INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction

1 The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.

2 When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

University Microfilms International
300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

8309918

Cahalan, Margaret Werner

POLICY ADVOCACY PARAMETERS AND CHANGE IN THREE OCCUPATIONAL/REFORM ORGANIZATIONS, 1870-1976: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY ADVOCACY OF THE AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION, THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign PH.D. 1983

University
Microfilms
International 300 N Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1983

by

Cahalan, Margaret Werner

All Rights Reserved

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark __✓__.

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy _____
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages __✓__
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

POLICY ADVOCACY PARAMETERS AND CHANGE IN THREE OCCUPATIONAL/REFORM ORGANIZATIONS, 1870-1976: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY ADVOCACY OF THE AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION, THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

BY

MARGARET WERNER CAHALAN

A.B., Villa Madonna College, 1967
M.A., University of Notre Dame, 1969
A.M., University of Illinois, 1971

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1983

Urbana, Illinois

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

DECEMBER 1982

WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS BY

MARGARET WERNER CAHALAN

ENTITLED POLICY ADVOCACY PARAMETERS AND CHANGE IN THREE OCCUPATIONAL/ REFORM ORGANIZATIONS, 1870-1976: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY ADVOCACY OF THE AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION, THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

David J Bordua
Director of Thesis Research

Joan Huber
Head of Department

Committee on Final Examination†

David J Bordua
Chairman

Gilbert Forbes

Clark McPhail

† Required for doctor's degree but not for master's

O 517

POLICY ADVOCACY PARAMETERS AND CHANGE IN THREE OCCUPATIONAL/REFORM ORGANIZATIONS, 1870-1976: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY ADVOCACY OF THE AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION, THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Margaret Werner Cahalan, Ph.D.
Department of Sociology
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1983

This dissertation presents a comparative analysis of policy advocacy change in three occupation/reform organizations from their initiation up to 1976. The organizations represent the oldest and largest national organizations focused on the executive area of criminal justice. They share a similar focus of concern (criminal justice) but from very different task and ideological perspectives. The analysis focuses on the issue of policy advocacy differences but also explores the common parameters of policy advocacy among occupational/reform groups operating within the framework of a liberal capitalist state.

The research methodology combines a systematic content analysis of 1498 published policy statements with qualitative analysis of organizational history and conference proceeding texts. Each policy statement was coded as to: (1) issue of concern; (2) agreement/disagreement with statements the other groups; (3) internal consistency overtime; and (4) criminalization content.

Findings indicated that all three organizations maintained policy advocacy within the liberal capitalist parameter of adherence to constitutionally defined legal procedural equality combined with absence of advocacy of reduction in economic inequality. Statements in direct agreement with those of the other organizations declined for all comparisons over time. However, direct disagreement levels fluctuated being highest

in periods when there were also higher levels of conflict manifest in the wider society, or in periods of external criticism. Disagreement among the organizations most frequently occurred in areas having criminalization or severity of sanctioning implications. While issue saliency changed overtime, contrary to expectation instances of internal inconsistency or modification of stance were rare for all three groups. The IACP much more frequently advocated increased criminalization or severity of sanctioning than the ACA or NCCD.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Very many people I have known have helped to bring about the completion of this dissertation but only a few can be mentioned here. First, I would like to thank my dissertation committee, Professor Bill Form and Professor Clark McPhail, and especially my advisor, Professor David Bordua for their guidance and patient waiting for completion of this project. Second, I would like to thank my co-workers at Westat and friends along the way in Syracuse, Warsaw, St. Louis, Bowling Green, Boulder and Greenbelt for their interest and encouragement. I especially would like to thank Beckey Downes and others in the word processing department at Westat for typing the manuscript.

Above all I would like to thank my family, my husband, Bob and children, Joel and Gabriel, for their enduring affection and support.

Lastly, I would like to thank the actors in the three associations I studied over the period since 1870 for their concern with solving the problems presented by their work and for leaving a record of that concern.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
	PART I	
	THE POLICY ANALYSIS.	1
1	INTRODUCTION	1
	Theoretical Concepts	1
	Systems Concepts	3
	Constraint and Selection (The Parameters of Policy Advocacy)	5
	Attempts to Establish a Universal Viewpoint and Control Over the Objects/Subjects of Concern.	9
	The Positive State	10
	The Development of a Body of Techniques and Information Base	11
	Historical Concerns.	12
	Variety and Tension (The Differences in the Policy Selection of the Three Organizations).	12
	The Criminalization Question	14
	System Re-Ordering (Internal Consistency and New Issues of Concern)	16
	Summary of Expectations.	18
	Expectations Related to Environmental Parameters	18
	Expectations Related to System Variety and Tension	18
	Expectations Related to System Re-ordering (Internal Consistency and New Issues of Concern).	19
	Structural Outline of Thesis	19
2	BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY	21
	Introduction to the Organizations.	21
	Content Analysis of Historical Materials	24
	Coding Unit Categories	30
	Historical Environment	31
3	THE PARAMETERS OF DEBATE	37
	Topical Overview	37
	Overview of Issues of Concern to the American Correctional Association.	38
	Overview of IACP Issues of Concern	42
	Overview of NCCD Concerns.	47
	Overall Topics of Concern of the Three Organizations (Social Welfare Professionalization Activity).	47

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Chapter		Page
3	The Limits of Advocacy	52
	Non-Concern with Economic Inequality	53
	Summary	60
	The Role of Procedural Rights and Legal Equality	61
	The Standards Movement	65
	Summary	68
4	SOCIAL WELFARE PROFESSIONALIZATION	69
	Occupational Development	70
	The Growth of Federal and State Administrative Action and the Significance of Coordination	79
	The Collection of Information	83
	Methods of Task Enactment or Technique Development	86
	Links to Historically Dominant Concerns	88
	The Prison Labor Issue	88
	Auto Regulation	92
5	THE DIFFERENCES IN POLICY ADVOCACY BETWEEN THE THREE ORGANIZATIONS	95
	Degree of Overlap of Statements	95
	Agreement and Disagreement	98
	Overall Agreement/Disagreement Levels	102
	Changes in Agreement and Disagreement	103
	Areas of Agreement and Disagreement	105
	Conflict Over Parole	116
	Gun Control	119
	Other Issues of Conflict	120
	Capital Punishment	121
6	THE CRIMINALIZATION CONTENT OF THE ORGANIZATIONS' STATEMENTS	126
	Legalization - The Prohibition of Behavior	127
	Public Regulation	135
	Criminal Justice Procedure	136
	Time and Use of Imprisonment	137
	Prison Treatment and Regulation of Prisoners and Ex-Offenders	138
	Disagreement and Criminalization	138
	Summary	140

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Chapter		Page
7	INTERNAL CONSISTENCY OF THE POLICY STATEMENTS.	142
	Consistency Levels	145
	Shifts in ACA Policy Advocacy.	147
	The IACP Policy Modification	151
	NCCD Policy Modification	153
8	SUMMARY OF PART I.	157
	PART II	
	A HISTORY OF THE THREE ORGANIZATIONS	163
9	THE AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION (1870-1976).	164
	1870-1893.	164
	The Initial Statement of Principles.	166
	Areas of Debate.	167
	Summary of Major Policy Concerns	169
	Actors	169
	Organizational Structure	171
	1893-1915.	173
	Summary of Formal Policy Concerns.	174
	Evaluation of Reformatory Movement	175
	1915-1935.	176
	Organizational Matters	180
	1935-1955.	181
	Summary of Policy Concerns 1936-1955	184
	Organization	185
	1955-1976.	186
	Program for the 1960's	188
	Personnel Shortages and a Career Concept	188
	Small Scale Rehabilitation Programs.	189
	The Early 1970's	190
	The New Realism.	191
	Policy Issue Summary	194
	ACA Organizational Change in the 1960's and 1970's	197
10	THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE (1893-1976).	201
	Background	201
	The Police Chief's Convention of 1871.	204

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Chapter		Page
10	The Initiation of the IACP: 1893-1915	206
	Links to Other Areas of Criminal Justice	207
	The Police as Social Worker	208
	The Uplifting and Defense of the Police	209
	Organizational Development	211
	1915-1935	211
	Issue Summary	214
	1936-1955	216
	The Role of Police Specialization	218
	1955-1976	221
	Growth of the Association and Increased Grant Support	222
	The Role of the IACP	224
	The Challenge of Judicial Involvement and the Civil Rights and Protest Movements; Increased IACP Legislative Activity	228
	The Role of the Police	230
	IACP Policy Advocacy	233
11	THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY	237
	1907-1935	237
	Actors of the Organization	239
	The Spread of Probation	240
	The Viewpoints of the Participants	241
	Selection for Probation	242
	Links to Social Work	243
	Defense of Probation and the Juvenile Court	245
	Coordination as a Goal	246
	Summary of Advocacy Concern	248
	1935-1955	248
	Major Policy Concerns	251
	Ideology Expressed at Conference Speeches 1936 to 1955	252
	Beyond the Juvenile Court	253
	Community Organization	254
	Academic Thought	255
	Critique of Prison Use	255
	NCCD 1955 - 1976	257
	Community Organization and Citizen Based Action	258
	The Growth of a Professional Staff Concerned with Information Collection and Dissemination	258
	A Criminal Justice Wide Focus of Concern	259
	The Policy Development of the Group	260
	The Model Sentencing Act	261

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Chapter		Page
12	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	267
	Findings of Part II The Organizational Histories	267
	Successions of Goals	268
	The Importance of Corporate Funding Sources.	269
	Unattainable Goals	270
	Speech Ideologies: Link to Policy	270
	The Policy Statement Analysis: Findings from Part I	271
	Saliency and Parameters.	274
	Acceptance of Economic Inequality.	274
	Legal Equality and Procedural Rights	274
	Saliency Change.	276
	Primacy of the Professionalizing Complex	277
	Occupational Segmentation and Agreement/Disagreement	277
	Agreement/Disagreement Levels.	278
	Criminalization and Disagreement	278
	Evaluation of Criminalization Stance Over Time	279
	Frequency of Concern	279
	Direction of Stance.	280
	Internal Consistency and New Issues of Concern	282
	Limitations from the Source and Characteristics of the Data.	284
	Theoretical Limitations.	284
	Links to Other Research.	294
Appendix		
1	The Criminal Justice Environment: Selected Criminal Justice Related Historical Statistics, 1870-1977	296
2	Gallup Poll Opinions on Crime Related Issues: A Summary and Comparison to Policy Statements of the ACA, IACP, and NCCD	309
References	. . . . .	331
VITA	. . . . .	362

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Total policy statements published.	29
2	Average number of substantive policy statements per year	29
3a	Distribution of topics of concern in each time period for ACA.	40
3b	Overview of major concerns of the American Correctional Association.	41
4a	Distribution of topics of concern in each time period for IACP	43
4b	Overview of major concerns of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.	44
5	Breakdown of selected categories (ACA and IACP).	46
6a	Distribution of topics of concern in each time period for NCCD	48
6b	Overview of the major topics of concern of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency	49
7a	Overall distribution of topics of concern: the ACA, IACP and NCCD	50
7b	Overall major topic categories of the three groups.	51
8	Percent of overlap of concern of statements of the three groups in each time period	96
9	Topic overlapping ACA statements classified according to consistency with statements of the IACP and NCCD	99
10	Topic overlapping IACP statements classified according to consistency with statements of NCCD and ACA.	100
11	Topic overlapping NCCD statements classified according to consistency with statements of the ACA and IACP.	101
12	Major categories in which direct agreement and direct disagreement occurred over the entire time period.	106
13	Major categories in which partial consistency or inconsistency occurred over the entire time period.	108

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

Table		Page
14	ACA statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of IACP: total period 1870-1976.	110
15	ACA statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the NCCD, 1870-1976.	111
16	IACP statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the ACA, 1893-1976.	112
17	IACP statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the NCCD, 1893-1976	113
18	NCCD statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the ACA, 1915-1976	114
19	NCCD statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the IACP, 1915-1976	115
20	Percent of statements involving criminalization or Decriminalization Content.	127
21	Statements which relate to criminalization questions classified according to direction of advocacy.	128
22	Classification of statements having criminalization content according to area of focus: ACA	129
23	Classification of statements having criminalization content according to area of focus: IACP.	130
24	Classification of statements having criminalization content according to area of focus: NCCD.	131
25	Relationship between agreement/disagreement and criminalization saliency of the issue: overlapping statements. . . .	139
26	Substantive statements classified according to internal consistency: 1870-1976	146

Appendix 1 Tables

1-1	Inmates reported present: 1850-1972	297
1-2	Inmates reported present on a given day during the year: 1880-1977.	299

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

Appendix 1 Tables		Page
1-3	Rate of incarceration per 100,000 population in the age categories most represented in correctional institutions: 1810-1974.	301
1-4	Place of incarceration of persons reported present on a given day during the year: 1880, 1933, 1970	302
1-5	Combined totals: percentage distribution of offenses reported for jail, state, and Federal inmates present on a given day during the year.	303
1-6	Percentage distributions of offenses reported for prisoner received in state prisons and reformatories under felony commitment during given year	305
1-7	Percentage distribution of offenses of prisoners received during given year in state and Federal prisons and reformatories.	307

Appendix 2 Tables		
2-1	Criminal justice related Gallup Poll question by topic 1935-1976.	310
2-2	Gallup Poll questions concerned with legalization issues: categorization by direction of advocacy; degree of advocacy; and year in which the question was asked -- 1935-1976.	312
2-3	Gallup Poll questions concerned with regulatory issues: categorized by direction of advocacy; degree of advocacy; and year in which the question was asked -- 1935-1976. . . .	316
2-4	Gallup Poll questions concerning criminal justice related penalties and sanctions: acceptance/rejection by most respondents, year and degree	321
2-5	Gallup Poll questions concerning criminal justice system evaluation and procedures: year and direction of most respondents.	326
2-6	Gallup Poll questions on criminal justice related issues: classified according to consistency with policy advocacy of the ACA, IACP, and NCCD.	328

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

Appendix 2 Tables		Page
2-7	Instances of internal consistency of majority of Gallup Poll responses: 1935-1976	329

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart		
1	Organizational Name Change and Development	25
2	Policy Analysis Schema	273
3	Findings of the Policy Analysis.	285

PART I

THE POLICY ANALYSIS

This research presents a comparative analysis of the content and change in the policy advocacy of three national criminal justice reform and occupational organizations: the American Correctional Association (formerly the National Prison Association), the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and the National Council of Crime and Delinquency (formerly the National Probation Association). The time period of analysis spans the period from the initiation of the National Prison Association, the oldest organization of the three, in 1870, to the mid 1970's. These organizations have been over their history differentially representative of prison, police, probation and parole occupational interests, as well as more general criminal justice reform efforts. Their policy advocacy is thus taken as indicative of the major policy options put forth by those occupations concerned with the execution of criminal justice in the United States, and to a lesser extent of the major criminal justice options considered in the executive area over this century. The major methodology is a systematic content analysis of all published formal resolutions and policy statements of the organizations, and a qualitative analysis of other publications of the groups.

Part I of the thesis presents the results of the content analysis of formal statements and Part II presents chronological histories of each of the three organizations.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The correspondence between the concrete position a group occupies in a socially differentiated society and the development of a certain set of interests and a related perception of social reality has long been of research and theoretical importance to students of social behavior (Huber, Form, 1973). In recent years there has been considerable study of reform ideology and efforts, as well as occupational development within the criminal justice system. From what has been broadly labeled a functional social control perspective the most detailed and descriptive historical research has focused upon describing occupational and reform interests as related to progressive problem solving, development of techniques, overcoming of political influence and corruption, and coping with the "task out there" of social control and/or correction in a context of limited resources within an urbanizing, stratified and ethnically heterogeneous society (for example McKelvey, 1936, 1977; Lane, 1967; Rothman, 1971; Richardson, 1974). Partly in opposition to functional studies a perspective developed which focused primarily on the development of occupational and reform self interests and the role the occupations and reformers have themselves played in maintaining and broadening the use of criminal sanctions (for example, Becker, 1963; Platt, 1969; Schur, Silver, 1974). Research in related areas such as social work has explored the transformation of reform social movements in the United States into professions with their own set of vested interests (LuBov, 1965; Ash, 1972; Mayer, Zald, 1973).

Other research has switched the focus from occupational vested interests alone, to the correspondence between the interests of criminal justice reformers and occupations and the power demands and interests of corporate America (for example, Quinney, 1977; Chambliss, Markoff, 1976). This is related to the more general analysis of progressive reform movements and social welfare professionalization in the United States, as providing additional control over marginal groups in the society as well

as additional career opportunities for those not involved directly in capitalist production (Kolko, 1963; Hofstadter, 1963; Wiebe, 1962; Ash, 1972).

The respect for historical detail of some of the functional studies and the power of the insight of the significance of vested interests and class conflict approaches to occupational development, as well as the limitations in ignoring or over-emphasis of certain factors, suggests the usefulness of consideration together of the three major analytical factors dominant in interpretations done respectively from functional, interest group and neomarxian approaches. This research thus wishes to assume the significance of and explore the relationships between: (1) The ongoing "task out there," or succession of problems to be solved as differentially experienced by the occupational groups, their legal designators, and different segments of the U.S. population at a given time; (2) Occupational development and maintenance interests in a situation of market oriented division of labor; and (3) the occurrence of the historical events within a changing but formally designated and operating liberal capitalist state with corresponding power relations and limitations on the agenda of alternatives (Schattschneider, 1960:68). The research thus concerns itself with analysis of the constraints and variety of possible criminal justice policy advocacy of occupational/reform groups operating within a liberal capitalist state. Of central significance in this is the historical development of divergent reform and occupational interests which do not necessarily correspond either to each other or the interests of corporate capitalism at any given time, and may relate very differently to the day-to-day concerns of solving the "problem of crime."

Systems Concepts

The use of several concepts developed in systems modeling is well suited to allow for an analysis of policy change using an interactional perspective. These concepts will now be briefly identified because they will constitute the language of expression and interpretation of the findings of the research. System is here simply defined in terms of a "boundary maintaining set of interdependent particles or subunits" (North,

Holsti et. al., 1963). It is assumed that for our purposes systems can be analyzed in terms of concentric ever widening units. In this sense the United States is a sub-unit of a world system, the U.S. criminal justice system a sub-unit of the United States, the differing occupational and reform groups sub-units of the criminal justice system, and the specific organizations considered in this study sub-units of the occupation and reform groups. It is also assumed that whatever happens to one component of a system will affect no matter how slightly the balance and relationship of each unit of the system (North, Holsti, 1963). Each more encompassing unit creates certain boundary conditions, but those closest in spatial and temporal location are in the most immediate relationship to actions of the sub-units. Similarly, the significance of an action of a sub-unit for the broader system does not necessarily correspond to the significance of the action for the sub-unit itself (Sartre, 1963).

In further discussion of system concepts I would like to notice certain concepts and behavioral features of the "complex adaptive system" paradigm of Walter Buckley (1968). First is the possibility of an adaptative open system, a system that is viewed as open internally as well as externally. An interchange may occur that results in significant changes within the components themselves with consequences for the system as a whole (Buckley, 1968:490). Other concepts of central significance are:

(a) Environment: This is a primary concept defined as "a set or ensemble of more or less distinguishable elements, states, or events" (Buckley, 1968:491). It is characterized by both variety and constraint;

(b) Variety and Constraint: The environment is characterized by both variety, non-stable elements, and constraint. Constraint refers to "the relatively stable causal spatial and temporal relations between these distinguishable elements or events" (Buckley, 1968:491);

(c) Mapping: This occurs when an adaptive system acquires features that permit it to discriminate, act upon, and respond to aspects of the environmental variety and its constraints in such a way that it has "mapped" parts of its environmental variety and constraints into its organization as structure and/or information. Two or more systems may be selectively interrelated by a mapping process;

(d) Feedback, Irritability, and Selection: By these three processes complex adaption of a system is possible. Negative and positive feedback control loops make possible not only self-regulation but self-direction. The concept of irritability or tension refers to the constant "living of man beyond his means," the significance of dealing with such things as the constraints of the environment, felt blockage and goal mismatch (Buckley, 1968:493). Selection from the variety pool of the environment occurs according to certain criteria but, within social groups, in a continually interactive decisive information centered process (Buckley, 1968:495).

Correspondingly the primary thrust of this research is that if one wishes to understand the historical selection of policies of one of the occupational groups, it is important to look simultaneously at: (1) The policy selection of those occupations who share a similar focus of concern, who are related by the environmental "mapping" process, and with whom an officially designated system is formed; but with whom finite environmental resources are divided; (2) The policy selection of each group in its own past from which negative and positive feedback occurs; (3) Gross indicators of environmental conditions relative to the occupational "task," and larger social system constraints within which the occupations and reformers are acting in a particular time.

The specific questions for consideration are: (1) What are the constraints and variety (or the parameters) of policy selection over the time period by the three organizations? (2) To what degree has there been growth of differentiation and disagreement or tension between the policy selection of the groups? (3) What has been the content and amount of internal modification of policy selection of each organization over time and what has been the role of negative and positive feedback?

Given the fact that the organizations studied are all related to the criminal justice system, a fourth set of questions relates specifically to the issues surrounding the notion of criminalization. Specifically, these questions examine the degree to which the formal statements of the groups have advocated increases or decreases in: (a) legal regulation; (b) severity of sanctions; and (c) procedural exactness and rights of the accused and convicted.

To answer these questions each statement was coded relative to the following: (1) Issue of concern and reference to certain parameters; (2) Overlap and agreement with statements of the other two organizations; (3) Internal consistency over time; (4) Criminalization and regulatory content of the statements. In the next section of the introduction, by means of looking at related research and using systems concepts, several hypotheses are formulated in answer to the questions posed above.

Constraint and Selection (The Parameters of Policy Advocacy)

Thomas Kuhn's Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962), has noticed on the level of scientific world views that the answers of a historical age or society to basic questions take place within certain thought and operational parameters. The parameters are the "taken for granted givens" of the age or group but eventually exploration at the point of the parameter limits or contradictions leads to the emergence of a new perspective which transcends the old parameters, at the same time that it establishes a new thought structure with a new set of parameters. On a sociological level I wish to explore in this research the extent to which the three organizations have maintained their policy advocacy within certain parameters stemming from the fact that they are operating within the context of a constitutionally defined liberal capitalist state.

Similar research has been pursued by Solomon (1973) in his exploration of the role of Soviet criminal justice specialists. It was his conclusion that while Soviet criminologists in the 1960's had played a prominant role in fashioning incremental change in criminal policy, they did not remove from the domain a political leadership the power to frame the boundaries of political discourse. Other research on the Soviet Criminal Justice system has noted the links between the options for criminalization and decriminalization, and the parameters of the system established by the Russian revolution (Connor, 1972; Solomon, 1982).

Within the U.S. context several researchers have had somewhat similar conclusions about American criminology vis a vis certain central constraints of the U.S. social structure. In this case it is not the constraint on political discourse, but the existence of high levels of economic inequality and marginality, combined with significant but not complete correspondence with racial and ethnic divisions. Writers such as Quinney (1977:35) have noted the "failure of conventional criminology to ignore by design the material conditions of capitalism." Boonstroom's study of the emergence of criminology in the U.S. from 1865-1910 concluded that:

> A correctional criminology which served as the handmaiden to the needs of the new corporate state, taking its problems from providing rationale for the increasingly powerful state agencies serving the demands of corporate capitalist enterprise, was legitimated in the U.S. as the dominant and most scientific approach to the problem of crime (1974:8).

More sympathetic writers have spoken in terms of the inability to come to grips with problems of the wider structure giving rise to crime (Schrag, 1967:11). To the extent that crime relates to the violation of property rights, it is intrinsically related to questions of economic distribution. In this sense both the law breaking of those in poverty and that of those in favored positions who seek to extend the distribution further in their favor can be seen to manifest contradictions within the parameters of the liberal capitalist paradigm.

However, historical and current reports of the characteristics of those who come into the criminal justice system for prosecution and incarceration unmistakably give evidence that those who are punished are most frequently those who are at the lower end of the economic distribution of resources. The most recent study of the characteristics of inmates in state prison found that 31 percent were unemployed at the time of arrest and another 8 percent had only part-time employment (Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities, 1974). In the same survey it was reported that of those with income only 14 percent had an income in the year prior to arrest of $10,000 and 60 percent had an income under $6,000. Moreover,

almost half the inmates of prisons are members of racial or ethnic minority groups (See Chapter 2 for a further discussion of the relationships between socioeconomic status and punishment).

It should be noted that in this thesis I am concerned not with the *distribution of crime commission among the social classes in the United* States but only with the incidence with which those of lower socioeconomic status come into contact with and are punished by the criminal justice system. Several studies have shown that self-reported delinquency especially juvenile delinquency occurs among all classes (Doleschal, E., 1970; Williams, J., Gold, M., 1972; Tittle, 1977, 1978) and studies of the amounts of money involved in white color crime have shown that these offenses account for larger amounts of property loss than traditional crimes for which incarceration is the more frequent punishment (Cressey, 1962; Wright, 1972).

It is the expectation of this research that, despite awareness of the role of economic inequality as a factor in arrest and imprisonment, inequality and property rights per se as given parameters of United States society will not be questioned in the policy advocacy of the three organizations.

If acceptance of economic inequality and property rights are major constraints of the environment, formal legal equality is a second major dimension. Following Weber among others Balbous noted that:

> The combination of formal legal equality and extreme economic inequality is the hallmark of the liberal state. . .the existence of formal legal rationality and the concepts of due process, an autonomous judicial sphere and the civil liberties which it entails are the essential props of the capitalist order (1973:6).

The contradictions in the operation of a system of classical justice unless one has a system of equally distributed property have been frequently noted (Taylor, Walton, Young, 1973).

I should thus like to call attention both to the acceptance of economic inequality and formal legal equality and rationality, as major delimiters of policy advocacy. One would therefore expect that:

> No changes in levels of economic inequality will be advocated in the formal policy statements of the three organizations. References to economic and stratification variables as related to the occurrence of crime or its remedy will be minimized.
>
> Certain constitutional requirements of formal legal rationality and equality, expressed as procedural rights, will not be violated. Debate will occur however as to their limits.

Because of the environmental constraints limiting advocacy of change in economic inequality, and because of continuing environmental adherence to constitutional legal rationality, reference to the constitutional rights of the accused and convicted (and also the criminal justice occupations) will at times constitute the language and mode of rationalization of both reform and maintenance policy selection.

Flowing from the constitutional demand for rational legal procedures, and in the light of the constraints of acceptance of economic inequality, the activities surrounding the concept of social welfare professionalization can be expected to constitute the major area of common policy selection of the three organizations. It is thus expected that:

> Concerns identified as related to social welfare professionalization will constitute a major area of common policy advocacy for the three organizations.

The concerns and activities identified by previous research in the area of social welfare professionalization can be discussed relative to five clusters of behavior. Briefly these can be noted as follows:

1. The establishment of a universal and depolitical mode of action with corresponding occupational training, entrance, tenure and licensing requirements; related to this is the maximizing of occupational control over task-related social objects and subjects.

2. The development of positive state bureaucratic organizations as the primary locus of problem solving.

3. The development of a specific set of unique occupational techniques.

4. The development of recurrent information accumulation processes.

5. Manifest relationship to dominant wider environmental concerns of the historical period.

These activities will be discussed further in the next paragraphs.

Attempts to Establish a Universal Viewpoint and Control Over the Objects/Subjects of Concern

While several social thinkers, most especially Durkheim (1958:24), have stressed the role of the occupational groupings as intermediaries relating the individual to the general society, MacIver (1955) has noted that the area least developed, often in the fact of extremely rationalized practitioner-client relationship, is that of the profession to the community as a whole.

A way of by-passing the link to community or political concerns has been the attempt at rationalization on a universal level. Hughes (1963) has noted that the professional ordinarily claims the right not merely to deliver services but to define for the public the nature of the phenomena involved. In this sense as well as more directly in terms of economics, professionalization movements can be viewed as attempts to reduce risks in planning occupational careers (Form, 1968). Initial or continued existence of an occupation is directly related to acceptance of these definitions.

The attempt to base professional security on a non-political basis is especially significant (Rubschemeyer, 1964). Specifically with regard to criminal justice it has been noted that "the more certainly and widely the legal system is thought to be associated with the political system, the more legal concepts and procedures will be questioned" (Wilkins, 1973:17). Specifically in the United States the character of de-politicalization has

meant attempts to disassociate with local and state political changes which threaten tenure and more positively the development of procedures related to solving the "universal human problem of crime," apart from its ties to specific economic and political facts of life in the United States.

The Positive State

At the same time that de-politicalization has been a theme there has been the importance of what Boonstroom (1974) has called the growth of the Positive State to deal with the many problems accompanying corporate development of the country. Specifically in criminal justice the view that problems would be ameliorated by state centralization or by the growth of federal models and parallel agencies, as well as federal resource distribution and coordination, is of special significance.

The Development of a Body of Techniques and Information Base

It is to be expected that central to the development of a profession is the presence and accumulation of a body of techniques, aided by the systematic collection of related facts, in this case primarily what have been called moral statistics (Douglas, 1971). LuBov's (1965) historical analysis of the development of the social work profession notes the centrality of development of techniques of therapeutic service in contrast to other roles such as group liaison, institutional reform and resource mobilization.

It might be expected that technique development will be highly related to task requirements, but that it will occur primarily in relation to those clearly defined sub tasks over which the occupational group can establish some immediate control. A primary basis for professional technique development has been the systematic collection of task related information. Within the criminal justice system this has involved collection of statistical information on crime rates, the socioeconomic characteristics of those who enter the criminal justice system as offenders,

recidivism rates, and personal and economic loss from the crimes of those who enter the system as well as those who do not.

It can be expected, however, that some of this information would be a potential source of negative feedback to the practitioners as well as a strain on the continued acceptance of the parameter limits cited above, or stated another way, this information would lead to questioning the validity of the liberal-capitalist criminal justice paradigm in which the occupation and organizations under study operate. However, the important link between the professionalization movement and occupational maintenance has been noted. This would be expected to be a factor mediating continued acceptance of the criminal justice parameters. One would also expect that there would be a certain balance between the development of technique, and overt occupational maintenance and development interests related to economic rewards, training, status position, and control of organizational development.

Historical Concerns

In Price's (1977) historical study of police professionalization she found correspondence between the rhetoric and broader concerns of the community in particular time periods and the professionalizing writings of certain police reformers. In this research it is also to be expected that the policy statements of the organizations will reflect dominant historical concerns of the American citizenry in various periods as they relate to social control and rehabilitative problems. Most notably I should like to notice the importance of labor and employment related issues, immigration and racial concerns, national security and communism, and the significance of the automobile which economically and relative to mortality, outdistances the effects of traditional crime. In the area of historical concerns one sees further the operations of system constraints or parameters which set boundaries on the range of discourse.

Variety and Tension (The Differences in the Policy Selection of the Three Organizations)

The stress on the importance of the occurrence of policy advocacy within the parameters of the liberal capitalist state, should not lead to the supposition of uniformity of policy selection (Wildeman, 1971), or to the minimizing of the conflict involved in task enactment and attempts at problem solving (Block, 1976). One of the manifestations of this has been the process of occupational segmentation. Paradoxically while professionalization has been seen as a way to gain control over careers, it has also been the locus of the process of professional segmentation. Bucher and Straus (1966) have stressed the importance of viewing a professional group as a loose amalgamation having the same name, but consisting of several sub-groups each of which proclaims a unique mission. The techniques and mission may become obsolete by the time a group of practitioners is established. Related to the question of obsolescence are the struggles segments of occupations engage in for maintenance of certain occupational boundaries and competition for control and client resources (Kronus, 1975).

Some findings of those who have studied the origins and early activities of the public police give insight into this area. While several police historians have noted civil order problems rather than traditional crime, as central in precipitating the commitment of civic resources to formation of a public police, they have also noted as census data confirms, the heavy involvement of the police in a variety of services such as soup kitchens and overnight lodging (Richardson, 1974; Walker, 1977; Lane, 1967).

The stripping of the police of these distributive roles has been co-present with the extension of social welfare activity in the general society (Bordua, 1968). Within criminal justice this has involved the inclusion of social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists, probation and juvenile court officers, and more recently community liaison workers. It has been noted that, "officials of the courts particularly rehabilitative or welfare officials are hired wholly or in part as a set of official opponents of the police" (Stinchcombe, 1967).

At the same time there is a potential for conflict between police interests and other correctional roles, there is also the fact that reforms such as probation and other noninstitutional means of controlling deviance may lead to disagreement among those professions whose interests are tied to different treatment methods. This leads to the following hypotheses:

> The growth in occupational segmentation, and new occupational categories, for which the organizations have developed representational interests, will result in decline of overlap of concern, as well as growth in disagreement on those issues of remaining common concern.

However, the major components of professionalization cited above; the development of training requirements, research activity and the collection of moral statistics, technical sophistication, and depoliticalization can be expected to constitute areas of consensual overlap. Moreover, the extent of polarization will be limited by the mutually dependent position the groups occupy in forming the executive area of the criminal justice system.

The Criminalization Question

Although not frequently considered a major variable in determining variation in severity of punishment in early research (Cressey, 1954), the question of the relationship of the development of specialized criminal justice practitioners to severity of sanctioning for deviance has been frequently dealt with in the literature of the last 25 years. A significant theoretical orientation has noticed the crime amplification role and vested interests criminal justice occupations have in extending or maintaining criminal justice sanctions in certain areas (Sherman, 1974; Dickson, 1969; Roby, 1969; Taft, Ross, 1969; Walker, 1977; Becker, 1963; Schurr, 1973; Irwin, 1971).

In this research one aspect of this question is explored by asking the extent to which the professional organizations representative of criminal justice occupations have advocated behavior which extends or limits the scope and severity of criminal justice sanctioning. For purposes of analysis criminalization can be viewed relative to four, not

necessarily corresponding aspects. These are: (1) the number and content of behaviors either legally prohibited or required under penalty of criminal sanctions; (2) the length of the sanction; (3) the conditions of life required under the sanction; and (4) the degree of procedural exactness and consideration of rights of the accused or convicted required in the execution of criminal justice. Considered relative to each other, most obviously, one would expect that an organization with links to the police would advocate more criminalizing policies, than organizations with ties to prison administration or probation. While there has been some notice of the role of police as standing between the "offender" or deviant and a vengeful or bigoted public, most research has stressed the amplificatory character of the police occupation relative to the severity of sanctioning, and at times the occurrence of crime (Sherman, 1974). Specific research has treated police bureaucratic and organization maintenance interests in the area of vice laws, as well as the role of the police in carrying out the criminalization of some early labor union activity (Dickson, 1969; Roby, 1969; Taft, Ross, 1969; Walker, 1977). Most but not all comparative research on the attitudes of police practitioners relative to social workers or other correctional personnel has found the police to be slightly more inclined to favor severe penalties and to have a more conservative political orientation (Wheeler, Bonacish, 1966; Lipsit, 1971; Rondale, 1974).

However, the treatment professions and related criminal justice policies have not escaped criticism as amplifiers of deviance and punitiveness. It has been maintained that the indeterminate sentence long opposed by the police and advocated by treatment orientated groups, has in fact tended to increase the length of penalties (Rubin, 1970), and to result in a more dehumanizing control over behavior during the time served (American Friends Service Committee, 1971). Others have noted the use of rehabilitative efforts for a few prisoners at the expense of concern for improvements of basic living conditions for the bulk of those entering the system (Allen, 1959). It has been noted that probation and other alternatives to imprisonment have been primarily used for those who already have more resources, while others are made to bear the full brunt of public resentment for crime

(Irwin, 1971). Similarly, parole has been seen as extension of criminalization beyond the prison. Moreover, reformatory rhetoric has been seen to mediate against the guilt society would otherwise feel over long sentences and prison conditions (Irwin, 1971).

The re-emphasis by the public and legislators on overtly punitive approaches to criminal justice in the mid 1970's, accompanied by very rapid increases in prison use and deteriorating conditions, has been accompanied by a more positive re-evaluation of the above criticized reforms (Block, 1976). The question can be raised, however, as to the extent to which the professional organizations have been sensitive to the crime and severity amplification criticism and to negative feedback occurring from "unintended consequences" of past occupational procedures and reforms.

Returning to the question of the expected differences between the three organizations in policy advocacy vis-a-vis criminalization question, the following hypothesis can be formulated. These flow from the original occupational position of the professions represented by the groups and the historical process of task and reform segmentation that has occurred over the period of study.

> The International Association of Chiefs of Police will advocate more criminalizing policy than either the American Correctional Association or the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. It is also expected that this difference will increase over time.

It is further expected that:

> The ACA with links to prison treatment and administration will advocate more criminalization behavior than the NCCD. It is also expected that the NCCD sensitive to the feedback of the crime amplification role of the criminal justice system and unable to effect wider societal changes, will advocate decriminalization in certain symbolic areas.

The expectation that the police group will advocate that an increased number of behaviors be regulated is related to: (1) the historic progressive stripping of distributive activity of the police; (2) the

decline in political and other ties to urban ethnic minority groups (Robinson, 1977); (3) the growth of segmented vested occupational maintenance interests; (4) enforcement problems relative to existing crime which foster an interest in widening the range of behaviors for which legal sanctions can be applied; and (5) formal unavailability to the police of non-legal options to problem solving. It is expected that sanctioning will be approached in terms of deterrence and societal protection from crime with the result that long sentences are advocated. Policies will be selected which minimize the rights of the accused.

System Re-Ordering (Internal Consistency and New Issues of Concern)

This chapter has already discussed certain expectations concerning change relative to the positions of each group vis-a-vis each other and relative to criminalization variables. In this section focus will be on change considered simply in terms of degree of internal consistency, and extent of new behavior advocacy.

Research in the area of change in professional organizations has come to different conclusions concerning tendencies to change or maintenance over time, depending upon the type of change measured. Those longitudinal studies which have focused on change in interests served or political concerns have tended to note the conservative nature of the organizations. The several studies of the AMA are classic in this regard (Garceau, 1941; Burrow, 1956; Rajak, 1967). Others have noted their character of changing only when outside forces have made it imperative (Gilb, 1966).

At the same time research viewing change in terms of program modification or progression of goals within a similar framework have viewed professional groups as a locus of innovation (Blau, 1955; 1962; Hage, Aiken, 1966), and linked professional job organizational attributes to higher rates of change than other modes of work organization (Hage & Aiken, 1970).

Information centered system models of organizational change such as Wielk's (1969) have noted the necessity of organizations to maintain a

balance between constancy of interpretation of incoming information, and at times treating retained information as though it were equivocal, and thus reversing organizational interpretation and action. Buckley (1968) distinguishes between closed systems which are loosing organization, organizations open only to structure maintaining modification, and adaptive systems which are organization elaborating.

At the beginning of this research drawing on the above system interpretations, as well as the analysis of unintended consequences, and the internal generation of conflict (Darendorf, 1958) a considerable amount of internal inconsistency was anticipated. This expectation was also based upon the reading of the already referred to critical feedback literature in the area. Much of what has been written by practitioners notices the high level of failure of past policies, non-implementation as planned, and the occurrence of the opposite consequences from what was hoped of implemented policy. The stable attitude is one of freeing the occupations from past failures. It thus might be anticipated that especially the ACA and NCCD, the groups with the most ties to academic criminology would over a hundred year period often have rejected policies which they had in the past espoused, and that this would grow over time. The hypotheses were thus formulated that:

> Within a certain range of parameters all three of the organizations will have a balance of internal policy maintenance and development of new issues of concern.
>
> The ACA and NCCD will exhibit relatively high amounts of policy inconsistency or modification over the period of study.

Summary of Expectations

In summary it can be noted that the content analysis and historical study of the policy advocacy statements explores the validity of the following hypotheses:

Expectations Related to Environmental Parameters

I. No changes in levels of economic inequality will be advocated in the formal policy statements of the three organizations. References to economic and stratification variables as related to the occurrence of crime or its remedy will be minimized.

II. Certain constitutional requirements of formal legal rationality and equality, expressed as procedural rights, will not be violated. Debate will occur, however, as to their limits.

III. Concerns identified as related to social welfare professionalization will constitute a major area of common policy advocacy for the three organizations.

Expectations Related to System Variety and Tension

IV. The growth of occupational segmentation, and new occupational categories, for which the organizations have developed representational interests, will result in decline of overlap of policy concern, as well as growth in disagreement on those issues of remaining common concern.

Specifically it is anticipated that questions related to criminalization will constitute an important area of disagreement. It is expected that:

V. The International Association of Chiefs of Police will advocate more criminalizing policy than either the American Correctional Association or the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. It is expected that this difference will increase over time. It is also expected that the ACA, with more direct links to correctional occupations, will advocate more criminalizing policies that the NCCD. Sensitivity to crime amplification feedback is expected by the NCCD.

Expectations Related to System Re-ordering (Internal Consistency and New Issues of Concern

VI. Within a certain range of parameters all three of the organizations will have a balance of internal policy maintenance and development of new issues of concern.

VII. But, the ACA and NCCD, responsive to negative feedback will exhibit relatively high amounts of policy inconsistency or modification over the period of the study.

Structural Outline of the Thesis

The next chapter, Chapter 2, completes the introduction by presenting an introduction to the organizations chosen for study, and a discussion of the content analysis methodology employed in the analysis of the policy statements. Note is also made of certain statistical historical trends of relevance in describing the changes in the criminal justice system environment over the period of study. The remainder of Part I presents the results of the content analysis of the policy statements with regard to the questions posed in Chapter 1. Chapters 3 and 4 of Part I focus on the parameters of advocacy concern and present a description of the policy statements concerned with what has been called the "social welfare professionalizing activity" of the three groups. Chapter 5 is focused on the level of agreement found in the policy advocacy statements of the three organizations and Chapter 6 presents the results of coding the statements vis-a-vis criminalization questions. Chapter 7 presents the results of analyzing the statements as to degree of internal consistency and generation of new issues and Chapter 8 summarizes the results of Part I. Throughout the thesis references to policy statements are cited by the year they were issued. Locations in which the statements were published for each year can be found at the end of the thesis.

In the second part of the thesis chronological histories of each of the organizations are presented. These incorporate descriptions of organizational modification as well as selected content of other publications and texts of speeches at the organizations' yearly conferences. A final chapter summarizes the findings of Part I and Part II using the concepts discussed in Chapter 1. Two appendices are included. The first presents tables summarizing certain environmental changes within the criminal justice system over the period of study and the second compares the policy advocacy of the three groups with public opinion expressed in Gallup Poll questions on crime related issues since the initiation of the Gallup Poll in 1935.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents a brief introduction to each of the three organizations and a description of the use of content analysis within the research. In addition, a description is provided of certain relevant characteristics of the environment vis-a-vis the occupations of concern over the period of the study, 1870 to 1976.

Introduction to the Organizations

The organizations chosen to study were the three oldest and largest national organizations, listed in the Encyclopedia of Voluntary Associations, relating to the executive area of the criminal justice system. They are to different degrees representative of the interplay that has occurred in several social welfare areas in the U.S. between reform movements, the development of new occupational categories and attempted professional development of these occupations.

The oldest of the organizations, the National Prison Association (now the American Correctional Association), was initiated in 1870 by a group of public officials, clergymen, lawyers, and prison wardens concerned with prison reform. By the first decades of the 20th century it had become a professional corrections organization dominated by corrections administrators.

The initial objectives of the prison association were listed as: (1) the improvement of laws relating to crime; (2) improvement of penal, correctional, and reformatory institutions; and (3) care of discharged prisoners (Proceedings of the National Conference on Pentitentiary Discipline, 1870). A set of 38 often referred to and at the time debated principles were also adopted. Originally among the standing committees was one on police organization. This was prior to the establishment of any national police group and it is in the reports of this committee that some

of the earliest writings on police professionalization are found (Police in America, 1971).

The name of the association was first changed to the American Prison Association, to include Canadians and later in 1954 to the American Correctional Association. Today membership includes correctional administrators, wardens, superintendents, members of pardon and parole boards, probation officers, psychologists, social workers, and others involved in the correctional field. Objectives are listed as the improvement of correctional standards, including the selection of personnel; the care, supervision, education, training, employment, treatment and post release adjustment of inmates, and the development of adequate physical facilities; and the study of the causes and methods of prevention of crime and juvenile delinquency. Membership was given as 10,000 and the full-time permanent staff was 11 in the mid 1970's (Encyclopedia of National Organizations, 1975).

The International Association of Chiefs of Police which calls itself the "Professional Voice of Law Enforcement," was begun in 1893 under the name of the National Police Union. Membership was originally limited to chiefs and commissioners (with honorary membership for some of the many ex-chiefs). Today it is extended to include all those in command positions, with no honorary membership. Early statements of purpose stressed the objective of "taking counsel together to inaugurate and adopt a code of rules and regulations whereby the country can act in unison for the prevention and detection of crime" (Upson Lent, 1929:121). Emphasis was at this time expressed in terms of securing closer official and personal relations among police officers, elevating standards, advocating more humane police procedures and securing pension, tenure, and relief laws. Today objectives are stated in terms of advancing the science and art of police services (Tamm Q, 1964:10). Current specific services of the organization are consultative and research services, institutes for police management, raising funds for upgrading police standards and legislative activity. Membership was reported as 8000 and there was a staff of 125 in the mid 1970's (Encyclopedia of National Organizations, 1975). The IACP is now and has been throughout its history more clearly an occupational group.

The third organization is the National Council on Crime and Delinquency formerly the National Probation Association. This organization was begun in 1907, and has modified its organizational structure the most of the three groups. Initially the principal activity of the association was the promotion of the probation concept and lobbying for laws to this effect. Likewise the group concerned itself with the establishment of the occupations surrounding the probation concept. Bills were also soon drafted regarding the establishment of family and juvenile courts. The probation association was originally begun by 14 probation officers, but quickly attained the membership of judges and others interested in family and juvenile courts, as well as other criminal justice reformers.

In 1948 the American Parole Association was absorbed into the group and the name was changed to the National Probation and Parole Association. In the last 25 years citizen and professional councils have been established in various communities dealing with all aspects of criminal justice and in 1960 the name was changed to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. These councils include a council of judges, a law enforcement council, citizen action councils in various states, and a research council. NCCD lists the following activities: maintaining a library and extensive information files, furnishing legislative and legal services and advice, conducting training institutes, giving awards, and co-sponsoring the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency. In the last decade NCCD has developed major criminal justice abstracting activities. Membership peaked in the late 1960's and early 1970's at 60,000. There was at this time a professional staff of 125.

The organizations have in common the assumption of a reform stance through performance as an intermediary between the occupational interest represented and the more general society. This is both in terms of attempting to raise performance standards and on the other hand to act as an advocate vis-a-vis the society for the occupational groups represented. Another common characteristic of their objectives has been the adoption of some form of professional communication and coordination on a national level. The structures of the organizations are similar in that they are voluntary groups, primarily actively involving management personnel rather

than line personnel. The associations were initiated within 40 years of each other and are relatively enduring organizations, the oldest spanning over a century of time. Chart 1 gives the historical outline of the organizations' development, and their formal interrelationship with other organizations.

The published yearly proceedings of conferences of each of the groups over their history and other publications of the groups contain about 1,500 formal policy statements. The research combines qualitative analysis of other published organizational reports with a specific content analysis of these formal policy statements. It is hoped that the combination of a content analysis of the policy statements with a general observation of the reports of organizational proceedings will provide a disciplined and complete historical description, and that each will serve as a corrective to the limitations of the other.

Content Analysis of Historical Materials

I should now like to note some major features, strengths and problems of content analysis as applied to historical data. Content analysis is here viewed as primarily a method of observation in which the behavioral unit is the message produced by the source. It is a procedure for producing data in the same sense that the questionnaire or direct observation of activity are methods of data production (Mitchell, 1967). By making prerequisite explicit statements of criteria and procedures used to describe the content of the communication it minimizes the uncertainties which impressionistic analysis leaves (Pool, Lasswell, 1970).

Because the content chosen for analysis has been produced spontaneously researcher interference as a source of bias is not present. On the other hand, the communication is biased by other conditions. Mitchell (1967) has noted three sources of bias: (1) the differential attention to the message which the source gives; (2) the non-availability of evidence on all dimensions; and (3) the significance of non-inclusion.

Chart 1. Organizational Name Change and Development

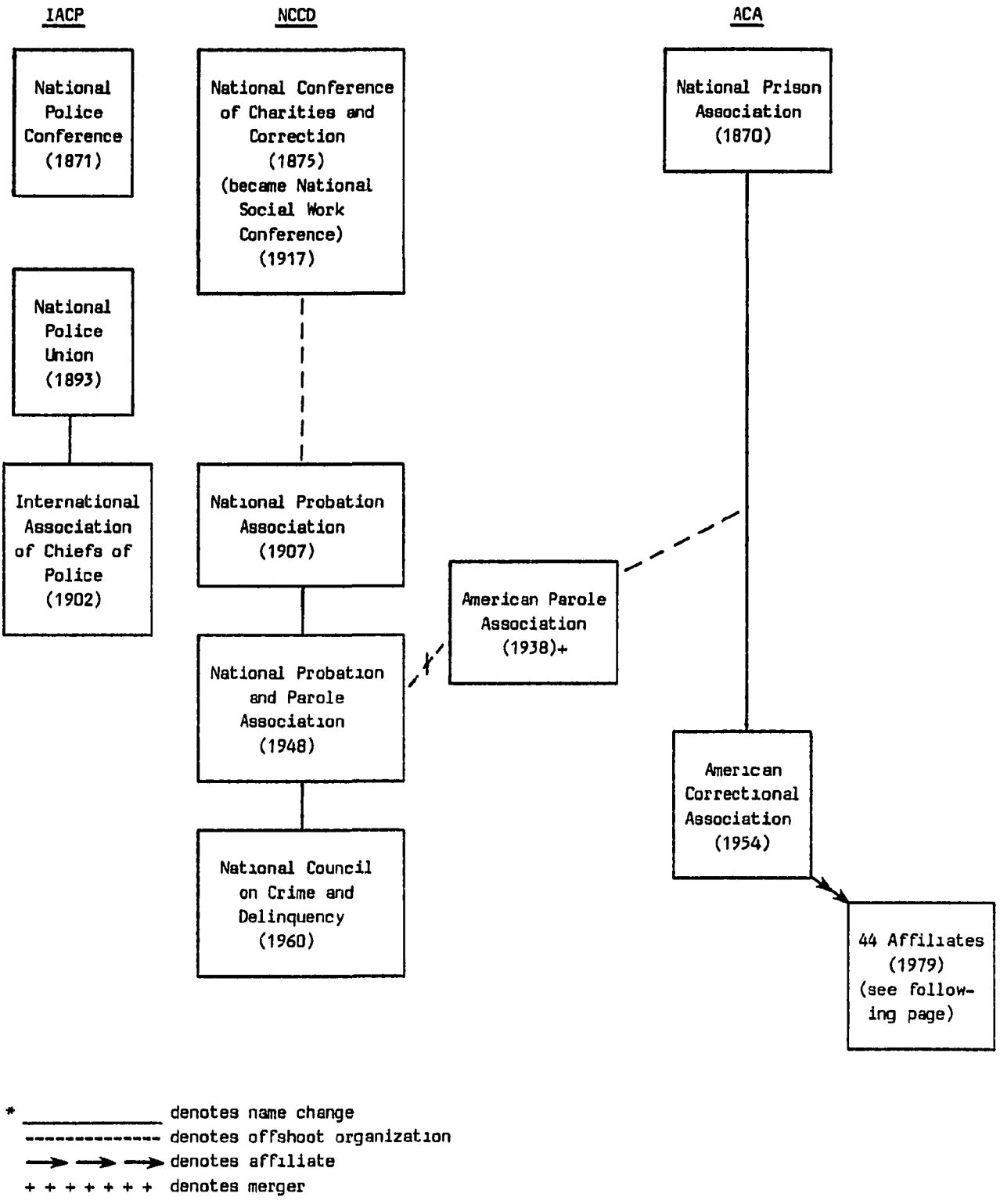


Chart 1. Organizational Name Change and Development (continued)

ACA Affiliates in 1979

Alabama Council on Crime and Delinquency

American Association of Correctional Psychologists

American Association of Correctional Training Personnel

American Association of Ex-Officers in Criminal Justice

American Association of Wardens and Superintendents

American Correctional Chaplains' Association

American Correctional Food Service Association

American Correctional Health Services Association

Association for Correctional Research and Statistics

Association of Juvenile Compact Administrators

Association of Paroling Authorities

Association of State Correctional Administrators

Association on Programs for Female Offenders

Central States Corrections Association

Colorado Correctional Association

Correctional Education Association

Correctional Industries Association

Correctional Service Federation - USA

Federal Probation Officers Association

South Dakota, Florida Council on Crime and Delinquency

Indiana Correctional Association

International Halfway House Association

Iowa Corrections Association

Kansas Correctional Association

Kentucky Council on Crime and Delinquency

Maryland Probation, Parole and Corrections Association, Inc.

Middle Atlantic States Conference of Corrections

Minnesota Corrections Association

Missouri Corrections Association

National Association of State Juvenile Delinquency Program Administrators

National Association of Training Schools and Juvenile Agencies

National Correctional Recreation Association

National Council on Crime and Delinquency

National Jail Association

National Juvenile Detention Association

Nebraska Correctional Association

New England Correctional Coordination Council, Inc.

Ohio Correctional and Court Services Association

Oregon Corrections and Court Services Association

Oregon Corrections Association

Chart 1. Organizational Name Change and Development (continued)

Probation and Parole Compact Administrators Association

Salvation Army

Southern States Correctional Association

Tennessee Correctional Association

Texas Correctional Association

Volunteers of America

Western Correctional Association

Holsti (1967) has noted this more positively when he notes that the content analysis assumes that frequency of appearance is a valid indicator of importance, and that each unit of content should be given equal weight with every other unit. This produces certain problems especially in the sense that as Wiener (1968:33) has noted the more probable the message, the less information it gives. This suggests the limitations of what simple measures of the frequency of occurrence can tell us and the importance of consideration in the analysis of infrequently occurring cases of policy advocacy as well. Certain problems are also present because of the differential use of resolutions and policy statements by the organizations over time and compared to each other. The statements have in common that each has been either formally approved by the assembled members, or has been the result of a consensual procedure that resulted in formal labeling of the statement as representative of organizational policy and its subsequent publication as such. However over time for the same organization and between the organizations there have been differences in the frequency of use of other methods such as direct legislative drafting, production of standard manuals, and research reports.

Additionally, the process of resolution formulation has been used to varying degrees for internal organizational business and as a routine medium for conveying messages of thanks and support to organizational benefactors and allies. For this reason the statements were divided initially into two groups, those dealing with substantive policy content and those dealing primarily with organizational business. This decision was not always straightforward, but consistent criteria were used throughout. Part II of the thesis discusses the content of the organizational business statements, excluded from the policy analysis in Part I.

Table 1 gives a breakdown of the number of formal statements passed or issued by each group, and their relative distribution between organizational concerns and substantive policy. One can see that the relative distribution between the groups is quite similar. It can also be seen (Table 2) that the IACP and the ACA have issued more frequent statements than the NCCD in each of the time periods. However, from both staff and membership data and other criteria such as publications and field activities, it can

Table 1. Total Statements Published

	ACA 1870-1976	IACP 1893-1976	NCCD 1915-1976
Total policy content statements	893	1,375	348
Total non-substantive or organizational	338	635	145
Total substantive	555	740	203
Percent substantive	62%	54%	58%

Table 2. Average Number of Substantive Policy Statements Per Year

Year	1870-1892	1893-1914	1915-1935	1936-1955	1956-1976
ACA	2.9	1.1	6.4	8.9	8.6
IACP		2.3	6.4	3.8	24.6
NCCD			4.4	2.6	3.3

be noted that the NCCD is at least as active if not more so than the IACP, and that the ACA has been until very recently relatively less active. The relative difference in staff and membership between the ACA and the other two organizations is somewhat over stated due to the fact tht the ACA has many affiliated organizations relative to correctional specialties, and maintains an umbrella-like relationship to these groups (See Chart 1).

The number of formal policy statements of the type we are considering is therefore not a direct index of organizational activeness. The less frequent statements of the NCCD tend to be more lengthy policy statements. Especially in the last time period, they are more often the result of a formal study of a more controversial nature.

Differences exist therefore in the attention given to the statements by the organizations, and in the use of other forms of policy advocacy. However, consistency of advocacy content of the formal statements and other

means of policy advocacy was found. In this sense the formal statements can be taken as representative of other policy advocacy activity. Theoretical questions are treated in terms of relative frequency of occurrence rather than absolute frequency, and numerical differences in advocacy behavior between the organizations are minimized.

Coding Unit Categories

It is common in content analysis to distinguish between the coding or recording unit and the broader context unit which gives contextual interpretation to the specific unit to be coded. In this research the primary assertion of the resolutions or policy statements is the primary coding unit. Accompanying statements of rationale, the "whereas" in formally stated resolutions, provided contextual information used in making decisions as to category or placement, but were not directly coded. A decision was also made to respect the editorial boundaries of the statements. Each separate resolution or policy statement was coded as one unit, even if at times more than one behavior was advocated. This necessitated some inference as to the major or summary focus of the statement. Similarly if more than one editorially separate resolution was formulated advocating much the same behavior in a given year this was coded as two units.

The aim in content analysis is to make the categories fit the question and be as exhaustive and exclusive as possible (Budd, Thorp, Donahew, 1967). A procedure of partially open-ended pilot coding of the data was employed from which final categories emerged. Original attempts at scaling the content of the statements based upon concreteness of language categories and degree of superlative or diminutive language categories were abandoned upon analysis due to the fact that it became obvious that the numeric weights attached to the variation in data were of questionable validity as indicators of actual variance in the statements.

For comparative analysis over time the total years have been divided into five approximately 20 year intervals. The beginning dates of the first three periods correspond respectively to the date of first publication of

policy statements by the ACA, the IACP, and the NCCD. The five periods are thus:

I. 1870-1892
II. 1893-1914
III. 1915-1935
IV. 1936-1955
V. 1956-1976

Historical Environment

In the final part of this chapter, I would like to call attention to certain historical trends which describe the environment in which the statements were issued and which are part of the information base giving feedback to the organizations. These are of relevance in creating a frame of reference for interpretation of the policy advocacy selection of the three groups over the period of concern.

