota does not require the presence of parents, yet parents will need to be notified if juveniles ask for them.

At the session, Dr. Henda Hsu mentioned in his discussion of the book that gender and race dynamics may play an important role during the interrogation. For example, Hsu argued that an African American female detective might be in a better position to establish rapport with minority male suspects than a Caucasian male detective. This may be due, in part, to the fact that African American females are often regarded as strong-willed authority figures, who are both revered and respected in inner city neighborhoods. Touching upon the gender difference, Professor Hunter and Professor Ross, referring to Appendix 2 of the book, noted that while there were few differences between interrogating boys and girls, teenage girls were more hostile and confrontational.

In his book, Feld discusses at length the maximization and minimization techniques used by officers to get confessions. When using maximization techniques, officers exaggerate the offense and the evidence they have against the juveniles to increase their anxiety (e.g., accusing suspects of lying, pushing them to tell the truth, or

confronting suspects with evidence like witnesses, physical evidence, and hypothetical or false evidence). Feld opines that false evidence is likely to lead to false confessions, which is very dangerous. When false evidence is presented, the juvenile, unable to wrap his or her mind around it, feels overwhelmed and is likely to end up giving a false confession. Minimization techniques are meant to relax the juveniles so much that they let their guard down and confess. These techniques include empathy and understanding, minimizing the seriousness of the offense, neutralization (themes and scenarios are used to reduce a sense of guilt), and appeal to self-interest (officers try to convince juveniles that confessing would provide emotional relief and make them feel better about themselves). While very few maximization and minimization techniques were used in the sample of 307 juveniles in this study, according to Feld's research, most juveniles could not wait to tell their side of the story. They just wanted to be heard and tell everything they knew to an authority figure. These techniques were discussed at length by all the discussants during the session.

Besides presentation of false evidence and false confessions, the length of interrogation was also discussed at the session. A major factor that played a role in juveniles confessing was the length of time spent waiting for the interrogation or the length of the interrogation itself. The longer the wait or the more they were questioned, the more likely the juveniles were to confess. Moreover, Feld opines in his book that false confessions are an outcome of lengthy interrogations. At the session as well as in the book, Feld mentioned seminal U.S. Supreme Court cases like *J.D.B. v. North Carolina*, where

the Court ruled that age was an important objective factor and that juveniles could not be interrogated for a long period of time without Miranda warnings being administered, as a juvenile might not feel free to leave, thus implying custody. However, in Feld's study, 220 (77.2%) of the interrogations lasted only 1 to 15 minutes, and only 27 (9.5%) lasted more than half an hour. At session, the critics were quite surprised by the fact that most of the interrogations were so brief.

Almost all the critics concurred with the author's recommendation that there should be more protections for juveniles. Session moderator Robert Worley even suggested that legislation could be passed to require juvenile detainees to meet with an attorney prior to being questioned. While the police feel convinced that they are searching for the truth, the reality is that they are more focused on locking down a story. This attitude needs to change and substantive truth should be the goal. However, this is a tricky situation and will be difficult to achieve. While all of the critics truly appreciated the book, Professor Darrell Ross questioned the method utilized by Dr. Feld in gathering the data. Calling it a "convenience sample," Ross argued that it was not representative and could not be generalized to the rest of the United States. Moreover, he argued that the information gathered was based on prosecutors' files, which may not have captured all the details. Dr. Henda Hsu, a former police officer of the Albany Police Department in New York who worked extensively on terrorism and human trafficking, also tied the book to these issues. Hsu suggested that an interesting avenue for future study would be examining the interrogation of juveniles in

national security/terrorism cases, as terrorists usually seek out vulnerable and impressionable individuals, and juveniles fit that category.

After participating in the session and reading the book, I conclude that *Kids, Cops, and Confessions: Inside the Interrogation Room* is a very well-written and thorough scholarly work. It serves as a good method for future postgraduate students to replicate and write dissertations about. It will also make an excellent supplemental book for a graduate class in juvenile justice or juvenile interrogation. It highlights the fact that juveniles are different and that they should be treated as such. It is not a surprise that this book received the 2015 ACJS Outstanding Book award. I highly recommend it.

**Vidisha Barua Worley, Ph.D., Esquire, is an Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice at Lamar University, Beaumont, Texas; former contributing editor and columnist with the Criminal Law Bulletin (January 2010 to December 2013); founding member of the Institute for Legal Studies in Criminal Justice, Sam Houston State University; former Chair of National Criminal Justice Month Committee of ACJS (2014-2015); and a licensed attorney in India and New York. She was a journalist in India for six years and worked in three national dailies. Dr. Worley's research areas include police and prison officers' liabilities for the use of tasers and stun guns, the death penalty, correctional officer deviance, inappropriate relationships between inmates and correctional officers, cyberbullying and sexting, and terrorism. Her published books include Press and Media Law Manual (2002) and Terrorism in India (2006).*

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The FBI's Misinterpretation of the Change in Mass Public Shooting



John R. Lott, Jr., Fox News Contributor

An FBI report released on September 16, 2014 makes the assertion that active shooter attacks and deaths have increased dramatically since 2000—both increasing at an annual rate of about 16%. As the headline in the Wall Street Journal stated, “Mass Shootings on the Rise, FBI says.”

But the FBI made a number of subtle and misleading decisions as well as outright errors. Once these biases and mistakes are fixed, the annual growth rate in homicides is cut in half. When a longer period of time is examined (1977 through the first half of 2014), deaths from mass public shootings show only a slight, statistically insignificant, increase—an annual increase of less than 1%.¹

The FBI’s misleadingly includes cases that aren’t mass shootings—cases where no one or only one person was killed in a public

place. While the FBI assures people that it “captured the vast majority of incidents falling within the search criteria,” their report missed 20 shootings where at least two people were killed in a public place. Most of these missing cases took place early on, biasing their results toward showing an increase.

Introduction

In a report released in September, 2013, the FBI claimed that between 2000 and 2013 there were 160 “active shooting incidents” in public places (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013). Even more worrisome, these attacks increased dramatically from just a single one in 2000 to 17 in 2013 and murders from 7 to 86 over the same period. Statistically, over time they find that attacks and the number of people killed had increased at an average annual rate of 16% (Figures 1 and 2). With the FBI officially behind the claims, media outlets worldwide gave this extensive coverage.

While the FBI report provides graphs illustrating “active shooting incidents,” not mass shootings, the media has understandably interpreted the report as implying that mass public shootings have similarly increased. For example, the report’s introduction assures readers, “The study does not encompass all mass killings or shootings in public places and therefore is

limited in its scope. Nonetheless, it was undertaken to provide clarity and data of value to both law enforcement and citizens as they seek to stop these threats and save lives during active shooter incidents” (FBI, 2013, p. 5). The report discusses mass public shootings, but it never makes it clear to the readers that these types of fatalities and attacks are actually not increasing over time. This caused great confusion.

A quick look at major headlines shows how the press has read this report:²

“Mass shootings on the rise, FBI says,” *Wall Street Journal* (Barrett, 2014).

“FBI confirms a sharp rise in mass shootings since 2000,” *New York Times* (Schmidt, 2014).

“FBI: Mass shooting incidents occurring more frequently,” *CNN* (Perez, 2014).

“FBI study: Deaths in mass shootings increasing,” *BBC* (“FBI study,” 2014).

Figure 1: FBI's measure of active shooting attacks from 2000 to 2013

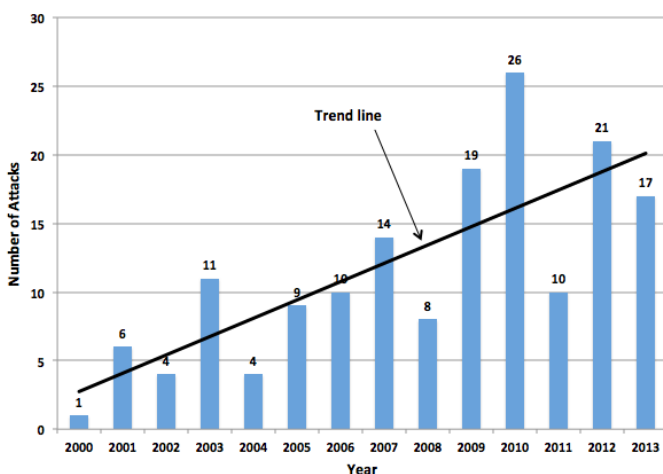
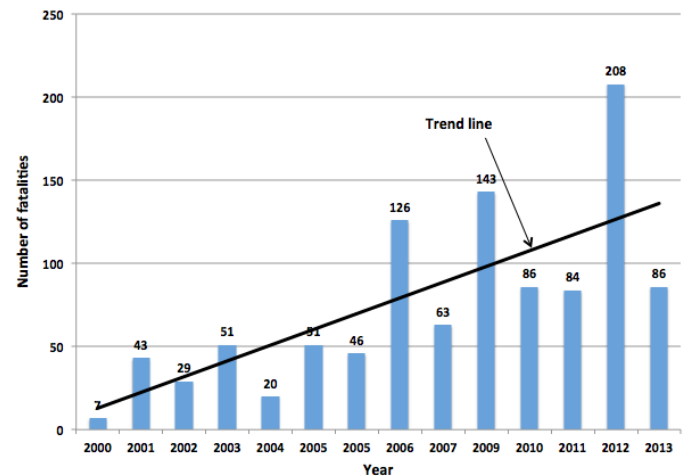


Figure 2: FBI's measure of fatalities from active shooter attacks from 2000 to 2013



The FBI report enters what has been a lively debate on whether mass public shootings have been increasing. The FBI report closely matches an earlier sample gathered by *Mother Jones* magazine (Follman, 2014). Academics, such as James Alan Fox, have taken the *Mother Jones* numbers to task, primarily for their arbitrary and, more important, inconsistent classification of cases over time (Fox, 2013). But the problems are much more extensive than previously noted.

