

ACJS Today

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

Considering the Hacker Subculture

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When I first began to conduct research on the hacker community for my dissertation in 2004, I did not know quite what to expect. The presentation of hackers in popular media and the news is primarily focused on highly stylized, technological wizards who break into the Department of Defense, financial institutions, and other protected networks with the intent to do harm (Furnell, 2002). The notion of a hacker may also conjure up images of various characters from television and movies, such as Neo and Morpheus from *The Matrix*, who had the ability to “see” in programming language code and bend “virtual” reality around them. Some may also think of loners huddled in front of a terminal in dingy basements who are unable to interact with others in the real world but dominate online spaces.

I was immediately surprised at how different the realities of hacking were from these presentations. Subsequently, my
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President's Message



*James Frank, President, ACJS**

Greetings fellow ACJS members! The conference is now only a month away! I hope you are planning to attend the 51st ACJS Annual Conference in Philadelphia at the Marriott Philadelphia Downtown. If you still need information about hotel accommodations and registering for the conference, please consult the ACJS website (www.acjs.org).

This year, we have three excellent keynote speakers who will speak about their experiences across the criminal justice system. Edward Rendell will be speaking on Thursday morning; Police Commissioner Charles Ramsey on Thursday afternoon; and Robert Schwartz, the co-founder and executive director of the Juvenile Law Center, on Friday afternoon. This year we have made efforts to limit the number of panels scheduled at the same time as the keynote speakers so people will have the opportunity to attend these events.

In addition to the keynote addresses, we have excellent panels, roundtables, and

workshops scheduled. My program co-chairs, Christine Famega and Nicole Leeper Piquero, have made every effort possible to distribute topic area presentations equally across conference days. Also, they have tried to schedule each topic area (e.g., policing, corrections, criminal justice education) in the same group of rooms throughout the conference. This should help people with finding room locations and moving among panels.

The conference program has been posted on the ACJS website. You can download and peruse the program and begin planning your schedule. This year we are returning to printed programs at the suggestion of conference attendees. So if you prefer a hard copy, you can pick up a printed conference program at registration. The Local Arrangements committee has posted restaurant and sightseeing information on the website that will help you plan your time outside of the conference. Many thanks to my program co-chairs, the local arrangements committee, and the program committee for putting everything together for the upcoming conference.

In addition to planning the conference, we have been busy this year with efforts to connect with international, national, and regional academic and practitioner organizations. Attendance at international conferences has been used to connect with scholars and practitioners outside the U.S. and promote ACJS as an international organization concerned about crime and justice issues throughout the world. Local outreach efforts have been used to encourage partnerships with practitioner organizations and invite members of these professional associations

to join ACJS and attend and present at our annual conferences.

In addition, the year has marked the beginning of the second phase of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Policy Coalition involving ACJS and the American Society of Criminology (ASC). The Coalition has existed since the presidency of Melissa Barlow, and this year it began working with the Consortium of Social Science Associations (COSSA). This promises to be an important initiative in the future.

My term as president will end with the conclusion of this year's conference. It is my privilege to have served as your president. I have nothing but praise for the members of the Executive Board I have worked with during the past three years. These people have dedicated a substantial portion of their time to working on behalf of the Academy and deserve a special thanks. I encourage all of you to consider serving on the Executive Board, on an ACJS committee, or on a section committee. Not only is the service rewarding, but it will enable you to learn about the work necessary to keep ACJS running successfully. I want to give a special thanks to Cathy Barth, our Association Manager, for her work for the Academy. Cathy's work requires her to interact with a diverse group (members, businesses, Executive Board, section and region leaders, etc.) every day. Her knowledge of the day-to-day business of ACJS is irreplaceable and she is a tireless worker. I also want to thank Executive Director Mary Stohr, who stepped into her new position last year and has proved to be an extremely important asset. She has proved to be a tenacious contract negotiator, always keeping the interests of ACJS in the forefront. Mary has also proved to be an important support person for the Executive Board. Most important, she has been

willing to answer the telephone when I have called seeking information and guidance.

Again, I want to thank everyone for their support this year. See you in Philadelphia!

**James Frank is the President of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. He is also a Professor and the Interim Director of the Center for Criminal Justice Research at the University of Cincinnati. He has been the principal investigator for a number of policing-related research projects that primarily focus on understanding the work routines and behavior of street-level police officers. These research projects have examined officer use of evolving police technology, the hiring practices of police agencies, the influence of race on traffic stops, officer decision making, attitudes toward the police and the implementation of problem solving strategies. He has also worked on projects examining juror understanding of death penalty instructions and the impact of collateral consequences of conviction. He has published policing articles in Justice Quarterly, Police Quarterly, Crime and Delinquency, Criminology and Public Policy, and the Journal of Criminal Justice and Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategy and Management, among others.*

Upcoming ACJS Meetings

February 18-22, 2014	Philadelphia, PA
March 3-7, 2015	Orlando, Florida
March 29-April 2, 2016	Denver, Colorado

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interest in both the social and technical aspects of hacking increased, and I have spent the last decade of my career examining the hacker subculture through interviews with active hackers around the world, attending local and national hacker conferences and security events, and examining various forums and online spaces (in addition to various other aspects of cybercrime). With time, I have come to appreciate that there are a number of hackers who engage in malicious activities, some with amazingly sophisticated technological skill, but they do not accurately represent the spectrum of hackers operating around the world. Many individuals in the computer security community apply hacking techniques in order to better secure and defend computer networks or expand the existing capability of technologies. Thus, hackers operate along a continuum based on the ethical outlook of the individual.

There are many behaviors that can constitute a hack, though hacking is most often associated with the modification or alteration of computer hardware or software to enable technology to be used in a new way (Holt, 2007; Levy, 1984; Schell & Dodge, 2002; Turkle, 1984). This could be the manipulation of iPhone software in order to “jailbreak” the device to run various applications and customize the device, or the identification of previously unknown vulnerabilities in a piece of hardware or software that can be used to compromise a system. Individuals can hack virtually any device or piece of software, and the more innovative or unusual the application, the more individuals may gain attention for their efforts.

Not all hacks, however, require technical ingenuity; some focus on the general

inattentiveness of human beings. For instance, individuals can steal someone’s password for an e-mail account or access to a system by looking over his or her shoulder and watching the keystrokes. This act, called “shoulder surfing,” is simple and can be performed by anyone in order to obtain sensitive information (Mitnick & Simon, 2002). Similarly, hackers can employ social engineering tactics to try to convince people to provide them with information that can be used to access different resources (Furnell, 2002; Mitnick & Simon, 2002). These attacks often involve making simple requests and acting clueless in order to prey upon people’s willingness to help others (Mitnick & Simon, 2002). The value of social engineering for malicious purposes is evident in the sheer volume of spam e-mail sent on a daily basis. At the same time, security professionals can benefit from using social engineering techniques against their administrative staff, in order to understand how likely they may be to reveal sensitive information to outsiders.

Though there are substantive variations in the interests, ethics, and activities of hackers by region and age, all operate within a larger subculture that emphasizes common values and belief systems. Three primary norms within the hacker subculture have been identified across multiple studies and samples and over time: (1) technology; (2) knowledge; and (3) secrecy (Holt, 2007; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Meyer, 1989; Taylor, 1999; Thomas, 2002). These norms structure the activities and interests of hackers *regardless* of their involvement in ethical or malicious hacks. These norms are highly interconnected and are important to an understanding of the hacker subculture.

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ACJS 2014 Annual Conference

“Perceptions of Crime and Criminal Justice”

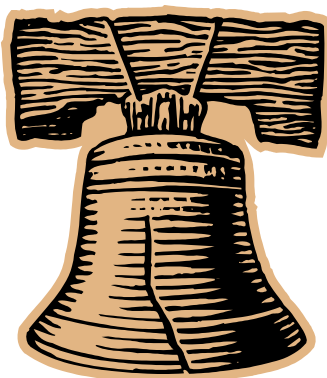
**February 18-22, 2014
Marriott Philadelphia Downtown
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

Program Chairs:

Nicole Leeper Piquero, University of Texas at Dallas, npiquero@utdallas.edu
Christine M. Famega, California State University – San Bernardino, cfamega@csusb.edu

Host Hotel:

Marriott Philadelphia Downtown
1201 Market Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107



The ACJS General Business Meeting will be held at the 2014 Annual Meeting in Philadelphia on Friday, February 21, 2014, at 9:30 AM in Salon H, 5th Floor of the Philadelphia Marriott Downtown.

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Technology

The act of hacking has been directly and intimately tied to technology since the development of the term *hack* in the 1950s (Holt, 2007; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Meyer, 1989; Taylor, 1999; Thomas, 2002). The interests and activities of hackers center on computer software and hardware, as well as associated devices like electronics, video games, and cell phones (Holt, 2007; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Turkle, 1984). These interests are interrelated: Understanding hardware can improve an individual's understanding of software, and vice versa. As a result, an individual's connection to technology increases his or her ability to hack (Holt, 2007; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Taylor, 1999; Thomas, 2002).

To generate such a connection, hackers must develop a deep appreciation of computers and be willing to explore and apply their knowledge in new ways (Jordan & Taylor, 1998). Hackers must be curious and explore technology often through creative play with devices, hardware, and software. Often, this creativity emerges during youth or early adolescence. Many who become involved in the hacker community report developing an interest in technology at an early age. Many hackers report gaining access to computers in their early teens or even younger (Bachmann, 2010; Holt, 2007). Hackers in nations like Turkey gained access to computers and the Internet in public cafes, and schools can also help pique a hacker's interest in technology (Holt, 2010).

Identifying peers who share their affinity for technology on or off line is also extremely valuable because it helps to maintain their

interests. Hackers maintain loose peer associations with individuals in online environments that may be useful in the development of their skill and ability (Holt, 2009a, 2009b; Holt & Kilger, 2012; Meyer, 1989; Schell & Dodge, 2002; Taylor, 1999). There are myriad communities operating via CMCs across the globe that enable hackers at every skill level to identify others who share their interests. In fact, there are hacker-related discussions in social groups via Internet Relay Chat (IRC), forums, blogs, and other online environments (Holt, 2007, 2009a, 2009b). Hackers have operated in Bulletin Board Systems (BBS) since the late 1970s and early 1980s to provide information, tools, and techniques on hacking (Meyer, 1989; Scott, 2005). The content was posted in plain text and occasionally featured images and art made from ASCII text, in keeping with the limitations of technology at the time. These sites allowed asynchronous communications between users, meaning that they could post a message and respond to others. The BBS became an important resource for new hackers because experienced technology users and budding hackers could share detailed information about systems they explored and discuss their exploits (Landreth, 1985).