One of the primary factors has been the proportional growth in the occupations represented by the organizations. The census of 1880 included one of the first attempts to gather national police data. About 492 towns containing one-fourth of the U.S. population of the time were included in the survey. The rate of police to population was 1.2 per 1,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1888:LIV). Ratio's given by the mid 1970's indicate that the rate of public police alone to citizens is now almost 3 per 1,000 inhabitants (U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract, 1975:160). Similarly the percentage of the work force police occupy has more than doubled between 1910 and 1970 (U.S. Census Bureau, "Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1957," 1962:77; "Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970," 1976:745). Police and guards taken together were 1.1 percent of the work force in 1977 (Statistical Abstracts, 1978:418). Each constituted about .5 percent of the work force.

It is less easy to estimate the growth in correction related occupations. If one looks at changes in census occupational data cited above, one sees that social welfare workers, and psychologists taken together have gone from a category not independently distinguishable before 1910 to be

more numerous than clergyman and about as numerous as lawyers are today. They were seven times as large a percentage of the work force by 1970, as in 1910. Lawyers were in 1970 about the same percentage of the work force as in 1900, and clergymen had declined by almost a fourth in work force percentage. In 1977 all social workers and recreation workers taken together were estimated to be about .5 percent of the work force (Statistical Abstract, 1978:418). So one could say that the rate of increase of social welfare workers has been higher than for lawyers or clergymen but police and guards continue to constitute a larger group.

Those social welfare workers concerned with criminal justice matters are a small percentage of the total, as is correction a small percentage of the total criminal justice employment and expenditure. In 1973, 59 percent of the total criminal justice budget for all government levels combined was spent by police and 21 percent by correction. The remaining 20 percent was spent for judicial, prosecution and indigent defense costs (U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstracts, 1975:160).

Moreover, the bulk of the expenditures in correction are for institutions. This was 75 percent of the total in 1973 and of the remaining, 19 percent went to probation and parole services and 4 percent to correctional administration (U.S. Department of Justice, "Employment and Expediture Data," 1975:303, 266).

On the institutional level the ratio of staff to inmates has gone down considerably over the period of study. For example, it was estimated to be 10.8 in 1926 and 4.8 in 1962 (Bureau of Census, 1928:128; National Prisoner Statistics, 1964:35). However in 1962, 65 percent of these were classified as custodial workers. Thus, the overwhelming energy of the criminal justice system is directed to police activities rather than correctional, and the bulk of correctional activity is institutional and custodial.

Despite the considerable focus on the use of alternatives to prisons and jails, prison rates have shown a definite fluctuating trend to increase since 1880, and an even larger trend if data going back to 1850 is

considered reliable (see Appendix Table 1-1). The rate of incarceration on all levels per 100,000 population was reported by the Census Bureau to be 139 in 1880, and in 1977 it was estimated to be 244. If age changes in the population are considered the increase is even larger (Appendix Table 1-3). However, significant fluctuations have occurred, most notably declines in rate of use in the first decades of the 20th century, followed by abnormally high growth in the 1930's, and a period of small declines during World War II and again in the late 1960's. The period 1973-1977 has seen a larger increase on the state and federal levels in rate of persons present per 100,000 population than any previously recorded years. At the same time, lynchings and capital punishment have notably declined over the period. In the decade of the 1890's, 1,214 persons were reported executed under civil authority, and from 1882-1895, 2,236 were estimated as have been lynched (Bowers, 1974:40; U.S. Bureau of Census, "Historical Statistics of the U.S., Colonial Times to 1970," 1976: 452-454).

A significant factor is that despite the large increases in criminal legislation occurring in this century (Friedman, 1973:257; Barnes, Teeters, 1959:74) the offense distribution of U.S. prisons has not changed too significantly since 1880. It remains focused on the traditional property crimes (Appendix Table 1-5). Morals offenses have been upgraded in seriousness and level of incarceration, but constituted an almost similar percentage of the total in 1880 as in 1972-73.

Sentence comparisons are difficult to make. The census of 1910 based upon the ratio of yearly commitments to prison population estimated the average stay in state prisons to be 2 1/2 years, and that in jails to be 1/10 of a year (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1918:22). Changes have taken place in relative use of prisons and jails that make comparison difficult, but estimates made in the second half of the 1960's before the 1970's increases in sentencing, gave about two years as the average stay in state prisons (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, "Task Force Report on Correction," 1967:177).

The 1880 census estimated the rate of arrest by the police to be one in 20 inhabitants. In giving this figure reference was made to the

lack of necessity for so many arrests (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1888:LIV, LV). This included minor disorderly conduct arrests. In 1974, excluding traffic offenses a significant proportion of the total, the reported rate was one per 21.8 (Uniform Crime Reports, 1974:176). For Class I offenses the percentage of those charged who are arrested has apparently increased considerably. In 1933 it was reported to be 76 percent and in 1973, 98 percent (Uniform Crime Reports, 1933; Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1974:265).

Reported crime rates are difficult to compare. Census Bureau homicide rates since 1900 have fluctuated but show no overall significant trend to increase. The FBI crime reports collected since 1931, for certain offenses have reported large increases for all other crimes especially since 1960 (Uniform Crime Reports, 1932:7; 1940:161; 1950:74; 1960:248; 1974:55).

Among the constants in the criminal justice system has been the fact that since 1850 when the first national data was published almost 50 percent of the inmates of U.S. prisons and jails have been either foreign born or members of ethnic and racial minorities (See Table 11, Appendix 1). In 1850, foreign born were 9.7 percent of the U.S. population, and 35.8 percent of the prison population. In 1970, blacks were 11.1 percent of the U.S. population and 40.7 percent of the prison population. Similarly, analysis of the occupations of the prisoners in 1904, and in the 1970's shows a clustering at the lower end of the wage compensation scale (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1904:60; LEAA National Prisoner Statistics, 1976). Significant correlations have been found between unemployment rate and fluctuations in prison rates (Jankovic, 1977). The significance of these facts as a feedback upon the criminal justice system can not be overlooked.

Looking at the general trend in the U.S. over the last century, one can note an increase in population of five times. Farmers declined from 20 percent of the population in 1900 to two percent in 1970. Professionals increased from four percent to 15 percent and clerical workers from three to 15 percent. Service workers were nine percent in 1900, and 13 percent in 1970, and non-service manual workers were 36 percent in both

1900 and also in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1973: Population Bulletin #1599; U.S. Bureau of Census, "Occupational Trends in the United States 1900-1950," 1958). At the same time the economic distribution of wealth and income has according to most indices shown little modification over the period since the second half of the 19th century. Using spin sample data from census reports from 1850 to 1870 and comparing them with wealth and income data up to 1963, Soltow (1975) has made a number of relevant comparisons spanning the time of our study. In 1870 the Lorenz Curve for wealth of families and unrelated individuals yielded a Gini Coefficient of .83. In 1962-63 the Gini Coefficient was .76. If adjustments are made for change in age distribution and the number of adult males living with families of wealth in 1870 the differences are reduced to about 4 to 5 points (Soltow, 1975:183). Estimates were that in 1870 the top one percent owned 27 percent of the total real estate wealth. In 1963 it was estimated that the top one percent held 29 percent of the total real estate wealth (Soltow, 1975:122).

While age accounted for only five percent of the total variance in wealth, Soltow concludes that inequality was tolerated because of the fact that for the average person some rate of accumulation was a possibility. The lowest degree of inequality, .77, was present in the age group 60-69 and the highest in the age 29-39, where it was .92 (Soltow, 1975:107).

Analysis of census data from 1935 to the 1970's indicates that between 1940 and the 1960's there was some slight decline in inequality among the top and middle income groups, while the bottom 20 percent of the population did not increase their four to five percent of the total percent of income (Statistical Abstracts, 1975). One of Soltow's findings was that while total wealth increased 8.7 times over the period, average wealth estimates for Blacks in the 1960's were not up to those of Whites in 1870 (Soltow, 1975:183). Unemployment rates as reported by the Census Bureau have fluctuated between .08 in 1906 and 25 percent in 1933 (U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Statistics of the U.S., 1976). Available evidence indicates that unemployment rates for Blacks relative to Whites have overall worsened in this century (Killingsworth, 1968).

In summary I should like to note the following envirnmental characteristics and historical trends as significant for interpretation of the policy advocacy of the organizations: (1) the continued dominance of police activities in the area of social control in terms of expenditure and employment, despite the growth of rehabilitative and ameliorative rhetoric and some relative increase in this area over the period; (2) the decline in lynching and rate of capital punishment use but the actual growth in prison use rate despite development of formal alternatives; (3) the use of punitive sanctioning primarily for traditional property and morals offenses of those poor in resources, despite the growth in legal regulation and possible criminal sanctioning in other areas; (4) the constant relationship of race, ethnic background and occupational class to frequency of imprisonment and the relationship of fluctuations in imprisonment use to rates of unemployment; and (5) the constancy of high levels of economic inequality, amid growth in wealth levels over the period, combined with a constant situation of surplus labor.

CHAPTER 3

THE PARAMETERS OF DEBATE

This chapter begins by presenting a brief outline of the major topics of concern or lack of concern of the three organizations over their history. This is intended as an introductory overview. The content of the statements are discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters. The major focus of the chapter is consideration of the question of the extent to which the parameters of the dual acceptance of economic inequality and legal equality have been operative historically in policy selection of the three organizations.

Topical Overview

The tables included in this chapter present the results of coding each of the substantive policy statements as to issue of concern. Included as formal policy statements are all available statements published by the group over their history and labeled as one of the following: (1) a statement of principle; (2) a resolution at the yearly conference; or (3) an official policy statement.

The policy statements were located through examintion of all published meeting proceedings of the organizations over their history, as well as examination of other association publications such as journals and newsletters.

In initial coding of the statements, resolutions passed at the yearly conferences were divided into two types; those dealing with substantive policy and those dealing with organizational operation. For discussion of the content of the statements dealing with organizational concerns see the organizational histories presented in Part II. (See also Table 1 in Chapter 1 for a breakdown of the relative distribution between organizational and substantive statements.)

Initial open-ended coding of the statements yielded 627 separate behavioral references. These were then collapsed into the 24 categories listed in Tables 3a to 7a. Some more single focused issues which could have been included under broader headings such as capital punishment, and prison labor have been kept separate to give more information. The categories thus vary as to inclusiveness, and internal comparisons as to relative saliency must take this into account.

Overview of Issues of Concern to the American Correctional Association

Table 3a presents the categorization of all topics of concern and Table 3b presents the five largest categories of concern to the American Correctional Association for each of the time periods and over the entire time span of the study. The most frequent policy statements have been concerned with correctional treatment methods and prison conditions. Overall this constituted 17 percent of the total. However, in the second period (1893 to 1914) criminal justice statistics and identification concerns, and in the third period (1915 to 1935) probation and parole were slightly more salient. Table 5 presents a breakdown of the specific topics included in the category "Correctional Treatment Methods and Prison Conditions." Prison labor, categorized separately in Tables 3a and 7a due to its saliency, is included also in Table 5 for comparison purposes. From this one can see that next to prison labor, classification, education, and physical conditions have been of most concern. One can note the growth in the more recent periods of concern with community contact. Overall one sees the very high saliency of the prison labor issue, but relative to earlier times there is a decline in saliency of this topic. There is also a lack of issuance of statements on the controversial topic of prison discipline methods.

Looking at the other concerns of the ACA over its history one sees that in the first period (1870-1893) a high percentage of the statements dealt with interpretation of the role of the criminal justice system, specifically justification of the reformatory method, and the introduction of a career concept of prison work. A considerable number of statements in

the first period were also concerned with forms of sentencing especially support of the indeterminate form of sentencing.

In the second period from 1893 to 1914, the National Prison Association went into a period of issuing relatively fewer statements per year. This was partly related to the views developed by former U.S. President Rutherford Hayes who served as the association president from 1883 to 1892. He held that the association should not get involved in specific legislation because this might be construed as political involvement. Consequently the association passed a larger number of resolutions calling for studies of various issues. However, by 1901 a resolution specifically reasserts the allowance of legislative stance taking by the association, as had been formulated in the original constitution of the group.

Those advocacy statements in this second period that were passed reflect a consensus with IACP on the need for the establishment of criminal identification procedures, and the keeping of criminal records by the federal government. The establishment of a parallel federal prison system was also an issue of strong association support. The association continued its involvement in the International Prison Congress, begun by one of its founders, E. C. Wines, and hosted a major international conference in 1910. Probation and parole had emerged as issues of strong ACA support in the early years of the 20th century, and in the third period (1915 to 1935), probation and parole replace prison conditions as the major focus of concern. The association became involved in defending these procedures from the public attacks of J.E. Hoover, and to some extent the IACP. They also worked on specifying procedures and standards in this area, and acted as a mediator between police and parole groups. Unsuccessful attempts were also made against the use of and conditions in county jails, and the building of massive maximum security prisons that occurred in this period. The association became heavily involved, also unsuccessfully, in trying to block passage of additional restrictive prison labor legislation.

In the period from 1936 to 1955 the association returned focus to prison conditions, treatment methods, and occupational development. The World War II years meant increased dealings with the federal government

Table 3a. Distribution of topics of concern in each time period for ACA

Topic	I 1870-1892		II 1893-1914		III 1915-1935		IV 1936-1955		V 1956-1976		Total Period	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Occupational development	(6)	9.5	(1)	4.2	(7)	5.5	(17)	10.1	(20)	11.7	(51)	9.2
Level of administration coordination and government resource procurement	(4)	6.3	(2)	8.3	(14)	10.9	(16)	9.4	(19)	11.2	(55)	9.9
Auto regulation		0		0		0		0		0		0
Probation and parole		0	(3)	12.5	(18)	14.0	(3)	1.8	(9)	5.3	(33)	5.9
Criminal justice statistics and identification	(3)	4.8	(5)	20.8	(10)	7.8	(2)	1.2	(14)	8.2	(34)	6.1
Forms of sentencing and court organization	(5)	7.9	(2)	8.3	(4)	3.1	(8)	4.7	(9)	5.3	(28)	5.0
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions	(20)	31.7	(4)	16.7	(17)	13.3	(28)	16.6	(29)	16.9	(98)	17.7
Prison labor	(5)	7.9	(1)	4.2	(15)	11.7	(15)	8.9	(5)	2.9	(41)	7.4
Institution type and construction: use of jails	(4)	6.3		0	(14)	10.2	(11)	6.5	(5)	2.9	(34)	6.1
Standards and research		-		-	(2)	1.6	(4)	2.4	(12)	7.0	(18)	3.2
Police methods			(1)	4.2	(1)	.8	(1)	.6		0	(3)	.5
Prevention	(3)	4.8		0	(3)	2.3	(7)	4.1	(4)	2.3	(17)	3.1
Legality of specific behavior		0		0	(4)	3.1	(2)	1.2	(2)	1.2	(8)	1.4
Role of public		0		0	(5)	3.9	(4)	2.4	(4)	2.3	(13)	2.3
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners (includes regulation of ex-prisoner job opportunities)	(1)	1.6		0	(2)	1.6	(15)	8.9	(8)	4.7	(26)	4.7
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	(8)	12.7		0	(1)	.8	(10)	6.0	(10)	5.8	(29)	5.2
Media concerns		0	(1)	4.2	(1)	.8	(3)	1.8	(1)	.6	(6)	1.1
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	(2)	3.2			(2)	1.6	(2)	1.2	(3)	1.8	(9)	1.6
Allegiance to U.S. government; and communism		0		0		0		0		0		0
Riot control and interpretation		0	(1)	4.2	(3)	2.3	(4)	2.4	(4)	2.3	(12)	2.2
Treatment of aliens		0		0	(2)	1.6		0		0	(2)	.4
Organized crime		0		0		0	(1)	.6)	(1)	.6)	(2)	.4
Capital punishment		0		0		0	(2)	1.2	(8)	4.7	(10)	1.0
International criminal justice	(2)	3.2	(3)	12.5	(3)	2.3	(14)	8.3	(4)	2.3	(26)	4.7
Total number coded	(63)		(24)		(128)		(169)		(177)		(555)	

Table 3b. Overview of major concerns of the American Correctional Association

Five Largest Categories of Concern, ACA

Period I (1870-1892)

	%	#
Correctional methods and prison conditions	31.7	(20)
Interpretation and criminal justice functioning	12.7	(8)
Occupational development	9.5	(6)
Forms of sentencing and court organization	7.9	(5)
Prison labor	7.9	(5)
Percent of total	69.7	

Period II (1893-1914)

	%	#
Criminal statistics and identification	20.8	(5)
Correctional methods and prison conditions	16.7	(4)
Probation and parole	12.5	(3)
International criminal justice	12.5	(3)
Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurement	8.3	(2)
Percent of total	70.8	

Period III (1915-1935)

Probation and Parole	14.0	(18)
Correctional methods and prison conditions	13.3	(17)
Prison labor	11.7	(15)
Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurement	10.9	(14)
Institutional form, construction, use of jails	10.2	(14)
Percent of total	60.1	

Period IV (1936-1955)

Correctional methods and prison conditions	16.6	(28)
Occupational development	10.1	(17)
Level of administration coordination, government resource procurement	9.4	(16)
Prison labor	8.9	(15)
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners (includes regulation of ex-prisoner job opportunities)	8.9	(15)
Percent of total	53.9	

Period V (1956-1976)

Correctional methods and prison methods	16.9	(29)
Occupational development	11.7	(20)
Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurement	11.2	(19)
Criminal justice statistics and identification	8.2	(14)
Research and standards	7.0	(12)
Percent of total	55.0	

especially in the area of prison labor. Some of the federal restrictions in this area were temporarily lifted due to national defense. Employment rights and the allowance of service in the military for released prisoners also becomes a major focus.

The fifth and last period (1956 to 1976) is characterized by the absence of prison labor as a major issue. Treatment methods relative to education, recreation, group methods and community contact had replaced it as possible alternatives. There is also relatively less concern in policy statements with ex-prisoner employment oportunities. As will be seen, a defensive ambivalence is manifest in the organization's policy advocacy relative to certain prisoner-right questions. There is increased emphasis on research and information gathering again in this period.

Overview of IACP Issues of Concern

Table 4a and 4b outline the topical categories of concern to the IACP over the period of the study. Looking at the number of policy statements in each period one sees the fact that between 1956 and 1976 more substantive policy statements were issued than over the entire period from 1893 to 1955. One is also struck by the fact that in the fifth period there is a strong dominance of statements which concern auto regulation. This is related to the fact that the IACP developed a strong auto safety division through the obtaining of several grants from automobile industry sponsored safety foundations. Overall the IACP has had a larger number and percent of statements concerned with occupational development and also the legality of specific behaviors than the ACA or the NCCD.

Looking at the most salient concerns in each period gives indication of changes in organizational focus. In the period from 1893 to 1914, the IACP was primarily concerned with seeing that a national criminal identification bureau was established. One of the two originators of the first conference and the association's first president was Chief Robert McLaughrey of Chicago. He was at the time very active in the establishment of a central Bertillon File in that city. While in session the group visited the Chicago Bertillon File headquarters and eventually the association took

Table 4a. Distribution of topics of concern in each time period for IACP

Topic	II 1893-1914		III 1915-1935		IV 1936-1955		V 1956-1976		Total Period	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Occupational development	(10)	20.8	(21)	15.6	(4)	5.6	(93)	18.7	(128)	17.3
Level of administration coordination and government resource procurement	(6)	12.5	(14)	11.2	(3)	4.2	(40)	8.3	(63)	8.5
Auto regulation	(0)	0	(12)	9.4	(4)	5.6	(176)	35.8	(192)	25.9
Probation and parole	(1)	2.1	(7)	5.5	(3)	4.2		0	(11)	1.5
Criminal justice statistics and identification	(21)	43.8	(16)	12.5	(11)	15.3	(23)	4.7	(71)	9.6
Forms of sentencing and court organization	(0)	-	(4)	3.1	(1)	1.4	(2)	.4	(7)	.9
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions*	(0)	-	(3)	2.4	(0)	-	(0)	-	(3)	.4
Prison labor	(0)	-	(0)	-	(0)	-	(0)	-	-	-
Institution type and construction: use of jails	(0)	-	(0)	-	(0)	-	(0)	-	(0)	-
Standards and research	(1)	2.1	(4)	3.1	(2)	2.8	(25)	5.1	(32)	4.3
Police methods*	(1)	2.1	(2)	1.6	(15)	20.8	(58)	11.8	(76)	10.3
Prevention	(0)	0	(3)	2.4	(4)	5.6	(7)	1.4	(14)	1.9
Legality of specific behavior	(5)	10.4	(12)	9.4	(4)	5.6	(15)	3.0	(36)	4.8
Role of public	(0)	-	(1)	.8	(2)	2.8	(3)	.6	(6)	.8
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners (includes regulation of ex-prisoner job opportunities)	(0)	-	(0)	-	(0)	-	(2)	.4	(2)	.3
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	(0)	-	(4)	3.1	(2)	2.8	(3)	.6	(9)	1.2
Media concerns	(1)	2.1	(6)	4.7	(6)	8.3	(9)	1.6	(22)	3.0
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	(0)	0	(7)	5.5	(2)	2.8	(16)	3.3	(25)	3.4
Allegiance to U.S. government; and communism	(1)	2.1	(3)	2.4	(5)	6.9	(1)	.2	(11)	1.5
Riot control and interpretation	(0)	-	(1)	.8	(0)	-	(2)	.4	(3)	.4
Treatment of aliens	(0)	-	(6)	4.7	(2)	2.8	(0)	-	(8)	1.0
Organized crime	(0)	-	(1)	.8	(0)	-	(10)	2.0	(11)	1.5
Capital punishment	(0)	-	(1)	.8	(0)	-	(1)	.2	(2)	.3
International criminal justice	(1)	2.1	(0)	-	(2)	2.8	(7)	1.4	(10)	1.4
Total number coded	(48)		(128)		(72)		(492)		(740)	

*Breakdowns of topics covered in these categories are presented in Table 5.

Table 4b. Overview of major concerns of the International Association of Chiefs of Police

Five Largest Categories of Concern, IACP

Period II (1893-1914)

	%	#
Criminal justice statistics and identification	43.8	(21)
Occupational development	20.8	(10)
Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurement	12.5	(6)
Legality of behavior	10.4	(5)
Percent of total	87.5	

Period III (1915-1935)

	%	#
Occupational development	15.6	(21)
Criminal statistics and identification	12.5	(16)
Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurement	11.2	(14)
Legality of behavior	9.4	(12)
Auto regulation	9.4	(12)
Percent of total	58.1	

Period IV (1936-1955)

Police methods	20.8	(15)
Criminal justice statistics and identification	15.3	(11)
Media concerns	8.3	(6)
Allegiance U.S. government	6.9	(5)
Auto regulation	5.6	(4)
Legality of behavior	5.6	(4)
Prevention	5.6	(4)
Percent of total	68.1	

Period V (1956-1976)

Auto regulation	35.8	(176)
Occupational development	18.7	(93)
Police methods	11.8	(58)
Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurement	8.3	(40)
Standards, research	5.1	(25)
Percent of total	79.7	

it upon themselves to establish and run a national bureau with headquarters in Chicago. From the beginning the group lobbied to have this function undertaken by the federal government, but it was not until the 1920's that federal takeover by the FBI occurred.

Coordination among the various local police forces was also of central concern, as well as issues related to tenure, rewards and municipal control of police organization. The IACP in the first period of its existence as in the next two periods was more concerned with what behaviors should be considered illegal than either of the other two organizations.

In the period from 1915 to 1935, occupational development, level of administration and coordination, as well as criminal identification continue to be the major concerns. Some attention was given by the association to auto regulation and drafting of the first Uniform Auto Regulation Code was begun in 1919. In the fourth period during World War II, when several yearly conferences were not held, and the association headquarters made a move from Chicago to Washington, D.C., relatively fewer statements were issued. A dominant concern in terms of numbers of policy statements and resolutions issued, relates to development of modern communication methods for police and techniques of evidence gathering. The war and cold war years meant the development for the police of new issues related to civil defense methods and national security. Fewer statements in the period related to occupational interests.

In the fifth period (1955 to 1976) the overwhelming focus was on auto regulation. The development of a field service in this area and the continued obtaining of grants, as well as the development of a very active state police section, combined to make this a major focus. Standards and research are of more concern than previously, and there is renewed focus on police occupational interests.

Table 5 breaks down the inclusive category of police methods. One can see from this that many categories include methods about which there has been citizen and legal conflict, such as the use of electronic surveillance, speed traps, and search policies. Overall the technique of concern

Table 5. Breakdown of selected categories (ACA and IACP)

(a) Focus of Policy Statements on Correctional Methods and Prison Conditions: (Parole and Probation Omitted)	1870-1892 N	1893-1914 N	1915-1935 N	1936-1955 N	1956-1976 N	ACA* Total N
Reward system	3	1		1	1	6
Moral force over physical	3	1				4
Education	2		2	9	3	16
Physical and medical care	1	1	2	4	6	14
Religion	2		3	3	2	10
Kindness	1					1
Background study		1	1			2
Libraries			1	2	2	5
Casework			1			1
Entertainment			2	2	1	5
Group therapy				1	2	3
Community contacts					6	6
Home furloughs					2	2
Classification	5		5	4	3	17
Prison labor	5	1	15	15	5	41
Discipline methods	1				1	2

(b) Focus of Statements on Police Techniques: (Auto Regulation Omitted)	IACP** 1893-1914 N	1915-1935 N	1936-1955 N	1956-1976 N	Total N
Speed traps		1			1
Electronic surveillance				3	3
Interrogation methods	1				1
Tear gas		1			1
Radio and communication devices	3	2	4	18	27
Enforcement policy and police discretion		1		12	13
Police pursuit				4	4
Search and seisure				3	3
Radar				3	3
Special task force operations				2	2
Use of evidence			1	2	3
Intelligence gathering methods				3	3
International conventions				2	2
Terrorist handling methods				1	1
Photography	1				1
Fingerprinting		4	3		7

*Breakdown of category "Correctional Treatment Methods and Prison Conditions" from Table 3a.

**Breakdown of category "Police Methods" from Table 4a.

in most statements has been police radio and communication devices. Enforcement policy is also of high concern.

Overview of NCCD Concerns

In the first period of its existence the NCCD, at that time known as the National Probation Association, focused almost exclusively on drafting and lobbying for probation options in the various jurisdictions, and the establishment of juvenile and family courts (see Tables 6a and 6b). This was done in a very positive way which stressed coordination of all levels of the criminal justice system. Formal criticisms of any type were avoided. NCCD also co-sponsored various social survey studies with such groups as the U.S. Children's Bureau. In the next period (1936 to 1955) focus shifted more to the professional development of probation and parole workers, but concerns remained very similar to the first period. At the start of this period the public criticism of probation and parole climaxed and the association assumed the role of defending these options, as they sought to develop them.

In the fifth period (1955 to 1976), policy statements by the association were much less frequently concerned with probation and parole. This is reflective of structural changes in the organization making wider criminal justice concerns the focus. The association also adopted a much more critical stance toward such things as the parallel federal prison system, prison use and construction, vice-related laws and penalties, and past limitations on prisoner and ex-prisoner civil rights. Occupational development is of less relative concern. This also reflects the association's change to be less of a professional organization than in the period 1936 to 1955. After 1956, for the first time the NCCD began to issue policy statements concerning the legality of certain behaviors.

Overall Topics of Concern of the Three Organizations (Social Welfare, Professionalization Activity)

Table 7a lists the major topic categories for each of the three groups over their history. One can see that statements relating to the

Table 6a. Distribution of topics of concern in each time period for NCCD*

Topic	III 1915-1935		IV 1936-1955		V 1956-1976		Total Period	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Occupational development	(7)	8.0	(10)	20.0	(4)	6.2	(21)	10.3
Level of response; coordination; and government resource procurement	(9)	10.2	(10)	20.0	(10)	15.4	(29)	14.3
Auto regulation	(0)	-	(0)	-	(0)	-	(0)	-
Probation and parole	(25)	28.4	(6)	12.0	(1)	1.5	(32)	15.8
Criminal justice statistics and identification	(3)	3.4	(2)	4.0	(4)	6.2	(9)	4.4
Forms of sentencing and court organization	(17)	19.3	(5)	10.0	(7)	10.8	(29)	14.3
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions	(0)	-	(1)	2.0	(4)	6.2	(5)	2.5
Prison labor	(0)	-	(1)	2.0	(3)	4.6	(4)	2.0
Institution type and construction: use of jails	(2)	2.3	(3)	6.0	(9)	13.8	(14)	6.9
Standards and research	(8)	9.1	(1)	2.0		-	(9)	4.4
Police methods	(0)	-		0	(1)	1.5	(1)	.5
Prevention	(7)	8.0	(4)	8.0			(11)	5.4
Legality of specific behavior	(0)	0		0	(7)	10.8	(7)	3.5
Role of public	(5)	5.7	(1)	2.0	(3)	4.6	(9)	4.4
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners (includes regulation of ex-prisoner job opportunities)	(2)	2.3	(1)	2.0	(2)	3.1	(5)	2.5
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	(3)	3.4	(2)	4.0		-	(5)	2.5
Media concerns	(0)	-	(2)	4.0	(1)	1.5	(3)	1.5
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	(0)	-		0	(2)	3.1	(2)	1.0
Allegiance to U.S. government; and communism	(0)	-	(1)	2.0		-	(1)	.5
Riot control and interpretation	(0)	-	(0)	-	(1)	1.5	(1)	.5
Treatment of aliens	(0)	-	(0)	-				
Organized crime	(0)	-	(0)	-	(1)	1.5	(1)	.5
Capital punishment	(0)	-	(0)	-	(4)	6.2	(4)	2.0
International criminal justice	(0)	-	(0)	-	(1)	1.5	(1)	.5
Total	(88)		(50)		(65)		(203)	

*Although the NCCD was begun in 1907 first published statements date from 1915.

Table 6b. Overview of the major topics of concern of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency

The Largest Categories of Concern: NCCD

Period III (1915-1935)

	%	#
Probation and parole	28.4	(25)
Forms of sentencing and court organization	19.3	(17)
Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurement	10.2	(9)
Standards and research	9.1	(8)
Prevention	8.0	(7)
Occupational development	8.0	(7)
Percent of total	83.0	

Period IV (1936-1955)

Occupational development	20.0	(10)
Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurment	20.0	(10)
Probation and parole	12.0	(6)
Form of sentencing, court organization	10.0	(5)
Prevention	8.0	(4)
Percent of total	70.0	

Period V (1956-1976)

Level of administration, coordination, government resource procurement	15.4	(10)
Institutional type, construction, use of jails	13.8	(9)
Legality of behavior	10.8	(7)
Form of sentencing, court organization	10.8	(7)
Occupational development	6.2	(4)
Correctional methods, prison conditions	6.2	(4)
Capital punishment	6.2	(4)
Percent of total	69.4	

Table 7a. Overall distribution of topics of concern: the ACA, IACP and NCCD

Topic	ACA 1870-1976		IACP 1893-1976		NCCD 1915-1976	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Occupational development	(51)	9.2	(128)	17.3	(21)	10.3
Level of administration coordination and government resource procurement	(55)	9.9	(63)	8.5	(29)	14.3
Auto regulation	(0)		(192)	25.9	(0)	-
Probation and parole	(33)	5.9	(11)	1.5	(32)	15.8
Criminal justice statistics and identification	(34)	6.1	(71)	9.6	(9)	4.4
Forms of sentencing and court organization	(28)	5.0	(7)	.9	(29)	14.3
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions*	(98)	17.7	(3)	.4	(5)	2.5
Prison Labor	(41)	7.4			(4)	2.0
Institution type and construction: use of jails	(34)	6.1			(14)	6.9
Standards and research	(18)	3.2	(32)	4.3	(9)	4.4
Police methods**	(3)	.5	(76)	10.3	(1)	.5
Prevention	(17)	3.1	(14)	1.9	(11)	5.4
Legality of specific behavior	(8)	1.4	(36)	4.8	(7)	3.5
Role of public	(13)	2.3	(6)	.8	(9)	4.4
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners (includes regulation of ex-prisoner job opportunities)	(26)	4.7	(2)	.3	(5)	2.5
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	(29)	5.2	(9)	1.2	(5)	2.5
Media concerns	(6)	1.1	(22)	3.0	(3)	1.5
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	(9)	1.6	(25)	3.4	(2)	1.0
Allegiance to U.S. government; and communism	(0)		(11)	1.5	(1)	.5
Riot control and interpretation	(12)	2.2	(3)	.4	(1)	.5
Treatment of aliens	(2)	.4	(8)	1.0	(0)	
Organized crime	(2)	.4	(11)	1.5	(1)	.5
Capital punishment	(10)	1.8	(2)	.3	(4)	2.0
International criminal justice	(26)	4.7	(10)	1.4	(1)	.5
Total number coded	(555)		(740)		(203)	

*Breakdown of this category for the ACA presented in Table 5.

**Breakdown of this category for the IACP presented in Table 5.

Table 7b. Overall major topic categories of the three groups

ACA (1870-1976)	#	%
Correctional treatment methods; prison conditions	17.7	(98)
Level of administration; coordination government resource procurement	9.9	(55)
Occupation development	9.2	(51)
Prison labor	7.4	(41)
Institutional type construction; use of jail	6.1	(34)
Criminal justice statistics and identification	6.1	(34)
Probation and parole	5.9	(33)
Percent of total	62.3	
IACP (1893-1976)		
Auto regulation	25.9	(192)
Occupational development	17.3	(128)
Police methods	10.3	(76)
Criminal justice statistics and identification	9.6	(71)
Level of administration; coordination government resource procurement	8.5	(63)
Legality of behavior	4.8	(36)
Standards, research	4.3	(32)
Percent of total	80.7	
NCCD (1915-1976)*		
Probation and parole	15.8	(32)
Forms of sentencing and court organization	14.3	(29)
Level of administration; coordination government resource procurement	14.3	(29)
Occupational development	10.3	(21)
Institution type, construction, jail use	6.9	(14)
Prevention	5.4	(11)
Standards and research	5.4	(11)
Percent of total	72.4	

*Although the National Probation Association was begun in 1907, the first published proceedings date from 1915.

development of professional problem solving techniques, occupational development, the level of administration or growth of the positive state, and information gathering procedures constituted the topics of the largest number of policy statements for each of the three organizations. These correspond to the components of social welfare professionalizing activity discussed in Chapter 1. The separately categorized issues of auto regulation for the IACP and prison labor for the prison association, themselves techniques, are representative of links to two historical concerns of the country over the period; management of technology and employment. The specific content of the social welfare professionalizing policy advocacy of each of the organizations is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The Limits on Advocacy

The remainder of this chapter asks the question of the extent to which the constraints or parameters of the dual acceptance of economic inequality on the one hand, and on the other the constitutional necessity for maintenance of legal equality and certain procedural rights, have been manifest in the advocacy choices of the three organizations.

In the first chapter it was hypothesized that economic inequality would not be challenged in the formal statements of the organizations due to environmental constraints on advocacy selection. This is despite the fact that arrest and imprisonment statistics, often collected by or at the urging of the organizations themselves, consistently indicate linkage to economic inequality factors. Secondly, it was hypothesized that formal legal rationality in the form of a constitutionally designated legal equality with certain procedural rights would not be violated but would at times constitute a language of both reform and maintenance rationalization. Specific statements of each group relative to these expectations will now be explored.

The procedure used in evaluating these hypothesis concerning parameters was to look for formal statements that were exceptions to the hypotheses as stated. That is, statements that either advocated change in economic inequality or violated adherence to the norm of constitutionally

designated deference to legal procedure and equality before the law. The findings of looking for these exceptions are presented below.

Non-concern with Economic Inequality

Examination of the formal policy advocacy statements of each of the three groups over their history yielded no instances of direct advocacy of lessening economic inequality per se as a means of crime remedy or rehabilitation. This issue was however at times, especially in the 19th century, raised at ACA convention speeches by public figures. But as a formal policy choice, it was apparently not on the agenda of relevant choice of any one of the groups.

The next question becomes, to what extent have related economic variabes such as unemployment, poverty, and economic priorities and planning been issues of concern to the three organizations? Attempts to improve these conditions have traditionally been within the bounds of the environmental constraints that have been operative. In the next paragraphs, specific notice is thus taken of any policy statements that made reference to economic variables with regard to crime causation or remedies through the organization's history. Also included in the discussion is a presentation of those alternate factors cited by each of the groups as important in prevention or as causes of crime.

The IACP

In examination of the IACP policy statements it was found that not only is there no reference to economic inequality per se, but no formal statements make direct reference to any economic variables as related to crime, nor advocate changes relative to this as a preventative measure. A resolution advocating youth organizations (1938) was the only formal ICAP statement which even used language indicating some recognition of the links of economic variables to crime or delinquency. The resolution was as follows:

> Resolved, that the chief of police of each city and community take immediate action to encourage and promote youth organizations for the purpose of reducing juvenile delinquency in an effort to protect American youth and especially those of the underprivileged classes; . . . (Police Yearbook, 1938:237).

The few IACP formal statements that do make refeence to non-law enforcement conditions as affecting crime cite variables other than economic ones. During the war statements in 1940 and 1943 make reference to an expected increase in juvenile delinquency brought about by war conditions. In support of more stringent drug laws references are made to the links of drug use to other forms of crime. Alcohol use is also cited as a major cause of auto accidents.

Prevention measures advocated by the ICAP have focused on groups such as the Boy Scouts (the ICAP recomended each police force sponsor at least one troop) and conversion of navy ships to recreational facilities. In the 1920's higher home, school, and religious standards as well as early detection of problems were advocated as a means of prevention (1922).

The question can be asked as to the notice of economic social conditions as related to crime and arrest in speeches made at the conference which do not find embodiment in formal policy advocacy. Alper and Baren in their history of the International Prison Congresses concluded:

> Todays chronicler of the gatherings is struck with the high degree of daring which is represented by questions raised but which never find embodiment in resolutions nor thereafter implementation (1972:16).

Similarly chronicles of police history have described the first decades of the 20th century as ones in which the "police as social worker idea," and minority options such as a "Golden Rule" movement were spoken about by "reform" police chiefs such as Koeler of Cleveland and police chief professionalizers such as Volmer (Walker, 1977). This will be spoken of with regard to IACP proceedings more specifically in later chapters. But it

can be noted that the proceedings of an earlier police chief conference in 1871, (20 years before the IACP was begun) as well as the meetings of the IACP for the first three decades are more likely to have references to social problems as related to crime than those after 1920. Speeches in these years sometimes make reference to the fact that a man arrested may be "an unfortunate out of work and funds" (IACP Proceedings, 1909:77).

By the 1920's, the following quote, however, is more indicative of the views expressed by convention speakers concerning the causes of crime:

> Many opinions have been advocated as to the cause of crime and no doubt there are many causes, but in our opinion the main causes are neglect by parents, laziness, and idleness, combined with an uncontrollable desire for pleasure and luxury (IACP Proceedings, 1922:48).

It can also be noted that as the years progressed speeches at the conventions are relatively less concerned with identifying crime causes in general.

The ACA

Examination of the ACA policy statements indicates that the ACA has frequently dealt with the need for employment opportunities if "rehabilitation" is to succeed. The number of resolutions concerned with prison labor, job opportunities after release, and vocational training are indicative of this (Tables 3a and 7a). These statements make reference to problems such as the "situation in which many prisoners cannot get out of prison until they can get jobs and they can't get jobs until they are out of prison" (ACA Proceedings, 1940:551). It is also often noted that "a job with a future is a strong factor in motivating the offender to lead an honest and upright life" (ACA Proceedings, 1971:359). Correspondingly, the ACA has engaged in advocacy behavior to gain removal of legal restrictions to ex-prisoners participating in certain types of jobs, government work programs, and the military (1935, 1938, 1940, 1945, 1946). Employment

was thus viewed as "an essential agency to aid in the rehabilitation of parolees and probationers" (ACA Proceedings, 1935:169). In the period between 1935 and 1955 the association was most active in this regard, objecting to eliminating ex-offenders from such things as the CCC program, civil service jobs, and the military service.

However, statements in which the major focus is general economic conditions as causal of crime, or changing of economic priorities are infrequent. References to economic causes of crime, or calls for economic planning occur only in the statements of periodic formulations of principles occurring in 1870, 1930, 1960 and 1970, and once in the 1940's. Each of these will be discussed.

In the original ACA Declaration of Principles in 1870, reference is not specifically made to economic inequality but the statement cites societal "injustice" as a primary factor in crime. It states:

> This Congress...arraigns society itself as in no slight degree accountable for the invasion of its rights and the warfare upon its interest practiced by the criminal classes. In attempting to weigh the ill desert of criminals it is too common to ignore, the degree in which their follies and foibles, leading to crime are the natural, almost indeed the inevitable result either of the circumstances in which they were born or of the indifference, the neglect, even the positive injustice of their more favored brethern (Transactions of the National Congress on Penal and Reformatory Discipline, 1871:541).

This statement has been replaced in recent principle revisions in both 1960 and 1970 with a statement that has lost its bite and is positively phrased but makes some reference to general societal conditions among them economic ones. In 1970 they state:

> The properly functioning basic institutions such as the family, the school, and the church, as well as the economic and political institutions - and a society united in the pursuit of worthwhile goals are the best guarantees against crime and delinquency (ACA, Congress Proceedings, 1970:385).

However, they state also that:

> The growing body of scientific knowledge, especially in the behavioral sciences, coupled with the practical wisdom and skill of those professionally engaged in society's struggle with the problem of crime, provides the soundest basis for effective action (ACA, Congress Proceedings, 1970:384).

One can see that the opposition present in 1870 has gone and a functional universal technical approach rather than a political conflict approach is affirmed.

The most explicit singling out of negative economic variables and call for economic planning as related to crime came at the end of World War II. After a resolution calling for provision of satisfactory employment of all discharged soldiers, and also of those groups who would be displaced from their jobs by returning servicemen, the ACA further resolves:

> That the 74th Annual Congress of Correction record its sincere hope that the three great elements in our industrial life, namely, employers, employees, and the State and Federal governments, shall at once institute a program of joint action looking toward the maintenance of full production and equitable distribution, and providing for employment of all willing to work, and caring for those temporarily unemployed so that the penal and correctional institutions of the country shall not again become the dumping ground for the wreckage of an unbalanced economic system (ACA Proceedings, 1944:243).

It is interesting that the ACA statement in 1944 makes reference to prisons during the Depression as the "dumping grounds for the wreckage of an unbalanced economic system," while during the actual period of the Depression when the great acceleration in prison use was occurring no such references were made in formal statements.

Other than the citations above reference to general economic conditions do not occur. Prevention was discussed in terms of advocacy of compulsory and voluntary educational programs (1870, 1884, 1944), truant

and industrial schools (1870) recreational facilities (1930), early detection (1935), the Youth Conservation Corps (1959, 1960, 1961, 1962) and legal education (1941). Another statement related crime to indecent literature, movies and unsupervised play (1947). Recent statements by the association have focused on a reintegrative model which stresses the role of corrections to make available skills needed to respond to the normative standards of the society, and to provide the opportunity to apply these skills (1976).

An examination of the speeches in the ACA Proceedings, especially in the early years, indicates more recognition and concern with economic variables, even at times, economic inequality, than were manifest in the formal policy statements. Two factors were especially stressed at the early conventions. One was the significance of inequality and poverty, and the other the fact that those who enter the criminal justice system were not those guilty of the most significant crimes. A speech by the mayor of Cincinnati at the 1890 conference is indicative of this. He states with reference to solving the problem that:

> If I may venture a suggestion it would be that it is necessary to formulate a plan by which the gulf between wealth and poverty might be narrowed, by which the dread of poverty might be decreased (ACA Proceedings, 1890:4).

Similarly, Rutherford Hayes at the same meeting states:

> Just as the laboring population is hopeless and those who haste to be rich are full of hope, the crimes of the two classes will increase (ACA Proceedings, 1890:17).

Hayes was later to describe this speech as "a little communistic in its tendency, the 'priviledged class' will say" (Hayes, R. as quoted in Barnard, Harry, 1954:514).

Others such as Dr. Eliot, the president of Washington University in St. Louis, state that "the worse men are not inside but outside, . . . they are

the men who have rised high in office, and have been called benefactors," (ACA Proceedings, 1874:4).

This discussion indicates that while ACA policy advocacy has (with the possible exception of the 1870 statement concerning injustice) remained within the environmental parameter of non-objection to economic inequality, they have in a few instances passed formal policy statements that make reference to the relationship of systemic economic problems to crime and the need for economic policy planning to eliminate these problems. They have more frequently been concerned with employment opportunities and rights relative to released prisoners, especially in the period from the 1930's through the 1950's.

The NCCD

From the beginning the National Probation Association (later NCCD) identified strongly with the "socialized court movement," as opposed to the adversary system. Stress in speeches at the conventions was on moving from ideas of "individualization to recognition that the community is served by viewing the individual as related to the community in jurisprudence" (Brown, National Probation Association Proceedings, 1918:16). Conference speeches frequently make reference to poverty conditions as a cause of crime, and when the probation association formally advocated the socialized court, as they often did, this concern is somewhat implicit. As did the ACA, the NCCD also objected to restrictions against probationers and ex-prisons participation in such things as the CCC and the civil service (1921, 1935).

However, formal references to economic causes of crime, or advocacy of economic change as a remedy are not frequent in formal statements. The first instance was in the 1930's when a general statement was passed "recognizing the tragedies which economic and social insecurity have brought to our people" (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1935:266). The rather general resolution calls for support of all measures which are effective in bringing about a reconciliation of individual freedom and social security (1935). The statement goes on to cite the importance of

home, church and school as positive instruments, and "the need to remove from the communities economic and social hardships injurious to the moral and spiritual advancement of our people."

As with other groups, crime prevention itself is spoken of in terms of physical and moral education (1919), early treatment of behavior problems (1922, 1930), public playgrounds (1936), and legal education (1940). Probation itself was also spoken of as a preventative measure (1943), which could help meet the problems that would be caused by returning servicemen and displaced industial workers.

It was not until 1973 that a formal statement affirms that criminal justice planning cannot be separated from federal planning with regard to social, medical, education, employment, housing and economic conditions that determine the quality of life and environment. Recent statements have also made background reference to the importance of economic variables in determining who comes into the criminal justice system as an offender. Recognition of this factor, as will be seen, however, has led more frequently in the NCCD to advocacy of criminal justice system withdrawal or increase stress on legal rights, rather than advocacy of economic change. The former are areas within the purvey of organizational concern, while the latter is not.

Summary

Examination of the policy statements supports the hypothesis that the policy advocacy of the organizations would not advocate change in economic inequality per se. Moreover, references to economic conditions as a factor in prevention are not frequent. The ACA has focused at times on economic needs of ex-prisoners, but if anything has moved away from critical advocacy of societal economic reform. The IACP has consistently not made causal statements with regard to crime, except to link "vice" crime with the commission of more serious crimes. The NCCD has always implicitly stood for a criminal justice system which takes into account mitigating community circumstances of which poverty is one. However, it is only very recently that even general links are made to broader economic

concerns in formal statements. Prevention advocacy for all groups has primarily focused on education, early detection, recreation, home life, religion, and youth organization.

The Role of Procedural Rights and Legal Equality

In the first chapter the expectation was also stated that the constitutional requirement of deference to procedural rights and equality before the law would not be violated in policy advocacy. However, it was further expected that debate would occur as to the interpretation of these rights, and that the language of "rights" would be a rationalization made for both reform and interest maximization. Relevant statements of each of the organizations will now be discussed.

The IACP

As would be expected by virtue of their adversary task position the IACP has concerned itself with rights of the accused only as a curtailment upon their own rights. However, they have used the language of "rights" to justify their advocacy positions. In a 1911 statement against New York State legislation limiting police interrogation, they cite the right of the accused to speak to their accusor. In 1922 with reference to extradition procedures, they call for legislation which would allow the prisoner to have the right to waive the right to extradition papers and "voluntarily" be returned to the jurisdiction in which they were wanted. They have also stated that identification procedures, subject to debate such as fingerprinting and photography, protect the rights of the innocent. Similarly, in a more recent resolution (1975) whose major point was an objection to a congressional committee's investigation of FBI and CIA intelligence activities, a plea was made that these not be curtailed and that this be done in consonance with democratic principles. Formal statements have also cited the importance of equal enforcement. In this way while many of their techniques and practices potentially come in conflict with citizen rights they maintain a language of conformity to basic tenants of equality before the law and constitutional rights.

Only two partial exceptions to the language of deference to procedural correctness and rights occurred. One of these occurred in 1935 when a resolution in criticism of parole policies refers to prisoners as those "who have forfeited their rights as decent citizens by their criminal conduct" (IACP Yearbook, 1935:174). Another occurred in 1960. This was in defence of police highway pursuit of law violators at high speed. The resolution states:

> International Association of Chiefs of Police meeting in October, 1960, reaffirms its conviction that any action required for the sufficient accomplishment of this objective (immediate apprehending of the lawless) which is the essential mission of the police is entirely justified on the basis of its primary responsibility to our society (The Police Yearbook, 1961:250).

But in most cases adherence to constitutional law is a basis for legitimation. Indicative of this is the language of an IACP resolution supporting J. E. Hoover in 1959. The resolution states in complimentary reference to Hoover: "He is the very symbol of constitutional law enforcement in the United States" (Police Yearbook, 1960:315).

In the years since 1960, the IACP has made increased reference to debated police procedures as being "rights of the police." For example, in the defense of car searches without a warrant, they cite the right of the police to protect themselves (1962). Differences also exist in IACP statements relative to the environmental milieu. In the 1960's when several criminal procedure cases dealing with evidence admissibility and questioning procedures were being first heard by the high courts, the IACP was more inclined to be non-objecting. Recently given changes in the court and expressed public sentiment they have more aggressively asked for case rehearings (1975).

The ACA

No instances were found in examining the language of the ACA policy statements of lack of deference to constitutional delineation of procedural

requirements. However, the language of rights has been used in several different manners by the group over its history. Numerically, the ACA has issued the most statements which seek to extend or refer to the rights of those who enter the criminal justice system. This was especially true in the period from 1935 to 1955. These have related primarily to rights operative after release from prison vis-a-vis the wider society or rights operative during the period of arrest, trial, and sentencing vis-a-vis the police and courts. This is rather than during the time of imprisonment and serving of sentence vis-a-vis correctional workers. ACA has preferred to deal with questions of prison and parole treatment in terms of rational correction methods or humanitarian concerns.

Indicative of a resolution dealing with conformity to legal requirements by another criminal justice agency is one objecting to the use of the "third degree" by the police in the 1930's. This resolution states:

> There has grown up in certain communities a practice known as the third degree, the continuation of which threatens the very existence of law and order in our nation. The enforcement of law must be fair and humane. Lawless enforcement of the law must cease (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1932:433).

While resolutions dealing with such matters as prison discipline and living conditions in prisons themselves in terms of prisoner rights, have not frequently occurred in ACA policy statements, it was not until the most recent period that the first evidence of overt conflict between correctional workers and prisoner rights issues is manifest. This is largely related to the prisoner self interest groups formed in the 1960's and 1970's the court activity in this area, and statements of such groups as the NCCD, who in the last period has become much more interested in rights of the accused and convicted. This appears to have made the ACA more reluctant to press for offender rights in other areas as well. This is illustrated by a brief account of ACA statements with regard to rights of the accused, convicted and released.

The first statement concerned with prisoner rights issues was an assertion of the right of those who were wrongfully convicted to be given reasonable indemnity for the wrongful deprivation of their liberty (1870). This was one of the original principles of the association, and it was maintained in the 1930 and 1960 restatements of principles. It was, however, dropped in the 1970 restatement. Another early reference to rights was that to a respectful burial at the expense of the state unless otherwise desired (1904). Issues such as medical care, diet, and adequate physical care sometimes currently spoken of in terms of rights were approached from the perspective of humanitarian or rehabilitative rationalization during this period.

In the 1930's the ACA began to focus on ex-prisoners rights for certain jobs that were prohibited. Most numerous were the association's objections to the exclusion of ex-prisoners from public work jobs (1937-1939) and civil service employment (1939). In the 1940's and early 1950's the association carried out a campaign to enable ex-prisoners entrance into military service, and to make possible the full restoration of civil rights to those who honorably served (1945). The ACA also urged liberalizing licensing and certification requirements in other civilian job areas from which exprisoners were excluded. A 1971 resolution calls for full restoration of civil rights to all ex-offenders after a certain period. This, especially with regard to purging of criminal records, has been opposed by the IACP (1973). Such things as medical care (1951, 1974) and inclusion in obtaining of rationed items during the war have also been spoken of in terms of rights (1946), in more recent resolutions.

In the 1960 restatement of principles it is affirmed that the only rights taken away from those accused of crime should be those necessary to secure the trial, and the use of preventative detention is opposed. This, however, was dropped from the 1970 restatement. In 1964 support of release on own recognizance and bail reform had also been supported.

In 1962 the association issued a statement that the Black Muslims not be considered a religion, and hence not subject to the constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion in prison. Similarly, the first court

requirements that prisoners be given access to necessary legal materials to prepare their defenses were met with the passing of a resolution opposing the use of general prison library funds for this purpose (1973). Later, however, cooperative efforts with the ABA, with special government funding were endorsed and undertaken to assist obtaining necessary legal materials (1975). A bill was also supported by the ACA which was designed to reduce what were referred to as "nuisance suits" against correctional personnel by prisoners (1975).

As has been seen, the 1970 statement of principles contrasted with that of 1960, is noticeable for dropping of all references to prisoner rights. The most recent period of intense criticism of corrections climaxed around 1972 and at this time an overt response to this criticism was made by the ACA in the form of a policy statement. This statement (in contrast to the original thrust of the organization in 1870 which stressed the growth of rehabitation over punishment) states:

> The criminal justice system of the United States does not limit action with regard to offenders solely to corrective measures. Punitive sanctions are a constitutionally, legally and generally recognized method of dealing with criminals especially as general deterrence of potential offenders (American Journal of Correction, 1972:20-22).

One can note the reference to constitutional legitimation of punishment procedures as well as ensuring such things as job rights. More recent statements have returned to the rehabilitative theme (1976), which until the 1970's had been totally dominant in the language of the association.

The Standards Movement

At the same time that the prisoner rights movement was initiating increased court challenges to conditions in prisons the ACA was alternately developing increased stress on rational standard setting and a national accreditation procedure. This has become the major correctional professions alternative to increased court intervention into prisons. The standards movement appeared to be in the late 1970's potentially both in

the role of elevating certain conditions and serving as an occupational protective device against court interference. Court decisions in the later 1970's already showed indication of lessening scope of concern with prisoner rights and deference to "rational prison management." (See Chapter 10 for a more detailed discussion.)

From this discussion it can be seen that the ACA in the 1970's was in certain areas less likely to support the rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners than in other times in its history. For the first time in their history they also specifically call attention to the punitive function of corrections. At the same time, as with the IACP, deference is given and legitimation is taken from constitutional requirements and the development of specific rational correctional standards in conformity with certain constitutional requirements has been the major recent focus of attention. ACA language has consistently maintained deference to constitutional rights.

The NCCD

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency in its early period as National Probation Association issued few statements referring to the rights of prisoners. Stress was on the socialized court, and the procedures of the adversary system were viewed as obstacles rather than aids in setting forth reform interests. The question as to whether the "socialized" court was in conflict with constitutional requirements was seldom raised. Like the ACA, although to a lesser extent, the NCCD issued statements relating to job rights of ex-offenders (1921). In 1935 they objected to the tendency to discriminate against those on probation or who had completed probation and were in need of government relief or employment opportunities.

Unlike the ACA and the IACP, the NCCD has not been in the position in recent years of defending the rights of criminal justice workers, or certain criminal justice techniques vis-a-vis objections based upon constitutional guarantees to the rights of the accused and convicted. In contrast, in recent years they have been active in affirming rights of

prisoners, and have used constitutional rights as a mode of criticism of certain criminal justice procedures. In 1971 they issued statements opposing preventative detention on practical and constitutional grounds. In 1972 they published their Model Act for the Protection of the Rights of Prisoners. This act affirms the authority of the courts to close prisons which violate prisoner righs, limits the use of solitary confinement to emergencies rather than as punishment, and sets a 48 hour limit on its use without the prisoner seeing a doctor. The act affirms that the right to food and medical treatment should not be altered as punishment, and asserts that the only rights lost by prisoners should be the ones specified by law. This statement was later criticized by some ACA members at their meeting, although many of those who served on the committee which formulated it were active in both organizations.

Another NCCD statement in the 1970's approached prison conflict as inherent in the situation of keepers and kept. The statement approaches conflict in terms of two parties each with certain claims, and applies some labor negotiating principles (1973). In the association's 1973 statement, advocating reserving sentencing to prison only for those legally designated as dangerous they cite the constitutional favoring of liberty. The statement affirms that in cases where there are a variety of means possible the one which least interferes with liberty must be chosen. NCCD statements have also noted the inability to operate prisons constitutionally.

It can thus be seen that the NCCD has increasingly used constitutional civil rights arguments for its reform attempts which seek amelioration and the curbing of "overcriminalizing" activities. NCCD uses this mode of rationalization of reform and ameliorating much more frequently than advocacy of economic reform. In the absence of basic economic reform from the agenda of alternatives, especially given NCCD citizen council membership, stress on legal constitutional guarantees is the paramount reform procedure.

Summary

Given the adversary position the police occupy, the IACP has consistently been in the position of attempting to broaden the procedural options of law enforcement practitioners. But in almost all cases a language of deference to constitutional requirements is maintained. Recent years have witnessed the development of a language of concern with the rights of police themselves as a self defense.

The ACA has overall issued the most statements making reference to rights of those in the criminal justice system. However, in the last period in the face of criticism and increased emphasis on rights of those in prisons by other groups, ACA has decreased its own activities in this area. Defensive statements in certain areas have been passed, one of which asserts the constitutional right of the correctional system to enact punishment. Like the police ACA has stressed self evaluation and monitoring as an alternative to court intervention. Positive ACA focus has been on the development and implementation of specific procedural standards for the management and operation of correctional facilities and services. Correspondingly, some recent court decisions have found certain prisoner rights such as the right to form a labor union must be subservient to the dictates of "rational prison management" (Procunier v. Martinez, 1974).