Unfortunately, the FBI report engages in bait and switch and sleight of hand. As we will show, mass public shootings have only increased ever so slightly over the last four decades. While the FBI study discusses “mass shootings or killings,” they miss a large number of mass public shootings that should be included in the sample. Their graphs are based on many cases that had absolutely nothing to do with mass killings or even killings of any kind. Worse, the cases that they miss and the cases that shouldn't have been included are not random. Both of these

actions work to make it look as if there was a much larger increase in mass public shootings than actually occurred. Over the last four decades there has been no statistically significant increase in these attacks.

Problems with the Data

Out of the 160 cases the FBI report counts from 2000 to 2013, 32 instances involved a gun being fired with no one killed (see Appendix 2). And 11 of those have either zero or just one person wounded. Another 35 cases involved one single person murdered. It is hard to see how the FBI could have erroneously included these cases, which make up 42% of their 160 cases, in any discussion of “mass killings.” Surely they do not fit the FBI’s old definition, which required four or more murders. And it does not even fit their new one of three or more murders.

A major difficulty with studying so-called “active shooters” is that there is no official data source for such attacks. The term “active shooters” is very broad: “an individual actively engaged in killing or attempting to kill people in a confined and populated area,” and thus doesn’t require that anyone actually be killed. As we will show, the FBI data set misses 20 mass shootings where at least two people have been killed. Yet, the task for properly identifying all cases where no one has been killed is much more difficult. It is doubtful that police will record all these events, nor is the media likely to cover cases where there are no fatalities. An additional reason for excluding cases where no one is killed is that it may produce a systematic bias: it will be relatively easier to identify more recent public shootings where zero or one person was killed and thus

that would tend to produce an upward, if unintentional, bias in the number of cases over time.

In fact, these non-mass shootings, with zero or one person killed, drive much of the purported increase in the number of attacks. Out of the cases where no one or only one person was killed, 50 occurred during the last seven years of the period the FBI examines, and only 17 cases took place during the first seven years. In other words, the later period is padded much more heavily with these extra cases.

For example, in 2010, the FBI reports that there were 29 active shooter cases, but just 9 involve more than 1 fatality. In 2013, the FBI reports 17 attacks, but again just 9 involve more than 1 fatality.

“Though additional active shooter incidents may have occurred during this time period, the FBI is confident this research captured the vast majority of incidents falling within the search criteria” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013, p. 5). Despite the FBI’s assurances, their report misses 20 shootings where at least two people were killed in a public place (see Appendix 1). To put this in perspective, their data set misses 20 out of what should have been a total of 113 cases. They only report 93.

Take some examples of what the FBI report missed:

- a shooting at an Elgin, Illinois bar in 2001 by Luther Casteel that left 2 dead and 21 wounded (“Man charged with deadly shootout,” 2001, n.d.);

- a shooting at a Columbus, Ohio concert in 2004 by Nathan Gale that left 4 dead and 7 wounded (Blanco, n.d.);
- a shooting at a St. Louis, Missouri office in 2006 by Herbert Chambers that left two people dead (Leonard, 2006);
- and a 59-year-old businessman who killed three people at his business in St. Louis in 2013 (“St. Louis shooting update,” 2013).

Unfortunately, these cases were not missing at random. Indeed, these missing cases were three times more likely to occur in the first half than the second half (15 to 5). Thus, the missing observations again bias the results toward finding a larger increase over time. Erroneously including non-mass shootings as well as omitting many mass shootings biases the results to make it look as if attacks were increasing.

Table 1: How the inclusion of non-mass shooting cases and missing other mass-shooting attacks biases the FBI report to show an increase in attacks over time

Year	FBI Total	Corrected Total = FBI Total – Cases with no one killed – Cases with one person killed + Cases that should have been included	Cases with no one killed	One person killed	Cases that should have been included	Averages for the first and second half of the 14 years examined by the FBI		
						Cases with no one killed	Cases where one person was killed	Cases that should have been included
2000	1	4	0	0	3			
2001	6	5	1	2	2			
2002	4	8	0	0	4			
2003	11	7	1	3	0			
2004	4	4	1	0	1			
2005	9	8	2	3	4			
2006	10	8	1	3	2	6	11	16
2007	14	11	2	2	1			
2008	8	6	2	1	1			
2009	19	9	2	8	0			
2010	26	9	10	7	0			
2011	10	7	2	1	0			
2012	21	17	4	1	1			
2013	17	11	4	4	2	26	24	5

Limiting the Period Studied to 2000 to 2013

The FBI chose the year 2000 as the starting date for the analysis. But everybody who has studied these attacks knows that 2000 and 2001 were unusually quiet years with few mass shootings. Thus, by starting with those years and padding the cases in later years with non-mass shooting attacks, the study's authors should have known perfectly well what the result would be.

For example, while the FBI claims that there was only one active shooter attack in 2000, we show that there were in fact four cases, and we didn't even try to find whether they missed attacks where no one was killed. By contrast, in 1999, there were eight public shootings where at least two people were killed. Presumably, there were many more shootings where no one was killed.

Fortunately, it is easy to examine a much longer period of time. Back in 2000, University of Chicago's Professor Bill Landes and then-Yale Law School Research Scholar and now-CPRC President John Lott put together data on mass public shootings from 1977 to 1999.³ In many ways the criteria that Lott and Landes set were similar to what the FBI said it would follow: non-gang attacks in public places. Shootings that were also part of some other crime, such as a robbery, were also

excluded. However, Lott and Landes examined mass shootings—cases where at least two people had been murdered in these public shootings.

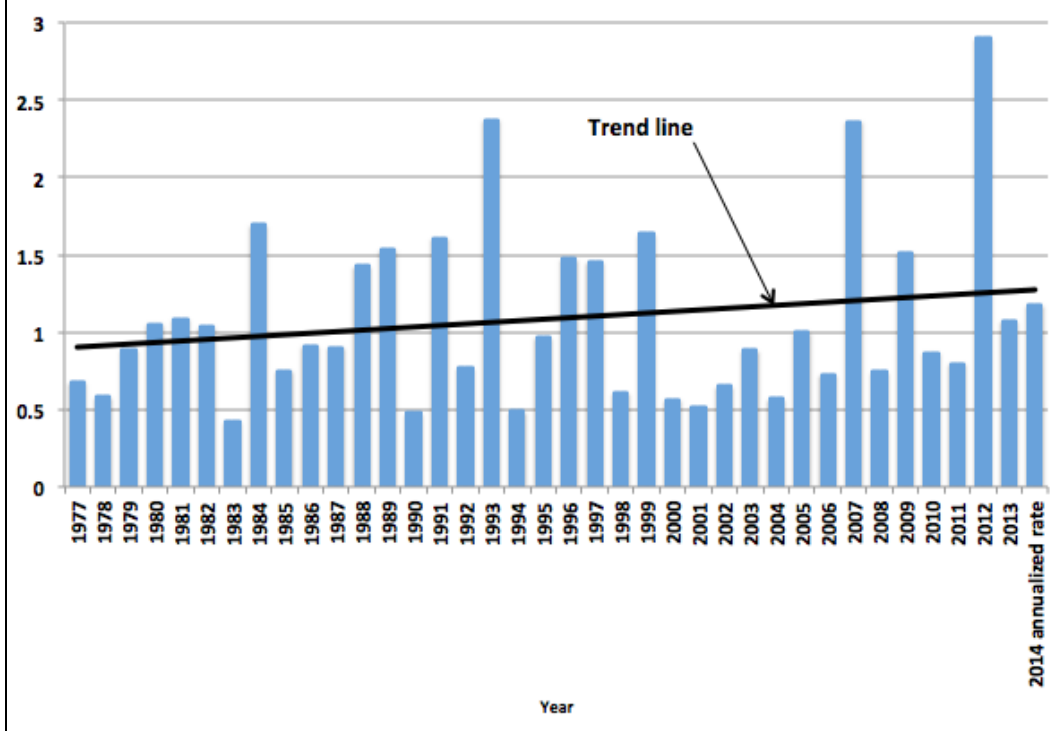
Figure 3, with the corrected data and covering the period from 1977 through the first seven months of 2014, shows the deaths from mass public shootings. There is a slight increase in deaths over these 38 years, but even that small upward trend largely depends on one highly unusual year, 2012, when 91 deaths occurred.

While the number of mass public shootings might have increased over time, the change is just a tiny fraction of the change claimed by FBI (see Table 2). Using the FBI data implies a statistically significant 16.4% annual increase in deaths from mass public shootings. We corrected the FBI data and only looked at cases where at least two people have been killed. Doing so cuts the annual increase in deaths from mass public shootings in half. But the real change in results occurs when the longer period of data is used. Doing that reduces the annual increase to just 0.98%; just 6% of the increase implied by the FBI data and the relationship is no longer statistically significant.

Table 2: Regression estimating the increase over time in deaths from 1977 through July 2014 (regressing the natural log of mass public shooting deaths per 10,000,000 Americans on the number of years since 1977)

	Percent change in death rate for each additional year	t-statistics	Statistically significant	Percent size of estimate for CPRC estimate compared to estimate using FBI data
FBI Data 2000 to 2013				
All years	16.4%	4.50	Yes	
Not including 2012	15.2%	3.80	Yes	
Corrected data 2000 to 2013				
All years	8.7%	3.11	Yes	53.0%
Not including 2012	7.0%	2.45	Yes	46.1%
Corrected data 1977 to 2014				
All years	0.976%	1.38	No	6.0%
Not including 2012	0.615%	0.88	No	4.0%

Figure 3: Deaths per 10,000,000 Americans from Mass Public Shootings, at least 2 people killed per attack



Conclusion

Clearly, the FBI report contains significant errors. The FBI is not studying all the mass public shootings that occurred over the period of time and also pads the report with non-mass shootings. Correcting their errors and focusing on mass public shootings cuts the size of the claimed annual increase in deaths in half. Using data back to 1977, collected in previous research, virtually eliminates any increase in mass public shootings. The FBI report appears to be politically driven.