The BBS enabled hackers to form groups with private networks and create password-protected boards to keep out the uninitiated and maintain privacy (Landreth, 1984; Meyer, 1989). Closed BBS were initially local in nature, based on telephone area codes, but changed with time as more individuals obtained computers and sought out others online. Local hacker groups grew to prominence as a result of BBS, based on their exploits and intrusions into sensitive computer

systems, such as the Masters of Disaster and the Legion of Doom (Slatalla & Quittner, 1995). As a result, it is common for individuals to belong to multiple forums and websites in order to gain access to pivotal resources online.

In addition to online relationships, hackers often report close peer associations with individuals in the real world who are interested in hacking (Holt, 2009a, 2009b; Meyer, 1989; Schell & Dodge, 2002). These networks may form in schools or through casual associations in local clubs. There are also a substantial number of local affiliates of national and international hacker groups—like the 2600 and DEF CON, or DC, groups—around the world (Holt, 2009a). For example, local 2600 groups began to form around the publication of the underground hacker magazine of the same name in the early 1980s (2600 Enterprises, 2011). These chapters operate in order to connect individuals who wish to share their knowledge of computers and technology with others. Similarly, hackerspaces—places where individuals with knowledge of technology can meet and share what they know—have become popular in the past decade (Hackerspaces, 2011). There are now more than 500 hackerspaces globally, often in warehouses or large buildings rented by nonprofit groups in order to give individuals a chance to play with various technologies in an open and encouraging environment (Hackerspaces, 2011). This enables individuals to cultivate social relationships with others offline while also expanding their understanding of and interest in technology.

There are also a number of regional and national conferences in the United States and Europe focusing on hacking and computer security. They range from regional cons (conferences) organized by local groups, such as

PhreakNIC in Nashville, Tennessee and CarolinaCon in Raleigh, North Carolina, to high-profile organized meetings arranged by for-profit industries, like DEF CON (Holt & Kilger, 2012). Hacker conferences are a global phenomenon: One of the oldest conferences in the world is the Chaos Computer Conference, which was first held in 1984 in Germany (Kinkade, Bachmann, & Bachmann, 2013). These conferences can draw speakers and attendees from law enforcement, the intelligence community, computer security professionals, the legal profession, and hackers of all skill levels for discussions on a range of topics: hardware hacking, cryptography, privacy laws, and the latest exploits and vulnerabilities in everything from ATMs to cell phone operating systems (Holt, 2007; Kinkade et al., 2013). Much like a hackerspace, cons play an important role in sharing information about technology and connecting hackers in the real world, which might not otherwise happen in online environments.

Knowledge

The central importance of technology in this subculture drives individuals to have a deep knowledge and mastery of various hardware and software (Meyer, 1989; Holt, 2007; Thomas 2002). Hackers spend a significant amount of time learning about technology in order to understand how devices work. The hacker community stresses that individuals need to learn on their own rather than ask others to teach them how to do things (Holt, 2007; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Taylor, 1999). Though social connections provide access to information and accumulated knowledge, being a hacker means, in part, having experiential knowledge.

An individual interested in hacking cannot ask others to teach him or her how to hack (Holt,

2007; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Taylor, 1999). Such a request would lead a person to be ridiculed or mocked and embarrassed publicly by others. Instead, most hackers learn by spending hours every day reading manuals, tutorials, and forum posts in order to learn new things (Holt, 2007, 2009a; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Taylor, 1999). Hackers also belong to multiple forums, mailing lists, and groups in order to gain access to resources and information (Holt, 2007, 2009a; Holt & Kilger, 2012; Meyer, 1989; Taylor, 1999). There are now hacker forums and websites in virtually every language around the world, with massive communities in the U.S., Europe, Russia, and Asia.

The increasing importance of video-sharing sites has also enabled people to create tutorials that describe and demonstrate how to hack. For instance, Turkish hackers regularly post videos on YouTube and hacker forums that explain in detail how certain hacks work so that they can help others learn about technology (Holt, 2009b). Constant changes in technology also require hackers to stay on the cutting edge of innovations in computer hardware and software, in order to improve their overall understanding of the field.

Individuals who can apply their knowledge of technology in a practical fashion often garner respect from others within the subculture. The hacker subculture is a meritocracy in which individuals are judged on the basis of their knowledge of computer hardware and software. Those with the greatest skill have the most status, while those with little to no ability but a desire to hack receive the least respect from others. Hackers who create new tools, identify unknown exploits, and find novel applications of technology often generate

media attention and respect from their peers in forums and blogs. Demonstrations of technological mastery provide cues that they are hackers with some skill and ability. By contrast, individuals who engage in poorly executed hacks or have minimal skills but try to brag about their activities can be rejected by others (Holt, 2007; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Meyer, 1989).

The value of mastering technology can be seen at cons, where individuals can compete in hacking challenges and competitions. Many conferences hold Capture the Flag competitions in which hackers compete individually or in teams to hack one another while at the same time defending their resources (Holt, 2009a). This demonstrates the dual nature of hacking techniques for both attack and defense. Many cons also hold trivia competitions with questions about computer hardware, software, programming, video games, and the exploits of well-known hackers (Holt, 2009a). These games allow individuals to demonstrate their understanding of and connection to the social history of hacking as well as their technical knowledge. The winners of these competitions are usually recognized at the end of the con and are given prizes for their accomplishment (Holt, 2009a). In fact, I was quite lucky to win a hacker trivia contest during a local con in North Carolina in 2009 due, in large part, to sweeping a video game-related category.

The importance of knowledge is also reflected in the way that hackers refer to individuals within the hacker subculture as well as those who operate outside of it (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2007, 2010; Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Taylor, 1999). There are a variety of terms that

are used to describe hackers. In general, their application differs based upon individual ethics. Individuals who are new to hacking and have minimal knowledge of technology may be referred to as a *noob* or *newbie* (Holt, 2010). This may be used derogatorily in order to embarrass that person, although many simply identify themselves as noobs in order to clearly delineate the fact that they may not know much about technology. Regardless, those who are considered noobs have generally no status within the hacker community (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2010).

As hackers learn and gain an understanding of computer software and hardware, they may attempt to apply their knowledge, with limited success. One of the key ways that a person may hack early on involves the use of tools and kits found on hacker websites and forums (Bachman, 2010; Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2010). The spread of hacker tools over the last two decades has made it relatively easy for individuals to engage in various hacks because these resources automate the exploitation of known vulnerabilities. The ability to quickly and easily hack a target is enticing for individuals who are new to the subculture because they may feel such an act will garner status or respect from others (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2007; Taylor, 1999). They do not, however, understand the way that these tools actually affect computer systems, so their attacks often fail or cause greater harm than initially intended.

As a consequence, many within the hacker subculture use the term *script kiddies* to refer to such individuals and their acts (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2007, 2010; Taylor,

1999). This derogatory term is meant to shame individuals by recognizing their use of pre-made scripts or tools, their lack of skill, and the harm that they may cause. In addition, older members of the hacker community may also refer to noobs or script kiddies as *lamers* or *wannabees*, referencing their limited capacity and skills (Furnell, 2002).

Hackers who spend a great deal of time developing a connection to technology and robust understanding of computer technology may be able to demonstrate that they are more than just a noob or script kiddie (Holt, 2010). Eventually, they may be able to demonstrate enough capacity to be viewed as a hacker by others in the subculture. There is no single way, however, to determine when a person is “officially” considered a hacker (Holt, 2007). For instance, some people may not refer to themselves as a hacker because they feel that being a hacker is something that others must apply to you, rather than something you can bestow upon yourself (Holt, 2007). Others argue becoming a hacker is based on experience, such that you are only a hacker after you can use various programming languages, repair your own computer, and create your own tools and scripts (Holt, 2007; Taylor, 1999).

Within the community of skilled hackers, some use the terms *white hat*, *black hat*, or *grey hat* to refer to actors based on the way that they apply their knowledge (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2007, 2010; Thomas, 2002). White hats are thought to be “ethical” hackers who work to find errors in computer systems and programs to benefit general computer security (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2007, 2010). Black-hat hackers use the same techniques and vulnerabilities in order to gain access to information or harm systems

(Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2007, 2010). Thus, black hats may sometimes argue that they are no different from white hats; instead, it is a perceptual difference among security professionals (Holt, 2007). Grey-hat hackers fall somewhere between these two camps because their motives change depending on the specific situation (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2010). The ambiguous nature of hacker ethics, however, makes it difficult to clearly identify when someone is acting purely in a black or white context. The use of a term like *grey hat* is used to identify the ethical flexibility and lack of consistency in individual hackers' actions (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2007, 2010; Jordan & Taylor, 1998). A grey-hat hacker may use his or her knowledge for beneficial purposes one day and break into a computer system to steal information the next day. Thus, there is significant variation in the actions of skilled hackers.

Secrecy

The importance hackers place on demonstrations of knowledge and deep commitment to technology creates a unique tension within the hacker subculture: the need for secrecy (Jordan & Taylor, 1998; Taylor, 1999; Thomas, 2002). Because some forms of hacking are illegal, individuals who attempt to brag about their activities to others can place themselves at risk of arrest or legal sanctions (Holt & Kilger, 2012; Taylor, 1999). This does not stop hackers from talking about or engaging in illicit activities in relatively public arenas online. Instead, they use various techniques to reduce the likelihood that their real identity will be compromised, such as using handles or nicknames in on- and offline environments (Furnell, 2002; Jordan & Taylor, 1998).

Handles serve as a digital representation of self. They may be humorous or serious, depending on the individual. Some of the better-known examples of handles are associated with scofflaws and villains, like the group the "Legion of Doom" in the 1980s, or represent violence and pillaging, like "Erik Bloodaxe" (Furnell, 2002). Regardless of the handle an individual chooses, its use helps to create a persona that can be responsible for successful hacks and activities and diminish the likelihood of reprisals from law enforcement (Furnell, 2002; Holt, 2010; Jordan & Taylor, 1998).