With fewer ties to a specific occupational group, the NCCD has not been in the position of defending police or correctional personnel against prisoner right threats. They have moved from initial stress on the "socialized court" movement with advocacy of enlightened informal consideration of more alternatives possible than those allowable in a formal adversary system, to a stress on formal constitutional rights of those in the criminal justice system. This has been used to support a wide range of liberalizing policies and criticism of current criminal justice practices. In the 1970's this was the most frequent mode of rationalization of reform policies.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL WELFARE PROFESSIONALIZATION

The previous chapter has dealt with two essentially negative parameters on policy advocacy, non-concern with economic inequality and non-violation of constitutional requirements. In the first chapter, five areas of expected positive concern related to the character of social welfare professionalizing activity in the United States were mentioned. These were: (1) occupational development with special focus on establishing a depolitical mode of action, entrance and tenure requirements, and maximizing of occupational control over task related social objects; (2) the development of positive state bureaucratic response as the primary locus of problem solving; (3) the development of a set of occupational techniques; (4) the development of information accumulation processes; and (5) correspondence of issues to wide based dominant citizen concerns of the historical period.

In this chapter focus is on discussion of the specific content of the policy statements which correspond to these activities over each of the organization's history. It has been seen in Tables 3 to 8, that statements relating to the above noted activities constitute the largest percentage of the total statements. The separately categorized very salient issues of auto regulation and prison labor represent links to major broader historical problems of the period. A discussion of the IACP's policy advocacy with regard to auto regulation, and that of the ACA with regard to prison labor is indicative of further parameters or constraints historically operative on policy choice and enactment over the first 75 years of the 20th century in the United States.

While some differences in approach of the three groups are manifest, as will be seen further in Chapter 5, the areas of occupational development and information gathering processes constitute the major areas of topic overlapping with absence of conflict among the three groups. In the area of specific occupational techniques there is much less overlap of

concern between the IACP and the other two groups. Those topics concerning occupational techniques about which overlap has occurred, however, tend to be more controversial. Focus in this chapter is primarily on those techniques which involve less disagreement. The next chapter focuses on the areas of disagreement between the organizations. The above five areas of concern will now be discussed for each of the organizations.

Occupational Development

In considering occupational development related advocacy statements of the three organizations, it should be noted that active members in all three groups through most of their history have primarily either expressed *administrative concerns or citizen reform interests*, rather than concerns of line personnel. The extent of this has, however, varied for each of the three groups and has changed somewhat over time for the three. The IACP has always required for formal membership the holding of an administrative police position. This has been broadened somewhat over time from admission only of chiefs or commissioners to include department heads and others in executive positions. The ACA in its early years had considerable lay public input. After the first 25 years this had lessened considerably. Membership has always been open and recruitment of line personnel has occurred but active participation has primarily consisted of federal and state level correctional administrators. Active NCCD participation in the first years was divided between citizen reformers, judges, and probation staff. In the period between 1935 and 1955 it was most representative of probation and parole officers. After the late 1950's the group increased citizen input and what can be called "professional reformers" input, but overall lessened parole and probation occupational interests.

The occupational development advocacy concern for each of the three organizations reflects the fact that each of the groups has formally adopted at sometime the role of functioning as a professionalizing organization. However, traditional line occupational concerns such as adequate compensation and work conditions are approached primarily as a means to achieve more professional police or correctional services rather than as ends in themselves. Moreover, at least for the police, there has been

evidence of conflict between the advocacy goals of the chief's organization and that of other police occupational groups. This may also become true for the ACA as guard unions become more powerful (see Chapter 10 for a further discussion of this). A description of the occupational development advocacy statements of each organization now follows.

The ACA

The primary occupational development question for the National Prison Association (now ACA) in the first 50 years concerned what was called the "politicalization" of the occupation. Prior to 1920 all statements making reference to the occupational development also make reference to the problem of political interference. This was regarded not only as a problem for individual careers but as a major detriment to the successful management of correctional operations. The initial statement of principles in 1870 states:

> The two master forces opposed to reform of the prison systems of our several states are political appointments and instability of administration; which stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1870:542).

The reformatory method itself was linked to the establishment of a new profession with special training. They go on to state "only when the administration of public punishment is made a profession will it become scientific, uniform, successful" (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1870:542).

Over the next decades recommendations were made several times for increased internal control over staffing. In 1884 it was advocated that wardens have control over staff appointments and that salaries be fixed. Even the chaplains dealt with the political interference issue, recommending that the association pass a resolution that no one was to take a chaplain vacancy that occurred because of political reasons unless they first publicly repudiated the interference (1892). To curb the

general practice it was advocated that the wardens' group record the names of anyone removed for political reasons for future action (1892).

For the ACA after the 1920's the focus of occupational development related resolutions switched to such topics as: the development of training (1923, 1925, 1933, 1938, 1940, 1954, 1960, 1970, 1971), adequate staff numbers (1930), shorter hours (1923), and civil service and merit qualifications (1923, 1938, 1947, 1954, 1960, 1970) as major alternatives to political appointment. Criticism of political interference per se declined. It occurred after 1920 only in 1936, 1939 and 1960. In the 1960's and 1970's the attainment of professional status (1960, 1970, 1966), development of standards, accreditation and other self evaluation procedures (1970, 1972), and professional protective legislation (1972, 1975) were of prime importance. Affirmative action is of additional concern (1975, 1976).

When the National Prison Association began in 1870, the primary correctional personnel were wardens and chaplains, each of whom had notable input into the early association activity. They also very early each formed separate sub groups, initiating the umbrella-like organizational structure that has continued over the 100 year period since 1870. The correctional setting has come to include among others, psychologists, educators, librarians, and social workers, who perform many of the tasks once undertaken by the chaplains. The organization formally dealt with the occupation's segmentation in a resolution in 1933. This resolution cites the entrance of these occupations as having the effect of freeing the chaplains to devote their work to much needed religious concerns. After this the necessity of having chaplains in every institution is affirmed (1949, 1952, 1954). Resolutions in more recent years have also affirmed the need for having psychologists in prisons (1960, 1970).

Advocacy of adequate compensation has occasionally been initiated (1947, 1946, 1884) but this has not been an overriding ACA occupational concern. More frequently focus has been on training, merit selection, and political interference.

The IACP

The IACP has less frequently issued formal statements condemning political interference but this occurred in 1901 and 1958. Several related issues have also been of concern. In 1901 the reform advocated by the progressives of placing the police under a bipartisan board was endorsed. In the first years, as it continues to do today, the association unsuccessfully adovcated police chief tenure protection laws (1896, 1899, 1975).

A closely related topic and at times a highly debated one, was the acceptance of police rewards. At the initial meeting in 1893 the association passed a resolution opposing the acceptance of rewards from public sources but allowing them from private sources. The topic was raised again when special auto theft bureau's were advocated by the IACP in the 1920's. At this time a resolution affirmed that police should be allowed to keep not less than half the amount of any auto theft rewards. It was not until 1975 that all forms of private rewards were formally discouraged. The resolution speaking of rewards offered to officers states:

> WHEREAS, The acceptance of such rewards by individual officers casts a shadow of doubt over the credibility of uniform enforcement; and
>
> WHEREAS, Officers are sworn to enforce all laws and perform their duties with unfaltering resolution and are compensated; now, therefore be it
>
> RESOLVED, That the International Association of Chiefs of Police, assembled at its 81st Conference in Washington, D.C. on September 26, 1974, does not condone, and, in fact, discourages the acceptance of such rewards on an individual basis (Police Yearbook, 1975:248).

Periodically, the association has passed resolutions advocating higher police compensation (1919, 1938, 1957, 1965, 1968). This has been approached as an antidote to the police union movement which the association has consistently opposed as an obstacle to police professionalization. In 1944 and 1958 special bulletins were published by the IACP in opposition

to the police unionization movement (IACP Bulletin, Police Unions and Other Police Organizations, 1944; rev. ed. 1958). These bulletins assert that there is a basic contradiction between the union movement and police professionalization. By 1968, however, police unions were so much a reality that the IACP began to concentrate on condemning such things as work stoppages, and more recently in 1975 they opposed a proposed policemen's bill of rights. This had been supported by rank and file police groups.

Consistently, a number of resolutions have dealt with promoting a higher public image of the police (1913, 1927, 1928, 1935, 1962, 1965), and also with defense against public criticism (1929, 1972). The latter is a major theme in the speeches made at the annual conventions. In 1971, the association passed a resolution which raised the question of the possibility of the existence of a violent conspiracy against the police. The resolution suggests that this be further investigated and appropriate action taken, if it became clear that a conspiracy exists. Another defensive resolution passed in 1975 supported legislation to require the posting of bond to cover police legal fees, by those legally accusing the police of misconduct. The association has also strongly opposed civilian review boards (1961). Rather, the IACP has issued a code of ethics (1958) and has called for self evaluation (1969).

In 1932 following the criticism of the police by the Wickersham National Crime Commission, the association issued a statement resisting any general reorganization of the police system. Another issue of concern in recent years has been keeping or obtaining police representation on new federal government criminal justice agencies (1970, 1973).

As with the other organizations, development of training and merit selection qualifications have been of major interest. However, some differences exist in this area. The IACP has always maintained, and continues to today, the importance of physical criteria as well as other qualifications. IACP resolutions have rejected in colorful language a certain type

of applicant. For example, in 1927 a resolution states:

> WHEREAS it is deemed advisable to have a high standard of education, combined with fine physical qualifications and moral worth by civil service examinations for membership in police departments; therefore be it
>
> RESOLVED that the Association go on record as approving high standards for membership, particularly for applicants having police minds; and be it further
>
> RESOLVE that the Association does not approve of the so-called "educational physiological nuts" with sloping foreheads, receding chins, watery eyes and hollow chests, who represent themselves as expert criminologists, for membership (IACP Proceedings, 1927:123).

Another area of difference has been the form of training advocated. In contrast to the other groups only in 1922 did the IACP formally stress university courses. After this the stress was on the development of in-group general and specialized training programs (1935, 1933, 1922, 1965, 1972). In 1929 the IACP endorsed a rifle school for police funded by the American Rifle Association. This type of alliance will be seen later to be of some probable influence on the development of the gun control policy of the group.

The IACP has passed several policy statements attempting to delimit the role of related occupational groups and to reject and affirm certain roles for the police. A 1920's resolution objected to "self-styled psychologists and psychoanalysts who inject themselves into criminal cases for a fee," and the interference of social reformers who produce "unenforceable laws" was also condemned (IACP Proceedings, 1925:114).

In 1925 they recommend that no elected judge ever have the authority to issue gun permits. An earlier resolution had recommended that police issue these permits (1922). The association also in the 1920's called upon the Bar Association to purge itself of undesirable members. More recently

in 1972 the association called upon the Attorney General to develop means of accountability for those practitioners in other areas of the criminal justice system. Similarly, special licensing requirement legislation for auto mechanics and bus drivers has been formally endorsed.

With regard to the role of the police, in 1929 the IACP called for more emphasis on protection of payroll masters, salesmen, and the recovery of stolen goods. At a time when there was controversy over the organization of state police forces which were initially used primarily against the labor movement, after some discussion the IACP endorsed their organization in 1921. It has been noted that the police themselves have resisted development of many social reform roles that others have sought to foist on them (Walker, 1977:55) and the IACP has expressed opposition to "non-law enforcement drains on police time" (1969). However, the area of traffic regulation is an area where the rightness of police leadership and continuing enforcement control has been stressed. The IACP has repeatedly opposed any attempts to separate this area from general police organization (1962, 1969, 1970, 1971). At a time when there were whispers of major changes in the transportation system, a resolution was passed by the IACP seeking funding to study the implications this would have on the law enforcement community (1973). It can also be noted that by 1973 the role of the psychologist is much more accepted. A resolution related to seeking funding for a study of drugs and auto accidents refers to the value of a planned multi-discipline approach involving psychologists and law enforcers. The association has also consistently advocated police management in the area of control of criminal justice information (1972). It has objected to the supplanting of FBI control over the National Crime Information Center by another federal agency (1975).

One area in which the ICAP has advocated something of a lessening of police discretion or control has been in the area of the disposition of juvenile traffic offenders. A resolution in this area states:

> WHEREAS, In some areas of the United States there exists a system whereby juvenile traffic violators are referred to police officers for determination and disposition of their cases; and

> WHEREAS, It is the consensus of this Committee that such system is extra-legal, ineffective and ignores the division of governmental powers; therefore, be it
>
> RESOLVED, That the Sixty-Fourth Annual Conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, at Honolulu, Hawaii, adopt a declaration of policy to the effect that police should cease to serve in a judicial capacity in the determination of traffic violations committed by juveniles (IACP Proceedings, 1958:333).

This statement, as well as others in which the police have resisted an increased role or control, is important in that the statement indicates that occupational groups are selective in the areas in which they seek control. Moreover, at times control may be viewed as definitely undesirable.

Except for a condemnation of traffic ticket fixing in 1937, police corruption, a favorite topic of government commissions, is not a topic of resolutions until 1970. In the wake of the Knapp Commission findings a general resolution was passed affirming the association's commitment to eradicate police corruption. It can be seen from this discussion that professional occupational development advocacy by the IACP has followed a course peculiar both to the police role and the IACP's administratively orientated position.

The NCCD

The NCCD, begun several years later than the ACA or the IACP, has been less involved in the early condemning of political influence. This occurred as the direct primary focus of a policy or resolution statement for the first time in 1962. At this time the organization cited and condemned the improper use of political power as "still adversely affecting the standards of probation and correctional services in many communities" (NPPA Journal, 1962:373).

In the first periods of the NCCD's history occupational interests of probation officers were dealt with in resolutions primarily in terms

of stress on training and merit civil service selection (1922, 1930, 1936, 1941, 1944, 1948, 1953, 1957), and better working conditions and compensation (1920, 1930, 1941, 1947). Since the organization restructured itself in 1960 few statements have dealt with the above mentioned occupational concerns. A 1973 statement by the Law Enforcement Council of the NCCD, however, is more specific on corruption than statements by the IACP. Focus is on corruption in all areas of criminal justice. Among other things state investigators and prosecuting commissions are urged. Additional study of the problem was urged, which would focus on the extent to which the corruption was related to structural variables and the relationship of corruption to certain legal prohibitions and regulatory functions.

Affirmative Action has been an issue about which differences between IACP statements and those of the ACA and NCCD are especially apparent. In a precursor to this issue the IACP recommended in 1968 that low income requirements for eligibility for OEO police training funding be dropped. Specifically in 1973, while for the first time issuing a statement which condemned hiring discrimination, they also affirm in the same statement that there should be resistance to any "lowering of standards" to increase minority membership. Since then while repeatedly condemning discrimination (1974, 1975, 1976) they have opposed any form of racial quotas. This position has drawn criticism from such groups as the National Organization of Black Law Enforcers (NOBLE), whose president has publicly stated that the IACP's position demonstrates a lack of understanding of the problem. He states: "I would submit that the IACP's leadership in the law enforcement community in recognizing and confronting the problem is seriously lacking" (Williams, 1978:5).

The NCCD and ACA have both issued stronger statements on affirmative action which endorse specific percentage goals relative to sex and racial quotas (1975). The ACA also restructured its own organization to include much more minority membership participation with the result that in the later 1970's there was some reversal of the defensive trend manifest in the statements of the association in the early years of the 1970's. The

ACA issued the earliest statement of any of the groups on racial discrimination when in the early 1950's the segregated hotel accommodations present in a convention city were condemned, and the resolve made to avoid such cities for future conventions.

From the description above it can be seen that all three of the organizations have engaged in policy selection relative to de-politicalization, tenure, training and entrance requirements, occupational role definitions, and control over certain areas of concern. Attempts at occupational status upgrading and defense from criticism have also consistently occurred. There have also been instances of advocacy of lessening of control in certain areas..

The Growth of Federal and State Administrative Action and the Significance of Coordination

In his study of the development of American criminology, Boonstrom (1975) has cited the importance of the growth of the viewpoint that through positive government administration crime problems (caused in his view by the economic system) could be alleviated. He calls this the growth of the positive state. The organizations studied here have all engaged in formally advocating the enactment of certain tasks on federal, state, or local level of government. A second corresponding theme is the significance of increased coordination among the various government agencies as in itself a way of problem solving.

The ACA

For the ACA, a primary manifestation of this in the early period consisted in efforts to get the national government to establish a parallel federal prison system. The hope was expresed in formal statements that this federal system would become a reform model to the states. In 1880, the federal government had an estimated 2,162 prisoners who were boarded in various state institutions (Table 4, Appendix A). In 1889 the prison association first began to urge the federal government to build their own "model" prisons. Debate occurred over this issue with opponents noting

the undesirability of "dragging prisoners away from their homes," much in terms used by the community corrections advocates today. However, other members expressed appall at the conditions in which they saw the federal prisoners living in the Southern state prisons (National Prison Congress Proceedings, 1895:144) and resolutions calling for a federal system continued (1890, 1913). In 1912 the Prison Association also advocated a federal reformatory system, and separate federal facilities for women were advocated in 1915. In 1925 a federal jail system and federal training schools were also advocated. By 1895 the association claimed initial success in this campaign. The first federal prison, a converted military prison began operation and in the next 40 years, 14 new federal prisons were built. The prison association also recommended the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. This was formally established in 1930.

There was evidence in the speeches of the meetings of the convention of the belief that the higher the level of government the more likely rehabilitative goals would be initiated and prison conditions improved. Initially the 1870 statement of principle of the National Prison Association called for state centralization of prisons under a strong central authority. This way a graded system of prisons as well as prisoners became possible, and control of conditions would be increased. This is related to the prison association's frequent condemnation of use of and conditions in local jails (1884, 1926, 1945, 1944, 1952). In 1874 and 1936 the elimination of county jails was advocated.

By the mid 1930's focus had switched from urging the federal government to assume parallel tasks to the obtaining of federal funding and inclusion in federal programs. This is especially manifest in areas of funding for staff training (1938), standard formulation (1934), use of federal surplus property (1944-47), and food (1953-61), and aid in the area of prison labor which state and federal restrictive legislation had made very problematic (1934-36). State compacts of cooperation in areas of prison labor and probation and parole were advocated (1946, 1948). In the last decade the association called for the establishment of a federal National Institute of Correction for overall correctional planning and coordination (1973).

The IACP

Unlike prison and parole/probation administrators who have advocated state centralization, the IACP has steadfastly resisted any suggestions calling for reorganization of the municipal quality of police forces (1932, 1955). However, some parallel federal task assumption has been advocated. The federal government has been urged to take over responsibility for certain functions especially those related to criminal identification and statistics. This was first advocated in 1895. As the FBI grew the IACP became a consistent ally and defender against criticism with no expressed areas of disagreement. Following Hoover's lead they objected to legislation put forth in the 1930's that would have permitted state FBI offices. In 1950 the association directed all local and state police forces to give any information coming to them concerning subversive activity and other national security concerns directly to the FBI without prior screening. The resolution states that only the FBI could evaluate the information and do a proper investigation.

Other areas where federal action has been advocated related to radio frequency adjustment, federal enforcement and prosecution of auto theft, prostitution, and drug offenses. They have also advocated increased federal legislation in the area of organized crime and federal laws relating to police assassination (1967, 1953, 1971). Like the ACA, the IACP has often been involved in obtaining police inclusion in federally funded programs (1970, 1971, 1973).

While centralization of administration has not been advocated, one of the motivating factors in the organization of the IACP was the facilitation of coordination among the police forces in the separate cities. At the first meeting in 1893 formal statements include pledges of cooperation among the forces and advocate the lessening of legal procedural requirements for interstate detaining. Since then interstate compacts and detaining requirements have been the subject of resolutions in each decade.

NCCD

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency has at times called for state centralization of and aid to probation and parole (1931, 1933), and much early effort by the NCCD was spent between 1917 and 1924 in drafting and lobbying for a federal probation law. However, NCCD has more often stressed the significance of home community responsibility (1932) and the need for coordination on this level as a major factor in success (1934-36, 1947). The group has been most interested in federal assistance to communities to enable them to raise probation and parole standards (1938, 1957, 1959). Interstate compacts relative to probation and parole have also been an issue of concern (1936, 1938, 1944, 1957). In the area of runaway children federal responsibility has been advocated for return (1940, 1942).

In recent years, however, the NCCD has gone from positive stress on community based action to a more critical stance opposing federal parallelism in criminal justice. In 1972, NCCD urged that the Federal Bureau of Prisons, which the ACA had so strongly lobbied for 50 years earlier, be disbanded and that a Federal Correctional Agency, which would provide technical and financial aid to the states, take its place. In this statement note was made of the fact that the Federal Prison System despite innovations had no better record than the states, and had been unable to serve as a model system. Arguments against the system included; the tendency to establish unneeded duplication of laws, the increase in the number of federal prisons and prisoners, and the fact that the federal prisons cannot be in every community and hence mediate against the development of community corrections. They also specifically opposed in another policy statement in 1972, the then proposed and since enacted, building of several new regional federal correctional centers. Rather, NCCD urged the using of the money to develop community based non-institutional correctional resources. This statement was specifically opposed by the ACA in the next year (1973) and constitutes one of the basic areas of disagreement between the two groups. Similarly, the IACP has formally objected to the lessening of federal prosecution activity in the area of auto theft (1972), an area which NCCD specifically cited as an example of unwarranted parallel federal legislation.

Another area of federal activity has been the periodic organization by the federal government of National Crime Commissions. Two major ones have been the Wickersham Commission in 1929, and the President's Task Force on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in the mid-1960's. The 1929 Commission was headed by and took its name from George Wickersham who at the time of his apointment to head the commission was the president of the National Probation Association (now NCCD). He had also been a past president of the ACA. The IACP first passed a statement of cooperation with the commission citing its legitimacy in contrast to other "self-styled bothersome crime commissions." However, the reports published in several volumes were especially critical of the police, citing their general incompetency in arresting criminals, and their illegal treatment of those they did arrest. The IACP then adopted a defensive position, and formally set up a committee to investigate the report. Criticism of the report in speeches at the convention was led by J.E. Hoover who in one of his more mild references to it stated that he had "placed it permanently under the table" (IACP Proceedings, 1933:42). In general the IACP conference speaches repudiated the whole report rather than responding to the recommendations. Prison discipline procedures were another area of strong criticism in the Wickersham reports.

The National Prison Association also largely ignored the criticism of prison discipline practices until the 1970's. At the time of the report they responded only by calling for funds for courts to visit prisons (1932). This intermittent but almost predictable periodic strong public criticism especially of the police by such groups as federal and state commissions is of significance in interpretation of the development of the police perspective as manifest by IACP statements.

The Collection of Information

Criminal justice information can be classified into two types: that which keeps information on individuals for identification purposes and general statistics on related questions. Electronic data processing has made the two merge closer together in recent years. Both have extensive feedback potential for the criminal justice practitioners. By virtue

of its scope it is logical that a federal level has been indicated with little debate.

The ACA

The area of collection of national criminal justice related information constituted a major area of consensual overlap between the ACA and the IACP in the early years of the organizations' history, and references are made at the conventions to the interchange of support (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1902:281).

The original 1870 statement of principles of the Prison Association called for the establishment of a nationally organized group to compile criminal justice statistics. But in the next decades focus was more on the development of identification procedures and their use. By 1887, they advocated the use by all wardens of the Bertillon system of measuring prisoners. When the IACP established its national headquarters for Bertillon records the ACA formally gave support to this undertaking in 1894, a year after the IACP began. Like the IACP the the Prison Association repeatedly advocated its subsequent organization under the Department of Justice (1889, 1894, 1902, 1903, 1915). By 1907 fingerprinting had replaced the Bertillon system. The fingerprinting of convicts (1907), aliens (1925), and universal fingerprinting were advocated. The IACP long-term early president William Sylvester in a speech to the police conference cited the support the Prison Association had given the police on this issue, and advocated they endorse some of the Prison Association concerns such as the juvenile court (IACP Proceedings, 1902:24).

After 1920 the focus of the Prison Association became again the collection of more general criminal justice statistics rather than identification measurements (1947, 1957, 1964, 1970). The obtaining of a continuous resource commitment for this by the federal government has been consistently problematic (see Appendix 1). As a result information is intermittent and often historically non-comparable.

The IACP

As has been discussed, the establishment of national crime identification gathering procedures and files was the central concern of the IACP at its initiation and for the first 30 years of its existence. During this time the group kept the only national files of this type. So central was this to the organization that one resolution posed made membership in the Identification Bureau by the jurisdiction of the police chief necessary for membership in the association (1900). From the time of the initiation of the ID Bureau in 1894, the IACP also sponsored various legislation to establish federal takeover. However, it was not until 1924 by presidential action rather than legislation, that a federal bureau under the Justice Department was established. The IACP files were then turned over to the new bureau (1924, 1926). J. E. Hoover was involved in this initial organization and after this was consistently highly commended by the association (1927-1965). Yearly from 1927 until the 1960's, a resolution honoring and thanking J. E. Hoover was passed at IACP conventions. This practice was stopped only when a decision was made to discontinue resolutions of this type.

After turning over the identification files to the FBI, the IACP became involved in the area of general crime statistics. An IACP committee on Uniform Crime Reporting was established and this committee collected and published for two years the first National Uniform Crime Reports. The types of crimes currently making up the FBI index of serious crime were established by this committee, and an initial reporting procedure manual devised. Shortly after this the crime reporting role was also turned over to the FBI. The IACP has maintained an advisory committee on Uniform Crime Reporting.

Despite the fact that by 1930 as indicated by their own reports aliens were underrepresented in crime arrest, the association continued to refer to the "alien menace" and passed statements advocating special ID's and compulsory fingerprinting of the foreign born (1930, 1934, 1937, 1939).

By the 1960's focus was on the collection of auto licensing and accident information (1962, 1964, 1966). The establishment of the National Crime Information Center and its reorganization has resulted in emphasis on advocating it be kept under police management (1967, 1975).

The NCCD

The NCCD has less frequently been concerned in formal statements with the advocacy of criminal justice records. NCCD has, however, been the only group to deal with problems of record confidentiality in a formal statement and has issued standards which attempt to guarantee confidentiality with regard to probation and parole records (1959). In the area of information gathering NCCD has been concerned primarily with specific research questions and evaluative work.

The collection of crime related statistics has meant that the linkage to such things as economic class and racial/ethnic group membership to arrest and imprisonment is documented. It has also meant that crime rate change, crimes cleared by arrest and recidivism cases are estimated. Each of these has had important evaluative and feedback significance. Overall high recidivism rates, a low ratio of crimes cleared by arrest for crimes other than homicide, and rising crime rates point if not to the failure of the of the occupation groups at least to the presence of serious limitations. On the other hand, this information is also used to justify occupational expansion in certain areas. An opposite feedback, however, has been the growth in advocacy of criminal justice system withdrawal as a positive alternative to a perceived crime amplification role of the criminal justice system. Hence, diversion and decriminalization in certain areas, both supported by the NCCD and the ACA, at times become advocacy choices.

Methods of Task Enactment or Technique Development

In this section focus is on discussion of the major methods of task enactment which have been the subject of policy advocacy statements. Two issues, prison labor and auto control advocacy, are given special focus

because of their saliency and because they are illustrative of links to wider historical concerns. Probation and parole related statements which can be considered a correctional technique and the primary interest of the NCCD will be discussed separately in Chapter 5 which focuses on differences between the organizations.

Table 5 in Chapter 3 presented the relative saliency of major task methods of concern to the ACA and the IACP. For the ACA, after prison labor, the importance of classification, education, physical care, reward system, moral persuasion, and group therapy can be noted. In the most recent period community contacts are a salient concern. Unlike the IACP, the ACA has only rarely issued specific statements on controversial prison methods such as discipline procedures and the use of segregation units. The conditions in and use of segregation discipline units had been criticized extensively by the Wickersham Commission in the early 1930's. However it was not until 1975, at the initiation of an affiliate organization of Black criminal justice workers, that the ACA specifically dealt with the problem of the use of discipline segregation units. The ACA statement calls in general terms for no further initiation of their use and for work to eliminate existing units where possible.

The ACA has been more willing to issue condemnations relative to jail use and certain police methods. In 1909 the prison association called for an investigation of police lockups citing the poor conditions and procedures. In 1932 they condemned the use of the "third degree" by the police and they called for the substitution of more scientific methods. In the 1940's they condemned the fee system of police payment and urged adequate regular compensation. Federal legislation was also urged making it illegal for law enforcement officials not to prevent lynchings (1937).

Other than statements concerning length of stay the police have had little to say about specific jail or prison treatment. The exception was a statement in 1922 advocating special segregated institutions for professional, habitual and certain "anti-social types of prisoners."

As seen in Table 5 (Chapter 3) excluding auto regulation the major techniques with which the IACP has been concerned have been related to police radio communication and to enforcement policy. Unlike the ACA, other areas are primarily ones which have involved considerable public and legal debate. These are especially relative to privacy and incrimination rights questions. This debate has been a significant factor in focusing IACP attention on these issues. As early as 1911 the question of the use of photography prior to conviction and interrogation procedures were debated issues. The IACP successfully lobbied to have the governor of New York veto legislation that would have required that a magistrate be present during interrogation and prohibited photography of suspects prior to conviction. The IACP used as a rationalization the right of the accused to talk to their accusors and cited photography as a safeguard against mistaken identity.

In more recent years debates have occurred over search rights, electronic surveillance, and admissibility of evidence. In all of these areas the IACP has sought to broaden police options. They have recommended that police be excluded from existing wiretapping regulations (1957, 1970) and that car searches without warrants be allowed in order for police to protect themselves (1962). In 1953 the association first addressed the question of widening admissibility of certain types of evidence in drug cases and by 1970 they were advocating court rehearings of the major cases dealing with the exclusionary rule.

Links to Historically Dominant Concerns

The two most salient technique related concerns have been prison labor for the ACA and auto regulation for the IACP. The nature and outcomes of these concerns are further illustrative of environmental parameters or constraints. Each will be discussed in turn.

The Prison Labor Issue

The picture that emerges of the labor situation in American prisons between 1870 and 1976 is one of oscillation between overworked exploitation

under and inhumane contract lease system and legislatively fostered idleness. At the time of the first prison congress in 1870, 75 percent of prison labor was done under a contract or lease system to private individuals or corporations. At this time the major prisons were self-sustaining with some showing a profit to the state as well as the contractor (National Prison Congress Proceedings, 1874:47). Prison systems in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Maryland, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and others all report themselves to be self-sustaining in the 1870's (NPA Proceedings, 1874:47).

The National Prison Association, as did several reform groups of the time, issued statements opposing the lease and contract system as cruel and unjust, and damaging to rehabilitative goals. However, the statements spoke of prison labor in itself as a central cornerstone of rehabilitation (1870, 1874, 1889, 1895).

Formal opposition of free labor to prison labor in the United States reportedly occurred as early as 1801 when the Mechanics Association of New York protested the competition of prison products. By the time of the first decades of the National Prison Association, prison labor was a full-blown political issue. One speaker at an early NPA convention noted: "The labor of prisons is one of the problems that is agitating the people of New York more, I suppose, perhaps than any other subject" (National Prison Conference, 1883:39). It is difficult to conceptualize in current days of classification of prisoners as inadequate persons unable to be productive in American society that the products of prison labor should have aroused great ire to workers of several persuasions. For example, the Socialist Party platform of 1912 contained a clause against interstate commerce of prison products as well as those manufactured by child labor. Opposition from labor interests was primarily related to competition. For other reformers it was related to the exploitation and inhumane conditions of prison labor conditions.

The National Prison Association in its 1870 statement of principles opposes the contract lease system but affirms the central importance of

work in prisons. The statement answers at length the criticism that prison labor and trade training were injurious to free labor by citing the fact that prisoners were taken off the labor market, and hence competition for jobs was lessened. The statment also points out that workers would have to support prisons without prison labor. Throughout the next decades NPA statements continued to object to the high profits of the contractors and working conditions. Wage compensation was also advocated in 1874 and 1889. However, by the 1880's and 1890's federal legislation had been introduced to restrict the transporting of prison made products on interstate commerce and the sale of state prison products to the federal government. Partly because they were opposed to the contract system and partly because they were in a period of organizational ambivalence with regard to their role vis-a-vis specific controversial legislation, rather than formally oppose this legislation the prison association called a conference of governors to discuss the issue (1895). By 1905 Theodore Roosevelt had issued a presidential order prohibiting the sale of prison goods to the federal government or the working of state prisoners with or on federal property. Except for World War I and II, this prohibition remained in effect until 1963.

Throughout the decade up to 1920 the association continued to urge the abolition of the lease and contract system and throughout the period up to 1930 the system almost disappeared. The state use plan was advocated to take the place of the contract system with interstate compacts making possible transfer of goods and a feasible system (1926). However, the depression brought a new wave of restrictive federal and state legislation, one of which finally prohibited interstate transfer of prison made goods. In this period the prison association actively opposed the passage of this legislation.

The 1929 statement asking the repeal of the Hawes-Cooper Bill, which restricted interstate commerce related to prison labor, is indicative of the development of thinking in this area.

> Whereas, in January, 1929, a bill known as the Hawes-Cooper bill passed Congress, we respectfully request Congress to repeal said bill.
>
> BE IT RESOLVED, that we are opposed to any and all state and federal legislation that would directly or indirectly interfere with the production, manufacture, transportation or sale or products of penal institutions; that we believe such legislation is unnecessary, unwise, and unfair to the taxpayers, penal institutions and their inmates (NPA Proceedings, 1929:146).

Resolutions in the 1930's are filled with references to the "thousands of prisoners in the state prisons of America thrown into idleness through restrictive federal legislation" (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1937:413). Similarly, referring to the state use system severely restricted by depression legislation, the Attorney General's Survey of Prison Conditions states that this was the final blow to a system that was beginning to show some progress. They conclude: "In 1935, for the great majority of prisoners the penitentiary system had again reverted to its original status of punishment and custody," (Gill, Howard, Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, 1949:53). Thus, by 1935 the problem of prison idleness had become a major theme of the ACA's statements. After the passage of the restrictive legislation the federal government set up the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration which the essentially defeated ACA endorsed.

In the 1940's the suspension of certain federal restrictions due to war needs, reportedly gave some easing of the idleness problem. A few war contracts were obtained in the early 1940's the ACA formulated statements concerning the development of modern labor rights in prisons (1944). After the war statements advocated that defense work continue, as some alleviation to the idleness problem (1951) and the ACA maintained a representative in Washington to deal with this for a number of years (1951-1954). The late 1950's saw a campaign by the association for a Department of Labor survey of the prison labor problem (1954-1957). The association in dealing with the increase in prison riots occurring in the 1950's made links to the idleness problem as a major contributor.

In the 1960's the association began to ask that the federal government rescind the 1905 Presidential order still in effect prohibiting sale of state prison products to the federal government or working on federal property by state prisoners. The NCCD joined the ACA in this campaign and it was rescinded in 1963. It had been found that these restrictions had also applied to work release jobs for those still under state supervision.

Wage compensation for prison work has been advocated several times by the ACA, but they have not been specific as to amount. The NCCD in 1972 issued a statement calling for minimum wage payment for employed prisoners. The statement also cites the current continuing unsolved problems of lack of work, obsolete equipment, and no work incentives.

The history of this issue, as well as related restrictions on job rights for released prisoners is indicative of the problems occurring when employment is constantly problematic for a percentage of the population. It also demonstrates the ACA's and other reform groups' inability to realistically counter the symbolic and real interests of organized labor for whom, faced with their own problems, the conditions of prison life are of a low priority. It is also indicative of the manner in which two historically undesirable options, in this case exploitation under the contract system versus enforced idleness, become the primary occurrences on the agenda of alternatives. (See Chapter 9 for a further discussion of this issue.)

Auto Regulation

An examination of the IACP's advocacy with regard to auto control is another area in which limitations on the agenda of alternatives is apparent. Overall this is the issue about which the most resolutions have been passed by the IACP. Primarily these occurred in the last period from 1956 to 1976, when they were 35 percent of the total. But the association began to work upon drafting of a uniform driving code as early as 1919, and by 1922 a first draft of a uniform code had been approved. In 1935 a grant was obtained from the American Automobile Manufacturers Association's Auto

Safety Foundation for work in traffic safety, and other smaller grants followed from various insurance and more recently oil companies.

Traffic safety thus became a major undertaking for the IACP with a center at Northwestern University and later Washington, D.C. By 1938 a state and provincial section had been formed whose major focus was traffic related activities and this was the first area in which the IACP developed on-going field services. The significance of having major funding for the formulation of standards and codes from groups with vested interests in auto pattern maintenance, as well as their own developed vested interests in this area can be seen to limit the range of solutions proposed to auto safety.

The results of IACP activity in this area have been very detailed codification and rationalization of driving procedures, which are routinely modified. The area of auto regulation is one in which the police have had more input in determining the legal regulations they enforce than most other areas. The IACP also began in the 1920's on-going recommendations of adjustments to vehicles themselves to make them safer and less prone to theft such as locks, mirrors, lights, tire construction standards, required motorcycle helmets, seat belts, and safety inspection. It should be noted, however, that it was not until a majority of the public had indicated support for mandatory manufacuring requirements for seat belts that the association, approached the topic. In general, as can be seen from Appendix 2, the public has been at least as willing if not more so to support certain safety measures than the IACP. Likewise in the area of speed and driving age, the IACP has not been a force to either lower the speed limit or raise the driving age. In the 1960's while objecting to the use of speed as an advertising technique, they advocated that "adequate speed limits of 50, 60, and 70 miles per hour" be enacted on the new highways (1961). In the 1960's they also opposed a recommendation that the legal driving age be raised to 18. More recently while they have endorsed after the fact the 55 mile speed limit, they have advocated dropping of federal certification of state and local enforcement efforts in this area (1975).

They have also called for dropping of periodic auto air emission inspections (1976) deemed crucial by environmental groups to meeting current air quality standards.

A significant amount of concentration in this area has been upon initiating licensing and other identification regulations, strict auto theft control, and procedures relative to driving while intoxicated. The IACP has also been involved in seeing that police interests are represented in areas of highway construction planning. Auto regulation has been an area where police discretion and the formal use of warnings has been advocated.

In conclusion it can be noted the IACP has been very active in the area of formulating the detailed rational methods of traffic movement and safety without which traffic management would be impossible. It has not, however, demonstrated itself as an innovater in measures such as seat belts and speed reduction which have been of some noticeable significance in injury reduction. On a more general level, the statements are noticeable for their at times recognition of the seriousness of the problem, but at the same time the acceptance of the inevitability of serious traffic accidents. There has also been no exploration of advocacy of development of safer forms of transportation, or reduced auto use.

Thus far it can be seen that the largest number of statements by the groups can be positively considered in terms of occupational development, growth of positive state administrative problem solving, and the development of specific techniques and information gathering procedures. The specific relation to broad citizen concerns of the period such as employment problems and transportation pattern strains have been explored and certain further parameters on problem solving cited.

In the next chapter the degree of overlap of topics of concern and the degree of agreement/disagreement between the advocacy of three groups is discussed.

CHAPTER 5

THE DIFFERENCES IN POLICY ADVOCACY BETWEEN THE THREE ORGANIZATIONS

In Chapter 1 it was hypothesized that the growth in occupational segmentation and new occupational categories for which the organizations have developed representational interests would result in a decline of overlap of concern. It was also hypothesized that there would be a growth in statements of direct disagreement on those issues of remaining common concern. However, it was expected that the extent of polarization would be limited by the mutually dependent position the groups occupy in forming the executive area of the criminal justice system. It was anticipated that the major components of professionalization would constitute the major areas of consensual overlap, and that issues which had some criminalization content would be more likely to involve overt disagreement.

In this chapter focus is on the results of coding each statement of the organizations relative to the statements of each of the other organizations in order to evaluate the above expectations. The first section of this chapter discusses the extent of overlap of topics of concern and the second the extent of agreement or disagreement present in the overlapping statements of the three groups. The third section focuses on analysis of the major topical areas of agreement and disagreement, and the specific content of the statements in disagreement. The relationship of disagreement to criminalization content is discussed further in Chapter 6, which deals specifically with the question of criminalization content of the statements.

Degree of Overlap of Statements

Table 8 gives the percentage distribution of the degree of overlap of concern of each group's statements with the statements of each of the other organizations in each time period, as well as over the entire period. Statements were considered to overlap in area of concern if they were either in direct agreement or disagreement with a statement of the other

organization or were ones in which a very similar behavior was treated in a like or opposing manner by the organization of comparison at any time during its history.

One can see from the table that the extent to which IACP statements had corresponding statements by the ACA steadily declined over the period between 1893 and 1976. In the first period 70 percent of IACP statements overlapped in area of concern with those of the ACA. By the period 1956-1976 in contrast 80 percent of IACP statements have no counterpart in those of the ACA over its entire history. If one compares IACP statements with those of the NCCD, excluding the period 1893-1915 which was before NCCD started to publish statements, and hence can be expected to have a large area of non-overlap, one finds a smaller but similar consistent decline in overlap.

Table 8. Percent of overlap of concern of statements of the three groups in each time period.

Statements compared*	1870-1892	1893-1914	1915-1935	1936-1955	1956-1976	Total Period
ACA statements with reference to IACP	55.6	66.7	41.4	31.4	59.4	46.7
ACA statements with reference to NCCD	58.7	50.0	61.7	43.2	80.1	60.9
IACP statements with reference to ACA		70.8	56.2	44.4	19.7	31.8
IACP statements with reference to NCCD		22.9	42.2	40.3	24.6	29.1
NCCD statements with reference to ACA			81.8	66.0	72.3	74.9
NCCD statements with reference to IACP			55.7	50.0	52.3	53.2

*Comparisons are the percent of policy statements of the first organization which have also been concerns of the second organization at some point in its history.

By the fifth period, only 25 percent of IACP statements had concerns that had also been dealt with by the NCCD and only 20 percent had concerns also dealt with by the ACA at some point in their history. However, the IACP continues to have dealt with a large percent of the policy concerns of both the NCCD and the ACA. The extent to which the NCCD issues have also been dealt with by the IACP has remained constant, about 50 to 55 percent over the time period. On the average the IACP has dealt with 47 percent of the concerns of the ACA. This was 60 percent in the last period.

Looking at the ACA statements one finds the highest degree of independence in the period 1936 to 1955. The degree to which the IACP and NCCD have also issued statements over their history on the issues covered by the ACA was lowest in this period, 31 percent for the IACP and 43 percent for the NCCD. ACA statement overlap with those of the NCCD is actually highest in the last period. The two organizations have overall had a very high degree of overlap of concern. Overall ACA policy statements have dealt with 75 percent of the issues dealt with by NCCD statements.

The high degree of early overlap of NCCD statements with those of ACA is reflective of the importance of probation and parole as an issue of concern to the ACA in the period 1915-1935 when NCCD was almost exclusively focused on this area. In the more recent period NCCD has structurally broadened its focus of concern, and considerable overlap remains. The tendency is toward differentiation of approach between the two groups, rather than decline in common issue concerns.

Overall then it is only the IACP statements which have consistently increased in differentiation from the other two groups over time. At the same time, however, the IACP continues to deal with a large portion of the issues of concern to the ACA and NCCD. The behaviors not dealt with by the ACA and NCCD, but present in IACP statement primarily relate to auto regulation and the specific development of police methods. These issues constituted 65 percent of the non-overlapping statements relative to ACA statements and 59 percent of those not overlapping with NCCD statements (see Tables 14-19).

The fact that the IACP has increasingly dealt with a larger number of behaviors not dealt with by the other two groups, while the ACA and NCCD maintain a large area of overlap, supports the idea that occupational segmentation is most apparent for the police. But the fact that the IACP has dealt with most of the issues of historical and present concern to the ACA and NCCD indicates that many issues not directly related to specialized police matters have been and continue to be in symbolic or concrete relationship to police interests as articulated by the IACP.

Agreement and Disagreement

Tables 9 to 11 give a classification of the topic overlapping statements according to consistency with each other. In pilot coding of the statements four classifications emerged. First were those two categories of statements that were directly either in agreement or opposition to a statement of the organization of comparison. Second were two categories of statements which had less direct negative or positive correspondence but were ones in which a similar referrent behavior was treated in either a corresponding or non-corresponding manner. An example of a statement coded as partially similar would be a statement calling for formal training requirements for probation officers by the NCCD or ACA. Since the IACP has issued parallel statements calling for such requirements for police officers this was classified as partially corresponding. An example of a statement which involved dissimilar treatment, of a similar issue, but not direct opposition would be one such as the IACP's statement resisting "lowering" of standards for minority recruitment, and omission of any support for affirmative action. Both ACA and NCCD statements on the issue stressed affirmative action and specific quota goals. Hence these statements not in direct conflict were classified as ones in which a similar issue is treated disssimilarly.

It should be noted that each statement of a group was coded relative to whether the other group had at any time in its history issued a comparable statement. In the event of internal inconsistency of statements, the policy statement issued closest in time was taken as the frame

Table 9. Topic overlapping ACA statements classified according to consistency with statements of the IACP and NCCD

	1870-1893 #	%	1893-1914 #	%	1915-1935 #	%	1936-1955 #	%	1955-1976 #	%	Total Period #	%
ACA-IACP												
Direct agreement	(13)	37.1	(5)	31.3	(14)	26.4	(4)	7.5	(2)	2.0	(38)	14.7
Direct disagreement	(5)	14.3	(5)	31.3	(15)	28.3	(7)	13.2	(17)	16.7	(49)	18.9
Partly similar behavior treated consistently	(7)	20.0	(2)	12.5	(10)	18.9	(28)	52.8	(45)	44.1	(92)	35.5
Partly similar behavior treated inconsistently	(10)	28.6	(4)	25.0	(14)	26.4	(14)	26.4	(38)	37.3	(80)	30.9
Total	(35)		(16)		(53)		(53)		(102)		(259)	
ACA-NCCD												
Direct agreement	(19)	51.4	(4)	33.3	(54)	68.4	(24)	32.9	(34)	24.8	(135)	39.9
Direct disagreement	0		1	8.3	0		1	1.4	4	2.9	6	1.8
Partly similar behavior treated consistently	(11)	29.7	(5)	41.7	(19)	24.1	(45)	61.6	(86)	62.8	(166)	49.1
Partly similar behavior treated inconsistently	(7)	18.9	(2)	16.7	(6)	7.6	(3)	4.1	(13)	9.5	(31)	9.2
Total	(37)		(12)		(79)		(73)		(137)		(338)	

Table 10. Topic overlapping IACP statements classified according to consistency with statements of NCCD and ACA

	1893-1914 #	%	1915-1935 #	%	1936-1955 #	%	1955-1976 #	%	Total Period #	%
IACP-NCCD										
Direct agreement	(3)	27.3	(6)	11.1	(3)	10.3	(2)	1.7	(14)	6.5
Direct disagreement	(3)	27.3	(22)	40.7	(5)	17.2	(24)	19.8	(54)	25.1
Partly similar behavior treated consistently	(3)	27.3	(16)	29.6	(14)	48.3	(64)	52.9	(97)	45.1
Partly similar behavior treated inconsistently	(2)	18.2	(10)	18.5	(7)	24.1	(31)	25.6	(50)	23.3
Total	(11)		(54)		(29)		(121)		(215)	
IACP-ACA										
Direct agreement	(27)	79.4	(15)	20.8	(8)	25.0	(4)	4.1	(54)	23.0
Direct disagreement	(3)	8.8	(20)	27.8	(2)	6.3	(13)	13.4	(38)	16.2
Partly similar behavior treated consistently	(2)	5.9	(26)	36.1	(16)	5.0	(70)	72.2	(114)	48.5
Partly similar behavior treated inconsistently	(2)	5.9	(11)	15.3	(6)	18.8	(10)	10.3	(29)	12.3
Total	(34)		(72)		(32)		(97)		(235)	

Table 11. Topic overlapping NCCD statements classified according to consistency with statements of the ACA and IACP

	1915-1935 #	1915-1935 %	1936-1955 #	1936-1955 %	1955-1976 #	1955-1976 %	Total Period #	Total Period %
NCCD-ACA								
Direct agreement	(51)	70.8	(13)	54.5	(20)	48.8	(89)	58.6
Direct disagreement	(0)	0	(0)	0	(3)	7.3	(3)	2.0
Partly similar behavior treated consistently	(21)	29.2	(15)	45.5	(18)	43.9	(54)	35.5
Partly similar behavior treated inconsistently	(0)	0	(0)	0	(5)	14.6	(6)	3.9
Total	(72)		(33)		(41)		(152)	
NCCD-IACP								
Direct agreement	(3)	6.1	(2)	8.0	(0)	0	(5)	4.6
Direct disagreement	(6)	12.2	(3)	12.0	(16)	47.1	(25)	23.1
Partly similar behavior treated consistently	(14)	28.6	(8)	32.0	(7)	20.6	(29)	26.9
Partly similar behavior treated inconsistently	(26)	53.1	(12)	48.0	(11)	32.4	(49)	45.4
Total	(49)		(25)		(34)		(108)	

of comparison. In this way the possibility of both agreement or disagreement was maximized.

Before looking at changes in the extent of agreement over time, it is useful to summarize the overall picture of agreement levels between the statements.

Overall Agreement/Disagreement Levels

Looking first at the NCCD statements considered relative to those of the ACA one sees that there is a very high level of agreement, with 94.1 percent of the topic overlapping statements either directly agreeing or treating a like issue in a similar manner. In contrast 68.5 percent of NCCD topic overlapping statements with the IACP were in direct disagreement or treated a similar behavior in a dissimilar manner. Only 4.6 percent of topic overlapping NCCD statements directly agreed with those of the IACP and 22 percent were in direct opposition.

Looking at IACP statements relative to NCCD statements one finds a similar high percentage of direct disagreement, overall 25 percent; and a low percent of direct agreement, 6.5 percent. However, there is a much larger number of issues that are treated somewhat similarly, 45 percent of the total topic overlapping statements. There is also a lower percent of partly similar issues treated dissimilarly, 23 percent. Similarly comparing IACP statements to ACA one finds overall more correspondence than opposition, although significant changes are apparent in the different time periods. As will be seen, this agreement is related to the large number of statements by the IACP dealing with occupational development and professionalizing concerns which constitutes an area of general consensus.

Comparing the extent to which ACA statements negatively or positively correspond to those of the IACP one finds slightly more direct disagreement than direct agreement overall, but again a larger area of similar treatment of related issues. Including issues of partial overlap the degree of agreement/disagreement is quite evenly divided. ACA topic overlapping statements tend to be very much in agreement with those of the

NCCD with 80 percent either in direct agreement or involving similar treatment of an issue.

Overall then, ACA and NCCD statements relative to those of the IACP, and IACP statements relative to the NCCD had more direct disagreements than direct agreement. But if one considers those statements of partial overlap, only NCCD statements considered relative to the IACP overall had more disagreement than agreement. Examination of the content of those statements in disagreement indicates, however, considerable differences in the types of statements for which agreement and disagreement occurred. Before examining this, what is the extent to which levels of agreement changed over time?

Changes in Agreement/Disagreement

All comparisons made indicate (Tables 9-11) that the percent of direct agreement was much lower in the last periods than earlier periods, and in all cases but NCCD statements relative to ACA statements the lowest percent of direct agreement occurred in the last time period. This decline is especially noticeable for the IACP statements compared to those of the ACA. In the first period 79 percent of the total topic overlapping IACP statements were in direct agreement with ACA statements. By 1956-1976 this was 4 percent.

However, the percent of direct disagreement in statements show more evidence of fluctuation over periods than steady increase. Only the NCCD statements compared to those of IACP and ACA had the highest percent of direct disagreement in the last period, although the incidence and the ratio of direct disagreement to agreement was largest in this period for all comparisons. Comparing NCCD statements to those of the IACP one finds that the percent of direct disagreement in topic overlapping statements was about 12 percent in each of the time periods between 1915 and 1955, and then jumped to 47 percent in the period 1956-1976. There were no NCCD statements in direct disagreement with those of ACA until the last period when three were issued.

Comparing the statements of the IACP with those of the ACA and the NCCD, however, one sees that both the period 1915 to 1935 and 1956 to 1976 are ones of high disagreement. While the incidence of disagreement is highest in the last period the actual highest percentage of disagreement occurred between 1915 and 1935. The period around World War II (1935 to 1955) is one of a declined incidence of overt direct disagreement. Historical writers have similarly identified this as a period of increased consensus in the country and this was also reflected in the dominance of consensus theories of criminology (Skolnik, 1974). This was also a period in which the rate of prison use in the country after some declines in the early 1920's reached an only recently surpassed peak (see Appendix 1). The factor which makes the re-emergence of conflict between the IACP and the other two organizations in the last period, 1956-1976, unique is that it is characterized by a high level of direct disagreement combined with a lower incidence of direct agreement than occurred in the previous period of increased disagreement between 1915 and 1935. Thus the ratio of direct agreement to disagreement is lowest in the last period.

In summary then there is indication of an almost steady decline in statements of direct agreement comparing the statements as divided into the time periods of this study. However, the percentage of direct opposition has fluctuated and was relatively higher in the period 1915 to 1935, and 1956 to 1976 than previous to 1915 or in the years surrounding World War II. No decline is also apparent in those statements for which parallel or partial similarity of treatment was found. This suggests the usefulness of a view in which within the context of sub-system differentiation but continued maintenance of inter-dependent organizational arrangements, certain elements of system integration continue to be manifest in policy advocacy. Corresponding to further system differentiation and wider environmental conflict levels, periods occur in which there is some degree of polarization in certain areas. These are followed by a readjustment which retains elements of both system integration and some symbolic areas of disagreement. A description of the content of the disagreement over the organizations history is illustrative of this.

Areas of Agreement and Disagreement

Tables 14 to 19 show percentages of agreement and disagreement in all categories, and Tables 12 and 13 list only the categories having the largest percentages in each case. One can see from the listing in Tables 12 and 13 that the areas of concern in which most direct agreement and similar treatment between the IACP and NCCD or ACA occurred, relate to the issues concerned with professionalization discussed in Chapter 1. These primarily concerned occupational development, criminal justice statistics, growth of positive state administration and coordination. Another area of overtly expressed agreement has been prevention. It has been noted that the organizations, in the general absence of notice of economic variables in formal statements, most frequently dealt with prevention in terms of early detection, home life, religion, and education. For ACA and NCCD considered relative to each other correctional treatment methods, probation and parole also constituted major areas of agreement.

The areas of disagreement between the IACP and the other two groups related primarily to areas which have more criminalization content such as legality of behaviors, use of probation and parole, forms of sentencing and penalties for specific crimes. Between the ACA and NCCD prison construction is the major area of disagreement. In some cases the context of these disagreements directly reflects protection or furthering of certain administrative interests. In others the disagreements relate more symbolically to the positions the groups have come to represent. Symbolic is here used in the sense that Gusfield uses the term relative to the process whereby after original expectations fail or are unrealizable a movement often succeeds in developing symbols which are substitute goals for displaced or unattainable aims (Gusfield, 1963:44). A more specific description of the content and context of the statements in direct disagreement in each period follows.

In the initial period 1870 to 1893 most of the specific statements of the ACA (then the National Prison Association) which were in conflict with later ones by the IACP were interpretative ones made at the first

Table 12. Major categories in which direct agreement and direct disagreement occurred over the entire time period

IACP - ACA

Direct Agreement	Percent of Total Direct Agreement	Direct Disagreement	Percent of Total Direct Disagreement
Occupational development	30.7%	Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	28.4%
Criminal justice statistics and identification	19.6%	Legality of behavior	17.6%
Level of administration coordination: government resource procurement	10.1%	Probation and parole	14.9%

IACP - NCCD

Direct Agreement	Percent of Total Direct Agreement	Direct Disagreement	Percent of Total Direct Disagreement
Occupational development	50.0%	Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	27.8%
Prevention	21.4%	Legality of behavior	18.5%
Level of administration coordination: government resource procurement	14.3%	Probation and parole	16.7%

ACA - IACP

Direct Agreement	Percent of Total Direct Agreement	Direct Disagreement	Percent of Total Direct Disagreement
Criminal justice statistics and identification	42.1%	Probation and parole	36.7%
Occupational development	10.5%	Forms of sentencing and court organization	24.5%
		Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	10.2%

Table 12. Major categories in which direct agreement and direct disagreement occurred over the entire time period (Continued)

ACA - NCCD

Direct Agreement	Percent of Total Direct Agreement	Direct Disagreement	Percent of Total Direct Disagreement
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions	20.7%	Construction of prisons (2)*	33.3%
		Level of administration (2)*	33.3%
Probation and parole	17.8%		
		Probation and parole (1)*	16.7%
Prison labor	12.6%		
		Interpretation of criminal justice system (1)*	16.7%

NCCD - IACP

Direct Agreement	Percent of Total Direct Agreement	Direct Disagreement	Percent of Total Direct Disagreement
Prevention (4)*	80.0%	Forms of sentencing and court organization	28.0%
Functioning of (1)* criminal justice system	20.0%	Legality of behavior	20.0%
		Probation and parole	12.0%

NCCD - ACA

Direct Agreement	Percent of Total Direct Agreement	Direct Disagreement	Percent of Total Direct Disagreement
Probation and parole	31.5%	Construction of prisons (2)*	66.7%
Forms of sentencing and court organization	16.9%	Level of administration (1)*	33.3%
Level of administration coordination	7.9%		
Occupational development	7.9%		

*Where number is less than (5) it is given in parentheses.