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**John R. Lott, Jr. is an economist who has held research and/or teaching positions at the University of Chicago, Yale University, Stanford, UCLA, Wharton, and Rice and was the Chief Economist at the United States Sentencing Commission during 1988 and 1989. He has published over 100 articles in academic journals. He also is the author of seven books including three editions of "More Guns, Less Crime," "Freedomnomics," and "The Bias Against Guns." Lott is a FoxNews.com contributor and a weekly columnist for them. Opinion pieces by Lott have appeared in such places as The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The New York Post, and USA Today. He has appeared on such television programs as the ABC and NBC National Evening News broadcasts, Fox News, The News Hour with Jim Lehrer, and the Today Show. He received his Ph.D. in economics from UCLA in 1984.*

Appendix 1: The FBI's Missing Cases: Cases of Mass Public Shootings where at least two were people killed

Year	Month	Day	City	State	Attacker Name	Killed in public	Wounded	Location
2000	3	2	Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania	Ronald Taylor	2	3	Restaurant
2000	3	10	Savannah	Georgia	Darrel Ingram	2	1	School
2000	4	28	Mount Lebanon	Pennsylvania	Richard Baumhammers	5	1	neighborhood
2001	1	11	Nevada County	Nevada	Scott Thorpe	3	2	county mental health office / Restaurant
2001	4	13	CHICAGO	Illinois	Luther Casteel	2	21	Bar
2002	4	6	TACOMA	Washington	Felise Kaio Jr	2	1	Bar
2002	5	31	Long Beach	California	Antonio Pineiro	2	4	Supermarket
2002	6	11	Kearney	Missouri	Lloyd Robert Jeffress	2	2	Monastery
2002	10	29	Tucson	Arizona	Robert S. Flores	3	0	School
2004	12	8	Columbus	Ohio	Nathan Gale	4	7	Concert
2005	2	24	Smith County	Texas	David Hernandez Arroyo Sr	2	4	Tyler Courthouse
2005	4	8	Eastern Shore	Maryland	Allison Lamont Norman	9	5	School and Multiple public locations
2005	12	4	FORT LAUDERDALE	Florida	Ralston Davis Jr	2	1	Multiple locations(apartment/gas station)
2006	4	19	ST. LOUIS	Missouri	Herbert Chalmers Jr	2	1	Home and Workplace
2006	9	3	Shepherdstown	West Virginia	Douglas W. Pennington	2	0	University
2007	8	6	Newark	New Jersey	Melvin Jovel	3	1	School
2008	10	26	Conway	Arkansas	Kawin Brockton, 19, Kelsey Perry, 19, Mario Tony, 20, Brandon Wade, 20	2	1	School
2012	2	21	Norcross	Georgia	Jeong Soo Paek	3	0	at the spa
2013	6	12	St. Louis	Missouri	Ahmed Dirir	3	0	Office (in a Missouri office at AK Home Health Care LLC)
2013	6	20	West Palm Beach	Florida	Javier Burgo	2	0	Alexander W. Dreyfoos School of the Arts

Appendix 2: The FBI's Cases where zero or one person has been killed

Year	Month	Day	City	State	Attacker Name	Killed
2001	3	22	El Cajon	California	Jason Anthony Hoffman	0
2003	7	17	Charleston	West Virginia	Richard Dean Bright	0
2004	2	9	East Greenbush	New York	Jon William Romano	0
2005	2	13	Kingston	New York	Robert Charles Bonelli Jr.	0
2005	11	20	Tacoma	Washington	Dominick Sergil Maldonado	0
2006	3	25	Reno	Nevada	James Scott Newman	0
2006	10	9	Joplin	Missouri	Thomas White	0
2007	3	5	Signal Hill	California	Alonso Jose Mendez	0
2007	10	10	Cleveland	Ohio	Asa Halley Coon	0
2009	4	26	Hampton	Virginia	Odane Greg Maye	0
2009	5	18	Cut Off	Louisiana	Justin Doucet	0
2010	2	3	Macomb	Illinois	Jonathan Joseph Labbe	0
2010	2	10	Knoxville	Tennessee	Mark Stephen Foster	0
2010	2	23	Littleton	Colorado	Bruco Strongeagle Eastwood	0
2010	3	4	Arlington	Virginia	John Patrick Bedell	0
2010	5	7	Bloomfield	New Jersey	Rasheed Cherry	0
2010	5	27	New York Mills	New York	Abraham Dickan	0
2010	9	22	Crete	Nebraska	Akouch Kashoual	0
2010	10	8	Carlsbad	California	Brendan O'Rourke	0
2010	10	29	Reno	Nevada	John Dennis Gillane	0
2010	12	14	Panama City	Florida	Clay Allen Duke	0
2011	8	27	Queens	New York	Tyrone Miller	0
2011	9	13	Girard	Kansas	Jesse Ray Palmer	0
2012	2	8	Middletown	New York	Timothy Patrick Mulqueen	0
2012	7	17	Tuscaloosa	Alabama	Nathan Van Wilkins	0
2012	8	27	Baltimore	Maryland	Robert Wayne Gladden Jr.	0
2012	12	15	Birmingham	Alabama	Jason Heath Letts	0
2013	1	10	Taft	California	Bryan Oliver	0

Appendix 2 (Continued): The FBI's Cases where zero or one person has been killed

2013	4	12	Christiansburg	Virginia	Neil Allen MacInnis	0
2013	6	21	Greenville	North Carolina	Lakin Anthony Faust	0
2013	10	26	Albuquerque	New Mexico	Christopher Thomas Chase	0
2001	4	23	San Jose	California	Cathline Repunte	1
2001	12	6	Goshen	Indiana	Robert L. Wissman	1
2003	4	24	Red Lion	Pennsylvania	James Sheets	1
2003	5	9	Cleveland	Ohio	Biswanath A. Halder	1
2003	8	19	Andover	Ohio	Richard Wayne Shadle	1
2005	1	26	Toledo	Ohio	Myles Wesley Meyers	1
2005	11	8	Jacksboro	Tennessee	Kenneth S. Bartley	1
2005	11	22	North Augusta	South Carolina	Unknown	1
2006	6	25	Denver	Colorado	Michael Julius Ford	1
2006	7	28	Seattle	Washington	Naveed Afzal Haq	1
2006	8	30	Hillsborough	North Carolina	Alvaro Castillo	1
2006	9	29	Cazenovia	Wisconsin	Eric Jordan Hainstock	1
2007	8	30	Bronx	New York	Paulino Valenzuela	1
2007	10	8	Simi Valley	California	Robert Becerra	1
2008	3	3	West Palm Beach	Florida	Alburn Edward Blake	1
2009	4	7	Temecula	California	John Suchan Chong	1
2009	6	1	North Little Rock	Arkansas	Carlos Leon Bledsoe	1
2009	6	10	Washington D.C.	Washington D.C.	James Wenneker von Brunn	1
2009	7	1	Simi Valley	California	Jaime Paredes	1
2009	7	25	Houston	Texas	Unknown	1
2009	11	6	Orlando	Florida	Jason Samuel Rodriguez	1
2009	11	7	Vail	Colorado	Richard Allan Moreau	1
2009	11	10	Tualatin	Oregon	Robert Beiser	1
2010	1	4	Las Vegas	Nevada	Johnny Lee Wicks Jr.	1
2010	3	9	Columbus	Ohio	Nathaniel Alvin Brown	1
2010	3	30	Tarpon Springs	Florida	Arunya Rouch	1
2010	4	19	Knoxville	Tennessee	Abdo Ibssa	1
2010	9	20	El Paso	Texas	Steven Jay Kropf	1
2010	10	4	Gainesville	Florida	Clifford Louis Miller Jr.	1
2010	10	13	Washington D.C.	Washington D.C.	Unknown	1

Appendix 2 (Continued): The FBI's Cases where zero or one person has been killed

2011	1	5	Omaha	Nebraska	Richard L. Butler Jr.	1
2012	3	8	Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania	John Schick	1
2013	10	21	Sparks	Nevada	Jose Reyes	1
2013	11	1	Los Angeles	California	Paul Anthony Ciancia	1
2013	12	13	Centennial	Colorado	Karl Halverson Pierson	1
2013	12	17	Reno	Nevada	Alan Oliver Frazier	1

NOTES

¹Chengyu Huang and Rujun Wang provided valuable research assistance on this project.

² One of the few publications that didn't make such a link in their headline was *USA Today* (see Leger, 2014).

³ The FBI report notes (p. 5): "Specifically, shootings that resulted from gang or drug violence—pervasive, long-tracked, criminal acts that could also affect the public—were not included in this study. In addition, other gun-related shootings were not included when those incidents appeared generally not to have put others in peril (e.g., the accidental discharge of a firearm in a school building or a person who chose to publicly commit suicide in a parking lot)." The first paper to use this definition was by Lott and Landes (1999, 2000). Lott (2003, 2010) has additional discussions. Some, such as the *New York Times*, refer to the attacks being studied here as "rampage" killings (Fessenden, 2000). Politifact and CNN also define these mass shootings in the same way (see Carroll & O'Connor, 2014; Fantz, Knight, & Wang, 2014).

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Criminological Study of Terrorism: An Overview of the Situational Approach



*Henda Y. Hsu**

Responding to the need for criminologists to apply their learning to the study of terrorism (LaFree, 2009), there has been a recent growth in the criminological attention paid to understanding the terrorism problem. Yet, there is a concern that the nature of crime and terrorism are vastly different, and thus theories developed to address “ordinary” crime may not have meaningful applications to terrorism. For example, a key difference that is commonly highlighted is that the motivations involved in crime and terrorism are irreconcilably unlike—crimes are mostly committed for personal, self-gratifying reasons, while terrorism is committed for higher, ideological causes. Engaging this issue, Clarke and Newman (2006, pp. 4–7) offer an insightful discussion on generally assumed differences between crime and terrorism, suggesting that these differences may not really be so marked.