Some hackers also attempt to segment themselves and shield their activities from the general public through the use of closed web forums and private message boards. Requiring individuals to register with a website or forum gives the posters some degree of privacy and diminishes the likelihood that anyone in the general public may stumble upon their conversations through Google (Meyer, 1989). In fact, some hacker groups keep their sites from appearing in search engine results like Google by turning off the feature "robots.txt" in the html coding. This keeps web spiders from logging the site and reduces the likelihood that their group may be accessed by outsiders. Individuals within the hacker subculture can still identify and gain access to these resources by deep reading and clicking through various links to determine the location of other resources. Hackers, therefore, tread a fine line between sharing information and keeping certain knowledge private (Jordan & Taylor, 1998).

The issue of secrecy has also affected the way that individuals engage one another at conferences and in public settings. The

substantive increase in law enforcement investigations of hackers and the concurrent incorporation of hackers into government and private industry to secure resources mean that individual attendees may be surrounded by people who are focused on identifying malicious hackers (Holt, 2007, 2010; Schell & Dodge, 2002). In fact, the first time I attended the hacker conference DEF CON, people would wince when I mentioned I was trying to conduct interviews for a doctorate in criminology. I would have to convince individuals that I was not trying to work in law enforcement or that I did not only view hackers as criminals. This was actually quite helpful for me to understand the variations present in the ethical and malicious hacker community, but it was quite an initial hurdle to get over. Once I demonstrated my understanding of the hacker community, people became more comfortable with me, but this helped to illustrate that there is a divide in the community between those interested in security and criminal activity.

Discussions and Conclusions

Taken as a whole, the hacker community is complex and involves both legitimate security professionals and malicious criminals. The norms of this subculture affect both groups and appear regardless of where the individual lives. Their interest in and dependence on technology may, however, affect the norms of the community over time. For instance, the popularity of the Internet and easy-to-use computer systems that emerged in the mid-1990s made it easy for individuals to become interested in hacking. Older hackers who had to learn how computers work at deep levels in the 1980s felt the new hacker groups had nowhere near the same capabilities and

and were not as skilled (see Taylor, 1999 for discussion). This created a rift in the community that can still be observed, especially among individuals in their mid 30s and 40s, when they are asked what they think about the current climate of young hackers.

A similar issue has emerged due to the development of forums and IRC channels dedicated to offering hacking and malware on a fee-for-service basis, ranging from hacking e-mail accounts to selling stolen data and attack tools (see Franklin, Paxson, Perrig, & Savage, 2007; Holt, 2013; Holt & Lampke, 2010; Motoyama, McCoy, Levchenko, Savage, & Voelker, 2011). These services eliminate the need for individuals to cultivate skill to complete a hack, and they may create rifts between those who are hackers and those who are simply interested in engaging in computer-based attacks (see Holt & Kilger, 2012). Thus, there is a need to continuously examine the community using on- and offline data to understand how similar technological changes affect the hacker subculture and the relationships between participants.

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In Memoriam: Kelly Cheeseman



Dr. Kelly Cheeseman

Dr. Kelly Cheeseman was our dear colleague and friend and someone we knew collectively for 30 years. We first met Kelly when she came to Sam Houston State University to begin her graduate studies in criminal justice. During this time, Kelly worked hard during the day pursuing her education, but at night she was employed full time as a correctional officer in the Texas Department of Criminal Justice. Kelly worked at the Huntsville Unit, also known as the “Walls Unit” because of the red brick walls that surround the facility. Though Kelly grew up in Vestal, New York and had a heavy Northern accent, she quickly won the respect of her fellow officers. In fact, some of her supervisors referred to Kelly as the “Yankee,” though this was a sign of both affection and respect. It was not long before Kelly began to be given major responsibility within the prison organization. Typically, a newly hired officer would be required to

work cell blocks for several years. However, Kelly’s supervisors quickly recognized that she had an exceptionally strong work ethic and, perhaps more important, an uncanny ability to communicate with both inmates and guards. She had a knack for defusing irate inmates and deescalating tense situations. It wasn’t long before Kelly was assigned to work the searcher’s desk, a position reserved for veteran officers who often come from a long family lineage of prison guards. During her tenure as a correctional officer, Kelly was even asked by the unit warden to work the execution detail, a task that is regarded by other prison employees as one of the most coveted and elite duties to be bestowed upon a correctional officer. Only the best of the best prison employees are permitted to work in this capacity. And although many officers would have gladly accepted this very important responsibility, Kelly graciously turned this opportunity down. She did not believe in the death penalty, and her strong Christian beliefs and moral convictions would not allow her to do anything that could be construed as facilitating an execution. She explained this to her supervisors and once again earned their respect.

It quickly became evident to Kelly’s professors that as a graduate student, she had a research agenda that was significantly different from that of most of the other burgeoning young scholars they taught at Sam Houston State University. Unlike the other students, Kelly’s research agenda was infused with the practitioner perspective, thus lending it a unique credibility. She designed research

hypotheses that were based upon real-life experience. For example, one of the first articles Kelly published as a graduate student examined inmate perceptions of female and male correctional officers. She knew firsthand what it meant to work in a male-dominated prison environment and used this experience as a tool to guide the interpretation of her research findings. And, from the very beginning, Kelly's research was unique in that she almost always collected her own data. She had a special knack for getting both inmate and correctional officer respondents to fill out the long surveys she designed.

It also became evident to everyone that besides being an exceptional researcher, Kelly was an extraordinary teacher. When she began instructing classes as a doctoral teaching fellow at Sam Houston State University, Kelly was well known for taking a strong interest in her students' education and career goals. She also made it a point to relate class material to the outside, real world. Often, Kelly would take her students on prison tours at the Walls Unit. These tours were fun-filled and thoroughly enjoyed by her students as well as fellow graduate students, whom she often invited. The prison tours were typically conducted at night, and occasionally, a few of Kelly's correctional officer coworkers would rattle trashcan lids or make scary noises to give students the illusion that they were touring a haunted cellblock! Kelly truly had a remarkable sense of humor and wasn't afraid to let students see this side of her.

Two years prior to graduating with her Ph.D. from Sam Houston State University, Kelly was promoted to the position of unit profile coordinator in the Texas Department

of Criminal Justice. This was a newly created position as part of the state's proactive effort to comply with the Prison Rape Elimination Act. One of Kelly's major responsibilities in this new role required her to travel throughout Texas to assess the institutional climate of various prison facilities. In this role, she quickly became acquainted with some of the major players in the Texas prison system, and it was evident that Kelly was being groomed for a high-level, executive position within the agency. However, upon graduating from Sam Houston State University in 2006, Kelly said farewell to the Texas Department of Criminal Justice and followed her true passion of teaching and research when she accepted her first academic position as an assistant professor at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia. Later, Kelly would be lured back to the South when she took a job at the University of Southern Mississippi. During her time there, she mentored countless undergraduate and graduate students and was often referred to affectionately as "Dr. Cheese." Being an adventurous person, she would next accept a position as an associate professor at Messiah College in Pennsylvania, a private liberal arts Christian institution with a reputation for being one of the best regional universities in the North. Kelly would quickly become the coordinator of the Criminal Justice Program and was soon promoted to the position of department chairperson, overseeing the disciplines of sociology, social work, and criminal justice.

During her academic career, Kelly delved into countless areas in criminal justice in the course of her research. She built a solid national reputation for publishing numerous peer-reviewed articles, as well as a scholarly

book on correctional officer stress. She was, without question, one of the foremost experts on this subject, and her important work will continue to be cited by prison researchers for many, many years to come. And although her academic and professional achievements are impressive by any standard, above everything else, Kelly was a genuinely thoughtful and caring person. She always made time for others; she had an infectious laugh and an amazing ability to empathize with those who were less fortunate. Perhaps this is why she was able to flourish as both an officer and, later, as an administrator in the Texas Department of Criminal Justice. Kelly also worked as correctional officer for the Federal Bureau of Prisons at the Federal Correctional Complex in Allenwood, Pennsylvania. Kelly had a very strong moral compass, which was guided by her Christian faith. She was not afraid to express her religious convictions to others. Kelly always lived by her principles and never compromised, even in situations when others might have been tempted to do so. It is fitting that she recently published an ethics textbook specifically geared toward the everyday criminal justice professional. There is no doubt that Kelly Cheeseman was an authority on this topic; she lived her life with passion and honor. Those of us who knew Kelly well are better persons for having met her.

Written on 12/27/13 by Robert Worley and Wes Johnson

On the Criminalization of Dissent: Deconstructing Official Oppression in an Age of Neoliberalism



*Jeffrey Shantz**

The criminalization of dissent has been a common feature of neo-liberal governance in the current period of capitalist globalization. It has accompanied various structural adjustment and free trade policies as the required force to impose such programs on unwilling publics. Police violence has been a constant feature of alternative globalization demonstrations. Examples of escalating state attacks on opponents of global capital include tear gas attacks; use of rubber bullets and concussion grenades; illegal searches and seizures; surveillance and beatings of arrestees; and, most severely, the deaths of people at the hands of police, as in Genoa and England.

Over the last two decades many (most) of the Western liberal democratic states have initiated broad-ranging policies and practices infringing on civil liberties, limiting or removing procedural rights for those targeted by the state and restricting the mobility of migrants (labor) with tougher immigration refugee laws and the heightened securitization of borders. Among

the countries that have enacted sweeping changes to legal practices since 9/11 are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States (see Epifanio, 2011). Although legislation such as the USA PATRIOT Act in the U.S. is well known, other examples are the Anti-Terrorism Act in Canada and the Gesetz zur Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus (Law for Fighting International Terrorism) in Germany. As Epifanio suggests, the extent of repressive transformations, curtailing previous rights of citizens, has been dramatic, “eventually leaving the security laws of no liberal democracy unchanged” (p. 400).

Indeed, recent transformations call into question, even unseat, assumptions of liberal democracy. They represent real threats to, and in some cases the removal of, fundamental pillars such as due process, presumption of innocence, right to disclosure of evidence, open hearings, timely processing, even *habeas corpus*. In the U.S., there is legal opinion that practices such as mass online surveillance violate the Constitution (Associated Press, 2013). Often these transformations have been effected through discourses and practices of racial profiling (Shantz, 2010a, 2010b).