Table 13. Major categories in which partial consistency or inconsistency occurred over the entire time period

IACP - ACA

Similar Treatment	% of Total Similar Treatment	Dissimilar Treatment	% of Total Dissimilar Treatment
Occupation development	42.1%	Occupational development	20.7%
Level of administration coordination	12.3%	Penalties, treatment	24.1%
Media concerns	10.5%	Level of administration coordination	13.8%
Criminal justice statistics	6.1%		
Standards, research	6.1%		

IACP - NCCD

Similar Treatment	% of Total Similar Treatment	Dissimilar Treatment	% of Total Dissimilar Treatment
Occupational development	49.5%	Criminal justice statistics and identification	24.0%
Level of administration coordination, resource procurement	12.4%	Police methods	22.0%
Media concerns	9.3%	Occupational development	16.0%

ACA - IACP

Similar Treatment	% of Total Similar Treatment	Dissimilar Treatment	% of Total Dissimilar Treatment
Occupational development	31.5%	Level of administration coordination: government resource procurement	16.3%
Level of administration coordination	16.3%	Capital punishment	10.0%
Criminal justice statistics and identification	16.3%	Probation and parole	10.0%
Standards and research	9.8%		

Table 13. Major categories in which partial consistency or inconsistency occurred over the entire time period (Continued)

ACA - NCCD

Similar Treatment	% of Total Similar Treatment	Dissimilar Treatment	% of Total Dissimilar Treatment
Occupation development	17.5%	Construction of prisons	22.6%
Correctional treatment methods prison conditions	15.7% 10.5%	Level of administration coordination: government resource procurements	19.4%
Level of administration coordination	10.8%	Interpretation and functioning of the criminal justice system	19.4%

NCCD - IACP

Similar Treatment	% of Total Similar Treatment	Dissimilar Treatment	% of Total Dissimilar Treatment
Occupational development	35.7%	Probation parole	55.1%
Level of administration coordination, government resource procurement	25.0%	Level of administration coordination, government resource procurement	8.2%
Criminal justice statistics	14.3%		

NCCD - IACP

Similar Treatment	% of Total Similar Treatment	Dissimilar Treatment	% of Total Dissimilar Treatment
Level of administration coordination, government resource procurement	18.5%	Level of administration coordination, government resource procurement (2)*	33.3%
Occupational development	16.7%	Prison labor (1)*	16.7%
Forms of sentencing	11.1%	Construction of prisons (1)*	16.7%
Prevention	11.1%	Rights of prisoners (1)*	16.7%
		Riot control and interpretation (1)*	16.7%

*Where number is less than (5) it is given in parentheses.

Table 14. ACA statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the IACP, 1870-1976

	Percent of total direct agreement statements	Percent of total direct disagreement statements	Percent of total partial overlap similar treatment statements	Percent of total partial overlap dissimilar treatment statements	Percent of total non-overlap statements
Occupational development	10.5	2.0	31.5	7.5	3.7
Level of response: coordination and government resource procurement	2.6	4.1	16.3	16.3	8.1
Auto regulation					
Probation and parole	5.3	36.7	1.1	10.0	1.4
Criminal justice statistics and identification	42.1		16.3	1.3	.7
Forms of sentencing and court organization	7.9	24.5	2.2	6.3	2.0
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions	5.3	2.0	2.2	8.8	29.1
Prison labor					13.9
Institution type and construction: use of jails			1.1	8.8	8.8
Standards and research			9.8		3.0
Police methods				2.5	.3
Prevention	10.5		2.2	1.3	3.4
Legality of behavior	2.6	4.1		5.0	.3
Role of public		2.0	5.4		2.4
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners		2.0		5.0	7.1
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	7.9	6.1		8.8	5.7
Media concerns			4.3		.7
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes		10.2	2.2	2.5	
Allegiance to U.S. government and communism					
Riot control and interpretation		2.0	1.1	2.5	2.7
Treatment of aliens	2.6				
Organized crime	5.3				
Capital punishment		4.1		10.0	
International criminal justice			3.3	3.8	6.8
Total N	(38)	(49)	(92)	(80)	(296)

Table 15. ACA statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the NCCD, 1870-1976

	Percent of total direct agreement statements	Percent of total direct disagreement statements	Percent of total partial overlap similar treatment statements	Percent of total partial overlap dissimilar treatment statements	Percent of total non-overlap statements
Occupational development	6.7	0	17.5	9.7	4.6
Level of response: coordination and government resource procurement	6.7	33.3	10.8	19.4	9.2
Auto regulation	0	0	0	0	0
Probation and parole	17.8	16.7	4.2	3.2	0
Criminal justice statistics and identification	.8	0	7.2	3.2	9.2
Forms of sentencing and court organization	5.9	0	4.8	6.5	4.6
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions	20.7	0	15.7	0	20.3
Prison labor	12.6	0	0	0	11.1
Institution type and construction: use of jails	6.7	33.3	5.4	22.6	3.2
Standards and research	0	0	8.4	0	1.8
Police methods	.7	0	.6	0	.5
Prevention	5.2	0	3.0	0	2.3
Legality of behavior	1.5	0	.6	3.2	1.8
Role of public	1.5	0	4.2	0	1.8
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners	6.7	0	4.2	0	4.6
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	2.2	16.7	3.6	19.4	6.0
Media concerns	0	0	1.8	0	1.4
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	2.2	0	1.2	6.5	.9
Allegiance to U.S. government and communism	0	0	0	0	0
Riot control and interpretation	0	0	2.4	3.2	3.2
Treatment of aliens	0	0	0	0	.9
Organized crime	0	0	.6	0	.5
Capital punishment	.7	0	3.0	3.2	1.4
International criminal justice	1.5	0	.6	0	10.6
Total N	(135)	(6)	(166)	(31)	(217)

Table 16. IACP statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the ACA, 1893-1976

	Percent of total direct agreement statements	Percent of total direct disagreement statements	Percent of total partial overlap similar treatment statements	Percent of total partial overlap dissimilar treatment statements	Percent of total non-overlap statements
Occupational development	22.2	2.6	42.1	20.7	12.1
Level of response: coordination and government resource procurement	5.6		12.3	13.8	8.2
Auto regulation					38.2
Probation and parole	1.9	26.3			
Criminal justice statistics and identification	48.1		6.1	10.3	7.0
Forms of sentencing and court organization	1.9	7.9			.6
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions				6.9	.2
Prison labor					
Institution type and construction: use of jails					
Standards and research	1.9		6.1		4.8
Police methods			1.8	6.9	14.1
Prevention	5.6		5.3		1.0
Legality of behavior	7.4	26.3	5.3	6.9	3.2
Role of public					1.2
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners					.5
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	1.9		.9	3.4	1.6
Media concerns	1.9		10.5		1.6
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes		31.6	3.5	24.1	.4
Allegiance to U.S. government and communism			1.8		1.6
Riot control and interpretation				3.4	.4
Treatment of aliens			1.8	3.4	.4
Organized crime	1.9				2.0
Capital punishment		5.3			
International criminal justice			1.6		1.4
Total N	(54)	(38)	(114)	(29)	(503)

Table 17. IACP statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the NCCD, 1893-1976

	Percent of total direct agreement statements	Percent of total direct disagreement statements	Percent of total partial overlap similar treatment statements	Percent of total partial overlap dissimilar treatment statements	Percent of total non-overlap statements
Occupational development	50.0	5.6	49.5	16.0	11.8
Level of response: coordination and government resource procurement	14.3	3.7	12.4	10.0	7.8
Auto regulation					36.6
Probation and parole	7.1	16.7		2.0	
Criminal justice statistics and identification		3.7	.1	24.0	10.7
Forms of sentencing and court organization		3.7		2.0	.8
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions				4.0	.2
Prison labor					
Institution type and construction: use of jails					
Standards and research		1.9	8.2		4.4
Police methods		9.3	.1	22.0	11.0
Prevention	21.4		7.2		.8
Legality of behavior		18.5		4.0	5.0
Role of public					1.1
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners				4.0	.2
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	7.1	5.6	.1	4.0	.8
Media concerns			9.3	2.0	2.1
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes		27.8	2.1		1.5
Allegiance to U.S. government and communism			3.1		1.3
Riot control and interpretation				2.0	.4
Treatment of aliens					1.0
Organized crime			2.1	4.0	1.3
Capital punishment		3.7			
International criminal justice			3.1		1.3
Total N	(14)	(54)	(97)	(50)	(525)

Table 18. NCCD statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the ACA, 1915-1976

	Percent of total direct agreement statements	Percent of total direct disagreement statements	Percent of total partial overlap similar treatment statements	Percent of total partial overlap dissimilar treatment statements	Percent of total non-overlap statements
Occupational development	7.9		16.7		9.8
Level of response: coordination and government resource procurement	7.9	33.3	18.5	33.3	17.6
Auto regulation					
Probation and parole	31.5		1.9		5.9
Criminal justice statistics and identification			5.6		5.9
Forms of sentencing and court organization	16.9		11.1		15.7
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions	3.4		1.9		2.0
Prison labor	2.4			16.7	
Institution type and construction: use of jails	5.6	66.7	11.1	16.7	
Standards and research	2.2		5.6		11.8
Police methods					3.9
Prevention	5.6		11.1		
Legality of behavior	4.5				5.9
Role of public			5.6		11.8
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners	3.4		1.9	16.7	.2
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	2.2		1.9		3.9
Media concerns			1.9		3.9
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes	1.1		1.9		
Allegiance to U.S. government and communism					2.0
Riot control and interpretation				16.7	
Treatment of aliens					
Organized crime			1.9		
Capital punishment	3.4		1.9		
International criminal justice	1.1				
Total N	(89)	(3)	(54)	(6)	(51)

Table 19. NCCD statements classified by topic as to consistency with statements of the IACP, 1915-1976

	Percent of total direct agreement statements	Percent of total direct disagreement statements	Percent of total partial overlap similar treatment statements	Percent of total partial overlap dissimilar treatment statements	Percent of total non-overlap statements
Occupational development			35.7	6.1	8.4
Level of response: coordination and government resource procurement		8.0	25.0	8.2	16.8
Auto regulation					
Probation and parole		12.0	3.6	55.1	1.1
Criminal justice statistics and identification			14.3	2.0	1.1
Forms of sentencing and court organization		28.0		6.1	20.0
Correctional treatment methods and prison conditions					5.3
Prison labor					4.2
Institution type and construction: use of jails				6.1	1.1
Standards and research		4.0	10.7	2.0	6.3
Police methods					2.1
Prevention	80.0		7.1		5.3
Legality of behavior		20.0			2.1
Role of public			3.6	4.1	6.3
Rights of accused, convicted and released prisoners		8.0		2.0	2.1
Interpretation and functioning of criminal justice system	20.0			4.1	2.1
Media concerns				2.0	2.1
Penalties and treatment for specific crimes			8.0		
Allegiance to U.S. government and communism			3.6		
Riot control and interpretation				2.0	
Treatment of aliens					
Organized crime		4.0			
Capital punishment		8.0			2.1
International criminal justice					1.1
Total N	(5)	(25)	(28)	(49)	(203)

meetings relative to treating the criminal rather than the crime in sentencing and espousing reformatory non-punitive goals for the criminal justice system. A concrete area of disagreement was the ACA's support of the indeterminate form of sentencing. This was first advocated by the ACA in the 1870's. The IACP later issued several statements repudiating this form, and favoring determinate sentencing (1922-23) and the ACA continued to express support (1890, 1900, 1915). The ACA, in a resolution coming from the wardens section of the group, also called for the allowing for the possibility of parole for those with life sentences (1912). In 1897 the IACP had stated that parole should be limited only to non-felons. Thus began an era of disagreement which was to climax in the 1930's.

The IACP also at this time was advocating vagrancy and suspicious character legislation (1893). The ACA and NCCD were finally in 1970 and 1975 to call for removal of vagrancy from the criminal codes. Another area of some disagreement was the IACP's support of easier interstate extradition laws and the use of interstate detainers first advocated by the IACP in 1893, and frequently thereafter. Some of these recommendations were later objected to by the ACA as interfering with parole (1934).

As has already been indicated the early statements of the ACA relative to the establishment of a federal prison system and federal bureau of prisons were ones to which the NCCD was eventually to object and the ACA to renew support.

Conflict Over Parole

The period 1915 to 1935 was one, as has been noted, in which there were higher levels of disagreement between the IACP and the other two organizations who stood at this time very close together in approach. Most frequently this occurred relative to probation and parole related issues. However one interprets parole today, it is clear that the police in their opposition viewed it as a means of shortening time served. At the same time that the ACA and NCCD were linking probation and parole to crime prevention in formal statements of support, the IACP was issuing statements linking it to a rapid increase in crime (1923). They also issued

formal statements specifying that it should not be used for crimes such as homicide, robbery, burglary, arson and drug offenses (1922, 1923, 1926, 1929). They also called for not granting parole unless the judge and prosecuting attorney would first agree (1922). In contrast the ACA was calling for an extension of the crimes for which parole could be used (1917, 1920) and extension of probation use (1913, 1916, 1920, 1924, 1926, 1931, 1932, 1935).

In 1926 the IACP formal statements went from calling for offense related curtailments on parole use, to a more direct attack on existing practices. They state, "until there is a general tightening up in granting of parole...the association cannot approve of the present method of handling this very important element of substantive justice" (IACP Proceedings, 1926:263). This criticism continued to increase and a 1935 resolution called the abuse in the parole system a "travesty of justice" (IACP Proceedings, 1935:174). The criticism found in the formal statements, which generally represent a guarded manner of phrasing views, was even more apparent at some of the speeches of the meetings. The criticism was lead by J. Edgar Hoover who often addressed the IACP conventions. In 1933 he stated:

> Who here present cannot recall scores of habitual criminals who possessed characteristics which made them beyond regeneration but they were not forced to serve terms imposed upon them by the courts and who have been accorded less than minimum sentences, paroles, probations and pardons to an extent which at times has caused police throughout the country to wonder whether there is any possible advantage to be gained in expending time and money and sometimes life itself in placing them behind bars. Something is decidedly wrong with a system which may be so abused as to place expressions of sentimentality before proper protection of society (IACP Convention Proceedings, 1933:47).

This viewpoint was not only in opposition to that of the ACA, and naturally that of the National Probation Association (NCCD), but was also

somewhat different that that expressed by some chiefs of police at meetings in the first decade of the century before the growth of probation and parole as separate occupation related legal options. At the 1909 convention Chief Koeler of Cleveland, Ohio, advocating what was known as the "Golden Rule" movement, spoke of attempts in Cleveland to reduce arrests. He states that the spirit of the policy . . .

> is to make every member of the police force a kindly advisor to the public generally and to give everyone a chance to explain before being put behind prison bars . . . never in our time in the city of Cleveland will we go back to the cruel system of throwing human beings carelessly in jail, as has been the custom the world over (IACP Proceedings, 1909:29).

By the 1930's, however, the "War on Crime" approach was dominant among the police chiefs and probation and prole became symbols of what stood in the way of achievement of victory in this effort (Walker, 1977). Ironically, this was during the period when prison use and sentence length were both rising in the country.

The National Probation Association (NCCD) in its early years concerned itself almost exclusively with the legalization of the probation option, and the growth of the juvenile court. Going into the 1920's, the probation association did not overtly deal with criticisms of probation and parole in resolutions. It said little about parole which was actually much more frequently attacked by the police and Hoover than probation. ACA statements were more pointed in defending parole and eventually parole use for all types of offenses was advocated by ACA.

By the mid 1930's however, both the ACA and NCCD issued statements opposing the FBI and police criticism itself rather than simply defending parole or probation. An ACA statement called the criticism "unfair" and cited its hindrance to a properly functioning criminal justice system (1935). The ACA also established a committee to mediate between the IACP

and the newly formed American Parole Association (the parole association later united with the National Probation Association). One National Probation Association statement in 1936 specifically asked that the U.S. Attorney General request J. Edgar Hoover to refrain from his attacks on parole and probation. The resolution cited the fact that Hoover's facts were incorrect and misleading and the harm his misguided criticism was producing. The IACP responded by defending Hoover and specifically asking in a resolution that he not "be silenced" (1936).

Not immune to the criticism, however, both the ACA and NCCD passed statements reflective of their own dissatisfaction with the conditions under which probation and parole were administered and attempted to specify standards of administration. The NCCD expressed concern that the public linked probation and parole together and were not clear as to their difference. It was in this period that they initially began to seek union with the American Parole Association.

This period of negative exchange in the late 1920's and 1930's marked the climax of controversy on this issue. The last statement the IACP made on parole itself was support of the federal parole system in 1937. This was seen as a model that in their view did not possess the negative qualities of most of the state systems. The issue per se was then largely dropped by the IACP, after a period in which they had almost yearly issued negative statements.

Gun Control

An area with a lessor number of conflicting statements, and one in which the police took a stance of lessor regulation than that of the ACA was gun control. Initially the IACP first dealt with the issue in 1908 when they supported specific gun control legislation for the city of Chicago. By the 1920's the association had developed a more general policy which favored regulation over outlawing. In 1923 they specifically stated their

objection to outlawing of hand guns and in 1925 they affirmed the right of law abiding citizens to be able to have guns to protect their homes and business. Instead they favored legislation making it a felony for "ex-cons or foreign born" to own guns (1925). They also favored police granting of gun permits and opposed this function for judges or any elected officials (1925). Interstate transport, manufacturing regulations, and licensing of dealers were also supported in specific legislative forms (1922, 1937, 1965).

The ACA on the other hand under the leadership of Sanford Bates, who was the first head of the Federal Bureau of Prisons and was chairman of the ACA resolutions committee at the time, passed a resolution calling for legislation to outlaw the "manufacture, sale, or possession of the revolver," or any gun with a barrel shorter than 26 inches except during war. The resolution implies that police would be included in this by stating in the resolution:

> it has been demonstrated in England and elsewhere that the possession of a revolver by law enforcement officers is not indispensable to maintenance of law and order (ACA Proceedings, 1928:291).

This statement was not repeated in this form and later statements by the ACA, similar to those of the IACP, support legislation aimed at regulation rather than outlawing. The NCCD has not dealt with gun control issues in its statements.

Other Issues of Conflict

Some debate also occurred at this time over the introduction of routine diagnostic and psychological facilities in the courts. As would be expected the ACA and NCCD strongly supported this (1917, 1920, 1921, 1930, 1934, 1935) and the IACP expressed opposition (1923).

The period of the late 1930's into the 1950's was one of lessened overt statements of disagreement. Old issues such as the use of the indeterminate sentence, and the use of interstate detainers continued to be areas of divergence (1940, 1942, 1946). In this period the IACP which had already called for more stringent drug laws in the 1920's began to support specifically as at first did the ACA, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, and their head, J. D. Anslinger. Later both the ACA and more directly the NCCD were to issue statements which opposed the aproach to drug control taken by this Bureau, and its enforcement interpretation of the Harrison Act. In 1964 the NCCD specifically cites the Federal Bureau of Narcotics as a major obstacle to a more rational approach to the problem, and recommends transfer of drug control from the Treasury Department to HEW. The IACP continued support of the FBN and specifically opposed this proposed change a year later in 1965.

Returning to discussion of the period between 1935-1955, one notices also at this time the development by the IACP of a strong stance in other vice related areas. In the 1950's their formal statements supported "intensive suppression of prostitution (1953), legislation to curb pornography (1952), and anti-gambling legislation (1952). This was just prior to the time when the ACA and NCCD were to move away from support of severe sanctioning and criminalization of vice related behavior.

Hence more of the overt disagreement in these areas came about in statements of the 1960's and 1970's. In the period after 1960 once again a series of issues emerged about which the groups took directly opposing stances. For the first time the ACA and NCCD have overt disagreement. The NCCD after its reorganization in 1960 adopted a much more critical stance in general. Prior to 1956 only 5.1 percent of its statements had been phrased negatively as oppositions rather than positive endorsements. By the last period 35.9 percent of the statements were phrased as oppositions.

Capital Punishment

One issue of high symbolic and actual consequence is capital punishment. The IACP had first endorsed its general use in 1922. By the 1970's in the wake of negative Supreme Court decisions they called for legislation mandating its use for certain homicides and those who kill while in commission of a felony or for those who kill police or guards (1973). The ACA first raised the question as early as the 1880's in debate, but did not pass a resolution related to the issue until 1936 when they issued a statement opposed to public execution. In 1944 they passed a statement calling for the abolition of capital punishment for women and juveniles. In the 1950's and 1960's the ACA formed a committee to study capital punishment and the committee disseminated information on the topic which leaned toward its general abolition. Finally in 1966 the ACA passed a resolution which opposed capital punishment for any case. The NCCD in 1963 also had issued statements opposing the use of capital punishment.

Another area in which the IACP and NCCD are in different symbolic positions is that related to use of search warrants and electronic surveillance. The IACP has consistently been in the position of passing resolutions opposing restrictions on law enforcement use of electronic surveillance and other intelligence gathering procedures, and broadening the area where search warrants are not necessary or the ease of search warrant procurement (1962, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1976). Similarly they have advocated that the exclusionary rule be applicable only when it has been established that there has been "willful and flagrant abuse" by the police (1974, 1976). NCCD statements on the other hand have advocated more controlled use of search powers (1966) and electronic surveillance (1968).

In the 1960's and 1970's the issue of drug control was one of central disagreement. In response to the NCCD's 1964 statement critical of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics, the IACP specifically emphasized in a resolution their support the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and stated that they endorse the policy that "lenient penalties are not effective in dealing with drugs" (1965). The IACP has continued to express this view, opposing any decriminalization of marijuana, and advocating continuing severe penalties (1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1976). The IACP has also opposed in a resolution the decriminalization of public drunkenness (1971). These statements are specifically in disagreement with the statements of ACA and NCCD on related issues. In the 1950's and 1960's the ACA opposed the restrictions, endorsed by the IACP, on parole and probation use for drug offenders (1956, 1960). Then specifically in 1970 the NCCD and ACA recommended that laws related to "drug addicition, drunkenness, homosexuality, other non-assaultive sexual behavior, vagrancy, gambling, truancy and runaways" should be removed from criminal codes. An NCCD statement on drugs also recommended elimination of possession of small amounts of drugs is a crime (1973).

The period of the 1960's and early 1970's was one in which academic and practicing criminologists become very concerned with the problem of "labeling" and the problem of concrete legal restrictions against ex-prisoners. The NCCD in 1962 issued a model act which provided for the annulment of conviction of crime after a certain period of violation free discharge. Note was made of the fact that at the time in three-fourths of the states a person convicted of a felony no longer had the right to vote. It was maintained that the only rights to be lost upon conviction should be those of the sentence (1962). The IACP specifically opposed the "purging of criminal records" (1973).

In Chapter 2 it was noted that the NCCD and ACA have had one of their few areas of conflict related to the federal prison construction taking place in the 1970's, and the NCCD's use of constitutional arguments

against prison use. The NCCD, after itself calling in the past for construction of separate and better juvenile detention facilities, first issued a statement calling for a general moratorium on prison construction in the early 1960's. This statement referred to the fact there should be no further institutions built until community alternatives were developed. Arguments from economics and related to the proper use of probation and parole were given. This statement was reiterated in 1972 when they cited the ACA's estimated that only 15 percent of prisoners need maximum security, and the growing belief that the more facilities built the more the trend would be toward increased use of incarceration. The ACA, however, endorsed increased construction in 1972 and in 1976, in a resolution related to the overcrowding and poor living conditions caused by the rapid increase in prison use in the mid 1970's, they called for both increased remodeling and construction and more frequent use of alternatives to incarceration.

In summary it can be noted that there is manifestation of increased segmentation in the statements of the IACP relative to those of the ACA and NCCD as evidenced by decline in overlap of concern. There is also a general decline in statements of direct agreement between all the organizations overtime. However, disagreement percentages have fluctuated rather than steadily increasing between the IACP and the other two groups. The ACA and the NCCD remain more close in advocacy position, but have manifest overt disagreement for the first time in the very recent years. There is evidence of a large continuing area of overlap and similar treatment relative to issues related to the professionalizing complex. Generally it can be noted that two groups of statements have emerged. These are those very frequent statements related to the professionalizing complex about which there are high levels of continuing consensus and those issues which related to the degree of severity of sanctions, legalization issues, and topics related to procedural constitutional requirements, about which highly symbolic opposition is expressed in certain periods. The extent to which the organizations volley these issues back and forth suggests that to some extent they act to compensate each for the position of the other within a limited framework of alternatives. The relationship between

disagreement and criminalization content is discussed further in the next chapter which evaluates the statements more specifically with regard to criminalization content.

CHAPTER 6

THE CRIMINALIZATION CONTENT OF THE ORGANIZATIONS' STATEMENTS

The question of evaluation of the statements as to criminalization content relates to a more general hypothesis which sees the development of specialized criminal justice professions as amplifiers of deviance and crime. A small part of this question is to what extent have the major occupational groups involved advocated that an increased number of behaviors be considered illegal, that there be increased severity of penalties, or that procedural leeway of practitioners be increased. To answer this question and to further describe the differences between the three organizations in policy advocacy each statement was coded as to whether it advocated behavior which: (1) increased; (2) decreased; (3) was equivocal; or (4) was not directly related to the aspects of criminalization.

Criminalization is here defined in terms of whether an advocacy statement involved one of the following: (1) legal prohibition of a certain behavior of the general public; (2) legal requirement of a certain behavior of the general public; (3) legal procedural requirements relative to law enforcement, legal detaining or court processes; (4) length of time served in or use of prison; (5) severity of life conditions and regulation of prisoners and ex-offenders.

Table 20 gives the percentage of statements of each organization which were classified as directly advocating behavior related in some way to one or more of the above aspects of criminalization. One can see from the table that overall the NCCD and ACA had an almost similar proportion of statements which had some content related to criminalization questions, about 60 percent of the total. The IACP with a lower percentage overall (39 percent) had a decline in percent of the total over the period, while the NCCD had a noticeable jump in the last period. The ACA had the highest percent in the first period 1870 to 1893.

Table 20. Percent of statements involving criminalization or decriminalization content (behaviors directly related to legal regulation of the public, procedural rights, length of time or content of criminal justice sanctions)

	1870-1892 %	1893-1914 %	1915-1935 %	1936-1955 %	1956-1976 %	Total Period %
ACA	79.4	54.2	68.8	52.1	59.1	62.5
IACP		50.0	48.4	37.5	36.0	38.0
NCCD			54.5	32.0	80.0	57.1

Table 21 gives an overall categorization of the statements which had some form of criminalization or regulation content according to the direction of stance. Tables 22 to 24 give the specific breakdown as to which of the five aspects of criminalization the behavior related. Overall categorization will be discussed first, and then the content of the statements discussed. Finally the relationship between overt disagreement in statements between the groups and criminalization content will be further evaluated.

The results were highly in the expected direction with the IACP advocating criminalizing behavior most frequently and the ACA and NCCD both more frequently advocating decriminalizing or deregulating behavior. One can see also that there is a significant number, especially of ACA statements, that advocate equivocal behaviors. The NCCD is most heavily involved in decriminalization advocacy in the last period. There are, however, large differences in the aspect of criminalization to which the statements by the associations relate. More specific discussion of the content of advocacy is necessary to further describe this difference.

Legalization - The Prohibition of Behavior

One can see from the breakdown in Tables 21 to 24 that the relative numerical incidence of concern with actual legal prohibition or

Table 21. Statements which relate to criminalization questions classified according to direction of advocacy

	1870-1892 (N)	%	1893-1914 (N)	%	1915-1935 (N)	%	1936-1955 (N)	%	1956-1976 (N)	%	Total Period (N)	%
ACA												
Criminalization/ Regulation*	(6)	12.0	(3)	23.1	(6)	6.8	(7)	7.4	(4)	4.0	(26)	7.5
Decriminalization/ Deregulation**	(21)	42.0	(4)	30.8	(42)	47.7	(53)	55.8	(55)	54.5	(175)	50.4
Equivocal***	(23)	46.0	(6)	46.2	(40)	45.5	(35)	36.8	(42)	41.6	(146)	42.1
Total	(50)		(13)		(88)		(95)		(101)		(347)	
IACP												
Criminalization/ Regulation*			(14)	58.3	(39)	62.9	(16)	59.3	(122)	68.9	(191)	65.9
Decriminalization/ Deregulation**			(1)	4.2	(5)	8.1	(2)	7.4	(22)	12.4	(30)	10.3
Equivocal***			(9)	37.5	(18)	29.0	(9)	33.3	(33)	18.6	(69)	23.8
Total			(24)		(62)		(27)		(177)		(290)	
NCCD												
Criminalization/ Regulation*					(1)	2.1	(1)	6.3	(2)	3.8	(4)	3.4
Decriminalization/ Deregulation**					(22)	45.8	(8)	50.0	(40)	76.9	(70)	60.3
Equivocal***					(25)	52.1	(7)	43.8	(10)	19.2	(42)	36.2
Total (N)					(48)		(16)		(52)		(116)	

*Includes statements that advocated increasing or maintaining legal prohibitions or requirements, or severity of sentence as well as those advocating decreases in procedural rights of the accused.

**Includes statements that advocate decrease in legal regulation or prohibiting of behavior of public, length or severity of content of criminal justice sanctions; or advocate increases in procedural rights of the accused.

***Includes statements that advocate behavior which has had an unclear effect on criminalization; questions such as the juvenile court and parole in certain contexts, or statements which involve different behaviors one of which increases criminalization and the other decreases.

Table 22. Classification of statements having criminalization content according to area of focus: ACA

ACA statements	1870-1892 N	1893-1914 N	1915-1935 N	1936-1955 N	1956-1976 N	Total N
1. Legalization - Public						
Prohibit behavior	0	0	2	4	0	6
De-prohibit behavior	0	0	0	0	3	3
Equivocal	2	0	0	0	0	2
2. Regulation - Public						
Require behavior	3	3	2	0	0	8
De-require behavior	0	0	0	0	0	0
Equivocal	1	0	2	0	0	3
3. Criminal Justice Procedure						
Decrease procedural requirement: rights of accused	0	0	1	1	1	3
Increase procedural requirement: rights of accused	3	0	2	4	4	13
Equivocal	3	2	10	4	7	26
4. Imprisonment Time and Use						
Increase time or use	2	0	0	0	2	4
Decrease time or use	1	2	13	2	11	29
Equivocal	1	3	8	7	9	28
5. Treatment of Those Under Sentence and Ex-offenders						
Increase severity or regulation	1	0	1	2	1	5
Amend life conditions or de-regulate	17	2	27	47	37	130
Equivocal	16	1	20	24	26	87
Total N	59	13	88	95	101	347

Table 23. Classification of statements having criminalization content according to area of focus: IACP

IACP statements	1893-1914 N	1915-1935 N	1936-1955 N	1956-1976 N	Total N
1. Legalization - General					
Prohibit behavior	4	6	3	14	27
De-prohibit behavior	0	1		0	1
Equivocal	0	0	1	0	1
2. Regulation - Public					
Require behavior	2	15	5	58	80
De-require behavior	0	0	0	14	14
Equivocal	0	5	2	2	9
3. Criminal Justice Procedure					
Decrease procedural requirement: rights of accused	8	3	6	33	50
Increase procedural requirement: rights of accused	1	4	2	7	14
Equivocal	8	9	6	29	52
4. Imprisonment Time and Use					
Increase time or use	0	12	2	15	29
Decrease time or use	0	0	0	1	1
Equivocal	1	2	0	2	5
5. Treatment of Those Under Sentence and Ex-offenders					
Increase severity or regulation	0	3	0	2	5
Amend life conditions or de-regulate	0	0	0	0	0
Equivocal	0	2	0	0	0
Total (N)	(24)	(62)	(27)	(177)	(290)

Table 24. Classification of statements having criminalization content according to area of focus: NCCD

NCCD statements	1915-1935 N	1936-1955 N	1956-1976 N	Total N
1. Legalization - General				
Prohibit behavior	0	0	1	1
De-prohibit behavior	0	0	5	5
Equivocal	0	0	0	0
2. Regulation - Public				
Require behavior	1	0	0	1
De-require behavior	0	0	1	1
Equivocal	1	0	0	1
3. Criminal Justice Procedure				
Decrease procedural requirement: rights of accused	0	0	0	0
Increase procedural requirement: rights of accused	3	2	11	16
Equivocal	21	6	8	35
4. Imprisonment Time and Use				
Increase time or use	0	0	1	1
Decrease time or use	17	3	8	28
Equivocal	3	1	0	4
5. Treatment of Those Under Sentence and Ex-offenders				
Increase severity or regulation	0	0	0	0
Amend life conditions or de-regulate	0	0	15	20
Equivocal	2	3	2	2
Total N	48	16	52	116

deprohibition of behavior has been limited for all three groups, with the police having the most statements on these issues.

Over the entire period, only a total of 29 IACP statements, 11 ACA statements, and 6 NCCD statements specifically called for either criminalization or decriminalization of a behavior. As expected, 27 of the 29 IACP statements were in the direction of criminalization advocacy, 6 of the 11 ACA statements were in this direction, and 1 of the 6 NCCD statements was in this direction. There was also a limited range of behaviors for which criminalization was an issue.

An examination of the crime related public opinion polls also indicates that there is a similar limited recurrent range of behavior about which public debate has occurred relative to criminal prohibition (see Appendix 2). A major issue of public concern at least as reflected in frequency of occurrence in Gallup Opinion Polls, however, is one with which the organizations did not deal directly, that of federal prohibition. This is in contrast to their frequent concern with drug legalization issues. This was not because the issue was not raised. Before the turn of the century temperance groups spoke at both ACA and IACP meetings and requested supportive resolutions. In 1873 the ACA (then the National Prison Association) responded with a vague statement that they would support any effective means to suppress the evil of intemperance. In 1876, however, they specifically passed a resolution endorsing the settlement of the issue on a local level. While alcoholism has been of recurring concern in treatment related statements, during the public debate on federal prohibition per se in the first decades of the 20th century the ACA was silent on the issue. As has been noted they have more recently called for removal of drunkenness related crimes from the criminal codes (1970). The IACP in a 1913 statement called for drafting legislation that would enact citizen control of places that sell alcohol. However, like the ACA the police association did not take a stand on federal prohibition. More recently the IACP opposed decriminalization of public drunkenness, but endorsed use of detoxification centers (1975).

Legal prohibitions endorsed by the ACA included the already mentioned advocacy of gun outlawing and two other less severe statements on the issue. Other criminalizing legislation related to organized crime (1952), and two statements in support of federal anti-lynching legislation (1937). By the last period 1956-1976 the ACA did not endorse any legal prohibitions, but rather passed the several decriminalization statements relating to crimes without victims. These have already been discussed in Chapter 5 because they involved disagreement with the IACP.

In contrast, most of the behaviors which the IACP have advocated be criminalized relate either to vice crimes, or to the criminalization of behavior surrounding traditional crimes, which would make enforcement or evidence production easier. Initially this involved advocacy calling for uniform vagrancy, suspicious character, and professional thief legislation (1893). In 1899 legislation making it illegal to possess criminal tools was endorsed. Other statements related to making it illegal to send stolen articles through interstate commerce (1928). Prohibitions against felons and aliens owning guns have already been cited (1922, 1928). In the period after 1955 laws relating to police auto pursuit were endorsed such as legislation against use of smoke screens (1961) and legislation making it illegal to flee the police (1965) or drive over flares (1965). Other legislation related to organized crime as for example making it illegal to invest illegally gained income in a legitimate business (1970). Legislation was also advocated that would make it a federal crime to attack or injure a police officer (1971, 1974) and a federal crime to assassinate a police officer (1974).

The development of the IACP into a more criminalizing advocacy position in the area of vice related laws than the other two organizations reflects a turn around from earlier historical behavior. The development of at least verbal official support for prostitution suppression by IACP is illustrative of this (1922, 1953). Haller notes that suppression as opposed to segregation was at first generally opposed by police chiefs, but was advocated by social reformers demanding an end to red light districts. He cites a commission in 1909 in which 20 police chiefs testified against suppression (Haller, 1970:630).

Similarly, resolutions passed the National Police Chiefs Convention held in 1871 in St. Louis, 20 years before the initiation of the IACP, also endorsed a policy of police and medical regulation of segregated districts and social work treatment of prostitutes rather than suppression (National Police Conference Proceedings, 1871:61). Reform victories, however, resulted in specialized police squads with interests in maintaining vice laws. In 1953 an IACP resolution was calling for "intensive suppression" in this area.

The resistance of the IACP to drug decriminalization, demands for stiff penalties in this area, and support of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics has already been discussed. One of the consistent rationalizations given for this has been the link of drug use to more serious crimes. Similarly alcohol use has been treated primarily in its relationship to auto accident injury (1975). Another relationship stressed is that of drugs, gambling, and prostitution to organized crime. While this is seen as a reason for decriminalization for those advocating this course, the IACP expresses the view that this is another reason for maintaining criminal penalties. The Knapp Commission report and investigations of extensive police corruption in the early 1970's, resulted in IACP statements on the topic and support of a law which would make it illegal for police to conceal on-going illegal gambling or other vice crime in which more than one person was engaged (1970). Hence despite the fact that enforcement in this area was a major problem for police in terms of their own corruption, support continued for anti-vice legislation.

The NCCD has also issued anti-organized crime resolutions, however, they combine this with cautions related to abuse of privacy rights and severe sentencing for those involved on a lower level. The only recommendation that NCCD made that a behavior be made illegal related to the legal prohibiting of wiretapping by private individuals or groups, and called for regulation of manufacture of such devices (1968). Decriminalization statements of the ACA and NCCD in the area of vice laws have already been discussed. In 1970 and 1971 the NCCD also called for decriminalizing of

abortion, and in 1972 the removal of juvenile curfew laws. In 1974, NCCD also called for the removal of other status offenses from the juvenile codes.

One sees from this discussion the following: (1) The range of behaviors in question has been a limited recurrent one. These relate primarily to gun control, drugs, alcohol, prostitution, gambling, vagrancy, laws related to organized or "professional" crime, and public use of electronic surveillance; (2) The police have emerged as a defender of laws in the area of vice and organized crime, though not in the area of gun control. This is in contrast to earlier behavior of either not taking a stance as with regard to federal prohibition of alcohol or opposing criminalization in such areas as prostitution in the 19th century; (3) Other areas of police advocacy of increased legal prohibition relate directly to ease of law enforcement, order maintenance and evidence producing problems such as laws concerning criminal tools, interstate shipment of stolen property, and fleeing the police. Federal legislation is often used as a way to increase enforcement priority and options; (4) Both the ACA and NCCD have in the recent period been sensitive to crime amplification feedback and have sought to reduce the role of the criminal justice system in areas related to "crimes without victims," and in fostering organized criminal response to these prohibitions.

Public Regulation

In classification of the statements those in which emphasis was on legally requiring a certain behavior or set of behaviors were classified separately from those where a curtailment of a behavior or prohibition was the emphasis. The IACP much more frequently issued statements in this area especially in the last period. In earlier periods these relate to requiring of gun registration (1937), and fingerprinting of aliens (1925, 1922). A federal law that would require gypsies to obey all the ordinances of the communities through which they travel was also endorsed (1930), as well as special ID requirements for aliens (1937, 1939).

In the period, after 1956, the largest number of regulating statements occurred and these were primarily auto related. They involve legal requirements for individual operators, manufacturers, and occupational groups surrounding auto use. These included such things as mandatory car inspection (1963), licensing requirements (1958), motorcycle helmets (1972), brake standards (1967), mirror requirements (1967), fuel transport standards (1965), bicycle requirements (1967) and, vehicle identification requirements (1970). Several statements related to legal training requirements of auto mechanics and bus drivers. It was also recommended that doctors be legally required to inform licensing bureaus of visual or medicine related driving impairment of patients (1961, 1965). Other endorsed legislation required drug manufacturers to label products that might cause driving impairment (1963).

Those statements by the police calling for deregulation also tended to be in this area. These included such things as lowering tire standards (1969), increasing height allowances (1965), right turn procedure (1973), and the use of traffic warnings rather than citations (1965).

Neither the NCCD or ACA has been much involved in calling for public regulation. In the earliest years both groups issued statements calling for legally requiring certain forms of compulsory education (1870, 1874, 1916, 1931). The ACA also endorsed fingerprinting of aliens (1925, 1933) and universal fingerprinting (1907).

Criminal Justice Procedure

As has been indicated in the discussion of police methods in Chapter 2 and as can be seen from Tables 23 to 25, the IACP has been in the position of broadening police leeway and the two other groups at times in increasing procedural requirements. For the ACA this has been so except where prison rights themselves are the issue (1972). In 1932, the ACA urged legislation against the third degree, and in 1912 called for an investigation of conditions in police lockups. The NCCD has become involved in these questions only in the last time period when statements were issued relative to search and seizure (1968), confidentiality of records (1959),

use of intelligence gathering procedures (1968), and the use of juvenile informers (1973).

Time and Use of Imprisonment

The differences between the three groups with regard to probation and parole use and crime penalties, have already been extensively discussed. The results in Tables 21 to 23 reflect these differences, with the police group much more frequently favoring increased use and time, and NCCD and ACA overall most frequently favoring decreased time. With regard to the ACA in the early period (1870-1893), it should be noted that while lessening the severity of prison conditions was a major concern, shortening time served was not a priority. Short sentences were in themselves opposed (1870). Rather concern was with achieving just the right amount of time to achieve reformatory goals. However, after 1900 probation and removal of mandatory exceptions to parole became very important and by the 1930's severity of sentencing was referred to in statements as problematic to reform goals and prison discipline (1933).

The NCCD originally phrased its advocacy of probation in such a way as not to threaten use of imprisonment as the major option. Writers have noted the extent to which the hierarchy of severity of sanctioning is used as a motivation, and also the dependence of lesser options on the threat of more severe ones (Steele, Jacobs, 1975). It was not until the period after 1956 that any of NCCD statements were phrased in such a manner that attacked too frequent use of prisons and juvenile detention facilities (1960, 1962). In the 1970's NCCD overtly cites the failure of prisons to reform, the inability to operate them constitutionally, and the destruction of both the keeper and the kept, that prisons involved (1973). They also issued statements that prisons should be used only for those legally declared dangerous. In this later statement the ACA, ABA and other national groups have concurred. NCCD guides to sentencing specified two types of "dangerous" offenders; those who had a history of repeated violent attacks on others and those heavily involved in leadership of organized crime (1973, 1976).

The defensive opposition by ACA to the most severe criticism of prisons by the NCCD and other groups (1971) and their endorsement of additional prison construction (1972) already has been discussed. Similarly for the first time in the mid-1970's the ACA issued a statement cautioning against use of parole at too early a date. Overall, however, the ACA has continued even in the most recent period to issues many more statements which would have the possibility of shortening or lessening prison use than increasing it. The only area in which the IACP has endorsed policies which lessen penalties relate to some areas of auto regulation, and generally even in this area increased severity is usually endorsed.

Prison Treatment and Regulation of Prisoners and Ex-Offenders

The largest number of ACA "decriminalizing" statements have been in this area. This is also an area where the ACA has had many defeats. These have occurred especially relative to efforts to reduce construction of maximum security facilities in favor of farm, cottage, and lesser use of cell block construction in the 1920's and 1930's (see resolutions in 1927, 1929, 1930, 1933 and 1940). Adequate educational, medical, and dietary conditions have also escaped procurement. Jail conditions are also an area of frequent concern (1930, 1884, 1936, 1974, 1937). The defeats with regard to prison labor have already been discussed. Prisoner classification is an area in which the ACA, by its strong advocacy, has at times favored increased regulation of prisoners.

Disagreement and Criminalization

From this account, and the discussion in Chapter 5 it has been seen that most of the behaviors involving disagreement also had criminalization or regulatory content. Using chi-square tests of relationship, one sees that there is a significant relationship between a statement having criminalization content and its involving disagreement or not having criminalization content and being in agreement (see Table 25). This was so for all comparisons except those involving NCCD with ACA in which there were too few cases of disagreement to do chi-square, but findings were in the expected direction. This points further to the differentiation of the

Table 25. Relationship between agreement/disagreement and criminalization saliency of the issues: overlapping statements*

Criminalization saliency of statements	Direct/partial agreement		Direct/partial disagreement		All	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
IACP-ACA						
Criminalization issue	(56)	33.3	(55)	82.2	(111)	47.2
Not related to criminalization	(112)	66.7	(12)	17.9	(124)	52.7
Total	(168)		(67)		(235)	
IACP-NCCD						
Criminalization issue	(18)	16.2	(84)	80.8	(102)	47.4
Not related to criminalization	(93)	83.8	(20)	19.2	(113)	52.6
Total	(111)		(104)			
ACA-IACP						
Criminalization issue	(68)	52.3	(105)	81.4	(173)	66.7
Not related to criminalization	(62)	47.7	(24)	18.5	(86)	33.2
Total	(130)		(129)		(259)	
NCCD-IACP						
Criminalization issue	(10)	29.4	(60)	80.1	(70)	64.8
Not related to criminalization	(24)	70.6	(14)	18.9	(38)	35.2
Total	(34)		(74)			

*All comparisons Chi square significant at $\alpha \leq .01$.

resolutions into two categories, those dealing with professionalization about which some consensus has occurred, and those issues which have criminalization content about which considerable differences occur.

Summary

It has been seen that over time the IACP has increased the absolute number of behaviors for which they advocate legal regulation. However, this has been in a limited area, and the percentage of total IACP statements advocating increased criminalization has not increased. Overall the IACP has much more frequently issued statements in the direction of criminalization or regulation rather than decriminalization or deregulation. It is in evaluation of this area that the need for baseline data becomes apparent. One helpful comparison is that between expressed public opinion on the issues and the advocacy of the organizations (see Appendix 2). From the comparison in Appendix 2 one can see that the public has been in most cases as willing or more willing than the IACP to criminalize behavior and support lengthy sentences.

While there is some evidence from earlier data that the police support of vice laws and longer penalties manifest in IACP policy statements, represents a change from earlier police behavior, no direct internal inconsistency is manifest among the IACP statements themselves dating from 1893 on these issues. However, years prior to the 1920's do not contain vice law advocacy or strict enforcement advocacy in this area and do not make the point of defense of longer penalties of curtailment of parole and probation present in some later statements.

From the context of this advocacy by the IACP one can conclude that it is in part directly related to the process of occupational segmentation. The IACP as a representative of the police increasingly was in the symbolic position of verbalizing the more dominant punitive, deterrent, and social protective part of the societies dual approach to crime. At the same time the statements of the ACA at times and to a larger extent NCCD manifest the minority view which is represented by the development of rehabilitative and advocacy occupations. These occupations in their rhetoric embody the same

societies attempt to mitigate to a small degree the more dominant approach (see Appendix 2).

The ACA and NCCD thus both manifest over time increased tendency to advocate that fewer behaviors be considered illegal and that prison use be curtailed, although they differ in the extent of curtailment advocated. Both organizations have been concerned in recent years with rights of accused and ex-offenders. NCCD has extended this concern to rights of those in prisons, while ACA as a representative of correctional administrators has developed defensiveness in this area. They prefer to treat some of the same questions in terms of rehabilitative procedures and professional standards. Again this can be related to court action and the development of new segmented organized groups who are verbalizing interests of prisoners.

The ACA and especially the NCCD have clearly at times been sensitive to crime amplification criticism of the criminal justice system. In the light of continued high levels of prison use primarily only for poor and minority citizens, and the inability to enact the societal change necessary for success in preventing crime or achieving rehabilitative goals, the question is raised as to the extent to which issues such as procedural rights and decriminalization of vice laws become partly symbolic areas of disagreement that substitute for inability to change the parameters of alternatives.

CHAPTER 7

INTERNAL CONSISTENCY OF THE POLICY STATEMENTS

Previous chapters have noted changes and stabilities in general issue saliency, level of agreement with the other organizations, and criminalization stance of the three groups. This chapter focuses on direct evaluation of the internal consistency of the policy statements over the period of each organization's history. Chapters in Part II of the thesis will complete the discussion of organizational change by discussing changes in organizational structure, actors, resources, task undertakings and content of other publications, considered in themselves and relative to the policy advocacy statements now being discussed in Part I.

It was hypothesized that given the high level of equivocality in the area of criminal justice enactment and reform, and the historical presence of several "official" documents such as the Wickersham Report and a large body of academic literature containing negative feedback, that there would be a significant amount of internal inconsistency manifest over the 70 to 115 years of the organizations' histories. As will be seen this expected internal inconsistency of statements did not occur with significant numerical frequency. It is in this discussion that one sees the importance of Wiener's statement (1968) that the less frequent the message the more information it gives. In evaluation of the statements, it was found that those which are less internally consistent than others take on a certain significance partly due to their infrequency. Similarly in evaluating the consistency of policy advocacy the question of noticing omission as well as occurrence became important.

To evaluate the question of internal consistency each statement was classified relative to all statements the organization had issued previously. One would thus expect the first period to have the possibility of containing the largest number of new behaviors, and the potential for statements involving both repetition and modification to grow over

time due to the increasingly larger number of statements to which later statements are compared.

In pilot coding of the statements for internal consistency five categories emerged. They were: (1) those statements in which a behavior is treated by the organization for the first time or emerges into the organization's area of concern; (2) those statements which repeat the content of a previous statement (the same behavior is treated in the same context in the same way); (3) those statements which make a consistent contextual specification relative to an already treated behavior; (4) those statements which involve some modification, qualification or broadening of stance toward an already treated behavior usually relative primarily to environmental narrowing or broadening of possible alternatives; and (5) those statements which involve partial reversal of stance relative to an already treated behavior (no instance of complete reversal was found).

While these categories emerged as separate alternatives useful in categorizing the statements vis-a-vis each other over time, they in themselves represent analytically different forms of change or stability. They relate respectively to the degree of emergence, repetition, on-going specification, environmentally related modification, and partial organizational reversal of interpretation. Before discussion of the relative distribution between these categories and the content of the statements involving modification or reversal, the distinctions in the type of system behavior they imply relative to analysis of change will be discussed further. The significance of omission as a form of change will also be briefly discussed.

(1) Emergence (New Behavioral Advocacy)

This implies the initiation of an additional component (new behavior of concern) to the organization's repertoire of policy advocacy. It may not directly or initially disturb existing on-going output, but may involve by an additive process considerable overall system output change. Contrast may not be too clear, with corresponding low levels of symbolic conflict.

(2) Repetition (Reassertion)

This may imply a low level of significance but high level of routinized behavior, or in contrast a policy of very high priorty. Repetition generally relates to system stability and persistence, but dependent on environmental movement away from or toward the advocacy, it may change in significance (Ash, Zald, 1968).

(3) Contextual Specification

This is a policy selection which treats a previously dealt with behavior in a way that relates it to a different context, but one in which the behavior is evaluated and treated in a very similar manner to statements in the past. The specification to context is often routinized with the organizations developing certain cycles and rules for output production with regard to the issue (Weick, 1968).

(4) Contextual Modification

This involves statements which manifest some altering in manner of treatment, compared to past statements on the same behavior. It is primarily related to environmentally produced narrowing or broadening of possibility, rather than change of system orientation toward the behavior.

(5) Reversal (Direct Inconsistency)

While this category may be seen to represent the most change in one aspect, in another it involves much less. It implies that existing system components (in this case policy choices) are directly rearranged or reversed, rather than the emergence of new components or issues. Issues differ both in their analytical potential for reversal, and the degree of system reordering the policy reversal would involve. The implication of juxtaposition of alternatives implies high levels of conflict in areas that relate to substantive reordering.

Another measure of consistency is the occurrence of omission or dropping of advocacy. This can imply several things. One is that the organization has changed its interpretation of a behavior or the interpretation has become equivocal, but rather than refute past statements, the organization simply drops the issue. Another is the development of irrelevance or environmental blockage to such an extent that the behavior in question is no longer on the agenda of alternatives. The development of offshoot subgroups or other new organizations, for whom the issue is of major concern, may also be related to the dropping of concern for a given group. While the primary focus of this chapter is on instances of overt modification or partial reversal, an attempt will also be made to discuss those issues of past advocacy which appear to have been dropped or purposefully omitted from later statements.

Consistency Levels

Table 26 gives a listing of the relative distribution of substantive policy statements between the five categories discussed above. One sees that overall the groups have a similar percentage of statements which relate to new behaviors, about 30 percent of the total. Some emergence of new behaviors of concern continued for all three groups over the five periods. The ACA originally dealt with the widest range of new behaviors, and they correspondingly had a steady decline in the percentage of new concerns over the period. The ACA also in the last period had the highest percentage of statements which represented some modification of previous policy advocacy. It will be seen that in some cases this represents a growth in professional defensiveness and conservatism relative to prisoner rights, but paradoxically in some other areas a broadening of prisoner options. NCCD, the organization that has changed most in structure (see Chapter 11), has the highest percent of new issues in the last period following the change in organizational focus.

Most numerous for all the organizations are statements that relate an already developed policy to differing specific contexts either developed by the organization or presented by the wider environment. Repetition occurs most for the ACA, but is relatively infrequent for all the groups.

Table 26. Substantive policy statements classified according to internal consistency: 1870-1976

	1870-1892 N	%	1893-1914 N	%	1915-1935 N	%	1936-1955 N	%	1955-1976 N	%	Total N	%
ACA												
New behavior	(44)	69.8	(9)	37.5	(40)	31.3	(38)	22.5	(24)	14.0	(155)	27.9
Repeat	(4)	6.3	(8)	33.3	(30)	23.4	(21)	12.4	(33)	19.3	(96)	17.3
Specification to context	(15)	23.8	(7)	29.2	(54)	42.2	(102)	60.4	(89)	52.0	(267)	48.1
Modification	(0)		(0)		(3)	2.3	(8)		(21)	12.3	(32)	5.8
Partial reversal	(0)		(0)		(1)	.8	(0)		(4)	2.3	(5)	.9
Total	(63)		(24)		(128)		(169)		(171)		(555)	
IACP												
New behavior			(19)	39.6	(53)	41.4	(21)	29.2	(131)	26.6	(224)	30.3
Repeat			(2)	4.2	(9)	7.0	(3)	4.2	(17)	3.5	(31)	4.2
Specification to context			(27)	56.3	(61)	47.7	(44)	61.1	(321)	65.2	(453)	61.2
Modification			(0)		(5)	3.9	(4)	5.6	(21)	4.3	(30)	4.1
Partial reversal			(0)		(0)		(0)		(2)	.4	(2)	.3
Total			(48)		(128)		(72)		(492)		(740)	
NCCD												
New behavior					(27)	30.7	(17)	34.0	(27)	41.5	(71)	35.0
Repeat					(12)	13.6	(4)	8.0	(1)	1.5	(17)	8.4
Specification to context					(47)	53.4	(29)	58.0	(32)	49.2	(108)	53.2
Modification					(2)	2.3	(0)		(3)	4.6	(5)	2.5
Partial reversal					(0)		(0)		(2)	3.1	(2)	1.0
Total					(88)		(50)		(65)		(203)	

Modification or partial reversal statements overall occur the most infrequently for all groups, but are increased in the percent of the total for the ACA and NCCD in the last period.

One can see from this classification that the continued occurrence of contextual related advocacy in the direction initially established, best characterizes the on-going statements of each group when considered as to consistency or agreement with past statements. Incremental emergence of new behaviors continues to occur for all groups. But the ACA has, more than the other two, in the last period a relative lack of new areas of concern. Modification or partial reversal of past statements occurs relatively infrequently. The next section of the chapter describes these infrequent cases of overt modification of policy stance by the groups. Instances of omission are also needed.

Shifts in ACA Policy Advocacy

Considering ACA statements for the 45 year period from 1870 to 1915 no substantive statements were found to involve any form of direct modification of stance. However, between 1916 and 1955 some modifications related primarily to environmental options were manifest in certain statements. A few statements in the period reflect a broadening of the types of crimes for which and conditions under which parole and probation should be used. Other partially inconsistent statements relate to acceptance of jails. At times attempts to improve jails were advocated. Other times their abolishment was advocated (1926, 1937, 1952). Eventually the association developed a standing committee on jails and soon after this an affiliate group emerged, the American Jail Association.

An additional area of modification relates to the association's dealing with redefining the role of the chaplain in more strictly religious terms. This is related to the entrance of psychologists, educators, and social workers into the system (1932). In the area of prison labor, some statements in the 1940's and 1950's reflect the acceptance of restrictive legislation previously specifically opposed and attempts to work within the allowed framework (1940, 1951). Statements now state that the center of rehabilitation is education rather than labor as was previously stated

(1950). Some statements dealing with prison conditions and regulation of ex-prisoners now use the term rights where previous statements were not so strong. This is especially in the areas of medical care and diet (1951), and the restoration of civil rights of ex-offenders after release from army (1941).

It is not until the latter part of the period between 1956 and 1976, however, that any ACA statements reflect even a partial reversal of orientation from statements of the past. But these are co-present with other statements that continue to broaden advocacy in the directions established over their history. Statements which involved modifications or broadening of options in a similar direction as the past involved the calling for removal of all mandatory exceptions to parole and probation (1960, 1970) and statements relative to full restoration of civil rights for all offenders after a period of non recidivism. In the area of some drug and status offenses the organization went from earlier condemning of harsh penalties to calling for decriminalization (1970, 1975). The endorsement of diversion (1972) also represents a modification relative to earlier statements on criminal enforcement.

Another area of modification of stance relates to the use of prisoners in medical and diet experiments. This had been practiced during World War II. At such time the ACA commended the prisoners who had volunteered with words of approval for the program (1940). The death of one such volunteer brought a resolution of commendation and sympathy to the family; and the resolution cited the prisoner's contributions to his country (1943). But there was no policy concerning the advisability of such experiments. However, in 1976 the ACA passed a statement opposing such experiments. The organization's resolution cited the inability to have a situation in prison of free consent, as well as the inability of correctional administrators to guarantee the protection of inmates, for whose safety they are responsible.

Other statements especially in the 1970's manifest a change in orientation compared to previous statements. For the first time the association cautions against too frequent use of parole (1973). This is

something it did not do even during the 1920's and 1930's when parole was under heavy attack. The association's position statement on the criticism of corrections, which involves for the first time a defense of "punishment" as one of the legitimate roles of correction has already been cited. This viewpoint has been given the title the "new realism" which contrasts to the idealistic rhetoric but not necessarily the behavior of the past. Related to this is the association's statement in 1973 on the use of force in correctional institutions. This statement was in contrast to their own statement in 1870 that "in prison administration moral forces should be relied upon with as little admixture of physical force as possible," (1870 Statement of Principles #XVII) and NCCD's statement that it should be used only in self defense (1972). The ACA statement in 1973 states:

> the actual or threatened used of deadly force is an inevitable instrument of control in the Criminal Justice System, including correctional facilities for adult offenders (ACA Proceedings, 1973:362).