With regard to different motivations, there is often much overlap between motivations of common criminals and terrorists, such as peer influence, sense of belonging, excitement, and love (Clarke & Newman, 2006; McCauley & Moskaleiko, 2011). Although research on the intersections of crime and terrorism are still in the early stages, a series of recent studies suggest that the application of criminological thought to investigating terrorism is a worthwhile and fruitful endeavor (see, e.g., the 2009 special issue (no.3) on terrorism in *Criminology & Public Policy*; the 2012 issue (no. 1) in *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*; and the 2015 issue (no. 1) in *Terrorism & Political Violence*).

Situational Prevention and Displacement

For criminological approaches to terrorism, a particular area of interest for me is the situational prevention of terrorist attacks. Rooted in the tradition of situational crime prevention, the situational approach to terrorism is largely focused on analyzing “how” terrorist attacks occur by breaking it down into its processes, components, and procedures in which interventions are introduced to reduce the opportunities that terrorists exploit in order to carry out their missions. In explaining the utility of applying this approach, Clarke and Newman (2006) developed versatile and practical frameworks—pertaining to terrorist target selection, weapon choice, and tools and conditions that facilitate an attack—that can serve to guide counterterrorism actions. For instance, terrorists are likely to attack targets close to their base of operations, choose weapons

that are familiar and obtainable, and use tangible products (e.g., disposable cell phones, stolen credit cards, fake personal documents) that are often essential for conducting terrorism (Newman & Hsu, 2012).

Supplying support for the importance of environmental considerations in counterterrorism efforts, Fahey, LaFree, Dugan, and Piquero (2012) found that situational characteristics used to identify terrorist hijackings are those that law enforcement personnel and policymakers would generally have at their disposal as a hijacking occurred. Moreover, such information can help guide the law enforcement response to a hijacking and assist aviation security officials in revising their security screening procedures. In short, by engaging in these preparatory behaviors of procuring fraudulent documents, theft, and so forth, terrorists may expose themselves to identification and capture by government officials before a terrorist attack takes place (Cothren, Smith, Roberts, & Damphousse, 2008).

Like the displacement criticism that has surrounded situational crime prevention, the value of the situational approach to terrorism is challenged by the notion that terrorists will simply displace their attacks elsewhere when confronted with preventative measures (Enders & Sandler, 2004, 2012). Similar to the concerns of crime displacement first raised by T.A. Reppetto (1976) when noting that crime may simply shift in terms of space, time, or type of offending from the original targets of crime prevention measures, fears about the inevitability of the displacement of terrorist attacks have long surrounded the dialogue on the effectiveness of defensive counterterrorism initiatives (e.g., target hardening). Known as the “substitution effect,” this process was explained by Sandler, Tschirhart, and Cauley (1983) when

modeling the negotiation process between terrorists and government policymakers in which the authors argued that government actions that increase the price of a terrorist act would decrease the demands associated with that activity but would raise the demands associated with activities whose prices have remained constant. And since its relative costs are now cheaper, terrorists would substitute into these other modes of terrorist operations (Im, Cauley, & Sandler, 1987). The evidence reported in these studies of the substitution effect generally argues that implementation of counterterrorism measures aimed at manipulating the situational environment in order to make a particular kind of terrorist attack more difficult and costly does not diminish the terrorists’ firm resolve, and alternative opportunities for attack are always available. This thinking has perhaps generated a fear that terrorists may be unstoppable because there are countless targets for terrorists to attack.

Nevertheless, the message from evaluations of situational crime prevention is that displacement is the exception rather than the rule. Additionally, a spread of additional crime reduction beyond the anticipated reach of interventions, or diffusion of benefits, is regularly observed as an unintended consequence of situational measures (Clarke & Weisburd, 1994; Guerette & Bowers, 2009; Hesseling, 1994). Given this debate, the issue of displacement in the terrorism context warrants further investigation. Although criminological research in this area is just beginning, the following are a few important considerations to keep in mind when discussing terrorism displacement:

- Terrorists may not be knowledgeable or familiar with all forms of attack. Lacking competence with alternative forms of attacks, then, may make the costs and risks of carrying out another attack too great for the terrorists (Clarke & Newman, 2006).

- The lifespan of most terrorist groups is quite short (Clarke & Newman, 2006; Young & Dugan, 2014); thus, the ability to conduct multiple attacks and substitute among them may be reserved for the relatively few and most capable terrorist organizations (Hsu & Apel, 2015).
- As discussed, “diffusion of benefits” is a distinct possibility following situational prevention strategies. Consequently, this outcome and other beneficial results ought to be considered in future discussions on the effectiveness of situational counterterrorism measures (Hsu, 2013).

Conclusion

The future for criminological approaches to terrorism is promising. Although data constraints have historically limited empirical tests of criminological theories in a terrorism context, the public availability of the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) in recent years affords a fresh opportunity for researchers to engage in this type of study (Mullins & Young, 2012). To briefly state, the GTD is an open-source database of all known domestic and international terrorist incidents around the world between 1970 and 2013 (this date range is according to the latest version of the GTD, which is continually updated) developed by the Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) based at the University of Maryland (see LaFree & Dugan, 2007 for further information on the GTD). Indeed, important steps have been taken in this exciting direction for criminological research,

but there is still much more to be done in determining the role criminology has in explaining and understanding terrorism.

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- *Henda Y. Hsu** is an assistant professor of criminal justice at Lamar University. His research focuses on crime and terrorism prevention, the displacement of crime and terrorist attacks, and time-series analysis. Other research interests include problem-oriented policing, community policing, and policy analysis.

Shots Fired: Expanding the Current Discourse on Policing and Violence

Jay Corzine,* Michele Covington,** and Lin Huff-Corzine***

When Robert Worley asked whether Jay Corzine was interested in writing a short article for *ACJS Today*, his response included the query, “Do you have any ideas for topics?” As with all good editors, he did and suggested a contribution related to assaults on police officers, a reflection of a recently published article on the topic by Covington, Huff-Corzine, and Corzine (2014) that appeared in the journal *Violence and Victims*. The article used data from the Orlando (FL) Police Department that had been obtained by Covington and was based on analyses from her doctoral dissertation at the University of Central Florida (UCF).

During the ensuing months since the opportunity to contribute to *ACJS Today* arose, the topic of lethal violence both by and against police has surged to the forefront of national attention, especially after the decisions of grand juries in St. Louis County and New York City to not indict white police officers in the deaths of two unarmed black men, Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO and Eric Garner in New York City, and the targeted killing of two police officers in the Bronx by an assailant apparently motivated, in part, by the deaths of Brown and Gardner.¹ Along with similar incidents, including the shooting death of a 12-year-old black youth by a white police officer in Cleveland, OH, the grand jury decisions

have led to sustained public protests in numerous cities, as well as shows of support by groups such as professional athletes and Congressional staffers. Rallies in support of the police have also occurred in several locations. And, in a February 12 speech, FBI Director James B. Comey stated that police were at a crossroads in regard to race relations.

Much of the media discourse and the protesters’ calls for change have focused on the racial dynamics of the Brown and Garner cases, and this is an important element of policing and violence that we do not want to minimize. On the other hand, this area has been well covered by researchers, the media, and politicians. Instead, in this essay we want to accomplish two goals. The first is to expand the current emphasis on violence by the police to include violence *against* the police. The second is to underscore that violence both by and against the police is an area where serious limitations in currently available data inhibit the ability to identify types and patterns of violence and, therefore, to make evidence-based and potentially effective policy interventions. There are other areas in criminology and criminal justice where the gap between what we know and what we would ideally need to know to inform public policy is wide (e.g., mass murder), but it is policing and violence that is currently at the top of the national agenda.

Violence Against the Police

It has long been understood that there is an element of violence in police work. Along with a few other occupational groups (e.g., bounty hunters), the police may legally demand citizen compliance with a wide range of orders and have the power to use arrest to deprive others of liberty. Not surprisingly, some people subject to these police powers fail to comply, and sometimes they respond with physical violence. The courts provide substantial leeway to police officers in the use of physical force as a reaction to a perceived threat, and civilians¹ in the United States have always been leery of abuses of police power. Given the circumstances of many encounters between police and civilians, we should perhaps be pleased that only a very small number of encounters, certainly less than 1%, lead to physical force by any of the participants.

Obviously, police officers should be held accountable for their actions in use of force incidents when they go beyond legal or agency restrictions. The belief that this did not happen in the Brown and Garner deaths is at the heart of many of the subsequent protests. It is also important to remember that police officers are injured and sometimes killed in violent encounters with civilians, and deepening our understanding of the circumstances surrounding these incidents was the primary goal of Covington's dissertation research. The availability of suitable data was an issue. Most academics and practitioners in the criminal justice area are familiar with the national LEOKA data compiled annually by the FBI that provide details on law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty. There is no similar

national source of data for law enforcement officers injured by suspects in the line of duty. Although several studies have appeared on the topic, prior researchers have made use of data from the files of local law enforcement agencies. The data for Covington's study were obtained with the cooperation of the Orlando Police Department, who opened their files on all use of force incidents for a three-year period, 2010–2012.

For the most part, Covington's findings were not particularly surprising. Police officers were more likely to be injured when the suspect was physically larger. They were also more likely to be injured when the suspect had been consuming alcohol. Furthermore, there was a geographical impact of alcohol establishments, apart from individual suspects' drinking behaviors. Specifically, assaults on police were more likely in census tracts with a high concentration of bars. It seems that the intoxicated are more likely to take risks when a significant percentage of others in the setting are also intoxicated. The sole significant pattern that may surprise many persons is that women suspects were more likely to batter the police than were their male counterparts. In the context of the current discourse on race and policing, it is notable that the race of the suspect was not related to the probability of an officer's injury in Orlando. Moreover, whether the contact was initiated by the officer or through a call from the dispatcher was unrelated to whether there was an officer injury.