Ironically, the criminalization of dissent has become a central feature of liberal

democracies. Much public attention has been paid to more dramatic manifestations of the criminalization of dissent carried out against protesters and activists in street demonstrations and protests. In part, these manifestations have involved the deployment of force and violence by police against civilians. At the same time, police have developed practices, such as mass arrests and preemptive arrests, that target, search, detain, and process large numbers of people regardless of their specific activities or involvement in a protest. One particularly troubling innovation has been the practice of so-called kettling, in which police corral people on the streets (protesters, pedestrians, workers, and observers alike) into alleyways or side streets and then prevent them from leaving (putting them in a “kettle”), arresting all present. In Toronto during the G2 meeting of 2010, more than 1,000 people were arrested, the largest mass arrests in Canadian history, most through police kettling (Malleeson & Wachsmuth, 2012). Kettling has also been used recently during protests in Denmark (Rawlinson & Ferguson, 2009), France (ECHR News, 2011), Spain (Ouziel, 2011), the United Kingdom (Joyce, 2010; Malik, 2011), and the United States (Wright, 2011). Note that people are arrested and detained without suspicion of having engaged or planning to engage in a criminal act (indeed, most are released without charge, conveniently after the political economic summits are over). A court decision in the UK in 2010 found kettling to be illegal, yet the practice has continued even in that national context (Doctorow, 2011).

In the era of globalization protests, police have moved from attempting to restrain protesters directly using traditional means such as batons, riot squads, and pepper spray, which

failed during the Seattle protests of 1999 and the demonstrations against the IMF and World Bank in 2000, to developing containment strategies prior to demonstrations occurring during events of global bodies such as the World Bank or WTO. During the protests against the Organization of American States (OAS) in Windsor, Ontario in 2000, a security fence closed off several city blocks around the convention center at which meetings were scheduled to take place. Official delegates were flown to the meeting site by helicopter from Detroit. Protesters who approached the fence were then pepper sprayed. The fence, sealing off several city blocks around the convention site, reappeared as a crowd control technique during the 2001 protests against the OAS in Quebec City. There, protesters were bombarded by thousands of canisters of tear gas over three days of demonstrations. Water cannons and rubber bullets were also deployed.

In addition to openly repressive, even violent, policing practices, the criminalization of dissent has encompassed transformations in legal practices involving privacy laws, procedural laws, and immigration laws (Epifanio, 2011). Privacy laws deal with information, physical, and spatial privacy. Practices include collection of physical information such as biometric data, tracking of communications and movements of people, and collection of personal records and data. Procedural laws involve basic procedural guarantees and protection of liberties, such as freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention, right to disclosure, and so on. In Canada, France, and the UK, for example, people can be detained for days or even years without charge in alleged terror cases (Epifanio, 2011). Major changes have occurred in immigration laws and migration policies, including extraordinary detention and deportation using “security certificates” in the Canadian

context, again in so-called terror cases that can target people simply involved in liberation movements (Shantz, 2010a, 2010b).

In Canada, the Anti-Terrorism Act introduced a new Criminal Code definition of “terrorist activity,” which includes “substantial property damage” or “serious interference with or serious disruption of an essential service, facility, or system, whether public or private.” Specifically, part of the definition refers to threats to the “economic security” of Canada as terroristic. Critics have raised concerns that this could be used against workers or protesters involved in strikes, work-to-rule campaigns, occupations, or walkouts. Although the government’s definition of a terrorist act does manage to exclude legally recognized strikes and demonstrations, it makes this exclusion conditional and ambiguous. Legal activities can potentially drift into the realm of terrorism if they seriously disrupt any essential service. Thus, demonstrations are called into question when they might actually break free of the limits of symbolic, legal protest to register dissent or disagreement with employers or government and begin to effectively challenge existing structures and practices of injustice or inequality. The definition threatens workers and protesters with the suggestion that should their actions begin to upset the established order and its day-to-day function (perhaps through blockades, occupations, property damage, sabotage etc.), they may be subject to provisions of the Anti-Terrorism Act, including arrest, detention for an indeterminate period of time, and secret trial. Even more, by specifically referencing legal strikes (those that are compliant with the limited definition of allowable practices under

labor law) as exempt from the legislation, the Act implicitly opens wildcat strikes or strikes that defy labor laws, such as sympathy strikes, to being defined as acts of terrorism because these are usually illegal and may involve acts that could be construed as violence (e.g., blockading a work site as part of a wildcat strike; Legras, 2001).

Activities covered by the Anti-Terrorism Act go beyond actual commission of an act of terrorism. The Act includes within its purview planning to commit an act, threatening to commit and act, and inciting other people to commit an act that is defined as terroristic. Given the broad definition of what is included as an act of terrorism, it is possible that someone could be charged with terrorism for calling upon protesters to occupy a public building to disrupt services or publishing a pamphlet that encourages unionists to wildcat.

Notably, politicians from various stripes, including both those who back and those who oppose the Act’s definition of a terrorist act, have remarked that had it been in force prior to late 2001, the alternative globalization and union demonstrators who mobilized to disrupt the OAS Summit of the Americas in Quebec City and the demonstrators, organized by the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), who paralyzed Toronto’s financial district with a mass snake march in October of 2001 could well have been prosecuted under its provisions (Legras, 2001; McNally, 2010). Indeed, OCAP has been named by various media, government, and police officials as a group that they would like to see added to the terror list because of its history of successful direct actions against employers and politicians. Defenders of the legislation suggest that the Act would not impact opposition or resistance because “legal” or “nonviolent” activities are exempt.

However, and this is partly the point, such terms of reference and statist constructions of “dissent” restrict protest and resistance at the outset to terms and conditions decided and approved by the state (activities limited beforehand to such terms can hardly qualify as resistance, or even dissent, at all). Furthermore, as has been shown time and again during recent protests, the state, media, and corporate definitions of violence differ greatly from those of “activists.” Although governments, corporations, and media may uniformly portray destruction of corporate or state property as violence, this view is not shared at all by activists nor agreed upon by the broader public. Yet the state will decide how such acts are defined for purposes of criminalization.

Defenders of the legislation suggest nonviolent activities wouldn't be defined as terrorist, yet protest activities, as well as strikes, are often defined as, and indeed often become, violent (which may only include property damage rather than any harm to persons), as when store or government windows are broken during protests or when company property is damaged during a strike. Similarly, a hard blockade of a public space could be defined as violence.

Along with the implementation of anti-terrorism laws, governments in Canada and the U.S., for example, have established lists of groups deemed to be terrorist organizations. These lists lump together reactionary groups as well as legitimate liberation movements (partly as a means to discredit the latter). States have authorized themselves to seize the assets of all listed organizations and to mobilize legal mechanisms, including arrest and detention, against people presumed to be members and/or

supporters of listed organizations. The legislation also empowers the state to seize the assets of those associated with listed organizations.

Anti-terror laws and the construction of terror group lists represent a dangerous trend in recent legislation. This is the construction of associational laws that empower states to criminalize people not for specific acts they have engaged in but simply for association (real or perceived) with groups that the government has targeted, whether those groups have engaged in criminal or “terroristic” activity themselves. This is a dangerous trend in that it removes basic legal protections that people take for granted within liberal democracies, including the presumption of innocence, probable cause, and the right to disclosure of specific charges and evidence. It renders notions of *mens rea* and *actus reus* meaningless. One can be arrested and detained, often for indeterminate periods, simply for a perceived association. In Canada, for example, association can be determined by as little as wearing a patch from a listed group or distributing their literature.

Defenders of the legislation suggest that indefinite detention only applies, for now, to noncitizens. The point, however, is not that it does not apply to citizens; it is the application, period. Social justice advocates should not defer to statist divisions on the basis of status or citizenship (as the activists suggest, “no one is illegal”) and should not reinforce othering phobias based on migrant status (it's all right to treat them thusly). Noncitizens could be detained following public involvement, and community advocates must express solidarity on the basis of social justice rather than migrant status. Notably, the terror group lists are only a recent manifestation of attempts by governments to

develop associational criminalization policies in the neo-liberal period. In 2001, before the 9/11 events, the Canadian government passed anti-gang laws, ostensibly directed at biker gangs, which empowered the state to arrest, detain, and seize the assets of anyone deemed to be a gang associate. Notably, almost immediately upon passage of the legislation, then-Toronto Police Chief Julian Fantino attempted to have a local anti-poverty group known for direct action campaigns to be listed as a criminal gang. Such are the underlying threats to civil liberties and dissent posed by such policies. In addition, police have used non-association conditions of release from jail as a means to keep activists arrested at protests from participating further with community advocacy groups.

We have, of course, our own criticisms of acts of brutality against citizens or against regular folks. We do not support such actions by civilian organizations. We surely do not want the government to make the call, however. We do not want the state being the one to decide what sorts of actions are acceptable or not. Because, inevitably, that is going to happen on the basis of geopolitics. It's not going to happen on the basis of real concern. We do not want to get into the notion of worthy and unworthy victims. We know how that is played out: that some people being killed is okay if the state or approved sponsors are doing it. It's a hypocritical position.

We need to be clear, and openly acknowledge, that the criminalization of dissent, and associated anti-terror

justifications, represent and are part of a very real militarization of social life. This is not metaphorical as the integration of military and police forces to put down dissent at events such as the G8 meetings in Kananaskis, Alberta (Adelaide, 2002; Barr, 2003), the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver (Neufeld, 2010) and 2012 Summer Games in London (Gardham, 2011; Burns, 2012), and the G20 meetings in Toronto in 2010 (Malleon & Wachsmuth, 2012; Morrow, 2013) show. In each case, governments have relied on the deployment of integrated security (police at local, state/provincial, and federal levels and the military) to secure spaces free from public manifestations of dissent. The Joint Intelligence Group, a section of the Integrated Security Unit, during the G20 meetings in Toronto represents the largest domestic intelligence operation in Canadian history (Groves & Dubinsky, 2011). At its height of operations it employed around 500 staff and cost public funds of approximately \$1 billion (Groves & Dubinsky, 2011). And most of its efforts were directed at criminalizing activists. This included the controversial infiltration of social justice groups (and manipulation of personal relationships) for a period of about 18 months (Groves & Dubinsky, 2011).