The statement, however, does condemn unwarranted use of force and attempts to specify the range of purposes for which the use of deadly force is allowable. They were specified as: (1) control of dangerous physical resistance to lawful order; (2) prevention of escape from maximum or medium custody; and (3) prevention of great bodily harm. The statement also states that it is not permissible for punitive purposes, but notes that nothing limits the use of appropriate physical control. They urge investigation and prosecution of unwarranted use of deadly force. This statement was issued following the deadly suppression of the Attica uprising in New York about which the association was silent; and the less publicized revelations made by former Arkansas correctional administrator, Tom Murton, of the killing and secret burial of several prisoners in Arkansas. Murton had tried unsuccessfully to get the ACA to pass a resolution condeming these occurrences at the ACA convention in 1971. At the time several of the ACA leaders responded that the association had not personally investigated the charges, and that they had throughout the association's history issued general statements condemning such behavior. However, the 1973 statement on force also calls for the ACA to seek funding to begin to study misuse of force and issue an annual report. The question is raised as to

whether the above noted specification of a rather wide range of purposes for the use of deadly force in 1973 is "realism" designed to limit its use or a manifestation of the growth of occupational protection in contrast to earlier expressions of reformative idealism that focused on advocacy of its elimination.

Comparison of the association's statement of principles in 1960 with 1970 shows by means of omission the "new realism." It has already been noted that affirmations of a prisoner's right to indemnification for wrongful conviction, opposition to preventive detention, and calling for compensation for prison labor were all present in the 1960 restatement of the 1870 principles and omitted from the 1970 restatement. On the other hand, the 1970 restatement advocated decriminalization of certain crimes and was much stronger on community corrections.

In examination of the 1970 restatement of principles compared to earlier statements, as well as other statements which were classified as involving modification, one sees that the ACA has not been consistent in the direction of modification in terms of the punitive-rehabilitative polarities, or what might be called the severity-amelioration polarity. Some modifications are clearly in the direction of curtailing affirmations of prisoner rights and "liberal" policies in the area, especially when they manifest conflicts or contradictions in the correctional workers role. These changes can also be directly related also to environmental criticism of corrections and to the advocacy behaviors of some other organizations which are more strongly in the direction of amelioration or affirmation of prisoner rights. On the other hand, ACA modifications in some areas are clearly in the direction of broader ameliorative options than were previously advocated by the group and this continues to be so.

It can thus be seen that an organization can sometimes almost simultaneously develop policies in somewhat differing directions, but these differences are consistent with the occupational interests they represent. The development of other organized groups advocating a moratorium on prison construction, a more political interpretation of the activity of the criminal justice system, or the extension of legal civil rights protection to

the prisons themselves can be seen to be related to the formulation by the ACA of occupational protective rhetoric for the first time. This involves at least partial de facto abandonment of the 1870 affirmation of the group that the interests of the convicted criminal, the correctional officer, and the society are really the same. It remains to be seen whether this will lead to further modifications of organizational policy in the direction of severity.

The IACP Policy Modification

Previous chapters have noted certain developments within the IACP advocacy such as the emergence of advocacy of criminalizing legislation and more severe penalties in the area of vice related behavior. Here there is a change from silence to a dealing with these issues. Another type of change is the growth in saliency of auto related issues which became a major focus of concern. Relative to their dominance in the first period, there was also a decline in criminal identification and statistics as a major focus.

Statements involving some modification of policy advocacy vis-a-vis earlier statements (about 4.4 percent of the total) occur only after 1914. In the period between 1915 and 1935 these involved shifts in the already discussed areas of drug control and probation and parole. During the 1920's not only did criminalization of drugs emerge as an issue, but initial statements manifest more sympathy for the medical model of treatment, and concern with poor conditions for addicts in jails (1922). By 1926 drug control advocacy was qualified to recommending use of isolation hospitals only for "those who were not now, or had ever been criminals." But 1929 in calling for stricter drug laws no mention was made of medical treatment at all. Other modifications relate to the shift to more critical and restrictive statements on parole in the 1920's and 1930's until they finally reject it as it was then practiced. There was then a partial reacceptance of it again, especially as practiced by the federal system (1937).

In the period of 1935 to 1955 one finds some shifts in fingerprinting advocacy related to the environmental possibilities. Originally this was advocated for aliens and convicts, then compulsory universal fingerprinting was endorsed. Then, failing to achieve compulsory fingerprinting, a voluntary fingerprinting campaign was initiated. These reflect very slight modifications.

In the fifth period, 1956 to 1976, some small shifts in statements related to minority recruiting are manifest in the direction of more acceptance but stopping short of affirmative action endorsement (1973). After the Supreme Court's ruling that capital punishment as it had been practiced in the United States, violated the Constitution the IACP issued a statement endorsing the drafting of legislation to enable its use for those who kill police, guards, and for homicides committed while involved in the commission of a felony (1973). In the area of police compensation, while earlier statements had stressed making police salaries comparable to other municipal employees, statements in the 1960's state that higher salaries should be given, commensurate with the uniqueness of job requirements (1965). In the area of auto regulation several statements advocate routine changes in the traffic code, for which a norm of constant revision prevails.

The modifications discussed so far relate primarily to environmental changes in the realm of possibility. Only two changes reflect some reversal in IACP policy. These are in the areas of vehicle pursuit and acceptance of rewards. A partial change in the area of vehicle pursuit to less endorsement was brought about by a study of the occurrences. With regard to police rewards, as has been noted the IACP in its first year condemned police acceptance of rewards from public sources but not private sources. The question then received periodic study. However, in 1928 in a recommendation to establish special Auto Theft Bureaus, rewards were not discouraged. Rather, it was maintained that not less than half of any reward should go to the police officer. It was not until 1975 that all private rewards were formally discouraged in a resolution.

In can be concluded that except for these few areas IACP statements are highly consistent. The inconsistencies that occurred related

primarily to the following: (1) routine change of auto regulation codes; (2) shifts related to environmental possibilities in areas such as fingerprinting, minority recruiting and capital punishment; (3) the growth of IACP advocacy of a more strict law enforcement approach to drug control, primarily as developed by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics; (4) police equivocality in the area of parole; (5) development of caution in the area of vehicle pursuit; and (6) disapproval of acceptance of both private and public rewards for police work.

NCCD Policy Modification

The NCCD has changed its formal structure more than any of the three groups, and this is reflected in the increased number of new behaviors considered since this occurred and the decline in percent of statements which are directly concerned with probation and parole. However, like the IACP, they are highly consistent in the direction of advocacy, and manifest less fluctuation in advocacy than the ACA. They have, however, been the only group to formally refer in a policy statement to limitations in the policies they have advocated in the past. This has occurred relative to the already discussed statement calling for a moratorium on prison construction (1962, 1972) and in statements related to the evaluation of the juvenile court (1974).

The juvenile court was one of the prime interests of the NCCD (then National Probation Association) almost from the beginning. Almost as many statements in the first years of the association's history were issued on this topic as were related to probation. Similarly legislative activity was highly centered in this area. In many jurisdictions probation was first developed with regard to the juvenile rather than adult level. The concept of a "socialized court" was juxtaposed to the adversary court, and the hope was expressed at conferences that the socialized court procedures of background investigation, psychological and social evaluation, and decision-making based upon viewing the accused relative to his circumstances and community could be eventually extended also to adult courts. In an address to the convention one time president of the association,

Judge Hoffman of Cincinnati, expresses this reaction to the adversary system. He cites negatively the,

> "presence of lawyers in court with their retinue of constables, police sheriffs, and bailiffs who hover over the court, but neglect to provide examinations and wish to dispose of the cases without reference to the socialized court" (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1918:4).

The National Probation Association itself in a 1934 resolution emphasized that the methods of the "formal criminal law" had no place in the juvenile court. Rather the methods require a thorough inquiry into the whole situation and condition of the individual delinquent. To replace the formal criminal law would be the standards promulgated jointly by the National Children's Bureau and themselves. By the 1970's, however, the association had begun a re-evaluation of their 1930 statement that the juvenile court had now resulted in such success as to "place it beyond the experimental stage and warrant its extension to offenders beyond the age of 16 or 18 as now provided by law" (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1930:333).

A 1974 statement on the issue does not withdraw support for the juvenile court but focuses on its problems and urges curtailment of its use. First of all, it was asserted that status offenses for which 90 percent of females and 25 percent of males came into the court should be eliminated as reasons for referral. The court should be used only as a last resort. Unfavorable effects of labeling and poor practices were cited. Note was made of the fact that the youths got neither the legal protections of the adult court nor the benevolent care prescribed for children. If the juvenile court were not performing many acts then other service agencies would more properly provide the services. This statement came in the wake of increased research on the growth of the rate of incarcerated children by the juvenile court over the years of its existence, criticism of the lack of procedural rights, and problems in fulfilling the supposedly treatment orientation of the court. Of significance also

was the growth of government financed lawyers whose interests were with increased stress on the formal procedures of the adversary system.

In the area of drugs the organization in 1964 issued a long statement in which recommendations were made that addicts, including those who had been compelled to sell narcotics, should be given medical help which might include maintenance doses or other treatment. Civil commitment was opposed as being little different than criminal commitment. The policies of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics were criticized as running counter to the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Harrison Act in preventing doctors from performing their duty. Understanding was expressed that the evil of narcotics traffic needed to be controlled but note was made that the majority of sellers convicted were users. Serious traffickers should be given long penalties, but caution was advocated in establishing who would be in this category. By the 1970's they had modified this drug policy slightly by advocating that drug possession of small amounts no longer be criminalized. They note that no claim is made for magic solutions but cite the failure of current policies. Especially cited is the cycle of police and civil corruption that has resulted from the illegality of certain drugs.

The only other slight modifications in resolutions considered relative to each other occurred in the early years when in the 1930's during the public criticism of probation the group itself issued a statement expressing criticism of the way probation had been administered in some cases. One sees from this that, except for the re-evaluation of the juvenile court and the call for moratorium on construction which reflects a slight reversal relative to their previously expressed policy of advocacy of better juvenile detention facilities, that the NCCD has been highly consistent. The significance in the longer term of the dropping of probation as the major focus, combined with structure change that involves more input from community leaders, businessmen, and professionals, remains to be seen.

The observation of instances of direct modification of policy and degree of emergence of new issues is only one measure of change in the

content of the statements, just as change in policy statements is only one indicator of organizational change. As a quantitative measure it considers change apart from such polarities in interpretation of change as conservative-progessive, punishment-rehabilitation, or criminalization-decriminalization. Nor does it give a direct measure of the extent of significance of the modification present in any given statement so classified. But it has been seen that direct policy statement modification has occurred only infrequently among the three groups. Rather these long enduring organizations more frequently engage in specifying already formulated policy to differing concrete contexts. They also maintain to differing degrees a certain level of consideration of nominally new behaviors over time. Examination of the content of the infrequent instances of overt modification shows them to be related to: (1) shifts in system environment which resulted in broadening or narrowing the alternatives for implementation of a certain behavior; (2) routine modification in non-symbolic areas; (3) defensive reactions to criticism and advocacy of other organizations which threaten occupational interests; (4) the development of vested bureaucratic interests in certain areas (such as drugs, relative to IACP policy advocacy); and (5) negative feedback involving unintended or problem amplifying consequences leading to withdrawal (such as the NCCD drug policy and moratorium on prison construction).

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF PART I

In the introduction to the thesis stress was on the importance of functional task concerns, interest maintenance, and broader environmental constraints as the interacting major analytical factors useful in policy advocacy interpretation. The organizations were seen as themselves concerned with, and representative of occupations engaged in functional problem solving and interest maximization within the framework of the liberal capitalist state. The differing major occupations represented were seen to form a functional system and at the same time to symbolically and concretely represent different polarities in the U.S. society's dual approach to deviance. All three organizations formulated their policy within the constraints of the larger system, but NCCD policy advocacy and certain policies of the ACA were interpreted as a partial opposition or reaction to problems and contradictions of operating a classical system of justice in an unequal society. It is the peculiar quality of U.S. society to involve the emergence of occupations and bureaucracies which institutionalize this almost formal negative reaction to continuing dominant patterns.

Certain environmental stabilities and changes over the period were outlined as forming the milieu in which policy advocacy occurred. The growth of all the occupations of concern in percent of the work force was noted, as well as the continued dominance of police activity in terms of numbers and resource allocation. Within correction the dominance of resource allocation to custodial and institutional maintenance was noted. Similarly the fluctuating trend to have a higher incarceration rate over the period was observed despite the growth in the numbers on parole or probation. It was observed that the distribution of offenses for which people are incarcerated has changed little and has remained focused on traditional crimes of those poor in resources. The consistent disproportionate use of imprisonment for minority ethnic groups and races was cited, as well as an apparent stability in levels of economic inequality in the

decline in overlap of IACP statements with those of the ACA and NCCD occurred. However considering the statements of the ACA and NCCD relative to whether the IACP has dealt with the issue of concern, it was found that the IACP continued to have dealt with a large percentage of those issues of policy concern to the ACA and NCCD. It was also found that the ACA and NCCD maintained very high levels of overlap. Direct agreement declined for all comparisons over time. However, it was found that the proportion of direct disagreement statements between the IACP and the other two groups fluctuated, being highest in the periods between 1915 and 1935, and again between 1956 and 1976. This corresponds to findings related to other measures of degree of conflict manifest in the general society. The ACA and NCCD maintain high agreement levels, and have had instances of directly disagreeing statements only in the last ten years.

Areas related to severity of sanctioning, procedural rights, and legalization issues constituted the major areas of disagreement and a relationship was found between a statement having some significance for criminalization variables and its also involving disagreement between the organizations. Certain symbolic areas of disagreement were seen to emerge such as parole and probation, anti-vice legislation, search and seizure, wiretapping, and interrogation methods. More recently prison construction and rights of those in prison have been areas of disagreement between the ACA and NCCD. There is evidence that the associations are aware of the statements of each other and formulate their positions and a distinct identity at least partially in relation to each other's positions.

Both the ACA and NCCD evidence sensitivity to the feedback of a problem amplifying character of the criminal justice system. Withdrawal in some areas and increased concern with constitutional "rights" of those who enter the system are two policies developed in relation to this. The ACA in the late 1970's was in the position of limiting this rhetoric of "withdrawal" and "rights" in certain areas and espousing it in others. The IACP has generally rejected these options.

It is interesting that in the 1930's and through the Depression, when attempts at social welfare programs and control of corporations were

society over the century. Unemployment rates were seen to be fluctuating, but a consistent situation of surplus labor maintained. Fluctuations in these levels were seen to be related to imprisonment rate.

Despite these factors in the environment it was anticipated that advocacy of change in economic inequality and causal interpretation directly related to this variable would rarely if ever occur in the organizations' formal policy statements given environmental constraints. It was found that, while some (even frequent at times) references to this were made at speeches at some of the conventions, and the ACA and NCCD statements see employment as a major factor in rehabilitation success, few references by them call for economic planning let alone changes in inequality levels. The IACP never relates crime to economic variables and rarely focuses on any causes or remote prevention. All three groups have dealt with prevention and causes of crime primarily in terms of home life, education, religion, vice control, recreation and youth activities, and a properly functioning criminal justice system.

It was also anticipated that the activities surrounding social welfare professionalizing movements and the requirements of formal legal equality would more often constitute major interest components given their dominance in the wider environment. It was found that topics constituting areas of lack of conflict and considerable overall saliency related to: (1) occupational development (involving training, merit selection, depoliticalization, tenure, codes of ethics, status and respect maximization, compensation and autonomy); (2) the collection of related statistical information; (3) development of specialized techniques not directly involving criminalization or procedural rights questions; and (4) growth of the positive state administrative role. Techniques that involved criminalization issues such as probation and parole and those that involve procedural, privacy, or civil rights questions involved the most disagreement.

It was anticipated that as occupational segmentation proceeded there would be a decline in overlap of concern and decline in agreement in remaining areas of common concern. It was found that the IACP developed several areas of independent concern not shared by the ACA or NCCD and a

met with legal and rhetorical opposition that involved reference to violation of "individual rights," the NCCD passed a statement that a way must be found to reconcile individual freedom with the needs for social protection and welfare activity. NCCD stress in this period was on social welfare activity rather than individual rights. In the 1960's and 1970's, however, rationalizations related to individual freedom and civil rights themselves increasingly constituted the major rationale for limitations on severity of treatment. Within the criminal justice system, "withdrawal" rather than positive programs emerged as a more ameliorative approach.

Evaluation of the statements in relation to criminalization content included consideration of each statement as to whether it involved a consideration of the following; what behaviors should be illegal or regulated, procedural requirements, prison sanction length or use, and conditions of life and regulation during sentence and after release. It was found that the IACP statements involving these factors were consistently in the direction of increasing or maintaining criminalization. The ACA had a large number of equivocal statements especially in the areas of prison length, and in its early years advocated criminalization in a few areas related to gun control, and anti-lynching. However, overall they have most often taken stances that would decrease criminalization especially relative to prison conditions. The NCCD has overwhelmingly issued statements in the direction of decriminalization especially in the last period when they began for the first time to deal with legalization issues.

Examination of the statements for internal consistency and degree of new behaviors of concern found that the organizations maintained a certain level of emergence of new behaviors of consideration, but were, contrary to expectation, highly consistent in subsequent policy statement evaluation of previously treated behaviors. Notable exceptions were the ACA's statements in the 1970's reflective of the growth of the "new realism" which admits the role of social control and punishments as well as rehabilitation in corrections. This resulted for the first time ever in an organizational statement affirming punishment as a constitutionally sanctioned option, and another statement dealing with force in a way that expects its limited occurrence rather than generally calling for its minimization as in

the past. This can be seen to be related to a growth in defensive occupational protection, also manifest in support of legislation to eliminate "nuisance suits" against correctional personnel.

The IACP has increased the severity of sanctions advocated for drugs, early following the policy of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. Only in the areas of rewards and police pursuit are there any instances of partial reversal of advocacy stance. The NCCD has formally qualified its support of the juvenile court without reversing its endorsement. With less ties to a concrete occupational group it has also adopted a much more critical stance toward other existing criminal justice policies than previously manifest.

In this part of the thesis it has been seen that the policy advocacy of each group occupies a relatively stable niche (Monane, 1970) in an immediate environment which is growing but also manifests some notable stabilities. Stable environmental components have been the same basic constitutional legal framework, the same underlying social control technologies, and the same social class position of clients. Changes and emergence of new components are manifest relative to occupational segmentation, information and communication technology, transportation methods, production methods (effecting prison labor), constitutional interpretation and the growth of other organized and professional representatives of the interest of prisoners.

It has thus been seen that the groups have kept their policy advocacy within the framework of operatives acting in a liberal but unequal society. They are clearly highly task or functionally orientated as well as acting out overt interest concerns. The organizations represent systems which are simultaneously interdependent but have developed highly symbolic areas of disagreement, which reflect their positions as manifestations of a dual and perhaps contradictory approach to deviance.

In the second part of the thesis a history of each of the organizations is presented. Focus is on organizational variables and their

relationship to policy advocacy. A final chapter summarizes and expresses the findings of the Part I and Part II of the study in terms of systems concepts.

PART II

A HISTORY OF THE THREE ORGANIZATIONS

The next three chapters present historical accounts of the founding, major undertakings, information exchanges and organizational development of the three groups. Particular descriptive focus is on the initiation of each group and the texts of the talks at the yearly conferences. In so far as the yearly conference has been a central undertaking for each of the groups throughout their history the texts of these proceedings are taken as a prime indicator of information exchange.

These accounts are intended to complement and provide a context for the policy advocacy analysis presented in Part I. Specifically, they also explore further on a descriptive level the relationship between occurrences such as changes in organization structure, actors, funding sources, criminal justice system behavior, and wider historical climate with the output of a particular policy perspective. For descriptive purposes the historical accounts follow the approximately 23 year time period divisions made in Part I.

CHAPTER 9

THE AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION, 1870-1976 (FORMERLY NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION)

1870-1893

The first meeting of the National Prison Association (now ACA) was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, and presided over by the governor of Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes. The conference elected former presidential candidate, Horatio Seymour, then the governor of New York as the first president, and Rev. E. C. Wines, as secretary. Wines, a widely respected surveyor of prison conditions and secretary of the New York Prison Association, was most responsible for the calling of the initial meeting and for keeping the national association going in the first years. Wines was also at this time involved in the organization of the first International Penal Congress which met in London in 1872 and derived its U.S. delegation through the newly formed National Prison Association.

According to historical accounts other attempts had been made to begin a national group devoted to prison reform (Teeters, Negelly, 1969: 18-23). In 1859 a group met in Philadelphia called the American Association for the Improvement of Penal and Reformatory Institutions. W. C. Rhodes was elected president and papers were read on such topics as the "Auburn versus the Pennsylvania System." A second meeting was held in 1860, but with the advent of the Civil War, the Association became defunct.

The period 1850 to 1870 was one in which (see Table 1; Appendix 1) there was a great upsurge in the use of state prisons and jails. So there was considerable interest in prison questions especially for state officials for whom this increasingly was a significant administrative operation. The particular success of the National Prison Association in becoming an ongoing organization, apart from the energy of E. C. Wines who carried the group through the first decade, has been attributed to the coalescence of acceptance of "the new reformatory system." This reportedly broke the

ideological stalemate of conflict between advocates of the Pennsylvania (separate) or Auburn (congregate) systems of prison construction and discipline, both of which were increasingly evaluated negatively (Teeters, 1968:61; Putney, 1962:431-445; Lejins, 1971).

Before further discussion of the major features of the prison reforms sought by those in attendance at the National Prison Congress in 1870 it is necessary to summarize briefly the conditions and ideological thinking that pre-date its occurrence, and to which the prison reformers of 1870 were reacting. It is clear that those present at the first National Prison Congress were not the first in the U.S. to speak of the organization of prisons for reformatory goals. As the summary of prison use in the U.S. provided by the Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, published in 1940 states, "with few exceptions, leaders in prison work in America have always persisted in their demand that the program of treatment for criminals shall be reformative as well as punitive" (p. 41). However, the earliest U.S. prisons were also ideologically connected with statements that espoused the importance of hard work and penitent living conditions. Association between prisoners was not strictly prohibited as it would be later under the Auburn (congregate work) and Pennsylvania systems (separate work). By 1823 there were 11 state prisons operating with about 3,000 inmates. According to accounts conditions by 1830 had with some exceptions begun to "border on chaos" (Gill, Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, 1940:42).

Overcrowding made classification impossible and often through lack of organization there was no work. The Auburn and Pennsylvania systems which dominated the period from 1830 to 1870, and which have dominated prison architecture almost to the present time, sought to reorganize prisons to avoid these abuses of the past, and also to prevent the return to corporal and capital punishments reportedly being considered.

Ideally both the Auburn and the Pennsylvania systems advocated non-communication among prisoners as a means to eliminate the evils of association and at the same time create a situation in which offenders could be left alone with themselves to reflect on their trespasses. Work

was advocated as a practical necessity and as a means for instilling industrial habits.

Enforcing the requirements of non-communication and hard work, either in the separate or congregate system, led to the development of a system of harsh secondary rules and severe punishments for their violation. The contract or lease system of industry under which three-fourths of all prison labor was done by 1870 meant a preoccupation with profit, and a harsh enforced work routine. At this time it was the rule rather than the exception for prison systems to pay their own way. As has been indicated in Part I, major prison systems of the time all reported themselves to be self sustaining (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1874:47). When a day of rest was permitted, Sabbath schools provided religious and very limited secular instruction.

The evils of the contract system, the upsurge in prison population leading to decline in basic living conditions, and the disruptive political appointment of prison administrators and staff combined with ideological reactions against the Auburn and Pennsylvania systems in creating the setting for the adoption of the set of 37 principles which outlined an ideally more positive system.

The Initial Statement of Principles

The initial statement of principles of the NPA combines a well written affirmation of the obligation of the state to insure adequate humane living conditions, with the espousing of a progressive reformatory system as practiced in Ireland under Sir Walter Crofton. The major principles called for were: a positive reward system to replace reform by degradation; the evolution of the prisoner through stages of reform with increasing privileges leading to release; a state controlled system of work and trade training to replace the exploitative contract system; and ticket of leave release later known as parole. The declaration also calls for the creation of a new profession with adequate special training and high character of members to provide the reformatory program (National Prison

Association Proceedings, 1871:572; see also Lejins, 1971:478-492 for a discussion of the initial principles).

These ideas were not totally new to those who had written about prison reform in the U.S. Many of them are also contained in a paper presented by Dr. Ben Rush at a meeting at the home of Ben Franklin in 1790 to discuss the state of public punishment (Gill, Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, 1940). However, a concrete foreign example, plus perceived failure of what was currently practiced led to a formulation which called for a new type of prison. Overcrowding, squalor, degradation, isolation, exploited labor, and political appointment were seen as the reasons for failure of prisons. It was envisioned that a new dedicated group of workers and a truly reformatory system would change the situation.

The initial statement of principles was reportedly drafted primarily by Rev. E. C. Wines, Zebulon Brockway, and F. B. Sanborn. Brockway, then the Superintendent of the Detroit House of Correction, was to become the head of the first new reformatory institution built at Elmira, New York in 1876. Sanborn was a Concord, Massachusetts school teacher, and long term abolitionist activist who had written a strong defense of John Brown. The governors of New York, New Jersey, and three or four other states also reportedly had input. The document drew heavily in language and ideas on the 1840 writings of Alexander Maconochie of Norfork Island, who had in turn influenced Crofton and the so-called Irish System. Walter Crofton himself and Mary Carpenter of Red Lodge Reformatory for Women in Bristol, England, were among those in attendance.

Areas of Debate

Although according to later accounts by Brockway there was an almost "transfiguration-like" atmosphere at the conference, considerable areas of debate occurred, and some proposed principles fell by the wayside. Some delegates such as Judge Carter of Cincinnati stated in a closing statement that while he was pleased, the convention had not been "radical" enough National Prison Association Proceedings, 1871:520). Among the principles he supported which did not pass confirmation by the assembled

body was a condemnation of enforced silence and also one condemning the use of prison-stripe clothing. Another rejected principle called for the establishment of chairs of social science in the universities. Wines argued against this, stating that while he agreed it was important it was "not for this conference." He expressed the fear that it would bring the congress into discredit with the conservative people of the nation (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1871:525).

Although the initial statement calls for the replacement of preemptory sentences by ones of indeterminate length tied only to satisfactory proof of reformation, this question was also to be a subject of considerable debate at the later conferences even among the draftees of the principles. Brockway expressed the view that prisoners should in general be kept until reformed. Sanborn objected that the sentence should fit the crime, and that there was nothing which led them to believe that the majority would be reformed (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1883:52). Wines then joined the debate calling upon the distinction between ticket of leave and indefinite sentence. He noted that indefinite sentence assumed an analogy with insanity to which he objected. He also noted that it would give too much power to the prison officer. He states:

> that any man who has committed any offense is to be branded a criminal and is to be placed in the hands of supposed experts for moral treatment and and that he is to remain just as long as the supposed experts choose to detain him. I do not think that is a proper system on which to administer public justice...I do not believe there is anybody living who is not in one sense a criminal (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1883:53).

Other objections centered on the inability to find men capable of administering the system. To this Brockway responded that when treatment was elevated and put on the same plane as treatment of the insane "high men would come forth" (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1883:54). Others noted its unpopularity with prisoners, and that it was really a test of cunning rather than reformation. As has been indicated in Part I, official policy statements of the group maintained general support for indeterminate sentencing.

Summary of Major Policy Concerns

Part I of the thesis has already discussed in detail the major policy advocacy concerns of the ACA compared to the other organizations and in terms of certain specific questions. Looking at the concerns in terms of the historical period from 1870 to 1893 they can be summarized as follows:

- Advocacy of the reformatory method with emphasis on a positive reward system, classification, training, and ticket of leave.
- Urging of a parallel federal prison system.
- Advocacy of federal collection of statistics and identification records.
- Advocacy of State centralization of prison systems.
- Advocacy of abolition of the lease and contract system but defense of prison labor.
- Support of indeterminate sentencing.
- Opposition to conditions in local jails especially mixing of juveniles and adults.
- Concern with delays and irregularities of the criminal justice system.
- Support of industrial training of the population.
- Advocacy of establishment of halfway houses and general concern for discharged prisoners.
- Opposition to political interference in prison staffing and policy.
- Uplifting of the correctional profession.
- Support of the International Prison Congress movement.

Actors

Who were the major actors at the early meetings? Comparison of early officers of the association with those of later years indicates a trend away from having elected public officials to one of having prison

wardens or most recently prison system administrators. In the period 1870 to 1893, the presidency with few exceptions went to current or former elected officials. Rutherford Hayes served as president from 1883 to 1892 just prior to his death. Such other national figures as Theodore Roosevelt served a term as treasurer. But after the long tenure of Hayes a policy was adopted of alternating between a prison warden one year and another interested person the next. However, in practice the presidency more and more went to those professionally involved in prison administration. The secretary of the first years was E. C. Wines who as secretary of the New York association was able to share the New York offices with the new national group. Upon his death the group reportedly almost disbanded but was rejuvenated by the interest of Hayes and the services of Wines' son, F. H. Wines, who took over as secretary. F. H. Wines is remembered for the very complete U.S. Census of Institutions in 1880 which he directed.

Analysis of the membership lists in the early years indicates the composition of early membership. Note can be made of the dominance of those educated as clergymen, who often held other non-church related positions.

Members NPA - 1874

Clergy - 24 (in addition at least six of those listed below were also clergymen)
Prison Administrator - 22
Boards of Correction, Charities - 36
Police or Sheriff - 2
University professor - 3
Military - 2
Public office holders - 7
M.D. - 4
Representative other organizations - 3
Lawyer-Judge - 13
Lessee state prison - 1
Other - Unknown - 32

Total 149

Geographically, early meetings had representatives almost exclusively from the East and Midwest. The largest delegations were from Illinois, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and New York. Women were not

highly involved. In 1888 out of 364 members only 44 were women (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1888:306). Over the organization's history only two women have served as president, one in 1936 and more recently in 1973.

It was noted in Part I of the thesis that speeches at the early conventions especially by public office holders such as Seymour and Hayes often had as one of their themes the significance of poverty and working class exploitation as a cause of crime as well as the lawlessness of many who had risen in public office and business. An additional theme of the clergymen who spoke was that "all are guilty." As William Cullen Bryant stated in an address to the group, they were trying to reform prisoners not merely for the prisoners but:

> for the sake of our common humanity. One can't treat a prisoner in the interest of society until he is treated primarily and directly with reference to his own good (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1877:2).

But these views were not necessarily or even usually, at this time accompanied by advocacy of reduced sentences or increased concern with civil rights. Very short sentences were condemned and such frequent speakers as R. B. Hayes who frequently stressed the role of inequality in furthering crime also expressed the opinion that:

> We do not need that body of technical law in criminal cases which in the evil days of England's worst kings was employed by humane judges as a shield to protect innocent men and women from persecution (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1884:137).

Organizational Structure

What type of on-going organization appears to have been envisioned by these founders? The initial bylaws cited three objectives. They were: (1) improvement of laws relating to criminal matters; (2) improvement of prison conditions; and (3) improvement of the care of discharged prisoners.

Initial committees were established in seven areas; criminal law reform, police, prevention, prison discipline, classification, discharged prisoners, and finances. One can see that these covered the range of criminal justice concerns.

It is clear from the initial discussions about the organization that no clear cut distinction was made between whether the organization would be a private or government affiliated group. The association had been organized largely with the aid of the New York Prison Association, which had a unique relationship with the New York state legislature. The state association received regular state funding and yearly prepared a report for the legislature on the state of prisons in New York. It appears that such a model, with the several state legislatures each contributing support, was at times anticipated by Wines. This was especially so since federal support was not anticipated. At an early meeting (1874) the National Bureau of Education was cited as a bureau established by the government to foster education with a regular operating budget. It was noted that if there were a similar government federal prison bureau the association might disband. In lieu of the fact that no national bureau was contemplated, the state legislatures were approached. A proposal was formulated whereby the legislatures would each be asked to buy a large number of the published proceedings (1871). In 1876 a resolution directly asks the legislatures to appropriate a sum to the group. The argument was used that prison reform was directly tied to the finances of the national association. However, except for the sporadic appointment of official delegates and purchase of small numbers of yearbooks, no regular state legislature support was attained. Although periodic grants for specific projects were obtained, the organization was primarily supported by membership dues, donations of individuals, and conference proceeds into the 1960's.

Within the first 25 years the wardens and chaplains had formed their own separate subgroups who met regularly and continue to do so during the ACA conference. Eventually standard procedures were developed for affiliation of subgroups. The formation of state groups (1889) was also encouraged while the dominance of the national group was affirmed (1887).

It was early established that the national association board of directors should include representatives from the various subgroups as well as representative prison boards and societies, state boards of charities and others having similar objectives (1876). Although the group remained primarily a conference body for many years, this board and the officers were formally empowered to carry on organization business when the conference was not in session (1894).

1893-1915

The completion of R. B. Hayes' tenure as president in 1892 marked the end of the active participation of public figures in the group. During the 10 year period Hayes was president, despite the fact that the association listed in its charter the aim of improvement of criminal law, the custom of not formulating specific stances vis-a-vis legislation had grown. In this period the association functioned primarily as a forum for discussion, and and also conducted several studies in areas such as prison labor (1894), police lockup conditions (1909), prison discipline (1913), and prisoner backgrounds (1902). Support, however, continued for a federal bureau of criminal identification and a federal prison system. Active support was also given to the 1910 International Penal Congress held in Washington, D.C., for which the NPA served as host.

Part of the reason for the growth of a custom against legislative stance taking was related to the extreme controversy surrounding prison labor. Convict labor restrictions had become a major part of national organized labor platforms. In an 1894 discussion about whether they should take a stand on the labor issue it was stated, "the moment we take a step that can be construed as a partisan step that moment our influence is destroyed" (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1894:146). It was further noted that their business was the discussion of principles and how to reform criminals. (See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the prison labor issue.) Eventually in 1900 the association passed a reaffirmation of the group's role relative to legislative stance taking, but during the next years the custom persisted of "depending on the reading of papers and upon

the free discussion of views," rather than formulating legislative policy (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1911:407).

With regard to prison labor, in 1912 the association maintained a committee to bring organized labor and prison wardens together. Among the members were such labor leaders as Samuel Gompers. The contract system opposed by both labor and wardens was on the decline, having already been outlawed in half the states. Some systems such as New York reported that they had successfully converted to a diversified state use system and were still self-sustaining with even some significant wages paid to prison laborers (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1912:366). However, increases in prisoners and further legal restrictions on labor, made this situation increasingly less frequent.

Summary of Formal Policy Concerns

While policy statements were less frequent during this period, many of the advocacy concerns of the first period were reiterated during this time. To these were added support of parole and probation, media contact, and advocacy of study in certain areas. Major policy concerns can be enumerated as follows:

- Continued advocacy of federal collection of criminal justice statistics and ID files.
- Continued advocacy of establishment of a parallel federal prison system.
- Continued support of the International Prison Congress.
- Defense of the reformatory method.
- Support of the indeterminate sentence, parole of life sentences, probation officers.
- Continued opposition to political interference.
- Study of issues such as prison labor conditions in lockups, prison discipline methods, prisoner backgrounds.
- Establishment of sympathetic media treatment.

Evaluation of Reformatory Movement

What of the reformatory movement around which the original focus of the group was drawn? The government report, State Prisons in America published in 1939 gives an evaluation of the fate of the reformatory movement up to the late 1930's. It has been noted that the increase in imprisonment rate after 1860 produced a situation in which additional institutions were planned in many states. The first of these was opened in 1876, with Z. Brockway as warden. In architecture it was built after the Auburn prison. The biggest difference was greater emphasis on trade training and education, indeterminate sentences and a graded classification system. As industrial contracts were outlawed military drill and organized athletics were introduced.

By 1910 reformatory institutions were opened in 18 states. At times the names of old institutions were simply changed with corresponding changes in programming. While great initial enthusiasm accompanied the initial undertakings by 1910, according to the survey report, the movement was on the decline. Even during the period 1870 to 1900 regular state prisons were built in 16 states and between 1900 and 1935 ten much larger maximum security prisons were built.

The reformatory model, however, influenced the organization of these prisons. As prison industry became more uncertain, the incentives of reformatory training and rewards were seized as a tool for keeping discipline. The "reformatory institution" itself became part of a system in which it was reserved for younger less serious offenders. In evaluating the success of the program by 1893 Brockway himself expressed discouragement. The complicated grading system was difficult if not impossible to administer and Elmira, built for 500 persons, housed 1,500. This was accompanied by a lack of trained personnel or resources necessary to have an effective training and education program. Such a situation meant that evaluations usually concluded that the reformatory program as ideally conceived had never really been tried. But the reformatory rhetoric, and accompanying parole method of released continued to be dominant as basic professional goals.

This was also a period in which the use of intelligence and other classificatory tests were much reported upon at conferences. This was accompanied by a decline in conference speech references to economic causes of crime per se. Focus was on the need for separate special facilities for feeble minded or what were called "defective delinquents." Likewise the notion of the habitual offender is much discussed although the association avoids support of the laws specifying increased penalties for habitual offenders that were proposed and enacted in the period. However, the indeterminate sentence continued to be supported. Paradoxically, this is presented as individual treatment which will remedy the evils of unequal sentencing.

Organizationally the group was held together between congresses by the services of several clergymen, such as J. C. Mulligan, A. C. Byers, and his son, J. P. Byers, who had worked with E. C. and F. H. Wines in initiating the group. They served as secretaries, gave significant financial contributions, and brought together the yearly meeting. In 1915 what was called a democratic reorganization was enacted which restructured the board to give more representation to the affiliate subgroups.

1915-1935

In describing the occurrences discussed at the meetings from 1915 to 1935 one is struck with some parallels to the more recent 25 year period. In the early days there was some optimistic growth in the use of probation, parole, and the social casework approach. Even historians of the police have noted the influence of the "police as social worker movement" (Walker, 1977). After not having a committee on police for several years the ACA briefly had a committee, made up this time of police chiefs from major cities including August Vollmer as chairman. The ACA throughout the period worked more frequently with the National Probation Association and shared many of the same actors, as well as holding conventions together in some years. Conference proceedings largely consist of reports from committees on such topics as parole and probation, or reports from affiliate bodies.

However, by the mid 1920's three additional themes are evident in the talks at the conferences. The first was an awareness of extensive public criticism and demand for increased severity. This was seen to be fostered by a belief that crime, particularly organized crime, was greatly increased. The secretary of the association, E. R. Cass, notes in 1926:

> the public is left...with a decidedly aroused attitude behind which there is the usual demand for severe punishment characteristic of similar periods in our history, despite the fact that through the ages severity of punishment in its cruelest forms has not solved the crime problem (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1926:6).

A second theme at the conferences was that the various aspects of the criminal justice system had in the light of public criticism become disunited and had engaged in placing the blame upon each other. Each had developed the view that certain policies developed by the other group contributed to their own problems. Speaking of this, Secretary Cass noted that "each separate official agency dealing with crime conditions defended the methods it employed and sought to place the responsibility elsewhere" (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1926:54). Similarly, Sanford Bates himself engaged in public debates with J. E. Hoover states:

> To those of us who have been somewhat upon the inside one of the most distressing features of the recent agitation with regard to crime is the lack of understanding and confidence in each other which seems to be held by officials and persons engaged in the various departments of government which handle the crime situation (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1926:22).

Dealing with the disunity and criticism the NPA established a committee on cooperation and increased cooperation in itself became a cited remedy for problems. This disunity was manifest in the increased number of policy statements in disagreement between the IACP and the NPA at this time.

The third and related theme developing in this period was a new wave of negative evaluation of their own activity combined with a

verbalization of the obstacles and the fact that most ideal programs had never adequately been enacted. This was related to the fact that the period after 1900 had witnesses extensive measurement for identification purposes, and other program-related classifications of those coming into the correctional institutions. As the 1920's proceeded more and more studies were thus done on recidivism and outcome of the specialized programs.

Speeches of this period and policy statements also included much criticism of the conditions in and even the existence of county jails. Increasingly those active in the association were men like Sanford Bates, whose careers were tied to national or state level correctional administration rather than local penal institutions. Following a decline in jail use occurring in the early 1920's, Bates even predicted after reviewing the conditions present, that they were coming to a point "eventually where we won't need jails" (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1923:8). Bates was referring only to local facilities. One can see, however, the effect of short-term small fluctuations in jail use on the views expressed.

The 1930's were accompanied by a wave of prison "riots" and renewed criticism of state and federal prison conditions themselves. The association issued a statement, notably less defensive than those issued by the group in the 1970's, which cited what the committee on prison disturbances viewed as the major causes. It also put the responsibility for those conditions right back in the public's lap. Such things as overcrowding, idleness, and severe sentences which created a "no lose" situation were cited as major factors leading to the disturbances (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1930:259-61).

As has been discussed extensively in Part I, by 1935 considerable restrictive federal and state legislation had been passed with regard to prison labor. The crystallization of the prison association's opposition to these measures has also been noted. Positively with regard to prison labor during this period the organization's attention was on the development of the state use system, interstate labor compacts and what they

called "the development of modern labor methods" in prisons (1926). The failure of these attempts have also been noted.

Since its organization in 1870 the National Prison Association had strong ties to the International Prison Congress. However, by the 1930's the international tensions of the times were reflected in the reports to the convention by the delegates to International Penal Conference held in 1935. This was the last international congress held before World War II. Reports cited the considerable differences in viewpoints expressed by the delegates from the differing countries, and general communication problems (National Prison Congress Proceedings, 1935). After the war, this international group was not revived until the late 1940's under U.N. auspices.

Summary of Policy Concerns 1915 - 1935

In this period the NPA pursued a wide range of advocacy goals among which probation and parole related concerns were most salient. The concerns can be summarized as follows.

- Continued advocacy of parallel federal operations including separate housing for female prisoners, federal training schools, a federal jail system, and a federal Bureau of Prisons.
- Expressions of concern with system disunity, urging mediation and cooperation.
- Continued criticism of jail conditions, establishing a jail improvement committee.
- Advocacy of merit selection, university courses for employees.
- Advocacy of gun control legislation.
- Continued advocacy of federal statistics and ID bureaus, advocacy of fingerprinting.
- Objection to use of fines for prostitutes.
- Opposition to retrictive prison labor legislation, establishment of the state use system.
- Advocacy of extension of probation, defense of parole and specification of specific parole procedures.

- o Opposition to construction of maximum security prisons, support of cottage and farm systems.
- o Support of the juvenile court, diagnostic facilities, indeterminate sentences, individualized treatment.
- o Continued development of reformatory methods including classification, medical care, diet, libraries, religion, education.
- o Condemnation of third degree.
- o Advocacy of fewer restrictions on jobs for released prisoners.

Organizational Matters

In this period the major group that was perceived as paralleling the work of the NPA was the National Crime Commission headed by one time National Probation Association president, George Wickersham. For a few years after 1930 this commission held its own national conference, and it appeared that this might become an on-going yearly event. At this time there were committee meetings about merging the two conferences. But the NPA Board decided to maintain its own meeting while participating in the Crime Commission Conference. By 1933, the NPA had passed a formal resolution asserting its primacy in the role of speaking for prison administrators to the people and government. They state in a resolution:

> when it comes to the determination of official policies in the interests of state governments and the public as a whole, the American Prison Association is the duly qualified medium for the registration of the opinions of prison administrators in the United States and that no other organization has the right to speak for them (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1933:370).

A resolution of 1929 had called for the increased participation of women. A committee was also established on expansion in order to obtain increased funding for year round activities beyond the holding of the annual meeting. In 1922 an arrangement had been worked out with the New York State Prison Association, similar to the one in the first years of the group. Edward Cass, the secretary of the New York association became also the

executive secretary of the NPA, and the New York group shared office space and staff with the association. Cass remained secretary of the NPA until his retirement in 1962, and the association did not establish its own office until after this. By 1935 newsletters were sent to around 4,000 persons, but paid membership was only reported to be 364; not more than it had been in certain periods in the 19th century. On-going activities included the operating of a clearinghouse of information on prison matters, the publishing of a national directory of institutions and administrators, and the publishing of special studies.

1935-1955

As the 1930's proceed the proceedings continue to follow a format consisting of sections devoted to affiliate and committee reports. In these reports the increasing dominance of a social work and reformative approach is apparent. Speeches by prison administrators increasingly include their allegiance to this perspective. In his presidential address in 1939 Austin McCormick, Prison Commissioner of New York City states:

> Today the prison warden if he has been in the field any length of time...usually subscribes to and shares the social philosophy of the good probation and parole officer, the chaplain, the teacher, the social worker and doctor (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1939:6).

Combined with this expressed sympathy and identification with rehabilitative personnel was a complaint that state appropriations for these personnel were inadequate. McCormick in the same talk goes on to state:

> You can get money fairly easily for new prisons and prison buildings, especially if a timely riot gives dramatic emphasis to the problems but try to get money for a doctor or a psychologist, for a social worker or a vocational instructor and you will find that the state is very short of funds (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1939:14).

Combined with the theme of inadequate staffing resources, as the Depression progressed, there was renewed emphasis on economic and medical causes of crime. In the Roosevelt era, Eleanor Roosevelt spoke to the conference concerning prisoners in these terms.

> They are not always just wicked; they are sick and perhaps a certain amount of preventative medicine, plus an economic basis of living which allows you to live decently might have kept a great many people out of prison and might have meant that we carried less of a burden in our prisons (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1939:37).

Added to this was an increased focus on the problem of idleness in prison and the curtailment of parole due to the inability of finding job placement (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1940:544). The Depression conditions involved a lessening of expressed expectations in both these areas. A speaker in 1936 after the passage of a new wave of restrictive legislation noted that "idleness in prisons has increased by leaps and bounds in the past year. The prisons are passing through a period of idleness that bids to wreck them" (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1936:5). By 1940, however, a speaker noted,

> with 10,000,000 free citizens denied the opportunity for earning a living during the past six or seven years it is useless to inveigh against our failure to provide objective employment for all prisoners" (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1940:53).

With the onset of World War II in the next years there was reported some alleviation of the dual problem of idleness and placement after prison. There was also in this period of declining state imprisonment rates a noticeable uplifting of the manner of speaking about prisoners by some of the speakers at the conventions. The superintendent of the federal prison in Atlanta states in 1943:

> The prisoners have benefited relatively more in the few months that we have been at war

> and the few months prior to our entrance into the war than at any other time in the history of this country (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1943:184).

He goes on to stress that they must stop despising prisoners. He states:

> If this group of men here were dressed in the traditional prison costume, it would be very difficult to distinguish you from any group selected from any institution in the county (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1943:184).

At the same time that speech became notably social work and treatment orientated occasional criticism developed related to what were called "neologisms" or the policy of "swapping lies" at the conferences. This included the giving of therapeutic titles to stark penal realities, such as calling cell blocks for juvenile "lost privilege cottages" (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1948:152).

At the end of the war certain other themes emerge in talks at the conference which can be interpreted as contributing significantly to counter reactions in the 1960's and 1970's. First of all, focus is noticeably on juveniles in the correctional system. Related to this there is the theme already discussed in Part I of individualized justice as superior to equal justice. The president of the ACA in 1955 referred to equal justice as the "old discard of our forefathers" and individualized justice as the "cornerstone of the modern juvenile court" (American Correctional Association Proceedings, 1955:2). Individual justice allowed justice to take off her blindfold and "in place of the hardened criminal to see standing before her a hungry, lonely, frightened little child" (American Correctional Association Proceedings, 1955:2).

Along with the individualized concept came renewed emphasis on the view that prevention involved early detection and help before the child became delinquent. Turning away from simple economic deprivation

theories, focus was on the fact that not all children from poor neighborhoods became delinquent. Therefore it was argued, poverty could not be the major cause of delinquency. Researchers such as the Gluecks matched delinquents and non-delinquents from similar neighborhoods. They concluded that psychological factors primarily related to parenting qualities were most significant. They also developed a scale and tests for early detection using ink blot interpretation among other testing devices. One such large experiment described positively in the proceedings of 1955 involved all first grade children in a large New York City elementary school. All children were tested and one-third, 223 children, were classified as pre-delinquent. These children were then referred to child guidance clinics for regular counseling. Another school in a similar neighborhood functioned as a control. It was noted that eventually parents "failing to understand the need for prevention, objected" (American Correctional Association Proceedings, 1955:4).

Both the individualized justice concept with its lack of concern for procedural rights, and the related early detection movement can be seen to have contributed to the reactions of increased concern for civil rights and the strong anti-labeling movement in the 1960's. Another rhetorical theme that developed was that prisons should only be used as a last resort. Whether this was actually occurring or not, it contributed strongly to the perception on the part of the public and some professionals that one had to be guilty of more serious crimes than previously to go to prison.

Summary of Policy Concerns 1936 - 1955

Formal policy advocacy in this period reflects changes accompanying the occurrence of World War II, but in many areas advocacy continues in the direction of the concerns of prior years. An outline of advocacy concerns is as follows:

- Post war advocacy of the U.N. sponsored International Prison Association, support of minimum international standards, reference to the U.S. as a world leader and standard setter.
- Advocacy of federal funding rather than parallelism for training, food, and vocational training materials.

- Continued advocacy of increased coordination, parole compacts, opposition to some interstate detaining legislation.
- Continued and increased advocacy of ex-prisoner job opportunities, opposition to civil service, military restrictions on ex-prisoners.
- Endorsement of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics.
- Support of Federal Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, and easing of prison labor restrictions occurring in World War II, advocacy of prison labor problem studies, and continued defense work after the war.
- Development of reformatory method; focus on education, classification, recreation, libraries, group techniques.
- Objection to media coverage of crime and prisons.
- Opposition to kangaroo courts, continued support of the indeterminate sentence.
- Lessened numerical concern but continued support of probation and parole.
- Refocus of chaplain role, stress on importance of religion.
- Commendation of war effort of prisoners.
- Continued advocacy of merit training, adequate compensation.
- One reference to prevention includes economic reform reference.
- Concern with riots of 1950's.
- Opposition to capital punishment for juveniles and women, opposition to public execution, opposition to torture. Support federal anti-lynching legislation.

Organization

In this period the primary organization actors were those involved in federal prison administration such as Sanford Bates, and representatives of various affiliate groups who were automatic board of director members. Speakers and periodic committee members included people such as G. Howland Shaw, Clifford Shaw, Thorsten Sellin, Ann Jacobs, and Saul Alinsky. One businessman, John Lewisolm, who had been active working on a parole board, was also involved and served a term as president. In 1936 the first women,

Blanche LaDue, a member of the State Board of Control in Minnesota, was elected president. The committee on expansion in 1936 which consisted of Sanford Bates, Blanche LaDue, Thorsten Sellin, among others had formulated a series of objectives for the organization. The report noted that the group had largely been a conference body since its initiation in 1870, and that "some permanent office must engage itself between the dates of meetings in the important job of molding public opinion with reference to prison and parole activities" (American Prison Association Proceedings, 1936:314). It was noted that to do this it would be advisable to establish a board of trustees of men high ranking in the business world. They would not be responsible for policy but would be able to gain financial stability for the group. While it appears that the committee's ideas were accepted by the organization at the conference, and that some increase in membership and funds occurred as a result of increased efforts in this area, by the 1950's the group had not moved in the direction of a citizen controlled board and was still functioning with limited staff from the New York State Prison Association offices.

There was, however, an increase in the publication activity of the group. In 1946 the first correctional manual was published. This was first revised in 1953 and periodically thereafter. The group worked with the American Library Association in preparing bibliographies of recommended books for prison libraries. Following the series of prison disturbances in the early 1950's a publication on prison riots was issued. Publication of the American Journal of Correction by the group was also begun in this period. Efforts to increase membership included special recruiting of rank and file workers (1940's and young professionals in the 1950's).

1955 - 1976

As the 1950's and the Cold War proceeded one of the dominant themes in the country was the significance of freedom. Indeed, this was the primary distinguishing characteristic which citizens used to describe their country and form of government in comparison with other nations. The U.S. was the leader of the "free world." Such themes spilled over into the rhetoric of ACA conferences as well as the court decisions on prisoner civil rights. In

his presidential address in 1956, Myril Alexander, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons stressed that:

> If we are to build a correctional system which is inherently geared to freedom of the mind and to the preservation of individual rights we must define those rights which we would preserve (American Correctional Association Proceedings, 1956:4).

He then put forth a bill of rights for those "under restraint in a free democratic society." This statement included the following five rights:

1. The right to clean, decent surroundings with competent attention to his physical and mental well being.
2. The right to maintain and reenforce the strengthening ties which bind him to his family and to his community.
3. The right to develop and maintain skills as a productive worker in our economic system.
4. The right to fair, impartial, and intelligent treatment without special privilege or license for any man.
5. The right to positive guidance and counsel from correctional personnel possessed of understanding and skill.

Myril Alexander's use of the term rights to refer to what previously had been spoken of primarily in terms of humanitarian treatment or scientific correctional procedures came at a time when the courts were increasingly assuming a role as a final arbiter of social questions, as well as being used as a primary force for social change. However, in 1956 the extent to which the courts would become involved in prisoner rights, or the extent to which this would result in some conflict with the correction profession was not foreseen. More frequent, than discussion of prisoner rights, at this time was focus on specifically defined professional correctional goals.

The period of the 1960's and 1970's can be characterized as one in which years of a new optimism were succeeded by peak criticism and polarity,

only to be followed by a reassertion of established patterns with some modifications.

Program for the 1960's

The major goals spoken about at the ACA conferences in the early 1960's can be summarized in terms of two interrelated emphases. The first was the development of a professional career orientated correctional staff itself. The second related goal was the growth of small community orientated rehabilitation programs staffed by the professional treatment personnel. In describing these programs there was much rhetorical stress on the need for fostering ties to the community, the development of alternatives to prisons, and use of diversion from the criminal justice system especially for juveniles. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Personnel Shortages and a Career Concept

In a presidential address in 1958 a survey of wardens was reported. In this study the major factor in achieving better correctional programs was cited to be the achievement of career orientated professionally educated personnel (ACA Proceedings, 1958:7). Once again, the achievement of rehabilitation was linked to the development of qualified correctional personnel. This concern was reflected nationally in the initiation by the federal government of several correctional manpower studies and the mushrooming of growth in criminal justice related departments and courses in colleges and universities.

At the same time there was recognition of the fact that the profession in practice lacked a consensual base upon which to proceed. In the same presidential address in 1958 the speaker states: "Gathered here in Denver are experts in the correctional field who disagree in practically every phase of the correctional process" (ACA Proceedings, 1958:5). As a counter to this, the movement to initiate concrete agreed upon correctional standards, however basic, gained impetus. The ACA had issued a first rather general correctional manual in the late 1940's. This was revised during the 1950's and 1960's. By the early 1970's, as will be discussed later, the development of more

specific standards had become a major focus of the ACA and corrections in general, especially as a defense to the threat of court imposed requirements.

Small Scale Rehabilitation Programs

Along with the increased emphasis on the development of a treatment orientated career concept for corrections came renewed focus on the initiation of small scale rehabilitation programs. These often had as their focus either separately or in combination an emphasis on use of some form of reward orientated behavioral modification system or orientation toward increasing contact with the community. Neither of these were specifically new ideas, although the specific applications developed especially for juveniles had not been initiated previously.

The renewed focus on corrections as a community function, and the need to maintain prisoner contact with the community into which he would eventually return, was one that was having considerable impact in other social service areas where institutionalization and withdrawal from the home environment for "special services" had previously also been a primary therapeutic and control mechanism. The rejection of withdrawal from the community as a primary means of therapy and as the most realistic means of control in corrections was immediately preceded by the community mental health movement of the late 1950's into the 1970's. The National Probation Association in the field of corrections, had long spoken of community corrections, but the concept now applied to the period of institutionalization and began to be a factor of consideration in decisions as to whether and where new institutions should be built. Community corrections as such can be thought of as the polar point of the 19th century idea that institutional care can provide an escape from the evils of the city and the poor environment from which the person to be institutionalized originated (Platt, 1958). This was accompanied by renewed analysis of the evils of institutions themselves.

At the ACA conventions the period of the later 1960's saw both increased reports of small scale rehabilitation programs and also increased evaluation reports. The association proceedings in these years have many descriptions of community orientated programs including work release halfway

houses, special drug rehabilitation programs and group therapy sessions. For the first time ex-offenders are included on panels and give talks at some of the conference meetings.

At the same time the 1960's with large increases in reported crime, civil disturbances and public crime commissions brought about government and public expressed concern with crime to a higher level than previously. At the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's, for the first time since its initiation in 1935, Gallup Poll reports listed crime as an issue picked by high percentages of the public as a top priority for the national government (see Appendix 2). Along with this came the presidential initiation of a public "war on crime," with corresponding federal monies made available.

The Early 1970's

The years of the early 1970's were characterized by intensified criticism of the correctional system from very diverse, at times contradictory, points of view. The then United States President, Richard Nixon, publicly cited the past record of corrections as a failure that could no longer be tolerated. Especially significant for practitioners, the small rehabilitation programs of the 1960's and their antecedents were subject to increasingly critical evaluations. Speakers at the ACA convention included thinkers such as Robert Martinson who wrote in the conclusion to a paper summarizing evaluations of rehabilitation programs over a 27 year period that "with few and isolated exceptions the rehabilitation efforts that have been reported thus for (1945-67) have had no appreciable effect on recidivism" (Martinson, 1974:25).

Events such as the prisoner revolt at Attica further dramatized the problem of prisons. This criticism occurred from both sides of the spectrum. Some academic critics cited the leniency of penalties as a cause for failure; their opponents cited the inhumanity of prison conditions and imprisonment itself. Meanwhile increasingly prison reform measures considered by state legislatures provided for lengthening of sentences for certain offenses. This factor accompanied by age changes in the population,

increases in the magnitude of reported crime, and increased criminal justice system activity led to an unprecedented rise in the rate of prison use. (See Appendix 1) As Norvil Morris stated to the ACA convention in 1975: "corrections has become a growth industry under fire" (ACA Proceedings, 1975).

Ironically in the 1970's for the first time a vocal minority began to speak about the abolition of prisons. In part the very defensive policy statement of the ACA in 1971 discussed in Part I, was a reaction against these voices. By 1976 William Nagel, an advocate of the moratorium on prison construction spoke to the ACA conference. After completion of a nationwide study of variation in individual states use of incarceration, he concluded "the ACA policy position against the moratorium may be understandable as a defense of bureaucratic interests but it is not acceptable as a judgment of public safety" (ACA Proceedings, 1976:85).