The research in Orlando provided some insight on the officer, arrestee, and situational variables that make policing more dangerous for officers, but it is limited to one city. Our results are consistent with some previous investigations but differ from those of others. The problem, of course, is that studies of non-lethal injuries of police are

typically based on data from one or a small number of jurisdictions (e.g., Kaminski, Rojek, Smith, & Alpert, 2012; Smith, Kaminski, Rojek, Alpert, & Mathis, 2007). There is no national database that would allow researchers and police executives to make judgments with a reasonable level of confidence that research findings can be generalized to most law enforcement agencies and serve as the basis for policy changes that would reduce risk to police. Clearly, some inconsistencies from existing research reflect local patterns that are idiosyncratic. For example, unlike some other studies, Covington found no evidence for a seasonal influence on the likelihood of officer injuries. Of course, Orlando's seasonal changes are less significant than in most of the nation.

Shortcomings of Existing Data

Placing the Orlando study within the larger context of the current debate about the deaths of Brown and Garner, media representatives, members of the public, and some academics have expressed surprise that there is no compilation of civilians who die at the hands of the police in the United States. Most of these deaths are officially categorized as justifiable homicides, and the well-known *Supplemental Homicide Report* includes no information on the identity or other characteristics of the persons who kill, regardless of whether the act is ruled justifiable or not. The *National Incident-Based Reporting System* (NIBRS) does include a category for justifiable homicide committed by law enforcement officers, but their coverage is incomplete, including only a little over one-third of the U.S. population. Given the wide attention to the deaths of Michael

Brown and Eric Garner, it is not surprising that there are efforts currently underway to compile a data set on civilians killed by police officers; to our knowledge, this work is being done with the use of media sources. In fact, an interactive map on shootings by police went active in December 2014 and is available at <http://www.vox.com/2014/12/17/7408455/police-shootings-map>.

Besides well-known problems with the quality of media-generated databases (Huff-Corzine et al., 2014), we have a major concern that this data set and others that are likely to appear are incomplete. What is needed for analysis is a comprehensive dataset that includes not only cases of both police and civilians killed in police-citizen encounters, but also cases involving serious injuries to both parties. Deaths are tragic events, but it is important to remember that the vast majority of interactions between police and civilians involve no use of force. We also are certain that most of those cases that involve the use of force by police and/or civilians result in either no or minor injuries. This assertion is admittedly speculative, however, because the data to test its validity are not available. That is the major point of this essay. Below we briefly outline the direction that we believe the development of a comprehensive data set on violence in police-civilian encounters should take.

A national data set on violence between police and civilians would have to be constructed under the auspices of a federal agency, and the obvious choice is the FBI. The FBI has been the lead agency for the compilation of crime data in the United States for decades, has ongoing relationships with law enforcement agencies, and has responsibility for the annual collection and dissemination of LEOKA data on officer deaths in the line of duty as well as the annual *Uniform Crime*

Report. The Bureau of Justice Statistics has obvious expertise in research at this level, but simply stated, the FBI is in a better position to implement such a program within a shorter period of time. Needless to say, doing so would require targeted funding from the federal government, and the likelihood of this occurring, even with strong FBI support, is murky with the makeup of the new Congress. But that topic is beyond the scope of this essay.

The process for collecting data would be basically the same as existing procedures for the *Uniform Crime Report* programs: Local and state law enforcement agencies would transfer their data to the FBI on an annual basis through preexisting channels. The fact that the data would originate with police agencies would be a point of contention for the more vociferous critics of law enforcement, but they represent a minority viewpoint within the current discussion with the more radical critiques of the police most evident in the social media. As noted in the recent column by CNN host Mike Rowe, most persons concerned about the events in Ferguson and New York City are focused on whether the police treat civilians differently on the basis of race or ethnicity. Nobody, including those who are personally involved in illegal pursuits, wants to live in a high crime neighborhood, and most people recognize that the police are a major asset in making that goal a reality.

The essential question is what data should be collected and reported. Obviously, the information included in the annual LEOKA report needs to be merged into the more inclusive dataset. The most important addition is data on all civilians who die in contacts with police involving use of force by officers. Data on civilians should include the basic demographics of age, race, and sex as well as the

location, date, time, and weapons involved for the encounters between civilians and police. Also important is information about the circumstances of the encounters. Why did the police make contact with the person(s)? Was there a citizen complaint and officers were dispatched to the scene? Were officers trying to arrest a suspect in a criminal offense? Did the civilian initiate a violent attack on the police? Was the death the result of police action, or did the deceased commit suicide when confronted with an imminent arrest? There also needs to be identification of those incidents that are likely to involve “suicide by cop.”

The second type of incident that should be included in the dataset is those that result in moderate to serious injury to police officers and/or civilians. Developing criteria for inclusion or exclusion of injury cases is not as straightforward as cases resulting in a death. Given the greater lethality of firearms compared to other weapons, encounters that produce injuries resulting from gunshot wounds should be included, but other cases are murkier. An argument could be made that injuries resulting from encounters in which a weapon (other than personal weapons) is used should be the decisive criterion for inclusion, but serious injury can result from the use of hands and feet. A preferable strategy would be to focus on the seriousness of the injury, and there is precedent for this approach in NIBRS. Specifically, the Victim Segment includes a variable that has been used to construct a measure of level of injury, and we recommend that this approach be adopted

for constructing a dataset on police-civilian violence.

Benefits

What would be gained by the availability of a data set that includes cases of police killed and injured in the line of duty as well as civilians who are killed or seriously injured in encounters with the police? The primary beneficiary would be society as a whole. Not surprisingly, the level of public scrutiny and public protest focused on race and policing has dramatically increased since the decisions of grand juries to not indict in the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner and the targeted killings of two police officers in the Bronx. However, questions about direct or indirect negative perceptions of minorities by the police and how they may affect their job performance have existed for decades. It is no secret that in some lower income minority communities, there is little trust of the police by residents, with the result that the cooperation that police often need to clear serious offenses by arrest is virtually nonexistent. Although the stated reasons do not always involve issues of race and/or ethnicity, an increasing number of law enforcement agencies are under consent decrees with the Justice Department that can prove costly for local governments as well as undermine public confidence in their police department. The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has fluctuated in recent years, but there was a sharp increase from 2013 to 2014. Of course, we do not know the underlying factors behind this surge of officer killings, and it is important to remember that, fortunately, a large majority of officers who are the victims of violence survive the attacks.

Unfortunately, we do not currently have available data to answer important questions related to the above problems. Is there an overall

racial pattern in civilians who are killed through police use of force? Current studies are based on limited data from only a single or a few jurisdictions and omit important situational characteristics. Are the circumstances in police killings of whites and blacks similar, or are there differences supporting the contention that some police officers perceive blacks as more dangerous than whites? We don't know, but we should. Also, it is possible that some police departments will be able to use a systematic data set to countercharges of bias in the use of force. Equipping police with body cameras seems to have emerged as the primary policy response to the debates surrounding the deaths of Brown and Gardner, but there is no evidence to our knowledge that the use of body cameras would have any impact on possible racial differences in the outcomes of violent encounters between the police and civilians. Finally, remembering the impetus for our study of injuries suffered by Orlando police officers, we need to have data that would allow for a more precise determination of factors that increase the odds of injuries to law enforcement personnel. The nature of policing is such that the risk of violence cannot be eliminated for officers, but evidence-based policies to reduce it are possible.

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**Jay Corzine is a professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Central Florida. His research focuses on violent crime, with specific interests including the impact of transportation routes on homicide and robbery, mass victimization incidents, the lethality of types of firearms, risk factors for assaults on police officers, and the influences of medical resources on lethality.*

***Michele Covington is an assistant professor of criminal justice at the University of South Carolina–Upstate. Her research interests include policing, violence and homicide, women in the criminal justice system, and spatial crime analysis.*

****Lin Huff-Corzine is a professor and the director of the Sociology and Social Science Undergraduate Programs in the Department of Sociology at the University of Central Florida. She is currently the vice-president of the Homicide Research Working*

Group. Professor Huff-Corzine's research primarily focuses on violent crime. She is co-author of the research monograph The Currents of Lethal Violence, and her articles appear in numerous journals, including Criminology; Deviant Behavior; Homicide Studies; the Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice; the Journal of Research on Crime and Delinquency; Social Forces; Violence and Victims; and Victims and Offenders.

In Memoriam: Richard H. Ward



Dr. Richard H. Ward

Richard H. Ward, D. Crim. passed away February 17, 2015. I had the privilege of working with Dr. Ward at Sam Houston State University as an associate dean and first met him in 1999. Every day working with Dr. Ward was an experience. We got along well despite our numerous disagreements. Although you might not agree with him, you always knew where he stood and that he was a man of his word. The following may be an understatement, but working with him was a career-defining experience for me. Dick made an impression on most everyone he met, but more important, he made a significant and positive impact on our field and the organizations for which he worked. He was a founding member of the ACJS, a military veteran, a police officer, a professor, a dean, a university vice president, and he helped start a new university in Malaysia.

Dick's view of the world was shaped by a variety of factors. He grew up in an

apartment over a Chinese laundry. I don't know if that experience was influential, but he had a fascination with China and traveled there more than 70 times. He was married in China. He introduced modern democratic policing practices to China and many other countries too numerous to list here. He was a pioneer in establishing relationships with police from around the globe and worked closely with the International Law Enforcement Academy in Roswell, New Mexico to create untold numbers of networks between police in participating countries to combat human smuggling. His efforts saved many lives.

Dr. Ward was a Marine. He had a loyalty to the Corps and his country that was unsurpassed. He understood loyalty and the importance of service. I grew up at the foot of Paris Island Bridge, and although I was not a Marine, I know what being one meant. He was a real Marine (no offense to Marines trained at the other Marine bases); he was a Paris Island Marine; he lived Semper Fi.