The G8 meetings in Kananaskis were the most significant, large-scale homeland mobilization of Canadian troops since the October Crisis of 1970, in which martial law was imposed in response to kidnappings of a government minister and diplomat by the Front de Libération du Québec (Adelaide, 2002; Stainsby, 2003). The result was the enclosure and securitization of the entire town of Kananaskis, what some termed "Fortress Kananaskis." Government accounts pegged security spending on the summit at U.S. \$200 million. More than 6,000 personnel of the Canadian Armed Forces and around 4,500 police

were deployed at Kananaskis and the nearest major city to Kananaskis, the city of Calgary. A 6.5-kilometer no-go zone was instituted around Kananaskis Village, and a 150-kilometer-radius no-fly zone was imposed. The lone road into Kananaskis was stratified with 22 security checkpoints. All seeking land entry into Kananaskis were subjected to repeated security checks and searches of their vehicles. Those allowed passage were escorted by security teams. CF-18 fighter jets monitored air space from the skies, and three anti-aircraft missile batteries were placed to police the skies from the ground. Troops were given shoot-to-kill orders.

Neither has this militarization been strictly national. During the 2010 Winter Games, for example, the U.S. military and intelligence forces were actively involved in both planning and operational functions of security in British Columbia (ESPN, 2009). In December of 2013, as part of the Snowden releases, it was revealed that before and during the G20 in Toronto, the Communications Security Establishment Canada (CSEC) was closely integrated with the National Security Agency (NSA) in database access and street surveillance. Although CSEC is supposed to be restricted legislatively from surveilling Canadian citizens, the Snowden files show that CSEC was providing information on Canadian citizens to NSA (Ljunggren, 2013).

At the same time, this militarization has not only involved shorter term mobilizations for specific meetings of economic and/or political elites (as at global summits). It has also involved the militarization of borders through

development of high-tech surveillance regimes and detention, and often interrogation, of migrants.

At another level, the revelations of ongoing surveillance of civilians through operations of the NSA (and the complicity of multinational capital such as Facebook, Google, etc.) reveals the extension of military intelligence to cover potentially the entire domestic civilian population (Associated Press, 2013). This military surveillance is also expressed in the expanding use of unmanned aircraft or drones (crucial in the state terror inflicted by the United States government against civilians in Pakistan and Yemen, for example, which has resulted in numerous civilian deaths) to patrol civilians in the “homeland” of the U.S. itself. That private companies, from Amazon to Domino’s Pizza, are finding profitable uses for drones and planning to expand their deployment shows the convergence of business and military in the neo-liberal democracies. It is the convergence of the panopticon with the military-industrial complex.

Given the access sought and gained by intelligence agencies to data accumulated by private firms (including some of those already mentioned), one needs to be attuned to the real threats to civil and human rights posed by these developments. Indeed, in Canada in 2013, the government made it a requirement for companies bidding on the expanded wireless spectrum that they sign an agreement to hand over data requested by the government, to allow for government surveillance (Freeze & Trichur, 2013). Clearly, the “war on terror” is being taken seriously by the states initiating and/or

endorsing it. But at least some of its means are being deployed against domestic civilians. It will be a matter of social struggles and the composition of resistance that will delimit the extension of these means.

Notably, the criminalization of dissent has moved beyond government actions to include the actions of citizens' groups or vigilantes. One might mention the Minutemen Project, involving armed citizens' groups patrolling the Mexico-U.S. border and targeting migrants, often violently. Some examples of reactionary citizen mobilization are spurred by governments themselves. The infamous Highway Watch program in the U.S. called up interstate truck drivers to keep watch for "suspicious activities" on highways and in service stations. Unfortunately, most tips were provided on the basis of racial profiling.

Certainly, criminologists have a part to play in struggles against the criminalization of dissent and militarization of social life. Indeed, given that our work is focused on analyzing the institutions of criminalization, our contributions can be particularly insightful. The policies and practices by which dissent is criminalized have nothing to do with addressing social concerns or social harms. Rather than tools for justice, they are weapons of repression and injustice.

Criminologists must work to counter the ideological construction of protest as terror, of activists as extremists, and of any alternative to state capitalist ideology as

radicalism. Criminology must restore the understanding of terrorism as actions carried out by states against those they view as opponents. Criminology must work to shift the focus of social concern onto those harms that are most impactful on and destructive to society. These include corporate crimes, environmental devastation, political repression, state surveillance, fraud, and corruption (and, dare we say, exploitation).

In Canada, for example, twice as many people are killed simply carrying out their job descriptions at work than are murdered each year. No one has been killed in a terrorist attack in almost 30 years. There is no record of any death by protest, ever—except of protesters killed by police or military—in the country's history.

Criminologists must work to remind the public, as well as ourselves, that "radical" simply means getting to the roots of social problems. It does not refer to any specific tactic or strategy. Criminology must question and oppose the state's attempts to define extremism. Few actions are as extreme as those undertaken by states in the violence inflicted on civilian populations. Yet these are identified as normal operations. States identify almost anything beyond the ballot box as "extreme" when referring to social movements and activism. In this way, direct action, civil disobedience, boycotts, and other forms of alternative politics can be dismissed and/or punished as "extreme." As the Joint Intelligence Group (JIG) in Canada ahead of the G20 constructed community advocacy,

The 2010 G8 summit in Huntsville ... will likely be subject to actions taken by criminal extremists motivated by a variety of radical ideologies. These ideologies may

include variants of anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, nihilism, socialism and/or communism.... The important commonality is that these ideologies ... place these individuals and/or organizations at odds with the status quo and the current distribution of power in society (ISU-JIG, 2009).

It really could not be more clearly stated. The real concern is with people organizing against the interests of economic and political elites and raising concerns about structures of inequality and injustice. They are a threat only in that they oppose the status quo. And that is enough to subject them to surveillance, arrest, detention, even violence by the state (as actually played out during the G8/G20 meetings).

Defenders of these practices point out that the JIG itself states that “the existence of these ideologies and the grievances that emanate from them is not, in itself, problematic” (ISU-JIG, 2009). Yet the document again goes on to stress that the ideas are all right as long as they do not *advocate* actions that could be illegal. So anarchist ideas are acceptable, as long as they do not take shape in actions and as long as they do not advocate acts that might be illegal. (What anarchism would exist solely in the realm of ideas—and ideas that accept all definitions and restrictions of the current criminal justice system? Non-anarchism, perhaps.) Of course, once again the JIG is formed largely to target activists groups and

to restrict their activities to those that are ineffectual or purely symbolic. Wildcat strikes, occupations, and blockades can all be illegal. An anarchist rank-and-file worker simply *advocating* such actions would fall outside the JIG bounds of acceptability. Indeed, prior to the G20, members of an anarchist collective, which had been infiltrated by police, were arrested and detained *before the protests even started*, simply for joking during meetings about carrying out acts targeting corporate property. Two members were given prison sentences of up to 16 months for *doing nothing* but discussing property damage and/or how to “de-arrest” someone (Mackrael & Morrow, 2012; Morrow, 2012). One could say, despite the JIG statement, that they were arrested for their anarchist ideologies (discussed in small, infiltrated meetings).

Beyond offering critical analysis of the harmful impacts of the criminalization of dissent and anti-terror measures on people and communities subjected to state practices and documenting instances of civil rights violations, racial profiling, and human rights abuses, criminologists must move from the sidelines of critique to act in solidarity with those who are organizing to resist repressive state activities and opposing the convergence of military-industrial/state-corporate interests and their expressions in public policy. Criminologists must stand and work publicly to challenge and oppose these expressions of repressive governance. If such opposition is rendered as the actions of extremists or insurgents, then we must affirm ourselves as insurgents—we must assert an insurgent criminology. We cannot sit by, even critically, while the systems we study

run amok. We need to call the criminalization of dissent what it is, repression, and find new, proper terms to name the new post-liberal/post-democratic forms of governance.

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Discussing the Ins and Outs of Qualitative Research: A Conversation with Heith Copes



**Qualitative Researcher
Extraordinaire, Heith Copes***

Lately, it seems as though there is renewed interest in qualitative research. This may be due, in part, to the fact that many scholars, such as Heith Copes, are publishing fascinating qualitative studies which delve into virtually all areas of the criminal justice system. I recently had the opportunity to visit with Heith and ask him a few questions about his fascinating work.

RW: You've conducted some extremely interesting qualitative research studies over the last several years. When did you first become interested in qualitative research strategies? Has anyone in particular influenced your work or helped guide your research goals?

HC: Thank you for asking me to be a part of the Q&A portion of *ACJS Today*. I appreciate the kind words. I have been very fortunate to study under and work with very skilled qualitative researchers. As an undergraduate, I was a student of Craig Forsyth at the University of

Louisiana–Lafayette (then University of Southwestern Louisiana). He has a knack for finding odd topics and interesting deviant groups. He was instrumental in my believing that I could do this for a living. Then, as a graduate student at the University of Tennessee, I worked with Neal Shover. After finishing my thesis (which was quantitative), I realized I really should take advantage of this opportunity to have Shover supervise my dissertation and that it should be qualitative. Both Forsyth and Shover had strong influences on my decision to pursue academics and to focus on qualitative methods.

RW: So, you've obviously had two great mentors.

HC: Absolutely. And, I am also inspired by the various people I currently work with. Much of the success I've had is because of these people. It is hard not to be inspired when you work with qualitative researchers like Andy Hochstetler, Lynne Vieraitis, Sveinung Sandberg, Kent Kerley, Rick Tewksbury, Dean Dabney, Volkan Topalli, Fiona Brookman, Mitch Miller, and Rod Brunson. They all do great qualitative and ethnographic work. I recently was invited to work with faculty at the University of Oslo (specifically Sveinung Sandberg and Willy Pedersen). Working with them and the students there was incredible and reminded me I have lots more to learn.

RW: A lot of scholars within the discipline of criminal justice tend to use quantitative methodologies. So, what is it about qualitative methods that intrigues you?

HC: I like that you never know what you are going to get with a qualitative project. You may start out looking for something but end up far from it by the time you're done. Some of the papers I'm most proud of came about from the twists and turns of the research process. I started out looking for one thing when new, more exciting topics emerged. For example, I was interviewing carjackers to learn more about the decisions they make when stealing cars. I included questions about their drug use and general lifestyle. From these questions whole new topics emerged. I learned about the social organization of renting cars for crack, about how they commit violent acts but don't see themselves as violent people, and about how crack users create symbolic boundaries to distinguish themselves (as hustlers) from crackheads (despite being addicted to crack). These were topics I hadn't considered until the participants started talking about them.

RW: That paper about crack users was a great one by the way. One of my favorites.