But, this perspective seemed to be that of a small minority. Generally, public opinion and legislative proposals called for increased severity. A speaker in the mid 1970's from the International Halfway House Association stated to the ACA conference in 1976: "We are presently in a holding pattern, waiting for the atmosphere of apathy and discontent to lift. This just isn't the year to be raising your head" (ACA Proceedings, 1976:14).

The New Realism

As the 1970's proceeded overcrowding increased, along with increased use of segregation units for militant prisoners. Conditions in some state systems were found by the courts to be unconstitutional. Reports at the ACA convention detailed court rulings for such states as Alabama where segregation units were found by the courts to be "wholly unfit for human habitation according to virtually every criterion used for evaluation." The conditions referred to were those in which isolation cells have six inmates in 4' x 8' cells with no beds, lights, or running water. In this unit one meal a day was permitted with no exercise, no

reading materials and a shower once every 11 days (ACA Proceedings, 1976:235).

Faced not only with reports of failure of rehabilitation programs but with court orders against conditions in some prison systems, and at the same time increased public sentiment against use of alternatives to institutions, correctional personnel at ACA meetings began to speak of a need for a "new realism" in corrections. This took many forms depending upon ones position in the system and past orientation. These ranged from dropping of idealistic expectations concerning the success of rehabilitiation programs while affirming the need to continue them; to increased defense of use of segregation units and lessening of opposition to the death penalty, and lengthened sentences by some correctional personnel.

As a means of attaining realistic upgrading of the correctional system and increased professional competence that might decrease court involvement, the standardization movement achieved increased emphasis by ACA. Implementation of standards in state prisons eventually became a high priority LEAA experimental program. The development of rationalized prison management and operating procedure became a major alternative to increase court intervention.

By the end of the 1960's the ACA was not alone in attempting to draft standards covering the various facets of corrections. The ACA had obtained a grant from the Ford Foundation in the 1960's to concretize and revise their correctional manual. Later continued funing for this was obtained from LEAA. But at this time several other groups were also working on standards for one or more areas of corrections. These groups included: the American Bar Association; the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals; the National Sheriff's Association; the American Medical Association; and the Justice Department itself (Crime and Justice Foundation, 1978:11). The standards produced by these groups by the mid 1970's varied in the degree to which they were intended to be comprehensive of the range of correctional services. However, the National Advisory Commission (NAC) standards published in 1973, for example,

were competitive in scope with those produced by the ACA sponsored Commission on Accreditation for Corrections (CAC).

The CAC/ACA standards were reported by those in the field to be less controversial and less difficult to implement than the NAC standards (Interview, Former Nebraska Commissioner of Corrections, October 1979) and when LEAA subsequently decided to initiate a pilot program involving voluntary participation of 11 states in a standard implementation program the ACA/CAC standards were used. The Commission on Accreditation for Correction has since become largely independent of ACA although it maintains the heading "Sponsored by The American Correctional Association" on its publications. (This independence has implications for the organizational analysis of the ACA which will be discussed in later pages.)

It has been noted that the growth of national internal regulating procedures such as accreditation could function as a means of decreasing court involvement. Indeed while court cases dealing with prisoner basic health and living conditions continued to result in rulings in favor of prisoners, those dealing with other areas of prisoner rights had shifted in the mid 1970's in the direction of favoring prison administrations. In an article on the topic, Christianson (1979:240) notes: "By 1974...the Supreme Court began to show renewed unwillingness to involve itself in the administration of prisons." He cites recent decisions in favor of prison systems such as: Presis v. Rodriguez (1973) in the area of habeas corpus; Procunier v. Martinez (1974) in the area of First Amendment rights versus disciplinary rules; Houchins v. KQED (1978) in the area of media rights to prison entrance; and Jones v. North Carolina in the area of prisoner's labor unions. In all these cases the decisions have been made in favor of the prison system on the basis of the "reasonable considerations of penal management" and "institutional security" rather than emphasis on First Amendment or other constitutional rights. Noting this shift in court actions, Supreme Court Justices Brennan and Marshall wrote a minority view opposing the Jones v. North Carolina Prisoner's Union majority decision. This decision was that in the case of prisoner unions, First Amendment associational rights must yield to the reasonable requirements of

prison security and efficient management. In their opposing minority view Justices Brennan and Marshall state:

> "if the mode of analysis adopted in the decision were to be generally followed prisoners eventually would be stripped of all constitutional rights, and would retain only those privileges that prison officials in their 'informed discretion' [s.c.] deigned to recognize" (Jones v. North Carolina, Prisoner's Union Minority View as quoted in Christianson, 1979:240).

These decisions have led one writer to conclude that "the administrators can now develop policies in most areas without fear of disruption by the courts" (Alexander, 1978:972).

However, a second force that emerged in the late 1950's and made great strides by the mid 1970's were guard unions. This presents a significant challenge to the administration and treatment personnel viewpoint embodied by the American Correctional Association. It was estimated in 1978 that about one half of the states were operating under or were negotiating collective bargaining agreements (Montilla, 1978:43). Programs supported rhetorically by the ACA such as increased use of work release, community-based programs, affirmative action programs, and certain sentencing reforms have all been formally opposed by guard union actions in certain casea around the country (Montilla, 1978). It is to be expected that guard union behavior will be increasingly a significant factor important to ACA policy advocacy.

Policy Issue Summary

The policy stances for the period 1956 to 1976 (discussed extensively in Part I of the thesis) can be summarized as follows:

- Support of U.N. standards
- Advocacy of return of prisoners convicted in a foreign country to their home country to serve sentence

- Support federal funding for juvenile delinquency and other correctional programs
- Advocacy that increased share of federal criminal justice funding go to corrections
- Advocacy of establishment of National Correctional Institute
- Support of interstate parole compacts
- Advocacy of state centralized administration of the criminal justice system
- Support of diversion and use of alternatives to incarceration
- Support of construction of regional federal correctional institutions
- Opposition to the moratorium on prison construction
- Support of establishment and construction of juvenile detention facilities
- Advocacy of full restoration of civil rights for discharged prisoners after a period of time
- Opposition to preventative detention (later omitted)
- Support of Bail Reform Act of 1966
- Opposition to considering the Black Muslim sect, a religion and thus subject to religious constitutional guarantees
- Support for construction of local short term crisis centers
- Support for the use of diversion and alternatives to correction
- Support for increased use of release on own recognizance
- Support increased funding for remodeling prisons
- Support of removal of drug and alcohol related offenses from the criminal justice system
- Support of removal of status offenses from the criminal justice system and reconsideration of sex offenses between consenting adults
- Opposition to the punitive approach to drug offenders and denial of probation and parole
- Support of inclusion of white collar crime within the domain of correctional interest

- Support of use of electronic data collection, and collection of reliable statistics by the federal government
- Support uniform correctional standard implementation and self evaluation
- Support religious, educational, and vocational programs in prison
- Support inclusion of prisoners under any national health care insurance program
- Support diversity of treatment methods, therapeutic community, psychiatry group methods
- Advocacy of increased community contact, home furloughs for selected prisoners
- Advocacy of suspension of federal prohibition against state prisoners working with federal property
- Support work release, opposition to restrictions on premises working in the community
- Advocacy of compensation to prisoners for prison labor
- Specification of criterion for use of deadly force
- Affirmation of punishment as a constitutionally legitimate goal of the criminal justice system
- Advocacy of a national task force to study the use of segregation units and to work to eliminate these units
- Advocacy of federal funding for the training of correctional personnel
- Affirmation of merit selection
- Advocacy of achievement of professional status for correctional work
- Support of legislation to make filing suit against correction workers more difficult
- Advocacy of affirmative actions in corrections
- Support use of orderly government means to achieve correctional reform
- Reaffirmation of the role of treatment in the criminal justice system

- o Advocacy of acceptance of a correctional role that would make available opportunities to the offender to make it possible to conform to societal norms
- o Reaffirmation of utility of parole, caution against too frequent use, use of written parole criterion
- o Endorsement of offender-corrections contracts
- o Advocacy of extension of probation use
- o Affirmation of goal of equality in sentencing, use of flexible sentences
- o Advocate use of prisons only for dangerous offenders
- o Support of increased research and planning in the criminal justice system

ACA Organizational Change in the 1960's and 1970's

The organization continued to share the New York State Prison Association offices until 1962. At this time long term Secretary Cass retired and Preston Sharp became executive secretary. For a time business was conducted from his home in Washington, D.C., with his wife acting as the association's bookkeeper. It was not until 1968 that the organization opened its first office just outside Washington, D.C., in College Park, Maryland. While the ACA was the second largest organization listed in the National Directory of Associations dealing with corrections (the largest at this time was NCCD) its president in 1964 stated:

> The ACA with its 14 affiliated bodies as now established by the Board of Directors is at best a loose knit organization attempting to cover all specialties in the total field of corrections. There is a vital need to unify them in the ACA so that a uited front can be maintained (ACA Proceedings, 1965:5).

Three major problems were cited with regard to the association's effective functioning. One was the lack of understanding and communication among the various affiliated groups. The second was the unchanging hand-to-mouth

finances which came primarily from memberships, congress fees, and publication profits. The third was the inability to broaden the base of membership. At this time membership was approximately 4,000 and increases in this area were cited as a major goal.

However, membership had only modest increases in the 1960's and there had been some affiliate withdrawals. After a meeting with the NCCD in the late 1960's to discuss the relative role of the two organizations, the ACA passed a resolution formalizing the ACA's intent to maintain and develop a role as a strong professional organization (ACA Proceedings, 1968:338).

It was the obtaining of several grants first from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and later from LEAA and other federal agencies that gave a significant boost to organizational finances and activity. Especially significant was the grant from the Ford Foundation in the late 1960's on "correctional self evaluation" which was to develop into the correctional standards project. Eventually this grant was discontinued due to the Ford Foundation's insistence that a standard setting and accrediting commission be established separate from the ACA. The project was picked up by LEAA who provided a $1.3 million grant to ACA to revise the correctional standards in cooperation with the ABA and AMA. Despite initial ACA disfavor, by 1977 a separate Commission on Accreditation had been established with LEAA support. Other areas of ACA grants included a staff exchange program, a program to improve communication between paroling authorities and training programs, and feasibility studies for expansion of juvenile services, and on-going ACA technical assistance operations.

As the association grew in grant support there was also increased affiliate interest so that in 1976 there were over 40 such affiliates. This growth occurred so fast that there was a brief moratorium on affiliate membership in 1975. One significant change in ACA organization in the 1960's was the change from a board of directors, at times dominated by ex-presidents who were automatic life members, to a board consisting of elected members and affiliate representatives. After this change the board

was again restructured in the 1970's so that areas of corrections would be represented. A few seats were also reserved for minority and ex-offender representatives. There was also in the 1970's a trend to have more participation from southern prison systems. From the time of its initiation in 1870 the association has had only six presidents from southern institutions or state systems, and four of these have been since 1970.

ACA-NCCD Relations

It has been noted that the NCCD had throughout its history grown faster than the ACA in the same period in terms of membership and activity. However, occurrences in the 1970's showed indications that this difference might be lessened or reversed in some ways.

We have already noted that for the first time in the late 1960's and 1970's there were policy statements in disagreement between NCCD and ACA and that ACA convention speakers at times were openly critical of NCCD policy stances (ACA Proceedings, 1971:6). Thus at the time that the ACA hired a new executive secretary in 1973, the two organizations were often in public disagreement. The new secretary, Anthony Travisiano, was quoted in the American Journal of Correction as stating in regard to this that: "Since NCCD is trying to become a forum for the entire criminal justice system it appears that a positive relationship with this group is extremely vital" (American Journal of Correction, Sept-Oct., 1974:34).

However, as the 1970's proceeded the ACA as carriers of a middle of the road perspective, and as the historical organization representative of broad based correctional personnel was increasingly viewed as a medium useful for implementing federally support correctional goals. Thus in 1976 ACA executive secretary Travisiano stated to the convention:

> The list of current grants as reported below is evidence that the LEAA recognizes the ACA as being the national correctional organization, capable of drawing the required support for meeting the needs of the field of correction (ACA Proceedings, 1976:272).

If this position continues vis-a-vis government grant monies, and public and court sentiment continues in the direction of the mid 1970's, it appears that the ACA and correctional employee unions will increasingly be important in vocalizing and setting correctional priorities. It may also be that increasingly differences between the guard unions and the ACA as an attempt as a "professional organization" will occur.

CHAPTER 10

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE 1893 - 1976

Background

A brief prospectus on the conditions of police organization in the decades preceding and at the time of the initiation of the IACP is useful in interpreting the historical concerns of the organization. According to historical accounts organized publicly supported police forces, did not exist in most northern U.S. cities prior to 1830. In the south police organization occurred earlier but was primarily focused on slave control (Richardson, 1974). Among the factors cited leading to formal organization of metropolitan police forces have been; the increase in both size and social cleavages in urban areas, industrial work conditions, and decreases in the available work to worker ratio (Bacon, 1939; Lane, 1967; Richardson, 1974; Parks, 1970). Correspondingly inadequacies of citizen-based law enforcement attempts were increasingly manifest. Specifically both Lane with regard to Boston and Richardson with regard to New York cite frequent riots and civil disorders in the 1830's and 1840's as immediate precipitating factors in the decisions to attempt organization of metropolitan police forces.

These early police forces manifest both characteristics carried over from private police procedures, and from the nature of public service organizations of the time. In this period among the prevalent conditions was political involvement of the police. At times police were directly elected. In other times they worked for candidates who, if elected, appointed them to short terms of office. Another accepted linkage was that to private sources of wealth. Rewards were a routine source of income and services were sold to those who could pay. One of the first treatises on the police in the United States, that published by Christian in 1825, called for the publicization of the police in reaction to a situation in which only the rich could afford law enforcement (Christian, 1970 Arno Press edition:27). However, rewards remained an important source of income

to public police forces. Another linkage cited by Richardson was that to the criminal community itself. This was related to the old role of the detective as a go-between between the one who had stolen the property and the one who wished it returned. Recovery rather than "retribution" was the goal (Richardson, 1974:33).

Another reality of the early police force was the instability of organization patterns and the disorganization caused by the decentralized character of the police forces. Formal jurisdictional divisions meant a serious handicap for police. This was also a period in which the police were expected to be a major force mediating against self help and retribution, in favor of legal procedure. In the first part of the thesis it was noted that there had been a progressive stripping from police of more distributive roles over the period (Bordera, 1968). Definitions of police role were originally more fluid. Lane cites the increasing limitation of police functions and assuming of the more humanitarian ones by other agencies. He notes the creation of sewer, health, and building departments to do tasks once done by police as well as the abandoning of the distribution of free soup. In addition the police assumed the role of protection of property during strikes (Lane, 1967:224).

In summary of police conditions in the first half of the 19th century, Richardson states:

> The combination of political control and police self interest thus led to partisan involvement of police, limited enforcement of vice laws, and a permissive attitude toward certain crimes and criminals. In turn these developments helped bring about major changes in the pattern of police administration in the second half of the 19th century (Richardson, 1974:34).

Histories of police forces and also of early local governments in U.S. cities in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century are filled with descriptions of see-saw struggles between political parties, and also between machine and reform interests attempting to achieve police control. Richardson further states:

> No matter how one conceived of one's goal, whether simply making money or acquiring personal power or struggling to advance good government and the cause of morality, control of the police was a fundamental asset toward achieving them (Richardson, 1974:37).

Related to the issue of control was the reform tendency to seek through trial and error an ideal or workable form of police organization. Fossick, a writer on police systems in the 1920's notes that "the machinery of management and control has been subjected to endless experiment and modification" (Fossick, 1920:109). He cites the:

> Apparently ineradicable belief of the American people that in the right mechanical arrangement of a municipal department, if only it can be discovered, lies the solution of the ills that trouble us (Fossick, 1920:111).

In some places such as New York and Massachusetts this took the form of local versus state control. In others the establishment first of partisan and later bi-partisan boards of control were major reform issues. The method of selection of police heads and the amount of control they would have, was also of recurrent major concern.

The early policy advocacy of the IACP reflects many of these conditions and ideas. But although the IACP advocacy of bi-partisan boards, depoliticalization of the police, non-acceptance of public rewards, police tenure, merit section criteria, police training, and record keeping had much in common with reforms advocated by progressive citizen police reformers; very early the police groups developed its own unique occupational interests. One interesting area is that of the police association stance vis-a-vis vice crime.

Most of the descriptions of anti-vice reform attempts of the period present the police as much less interested in vice law enforcement than progressive middle class reformers (Fossick, 1920; Haller, 1970). Interestingly, today the IACP's advocacy in this regard is the most severe of any of the three groups studied. A look at the content of the proceedings and resolutions of a police chiefs' convention held in 1871 in St. Louis

and later cited by the IACP as the forerunner of their own group gives indication of the changes in police viewpoint that this current IACP policy has entailed.

The Police Chiefs' Convention of 1871

The police conference held in St. Louis in 1891 was a larger one than the conference in 1893 out of which the IACP grew. There were 112 representatives from 21 states. The conference was organized by Chief McDonaugh, the police chief of St. Louis, Missouri, and there were a disproportionate number of delegates from St. Louis and the surrounding area. The conference was not limited solely to chiefs, but included other ranking police heads.

For this meeting committees had prepared major reports on three topics. These reports manifest more of a social work orientation than those of the later IACP conferences. The most lengthy report was on Prostitution and Other Social Evils. A second report concerned the establishment of industrial schools for dependent and delinquent youth and the third report detailed plans for the formation of a police chiefs' association. Shorter reports were given on rewards, uniform reporting, and alcoholism.

The discussion on prostitution ended with a resolution that criticized a suppression point of view and adopted the so-called "St. Louis treatment method." The major features of this were: a system of registration, compulsory health care, and segregation. This was ideally combined with counseling and attempts to find other employment. The formal resolution passed called for the "removal of the problem of social evil from the exclusive domain of the moralists" (National Police Conference, 1871:61) and noted that if evils can't be eradicated they can be mediated by police surveillance. The resolution also spoke of "amelioration of the conditions of this unfortunate class and ignoring the deadly policy of inflicting of penalty which knows no forgiveness" (National Police Conference, 1871:61). This resolution adopting the "St. Louis method" was not without debate.

The police chief from Washington, D.C., offered a counter resolution which called for further study of the method but this was defeated after some debate.

A second major report was on industrial schools for juveniles. Again the language used is much more ameliorative than more later police conference texts. References are made to "the rejection of punitive law for those who have not the necessary benefits to uphold the law" (National Police Conference, 1871:41). Great faith is expressed in industrial education as an alternative and a "rejection of endless construction of frowning jails and massive penitentiaries" (National Police Conference, 1871:41). These were called "subterraneous canals built to carry off the sewage of mankind." Rather the industrial school would be a "purifying power applied to what had hitherto been treated as human refuge" (National Police Conference, 1871:50). It was also advocated that land grants be provided for the children upon leaving the schools.

Other resolutions are more consonant with later police concerns manifest by the IACP. One calls for the photographing of all noted criminals by the police department (National Police Conference, 1871:73). Another related to the perfection of a telegraphic code and dissemination of its use. The question of rewards was debated but no consensus was reached. The title of the committee was the "Uniform Rewards Committee." One sees from this that the system was taken for granted.

The reasons why this attempt at organization did not materialize into an on-going group do not appear to be that little concern with organization was manifest at the conference. A series of detailed resolutions defining the structure of the proposed group were formulated by an organization committee and adopted. Objectives for the group were spoken of in terms of: coordination of police forces for prevention and arrest, obtaining a supply of practical information to aid police forces, aiding legislators in adopting measures for the industrial education of neglected youth, and other proceedings to obtain the police department as the guardian of public space and protector of life and property of the community. Some

objections were made to the strong singular role Chief McDonaugh of St. Louis had played in formulating the organization plans. These objections may have been a factor in the lack of achievement of an on-going national group (National Police Conference, 1871:81). Lent Upson in an article on the history of professional police organizations written in 1929, points to the "insecure tenure of the higher offices due to politics" as the greatest deterrent to the establishment of a strong organization (Upson, 1929:121). Of the associations he discussed he pointed to the IACP as the most important combining the promise and possibility of aggressive police activity.

The Initiation of the IACP: 1893-1915

The IACP (at that time the National Police Union) was begun in Chicago in 1893. The first conference had 51 chiefs in attendance. It was initiated by a Chief Seavy of Omaha, Nebraska and Chief McDonaugh of Chicago. In contrast to the 1871 convention the chiefs in 1893 had a central concern about which they could cooperate. This was the collection of criminal identification files on a national level. Visits were made to the Chicago Bertillon Bureau, and plans discussed for the initiation of a national identification clearing house. A second major issue was intrastate detaining, and cooperation in returning prisoners to jurisdictions in which they were wanted.

Unlike the prison association which initially involved many outside reformers, the police organization excluded all but police chiefs. At times, local mayors of the convention city gave speeches at the meetings but in the deliberations and resolutions they were uninvolved. At the first meeting the association appointed an executive secretary, Chief Carr of Grand Rapids, Michigan. A small salary to come from dues was also appropriated to cover expenses. Geographically, as with the prison association the large cities were predominant in membership. Starting in 1901 Major Richard Syvester, the police chief of Washington, D.C., was elected president for 15 consecutive years.

Links to Other Areas of Criminal Justice

With the exception of views on parole use, at this time differences between police policy and the prison association policy were less marked. Thus the association's Executive Secretary Carr, in 1903 in a listing of the achievements of the years since the association began listed many of the particular concerns of the prison association. He cites the juvenile court, houses of detention for women and children, and indeterminate sentences (IACP Proceedings, 1903:20). Likewise President Syvester noted the alliance the IACP and the National Prison Association had formed in efforts to have a National Crime Identification Bureau established (National Police Union Proceedings, 1903:24). He states that the police chief group should in turn support some of the efforts of the prison association such as the laboratory for study of the criminal pauper and defective classes; and separate treatment for first offenders, females, and juvenile offenders.

Richard Syvester, president of the IACP for 15 years, was also the chairman for a time of the National Prison Association's Standing Committee on Police. In reports on this committee to the Prison Association Conference he spoke of a house of detention which he had established the Washington, D.C. area as follows:

> This is not an institution but just a house. The idea is that the child under 16 should be treated differently from a hardened criminal. The child is kept at this house until a hearing. We try in every way to prevent it seeming like a station house. The windows are not barred. We have well lighted decorated rooms and they are kept in clean conditions. The vehicle which takes them is constructed after my own ideas and in every way avoids the appearance of being a police wagon. By the time the boy reaches the court he has felt little restraint. We have a juvenile court which is in session every other day at 2:00. There is a probation officer (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1902:327).

In 1897 the police group had itself established the National Police Bureau of Identification for Bertillon and later fingerprint records. This was subsidized by assessments on participating cities and supervised by the association. The association continued to run this bureau until its take-over by the FBI in 1924. This occurred only after a sustained campaign by the IACP. The prison association supported the IACP both in its establishment of the bureau and its campaign to obtain the establishment of government action in this area.

The Police as Social Worker

Among the factors noted by some police historians has been the decline in the "police as social worker" orientation after 1920 (Walker, 1977). In Part I of this thesis it was seen that increased criticism of social work orientated criminal justice policies occurred in the period after 1920 by the IACP, as well as a growth in advocacy of criminalization and strong suppression of vice related behavior. Speeches at the police conventions of 1871 and by advocates of the "Golden Rule" policy at the IACP conferences have been cited in which some sympathy for offenders was expressed. Advocacy occurred of what today would be called diversion to reduce arrests. The work and orientation of Major Syvester and early work of August Vollmer, two presidents of the IACP, have also been cited in this regard. In general then, examination of the IACP policy advocacy and texts of proceedings support the notion that in the period we are considering (1893 to 1915) the police chiefs were more inclined to express and espouse ideas similar to the more social work orientated criminal justice occupations. This is consistent with the hypothesis that occupational segmentation has been a major factor in producing differing orientation vis-a-vis the question of police as service providers or crime fighters.

However, it should be noted that even in the period before 1920 the police as social worker orientation can probably best be characterized as a significant minority, rather than a dominant force. There were many chiefs who objected to the lessening of the role of strict law enforcement this implied. One chief in 1909 in response to calls for the use of humane discretion and police counseling to reduce arrests stated:

> Any political system that calls for more than a fair and impartial administration of the law is wrong in principle and unworkable in practice. The law can't be stretched (IACP Proceedings, 1909:76).

Moreover, as can be seen from looking at conference text and policy statements after 1920, the search for some form of direct service orientation remains throughout the period 1893 to 1976. It has taken different forms, but has occurred even at the times of the IACP's most vocal criticism of social work orientated criminal justice policies, and expressed commitment to "crime fighting."

The Uplifting and Defense of the Police

A more persistent theme of the conferences over the years was the attempt to increase the respect given to police work and defense from the repeated government and citizen criticism (Wickersham, G., 1931, vol. 11:1). This recurrent criticism appears to be among the factors related to the development of a singular professional attitude that separated police from other public service occupations. References to the unpopularity of the police appear very early in the criminal justice related historical texts. In the National Prison Association's Standing Committee on Police reports, which contain some of the earliest writings on the U.S. police, references are frequently made to recurrent public criticism (National Prison Association, "The Police in America," 1971). Resolutions by such groups as the Prison Association having to do with the police after 1900 relate primarily to such things as investigation of conditions in police lockups and criticism of the use of the third degree.

At IACP conventions speeches were also made noting the fact that the American police compare unfavorably to those in other countries. The goal of achieving superiority was put forth. This unfavorable comparison was especially disturbing coming at a time when the country saw itself as advancing in superiority in other fields of endeavor. Awareness of the criticism was countered by a very supportive attitude toward each other and defense of conduct. In 1909 for example, defenses were made for use of

cross examination which was under attack, and the general misrepresentation of the police was noted (IACP Annual Session, 1909:77). Chiefs were urged to love and stand by their men. At the same time there was an ethic of steady progress in this regard. One police chief states:

> The police ten years ago were objects of bitter criticism and the mean were unable to make reply to defend themselves and were often condemned; but we have through this organization shown our people that we are working for a good cause . . . and to place ourselves in a commendable position (IACP Proceedings of the Annual Convention, 1911:110).

Another consistent periodic theme of speeches is negative criticism of organized labor activities and vocal condemnation of "Bolshevism" and "communism." Like the advocates of machine politics in the cities there was no support expressed for organized labor or what was referred to as the "red threat." Police Chief Vollmer, at the same meetings in which he spoke of the "Police as Social Worker" also chaired a session on "How to deal with the IWW Menace," (IACP Proceedings, 1918-1919).

Summary of Advocacy Concerns

As has been noted in Part I, the major advocacy concern of the IACP in the period between 1893 and 1915 was first the establishment and eventually federal takeover of the National Identification Bureau. At one point membership in the ID Bureau was required for membership in the police association. Federal legislation providing for federal government support and administration of the Bureau was first drafted in 1897. This was not accomplished until 1924 by presidential decree rather than legislation. The federal government was also urged to collect police statistics. Other issues of concern were use of photography prior to conviction, questioning methods, uniform teletype codes, interstate detainers, police force cooperation, and vagrancy and professional thief laws. In addition, policy statements related to citizen control of places of liquor sale, limitations on parole use, criticism of the treatment of "cops" in movies, and allegiance to the U.S. government.

Occupation related statements were concerned with rewards from public sources, political intervention, bi-partisan boards, and professional respect. For a detailed description of advocacy stances see Part I.

Organizational Development

Statements relative to organization concerns most frequently were concerned with membership criteria, committee appointment and the relationship of the organization to the Bureau of Criminal Identification. Given the insecure tenure of police chiefs (Lunden, W., 1958:178), there was concern over limiting memberships only to active chiefs and executives (1901). Not only was the specific requirement of actual service as a chief formally outlined, but at one point certificates of membership and insignias were made to insure that those entering the hall were really chiefs or executives (1909). Geographically, however, attempts were made to include even very small jurisdictions. As in the National Prison Association, attempts were made to obtain convention travel expenses from the home jurisdictions of the chiefs.

1915 - 1935

The years after 1915 up to the 1930's were ones in which the IACP was successful in obtaining government support and administration for two major information gathering processes. The first was the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Identification with J. E. Hoover as its first head. However, this meant that the IACP's main on-going activity was taken over, as they themselves had been advocating, by another agency. In 1924 IACP files were turned over to the FBI. Provisions for maintenance of certain employees and withdrawal of support for various legislative bills which were no longer perceived as necessary occurred once the presidential order had established the Bureau.

The second area in which government action was obtained was the area of uniform crime reporting. Soon after the turning over of the identification files to the FBI, grants were obtained by the IACP from

the Spellman and Rockefeller Foundations to work on a uniform crime reporting system. A manual for collecting and reporting crime statistics was published by the IACP in 1929. By 1931 the first attempt at the collection of uniform crime reports had been published. The categories of the serious crime index, formulated by the IACP Uniform Crime Committee, became the categories used in subsequent FBI reports. In 1932 the FBI took over this effort in coordination with the IACP committee. Apart from these undertakings IACP representatives increasingly served on certain government committees related to such things as racketeering and kidnapping.

In 1933 a committee was formed which briefly explored the possibility of uniting with the International Police Commission. However, within the year this option was dropped from consideration. Until 1934 the association had no permanent headquarters with work being done out of the president and secretaries' home cities. In the early 1930's through work on the Uniform Crime Reporting system, links were formed with the American Municipal Service Organization and to the director of Public Administrative Services, of that organization. A grant was again obtained from the Spellman fund to open an office in Chicago with some shared supervision and staff from the American Municipal Service Organization. The association kept this arrangement until the early 1940's. At this time a move to Washington, D.C., and independent offices and staff was made.

Increasingly the activities of the association were related to the obtaining of various grants. In 1935 a grant was obtained from the American Automotive Manufacturers Association for work in traffic safety, that eventually resulted in the establishment of a safety research program at Northwestern University and later in Washington, D.C. As has been seen, this area increasingly became a major interest of the group. The American Rifle Association in coordination with the IACP founded a police rifle training school in 1929.

Given the insecurity of police chief tenure voting membership criteria continued to be an issue. In 1935 the constitution was changed to specifically state that only those currently drawing a government police salary could vote. The association also at this time maintained an honorary

membership category. Such people as William Pinkerton were voted honorary life members. In 1934 membership was reported to be 582. During this period the IACP established a system of state representatives to work with the state police associations. Representation was also maintained in the International Association of Sheriffs and Railway Agents. In 1935 the foundation of the Association of Radio Officers was endorsed and reference made to forming an alliance to deal with the FCC.

A project begun in the 1920's and soon dropped by the IACP was the initiation of a death insurance fund. This fund was to collect one dollar from each member upon the death of a member. This would then be given to the wife or family of the deceased chief. This procedure never functioned well according to reports at the meetings with the result that dues had to be used to fill some claims. By 1929 the death insurance was formally dropped by amendment.

It was found in the analysis of the policy statements in Part I, that this period is marked by an increased level of statements which are in conflict with those of the ACA and NCCD. Other writers have noted the decline of social work orientation by police thinkers and the rise of the crime fighting perspective (Walker, 1977). Similarly there was a decline in positive references to other criminal justice practitioners. IACP president from 1901 to 1915, Major Syvester of Washington D.C., had spoken of practical alliances with such groups as the National Prison Association and the National Association of Charities and Correction in order to achieve certain goals (IACP Proceedings, 1902:24). In contrast, looking at the text of meetings in the period of the 1920's and 1930's one finds increased domination of the outspoken language of personages such as Chief Duncan Matheson of San Francisco and especially J. E. Hoover.

For example, part of a Matheson drafted resolution in this period reads as follows:

> WHEREAS, crime is rampant in the country, bank and pay-roll jobs, messenger stick-ups;

> WHEREAS, social nuisances, ill-advised meddlers, half-baked individuals, and reformers are constantly interfering with law enforcement.
>
> WHEREAS, so-called mental experts, psychoanalysts, and other freaks are constantly endeavouring to keep crooks out of prison . . . .
>
> RESOLVED, that the Association condemns the passage of laws that are absolutely unenforceable, and
>
> RESOLVED, that the self-styled mental experts, psychoanalysts and other fakers who inject themselves for a fee into criminal cases be exploited so that their propaganda will be of no avail . . . . (IACP Proceedings of the Annual Convention, 1925:114).

Due almost entirely to a decline in jail population, in the period between the 1910 and 1923 Census of Prison Population, incarceration use rates were reduced, only to be followed by a higher rate than at any previous time by the 1933 census. There was also at this time a heightened awareness of recidivism, made possible by the increased collection of identification files and court data. Media coverage focused attention on spectacular crime and police shootouts. These occurrences created the backdrop for the criticism of parole and to a lessor degree probation. At the same time the National Crime Commission Wickersham Commission Report was very critical of police. Hoover who defended the police and attacked parole was highly acclaimed by the IACP conventions. For example, in 1935 eight of the 23 resolutions endorsed by the group mentioned Hoover positively by name (IACP Proceedings, 1935:170-175).

Issue Summary

The policy advocacy concerns of the IACP have already been analyzed in Part I of the thesis. Briefly, the major concerns of this period can be summarized as follows. Issues present from the beginning such as easier interstate extradiction and police department cooperation continued to be of concern. In the area of sentencing and penalties there was criticism of short sentences and support of permanent life sentences for habitual criminals. Criticism of parole took the form of calling for non-political boards, uniform laws and curbs on its use for several specific categories of offenders. These included drug sale, robbery, burglary, arson, and

rape. General criticism of parole as practiced also occurred. Support was also expressed for the use of capital punishment.

Prevention was approached in terms of early detection and higher home standards. Concretely the organization urged police departments to sponsor Boy Scout troops. As can be seen from the quote above, this was also a period in which psychologists in the courts were criticized by the IACP. The group also criticized the passage by social reformers of "unenforceable laws." In terms of the police role, it was urged that more emphasis be placed upon protection of payroll masters, salesmen, and the recovery of stolen goods. In-group police training became an issue of support in this period. Periodically there were calls for increased compensation but more frequently concern was with increasing the amount of respect given the police. However, proposed changes in police municipal organization were opposed.

In the area of gun control the police group expressed opposition to outlawing of the revolver, while advocating regulatory legislation. Laws calling for special regulation of "aliens" were also endorsed by the IACP. Support was given and calls were made for increased funding of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics.

In the area of auto regulation, work was begun on the Uniform Auto Safety Code. Licensing and other regulations were endorsed. The use of speed traps, however, was condemned. A special area of concern became auto theft and it was recommended that special squads and a national auto theft record bureau be established. Allegiance to the U.S. government was affirmed and "Bolshevism" condemned. As in previous years the areas surrounding the collection of information were important concerns. Resolutions concerning the takeover of the ID Bureau by the FBI are frequent in the 1920's and later, concerns about uniform crime reporting and citizen fingerprinting are important.

1936 - 1955

Organizationally the IACP demonstrated in the preceding period (1916 to 1935) its ability to progress to new undertakings after a major previous function, that of maintaining the national identification files, was assumed by the federal government. Work first in the area of Uniform Crime Reporting and then in the area of auto regulation became areas of major replacement concern.

However, given the takeover by the FBI of the National Identification Bureau, and then the assumption by the same group of the national crime reporting role, as well as the establishment in the late 1930's of the FBI Police Training Academy it has been noted that the IACP was overshadowed by the FBI as a leader in police professionalization (Walker, 1977). Indeed resolutions passed by the IACP during the 1930's and thereafter refer to the FBI as "leading the fight against crime." References are consistently made to the aid the FBI has been to local police. Strong consistent support is given and willingness to follow the FBI lead is expressed. Thus Hoover and the FBI became a recurrent active force at the IACP conventions.

In the latter part of the 1930's the presidential address noted three main programs that the IACP should actively support; the FBI National Police Academy, the Traffic Institute conducted by the IACP Traffic Safety Division at Northwestern University, and efforts toward the solution of the juvenile delinquency problem (IACP Police Yearbook, 1937:3). The Police Academy which the IACP co-sponsored with the FBI, was cited by Hoover at IACP conventions as a way to increase cooperation between the various police forces. He states: "I look forward to the day when there shall no longer be the sickening petty jealousies between federal, state, and local officers" (Police Yearbook, 1938:12).

It has been noted that overall the period between 1936 and 1955 was one of lessened formal disagreement between the IACP and the ACA and NCCD. However, speeches of Hoover in the late 1930's to the convention continue

the attacks on parole. In a speech concerning the National Police Academy he states:

> One of our common foes in connection with proper law enforcement remains the administration of parole... So long as parole remains the filthy disease upon law enforcement, which it now is, just so long will it be an invitation to the criminal element to plunder and to murder (IACP Yearbook, 1938:13).

However, at this time the IACP also became involved in advocating preventative programs in the area of juvenile delinquency. A committee on Boy Scouts and Big Brother Clubs was very active in the late 1930's. Speeches at meetings in this time give reports on Police Boys Clubs in cities such as the District of Columbia and San Francisco. In these speeches activities reported included in addition to the usual recreational programs; health clinics, tutoring programs, summer camps and boys' shelters. Much in the same manner as the Golden Rule speeches in the first decade of the 20th century, note was made of the reduction in arrests of juveniles that accompanied these programs (IACP Yearbook Containing the Proceedings of the Annual Convention, 1938:68). Correspondingly while the IACP eventually gave up a more ambitious plan to make this a major undertaking of the organization, they did pass resolutions urging the establishment of one scout troop for each police department.

An increasingly more major concern of the IACP was auto regulation and safety. As has been noted in 1935 a grant had been obtained from the American Automobile Manufacturers Association to establish a Traffic Safety Institute at Northwestern University. By 1938 a separate section, the State and Provincial Section, whose members were state police for whom traffic control had become a major concern, was established. The predominance of traffic safety can be seen from IACP budgets of the time. In 1942 the total national headquarters budget was $19,1957 while the safety division budget was $62,258 (Police Yearbook, 1942:253).

Auto industry spokesmen speaking at the convention in 1937, cited his group's reason for the funding.

> We know that the only way our business can grow is through making highway travel safer and more convenient (Police Yearbook, 1937:96).

At a conference meeting in 1925, statements were made that the, "matter of highway transportation with safety has become a veritable nightmare to police executives" (Police Yearbook, 1925:99). But by 1937 the president states:

> It will not surprise you to learn that no magic formula has yet been devised to solve the traffic problem. It is still with us and according to present indications the country's traffic toll will reach a new high this year. In spite of this real progress is being made. The automobile industry for example has not only continued but increased its interest and financial support for organized traffic safety (Police Yearbook, 1937:3).

The Role of Police Specializations

One of the factors that developed in the late 1930's was the increased recognition by the organization speakers of the need to provide a more adequate place for representatives of police executive specializations. A speaker in 1938 states:

> In the early days of the IACP there was little specialization in police work. In recent years however, we have witnessed the development of a wide range of specialists -- investigative officers, identification technicians, communications officers, police training experts, traffic accident and prevention specialists and crime prevention officers. However, we have failed in the past to provide an adequate place for these specialized groups (Police Yearbook, 1938:4).

Increasingly after this special committees and sections representing some of these groups were established. Especially active as indicated by the number of resolutions at conference meetings were the committees on Radio Communications and the State and Provincial Section.

Related to the increased provision for specialized groups the association continued to revise its membership policies. The category of associate membership was established at this time to include some rank and file police officers and others interested in police work. With regard to the category of "Honorary Membership," Hoover urged the association to take more care in whom they select for this honor. In a speech to the convention, he cited the fact that they had "convicted bootleggers on their list" (Police Yearbook, 1938:192). By the early 1940's association membership was 1,500 (1,243 active members, 97 association members and 65 life members).

In 1940 the association moved its operation to Washington, D.C. Due to this move and the subsequent outbreak of World War II conferences reports became sporadic throughout the 1940's. The conferences that were held during the war and immediately following it, were dominated by war concerns related to civil defense, war conservation, war production, and loyalty. Grants were obtained by the IACP from the War Production Fund to conserve manpower through the National Safety Council. By 1945 a special IACP committee on subversive crimes had been formed. Considerable talks to the convention in the post-war period were on the "increasing communist menace." A related theme was the transferring of war time civil defense concerns to cold war on-going preparedness for atomic attack. The IACP passed several policy statements endorsing the continuation of and adequate funding of transformed civil defense operations beyond the war into the Cold War.

As indicated, in 1945 the association had formed a Subversive Crime Committee. Speeches by the committee referred to the menace of foreign-based organizations that had as their objective the overthrow of the government. By 1950, however, the association expressed support for the presidential directive that essentially put local and state police out of this area by directing that any information and reports of subversive activity be immediately turned over to the FBI rather than being screened or investigated by local police forces.

After the united front and good press the police received in war years, two further themes at IACP meetings develop in the 1950's. One is a more overt drive for professionalization viewed as a status to be achieved, and the other is a concern with organized and vice-related crime. The Senate investigations on organized crime in the early 1950's brought about revelations of police corruption similar to those revealed by the Knapp Commission in the early 1970's. In response to this, the report of IACP executive secretary, Edward Kelly, in 1952 stated: "the recent spotlight scrutiny of the festering sores on the police body have condemned it to a temporary professional ostracism" (Police Yearbook, 1952:42). Speaking of the fact that for over 50 years the IACP had been seeking professionalization of the police, he goes on to state that:

> To the extent that police service stands condemned before the public, the association stands condemned before you, both for sins of omission and commission...throughout its history your association has adopted expedients and compromises to reach the far horizon of its objectives (Police Yearbook, 1952:42).

A new struggle for police professionalization was then launched by the IACP. One result was a new emphasis on supporting legislation aimed at curbing organized crime and increased advocacy of vice crime suppression by the IACP. In contract to earlier police views, resolutions in this time called for "intensive suppression of prostitution." The legislative report in 1952 is filled with support of legislation relating to such things as control of narcotics, bookmaking, slot machine transport, and pornography. Support of strict legislation in these areas was cited as evidence of the strong affirmative role of the IACP against police corruption.

Another concern of the IACP, as well as the rest of the country, was renewed emphasis on educational development. Among IACP spokespersons the conviction expressed was that police themselves should control and enact police training rather than other institutions. The IACP Committee on Education established and published standardized requirements for the content of police training and provided technical field consultation. While the FBI was primarily in control of police training in the police

academy, in 1955 the IACP entered into a contract with the Agency for International Development (AID) to consult for and manage police training programs in countries in Latin America and Southeast Asia and other areas in the third world. Thus by the 1960's the IACP itself had 72 members from Iran, 65 from Thailand and 95 from South Viet-Nam.

It can thus be seen that since the 1930's the major factor determining the topic of organizational projects has been the obtaining of funding from private and public sources which may have vested interests in obtaining certain outputs. Membership dues continued in this time to support on-going convention related activities. The Police Journal published by the group was supported primarily by advertising and membership subsidies.

Overall the period from 1936 to 1955 was dominated by war and cold war concerns. There was less debate with other criminal justice groups. The IACP although still defending Hoover and more severe penalties stopped official criticism of parole and probation. The ACA and NCCD had not yet begun to be involved in the decriminalizing interests which came into conflict with the vice crime policies developed by the IACP in this period.

1955 to 1976

In the period after 1955 one finds accelerated growth in the IACP staff and budget, made possible by increases in private and federal government grant funding. The period is also characterized by IACP actor's expressed concern with judicial intervention and challenges produced by the increased activity of civil rights and protest movements in the 1960's. Partly in response to this the association routinized legislative lobbying in this period. An additional theme is the continued examination of police professional roles and models of organization. Once again there are differences between those who would foster a more service orientated police professionalization model and those who wish to limit as much as possible the police professional role to narrowly defined law enforcement tasks.

These three themes: the growth of organizational activity with grant support; the challenge of judicial involvement and the civil rights and protest movements; and re-examination of police professional roles -- provide descriptive focus for discussion of IACP development and speaker orientation between 1956 and 1976.

Growth of the Association and Increased Grant Support

During the period 1956 to 1976 membership in the IACP went from 3,000 to 10,000. The budget at the start of the 1970's was about 3 million and the staff by the mid 1970's was 125. Related to this growth was continued funding from private and public funding agencies. During this period less than 10 percent of the organization's budget came from membership dues.

It has been noted in Part I, that the largest percent (35 percent) of the resolutions of the period after 1955, were concerned with auto safety and regulation. This is related to the IACP's historical work in this area and was accelerated by the establishment of the IACP Highway Safety Division in 1964. This was initially funded by groups tied to the auto industry. These included the Automotive Safety Foundation (funded by the leading U.S. auto manufacturers), the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, the American Trucking Association and several individual insurance companies. Examination of the policy recommendations coming from this division in Part I has indicated their clear role in successful traffic management, but also the limits on the range of alternatives considered. The saliency given this issue by the IACP is consistent with the fact that, of all the areas of traditional police responsibility, it is in this area that the highest number of deaths, injuries and property loss occurs in any given year.

Another major area of grant support has been the area of police educational standards and later the area of police department standards. In the early 1960's a large Ford Foundation grant was obtained in the area of police training standards. Speaking of this work IACP executive director, Quinn Tamm, noted:

> The ultimate goal of the IACP proposal is the establishment of professional standards, procedures, and sanctions which will assure that the American police officer will be that individual who brings education, training and experience to bear upon the complex problems of crime and delinquency (Police Chief, August, 1964:9).

Specifically the tasks involved were to be: (1) formation of the body of knowledge upon which police education is to be based; (2) definition and expression of professional standards relating to higher education for law enforcement; (3) evaluation and improvement of police training programs; and (4) stimulation and development of Peace Officers' Certification Committees in each of the 50 states. The grant was administered through the Education and Training Section of the Field Service Division. Some of its funds were also used to expand the IACP Center for Law Enforcement Research Information.

Until 1961, IACP on-going field services were primarily in the area of traffic safety. At this time a separate Field Service Division was established to do consultation to police departments around the country. These consisted primarily of evaluation and management services and police supervision training. In 1964, for example, 16 field surveys and staff assistance projects were completed and 11 training sessions were conducted. A standardized training program and materials, The Training Key, was also developed and distributed to over 1,000 departments.

In addition to large grants from such groups as the Ford Foundation and the Automotive Safety Foundation, contributions were also obtained from such groups as: The Outdoor Advertising Association; American Rifle Association; American District Telegraph Company (A.D.T. burglar alarm system); the Mosler Safe Company; and General Telephone and Electronic Corporation (see Turner, 1968:278 for a discussion of the role of these grants and the IACP). In addition, the Institute for Police Management was begun by the IACP, as a group supported by smaller business contributions to foster police department concerns.

Recent years, especially since 1970, have seen a large increase in government funding to such groups as the IACP. In the 1960's the IACP obtained a grant from HEW in the area of the police and juvenile delinquency. This resulted in an IACP publication on the topic (Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime: The Police Role, 1964). After the formation of LEAA in the early 1970's, government funding increased. Several of the projects concerned further development in the area of police standards. One was a joint ABA/IACP effort to implement the ABA's urban police standards. The IACP Professional Standards Division also conducted workshops and contract training sessions. Seminar series on such topics as "Police Response to Contemporary Violence" were also developed by the standards division.

Another area of LEAA grant support was in the area of terrorism and bomb control. A National Bomb Data Center and a Public Security Center were also established. The IACP has also increased its regular publications. In addition to the "Police Chief Magazine," they began to publish a research journal in coordination with Northwestern University, "The Journal of Police Science and Administration." The IACP highway Safety Division also received increased government support through the National Highway Public Safety Administration. In the mid 1970's they developed comprehensive model Police Traffic Control policies for this group. The thrust of grant support can be seen to have been in the area of information gathering, training and standards, and model policy development. The IACP also applied for and obtained official status as a U.N. consultant in 1974.

The Role of the IACP

Two of the overt goals of the IACP have been to remain a major spokesman for the police in the United States and to obtain a share of the available police related funding. This available funding greatly accelerated in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Quinn Tamm, speaking of this in 1970, noted "everyone loves the police these days . . . what they really love is federal money" (IACP Yearbook, 1970:185). Correspondingly, resolutions of the group urged LEAA and federal funding agencies to be

cautious in extending research grants to those who actually knew little about police (1973). It was also urged in resolutions that police representation be instituted within these funding agencies (1973, 1970).

In addition to the question of the "police" share of federal funding there is the question of the IACP role among police groups. The years since 1950 have seen a large increase in more aggressive national rank and file police groups and unions. The position of the IACP officers and staff in this regard has been that; "the president of the IACP should and must be the spokesman for civilian law enforcement in this country" (Tamm, Q., IACP Yearbook, 1963:262). In 1964 IACP president, Stanley Scrotel, discussed some of the problems posed by the growth of rank and file groups. He states:

> Leaders of such national organizations...have presumed to speak for the entire law enforcement profession. From this tendency there evolves the dangerous possibility that policy, at least in the eyes of the public, may emanate from all levels of rank. As any administrator knows, such a practice cannot be tolerated (IACP Yearbook, 1964:11).

He concluded with statements admonishing the groups to continue to meet and work, but to leave policy up to the administrators, and called upon the chiefs to dedicate themselves to a course of action that will make the association the continuing source of authority in the law enforcement profession. As noted in Part I, in 1974 the IACP opposed a federal bill known as the Policemen's Bill of Rights. This provided for certain procedural guarantees and a grievance procedure for rank and file police as a requirement for further LEAA funding. The IACP opposed this on the grounds that it would seriously hinder the administrators power to conduct internal investigations.

Another area where the IACP has overtly sought to maintain a leadership role is the area of police education. As has been noted the IACP had been directly involved in international police education projects.

Speaking of expected reorganization in this area Quinn Tamm noted in 1963:

> I feel very strongly that law enforcement officers should train law enforcement. The training of police should be by police. This is a fundamental principle that has been espoused by the police leaders of the country. We feel now that possibly the IACP is to be shunted aside by Federal authorities and the training...will be paid by the government through grants to colleges and universities (IACP Police Yearbook, 1963:262).

Within the U.S. as noted throughout the 1960's and 1970's the IACP has increasingly been involved in the development of police training packages, standards, seminars, and workshops. But within the country there has been the growth of police training involvements with universities and community colleges. This is also, however, reflected in the growth of a university trained and more research orientated professional IACP staff. Traditionally the staff of the IACP have had extensive links to the FBI. Quinn Tamm, the outspoken executive director of the group for most of the period between 1956 and 1976 was himself a former FBI employee.

In addition to increased links to the universities there is the link to what may be called management science. Increasingly evident at IACP convention speeches is emphasis on the link of the concerns of police chiefs to those faced by administrators in other areas. Hence, management consultants increasingly are among those speaking to the assembled chiefs. It was noted in Part I that one aspect of social welfare professionalization has been stress on the universal quality of the task. Similarly, an article in the Police Chief in 1964 states that the IACP is founded on the belief that the "principle of police administration have universal application" (Police Chief, October, 1964:9). This stress on development of management techniques and technical expertise has become more prominent over the history of the groups. A comparison of two official statements of purpose, one from 1929 and the other from 1970, illustrates this further.

1929	1970
To secure a closer official and personal relationship among police officials at home and abroad; to secure unity of action in police matters; to elevate the standards of police institutions by urging the elimination of politics from their conduct; to extend the tenure of office for those employed in the service; the maintenance of honorable men engaged in the transaction of police business; the general adoption of humane efforts in the enforcement of law; the provision of temporary relief for its worthy members and their families in certain emergencies; the advancement along all lines pertaining to the prevention and the detection of crime and the identification and the treatment of prisoners (Upson, L., 1929:122).	To advance the science and art of police services; to develop and disseminate improved administrative, technical and operational practices and promote their use in police work; to foster police cooperation and the exchange of information and experience among police administrators throughout the world; to bring about recruitment and training in the police profession of qualified persons; and to encourage adherence of all police officers to high professional standards of performance and conduct...to cooperate with existing police organizations of recognized professional and technical competence; to arrange for joint research projects, publication, secretarial assistance and participation in conferences to the end that these objects of the Association may be more fully realized. (IACP Constitution, Police Yearbook, 1970:267)

A comparison of the two indicates the less specific character of the current statement. For example, in the 1970 statement a general statement with regard to recruitment of qualified personnel and adherence to professional standards replaces the mentioning of elimination of politics, obtaining of pension and relief and more humane law enforcement efforts. Cooperation is stressed in both statements; however, this is more central in the 1929 statement. In 1970, the "advancement of the science and art of police services" replaces "to secure a closer official and personal relationship among police officers" as the first objective. Trends occurring in the role of the courts in the country, however, have meant increased judicial involvement in limiting and defining proper use of police techniques. Concern with the issues this generated is also very salient at organization meetings after 1950.

The Challenge of Judicial Involvement and the Civil Rights and Protest Movements; Increased IACP Legislative Activity

As has been indicated in Part I the official police stances of the IACP in the period 1956 to 1976 involved increased disagreement combined with a decline in agreement levels with the other two organizations. Several of the areas of disagreement have been seen to be related to procedural rights of those accused and controlled. This general issue (combined with specific problems and criticism of the police relating to the control of the civil protests of the 1960's and early 1970's) was of very high salience to speakers at IACP conventions, and in the activities of several IACP committees. Defense from criticism of police handling of civil distrubances and reaction to certain court decisions such as Mapp v. Ohio, and the McNabb-Mallory rule provided a rallying call for concerted police action and the backdrop of convention rhetoric. This was accompanied by increased legislative lobbying.

Until the 1960's the IACP president had only periodically appointed a legislative committee to review and make recommendations on various pieces of legislation. By 1963, however, the constitution was amended to provide for a permanent committee whose functions included "appearance . . . in support or opposition" to "legislation that may favorably or adversely affect law enforcement or the welfare of police officers on a national basis" (Police Yearbook, 1963:42). This committee was first headed by Donald S. Leonard, retired Michigan State Police Commissioner. This group not only gave support and opposition to pending legislation and court decisions, but also at times discussed the feasibility of constitutional amendments to overrule such decisions as Mapp v. Ohio (This decision provided that all evidence obtained by illegal search and seizure was inadmissible in a state court). This and other decisions were especially onerous to IACP legislative committee members. It was noted that "largely shorn of its essential power through judicial takeover the police establishment has been tragically weakened" (Police Yearbook, 1965:377). Committee Chairman Leonard, in posing the question "what to do in response to this?" states in the same year:

> If they believe that the tide is moving too strongly in one direction and that the hobbles on police procedures are threats to competent protection of the public, the answer is clear: the constitution should be amended (Police Yearbook, 1965:377).

While the idea of a constitutional amendments was at times discussed more attention and official police endorsement went into support or opposition to actual pending legislation that might have had impact on police. These included bills related to wiretapping, search procedure, arrest procedure, civilian review boards, bail release, vice crime legislation, crime penalties, gun control and, police interrogation as well as those related to occupational compensation, tax benefits, and protection against litigation. An additional area of legislative concern was that related to the control of civil disturbance.

It has been seen in Part I that one IACP police statement in the 1960's condemned civil disobedience as a means of social change. The defense of police conduct in this area was a recurrent topic of concern. In the period of the 1960's and early 1970's the behavior of the police became a representative symbol of discrimination and establishment control in both the ghetto and college campuses. As has occurred in various periods in this country and others, conflict with the police who were sent to control the ghettos and the campuses was the most available means to protest both the immediate police repression and the abiding conditions of the time such as war, racism, and unemployment.

IACP convention speakers had some variation in degrees of rhetorical patience with these protests. However, the dominant expressions were outspoken defenses of police conduct. Early in this period IACP executive director, Quinn Tamm, states:

> I think we may safely say now that the hoodlums who cloaked themselves in the mantle of civil rights to engage in senseless insurrection in various parts of the country this summer have themselves demonstrated that their charges of police brutality were nothing more than an

> attempt to justify their lawlessness. I believe that responsible members of the American society are fully aware of this now, but what happened is a perfect example of how the police can be so mercilessly and so wrongfully singled out as the villains . . . .
>
> The dedicated and honorable police executives of the country have traditionally condemned and taken severe action against officers guilty of brutality. You are willing and desirous of being governed by the law, it is high time that other segments of our society also seek to accomplish their goals through the courts rather than through insurrection and baseless character assassination (IACP Police Yearbook, 1965:372).

In this period Tamm also expressed also expressed the viewpoint that he was:

> Tired of sociologists, psychologists, militant civil rights leaders and others intoning that because people are deprived and resentful of authority they should be understood when they kill, destroy millions of dollars in property, commit arson, loot and pillage (IACP Police Yearbook, 1966:443).

By 1970 Tamm, however, noted that the tide of police criticism was turning with numerous groups even Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal California based group, calling for better treatment of the police (IACP Police Yearbook, 1970:185).

The Role of the Police

In addition to the topics discussed above, there was much discussion at IACP meetings and in publications on the "role of the police." This was related to criticism of police occurring in the period and also to increased interest by social thinkers and police themselves in occupational rationalization and police professionalization models. It has been noted in the policy analysis in Part I and in earlier parts of this history that currents among the police reformers and professionalizers advocating a more social work orientation were less noticeable in IACP proceedings after

1920. Elements of this debate arose again in the period of the 1960's and early 1970's. While, an IACP resolution in the 1960's called upon chiefs to resist non-law enforcement drains on police time, one sees in some speeches evidence of what can be called the search for a positive service orientation. This has always been present in varying degrees of visibility.

It has been pointed out that identification of a clear cut specific client group for police services is more difficult than for many professional groups (Bordua, 1968:317). It has also been noted that the model of professionalization and discipline adopted by the U.S. police was one of a military hierarchy (Bittner, 1970). In the 1970's this came under increasing fire from two divergent sources, those interested in a more service orientated approach, and from rank and file police organizations interested in increased direct input in police policy. This examination of police role also occurred as a result of increased court involvement in defining constitutional and non-constitutional police procedure. One reaction to court intervention and also a way to foster professionalization has been the attempt to limit police activity to strictly defined law enforcement tasks. This is also seen as a counter to political involvement. Some critics have noted that this fostered an increased arrest rate as well as increased insensitivity to minority problems (Sundeen, 1972; Czjkosk, 1971).

The dilemmas created by differing public expectations concerning police enforcement and community interactions were topics of IACP speakers' concern in this period. For example, in a talk by a professor of police science in 1964 it was noted:

> So-called leading citizens will demand the most professional police service today in one set of circumstances, and the same citizens will demand the most unprofessional police service tomorrow in another set of circumstances. The community cannot have it both ways (Rudelet, L., Police Yearbook, 1964:221).