Following his service in the military, Dick became a patrolman with the NYPD in 1961. He attended classes part-time at John Jay University and completed his degree in 1967. He received a scholarship to the University of California–Berkeley and was awarded a doctoral degree in criminology (D. Crim.) in 1968. I remember meeting with him following an ACJS conference in Los Angeles, and he had just returned from a stroll around the UC-B campus. He was reflective and energized. I often reflect on what it must have been like for him as a Marine and a former NYPD cop attending graduate school at one of the most liberal/radical criminology programs in

in the history of our country. His dissertation was on labeling theory and is reflective of his ability to adapt to different environs.

In 1970, he returned to New York and accepted a faculty position at John Jay College. He advanced rapidly through the ranks there and served as dean of graduate studies, the dean of students, and as vice president of John Jay College. There he nurtured contacts with the NYPD and criminal justice agencies both nationally and internationally.

After leaving John Jay College, he became vice chancellor at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), where he served for 16 years. Though Dr. Ward had retired from UIC and was old enough to fully retire, he was a driven man with a zest for life that required him to take on challenge after challenge. He was the longest-serving vice chancellor at UIC.

In 1999, he became dean of the College of Criminal Justice at Sam Houston State University. Under his direction, the number of majors doubled in little more than eight years, and the number of affiliated institutes increased. His creative endeavors included establishing crisis management simulation training for Texas police officers, the Crime Victims Institute, and the Institute for the Study of Violent Groups. These initiatives received acclaim nationally and internationally. During that time, the number of international graduate students increased dramatically. At one time, I remember, there were criminal justice graduate students from 15 different countries; it was a diverse group and the classroom experiences were rich.

From time to time, we had socials at his “mini-ranch” in Texas. The international ping pong competition was fierce, and he would often join me

and my band on stage to sing a few...usually donning a cowboy hat and posturing a Cuban cigar. We’d put international dignitaries on his horses with the appropriate cowboy hat and take pictures of them styling in Texas. We assumed they liked it.

Dick could not stop. He refused to retire. In 2008, he became dean of the Henry C. Lee College of Criminal Justice and Forensic Sciences. He most recently served as the associate vice president for research and sponsored programs at the University of New Haven.

Dick embraced life. He loved people. He loved his family. We traveled the globe and spent many hours talking about life and our children, especially our daughters. During those times, I saw the other side of the Marine and NYPD cop. What I saw was a tender, caring man. He is survived by his wife, Michelle; children Jeanne, John (Juli), and Sophia; two grandchildren; and his sister Joyce Hornback. His legacy will remain with each of us who had the privilege to be in his company. The world is a better place because of Dr. Richard H. Ward. Peace be with you, my friend.

Written on March 4, 2015 by Wes Johnson.

Demographics of ACJS Members: 2012-2014

Christopher Campbell,* Mary K. Stohr,**

Since 2012, members of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) have been surveyed about their demographics in a questionnaire administered by ACJS. As a means of better serving the membership, the Executive Board approved the development and administration of this questionnaire at the Midyear 2012 Meeting, as part of the membership application. The data compiled for this report was gathered from the applicants for ACJS membership in October 2012 to January 2013 (first collection of data) and in the Fall of 2013 and 2014 (second and third collection of data, respectively). The questionnaire was collected in three waves and could be completed in either a hard copy or online format. A total of 889 respondents filled out the questionnaire in the first wave (of about 1700 members at that time of year), 1,376 respondents for the second wave (of about 2,600 total members), and in the third wave of the survey the total respondents decreased slightly to 1,246 (of about 2,600 total members). Therefore, we estimate that about 51% of eligible respondents completed some part of the membership questionnaire for the three waves. This report presents the demographic data of ACJS membership gathered in all three waves (see tables below).¹

As indicated in Table 1, the majority of ACJS members who responded in all waves were white, middle-aged men. The respondents, on the whole, typically had a Ph.D., were employed at some level of professorship, and earned a mean salary of around \$69,000 per year. Slightly more members were affiliated

with the Southern region, and more than half (55% in 2012 and 2014, 51.7% in 2013) were also members of the American Society of Criminology (ASC).

Table 2 specifies the average yearly salary of ACJS members by their position of occupation and education level. Emeritus professors, though few in number, had the highest salaries of all positions, followed by professors. Members with a Ph.D. reported yearly earnings that averaged between approximately \$75,300 and \$80,500. The high end of this average range is an increase of more than \$3,000 since 2013. Individuals who identified as students working on their graduate degrees or who only had an associate's degree reported the lowest salaries.

Also shown in Table 2 is the breakdown of salary across race and gender. As indicated by the data presented in this table, white respondents consistently earned the highest salaries (between \$68,400 and \$76,500). Similarly, male members accounted for almost double that of females in survey responses on salary, and they reported earnings that were at least \$15,000 more than female respondents across the three survey waves. It should be noted, though, that a greater proportion of the higher paying positions (full professors and administrators) were occupied by white, male members (see Tables 6–8). Though some decreases in salaries are

observed from the first wave to the third, it is likely attributable to the fluctuation in number of respondents impacting the overall average, rather than an actual change in salary across the span of a year.

Tables 3 through 16 display the demographics for ACJS members by their position. As indicated in Tables 3–5, assistant professors between the ages of 30–39 were the largest group across both waves, making up approximately 12% of age-respondents in both 2012 and 2013. In 2014, however, the largest group consisted of assistant professors who fell between the ages of 40–49. The second largest group for 2012 were full professors of 60–69 years of age (11% in 2012). This changed in 2013 and 2014, as the second largest group were graduate students aged 19–29 (in 2013) and 30–39 (in 2014). Most members who completed the questionnaire of any race/ethnicity were academics and identified as white (see Tables 6–8). One particularly notable change from Wave 1 to Wave 2 was the doubling of African American responses, most of who also were in academic positions. Though this number decreased in 2014, it was still far greater than responses of 2012. With regard to gender, Table 9 shows that although most member respondents were male, for all three years the majority of members who were both assistant professors and graduate students were females.

Table 10 demonstrates that the majority of ACJS members have a dual membership with the ASC, though it is only a little over half of the respondents (65% in 2012, 53% in 2013, and 62% 2014). Of the respondents with ASC membership, far more self-identified as being in academic positions, including graduate students, than any practitioner positions. Within

academic responses, an average of 24% of those in a tenure track position (across all three waves) do not have a dual membership with ASC.

Tables 11–13 suggest that a wide majority of ACJS respondents had a Ph.D., followed by a master's and then a J.D. degree. The position of assistant professor had the most members with a Ph.D. degree, followed by full professors for each wave. Respondents who had a J.D., or both a Ph.D. and J.D., were usually employed as a professor. Members who had a master's degree more typically identified as instructors, though a sizable portion were also associate and full professors. More than half of practitioners in management who responded reported having a degree higher than a bachelor's.

Lastly, Tables 14–16 display the characteristics of regional members of ACJS. More respondents were also members from the Southern region, followed by the Midwestern and Northeastern regions, and then the Southwestern and Western regions respectively. Over the three waves there seems to be sizable growth among regional membership respondents. The number of members of the Southern region who responded to this questionnaire, for instance, almost doubled since 2012 (from 59 in 2012 to 115 in 2014). Of those who were members of multiple regions, most appeared to be in tenure track positions, and of those most were either full or associate professors.

On the following pages, please see all of the tables which illustrate the above points that have been identified in this report. We hope you find these to be informative.

Table 1 Membership Demographics

Year	2012	2013	2014
Number of Responses	889	1,376	1,246
Age			
Range	20-83	20-83	19-96
Mean	48.03	46.76	47.13
Standard Deviation	13.24	13.29	13.82
Gender			
Male	60.7%	59.2%	54.7%
Female	37.2	39.8	42.1
Missing	2.0	1.1	3.3
Race			
White	79.1%	76.2%	77.6%
African-American	7.1	8.9	7.5
Hispanic/Latino/Latina	3.5	3.4	2.4
Asian	2.2	2.3	3.1
Pacific Islander	0.2	0.1	0.1
American Indian	0.8	0.7	0.6
Multiracial	1.0	0.9	1.8
Other	0.3	0.4	1.1
Missing	5.7	7.0	5.9
Position			
Undergraduate Student	1.6%	2.2%	1.5%
Graduate Student	12.9	16.6	15.5
Instructor	7.3	7.3	6.4
Adjunct Professor	1.2	1.3	1.1
Assistant Professor	21.6	20.6	20.5
Associate Professor	16.1	16.1	14.3
Professor	19.3	16.4	17.4
Emeritus	2.5	1.7	2.1
Administration	5.6	5.8	6.0
Practitioner-Line	0.4	0.4	1.1
Practitioner-Management	2.4	2.3	2.7
Researcher	1.1	1.2	0.8
Other	1.3	1.5	1.4
Missing	19.7	23.3	9.2

Table 1 Membership Demographics (Continued)

Year	2012	2013	2014
Number of Responses	889	1,376	1,246
Education			
Less than AA Degree	0.2%	0.4%	0.5%
Associate's Degree	0.3	0.8	0.6
B.A./B.S.	4.8	5.4	4.0
Masters	23.6	26.2	26.5
J.D. or LL.M.	4.6	5.1	5.2
Ed.D.	1.9	1.8	1.8
Ph.D.	59.5	55.1	56.6
J.D., Ph.D.	1.2	0.9	0.2
Other	0.6	0.5	-
Missing	3.1	3.9	4.7
Salary			
Range*	\$2,000–\$175,000	\$2,000–\$170,000	\$2,000–\$170,000
Mean	70,687	67,520	69,086
Standard deviation	31,644	30,838	33,222
Regions			
Southern	7.2%	7.7%	6.2%
Midwest	5.7	5.1	3.5
Northeast	5.4	4.2	3.9
Southwest	3.7	3.8	2.8
West	3.4	3.1	2.3
Multiple	1.6	1.2	1.4
Missing	73.0	74.9	79.9
ASC Member			
Yes	55.5%	51.7%	55%
No	44.5	48.3	45

*Includes graduate students and excludes upward outlier of greater than \$190,000.