HC: Thanks. You know, when I reflect on my interests, I realize that I have long been fascinated with the lives of people who often don't have a voice in popular media. Even now, when my wife and I take vacations, we are more likely to drive down the Mississippi Delta to experience the Blues Highway or tour small towns in southern Appalachia than we are to go to major cities. Growing up, I really enjoyed watching "On the Road" with Charles Kuralt. In the show, he would go to small towns and interview ordinary people about their lives. He always presented them in extraordinary ways. He'd show a guy who stood on a corner and waved at people all day. Or an elderly man who was so gifted at shooting rubber bands that he could trim the top off a dandelion from 10 feet. These people were mesmerizing. At

the end of the show he would say, "We heard about a story down the road a ways. With luck we'll come across something more interesting along the way. The road is bending; I wonder what's around the bend?" This is my take on most of my research. I'm always excited to start a project, but I'm even more excited to see what new and better things come about because there is always something wonderful around the bend.

RW: Well put. You know, over the years, you've interviewed some rather unsavory characters, ranging from meth users to identity thieves to carjackers. Yet, when reading your articles, it never seems as though you are judgmental of your respondents.

HC: I wouldn't call them unsavory and I try not to judge them. They are just people who have made different decisions or were brought up differently than me. Of course, there have been times the people I'm speaking to say things I don't like, but I haven't been disturbed or unsettled by a class of people. I simply try to understand things from their perspective.

RW: Are there any topics or groups of people that you would prefer not to research?

HC: I probably won't start interviewing attorneys or judges anytime soon. I don't think I'd be as good talking to those kinds of people.

RW: And, why do you say that?

HC: I think I'd have a harder time developing rapport with them. And, I'd have to buy and wear a suit just to interview them.

RW: From reading your work, it seems evident that you're able to establish a very strong rapport

with your research participants. This is in spite of the fact that your respondents often tend to be quite different from you. How are you able to do this so effectively?

HC: I don't see them as that different from me. As they say in the South, "there, but for the grace of God." Neal Shover has talked about how crossing class lines in one's life is advantageous for qualitative interviewers. He argues that doing so provides the researcher with insights into the ways different people see the world. My current profession affords me the luxury of being in the middle class, but this hasn't always been the case. Since I can remember, I've interacted with and hung out with people from different backgrounds. Really, I just talk to people. If they say something funny, I laugh. If they say something sad, I empathize. If they ask me questions, I answer them. In short, I talk to them like I would anyone else. There isn't really any secret I have for developing rapport. I try to be mindful of their responses and social cues and just try to steer the conversation in certain ways to get them to talk about specific topics.

RW: In many of your qualitative studies, you have conducted interviews with prisoners. Many researchers have written that it can often be fairly challenging to gain access to the inmates. How have you been able to get correctional officials to approve of your research and allow you to interview inmates?

HC: Interviewing in prisons means you have to navigate the bureaucracy. Although it is probably still easier than finding these people out in the wild, it can be a challenge. I've interviewed inmates in state prisons (in Alabama and Louisiana) and federal prisons across the

country. Each has its own bureaucracy. My dad worked for a private prison in Louisiana, so that made things easy for the interviews I did in those prisons. Things are a little more complicated when you don't have those connections. In Alabama, I had to write a formal proposal and have it reviewed by someone at the Alabama Department of Corrections. It took time and we had to modify a few things, but we were able to collect the data we wanted. It was a similar process for getting access to federal prisons. Here, we worked with someone at the federal Bureau of Prisons. Once we got through their review process and ethics board, they helped get into the individual prisons.

RW: Are there any unique challenges that come with interviewing prisoners?

HC: There are definitely challenges with interviewing prisoners. One of the biggest is that you are at the mercy of the administration. If they say no recorders, then you don't record. If they say you have to be there at 9:00 am and leave by lunch, then this is when you interview. If something goes wrong in the prison, they can stop you from interviewing altogether. I was working with Lynne Vieraitis interviewing identity thieves in federal prisons. On several occasions, we flew to remote prisons only to be turned away at the gate. On one occasion, a prison employee smuggled a gun into the prison and killed an FBI agent sent to arrest him. We didn't interview anyone that day.

RW: One of my favorite academic articles of all time is one that you just published in *Criminology* with Andy Hochstetler and Craig Forsyth. In this article, titled "Peaceful Warriors," the three of you interviewed 23

working-class, white men who had a long history of fighting in bars and taverns. In this piece, you specifically examined the norms that dictated how they were able to engage in violence to earn respect and defend their reputations. This was a very interesting article, which had never really been done, at least not with this type of sample. What made you and your colleagues decide to embark upon this project?

HC: This paper came about from talking with a close family member who frequently gets into fights. He's not a criminal or an addict. He just drinks hard and fights hard. After hanging out with him and his friends and talking about their fights (and narrowly avoiding one or two), it seemed to me that many of the fights were the result of standing up for others (at least that's how they portrayed it). It was clear that the Southern culture of honor effected his perception of self. After discussing this conversation (and others like it) with Andy and Craig, we thought that elaborating on the code for violence among white working-class males would be a good counterbalance to all the research that focuses on violence committed by minority males in urban areas.

RW: I thought it was great the way you and your coauthors were able to get these tough, alpha males to open up about their feelings. Many of these men revealed their vulnerabilities.

HC: These guys didn't consider themselves to be alpha males. I think this label connotes overt aggression, and these guys didn't see themselves as such. From their perspective, they were just standing their ground. In fact, when they did discuss fights in which they were the aggressors,

they were apologetic and remorseful. Talking about their exploits wasn't that big a deal for them. People in general like to tell stories. Adding violence to the stories usually makes them more exciting. We also had the help of a recruiter and interviewer who was respected as a fighter in the town. His participation certainly helped get these guys to open up.

RW: Did you ever feel as though some of your respondents were exaggerating or telling you things they thought you wanted to hear?

HC: Of course. We all exaggerate stories for dramatic effect. Stories that only relay the truth are not as engrossing as those with exaggerations. But that doesn't mean they were telling us what we wanted to hear. I'd say they were telling us stories with characters who they wanted to be. The honorable fighter is a real type of person for these men. Their stories reflect heroes (usually themselves) defending honor against villains (usually the instigator). Their stories allowed them to be the heroes of the tale. This is an oversimplification, of course, as sometimes they did tell tales in which they were at fault and believed that they deserved what came to them. However, those tales were told with a hint of remorse and as support of the larger theme: Real men fight only for honor or defense.

RW: I noticed that a few of the pseudonyms you used were a bit feminine (e.g., Kelly, Dana, Renee). Why did you opt for some of these nicknames?

HC: In no way were we poking fun at these guys. Doing so would be disrespectful, classless, and deserving of a retaliatory response. I've used a number of strategies when selecting aliases. In one project, I used the names from a local high school sports team. Many of the names for this project came from people I went to school with. I'm from Lafayette (where the data were collected), and I knew

people with all these names. It never occurred to me that some were feminine. In fact, Renee was the name of a kid who lived near me who no one wanted to fight because of his toughness. Perhaps it is the French influence, but those names are relatively common in South Louisiana, so it never occurred to me that they would be perceived as feminine.

RW: Many of your respondents seemed to be quite likeable. Did you enjoy interacting with them? Did you ever feel like sitting down after the interview and having a beer with one of these subjects?

HC: I didn't do the interviews. We had an insider recruit and interview the guys. However, I have met and spoken with many of the people who were interviewed. In fact, I knew several of them growing up. All are likeable. All are easy to get along with. None wanted to fight me, so that was good. It's been a while since I have been punched with ill intent. I don't think I'd be as resilient to a blow to the head as I once was.

RW: Well, best not to find out.

HC: Agreed.

RW: Given your extremely high level of productivity, you must be working on other qualitative research projects. What are you currently working on?

HC: I'm still too young to retire, so I am certainly still working on or thinking about future projects. Lately, I've been drifting toward work on narrative criminology, which focuses on the importance of stories in both the explanation for and cause of crime. I find this area speaks to me, and likely whatever specific type of offender I start

interviewing, I'll use this point of view. I have also been working with students each summer as part of a NSF-funded Research Experiences for Undergraduates grant (Kent Kerley is the PI). Each summer we bring in undergraduates from all over the country and work with them on an intensive research project that is largely qualitative. The last couple of summers we've interviewed women meth users. We haven't nailed down the topic for this summer, but it will likely focus on women drug users.

RW: I'm not familiar with this program.

HC: The UAB Crime Research Experiences for Undergraduates (REU) is designed to give students who otherwise might not have these opportunities the opportunity to conduct research in criminal justice, forensic science, or digital forensics. I work with the criminal justice students. Any undergraduate can apply, but we give special consideration to those who come from underrepresented groups and from teaching-intensive universities. It has been a really great experience (for me and the students). If nothing else, I hope that the program will encourage a new group of criminologists who use qualitative methods in the future.

**Heith Copes is an Associate Professor of Criminal Justice at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. Dr. Copes' research has been published in such journals as Criminology, Social Problems, the British Journal of Criminology, Deviant Behavior, and Justice Quarterly, among others. His research interests include criminal decision making as it relates to various types of illegal behavior including drug distribution, automobile theft, and identity theft which has been funded by the National Institute of Justice. He is well-known for his use of qualitative methods.*

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Preparing for the 51st Annual ACJS Conference



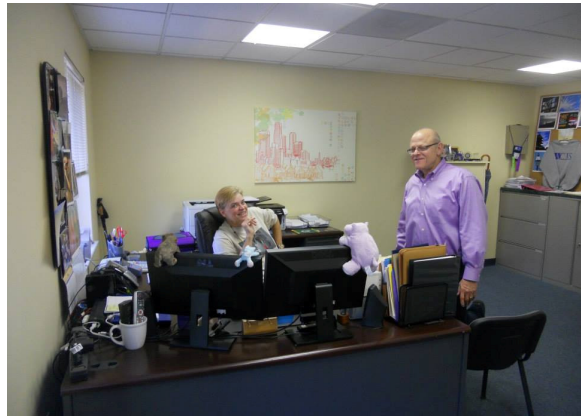
ACJS Executive Board, 2013-2014

In back, from left to right: Brad Smith, Prabha Unnithan, Phil Reichel, David Montague, Brandon Applegate, Craig Hemmens, Brian Payne and Alexis Miller.