In addition, there was discussion of attempts to broaden the police role. IACP staff member, N. Watson, reacting to those who would have the police involve themselves in broader correctional roles states in 1964:

> Police are not required or expected to go beyond the boundaries defined by traditional concepts of police work. The police are not sentinels of public safety, agents of public discipline, and apprehenders of those who disregard the public will. Beyond this we are stepping out of our field . . . . Nowhere in all of this is there anything about punishment. Nowhere anything about rehabilitation or reforming the offender. These are not police functions (IACP Yearbook, 1964:122-4).

But IACP work analysis studies continued to show that 80 to 90 percent of police work time was spent on non-law enforcement activities (Police Chief, 1974:59); and within the IACP police awards were most frequently given for such things as rescue related activities and community relations work rather than traditional law enforcement tasks (taken from analysis of IACP and American Express/Parade Magazine Police Awards reported in the Yearbooks, 1965 to 1970).

Police professionalization rhetoric has always involved reference to a some sort of service orientation. Indeed, this has been one of the criticisms used by IACP members against the police union movement. In 1974 F. Kremel, for many years the head of the IACP Traffic Safety Institute, stated:

> Since I spent most of my working life insisting that police should regard themselves as professionals and should be treated as professionals, I cannot but be disturbed by the present tendency among some in the ranks to turn inward, to want to unionize, to think of themselves in terms of self protection rather than public service (IACP Police Yearbook, 1974:33).

The question then is service to whom and in what manner? By the mid 1970's the most recent period of intensive public criticism and conflict within the criminal justice system had lessened; and the presence of interdisciplinary university-based criminal justice programs in which the police participated was beginning to be apparent in IACP publications. There was also a nationwide increase in actual severity of sanctions and a decline in liberal rhetoric among those in other areas of the criminal justice system. Throughout the criminal justice system there was increased focus on victims of crime. Government funding in the area of victimization studies and in the creation of service centers, such as Rape Crisis Centers, was increased. If a social work corrections role toward offenders was rejected among the police, concern with services to the victim was increasingly spoken of in articles on the role of the police. Articles in the IACP's Police Chief Magazine advocate a "full service concept of police work" (June, 1974:50; January, 1976:8). Focus was on developing services to aid groups who are frequent crime victims, such as the elderly, and "providing for the importance of the 80 to 90 percent of a police officer's job which constitutes service rather than law enforcement" (Police Chief, June, 1974:50). The actual development of these services, however, is primarily dependent upon funding availability and priorities, usually at the federal level.

IACP Policy Advocacy

As has been discussed in Part I, the policy advocacy of the group in this period reflects the increase in organizational activity and dominance of auto-related concerns at the same time that a wide range of other issues is covered. These policies can be summarized as follows:

- Defense against criticism of the Public Safety Division of AID; urging continuation of its operation;
- Support of interstate compacts with regard to auto theft and other areas;
- Support of making police assassination or murderous assault a federal crime;

- Support of federal funding of police in the areas of police training, equipment, information collection, standards;
- Support of use of preventative detention;
- Support of legislation requiring posting of bond to cover costs of civil suits against police;
- Support of limitations on the exclusionary rule;
- Opposition to purging of criminal records;
- Support of selected gun regulatory legislation;
- Support of legislation making it illegal to invest illegally gained income in legitimate interstate commerce business;
- Support of legislation making it illegal for police to conceal gambling and other vice related activities of more than two people;
- Endorsement of immunity statutes;
- Support of Federal Bureau of Narcotics; oppose transfer of function to HEW;
- Support of increased penalties for drug related offenses; oppose drug maintenance; oppose legalization of marijuana;
- Support of national driver's license registry;
- Encouragement of uniform crime reporting;
- Support of capital punishment for certain homicides including for killing of police or guards;
- Acceptance of police responsibility in areas of civil defense and transport of nuclear materials;
- Advocacy of separate airline security forces;
- Rejection of added non-law enforcement drains on police;
- Support of continued police control in the area of traffic safety;
- Advocacy of requiring public hearings before a police administrator is removed from office;
- Opposition to police strikes;
- Opposition to civilian review boards;

- o Support of investigation of the conspiracy against police allegation;
- o Support of removing of OEO low income requirements for police training programs;
- o Support of minority recruitment; resistance to "lowering of standards";
- o Support of securing adequate FCC radio frequencies for police radios;
- o Support of police use of wiretapping;
- o Support of car searches by police without warrants;
- o Support of equal enforcement and written traffic policies;
- o Support of use of warnings in traffic law enforcement;
- o Defense of police pursuit;
- o Endorsement of state police action at Attica, New York;
- o Support of increased penalties for habitual traffic offenders;
- o Recommendation of seat belts, motorcycle helmets, other detailed auto safety measures, and revisions to the uniform code, specification of licensing requirements and support of auto theft control programs;
- o Support of increased penalties for organized crime;
- o Recommendation of dropping car pollution inspection programs;
- o Opposition to decriminalization of public drunkenness.

As has been discussed at length in Part I, these policies are in most cases consistent with past advocacy by the group. The areas of interest are related to areas of high organizational funding and also to public controversy.

In summary it can be said that the IACP in the fifth period grew significantly in budget and the number of paid professional and research staff. It also developed a number of on-going consultative services. Growth in the organization in this period as in the past has been related to private and public grant support. However, increasingly the IACP shares

the police national organization arena with other police organizations, with whom their policies are not always in agreement. During the period since World War II the IACP has increasingly sought to involve police administrators below the chief level, and to be the major spokesmen for all police management and professional concerns.

CHAPTER 11

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY 1907-1976 (FORMERLY NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION)

1907-1935

The National Probation Association was begun in 1907, by a group of 14 probation officers attending a conference of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (later to become the National Association of Social Welfare). The probation group subsequently continued for many years to meet at the same time and place as this larger gathering. There is indication that talk of forming a separate probation group was begun as early as 1903. In the National Prison Association Proceedings of that year the president of the prison association makes reference to the attendance of a large number of probation officers and also objects to their forming a separate group. He states:

> . . . And now we have just coming in to the Congress a large body of probation officers, who have much to teach us from their experience with the most interesting classes of offenders and the most hopeful aspects of criminal administration. We need them in the Congress at large, and should deeply feel the loss if they should withdraw to any extent from us for the purpose of uniting in a special and narrower association (National Prison Association Proceedings, 1903:373).

This objection may have been a cause of the probation groups formation at the conference of the Association of Charities and Correction, rather than at the National Prison Association Conference. More significant, however, was probably the strong social work orientation of probation interests.

The first president was Timothy Hurley, a Chicago attorney. The original name was the National Probation Officers Association and at first membership was limited to probation officers. But by 1909 when the official bylaws were adopted the organization provided that membership should

be open to probation officers, parole officers, judges and any other persons interested in probation. In 1911 the name was changed to the National Probation Association (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1923:7). Subsequent to this, juvenile court judges assumed a very active role in the association.

Initial attention of the group consisted primarily in holding an annual conference. However, one of the first non-conference concerns of the group was development a system of probation reporting procedure and the keeping of probation records. They also compiled a directory of probation officers and judges in the U.S. The first major advocacy action of the organization was the drafting and sponsoring of a bill to establish a probation system for the federal courts. This work was begun in 1909 but enactment of the federal probation enabling legislation did not occur until the early 1920's.

According to later accounts the organization experienced difficulty maintaining itself around 1914, and almost became defunct at this time due to lack of finances and membership interest (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1923:8). However, by 1915 an arrangement had been initiated in which, the National Probation Association would share the offices and the executive secretary of the New York State Probation Commission. This was similar to the arrangement of the National Prison Association with the New York State Prison Association.

In 1915, the first proceedings of the yearly meetings were published. At that time the group described itself as a "small, loosely organized professional group" (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1915:111). State secretaries had been appointed. Committees functioning at this time were on the topics of: (1) standards in juvenile court work; (2) adult probation; (3) rural probation; and (4) courts of domestic relations.

Unlike the National Prison Association, the probation group had clearly defined single issue goals. These were expressed in 1916 as: (1) to study, establish, extend and standardize adult and juvenile probation

and other special courts that use probation; (2) to coordinate probation and parole and bring about the cooperation of all institutions and all forms of social work; and (3) to increase public knowledge, interest and support of probation and related lines of work (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1916:8). The behaviors necessary to achieve these goals, i.e., enactment of enabling legislation and financial support to establish a probation and juvenile court system, were also straightforward. Drafting legislation and lobbying for its enactment were thus clear focuses for most early organizational behavior and growth.

By 1920, an organizational resolution is posted pledging that the National Probation Association must become a strong national organization with a full-time salaried executive secretary and office staff. The association continued to share offices and staff with the New York State Probation Commission from 1915 to 1921. At this time Charles Chute resigned his half time job as secretary of the New York State Probation Commission and became the full-time secretary of the national group. He held this position until 1948. The group now began to establish field staff and technical consultants in various states.

Funds to do this had been obtained from small pledges, but also by grants from several large memorial funds. Membership by 1924 was 2,600 and the budget was reported as $18,900. The association had become highly involved in drafting probation legislation in several states and in Toronto, Canada. Staff also gave probation advocacy speeches around the country. General standards were published for probation and juvenile courts. One of the first large activities in which the probation association became engaged was a national survey undertaken jointly with the U.S. Childrens' Bureau on the topic of juvenile justice. This culminated in a conference held in 1922 and the publishing with the Children's Bureau of the first juvenile court standards in 1923.

Actors of the Organization

Actors in the organization and at the meetings between 1907 and 1935 were primarily juvenile court judges, members of probation commissions,

chief probation officers, child guidance clinic heads, psychologists, social workers, lawyers, recreation workers and social work oriented university faculty members.

A categorization of the presidents of the group for the years 1907 to 1935 is as follows:

	National Probation Association Presidents -- 1907-1935
Lawyers	5
Chief Probation Officer	5
Probation Commission	5
Judge	6
M.D., Ph.D.	3
Other	4
Total	28

As with the National Prison Association (now ACA), most participants were male. However, early participants included women such as Jane Addams, Emma Lundberg, and Julia Lathrop. The group early became heavily focused on the concerns of juveniles in the criminal justice system. They also early developed a board of directors that included philanthropists as well as those professionally concerned with social welfare issues.

More quickly than the National Prison Association, the probation group grew from primarily a conference body to support a full-time field staff and to achieve a wider membership. By 1935 despite depression cut-backs, the budget was between $80,000 and $100,000 with a full-time staff of six, and a membership of 11,000.

The Spread of Probation

Before further discussion of the viewpoints expressed at the yearly meetings, a brief overview of the spread of the probation option in the courts will be given. The first identifiable law providing for the probation option by name in the U.S. was enacted in Massachusetts in 1878.

It was not, however, a totally new option at this time having had forerunners in the suspended sentence, executive clemency, and the procedure of releasing a convict to another responsible party. Textbooks on probation cite the role of a Boston shoemaker, John Augustus, into whose care the courts released selected convicts (Clare, Krammer, 1976:179). Writings by Augustus on the topic stress the importance of care in selection of the proper candidate for probation, the necessity for work opportunities, and the keeping of records. These three emphases have continued through to the current discussion of the topic.

By 1915 reports at the yearly conference indicated that every state except New Mexico and Mississippi had at least one probation law in some jurisdiction. Usually at this time probation laws were primarily made applicable to juveniles. However, 29 states had at least one jurisdiction that provided for both adult and juvenile probation (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1916:17). Many of the laws were very limiting and usually initially did not provide for a paid probation staff. However, by 1919 in such states as New York there were reportedly an estimated 2,905 more persons on probation than in prison (National Probation Yearbook, 1920:21). By 1925 all states had a provision for juvenile probation but it was not until 1956 that all states acquired probation provisions for adults (U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force on Correction, 1967:179).

The Viewpoints of the Participants

During the early years of the association, talks at the meetings can be summarized under these headings: (1) concern with the issues of who should be eligible for and selected for probation; (2) development of a treatment methodology with close links to the general development of social work in the United States; (3) the defense of probation against its attackers; and (4) the development of coordination among social service agencies as a major thrust. Each of these will be discussed.

Selection for Probation

From the beginning, the question, "For whom should probation be used?" has been a major interest of speakers at National Probation Association meetings. In the policy analysis in Part I it was noted that the policy development of the group was in the direction of advocating increased broadening and flexibility in this area.

Early concerns were on the importance of selecting the "right candidates" for probation. This was a practical necessity in getting legislation passed, and also reflects the assumption of a scientific aura. The first decade of the 20th century was one in which there was increased development of methods for classifying and measuring the population. This was especialy applied to two relatively powerless groups, prisoners and immigrants. Modern identification methods meant increased awareness of repeaters. IQ and other psychological tests led to the formalization of the category of defective delinquents. Statements were made at the early conferences that probation officers did not want "certain classes of feeble minded, habitual offenders, alcoholics, and drug users unable to care for themselves" (National Probation Proceedings, 1917:26).

To select the proper candidates there must be intensive physical, psychological and social studies of those who came into court. Academic studies reported at the proceedings at first cited the large number of mental and physical infirmities found among those coming into the courts. However, by the mid 1920's reports indicated that large numbers of these infirmities were also found in the general population (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1924:74).

At the same time other reports concentrated on the poor social conditions of those coming into the court with varying reference to economic factors. Divorce, remarriage, poor housing conditions, poverty, irritability caused by economic worry, and mental illness in the family are repeatedly described in the case studies of delinquents reported by participants.

In practice the association began to support legislation that increased discretion of the courts to use the probation option. Initially focused on the juvenile court, adult laws became the goal. Subsequently the criterion of first offense as necessary for probation, became increasingly under attack by the group as unrealistic. Increasingly many of the automatic criterion for non-use of probation were opposed, and the opinion grew, as expressed by a Judge Bradford at the meetings, that "there is only one justification for depriving a person of his liberty and that is that the person is too dangerous to be at large" (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1923:192).

Links to Social Work

As long time secretary of the association, Charles Chute repeatedly stated "probation is the social work of the courts." Consequently many of the notions expressed at the conferences reflect the trends and tensions in the development of social work in the United States. One of these is the tension between emphasis on individual more psychologically oriented approaches to treatment and emphasis on social reform needs. Both of these orientations plus various combinations of the two are manifest in the speeches between 1915 and 1935.

Charles Platt, an M.D. and Ph.D. psychologist, several times elected president of the association, used information from anthropology and history to stress the relativity of social moral codes in speeches to the conferences. He especially cites the differing codes relating to private property values. He notes the broken treaties of the U.S. government with the Indians, and the activities of the nation in acquiring possessions such as Texas, California, Puerto Rico, Canal Zone, Hawaii, and Guam. He states:

> A thief who robs under the cover of protection or aiding his victim is always especially condemned, but this is the rule with nations (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1923:37).

At the same time the influences of the psychoanalytic school is manifest. In the same speech note was made that the "firmly fixed primitive habits of the mind are egoistic" (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1923:33).

Studies of the history of social work have noted the increased influence of psychological interpretation and methodology in social work especially with the development of the case work approach (LuBov, 1965). Similarly speakers at the Probation Association conventions such as S. Gleuck state that "psychology is in the last analysis the only dependable key to the solution of the problem of personality and human behavior" (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1923:46). It was noted that "slowly crime prevention as an aspect of generalized social reform began to give way to a more individualized study and treatment of the offender" (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1935:217). Focus was on diagnosis, guidance clinics, and counseling techniques. Occasionally a speaker cited the over-emphasis on diagnoses and testing to the exclusion of treatment (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1935:14).

There were also those who stressed community influences and community based remedies for crime. Primarily these were focused on studies of the social structure of specific neighborhoods in large urban areas. Speakers such as Thrasher gave detailed descriptions of the gangs of Chicago and New York. These descriptions, less pessimistic than the case studies presented, bring to the description of the delinquent the view that he is part of a social order with a different set of values. Thrasher stated to the conference in 1930:

> The gang is an attempt on the part of the boy to achieve a social order of his own where there is no adequate social order of his own. It is a natural expression of his desire to participate, to be somebody, and in that sense it is natural and to be expected (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1930:118).

In the same speech, however, he notes the links between the city gangs and the race riots of the late 1920's. He states that "many of these social clubs at the time were regular arsenals from which fellows went out armed

to the teeth, shooting and burning and so on" (p.118). The need to focus attention on neighborhood organization and community improvement which "has been largely neglected" are stressed in speeches of this type (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1930:123). In lieu of the fact that basic economic conditions were beyond the reach of the social workers, focus of community work was primarily on efforts in the areas of recreation, the schools, and neighborhood self help.

Defense of Probation and the Juvenile Court

As has been already noted the period of the later 1920's and 1930's was one in which there was increased public and official reaction against crime and criminals. As has been noted this reaction often focused on criticism of such measures as parole and somewhat less frequently, of probation. The criticism was led by J. E. Hoover and the resolutions by the Probation Association calling upon him to refrain in this area have been cited in Part I.

In this period the general tone taken by the speakers at the association was one of continued but muted optimism. Secretary Chute stated in 1927:

> "although advocates of the probation service have had to be on the defensive during the past year and this has retarded progress, the number of marked advances both in legislation and in extending probation works and in administrative machinery have far exceeded the losses" (National Probation Yearbook, 1927:14).

In the same year the president of the association, Charles Platt, stated:

> Probation today is being criticized. It is being criticized in theory and purpose. But this is from ignorance. It is the practice of probation alone that is open to criticism. The theory is all right (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1927:32).

The response to criticism took two forms, one was a discrediting of the specific criticisms, and the other an attempt to distinguish between the soundness of the theory or idea, and the sometimes unfortunate conditions under which a program was administered.

In the 1930's the juvenile court also came under criticism, and criticism continued against parole and probation. Speaking of the juvenile court it was admitted that "the quality of accomplishment is lower in the juvenile court than it is in many agencies" (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1935:4). But resolutions by the group continued to affirm its value as having gone beyond the experimental stage. This was so much so that several times president of the association, Judge Hoffman of Cincinnati, drafted resolutions calling for the extension of its practices to the adult courts.

Coordination as a Goal

With the Depression and subsequent initiation of new relief programs, the issue of coordination and inclusion of probationers in programs becomes significant. The stress on coordination also arose out of the fact that police groups such as the FBI and IACP had been the leaders in public criticism against parole and probation.

An example of the exclusion of probationers from a major federal program was that of the issue of participation of probationers in the Depression work-relief program, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The CCC enabling legislation excluded those under prison sentence from participation; and the Department of Labor, responsible for its administration, formally interpreted this to exclude those on probation. The Probation Association formally objected to this, arguing that those on probation had had their sentences suspended. In principle they argued also that one cannot expect rehabilitation if "our own government closes the only door open for honest employment" (National Probation Yearbook, 1935:123).

Association members reported to the yearly conference that all protests had met with "unqualified refusals by the authorities in Washington."

However, an unofficial survey by the National Probation Association found considerable variation in the way the program was administered locally in terms of the participation of those on probation. It was noted that in some communities informal agreements were initiated whereby the boys were discharged early from probation. In other agencies, the manner of processing applications was done in such a way that probation status was carefully not reported. It was noted by a speaker at the National Probation Association Conference that "confidential conversations with some of the authorities on admissions indicate that they realize how slight the difference is between those who are on probation and those who are not" (1935:127). But it was reported that other jurisdictions rigidly enforced the Labor Department rulings. This difference in enforcement was used as a further argument by the Probation Association to the Labor Department. They argued that a situation existed in which there was lack of uniformity, subterfuge, evasion, and deceit. If admissions were open, it was argued, the CCC would get in the end a better selection of candidates because the probation officers could recommend those for whom it would be most appropriate. Once again one can see the dual emphasis on broadening the options of those who enter the criminal justice system as offenders but at the same time the theme of the probation worker as further selector and classifier of those who enter the criminal justice system.

The mutual criticism taking place in the 1920's and 1930's between the differing segments of the criminal justice system, and on a wider scale between differing types of social service agencies, as well as the question of eligibility for each others programs led to an increased counter emphasis on coordination and communication between the service agencies as a goal in itself. This took the form of establishing coordinating councils in various cities. One of the first councils was established with the aid of Police Chief Vollmer of Berkeley, California. Weekly luncheon meetings were held between representatives from the schools, the police, probation, health and welfare agencies, and such groups as the Kiwanis and Lions Clubs. After this "coordinating councils" became a favored recommendation of the group.

Summary of Advocacy Concern

As was seen in Part I, the overriding number of advocacy statements in this period concern the spread and proper functioning of the probation system in federal, state, and local jurisdictions on both the juvenile and adult levels; and secondly, the establishment and proper functioning of the juvenile court. One of the problems encountered was the passage of probation enabling legislation that did not provide for a paid probation staff. Hence this became an important concern and increasingly the spread of probation became tied to the provision of a paid, and later an "adequately paid" staff. Along with this came emphasis on recruitment criteria, professional training, and quality of probation staff.

Coordination with other social services, case work, and the integration of psychological diagnosis with the treatment process also became important to the association's program in this period. The self image of the group was that they were at the forefront of liberal correctional policy. Unlike other ambivalent reforms such as parole and the indeterminate sentence, the concept of probation itself has rarely come under criticism (except the accusation that it is used more frequently for middle class offenders) from those interested in lessening the severity of the criminal justice system. Thus speaker Shelton Glueck stated to the group in the 1920's:

> It should be counted distinctly in favor of the idea of probation that none of the opposition which this movement has had to encounter has ever come from the side of those who have been actively interested in the introduction of more understanding and a more ameliorative progress into the process of the criminal law (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1925:45).

1935 - 1955

The coordinating council movement became very strong as the 1930's progressed, and in 1936 the Probation Association co-sponsored a National

Conference of Coordinating Councils. The stress of a broad based approach to crime and delinquency problems grew as the period progressed. In the first part of this period the Probation Association also demonstrated somewhat more than before the traditional concerns of a professional group representing occupational interests. A larger percentage of the advocacy statements relate to occupational development than in the other periods.

However, by the early 1950's the organization structure had been altered to reflect a much wider range of concerns within the criminal justice system. Ideologically this was accompanied by stress on the need to take a systemwide view of the crime problem and on the central significance of the need for coordination within the criminal justice system. Overall the period 1936-1955 can be characterized as one in which the group expanded not only in membership and budget but also in formal organizational scope of interest and type of membership.

Growing much faster than the ACA or the IACP, membership in the probation group was 37,000 by the late 1940's with a paid staff of over 40. In 1947, the first structural change occurred widening the group's scope of of interest. As noted in Part I, the group absorbed the American Parole Association in 1947. This reflected an earlier decision of the Probation Association formally stated in 1936, to include parole within its scope of interest and to invite parole officers to become members.

As far back as 1916 the Probation Association had stated as an aim, as the coordination of probation and parole. The probation group had also begun earlier to organize regional meetings held in conjunction with combined state probation and parole associations. The American Parole Association itself had been organized only in 1938 as an outgrowth of a National Prison Association committee on parole. The merger with the parole group was related to the generally held view by the membership that, if possible, parole and probation services should be united administratively. After the merger with the Parole Association, besides the professional council, which put forth the issues of development of probation and parole work as professions, an advisory council on parole was established.

Following this during the early 1950's the organization broadened its structural focus further to include an advisory council of judges, a citizens council, and an increasingly significant Research Council, as well as the advisory Council on Parole and the Professional Council. Besides continued heavy grant support and income from membership dues, the group was admitted to local Community Chests in several cities. The presidency in this period usually went to a judge, attorney, or businessman. Increasingly, businessmen from large corporations were appointed to the national board of trustees and the local citizen councils.

Yearly meetings were held during this period alternately at the National Conference of Social Work or at the Prison Association Congress. The Probation Association also organized and held regional parole and probation conferences. Field consulting to legislatures and probation and parole offices, drafting of model acts, and producing probation and other training manuals continued to be major areas of concern.

During this period the group established regional offices in Chicago, San Francisco, and Austin, Texas, as well as maintaining a headquarters in New York. The tradition of conducting field based state of the art and need assessment studies on probation and the juvenile court and corrections in general had begun in the early 1920's with the Childrens Bureau study. It was continued between 1920 and the late 1960's with studies conducted and reports published for several state and local jurisdictions. Reports published include those from Wisconsin (1926), Utah (1929), New Hampshire (1930), Nashville, Tennessee (1930), Tallahassee, Florida (1931), San Diego, California (1943), Nevada (1943), Wyoming (1944), Arizona (1944), Kansas City (1944), Oregon (1944), Washington State (1947), New Jersey (1955). Studies published since 1955 include: Vermont (1958), Oklahoma (1958), New Mexico (1960), Virginia (1965), Chicago (1965), Maryland (1967). Second studies were done in Arizona in 1958, and in Oregon in 1958 and 1966. In 1965 the group also did a nationwide survey of correction for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and The Administration of Justice. Similar to the ACA there was talk of changing from field work by invitation to regularized periodic visits to all probation and parole offices in the interests of standards

(1950). This did not materialize but the association's research reputation and capabiities became well established.

By 1953 the NPPA in a resolution formally affirmed this trend to expansion of interest. The resolution called for extension of its consultative services in order:

> To encourage on all levels more prevention and treatment, to encourage research on causes, to establish a clearing house for research in the broad fields of delinquency and crime, and to help communities have better understanding, to provide services to correctional institutions to consult and encourage legislatures and courts to expand probation facilities and work out a procedures for selection (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1953:262).

In 1948 the long term executive secretary, Charles Chute, retired. He was succeeded by Will Turnblaugh who remained secretary until 1959. In the early 1950's several other long term employees, the director of field services, the publication editor, and the director of parole services also retired. The latter position was filled by Milton Rector who from 1960 to 1982 served as the executive director of the organization.

Major Policy Concerns

The policy concerns which found embodiment in formal statements of endorsement can be summarized as follows:

- Advocacy of federal funding to state and local probation and parole services in order to upgrade standards;
- Federal responsibility for return of runaway children;
- Advocacy of federal funding to state and local probation and parole services in order to upgrade standards;
- Federal responsibility for return of runaway children;
- Endorsement of community coordinating councils and other forms of cooperation among social service groups;

- o Advocacy of state centralization of parole and probation; administrative unification of the two;
- o Criticism of county jails, advocacy of adequate juvenile detention facilities;
- o Advocacy of provision of employment for parole and probationers;
- o Advocacy of adequate community and state funding for probation and parole;
- o Defense of probation and parole from criticism by Hoover and others;
- o Advocacy of psychiatry in the courts;
- o Advocacy of safeguarding of legal rights in the juvenile courts;
- o Advocacy of extending the socialized court principle to adult court;
- o Advocacy of drafting of more simple uniform penal codes;
- o Advocacy of in-service and university training, civil service, retirement benefits, adequate compensation, and selection criteria for probation and parole officers.

Ideology Expressed at Conference Speeches 1936 to 1955

It was found in analysis of the policy statements that the period around World War II and the early 1950's was one of lessened expression of disagreement between the IACP and the prison and probation groups in formal policy statements of the period. However, many of the viewpoints that were to lead to an increase in expressed disagreement in the 1960's and 1970's between the NCCD and the IACP and for the first time between NCCD and ACA were developing in this period; and they are more manifest in the talks at the conferences than in the formal resolutions. Other speeches are reflective of re-evaluation of certain issues held by the group itself.

Beyond the Juvenile Court

In the 1940's indeterminate procedures adopted in several large states such as California and Illinois, included Youth Correctional Authority Acts. The prestigious American Law Institute, composed of high level judges, law school deans, and prominent attorneys appointed for life, had drafted a model Youth Correctional Authority Act upon which some of these laws were based. This had been done with the aid of a committee who involved prominent criminal justice actors of the period such as Sheldon Glueck, Thorsten Sellin, Austin MacCormick and Edward Cass, long term secretary of the National Prison Association. The acts were designed to deal with young offenders, aged 18 to 21 or 25. These were beyond the range of normal juvenile court jurisdiction in most states. According to the representative of the American Law Institute who presented the model act to the Probation Conference the act was based upon two points of consensus. The first was that treatment should depend upon the individual character of the offender rather than the character of the violation of the law for which the offender had been convicted. The second was that one agency rather than several should control the treatment. It was presented as a transfer of authority from the judges to the Youth Authority and an attempt of the judges to work with the social science orientated youth authorities (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1940:16-21).

For the person convicted it meant that the commitment was indefinite until they reached 21 and in some cases, 25. The authority could place the youth on probation immediately or he/she could end up being institutionalized until adulthood for a very minor offense. Morevoer, if at age 21 the authorities deemed the individual unfit for society, petitions could be made for extensions of the commitment. One of the factors stressed in this period was the divesting of the court of non-judicial or treatment functions and also reducing the perceived duplication of services.

The speakers from the Probation Association were not, however, overly supportive of the Youth Correctional Authority movement. Secretary of the association, Charles Chute, cited the indeterminate character of the

sentence and the removal of the judge's authority to place on probation. Rather the NPPA advocated the extension of the juvenile court jurisdiction to age 21. A resolution passed by the group in 1940 urged increased consideration of the upholding of the legal rights of those accused in the juvenile courts. One sees in this debate the tension between rights orientated and treatment/protective orientated viewpoints. This criticism crystallized further in the period after 1955, with criticism occurring of the juvenile courts as well as the youth correctional authorities.

Community Organization

The Probation Association has always had strong ties to social work interests. Within social work in the 1930's and 1940's there was renewed positive focus on the techniques of community organization. The ideas surrounding the Chicago area project, headed by Clifford Shaw, were of special significance. Conference proceedings for these years include several positive reports, at times by "slum area" residents themselves. A central idea was that "we must capitalize on the existing cultural forces in the community regardless of how they stand in regard to our own life patterns" (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1937:23). Resident-organizer speakers stressed that the successive waves of different types of residents living in the same socio-demographic area developed similar problems. Similar to Thrasher's studies of Chicago and New York gangs and contrary to some psychological notions they maintained that "delinquent children are normal." A speaker in 1940 states:

> Given the same influences and opportunities which prevail in other sections of the city they would be as law abiding and conventional as children anywhere (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1940:3).

Note was made of the fact that many traditional social service agencies existed apart from the life of the neighborhood. In contrast, descriptions were given of the calling forth of community people themselves to take the leadership in improvement of the communities. One speaker listed 18 neighborhood sub-committees covering a wide range of areas such as education,

vocational guidance, health, recreation, civic improvement, music, arts and crafts, athletics, sanitation, and delinquency. Statistics were cited on the improvements in the neighborhoods performed by these committees.

Academic Thought

At the same time that many academic thinkers who spoke at the conferences were concerned with the question of what differentiates the criminal from the non-criminal in the same environment, two other points of emphasis became increasingly noticed. One was a notion that revived the stress of the early clergymen and public office holder prison reformers, that the rich and middle class as well as the poor are guilty. Speakers cited Sutherland's work noting that all classes engage in illegal behavior, but that crimes are differentially enforced. Evidence was cited of higher loses from largely "unpunished white collar crime" (National Probation Association Yearbook, 1952).

The second research insight was the conceptualization by Ohlin and others that the criminal justice system itself was an important variable in confirming the offender in a criminal career. This was related to the old idea that "jails were schools of crime" also spoken of by the 19th century reformers. But the concept differed in that it stressed the role that labeling and the criminal justice system itself had in hardening criminal behavior rather than merely the bad influences of association with other prisoners. Related to this was the notion that certain types of behavior had become overcriminalized. These insights were to be embodied in concrete policy choices by the association in the next period between 1956 and 1976.

Critique of Prison Use

Another important related theme was the shift from discussion of prison use in terms of its lack of suitability for individual cases, to a general critique of the negative impact of imprisonment use for the society. This involved a broader analysis of the limitations of incarceration as a penal sanction and emphasis on prison overuse in the U.S. relative to other

industrialized countries. This critique involved several aspects. One was the argument that the length of prison sentences had been steadily increasing thus creating an increase in prison size and overcrowding. These conditions in the view of conference speakers made "it well neigh impossible to operate prisons as centers of treatment" (NPPA Journal, 1955:337). A second more basic argument was the belief that prison use contained an inherent contradiction, which made it unable to prepare the offender for successful adjustment after release. It was noted by Sol Rubin, legal counsel for the Probation Association and one of the most vocal prison critics that:

> Like some vampire-like creature prison literally drains its wards of all that makes for maturity (NPPA Journal, 1955:338).

The dependence fostered by imprisonment was thus seen as contradictory to the skills needed for legitimate survival in the community upon release. Rubin argued that:

> Throughout our history the pattern of penal legislation has been dominated by a steady increase of penalties which may be imposed and along with it, penalties which are actually imposed (NPPA Journal, 1955:340).

He linked this increase partly to the use of the indeterminate sentence. His proposals for shortened sentences were shared by Milton Rector who later became the executive secretary of the association. However, the two debated over whether indeterminate sentences were to be opposed. Rector was then unwilling at this time to advocate the disuse of the indeterminate sentence (NPPA Journal, 1954). An additional argument made at conferences, which perhaps appealed to the businessmen was the expense involved in maintaining prisons compared with the substitution of community supervision. It was argued that if recidivism rates were no higher when probation was used, that this less costly alternative was preferred.

As will be seen, the themes discussed above; the non-judgmental stress on community based action, reaction against indeterminate rehabilitation efforts, upholding legal rights of the accused and notice of the negative effects of prison use and other aspects of the criminal justice system were increasingly important for formal policy choices of the organization in the 1960's and 1970's.

NCCD 1955 - 1976

In 1915 the association president described the organization as "a small professional group best qualified to speak for probation interests" (National Probation Association Proceedings, 1915:iii). Then in the 1930's and 1940's the group identified itself as a strong fast growing professional organization concerned primarily with probation and parole interests. However, by the late 1960's the organization's president described NCCD as "a citizen governed organization which uses the best technical research and talent available" (Crime and Delinquency, 1967). This statement reflects two major developments in the organizations focus.

The first was the emphasis on citizen participation and the second the emphasis on professional technical research. Concretely these emphases were manifest in the establishment of local citizen community councils plus a prominent citizen orientated national board of trustees. Correspondingly, there was a growth of the association's community organization field staff and on the national level, the professional staff's increased participation in criminal justice related research and information dissemination activities. This information-centered activity has been linked, however, to the development of a specific set of policy advocacy concerns by the professional staff. A third change in focus was the already discussed continuation of a broad based concern with all aspects of the criminal justice system. Correspondingly there was a relative decline in focus on probation and parole. A fourth related change was policy development away from positive emphasis on criminal justice system development to a much more critical stance vis-a-vis existing criminal justice system patterns. Each of these will be briefly discussed.

Community Organization and Citizen Based Action

The first local citizen councils were established by the NPPA in 1953. Initial grants for this had been obtained by the Ford Foundation. Subsequently on-going United Fund support for the crime prevention and action groups was obtained in several cities. Generally these were organized by an NCCD staff member who formed a council of representative local business, and social welfare professional leaders (for a study of the composition and attitudes of NCCD local council members (see Wildeman, 1971).

On the national level the association increasingly sought and obtained on its board of trustees the participation of business leaders from large corporations as well as national leaders in the social welfare and judicial fields. For example, in 1967 the new board members introduced at the business meeting were: David Rockefeller, Jr.; Walter Shaley, a Vice President of AT&T; Joseph Griesldieck, president of Falstaff Brewing and; Ed Gudeman, partner of Lehman Brothers. It is from this Board of Trustees plus the professional and advisory councils that policy statements have come in the years after 1955.

The Growth of a Professional Staff Concerned with Information Collection and Dissemination

The Probation Association had been conducting periodic field surveys of probation use and other correctional services since the 1920's. They had also put together the first standards in the area of juvenile court and probation. However, the 1950's and 1960's witnessed a growth in information-centered areas. In the 1960's they conducted a national survey of corrections for the President's Crime Commission. By the mid 1950's they had also begun to publish the first of the two research journals they now publish. Then in 1963 through grants from NIMH and the Rockefeller Foundation the association undertook the establishment of the first U.S. based Crime and Delinquency Literature and Research Abstracts. This was first published in coordination with the National Clearing House for Mental

Health Information and the series has subsequently been continued independently by the NCCD Information Center on Crime and Delinquency.

However, the development in the 1970's of increased on-going government activity through LEAA and later the Bureau of Justice Statistics in the area of the collection of criminal justice statistics and information dissemination; and the establishment also initially through LEAA funding of the standard drafting and implementing through the Commission on Accreditation for Corrections would seem to indicate a lessening of the potential direct NCCD role in these two areas in the future. NCCD reportedly turned down in the early 1970's management of the LEAA's National Criminal Justice Reference and Information Service (NCJRIS) because of unwillingness to relocate in the Washington, D.C. area. However, the Crime and Delinquency Literature Abstract publication and other research publication activities of the group have proved to be sustaining areas in the period of the 1970's. In this period relative to the popular growth of the 1960's many of the policy orientated activities of the group have been in official (loss of grant money) and public disfavor (membership decline). This will be discussed further in the policy summary.

A Criminal Justice Wide Focus of Concern

As was noted in the last section, in the early 1950's councils were established covering a wide range of criminal justice areas. The last council to be initiated was the law enforcement council formed in 1961. In calling attention to this area the association president cited its necessity in the light of the fact that "no citizen-governed organization is concerned with them (police) as part of the prevention and correctional process" (Crime and Delinquency, 1961:378).

In keeping with this widened focus, in the mid 1950's the association broadened the scope of its yearly conference and held the first National Institute of Crime and Delinquency. This was co-sponsored by the National Association of Training Schools and by the regional probation and correctional associations in the local area is which the conference was held. This conference can be seen to be almost a duplication of the ACA's

Congress of Correction which had been the major undertaking of that group. During the period of growth of NCCD activity and membership in the 1950's and 1960's, this was but one of several large undertakings of the group. They also remained an affiliate of the ACA. In 1959 the association director reported that they had conducted more program sessions at the ACA's Congress of Correction that any other affiliate (NPPA Journal, 1959). Although the scope of concern had been widened by the mid 1950's, the group retained the title National Probation and Parole Association until 1960. At this time the name was changed to National Council on Crime and Delinquency. The name change did in fact, however, reflect a further lessening of emphasis on probation and parole.

Major funding sources of the group other than membership dues from a reported 60,000 members in the late 1960's were from the Ford, Rockefeller, and Babcock Foundations, NIMH, and local Community Chests.

The Policy Development of the Group

After a period of issuing relatively few statements of policy beyond advocacy of probation, parole and the juvenile court, in 1963 the professional council of the NCCD suggested that the board of trustees (a group made up of citizens and professional representatives of the various councils) adopt a plan of issuing periodic policy statements. These statements plus the model acts drafted by the councils of the association form the basis of the association's advocacy during the period.

In the discussion of the organization in the period between 1936 and 1955 note was made of the growth of four perspectives in speeches at the conventions of the time. These became of increasing importance in formal policy advocacy development after 1955. Briefly, these were: (1) focus on the community as the locus of action; (2) renewed ideological concern with the rights of those in the criminal justice system; (3) growth of concern over the effects of labeling and over-criminalization; and (4) the critique of prison use. To these can be added: (5) concern with organized crime and racketeering; (6) the attempt to separate dangerous

offenders from the majority of offenders; and (7) increasing disenchantment with treatment attempts, as the major underlying concerns manifest in the policy statements.

The policy statements and model acts of the period have originated separately from the individual councils and the Board of Trustees. Although up to 1976 these statements were not directly inconsistent with each other, the potential for differences exist. Similarly, grant funded projects of the different councils may have different points of emphasis. The lengthy supporting statements for the policy statements reflect the information centered but critical approach of the NCCD staff of professional reformers. A brief review of model act and policy statement content will now be given.

The Model Sentencing Act

The model sentencing act of the Council of Judges was first published in 1963. It was drafted by a contingent of judges from a variety of courts ranging from the Supreme Court to local juvenile jurisdications. According to the preface of the model act it "is a welding of two intimately related developments" (Crime and Delinquency, 1972:340). The first is probation. The preface notes that "the feasibility of community treatment for the great majority of offenders has been demonstrated." The second element was cited as "the recognition that prolonged incarceration is necessary for certain individuals whose behavior and personality make them highly dangerous to society" (p.340).

The provisions of the sentencing act made a probation investigation mandatory for any crime with a possible commitment of one year or more and allowed for its use with lesser offenses. Mandatory minimum sentences and exceptions to parole and probation for certain crimes were not advocated. "Dangerous offenders," however, would be subject to commitments of up to 30 years.

Dangerous offenders were defined not only to include those who have inflicted serious bodily harm but also those who had:

> seriously endangered the life or safety of another, has been previously convicted of one or more felonies and the court finds he is suffering from a severe personality disorder indicating a propensity toward criminal activity (Crime and Delinquency, 1972:350).

A third criteria defined those heavily involved in organized crime in a leadership position as dangerous.

The act in its comments clearly envisioned that a small minority would fall under the criterion of dangerous offenders; however, one can see the potential for high levels of judicial discretion. The act also envisioned that the small number of dangerous offenders would be dealt with in a therapeutic manner. It asserts:

> Even the small minority of offenders who are categorized as dangerous should be dealt with on a diagnostic and treatment basis (Crime and Delinquency, 1972:352).

Those convicted as felonies and not classified as dangerous (the act asserts this will be the majority) could be treated with one of four options: (1) probation; (2) suspension of sentence with or without probation; (3) fine; or (4) commitment of up to five years or a lesser term. Comments state that the aim was to avoid the long sentences which previous codes have specified. These were stated to have "succeeded in building up the most punitive penology in the Western World" (Crime and Delinquency, 1972:340). The model act omitted the death penalty as a sentence for Murder One, but a life term was allowed.

In describing the model act an NCCD commentator in 1972 stated it was "an interim step for the gradual phasing out of most correctional institutions" (Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1973). However, the period of the mid 1970's saw an acceleration of prison use rather than a decline. The model act itself with its large area of judicial discretion and potentially severe treatment of those defined as dangerous has come under criticism recently by some NCCD staff members and some staff attempts had been made by 1979 to get the association to rescind the model act.

Despite the Model Sentencing Act the NCCD gave strong verbal support to the increased emphasis on due process in the 1960's. Statements of Milton Rector, the director, such as the following are indicative of this:

> Including mentally ill violators, let us not sacrifice due process of law to the illusion of treatment (Crime and Delinquency, 1963:98).

In general the other advocacy statements of the NCCD in this period reflect this concern.

A summary of the policy advocacy statements, discussed in Part I, is as follows:

- Advocacy of return of those convicted in foreign countries to their own country to serve sentence;
- Support of interstate parole and probation compacts;
- Support of federal aid to states for juvenile delinquency prevention and control;
- Advocacy of the disbanding of the Federal Bureau of Prisons: establishment of a federal correctional agency to give technical and financial aid to communities;
- Opposition to parallel federal crime legislation;
- Advocacy of broad-based planning for corrections taking into account social, medical, employment, housing, and economic conditions;
- Advocacy of adequate juvenile detention facilities: maximum use of probation, setting maximum capacity for juvenile facilities and no sentencing beyond this capacity;
- Opposition to further prison construction until other community alternatives were explored and developed: opposition to construction of federal regional correctional institutions;
- Support of the establishment of community services;
- Drafting and support of a model act for legislation to provide for the annulment of conviction after a conviction-free time period;

- Advocacy that no civil rights be lost other than those of the sentence by those convicted; opposition to voting and other restrictions;
- Opposition to informal and formal use of preventative detention;
- Drafting and support of a model act for protection of prisoner rights (approval of entrance of courts into questions, limits use of solitary, force; only rights taken away those specified by law);
- Advocacy of medical treatment for drug offenders which might include maintenance;
- Criticism of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics drug policy; elimination of possession of small amounts as a drug crime;
- Advocacy of removal from the criminal codes of laws creating crimes without victims, drunkenness, drug addiction, homosexuality, and other non-assaultive sexual behavior, vagrancy, gambling, truancy and runaway legislation;
- Opposition to abortion prohibition laws: advocacy of provision of clinics;
- Advocacy of making wiretapping illegal by private citizens and groups: law enforcement apply to courts for authorization;
- Opposition to juvenile curfew laws;
- Advocacy of removal of status offenses from the juvenile court;
- Advocacy of stiff penalties for racketeer leaders;
- Advocacy of adequate and confidential parole and probation records;
- Opposition to sending dependent children to training schools with delinquents;
- Advocacy of rescinding federal prison labor restrictions: invitation of labor and business leaders to develop training and industry; private enterprise systems in prison;
- Advocacy of minimum wage for prison labor;
- Opposition to the use of capital punishment;
- Opposition to the use of corporal punishment in training schools;

- o Advocacy of strong criminal justice citizen action groups;
- o Advocacy of training programs for correctional workers;
- o Opposition to political power and corruption in corrections and law enforcement: study of the problem;
- o Advocacy of limits on the use of juveniles as informants by police;
- o Support of affirmative action in the criminal justice system;
- o Support of use of labor and conflict resolution arbitration techniques in prison conflict;
- o Advocacy of limits to transfers from juvenile court to adult court;
- o Advocacy of diversion from the juvenile court to non-criminal justice agencies as much as possible;
- o Advocacy of safeguarding juvenile rights and critique of juvenile court practices;
- o Advocacy of use of incarceration only for those legally designated dangerous; citation of the failure of prisons; increase probation use;
- o Support of possibility of parole use while legal action is pending;
- o Opposition to legislation requiring registration of ex-felons with the police.

Another perspective of the group apparent in this period is the relative lack of enthusiasm for correctional rehabilitative and treatment activity. This is manifest not so much in criticism as in lessened positive concern. In 1976 the association published the critical summary of evaluations of rehabilitation programs by Martinson, Palmer and Adams. The association's recent concern has been critical reform of the criminal justice system itself in the light of reports of the limited and, in some cases, negative results of treatment programs.

These policies have been seen in Part I to be the most decriminalizing of the three groups studied. They are also apparently the least like those reported by the public in Gallup Polls (see Appendix 2). It is interesting that they have been formulated from a group which has the input

of high level business persons and research/reform orientated professionals and judges. As was noted in Part I, the support of decriminalization of "vice activities" is consistent with the positions taken by early 20th century business orientated progressive reformers (Haller, 1971).

In analyzing the NCCD policy and organizational development in the period since 1960 the role played by its long time director, Milton Rector, is cited as very important by NCCD staff members. Rector, at one time a probation officer in California, has been a staff member of the organization for 30 years and director for 20 years. He is a forceful, outspoken critic of certain correctional practices and, at times, of the specific policies of certain state correctional systems.

The recent climate in corrections and among the public has meant, after very rapid growth in the 1950's and 1960's, a period of lessened relative growth for the association in the 1970's. Growth in membership has reportedly declined and grant support has not grown recently. Two rolls recently stressed by the association have been providing a mechanism for citizen input in crime prevention and policy formulation; and an information dissemination/research role. However, increased federal government research activity and the currently more favored position of the ACA and the CAC, as well as the growth of other criminal justice reform groups, have meant a sharing of the grant money pie. Moreover, current mainstream public opinion appears in many ways out of step with strong current and historical policy commitments of the NCCD. It is probably not true that this is more so than at some other periods in the group's history. However, in those years the organization, as the National Probation Association, had a very clear goal to which it was committed; the spread of probation use.

It remains to be seen if in the next decade the NCCD will develop a policy orientation more in the middle of the spectrum or retreat in its citizen advocacy role altogether and concentrate on development of its information/research role. Much may depend upon the direction of citizen opinion, government policies, grant availability and orientation, and academic thought in the 1980's.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This research has presented an interactional analysis of the content of and change in the policy advocacy of the three oldest and largest voluntary occupation related national associations concerned with criminal justice policy advocacy in the executive area. Over time the IACP, the ACA and the NCCD have been representative of police, prison, and probation and parole administrators, respectively and to varrying degress of other reform interests. Their history is representative of the mixture between occupational and reform interests and the process whereby reforms are translated into occupational groupings with their own set of interests.

The major methodology employed has been a content analysis of the universe of published formal statements of policy, spanning the years since the ACA first issued its Declaration of Principles in 1870 to 1976; and a less structured analysis of the text of the proceedings of the yearly conferences and other publications of the associations. It was anticipated that the use of systematic content analysis would avoid the pitfall in historic research of selecting only those parts of written documents that confirm or disrepute a particular set of expectations. At the same time it was hoped that the use of speeches at the conferences and other published reports of the associations would provide a context for interpretation and a check on the findings of the content analysis.

This conclusion first calls attention to certain common factors in the histories of the three groups presented in Part II and then summarizes the findings of Part I of the research. A discussion is also presented of the limitations of the study and implications for future research.

Findings of Part II - The Organizational Histories

The three organizations of study are long lived organizations that over their history have gone through periods of relatively high, low or

no growth. This depended upon environmental conditions, specific organizational actions, and links to other organizations. As such long term groups they are in an organizational minority (Kaufman, 1971) but they have been seen to occupy what has been called a "stable nitch" vis a vis their environment (Monane, 1970). The three groups were formed between 1870 and 1907, a period in which there was a large increase in the number of national voluntary organizations concerned with reform and occupational interests. As such they represent the intermixture between seeking social welfare goals and occupational development and segmentation (Gilb, 1966).

Succession of Goals

The three groups have in common that they were each organized around a particular perceived reform or improvement; national criminal ID files for the IACP, the reformatory method for the ACA, and the spread of probation and parole and the juvenile court for the NCCD. Early writings about all three of the organizations have attributed the success of the organizations relative to earlier attempts at organization on a national scale, in part to this coalescence around particular goals. (Upson, Lent, 1929; Teeters, Negelly, 1969). However the NCCD with its focus on the spread of probation, parole and the juvenile court, and the IACP with its focus on criminal ID files, both had a set of more clearly defined goals than the ACA. Hence they more quickly developed beyond being merely conference bodies. The ACA's primary initial concern with fostering the reformatory method of corrections was much less able to be translated into attainable concrete options.

Although organized around initial dominant concerns the three groups, have demonstrated the quality of progressing through a succession of attainable goals, as well as the quality of maintaining other symbolic, albeit unattainable goals, and of quietly dropping others (Perrow, 1970; Gusfield, 1955). For example the IACP has progressed from concern with the establishment of criminal ID files, to work on the Uniform Crime Index, to consultation in the area of police management and education, to uniform auto safety codes and other matters related to auto safety. The less definable goal of police professionalization remains an abiding concern.

The National Probation Association (now NCCD) has progressed from almost exclusive concern with the spread of the formalized probation option and juvenile courts to concern with parole, the socialized court and psychological diagnosis as well. The most recent 20 years have had an even wider focus of concern including focus on such things as citizen advocacy, criminal justice information processing, inmate rights, and critique of prison use and other aspects of the criminal justice system. Of the groups studied the NCCD has changed its structure the most and has moved most away from direct representation of the occupational interest of criminal justice practitioners. The ACA on the other hand has developed increasingly in the direction of performing as a representative of occupational interests. With the growth of the standards and accreditation movement the association developed a more concrete focused potentially attainable goal.

The Importance of Corporate Funding Sources

One sees from the discussion throughout the thesis, the role the three organizations have played in initating programs subsequently taken over by the federal government or other agencies. The IACP initiated both national criminal identification files and Uniform Crime Reporting, both of which were subsequently taken over by the federal government. The ACA standards and accreditation program is now primarily conducted by an independent agency operating primarily with federal funding; although the ACA has maintained responsibility for standard drafting.

The outstanding fact to be noticed about the first initiation of the projects by the organizations, however, is the role of grants from corporate foundations. As seen in Part II in the case of major group undertakings, such as the IACP's Uniform Crime Reporting in the 1930's, ACA's Correctional Standards and NCCD's Citizen Councils in the 1960's and 1970's; the major initial source of funding was auto and oil related foundations. Other large areas of corporate grant support have included auto code development and police and correctional management and education projects. Since 1970 the federal government has been an increased source of funding.

This role of foundations such as Ford and Rockefeller as well as the smaller role of groups such as the American Rifle Association, illustrates the direct link corporate power has had in the development of the criminal justice occupations' professionalization attempts and system priorities (Quinney, 1974; Krisberg, 1975). However, in so far as IACP, ACA and NCCD projects and policy each embody viewpoints that differ on crucial points, one can see that within certain parameters the corporate foundations have at different times sponsored the liberal, moderate, and the conservative wing of criminal justice advocacy.

Unattainable Goals

All three groups have had both very specific and more general goals which have proved unattainable or out of reach over their history. Some of these have been dropped as policy concerns, or have become irrelevant as they are no longer on the agenda of alternatives. Others are maintained as symbolic albeit unattainable goals. The ACA, for example, has engaged in certain concrete policy advocacy relative to jail use, prison labor, and prison architecture to name a few areas, than have consistently been followed by decisions in the opposite direction by state and federal governments. As the agenda of alternatives changes specific advocacy formulations have been adjusted or dropped by the group. On another level the more encompassing goal of the development of successful rehabilitation or treatment methods, remains an ever out of reach underlying symbolic orientation.

Speech Ideologies: Link to Policy

The organizational histories presented in Part II rely heavily on talks given to the assembled conventions. From these has been seen the extent to which the ideas expressed in the speeches in a particular time period often provide underpinnings for the issue stances and goals that find embodiment in formal policy statements. At the same time in the speeches it is apparent that there is more diversity of viewpoint and more evidence of explicit criticizing and reversal of past interpretations than in the formal policy statements. There is also more exploring of the

parameters of advocacy in the speeches than in the formal statements, both with regard to economic inequality issues and constitutional requirements. The formal statements represent with few exceptions a more filtered, compromised, guarded approach. In contrast to the rhetorical use of comparisons to past mistakes present in some speeches, it has been seen that formal policy statements are less likely to be phrased in a manner that purposefully contrasts with previously stated policy. But the policy statements do represent those issue stances to which enough attention was given and for which enough support was attained to gain official organizational formulation, approval, and publication.

The Policy Statement Analysis: Findings from Part I

Part I of the thesis was primarily focused upon analysis of formal policy statements. In the introduction it was stressed that : (1) functional task concerns (2) interest maintenance and (3) broader environmental constraints were assumed to be the major interacting analytical factors useful in policy advocacy interpretation. The organizations were seen as themselves concerned with and representative of occupations engaged in functional problem solving and interest maximization within the framework of a liberal capitalist state. Functional concerns and interest maximization were perceived as affecting policy stance, within certain environmental parameters. The organizations were seen to represent differing groups, sharing the same primary objects of concern and forming a functional system yet representing different actual and symbolic approaches to crime.

Using system concepts the organizations were viewed as boundary maintaining groups existing in an environment characterized by variety, constraint, and scarcity. The organizations were seen to "map" or select certain policy choices from the variety within the environment and to be limited by certain constraints. Negative and positive feedback were expected to be major factors in policy choice. The organizations were seen to be selectively interrelated by this mapping process (Buckley, 1968).

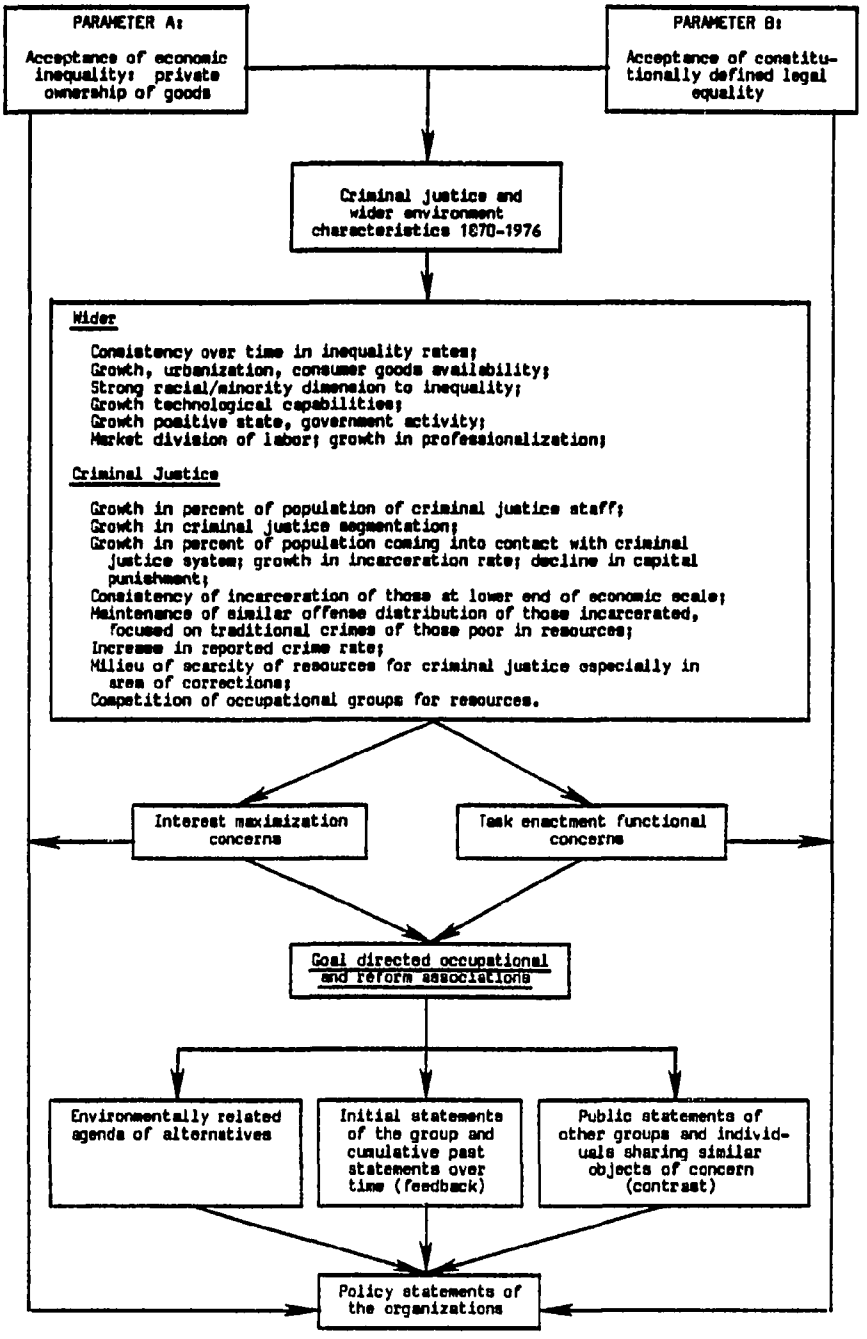
Following from this orientation the importance of looking at policy choice at any given time in terms of the following was stressed: (1) The

policy selection of those occupations who share a similar focus of concern, who are related by the environmental "mapping" process, and with whom an officially designated system is formed, but with whom finite environmental resources are divided; (2) The policy selection of each group in its own past from which negative and positive feedback occurs; (3) Gross indicators of environmental conditions relative to the occupational "task" and larger social system constraints within which the occupations and reformers are acting in a particular time.