Table 2 Average Yearly Salary by Position, Education, Race/Ethnicity, and Gender*

	N	2012 Average Yearly Salary	N	2013 Average Yearly Salary	N	2014 Average Yearly Salary
Total Responses	436		658		576	
Position						
Undergraduate Student	6	\$29,000	11	\$32,409	8	\$37,625
Graduate Student	53	34,990	106	33,504	87	29,281
Instructor	38	58,421	57	58,807	52	52,875
Adjunct Professor	2	46,000	4	30,500	5	56,250
Assistant Professor	105	60,885	147	61,374	131	62,908
Associate Professor	75	72,906	112	73,982	86	74,436
Professor	87	97,011	115	93,495	114	96,526
Emeritus	7	106,857	10	104,300	8	118,000
Administration	22	91,818	40	89,387	30	97,933
Practitioner – Line	2	37,500	3	51,667	8	64,875
Practitioner – Management	10	86,000	12	78,333	14	87,285
Researcher	5	63,200	6	59,333	3	86,655
Other	5	94,000	7	79,714	5	79,000
Education						
Less than an AA Degree	-	-	2	\$50,000	2	\$22,500
Associate's Degree	2	\$47,000	4	60,375	2	77,000
B.A./B.S.	15	32,266	32	37,656	23	34,652
Masters	105	57,061	176	51,701	165	50,506
J.D. or L.L.M.	18	69,833	27	73,925	18	75,222
Ed.D.	10	69,200	12	69,750	13	64,307
Ph.D.	259	79,185	375	77,593	342	80,587
J.D., Ph.D.	9	75,333	9	75,333	2	77,500
Other	4	97,500	6	82,500	-	-
Race/Ethnicity						
White	369	\$76,536	559	\$68,438	466	\$70,546
African-American	29	63,086	53	59,971	41	67,670
Hispanic/Latino/Latina	16	58,875	26	60,692	17	47,235
Asian	6	87,500	10	67,800	19	59,210
American Indian	2	62,500	4	93,750	5	86,000
Multiracial	6	48,166	6	62,333	13	64,307
Other	2	61,500	3	55,000	5	65,000
Gender						
Male	276	\$77,398	413	\$73,199	346	\$75,296
Female	154	58,882	245	58,257	225	59,984

*Excludes some outliers.

Table 3 Position and Age, 2012 (N = 819)

Position	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Undergraduate Student	9	2	2	0	0	0
Graduate Student	51	31	16	5	1	0
Instructor	3	10	13	13	18	1
Adjunct Professor	0	1	0	3	2	1
Assistant Professor	11	73	39	22	7	1
Associate Professor	0	18	42	27	32	4
Professor	0	5	27	34	65	6
Emeritus	0	0	0	1	9	10
Administration	0	2	14	12	8	1
Line Practitioner	0	3	0	0	1	0
Management	0	3	4	7	4	0
Researcher	0	2	4	2	0	0
Other	1	0	3	3	1	2
TOTAL	74	144	162	128	148	26

Table 4 Position and Age, 2013 (N = 1,052)

Position	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Undergraduate Student	16	7	4	0	0	0
Graduate Student	91	69	30	15	2	0
Instructor	4	13	18	20	21	1
Adjunct Professor	1	2	0	4	2	1
Assistant Professor	16	104	58	38	13	1
Associate Professor	0	34	65	39	43	5
Professor	0	8	38	55	75	9
Emeritus	0	0	0	1	10	10
Administration	0	6	15	21	13	1
Line Practitioner	0	2	2	0	1	0
Management	0	2	7	9	2	0
Researcher	0	4	4	2	2	0
Other	0	1	4	5	3	3
TOTAL	128	252	245	209	187	31

Table 5 Position and Age, 2014 (N = 1,189)

Position	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Undergraduate Student	1	12	3	4	0	0
Graduate Student	11	89	71	22	10	1
Instructor	5	4	17	19	21	17
Adjunct Professor	0	0	1	2	3	5
Assistant Professor	33	15	95	59	37	24
Associate Professor	24	0	25	70	30	34
Professor	32	1	7	48	50	82
Emeritus	2	0	0	0	1	17
Administration	16	0	3	18	19	16
Line Practitioner	2	3	1	4	2	2
Management	6	0	0	10	14	6
Researcher	3	0	0	4	1	2
Other	3	0	2	2	4	4
TOTAL	138	124	225	262	192	210

Table 6 Position and Race/Ethnicity, 2012 (N = 776)

Position	White	African American	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	Multiracial	Other
Undergraduate Student	7	3	2	0	0	2	0
Graduate Student	79	14	7	6	1	1	2
Instructor	50	6	4	0	0	0	1
Adjunct Professor	8	0	1	0	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	159	7	7	7	0	2	0
Associate Professor	109	16	3	2	3	1	0
Professor	148	6	4	3	0	2	0
Emeritus	20	0	0	0	1	0	0
Administration	42	3	1	0	1	0	0
Line Practitioner	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Management	18	1	1	1	0	0	0
Researcher	7	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	654	56	29	19	6	8	4

Table 7 Position and Race/Ethnicity, 2013 (N = 986)

Position	White	African American	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	Multiracial	Other
Undergraduate Student	15	6	5	0	0	3	0
Graduate Student	164	30	13	11	1	2	2
Instructor	73	7	3	0	0	0	2
Adjunct Professor	12	0	1	0	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	219	20	10	11	1	3	0
Associate Professor	167	24	4	3	3	1	0
Professor	184	15	7	4	1	3	1
Emeritus	22	0	0	0	1	0	0
Administration	65	5	1	0	1	0	0
Line Practitioner	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
Management	20	3	1	1	0	0	0
Researcher	11	1	0	0	0	0	1
Other	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	971	112	45	31	8	12	6

Table 8 Position and Race/Ethnicity, 2014 (N = 1,144)

Position	White	African American	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	Multiracial	Other
Undergraduate Student	14	2	3	0	0	1	0
Graduate Student	147	18	9	13	1	8	1
Instructor	65	10	2	0	0	4	0
Adjunct Professor	12	2	0	0	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	204	24	9	10	0	3	7
Associate Professor	148	18	4	7	3	1	0
Professor	198	12	2	5	0	2	1
Emeritus	26	0	0	0	1	0	0
Administration	63	4	0	3	1	0	1
Line Practitioner	12	0	1	0	0	0	0
Management	31	0	1	1	0	2	0
Researcher	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	946	90	31	39	6	21	10

Table 9 Position and Gender

Position	2012 (N = 807)		2013 (N = 1,255)		2014 (N = 1,172)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Undergraduate Student	4	10	12	18	10	10
Graduate Student	57	57	112	117	76	126
Instructor	44	21	58	31	49	34
Adjunct Professor	10	1	13	2	12	2
Assistant Professor	89	98	137	143	127	138
Associate Professor	87	55	126	95	92	92
Professor	129	40	167	58	160	66
Emeritus	18	4	19	5	20	7
Administration	36	14	54	25	48	28
Line Practitioner	3	1	3	2	8	5
Management	17	4	20	5	25	10
Researcher	3	5	7	7	6	4
Other	7	5	11	8	12	5
TOTAL	496	311	739	516	645	527

Table 10 Position and ASC Membership

Position	2012 (N = 714)		2013 (N = 1,261)		2014 (N = 1,097)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Undergraduate Student	3	11	3	27	5	15
Graduate Student	67	48	119	110	120	84
Instructor	26	34	32	57	36	49
Adjunct Professor	6	4	7	8	4	10
Assistant Professor	122	70	176	105	178	92
Associate Professor	84	59	129	93	105	84
Professor	107	65	137	89	157	73
Emeritus	10	12	10	14	13	15
Administration	29	21	35	44	34	45
Line Practitioner	0	3	0	5	4	10
Management	5	15	8	17	12	24
Researcher	6	3	10	5	8	2
Other	5	5	10	11	8	10
TOTAL	470	350	676	585	684	513

Table 11 Position and Level of Education, 2012 (N = 698)

Position	AA	BA/BS	MA/MS	JD, LLM	PhD	JD, PhD	Ed.D	Other
Undergraduate Student	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Graduate Student	0	2	5	0	1	0	0	0
Instructor	0	2	34	3	21	0	2	0
Adjunct Professor	0	0	6	1	3	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	0	0	19	8	157	1	3	1
Associate Professor	0	0	13	6	117	3	1	1
Professor	1	0	10	6	140	5	7	0
Emeritus	0	0	1	0	20	0	0	1
Administration	0	0	9	7	28	2	2	0
Line Practitioner	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
Management	0	2	11	1	6	0	0	1
Researcher	0	0	3	1	6	0	0	0
Other	0	5	1	1	5	0	0	0
TOTAL	2	13	115	34	504	11	15	4

Table 12 Position and Level of Education, 2013 (N = 1,030)

Position	AA	BA/BS	MA/MS	JD, LLM	PhD	JD, PhD	Ed.D	Other
Undergraduate Student	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0
Graduate Student	0	6	13	0	1	0	0	0
Instructor	0	3	59	5	27	0	2	0
Adjunct Professor	0	0	8	4	4	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	1	0	29	14	228	1	3	2
Associate Professor	0	0	14	11	184	4	5	2
Professor	1	0	14	10	182	5	7	0
Emeritus	0	0	1	0	22	0	0	1
Administration	0	1	16	9	43	2	6	0
Line Practitioner	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0
Management	0	5	15	1	7	0	0	0
Researcher	0	0	7	1	9	0	0	0
Other	0	6	3	2	9	0	0	1
TOTAL	3	23	189	57	717	12	23	6

Table 13 Position and Level of Education, 2014 (N = 1,157)