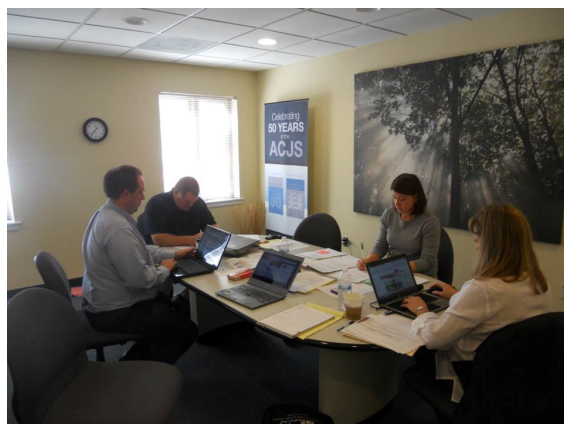
In front, from left to right: Jim Frank, Heather Pfeiffer, Denise Gosselin, and Marlyn Jones



ACJS President, Jim Frank, 1st Vice President, Brian Payne, and Southern Regional Trustee, Alexis Miller enjoying some time at the Southern Criminal Justice Conference as they make preparations for the upcoming ACJS Conference.



ACJS Manager, Cathy Barth and ACJS President, Jim Frank discuss plans for the 2014 Conference.



David May, Nick Piquero, Christine Famiga, and Brian Payne working hard on the program.

The Value and Role of Research in the American Probation and Parole Association



*Brett Garland**

In July of 2013, I attended the American Probation and Parole Association's (APPA) 38th annual training institute as a representative of ACJS. I attended the training institute on behalf of ACJS to better understand the role and perception of scientific research in the APPA. After I visited with several APPA officials and members and attending workshops, committee meetings, and training sessions, it quickly became evident that the APPA places high value on promoting research-informed policies and practices and is actively engaged in efforts to find evidence-based solutions for modern problems facing community corrections. In this article, I share my experiences and what I learned about the APPA at the summer training institute.

Considering that the APPA is widely known and has established a strong reputation in correctional circles, I was surprised to learn that the APPA is only about four decades old. The association dates back to 1974, when

probation professionals dissatisfied with a lack of national representation persuaded the Probation Committee of the American Correctional Association to organize the American Probation Association. A year later, parole was welcomed into the fold and the APPA was officially formed. The APPA has grown rapidly into an international association with more than 3,000 individual and 165 agency members. According to Carl Wicklund, APPA's executive director, the organization's mission for more than 20 years has been clearly defined as "to serve, challenge, and empower members and constituents by educating, communicating, and training; advocating and influencing; acting as a resource and conduit for information, ideas, and support; developing standards and models; and collaborating with other disciplines."

Although the word "research" is not specifically mentioned in the mission statement, it is implied and pervasive in the APPA's daily operations. The APPA is directly involved in a number of research projects with several different organizations. For example, Nathan Lowe, APPA research associate and doctoral candidate at the University of Kentucky, noted that the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) provided funding to the APPA in 2008 to develop a risk and need assessment instrument. This instrument's unique purpose is to identify DWI offenders most suitable for community

supervision and specify appropriate levels of supervision. The instrument was created and successfully validated on adult probationers in Minnesota, Texas, and New York.

Adam Matz, APPA research associate and doctoral candidate at Indiana University, Pennsylvania, pointed out that the APPA is also working with the Bureau of Justice Assistance to strengthen justice-health collaborations by improving information exchanges between correctional agencies and health service providers. An implementation evaluation of the information exchange project is expected in Pima County, Arizona and Baltimore, Maryland. Additionally, Matz stated that “the APPA has also worked with the Interstate Compact for Adult Offender Supervision (ICAOS) to develop the Offender Transfer Notification Service (OTNS), designed to share pertinent information with state fusion centers on potentially dangerous probationers and parolees transferring into a given state.” A survey-based, implementation evaluation of the OTNS is underway and includes input from local law enforcement agencies that received transfer information from the New York State Intelligence Center (NYSIC). Other current or pending APPA projects include a legal review of state law on police officer searches of probationers and parolees and a workload assessment for the Montana Bureau of Probation and Parole.

As a further testament to its acknowledgment and appreciation of research, the APPA has developed a standing research committee. I visited with the research committee at the training institute. It includes a diverse mix of academics and professionals and specializes in identifying and prioritizing

research needs and working to disseminate evidence-based knowledge to the field. The APPA research committee uses a bulletin called *Get Smart About...* to inform the community corrections field about research-informed policy implementation strategies. A recent *Get Smart About...* bulletin was devoted to using incentives and sanctions as an evidence-based intervention and implementing behavioral strategies through a contingency management framework. The bulletin explains how and why contingency management programs work, summarizes supporting research, offers specific implementation ideas, and provides links to materials for additional reading. Topics slated for future bulletins include the three pillars of the offender rehabilitation literature—risk assessment, criminogenic needs, and treatment responsiveness.

Another way the APPA disseminates research is through its journal called *Perspectives*, edited by Bill Burrell, an APPA research committee member. *Perspectives* articles include short summaries of recently published empirical studies written in a practitioner-friendly way that highlight the practical implications of findings. A separate Research Update column in *Perspectives* provides brief literature reviews of broader topics identified as important by the research committee. This column is currently prepared by Faye Taxman and her graduate students at George Mason University. The research committee has most recently identified the effectiveness of electronic monitoring, the state-level impact of the Adam Walsh Act, effectiveness of treatment for trauma victims, and eye movement desensitization as critical research-deficient areas.

At the training institute, I was struck by the sight of well-known scholars presenting their latest research and, more important, interacting with professionals seeking to integrate research into organizational practice. Faye Taxman, Director of the Center for Advancing Correctional Excellence at George Mason, was the featured speaker during the opening session. At a later session, Taxman and her colleagues discussed the merits of a web-based, empirically grounded intervention tool for increasing engagement and retention in substance abuse treatment. Other sessions included Bureau of Justice Statistics researchers presenting results from a new prisoner recidivism study and providing the latest updates regarding a census of probation agencies. A team of research analysts from Vanderbilt University, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and Georgetown University reviewed and discussed research on evidence-based tools specifically designed for juvenile justice practitioners. I quickly discovered from my observations that the APPA's training institutes are not about communicating random ideas in old-school, soap-box fashion, but rather communicating *research-based* knowledge and principles and facilitating meaningful conversations aimed at translating empirically rooted information into real-life practices in complex occupational environments.

Looking forward, the APPA seeks to generate a greater impact on probation and parole research. Jennifer Ferguson, who holds a Ph.D. in Justice Studies from Arizona State University and is current chair of the research committee and research analyst for the Maricopa County Adult Probation Department, hopes that the research committee can "play a role in generating dialogue between researchers and practitioners that goes both ways." Jennifer explains that the APPA research committee is primarily a conduit of

information from the academic world to the field. She wants to see the APPA research committee be more active in shaping academic research agendas because academic-initiated research is not always prioritized according to the actual needs of practitioners. Jennifer states that "it is important that the research that is conducted is meaningful to the field. We want to help ensure that the substance of the research will be relevant to practitioners who do this work on a daily basis. To ensure that this happens, it is important that there is open communication between researchers and practitioners and that we all work together to jointly develop a meaningful research agenda for community corrections."

Carl Wicklund, the executive director, echoes Jennifer's sentiments. He commented that "community corrections is tasked with dealing with a variety of subjects in a variety of settings with a variety of challenges." As a result, research in community corrections "will likely need to involve a practitioner-involved approach that considers line staff, line supervisors, agency heads, and stakeholders." Carl noted that his interactions with the APPA membership suggest that more substantive, qualitative studies are needed to help practitioners understand *why* various programs and practices succeed or fail. His experiences have also taught him that the varying and complex nature of probation and parole work and surrounding environments necessitate more focus on the value of interventions across jurisdictions.

The APPA is uniquely positioned to hear the voices of ground-level managers and professionals, identify problems and

challenges at regional and national levels, and frame relevant research questions. Accordingly, it seems that the APPA should be looked upon as a “go to” source for research ideas and projects. On the other hand, the APPA is known predominantly for its training and ground-level work with practitioners, with its research interests and contributions often going unnoticed. Some APPA staff and members feel that being over-identified as a training organization is detrimental for securing research funding, especially funding for projects initiated by the APPA (which are also those with the most practical relevance to working professionals). The APPA most often receives funding in a supporting, as opposed to a leading, role. Adam Matz commented that he hopes the APPA will be able to overcome its narrowly focused image and eventually “be recognized as a reputable research institution.”

With nearly 5 million people currently under community supervision in the United States, probation and parole agencies are facing serious demands with ever-shrinking resources. Without a national organization like APPA facilitating the flow of scholarly research to ground-level professionals, it is safe to say modern probation and parole agencies would be much less effective and efficient. The APPA should be commended for its role in both conducting and disseminating research to inform policy and practice. Academic researchers intent upon not only contributing to the literature on community corrections but also genuinely improving the state of community corrections would be wise to open the doors of dialogue with the APPA and perhaps adopt a “listen first” approach to get the biggest “practically significant” (as opposed to statistically significant) benefits from their studies. Finally, the greatest point impressed upon me from my experiences and conversations at the Baltimore

training institute is that the APPA has an informed, passionate membership and will continue to be a positive and steady influence on the community correction field, shaping it in myriad ways in the years to come.

**Brett Garland is an associate professor and graduate director in the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Missouri State University. He received his Ph.D. from the School of Criminal Justice at the University of Nebraska, Omaha in 2007.*



ACJS Seeking Committee Volunteers for 2015-2016

Brandon Applegate, ACJS 1st Vice President, is actively seeking Committee volunteers to serve during his presidency, March 2015 – March 2016. If you are interested in learning more about how to be actively involved in service to ACJS, contact Brandon at applegate@sc.edu to volunteer. Every ACJS member who volunteers will be placed on a standing or *ad hoc* Committee, to the extent possible.

Committee membership is limited to ACJS members. The composition of all committees will be as diverse as possible with regards to gender, race, region, and length of Academy membership.