Position	AA	BA/BS	MA/MS	JD, LLM	PhD	JD, PhD	Ed.D	Other
Undergraduate Student	6	10	0	0	0	0	0	3
Graduate Student	0	28	142	7	20	0	0	0
Instructor	0	1	54	4	20	0	1	0
Adjunct Professor	0	0	10	0	4	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	0	0	25	13	218	0	5	0
Associate Professor	0	0	11	11	155	0	6	0
Professor	0	0	19	10	187	2	8	0
Emeritus	0	0	3	1	23	0	0	0
Administration	0	0	13	13	49	0	3	0
Line Practitioner	2	1	5	1	3	0	0	1
Management	0	2	17	2	12	0	0	0
Researcher	0	0	5	1	4	0	0	0
Other	0	3	2	0	11	0	0	0
TOTAL	8	45	306	63	706	2	23	4

Table 14 Position and Region, 2012 (N = 214)

Position	Northeast	Southern	Midwest	Southwest	Western	Multiple
Undergraduate Student	0	0	0	0	0	0
Graduate Student	0	0	2	0	0	0
Instructor	3	2	2	2	1	1
Adjunct Professor	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assistant Professor	14	15	15	8	8	1
Associate Professor	8	11	12	8	8	4
Professor	12	20	10	7	8	5
Emeritus	1	3	1	0	0	0
Administration	5	5	2	2	1	1
Line Practitioner	0	0	0	0	0	0
Management	1	2	0	1	0	0
Researcher	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	1	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	44	59	44	29	26	12

Table 15 Position and Region, 2013 (N = 305)

Position	Northeast	Southern	Midwest	Southwest	Western	Multiple
Undergraduate Student	0	1	0	1	0	0
Graduate Student	1	1	2	0	1	0
Instructor	3	2	2	2	1	1
Adjunct Professor	3	2	2	2	1	1
Assistant Professor	17	26	16	15	12	3
Associate Professor	11	25	20	12	8	3
Professor	14	27	15	10	11	6
Emeritus	1	4	0	1	0	0
Administration	5	6	2	3	2	1
Line Practitioner	0	0	0	0	0	0
Management	0	3	1	2	3	1
Researcher	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	1	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	53	96	58	47	38	13

Table 16 Position and Region, 2014 (N = 884)

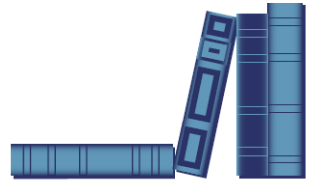
Position	Northeast	Southern	Midwest	Southwest	Western	Multiple
Undergraduate Student	1	0	1	0	1	1
Graduate Student	11	20	11	8	8	1
Instructor	4	6	8	1	2	1
Adjunct Professor	0	0	1	0	0	1
Assistant Professor	22	31	15	13	11	1
Associate Professor	15	17	13	15	8	1
Professor	11	28	13	10	10	8
Emeritus	3	6	0	2	1	0
Administration	8	2	7	1	3	2
Line Practitioner	1	0	0	0	0	0
Management	3	3	0	0	1	1
Researcher	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	2	1	0	0	0
TOTAL	80	115	70	50	45	17

***Christopher Campbell** is a doctoral student at Washington State University and was executive assistant to the ACJS executive director from 2013–2015.

****Mary K. Stohr** is the executive director of ACJS.



Historian's Corner



Willard M. Oliver*

GREETINGS!

I hope this issue of *ACJS Today* finds everyone doing well as you begin to work hard to finish out the Spring Semester. As you may know, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences was

established in 1963 at the retirement party of Dr. V.A. Leonard in Pullman, Washington, marking it as the first annual conference of what was then known as the International Association of Police Professors (Oliver, 2015). After the name change to ACJS became official at the 1970 annual meeting in Seattle, Washington, several members, including Gordon Misner, William Mathias, and Richter H. Moore, Jr. (all past presidents of ACJS), began working on a regionalization plan. The latter two helped to create the first regional criminal justice association in 1972, and Mathias became the Southern Criminal Justice Association's first president (1972–1973). He then helped bring before the ACJS executive board a plan to recognize Southern as the first region of ACJS, and at the 1973 annual meeting, the regionalization plan was adopted.

Throughout the 1970s, the number of regions continued to expand until there were six in total: Southern, Southwestern, Northeastern, North Atlantic, Midwestern, and Western & Pacific. In

1982, the North Atlantic and Northeastern Associations joined together and remained the Northeastern Association, while later, Western & Pacific simplified their name to Western.

The exact nature of the relationship between the regions and ACJS has sometimes been one of confusion and disagreement (Novak, 2010). The regional associations are, in actuality, their own organizations, independent of ACJS. ACJS has a representative on their executive board who is elected from the region, but they are members of ACJS. The regions typically have the individual serve as a liaison or an ex officio member of their executive boards. Only recently has ACJS commenced supporting the regional associations with conference assistance, and many meetings have been held to improve relations and communications between the national and regional associations.

It is to this relationship and communication that I now turn. In the preparation for the 50th anniversary of ACJS in 2013, while authoring the history of ACJS, the issue of the regions continued to surface throughout the authorship of that document (Oliver, 2013). The question that I had to consider was how much to say about the regions, when they were their own organizations with their own histories. I was encouraged to say more about the sections, but the sections are wholly a part of ACJS, whereas the regions are not. In that final document, I tried to address the regions solely from the perspective of ACJS, but that naturally left out a

lot of contextual information and historical detail about the regions. And that is something I hope to now address.

I would like to encourage each of the regions to find someone (or multiple interested parties) who would be willing to research and author the history of their region. Ideally, these would be longer than the histories that are available on some of the regions' websites, which serve as introductory overviews. Not only could these be made available on the regions' own websites, but they could also be linked from the ACJS historian's tab and/or made to link with the resources tab on the ACJS website. In addition, if histories were available from all five regions, these could be organized together in a future publication that might also include an overview of the development of the regions from the ACJS perspective.

So, if there are any historians or amateur historians (like me) out there who are interested in researching and writing your region's history, let's talk!

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***Willard M. Oliver, Ph.D., is a Professor of Criminal Justice at Sam Houston State University and the ACJS Historian. He is currently working on a biography of August Vollmer for Carolina Academic Press.**

ACJS Today

Editor: **Robert M. Worley, Ph.D.**
Lamar University
Department of Sociology, Social
Work, and Criminal Justice
P.O. Box 10026
Beaumont, TX 77710
Phone: 409.880.7827
rworley@lamar.edu

Historian: Willard Oliver, Ph.D.
Sam Houston State University
College of Criminal Justice
P.O. Box 2296
Huntsville, TX 77341
Phone: 936.294.4173
woliver@shsu.edu

ACJS National Office

Mary K. Stohr: Executive Director
execdir@acjs.org

Mittie D. Southerland: Executive
Director Emeritus
mittie.southerland@gmail.com

Cathy L. Barth: Association Manager
manager@acjs.org

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences
P. O. Box 960
Greenbelt, Maryland 20770

Office Location:
7339 Hanover Parkway, Suite A
Greenbelt, MD 20768-0960
Tel.: (301) 446-6300; (800) 757-ACJS (2257)
Fax: (301) 446-2819
Website: <http://www.acjs.org>

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Submission Deadlines

December 15th
February 15th
April 15th
August 15th
October 15th

*The editor will use his discretion to accept, reject or
postpone manuscripts.*

Article Guidelines

Articles may vary in writing style (i.e. tone) and
length. Articles should be relevant to the field of
criminal justice, criminology, law, sociology or related
curriculum and interesting to our readership. Please
include your name, affiliation and email address,
which will be used as your biographical information.
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Brandon Applegate
University of South Carolina
Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice
1305 Greene Street
Columbia, SC 29208
803-777-7065

applegatep@sc.edu

First Vice President

Lorenzo Boyd
University of Massachusetts – Lowell
School of Criminology and Justice Studies
113 Wilder Street, HSSB Room 411
Lowell, MA 01854-3060
978-934-4160

lorenzo_boyd@uml.edu

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University of Texas at Dallas
Program in Criminology
800 West Campbell Road
Richardson, TX 75080
972-883-2485

npiquero@utdallas.edu

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757-683-4757

bpayne@odu.edu

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lday@chapman.edu

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200 West Lake Street
Fort Collins, CO 80523
970-491-6615

prabha@lamar.colostate.edu

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Indiana University of Pennsylvania
411 North Walk
Wilson Hall, Room 112
970-351-2107

bitna.kim@iup.edu

Barbara Sims

Mars Hill University
316 Cornwell
Mars Hill, NC 28754-0370
828-689-1276

bsims@mhu.edu

Heather L. Pfeifer

University of Baltimore
1420 North Charles Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
410-837-5292

hpfeifer@ubalt.edu

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Herman 206A
1215 Wilbraham Road – BOX H5164
413-320-7576

denise.gosselin@wne.edu

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140 Decatur Street
1201 Urban Life Building
Atlanta, GA 30303
404-413-1039

ddabney@gsu.edu

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4248 Faner Hall
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618-453-6376

jschafer@siu.edu

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PO Box 519, MS 2600
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936-261-5234

cbgibson@pvamu.edu

Region 5—Western/Pacific

Marlyn J. Jones
California State University, Sacramento
6000 J Street
Sacramento, CA 95819
916-278-7048

marlyn@csus.edu

Executive Director

Mary K. Stohr
Washington State University
Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology
P.O. Box 644872
Pullman, WA 99164

execdir@acjs.org

Executive Director Emeritus

Mittie D. Southerland
1525 State Route 2151
Melber, KY 42069
270-674-5697
270-674-6097 (fax)

mittie.southerland@gmail.com

Association Manager—Ex Officio

Cathy L. Barth
P.O. Box 960
Greenbelt, MD 20768-0960
301-446-6300
800-757-2257
301-446-2819 (fax)

manager@acjs.org

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences
ACJS Today
P.O. Box 960
Greenbelt, Maryland 20768-0960