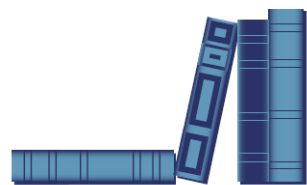
Every year, ACJS needs volunteers for the Academy's Standing Committees. Committee volunteers usually serve for one year, beginning with the Friday of the Annual Meeting after the Executive Board meets. Appointments to the following ACJS Standing Committees are for one year, unless otherwise stated:

- **Academic Review** (members serve three-year terms and membership is restricted to trained certification reviewers)
- **Affirmative Action**
- **Assessment** (members serve three-year terms)
- **Awards**
- **Business, Finance, and Audit** (members are appointed by the 2nd Vice President)
- **Committee on National Criminal Justice Month**
- **Constitution and By-Laws** (members are appointed by the 2nd Vice President and serve three-year terms)
- **Ethics** (members serve three-year terms and are nominated by the Trustees-At-Large and appointed by the ACJS Executive Board)
- **Membership**
- **Nominations and Elections** (members are appointed by the Immediate Past President)
- **Program**
- **Public Policy**
- **Publications**
- **Student Affairs**

*The success of ACJS depends on having a dedicated cadre of volunteers.
Committee membership is an excellent way to make a
difference in the future of ACJS.*



Historian's Corner



*Willard M. Oliver**

GREETINGS!

Every year at the annual meeting of the Criminal Justice Sciences Association, the Academy presents its awards during a special ceremony on Friday evening. While there

are many awards and recognitions bestowed upon those within the academy, the three most prestigious awards are the Bruce Smith, Sr. Award, the Founders Award, and the Academy Fellow Award. The Bruce Smith, Sr. Award is given for "recognition of outstanding contributions to criminal justice as an academic or professional endeavor." The Academy Founders Award is given "for outstanding service to ACJS and the profession" and the Academy Fellow Award is given "for a distinguished contribution to justice education and scholarship." Both the Bruce Smith, Sr. Award and the Founders Award were initiated in 1976, and there have been 36 awardees to date. The Academy Fellow Award was instituted in 1980, and, so far, there have been 30 award recipients. While it is truly an honor to receive any one of these awards, an honoree would have to be held in high esteem to earn all three. Since 1976, however, four members of the Academy have achieved this trifecta of ACJS award, and they are Edward (Ed) Latessa, Francis (Frank) Cullen, Robert (Bob) Bohm, and Rolando del Carmen.

All four of the recipients continue to be active in both the criminal justice discipline and the Academy. Francis T. Cullen, the first to win all three, and Edward Latessa, the most recent, are at the University of Cincinnati, where Latessa serves as the Director of the School of Criminal Justice. Robert Bohm is at the University of Central Florida, and Rolando del Carmen, although retired from Sam Houston State University in 2012, teaches the graduate law seminar every semester. Three of them have held the presidency of the Academy and interestingly, all very close in time to one another: Latessa was the 27th president (1989-1990), Bohm was the 30th (1992-1993), and Cullen was the 31st (1993-1994). All have had very distinguished careers in terms of their contributions to both the discipline and the Academy, which undoubtedly led to their earning all three coveted awards.

In preparation for the 50th anniversary of ACJS held in Dallas, Texas, I had the opportunity to talk with all four of them in one fashion or another as I developed the history of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, as well as their individual biography (http://www.acjs.org/pubs/167_664_14516.cfm). More recently, I touched base with each of them to gain a little more insight into their thoughts on being only one of four within the Academy to win all three awards, and excerpts of the interviews follow.

Frank Cullen was the first of the four scholars to achieve the trifecta, having received the Academy Fellow in 1989, the Founders

in 2002, and the Bruce Smith, Sr. Award in 1996. It should also be noted that out of the four, Cullen is the only one to have also earned the ACJS outstanding book of the year award for his co-authored book *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower – The Sexual Victimization of College Women* (Sage) with Bonnie S. Fisher and Leah E. Daigle. When I asked Cullen for some background on his membership with ACJS he explained:

My interest in the Academy was largely due early in my career to Ed Latessa who was Secretary – Treasurer, I believe, when I was hired at Cincinnati in 1982. Once I came to Cincinnati, I started to participate more extensively in ACJS (I had been to a meeting or two before this). I became editor of JQ in 1987 (to 1989). This had a large impact on my career, since editors become “known” widely (everyone is sending us their manuscripts).

I then asked him to elaborate a bit on his ACJS presidency:

As president of ACJS, I was part of a series of presidents who wanted to do two things: First, we wanted to improve the academic quality of the Academy, especially the meetings. Second, we wanted to grow ACJS’s membership. Toward this latter end, we implemented the *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* and the *ACJS Employment Bulletin* (mailed free of charge to all members to make the Academy more essential). Many positive strides were taken during this period.

In light of the fact that the presidencies of Cullen, Bohm, and Latessa were so close in time to one another, I asked Cullen if working with these other members had any influence on him:

I worked most closely with Bob Bohm. It was much fun and I think we did a lot of good. Also, although a critical criminologist, Bob was a wonderful capitalist—negotiating great contracts with hotels for the Academy! After I completed my time on the board, I thought it best not to hang around and try to influence Academy business. I had my time, and I thought it was best for others to have their time leading ACJS. I also became more involved in the leadership of ASC eventually. Still, I will always have a special fondness for the Academy.

I then asked Cullen which of the awards was the most memorable for him, and as could be expected, it was earning the first one in 1989, the Academy Fellow. He noted, “At that time, I had won few awards. In fact, this was the first major award of any sort that I won. I was surprised, but of course, very pleased. To have one’s colleagues suggest that one’s scholarship is worthwhile is perhaps the highest compliment anyone can receive in our field.”

In addition, I also asked him if he had any special memories from when he received the award and he noted that back then, “We still held luncheons at that time, so going up on stage was fun.” Although today our Academy Awards take place on Friday evening where all of the awards are intermingled with a reception following, at that time there was an elaborate

awards luncheon. This was eventually done away with due to expense. Cullen explained, "During my time on the board, I opposed doing away with the awards luncheon, [but] I realize that the expense and the size of the meeting have made such an event impractical. Still, it was always a wonderful event whose demise I regret."

Since Cullen was the first to achieve the trifecta, I asked him to elaborate more on his earning the Bruce Smith, Sr. award in 1996, at which point he had earned all three, but he explained that each was special in some way. He said the "Bruce Smith award was special because it was an affirmation of my scholarly contributions," and "the Founder's award is received not for published work but for caring about the Academy and being a team player (so to speak)." He further noted that until I had pointed it out, he was not aware that he had achieved something unique in earning all three, because each was given at a different time for a different reason. He had not thought of his achievements collectively. When asked what he thought, he concluded:

Of course, when I started my academic career, I never expected to win any awards. My main goal was to be a good teacher. I had no idea if I could publish. So, I have always been quite grateful to be selected by my colleagues for awards. I have never taken this for granted. Not many have won three "Academy Awards." I am fortunate.

The second member of the Academy to have earned all three awards was Sam

Houston State University's widely known and respected legal scholar, Rolando del Carmen. Rolando earned his first award, the Academy Fellow, in 1990, the Bruce Smith Award in 1997, and the Founders Award in 2005. When I asked him about his memories of receiving these awards, Rolando reflected:

I remember when I received the first award, the Academy Fellow, as the conference was in Denver. The presenter of the award was Doug Shannon, a former Sam Houston Graduate, and I remember him saying how happy he was to give me the award. When I received the third award, I did not realize I had received all three of the awards until someone told me that later. One thing of interest was Jeff Bouffard was the Chair of the awards committee when I received the third award (The Founder's Award) in 2005, and now he is my colleague at Sam Houston.

I then asked him if he had any particular memories of the award ceremonies, and like Cullen, del Carmen fondly remembered the awards luncheon:

The one thing I remember is that the awards ceremony used to be a really big event; it was always a banquet luncheon on Friday mainly for the three award winners. At some point they moved it to Friday night making it part of an overall awards recognition ceremony.

Unlike the other three recipients of the trifecta of awards, Rolando del Carmen did not serve as ACJS president, nor did he run

for office. It seemed a natural question to ask why? His response was simple and honest, “I wasn’t really interested in any administrative duties. I enjoy teaching the students and making an impact on them in the classroom. That was my passion.” Anyone who has ever known Rolando or sat in his classroom would know that is the honest truth.

The third trifecta recipient, previously mentioned by Cullen, was Robert “Bob” Bohm. Bob served as the 30th ACJS president from 1992 to 1993 and earned his first award, the Academy Fellow, in 1999. The Founders Award soon followed in 2001, and then the third award, the Bruce Smith, Sr. Award in 2008. When I asked him about his thoughts and memories, he was very succinct in his comments, but clearly it was something he cherishes:

I was honored and grateful to receive the three awards. Being included in the same group as Frank, Ed, and Rolando is an honor in itself. Receiving external validation is always nice, especially because most academics receive so little of it. When I received the Bruce Smith, Sr. Award in 2008, I remember thanking my ACJS “family,” and I really meant it. When I attend ACJS meetings, it is like attending a family reunion for me. I will be forever grateful to all of my colleagues and friends in ACJS, who have been so kind and supportive of my work and me. The three awards, along with serving as ACJS president, are among my most cherished honors of my academic career.

The last and most recent recipient of the trifecta is University of Cincinnati Director of the School of Criminal Justice, Edward “Ed” Latessa, who served as the 27th President of ACJS from 1989 to 1990. He earned his first award soon after his presidency, the Founders Award, in 1992. He was then awarded the Academy Fellow in 1998, and most recently the Bruce Smith award in 2010. For Latessa, the time from first award to last award was the longest of the four men (18 years), so this had some bearing on his response to my question about his memory of realizing he had achieved the trifecta: “To be honest, there was such a long period between awards it never really dawned on me that I was only one of a handful that received all three until you brought it to my attention.” When I asked him what memories he had of earning the three awards, he said:

I do distinctly remember receiving the Founders Award in 1992. I was born and raised in Youngstown, Ohio, which is only 50 miles from Pittsburgh (which is where the meeting was held). My Mother had passed away in 1991 and my Father and sister were able to come over for the award ceremony, and it meant a great deal to me to have them present. I also remember that they brought Alida Merlo’s Mom with them (she was from Youngstown as well), and later that evening we went to a great Italian restaurant and had a great time reminiscing about our home town. Receiving the Bruce Smith award was a total surprise to me, and I, too, remember the event fondly, but nothing could top 1992 and having my family present.

When taken collectively, the four members of ACJS who have been awarded, not surprisingly, all three of the top Academy awards seem to have the fondest memories from when they earned their first award. Because of the time between awards and the fact that each award is based on different criteria, it appears that the realization they have achieved something only four members of ACJS have achieved did not really occur to them at that time. Although it is possible that in the future others may join this small group (by count there are eight eligible individuals right now), it is very clear that the recipients of all three awards are a very special group of ACJS members who have been dedicated to the criminal justice discipline, the Academy, and their scholarship, and truly stand as leaders within the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

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