Major questions with regard to the policy statements of the three groups thus concerned analysis over time of the following: (1) Content and parameters of issues of concern; (2) Agreement levels between the three organizations; (3) Internal consistency of the policies and; (4) Evaluation of the policy statements vis a vis criminalization and severity of sanctioning questions.

Before discussion of the findings of the content analysis of policy statements with regard to each of the questions, attention was given to certain consistencies and changes in the environment important for analysis of policy selection of the three groups. These included: (1) The segmentation of and growth in percent of the work force of the occupations of concern, and the continued dominance of police activity in terms of numbers and resource allocation; (2) The fluctuating growth in incarceration rate over the period despite increased use of parole and probation, and the decline in lynching and capital punishment; (3) The maintenance of a similar offense distribution focused on traditional crimes of those poor in resources; (4) The constant relationship of race, ethnic background and occupational class to frequency of imprisonment; (5) Apparent stability of levels of economic inequality, amid growth in material and technical consumption levels for all groups and a continuing labor surplus. To these can be added the milieu of budgetary scarcity under which corrections routinely operates. A summary of the research assumptions relative to policy analysis discussed above is presented schematically in Chart 2.

Chart 2. Policy Analysis Schema



Saliency and Parameters

Given the legal, ideological and power dimensions of the United Sates it was anticipated that two parameters would be operating which would not be violated: (1) Acceptance of economic inequality and (2) Acceptance of formal legal equality as constitutionally defined. It was thus anticipated that advocacy of change in economic inequality and causal interpretation directly related to this variable would rarely if ever occur in formal policy statements, given environmental constraints. It was also anticipated that although debate would occur concerning interpretation, all three groups would adhere to the norm of constitutionally defined legal equality.

Acceptance of Economic Inequality

In evaluating this parameter it was found that no statements of any of the three groups address directly the issue of economic inequality. Some references to the saliency of economic factors vis a vis crime and offenders were made in speeches at a number of the conventions of the ACA and NCCD and a few of their formal statements see employment as a major factor in rehabilitation success. However, very few formal policy statements by these groups call for economic planning and no statements call for reduction in *economic inequality per se*. *The IACP never relates crime to* economic variables and rarely focuses on any causes or remote prevention in policy statements. In contrast to concern with economic variables in their formal statements all three organizations have dealt with prevention and cause of crime primarily in terms of home life, education, religion, vice control, youth activities, recreation and the development of criminal justice professionals with a properly functioning criminal justice system.

Legal Equality and Procedural Rights

All three organizations were also found to operate within the parameter of verbal deference to the primary constitutional delineation of procedural rights, and to use this as a final legitimizer for policy stances. This deference to the constitution has been used at times to

legitimize the opposing rights of both the occupational groups and those of the accused, convicted and released prisoners.

The ACA has in recent years evidenced more occupational defensiveness and less willingness to advance prisoner rights in certain areas, while in other areas they continue to advocate concern. For example the association dropped several references, some dating from 1870, to prisoner rights in the 1970 statement of principles. In 1972 they used the United States Constitution to defend punishment as a legitimate goal of corrections. In other areas such as health, diet and employment the association continues to advocate prisoner and ex-prisoner rights.

Both ACA and NCCD policy statements have espoused individualized treatment of the offender as a goal, and at times treatment vis a vis the offender rather than the crime. The NCCD especially in its early years strongly advocated the informal procedures of what was known as the "socialized court" movement. While specific prisoner rights were rarely discussed, the general question of equal justice was addressed. At this time the "socialized court" movement was seen as a way to informally take into account a wide variety of individual background factors in order to foster equal justice by individualizing the court and correction procedure. More recently, following the courts, the emphasis of NCCD has been on uniform formal procedure rather than individualization as the major way of ensuring reform and equal justice. References to specific constitutional requirements are made much more frequently than in the past, and the question of problems of the "socialized court" vis a vis constitutional rights has been partially addressed. Assurance of legal guarantees, rather than calls for economic reform have constituted the major thrust of NCCD recent reform efforts.

The IACP, representing the police, have used reference to constitutional rights primarily to extend their own procedural leeway, but have in almost all cases also maintained formal deference to legal constitutional requirements. They also uphold "legal law enforcement" as the primary goal of police professionalization. Although in some conference speeches and committee reports references have occasionally been made to the need for

constitutional amendments, reaction to relevant court cases have in most cases focused on education of police departments concerning the limits of procedural compliance required. In more recent years resolutions have called for rehearing of some high court cases dealing with rights of the accused. There is also a tendency to assert police demands in the language of police rights.

Saliency Change

Broad overall goal saliency changes are apparent from the histories presented in Part II. The ACA initial policy statement were primarily concerned with interpretation of the criminal justice system in terms of the establishment of the reformatory method. Corresponding with this other concerns were: the establishment of a parallel federal prison system, critique of jails, initiation of the use of criminal ID and statistics and defense of prison labor. In the 1920's and 1930's probation and parole became the most central issues, as more focus was placed on what happened to prisoners after release. Prison labor also remained an important issue in this period. In the most recent years prison labor has declined in relative saliency and education and community corrections are more salient. In the period 1956 to 1976 criminal justice occupational development concerns, as they were initially, are again of increased concern.

IACP policy saliency reflects a succession of goals related in later years to funding grants. Initial primary focus was on the Criminal ID Bureau and the issues surrounding the collection of ID files. Another important issue was cooperation between police jurisdictions. After the takeover by the FBI of the ID Bureau, focus turned with grant support from the Spellman/Rockefeller foundation to the collection of crime statistics. After this project was also turned over to the government, a highly salient issue concerned police radio and other communication devices. Most recently high funding support from auto and safety foundations has meant overwhelming concern for issues surrounding auto control and safety. In recent years areas such as drug legality, and police procedures subject to constitutional debate have also been very salient.

The NCCD has moved from almost exclusive policy statement, concern with probation, parole and the juvenile court, to concern with a wide variety of criminal justice issues. Of saliency have been legalization issues with regard to such things as abortion, drugs, curfews, and drunkenness, and organized crime, as well as prison construction and the use of incarceration. An abiding concern has been coordination of the various functional and jurisdictional divisions of the criminal justice system. Sentencing policy has also been an issue of concern.

Primacy of the Professionalizing Complex

It was found that the topics of primary concern could be viewed as relating to what other researchers have identified as characteristics surrounding professionalization complex. These can be summarized under the headings: (1) occupational development (involving training, merit selection, depoliticalization, tenure, codes of ethics, status and respect maximization, compensation and autonomy); (2) the collection of related statistical information; (3) development of specialized professional techniques; (4) growth of the positive state administrative role (often federal); and (5) relationship to dominant historical concerns of the period.

Occupational Segmentation and Agreement/Disagreement

It had been anticipated that over time the three organizations would have less overlap in the topics of concern covered in their policy statements and that there would also be a decline in agreement in remaining areas of common concern. With regard to issue overlap, it was found that the IACP developed many areas of high saliency not found in the ACA and NCCD statements. A decline in issue overlap was thus found between IACP policy statement topics and those of both the ACA and NCCD. However considering the statements of the ACA and NCCD relative to whether the IACP had issued statements on the issues of concern, it was found the IACP continued to cover in its statements a large percentage of the topics of concern in the policy statements of the ACA and NCCD. The ACA and

NCCD have always had high levels of policy concern overlap and this was increased after NCCD broadened its scope of formal concern.

Agreement/Disagreement Levels

It was found that direct agreement statements declined for all comparisons overtime. However the proportion of direct disagreement statements between the IACP and both of the other two groups fluctuated, being highest in the periods 1915 to 1935 and 1956 to 1976. The ACA and NCCD maintained high agreement and issue overlap levels. They have however had a few notable instances of overt policy statement disagreement for the first time in the period after 1960.

The decline in both overlap of concern and direct agreement levels between the ACA and IACP is consistent with the occupational specialization occurring over the century. The fluctuation in direct disagreement percentages, however, indicates that in an area such as criminal justice, the degree of conflict manifest in the wider society may be an important factor.

Criminalization and Disagreement

Looking at the topic areas of agreement and disagreement between the three organizations a statistically significant relationship was found between a policy statement having significance in terms of increasing or decreasing criminalization or severity of sanctions and the occurrence of disagreement among the three organizations. Statements related to what has been called the professionalizing complex with little direct criminalization consequences constituted the major areas of direct and partial agreement.

Issues such as indeterminate sentencing, psychology in the courts, vice legislation especially drug control, interrogation methods, prison use and construction, gun control, use of probation and parole, search and wiretapping requirements, and capital punishment and length of sentence have been highly symbolic areas of disagreement. There is evidence that

the associations are aware of the statements of each other and formulate their positions and a distinct identity vis a vis the range of criminal justice alternatives at least partially in relation to each others positions.

Evaluation of Criminalization Stance Over Time

Evaluation of the statements in relation to criminalization content examined specifically the hypothesis that formal policy advocacy of the occupational groups would over time seek to extend legal regulation and severity of sanctioning. This hypothesis examines one aspect of the viewpoint that sees the specialized occupations as a factor in the amplification of crime and the criminal justice system. Each satement was thus evaluated as to whether if implemented it would increase or decrease: (1) the number of behaviors legally prohibited; (2) the number of behaviors legally required; (3) the procedural requirements under which the law is enforced and sentences implemented; (4) the severity of the sentence or; (5) the severity of the conditions under which the sentence is served.

Frequency of Concern

It was found that the NCCD and ACA had a large percentage of statements which had implications in either direction for criminalization, regulation or severity questions, about 60 percent overall; while only about 38 percent of the IACP statements were so categorized. However given the fact that the IACP has issued many more statements considering absolute numbers of statements having criminalization implications, the IACP is close to that of the ACA. The IACP had 290 statements of this type since 1893, in comparison to 347 of the ACA since 1870, and 116 of the NCCD since 1915. For the IACP the percentage of statements categorized as having direct criminalization implications was lessened over time. For the NCCD it was noticibly increased in the period 1955 to 1976.

Direction of Stance

Those statements judged as having direct criminalization or regulation implications if implemented were then categorized as to direction. In pilot coding it became apparent that a large number of issues, while clearly having criminalization implications, were equivocal in implication. For this reason the equivocal category was added to the two of increasing or decreasing criminalization or regulation. All three groups had a sizable number of statements so classified.

As expected it was found that a large majority of the IACP statements which had criminalization implications were in the direction of maintaining or increasing criminalization for each of the five aspects of criminalization considered. It was not found however that this tendency as a percentage of statements was numerically increased over time although qualitative analysis of certain issues over time such as drugs and prostitution did note an increased tendency to advocate stricter measures.

The ACA had the largest number of statements classified as equivocal, 42 percent overall, but the largest percentage of ACA statements having criminalization implications were in the direction of lessening severity. This was especially so in the area of severity of prison conditions. Very few of ACA statements, seven percent overall, called for increased severity or regulation.

The NCCD, as expected had the largest percentage of statements in the direction of advocating lessened criminalization and severity, especially in the period after 1955. In this period for the frist time the group began to consider legalization issues in certain areas. The NCCD statements in the earlier 1970's evidenced overt sensitivity to the feedback of a problem amplifying character of the criminal justice system. Withdrawal in some areas and increased concerns with consitutional rights of those who enter the criminal justice system were two resulting policies.

Analysis of the behavior about which legalization has been an issue indicates that the range of debate has been a limited one, but a

highly symbolic one. Legalization concerns related primarily to drugs, alcohol, prostitution, gun control, organized crime control, surveillance procedures, and juvenile status offenses. These were seen (Appendix 2) to also be the major legalization issues about which the Gallup Poll questions have been formulated. A notable exception is prohibition. This most salient of Gallup Poll crime related issues is one about which all three organizations were silent (see Appendix 2).

Issues related to severity of sanctioning centered on the use of probation, parole, the juvenile court, alternatives to incarceration, indeterminate sentencing, capital punishment, habitual offender laws, length of sentence for specific crimes, and prison construction. Procedural concerns have included; police interrogation methods, interstate detaining, use of preventative detention, bail procedure, psychological court evaluations prison discipline procedure and methods of prison conflict resolution. In almost all of these issues the IACP and the ACA and NCCD have at times been as polar points.

Position on these issues has constituted the differentiation within the parameters of the U.S. criminal justice system. The positions can be thought of as representing conflicting but at the same time complementary systems forming "mappings" of the variety of possible responses to the occurrence of deviance and the legal designation of the criminal justice system in the United States. On one level each of the perspectives would not be possible without the other. The Russian/French sociologist G. Gurvitch has described how seemingly heterogeneous or opposite poles can illustrate a neutrality or interdependency. Certain situations occur which cause them to pull together or apart although always as a compensatory action (Bosserman, 1968: 229). If the IACP is concerned with criminal justice system severity maintenance as the way to public protection and justice and the NCCD with system modification in the direction of amelioration as the way to public protection and justice, and if the IACP relates to negative feedback defensively and the NCCD by attempted incremental system reorganizations or withdrawal, each can do so without dissolution partly because of the presence of the other.

On another level each of the three organizations has had important concerns that have not involved disagreement with each other but with the public or with the "existing state of affairs." For the ACA policy statements in the area of prison labor, jail construction, prison size and architecture, employment of exprisoners and general availability of resources to meet basic living needs of those incarcerated have all constituted areas of overt or de facto conflict with the existing public policy; in some cases over almost the entire century. For all three groups the modus of operating in a scarcity milieu is apparent.

Internal Consistency and New Issues of Concern

The discussion of organizational policy statements thus far has noted changes in policy statements vis a vis questions of issue saliency, parameters of concern, issue overlap, conflict levels, and criminalization stance. An additional measure of change is that of internal consistency. Posing the question of simple internal consistency, five categories representative of different types of change emerged in pilot coding. These were: (1) those statements in which a behavior is treated by the organization for the first time or emerges into the organization's area of concern; (2) those statements which repeat the content of a previous statement (the same behavior is treated in the same context in the same way); (3) those statements which make a consistent contextual specification relative to an already treated behavior; (4) those statements which involve some modification, qualification or broadening of stance toward an already treated behavior, usually relative to environmental narrowing or broadening of possible alternatives; and (5) those statements which involve partial reversal of stance relative to an already treated behavior (no instance of complete reversal was found).

Examination of the statements vis a vis the above categories found that all three organizations maintained a certain level of emergence of new behaviors of concern over time, about 30 percent. But contrary to expectation they were highly consistent in subsequent policy evaluation of previously treated behaviors. The most frequent statements were those that

specified an already treated behavior to a certain context in a manner consistent with the initial evaluation. The groups originated expressing a specific orientation and this thrust has remained manifest in the majority of policy statements that followed throughout their history. No instances of complete policy reversal were found.

Due to their infrequency, the instances of partial reversal take on significance beyond their numerical occurrence. For the ACA the early 1970's statement affirming punishment as one constitutionally and otherwise legitimate goal of corrections, was a notable partial reversal. This has been accompanied by similar statements within the wider range of corrections literature since that time. For example a recent Federal Bureau of Prisons paper presented to the Sixth United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders states:

> the move away from the rehabilitation or treatment approach signals the recognition that punishment of a crime is uppermost in importance not the treatment of an inmate as the medical model has propounded (United Nations Norms and Guidelines in Criminal Justice: From Standard Setting to Implementation, 1980: 5).

For some in the ACA and corrections the retreat from the treatment model means focus on humanitarian reform and basic standards of decent treatment (Sechrest, Dale, 1979). Others have seen it as a manifestation of occupational protectiveness. It should also be noted that other ACA statements since the 1972 punishment statement have reaffirmed the rehabilitation goal; the original historical thrust of the organization.

For the IACP only in the area of police rewards and police pursuit were instances of partial inconsistency in statements found over time. The NCCD has formally qualified support of the juvenile court without reversing endorsement. A noticeable change in NCCD statements since the 1950's has been the movement from positive advocacy, to statements that are critical or objecting to certain policies. Past NCCD director Milton Rector as cited in Corrections Magazine has noted in this regard that not until the NCCD was transformed from a professional organization to an association operated

under a policy making board of laymen did it become possible to take strong policy stands (Rector, Milton, as cited in Allison, Richard, 1979:61).

In some cases, such as the dropping of previously included references to prisoner rights in the 1970 ACA restatement of principles, omission was seen to be a more apparent manifestation of modification of policy stance than overt reversal.

Limitations from the Source and Characteristics of the Data

This research has included study of only three groups, and has not included analysis of groups representative of the legal profession, prisoners themselves, or reform groups with no occupational ties. Inclusion of the advocacy concerns of national organizations representative of these groups would add greatly to the analysis of the parameters of occupational reform and client policy advocacy over the time period.

It has likewise been limited to written communication, and did not in a systematic way treat the outcome on results of the policy advocacy. Resolutions and policy statements were treated equally whether they were followed by subsequent extensive organization activity on their behalf or were simply included in the proceedings with little or no subsequent actions on their behalf. The problem of giving equal weight to written statements which meet a certain requirement (in this case, formalization into a resolution or policy stance) suggests the importance of combining content analysis with qualitative contextual analysis, or quantitative measures of corresponding behavior.

Theoretical Limitations

Chart 3 summarizes the expectations and findings discussed above. As can be seen, the research is primarily a comparative/historical study which used the schema presented earlier in Chart 2 to focus questions and expectations for descriptive analysis. As such it answers questions in the area of parameters of concern, differences between the groups,

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
EXPECTATIONS BASED UPON SCHEMA IN FIGURE 2			
THE PARAMETERS OF CONCERN			
Expectations Related to Environmental Parameters			
I. No changes in levels of economic inequality will be advocated in the formal policy statements of the three organizations. References to economic and stratification variables as related to the occurrence of crime or its remedy will be minimized.	o No statements call for lessening of economic inequality; o No statements link crime to economic causes; o One reference to underprivileged class in 1930's;	o No statements call for lessening economic inequality; o Single statements in 1940's and 1970's call for economic planning; o Single statements in 1870's and 1940, and 1970 makes reference to economic causes of crime; o Statements throughout link employment to rehabilitation success; protest barriers;	o No statements call for lessening economic inequality; o Single statements in 1930's and 1970's make reference to need for economic planning and causes of crime; o Statements throughout protest barriers to employment of those who have been in prison, on parole or probation;

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis (Continued)

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
II. Constitutional requirements of formal legal rationality and equality, expressed as procedural rights, will not be violated. Debate will occur however as to their limits.	o All statements on topic give deference to constitutional legal equality and rights; o Partial exceptions in 1930's, use language of forfeiture of rights by criminals, speaking with regard to parole; 1961 statement that any means justified to enforce laws, speaking with reference to police auto pursuit) o Some resolutions call for court rehearings of cases to which disagree; use language of rights to extend police procedural leeway; o Speak of police rights; o Strong advocacy of equal enforcement;	o All statements on the topic give deference to constitutional requirements; o Over the years most statements on rights have focused on pre-conviction and post-release rights, rather than those of the incarcerated under sentence; o In certain areas recent years have seen an omission of support for rights previously espoused; growth of occupational protectiveness; o Prefer to deal with issues in terms of standards and rationale, humane management, but strong use of court decisions as basis for recent standards;	o All statements on the topic give deference to constitutional requirements; o Early stress on the socialized court did not involve concern with rights of those who came into the system; stress rather on benevolent court; o In recent years considerable concern with rights issues relative to all aspects of the system; rights most frequent legitimizes for current reform advocacy;

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis (Continued)

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
SOCIAL WELFARE PROFESSIONALIZATION			
Expectations Related to Social Welfare Professionalization			
III. Concerns identified as related to social welfare professionalization will constitute a major area of common policy advocacy for the three organizations.	o High saliency of concerns for all three groups related to occupational development, positive government action and coordination, collection of information and technique development		
a. Occupational Development (tenure, merit selection, training requirements, self review and control over task performance evaluating, depoliticalization, universal mode of behavior)	o Early concern with tenure problem, merit selection; o Favor bipartisan boards and no public rewards; o Critique of police unions as hindrance to professionalization; o Efforts to raise public image of police; o Favor self evaluation; oppose civilian review boards; o Favor reduction of role in some areas (example judicial role vis a vis juveniles); maintenance of role in other areas (example auto control)	o Early concern with depoliticalization of job tenure; development of specialized rehabilitation profession; employment to rehabilitation o Focus on education; o Focus on self evaluation standards and accreditation;	o Early concern development of paid parole and probation offices, merit selection, training (in service and out)

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis (Continued)

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
b. Growth in federal and state government administrative role; significance of coordination	o Federal role advocated for collection of criminal ID files and uniform crime recording; o Object to any reorganization that would lessen the municipal quality of police organization; o Advocate parallel federal enforcement in certain areas; auto theft, drugs, national security; o Stress interjurisdictional coordination; defense against federal crime commission findings;	o Advocacy of parallel federal prison system in early years; more recently reaffirm support on specific issues; call for state centralization of prison systems; o Critique of local jails; o Recent stress on federal assistance, rather than duplication, community based corrections;	o Initial strong stress on need for coordination; o Advocate state organization of parole and probation; o Recent critique of federal parallelism; o Emphasis on community based corrections; diversion from the system;

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis (Continued)

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
c. The collection of relevant information and statistics (strong feedback implications)	o Initiated national criminal ID File and national uniform crime reporting; always advocated federal takeover; o Recent concern to keep police involved in management of crime related information; o Fingerprinting of all advocacy, especially aliens; o Feedback on recitivism used to justify advocacy of longer penalties;	o Initial consensus with IACP on collection of ID files; o Later Focus on Prison Statistics by the Census Bureau and later Federal Bureau of Prisons; o Support evaluation of specific programs; o Feedback linked to questioning of validity of rehabilitation as a goal and awareness of fact that those who enter the system are those who have on the average, had less opportunities; o Advocate diversion and decriminalization in limited areas;	o Some concern with record confidentiality issues; means advocated to purge criminal records after a time; o Feedback used to justify diversion from the system of individuals and decriminalization of certain limited behaviors; o Also question rehabilitation as possible goal; stress on safeguarding rights; training (in service and out);
d. Technique Development/ Task Enactment (related to technology and concerns of specific times)	o Importance of communication technology; radios, electronic surveillance, interrogation; teletype o Automobile control and utilization; o Management techniques;	o Overall primacy of Prison Labor Issues; o Importance of education, classification, physical care, reward systems, group therapy, community contacts, employment upon release;	o Primacy of Probation and parole; importance of community contacts juvenile court and juvenile detention centers; psychology in courts; pre-sentence social investigation

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis (Continued)

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
		o Rarely deal with prison discipline issues until standard manuals o Salience of probation and parole in 1920's to 1940's	o Recent concerns diversion, community corrections, safeguarding of rights
SYSTEM TENSION/VARIETY			
Expectations Related to System Variety and Tension			
IV. The growth of occupational segmentation, and new occupational categories, for which the organizations have developed representational interests, will result in decline of overlap of policy concern, as well as growth in disagreement on those issues of remaining common concern			
a. Issue overlap	o Decline in overlap with ACA and NCCD; but IACP continues to cover the majority of the issues covered by the ACA and NCCD;	o Decline in overlap with the IACP, maintenance of high overlap with the NCCD;	o Decline in overlap with IACP; maintenance of high overlap with ACA, increased, in last period;

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis (Continued)

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
b. Direct Agreement and direct disagreement levels among overlapping issues	o Decline over time in percent of overlapping statements in direct agreement with statements of the NCCD and ACA; o Fluctuation in percent of statements in direct disagreement; highest in period 1915 to 1935; 1955 to 1976;	o Decline over time in percent of overlapping statements in direct agreement with the IACP; o Fluctuation in percent of statements in direct disagreement with IACP statements; o Overall maintain high agreement and low disagreement levels with NCCD;	o Decline over time in percent of overlapping statements in direct agreement with IACP and ACA; o Increase over time in percent of overlapping statements in direct disagreement with statements of the IACP and ACA; o First instance of disagreement with ACA in period 1955 to 1976; o Overall maintain high agreement levels with ACA;
Areas of Disagreement	IACP/ACA Disagreement Areas included o Use of probation and parole; o Capital punishment; o Indeterminate sentence; o Drug treatment, legislation penalties; o Legislation with regard to other "crimes without victims;" o Gun control;	ACA/NCCD Disagreement Areas included o Constructing of Prisons; o Federal Prison System; role and existence; o Some prisoner rights issues;	IACP/NCCD Disagreement Areas included o Use of probation and parole; o Capital punishment; o Drug treatment and legislation; o Legislation with regard to other crimes without victims; o Use of electronic surveillance; o Psychiatry in the court; o Juvenile court use;

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis (Continued)

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
CRIMINALIZATION			
V. Criminalization/Severity of Sanctioning Issues The International Association of Chiefs of Police will advocate more criminalizing policy than either the American Correctional Association or the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. It is expected that this difference will increase over time.			
Frequency (number coded as having implications for criminalization/ severity related issues)	1893 - 1976 (290 statements 38% of the total)	1870 - 1976 (347 statements 60% of the total)	1915 - 1976 (116 57% of total)
Direction of Statements	o Large majority in the direction of increased regulation and severity; percentage did not increase over time; but absolute frequency increased; o Limited area of legalization issues;	o Majority in direction of decriminalization/decline of severity; large number classified as equivocal;	o Majority in direction of decriminalization/decline of severity; increased decriminalization in the last period; withdrawal advocated as response to crime amplification critique

Chart 3. Findings of the Policy Analysis (Continued)

	IACP 1893 - 1976	ACA 1870 - 1976	NCCD 1915 - 1976
INTERNAL CONSISTENCY/DEGREEOF NEW ISSUES OF CONCERN			
Expectations Related to System Re-ordering (Internal Consistency and New Issues of Concern)			
VI. Within a certain range of parameters all three of the organizations will have a balance of internal policy maintenance and development of new issues of concern.	o All three groups maintained development of new issues, with an average of about 30 percent in each time period. The majority of statements in a given period specified an already treated behavior to a particular context in a manner consistent with previous statements on the issue.		
VII. The ACA and NCCD, responsive to negative feedback will exhibit relatively high amounts of policy inconsistency or modification over the period of the study.	o Contrary to expectation all three groups were highly internally consistent. Only very infrequent occurrences of partial modifications of policy stance occurred. No instances of complete reversal occurred.		
Areas of partial modification	IACP (areas included) o Police pursuit o Police rewards	ACA (areas included) o Gun control o Use of parole o Goals of criminal justice system	NCCD (areas included) o Use and evaluation of the juvenile court o Juvenile detention center construction

criminalization stance and internal consistency of policy advocacy over time. While each of the specific expectations studied to differing extents has a link to the schema presented in Chart 2, the research is limited in that it does not attempt to directly establish the extent and characteristics of this link. However, insofar as the policy stances confirm or do not confirm to the expectations presented, one can directly add to the body of research relative to these expectations and to a lesser extent the findings reflect back upon the assumptions present in Chart 2.

Links to Other Research

The finding from analysis of the policy statements that all three groups did indeed formulate official policy stances within the parameter of acceptance of stable levels of economic inequality, and that the IACP ignored all economic variables relative to interpretation and remedies for the crime problem is consistent with the conclusion of other research (Platt, 1969; Boonstroom, R., 1974; Chambliss, 1976; Balbous, 1973; Quinney, 1977) on the links of the U.S. criminal justice system to the ideological underpinnings and power demands of corporate capitalism. Moreover, the direct links found between corporate funding grants and issue and project saliency illustrate the link these groups have had to organizational priorities. However, these priorities have spanned the range from liberal to conservative outlook.

The research lends less support to the viewpoint that sees criminal justice occupations as concered with ever extending the number of behaviors considered illegal and the severity of sanctioning. The opposite conclusion must be arrived at for the ACA and NCCD. For the IACP policy advocacy was consistently in the direction of maintaining severity, but as a percent of the total these policy stances were not increased over time, and the area of debate relative to legalization issues was seen to be a narrow one. Moreover, IACP advocacy stances were not seen to be more severe overall than those affirmed by the majority of the Gallup Public Opinion Polls in the same period (see Appendix 2).

Support was found for the notion that the policy stances of the police group and the two corrections groups became more segmented and specialized over time, as indicated by the decline in overlap of issues of concern and direct agreement statements over time. However, corresponding with research that has seen links in criminal justice professionalization activity to trends in the wider society (Price, 1977), conflict levels among the groups were highest in periods which also witnessed higher levels of conflict in the wider society.

In the area of organizational change the research suggests the necessity of treating change as a multidimensional rather than unidimensional concept. The answer as to whether the organizations have exhibited large or small amounts of change depends entirely on the dimension of change considered. All three groups have had large changes in saliency of concerns related to succession of goals, funding sources, the agenda of publicly accepted alternatives, and changes in whom they represent. At the same time the policy statements are very rarely even slightly inconsistent or in disagreement with each other, even over a 100 year period.

Overall, the IACP and ACA occupy what can be called a relatively stable position within the parameters of the U.S. criminal justice system. The stability position of the NCCD however is less than that of ACA and IACP. While the professionalizing complex constituted an area of consensus organizational viewpoints are consistently conflicting on certain criminalization and severity of sanction issues. These differences become symbolic and consitute a source of unique identity for each of the groups. Thus far, however, the differences and change over time have maintained themselves within certain limits and parameters.

APPENDIX 1

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE ENVIRONMENT: SELECTED CRIMINAL JUSTICE RELATED HISTORICAL STATISTICS, 1870-1977

(Tables appearing in this appendix are taken from Cahalan, Margaret, "Trends in Incarceration in the U.S. Since 1880," Crime and Delinquency, January, 1979)

Table 1-1. Inmates reported present: 1850-1972

		All Classes (Adults and Juveniles)*		Sentenced Adults and All Juveniles		All Classes (Juvenile Facilities Excluded)		Sentenced (Juvenile Facilities Excluded)	
	Total U S Population (in millions)	Total	Per 100,000 Population	Total	Per 100,000 Population	Total	Per 100,000 Population	Total	Per 100,000 Population
1972	208 234	**	—	**	—	337 692	162 2	274,292	131 7
1970***	203,810	434 021	213 0	350,942	172 2	357,292	175 3	274,213	134 5
1960	179 979	402,531	223 7	†	—	346,015	192 3	†	—
1950	151 868	305,437	201 1	†	—	264,557	174 2	†	—
1940	132 457	317,168	239 4	†	—	†	—	†	—
1933	125 590	††	—	219 929	175 1	††	—	189,433	150 8
1923	111 950	††	—	136,857	122 2	††	—	109,619	97 9
1910	92 407	††	—	136,472	147 7	††	—	111,498	120 7
1890	62 622	95,480	152.5	85,360	136 3	80,634	128 8	70,514	112.6
1880	50,155	69,228	138 0	63,591	126 8	57,760	115 2	52,123	103 9
1870†††	38 558	†††	—	†††	—	32,901	85 3	†††	—
1860†††	31,443	†††	—	†††	—	19,086	60 7	†††	—
1850†††	23,191	†††	—	†††	—	6,737	29 1	†††	—

*The figures include persons incarcerated in state and federal prisons and reformatories, jails and other local facilities, and juvenile correctional institutions, excluded are persons confined in military prisons and mental hospitals

**The rate was estimated at 188 per 100,000 in 1972. By 1976, the rate per 100,000 was estimated to be 220 (Florida Clearinghouse on Criminal Justice *Newsletter* of April 1976)

***The National Jail Survey of 1970, conducted by the Department of Justice, LEAA, listed as confined (detained and under sentence) in the jails 31 074 more persons than did the census report on institutionalized persons for that same year The LEAA data listed 2,402 fewer persons in state and federal prisons and reformatories The above table uses the LEAA reports because sentenced and unsentenced offenders were classified separately only in the jail survey The total for all classes reported by the census was 404,749, a rate of 199 7 per 100 000

†From 1940 until 1970, the census reports provided no breakdown of adjudication status The 1940 report counted only those persons fourteen years and older and did not classify adults and juveniles separately

††From 1904 to 1933, the census counted only sentenced offenders (In addition, the 1904 census excluded those persons incarcerated for nonpayment of a fine)

†††Census reports from 1850–70 are unclear as to the definition of institutions used in compiling the data. The classification here is based upon the 1923 census report.

Table 1-1. Inmates reported present: 1850-1972 (Cont.)

Sources (1850) U S , Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of Seventh Census 1850* (Washington, D C Govt. Printing Office, 1854) Tab CLXXVI (1880) U S Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Report on Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the U S as Returned at the Tenth Census 1880* (Washington, D C Govt Printing Office, 1888), p 502, (1890, 1910) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in the U S . 1910* (Washington, D C Govt Printing Office, 1918), pp 15, 157, (1860, 1870) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Prisoners, 1923 Crime Conditions in the U S as Reflected in Census Statistics of Imprisoned Offenders* (Washington, D C Govt. Printing Office, 1926), Tab 1, (1923) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1925* (Washington, D C Govt Printing Office, 1926) p 70, (1933) U S , Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1935* (Washington, D C Govt Printing Office, 1935), pp 74 77, (1940) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U S Census of Population, 1940 Special Reports, Institutionalized Population Fourteen Years of Age and Older* (Washington, D C Govt Printing Office, 1943), pp 2, 3, 15, (1950) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U S Census of Population, 1950 Special Reports, Institutional Population* (Washington, D C Govt Printing Office 1953), pp 11, 19, (1960) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U S Census of Population, 1960 Subject Reports, Inmates of Institutions* (Washington D C Govt Printing Office, 1963), pp 4, 13, (1970) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U S Census of Population, 1970 Subject Reports, Persons in Institutions and Other Group Quarters* (Washington, D C Govt Printing Office, 1973), p 21, U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D C. Govt Printing Office, 1976), p 419, U S , Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service *National Jail Census 1970* (Washington D C Govt Printing Office 1971), pp 10–11, (1972) U S , Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *Survey of Inmates of Local Jails 1972* (Washington D C Govt Printing Office 1974), Tab B, U S , Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics 1974* (Washington D.C Govt Printing Office 1975) p 434, (U.S. Population, 1850–1972) U S Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1976* (Washington D C Govt Printing Office 1976) p 5

Table 1-2. Inmates reported present on a given day during the year: 1880-1977

	Total U.S. Population (in millions)	State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories*		Total Offenders in Jails and Other Local Facilities		Sentenced Offenders in Jails and Other Local Facilities		Juvenile Facilities‡‡	
		Total	Per 100,000 Population	Total	Per 100,000 Population	Total	Per 100,000 Population	Total	Per 100,000 Population
1977‡	216,500	292,325	135 0	**	—	**	—	**	—
1974	211,389	218,205	103 2	**	—	**	—	76 671	36.3
1972	208,234	196,092	94 2	141,600	68 0	78,200	37 6	**	—
1970	203,810	196,429	96 4	160,863	78 9	77,784	38 2	76,729	37 6
1960	179,979	226,344	125.8	119,671	66 5	***	—	56,516	31.4
1950	151 868	178 065	117.2	86,492	57 0	***	—	40 880	26.9
1940	132,457	175,572	132 6	99,249	74.9	***	—	***	—
1933	125,590	137,997	109 9	†	—	51,436	41 0	30,496	24 3
1923	111 950	81,479	72 8	†	—	28,140	25.1	27,238	24.3
1910	92,407	67,871	73 4	†	—	43 627	47 2	24,974	27 0
1904	82,165	60 553	73 7	† ††	—	††	—	23,034	28 0
1890†††	62,622	45,233	72 2	33,093	52 8	22 973	36.7	14 846	23.7
1880†††	50,155	30,659	61.1	22,222	44.3	16,585	33 1	11,468	22 9

*After 1971, the LEAA reports specify that the totals include only those prisoners with sentences of one year or more.

**Unavailable or not yet published

***Not separately enumerated

†Unsentenced inmates were not included between 1904 and 1933

††The 1904 report excluded those persons incarcerated for nonpayment of a fine

†††Not included here are 4 879 prisoners in 1880 and 2,308 prisoners in 1890 These were included in Table 1, and were categorized as Leased Out by the census reports.

‡This is approaching the highest rate reported for federal and state prisoners, in 1939, of 137 4.

‡‡All figures except 1933 include private juvenile correctional facilities, which received court commitments.

Table 1-2. Inmates reported present on a given day during the year: 1880-1977 (Cont.)

Sources. (1880–1910) Bureau of the Census, *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in the U S : 1910*, pp 15 157, (1923) Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States. 1925*, p 70, (1933) Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1935*, pp 71, 74, (1940) Bureau of the Census, *U S. Census of Population, 1940 Special Reports, Institutionalized Population Fourteen Years of Age and Older*, pp 2, 3, 15; (1950) Bureau of the Census, *U S Census of Population, 1950 Special Reports, Institutional Population*, p 2c11, (1900) Bureau of the Census, *U S Census of Population, 1960 Subject Reports, Inmates of Institutions*, pp 13, 14, (1970) Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, pp 419, 420, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *National Jail Census: 1970*, pp 10–11, (1972) National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *Survey of Inmates of Local Jails- 1972*, Tab. B, (1972, 1974) U S., Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics 1976* (Washington, D C : Govt. Printing Office, 1977), p 086, (1974) U S , Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *Children in Custody: 1974* (Washington, D C : Govt Printing Office, 1977), p 3, (1977) National Criminal Justice Information Service, as quoted in *St Louis Globe Democrat*, May 2, 1978; (U.S. Population, 1880–1976) Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States. 1976*, p. 5, (U.S. Population, 1977) U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Series P. 25* (Washington, D C.- Govt. Printing Office, 1977), No. 706, p 2.

Table 1-3. Rate of incarceration per 100,000 population in the age categories most represented in correctional institutions: 1880-1974

	U S Population Aged 15–19 (in millions)	U.S. Population Aged 20–44 (in millions)	U S Population Aged 15–44 (in millions)	Percentage of Population Aged 15–44	All Classes (Adults and Juveniles) Rate per 100,000 Aged 15–44	Sentenced Adults and All Juveniles Rate per 100,000 Aged 15–44	Juveniles Facilities Rate per 100,000 Aged 15–19	State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories Rate per 100,000 Aged 20–44	Total Jails and Other Local Facilities Rate per 100,000 Aged 20–44
1974*	20,619	71,032	91,651	43 4	NA	NA	371 8	307 2	NA
1970	19,070	64,366	83,437	40 9	520 2	420 6	402 3	305 2	249 9
1960	13 219	57 700	70,920	39 4	567 6	NA	427 5	392 3	207 4
1950	10,617	56,691	67,308	44 3	453 8	NA	385 1	314 1	152 6
1940	12,334	51,260	63,594	48 0	498 7	NA	NA	342 5	193 6
1933	11 787	48,294	60,081	47 8	NA	366 1	258 7	285 7	NA
1923	10,067	43,196	53,263	47 6	NA	256 9	270 6	188 6	NA
1910	9,064	35,867	44,931	48 6	NA	303 7	275 5	189 2	NA
1890	6,558	23,055	24,565	39 2	388 7	347 5	226 4	196 2	143 5
1880	5 011	18,007	23,018	45 9	300 8	276 3	228 9	170 3	123 4

*The population in each of the age categories was estimated for 1974
NA Not available

Sources All rates calculated from Tables 1 and 2, (Additional Population Data) Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, p 15, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1976*, p 6

Table 1-4. Place of incarceration of persons reported present on a given day during the year: 1880, 1933, 1970

	1880				1933		1970			
	Total Incarcerated		Total Sentenced		Total Sentenced		Total Incarcerated		Total Sentenced	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Jail*	22 222	38 5	16 585	31 8	51,436	27.1	160,863	45 0	77 784	28 4
State prisons	30,659	53 1	30,659	58 8	125 721	66 4	176 391	49 4	176 391	64 3
Federal prisons	**	—	**	—	12,276	6 5	20 038	5 6	20 038	7 3
Leased***	4 879	8 4	4 879	9 4	***	—	***	—	***	—
Total	57,760	100 0	52,123	100 0	189 433	100 0	357,292	100 0	274,213	100 0

*Includes offenders in city and county jails and local facilities.
**In 1880, 2,162 persons, 3 7 percent of the total, were classified as federal prisoners However, these individuals were housed in state prisons.
***Not included in census classifications after 1890

Sources (1880) Bureau of the Census, *Report on Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the U S. as Returned at the Tenth Census: 1880,* p 538; (1933) Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States· 1935,* p 74; (1970) Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970,* p 420, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *National Jail Census. 1970,* pp 10–11.

Table 1-5. Combined totals: percentage distribution of offenses reported for jail, state, and Federal inmates present on a given day during the year*

Category	Offense	Offenses of all Inmates 1880**	Principal Offenses of Sentenced Inmates 1910	Offenses of Sentenced Inmates 1923	Most Serious Offense of Sentenced Inmates 1972-73***	Most Serious Offense of All Inmates 1972-73***
Person	Homicide, manslaughter†	8 5	12 8	14 9	12 7	11 9
	Assault	9 3	8 6	5 5	4 9	5 0
	Rape††	1 9	4 0	4 4	2 8##	2.9##
	Other†††	2	// // //	1	1 7##	1.3##
	Total	19 9	25 4	24 9	22.1	21 1
Property	Robbery	3 4	4 2	8 7	18 8	18 0
	Embezzlement, forgery, fraud‡	4.2	4.2	7 5	5 3	5.2
	Burglary	17 1	14 6	15.5	13 8	14 2
	All larceny	31 8	19 2	16 4	11 1	11 1
	Arson	1.5	// // //	.5	3##	.2##
	Stolen property	.3	// // //	1.2	7##	.5##
	Total	58 3	42.2	49 8	50 0	49 2
Morals, order government charges	Other sex-related crimes	2.1	.7	3.5	6##	4##
	Liquor-law violations	3	1 9	5.5	2##	1##
	Drunkenness	6 2	12.3	2.6	4 1##	4 2
	Disorderly conduct	3 9	#	2.3	// // //	// // //
	Vagrancy	3 6	5 4	2.6	#	#
	Drug-law violations	1	// // //	3 6	9 8	10 3
	Gambling	1	// // //	1	// // //	// // //
	Traffic violations‡‡	// // //	// // //	.3	3 0##	3 0##
	Malicious mischief	3	4	7	// // //	// // //
	Carrying and possessing weapons	.3	// // //	1.3	1 1##	8##
	Nonsupport	2	// // //	1 1	5##	5##
	Revenue-related offenses	5	// // //	// // //	< 1##	< 1##
	Military crimes	7	// // //	// // //	2##	1##
	Custody charges‡‡‡	2	// // //	2	5##	4##
	National security violations	// // //	// // //	1	< 1##	< 1##
	Crimes related to the administration of government //	6	// // //	8	3	2
	Total	19 1	20 7	24.7	20 3	20 0
Other // //		2.3	11 4	7	7 7	9 5
Total reported		54 005	111 285	106 714	253 643	335 558
Unknown or unclear		4,602	213	2,301	5 924	5 924

Table 1-5. Combined totals: percentage distribution of offenses reported for jail, state, and Federal inmates present on a given day during the year* (Cont.)

*The figures include inmates in all local, state, and federal correctional institutions, except juveniles and offenders in military prisons and mental hospitals In 1973 reports of offense distribution within state prisons included only those prisoners whose sentences were at least one year Because of rounding, figures do not always total 100 percent.

**Eleven percent of the total were classified as awaiting trial.

***Recent surveys of inmates in the local state, and federal facilities have been conducted independently The most recent jail survey was completed in 1972. This has been combined with a federal report for the same year and with the closest survey of state institutions, in 1973 Those figures marked ## were not categorized separately by all three surveys The "other' category may contain a percentage of these offense types

†In the 1972 jail survey, kidnapping is grouped with homicide.

††Includes statutory rape.

†††Includes kidnapping and sexual assault other than rape

‡Extortion and counterfeiting are also included in this category

‡‡Usually driving under the influence of alcohol.

‡‡‡Includes escape harboring a criminal, and parole violations.

//Includes unlawful immigration, perjury, contempt, and related offenses

/// Varies in content because of changes in categorization detail, but is largely restricted to those offenses amounting to less than 1 percent of the total Surveys in 1910 and 1972–73 provided much less detail describing the specific crimes than did those in 1880 or 1923, hence this category is much larger in the former cases

//// Not specified.

In 1910 disorderly conduct is combined with the figures under the category entitled ' drunkenness In 1972–73, vagrancy and drunkenness are combined

Sources (1880) Bureau of the Census *Report on Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the U S as Returned at the Tenth Census 1880*, pp 504–10, (1910, 1923) Bureau of the Census *Prisoners, 1923*, pp 198–99, (1972) U S , Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, National Prisoner Statistics, *Statistical Report, Fiscal Years 1971 and 1972* (Washington, D C , Govt Printing Office 1974), p 56, (1972) National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service *Survey of Inmates of Local Jails 1972*, p 17, (1973) U S , Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, National Prisoner Statistics, Special Report, *Census of Prisoners in State Correctional Facilities 1973* (Washington D C Govt Printing Office, 1977), pp 20–216

Table 1-6. Percentage distribution of offenses reported for prisoners received in state prisons and reformatories under felony commitment during given year

Category	Offense	1937 46 States	1946 47 States	1950 46 States	1960 48 States	1960 32 States	1964 48 States*	1964 32 States*	1970 32 States* **
Person	Homicide manslaughter	7 6	7 o	6 7	5 2	4 9	5 6	5 7	8 4
	Assault	5 9	7 1	5 8	5 6	6 3	5 8	o o	7 7
	Rape	4 2	4 2	3 6	5 3***	5 0	5 2***	5 5***	4 0***
	Other†	1	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
	Total	17 8	18 9	16 1	16 1	16 2	16 6	17 8	20 1
Property	Robbery	10 7	11 1	11 7	10 9	11 6	11 7	12 7	16 8
	Embezzlement, forgery, fraud	9 8	9 5	13 7	14 8	15 1	14 0	13 8	9 3
	Burglary	24 6	22 7	25 1	27 8	25 9	29 4	25 9	22.1
	All larceny	25 6	24 6	20 8	18 3	18 0	16 9	16 3	14 4
	Arson	8	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
	Stolen property	1 0	8	6	††	††	††	††	††
	Total	72 5	68 7	71 9	71 8	70 6	72 0	68 7	62 6
Morals, order charges	Other sex-related crimes	3 3	3 2	2 8	***	***	***	***	***
	Liquor-law violations	5	8	6	††	††	††	††	††
	Drug-law violations	6	5	1 1	4 2	4 9	4 1	4 9	9 8
	Traffic violations	7	4	4	††	††	††	††	††
	Carrying and possessing weapons	8	9	5	††	††	††	††	††
	Nonsupport	1 1	2 1	2 6	††	††	††	††	††
	Total†††	7 0	7 9	8 0	4 2	4 9	4 1	4 9	9 8
Other‡		2 8	4 3	4 0	8 1	8 3	7 4	7 3	7 5
Total reported		48 355	43,679	46,496	o9 235	43,357	67,879	40 704	37,415

Table 1-6. Percentage distribution of offenses reported for prisoners received in state prisons and reformatories under felony commitment during given year (Cont.)

*Listings specify that the distribution includes only those persons whose sentences are one year or longer

**Offense data were reported by only thirty-two states, representing about 56 percent of the total number of inmates in state prisons in the United States To compare these figures with the listings for 1960 and 1964 the offense distributions were calculated for the same thirty-two states as reported in 1970

***Includes other sex offenses

†In 1937, this category included kidnapping

††Not categorized

†††Dates not comparable because of variance in the detail of categorization

‡Includes those offenses labeled †† and other known offenses but most crimes listed accounted for less than 1 percent of the total

Sources (1937) U S . Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories 1937* (Washington, D C Govt. Printing Office, 1939), Tab 11, (1946) U S . Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories 1946* (Washington, D C Govt Printing Office, 1948) p 45 (1950) U S . Department of Justice Bureau of Prisons National Prisoner Statistics, *Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions 1950* (Washington D C Govt Printing Office 1954), p 63; (1960) U S . Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, National Prisoner Statistics *Characteristics of State Prisoners 1960* (Washington, D C . Govt Printing Office, 1965), p 41, (1964) U S . Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons National Prisoner Statistics *Characteristics of State Prisoners 1964* (Washington D C · Govt Printing Office 1968) p 18 (1970) U S Department of Justice Bureau of Prisons, National Prisoner Statistics, *State Prisoners Admissions and Releases, 1970* (Washington D C Govt Printing Office 1972), p 6

Table 1-7. Percentage of prison population reported to be foreign-born, black, or of other nonwhite racial origin or foreign language group: 1850-1974

	Total in Survey*	Foreign		Black		Prisoners of Other Nonwhite Racial Origin or Foreign Language Group
		Prisoners	U S Population	Prisoners	U S Population	
1850	6 737	35 8	9 7	**	15 7	**
1880	57 958	20 7	18 6	28 6	13 1	**
1890	82,329	19 2	14 7	29 5	11 9	9
1910	136 472	15 4	14 5	30 6	10 7	4
1923	109 075	13 8	13 2	31 3	9 9	**
1940	317 168	11 8	9 6	30 9	9 6	**
1950	264 557	**	6 9	34 7	10 0	**
1960	346,015	1 4	5 9	36 2	10 5	2.1
1970	328 020	**	4 7	40 7	11.1	6 6***
1960	150 702	State prisoners sentenced for felony conviction 39 4% nonwhite				
1974	186 100	State prisoners with sentences of one year or longer: 48 7% nonwhite				

*The totals are not comparable for incarceration rates 1850, 1880 1890, 1923 1950 1960 and 1970 are restricted to adult inmates on all levels as reported by the Census Bureau. In 1910 and 1940, juveniles are included in the totals In 1923 and 1910, only sentenced inmates were counted by the Census Bureau Other years include total present.

**Not separately categorized.

***Spanish-speaking.

Sources (1850, 1880) Bureau of the Census *Report on Defective, Dependent and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the U S as Returned at the Tenth Census 1880*, p xi (1890) U S , Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census 1890* (Washington D C., Govt. Printing Office 1894) pt. II, p 177, (1910) Bureau of the Census *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in the U S 1910*, p 114, (1923) Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States 1925*, p 70 (1940) Bureau of the Census *U S Census of Population, 1940 Special Reports, Institutionalized Population Fourteen Years and Older*, p 15 (1950) Bureau of the Census *U S Census of Population 1950 Special Reports, Institutional Population*, pp 16-17 (1960) Bureau of the Census *U S Census of Population, 1960 Subject Reports, Inmates of Institutions*, p 8A (1970) Bureau of the Census *U S Census of Population, 1970 Subject Reports Persons in Institutions and Other Group Quarters* p 21 National Prisoner Statistics *Characteristics of State Prisoners 1960*, Tab 7 National Prisoner Statistics, Special Report *Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities 1974*, p 28

Table 1-7. Percentage of prison population reported to be foreign-born, black, or of other nonwhite racial origin or foreign language group: 1850-1974 (Cont.)

Sources (1850) U S , Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of Seventh Census 1850* (Washington, D C.. Govt. Printing Office, 1854), Tab CLXXVI, (1880) U.S , Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Report on Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the U S as Returned at the Tenth Census: 1880* (Washington, D C.: Govt. Printing Office, 1888), p 562, (1890, 1910) U.S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in the U S . 1910* (Washington D C : Govt. Printing Office, 1918), pp 15, 157; (1860, 1870) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Prisoners, 1923 Crime Conditions in the U S as Reflected in Census Statistics of Imprisoned Offenders* (Washington, D C.: Govt. Printing Office, 1926), Tab 1, (1923) U.S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1925* (Washington, D C . Govt Printing Office, 1926), p. 70, (1933) U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States· 1935* (Washington, D C. Govt. Printing Office, 1935), pp. 74, 77, (1940) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U S Census of Population, 1940. Special Reports, Institutionalized Population Fourteen Years of Age and Older* (Washington, D C . Govt Printing Office, 1943), pp 2, 3, 15; (1950) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population, 1950: Special Reports, Institutional Population* (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Printing Office, 1953), pp. 11, 19; (1960) U S , Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *U S Census of Population, 1960: Subject Reports, Inmates of Institutions* (Washington, D C.: Govt. Printing Office 1963), pp 4, 13, (1970) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U S. Census of Population, 1970 Subject Reports, Persons in Institutions and Other Group Quarters* (Washington, D C.. Govt. Printing Office, 1973), p 21; U S., Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D C . Govt Printing Office 1970), p 419, U S , Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service *National Jail Census 1970* (Washington, D C.. Govt. Printing Office, 1971), pp 10–11; (1972) U S , Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *Survey of Inmates of Local Jails. 1972* (Washington, D C . Govt Printing Office, 1974), Tab B, U S , Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics 1974* (Washington D C Govt Printing Office, 1975), p 434. (U S. Population, 1850–1972) U S , Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1976* (Washington D C Govt. Printing Office, 1976), p 5

APPENDIX 2

GALLUP POLL OPINIONS ON CRIME-RELATED ISSUES: A SUMMARY AND COMPARISON TO POLICY STATEMENTS OF THE ACA, IACP AND NCCD

In order to gain perspective on the policy comparisons between the IACP, the ACA and the NCCD a summary is provided in this appendix of those questions occurring in Gallup Polls since 1935 which have had to do with criminal justice and legal issues. The Gallup Polls, begun in 1935, provide the earliest available published national polls on the public's attitude toward criminal justice issues. In some cases questions have been repeated over the 45 year span so that direct analysis of changing views is possible. However, several areas of concern have changed in degree of saliency. Choice of questions can be viewed in itself as an indication of public saliency. A brief summary of the saliency and content of criminal justice related issues about which Gallup Poll questions have been asked will now be provided. After this, results of coding the Gallup Poll questions in a manner similar to the coding utilized for the policy statements of the three organizations is reported. These cover questions relative to criminalization stance, internal consistency, and degree of agreement with the policy advocacy of each of the three organizations.

Concern with Crime Related Issues

One area of questions repeatedly asked, and presumably from which other questions are formulated, are questions concerning what is the major problem facing Americans or to what problem the public would most want the government to pay attention. Since the poll began in 1935 until 1976 it was only in the late 1960's and very early 1970's that crime and lawlessness was cited by a significant number of people as one of the top national problems in the country.

In 1935, at the start of the Gallup Poll, the only crime related issue mentioned by a number of people was liquor control which ranked 15th

Table 2-1. Criminal justice related Gallup Poll questions by topic, 1935-1976

Question topic	1935-1955 #	1956-1976 #	Total #
Auto regulation related	16	20	36
Prohibition and alcohol control	27	5	32
Legality of gambling	3		3
Methods of venereal disease control	3		3
Drug legality and penalties	1	9	10
Euthanasia	3	1	4
Capital punishment	6	8	14
Abortion		10	10
Federal anti-lynching legislation	5		5
Fingerprinting	3		3
Jury organization	2	1	3
Wiretapping	1	1	2
Police labor unions	2		2
Ransom payment to kidnappers - legality	1		1
Gun control	1	19	20
Hitchhiking laws	1		1
International police force	2		2
Youth curfew legislation	1	3	4
Hoover FBI methods	1	1	2
Sterilization of criminals	1	1	2
Value of parole	3	1	4
Penalties/causes - juvenile delinquency	4	6	10
Penalties for crimes		10	10
Home stays for prisoners	1		1
Role of prisons	1		1
Causes of crime	1	2	3
Corporal punishment	1	1	2
Civil rights legislation	2	3	5
Restrictions on Communists	8		8
Strikes - legality/treatment	7		7
TOTAL	108	102	210

Sources:

Gallup, George Horace,
1973 The Gallup Poll, 1935-1971. Random House, New York.
American Institute of Public Opinion,
1965-1976 Gallup Opinion Index: Political, Social and Economic Trends. Princeton, New Jersey.

in saliency as "an issue vital to the U.S. today." In post-war America a small percent, three percent in 1945, began to list juvenile delinquency as a most significant problem facing the country, and in 1951, one percent cited the "spread of crime" as the most significant problem. When asked questions regarding causes of crime a large majority cited home related factors. By 1969, however, crime and lawlessness had risen to the second most important problem noticed by Americans, and in 1970 it was the issue to which the public stated they most wanted the government to give attention. That this concern was as much or more related to ghetto uprisings in large cities and anti-war protests, occurring in the period as to traditional crime, is attested to by the fact that by 1974, when reported traditional crime rates were still rising but ghetto and political confrontations had diminished greatly, crime was listed by only three percent as a top national problem. It was replaced by energy, cost of living, and unemployment.

Table 2-1 lists by topic the crime related issues about which the Gallup Poll surveyors have asked the public since 1935. Prohibition or liquor control, the only crime related issue to initially be listed as a top problem, was by far the most salient issue to the surveyors. Between 1935 and 1955 questions concerning this issue were asked 27 times. By varying majorities the public always called for continued rejection of the reintroduction of prohibition. One sees that, as with the IACP, auto related issues are most salient between 1955 and 1976. Gun control is the next most salient issue in the 1956-1976 period, while only one question prior to this was asked. Consideration of the policy statements of the three organizations reported upon in the body of the thesis indicates that this was a salient issue also in the 1920's before the Gallup Polls were initiated. It was then less talked about in the period around World War II and reemerged in recent years as a public issue.

In the period 1935-1955 one sees also the saliency of the issue of legal restrictions on Communist Party membership, and also legal restrictions on strike behavior. The issue of regulation of Communists by criminalization is related to the fact that relations with Russia or the Cold War were listed as the most important problems by the majority of the

Table 2-2. Gallup Poll questions concerned with legalization issues: categorized by direction of advocacy; degree of advocacy*; and year in which the question was asked -- 1935-1976**

Legalization issues about which most respondents indicated they favor initiating or maintaining illegal status for a certain behavior.

- Euthanasia for hopeless invalids (1937, M) (1947, M) (1950, M)
- Abortion when cannot afford a child (1966, 2/3)
- Abortion to three months (1969, M)
- Non-prevention of lynching by police officers (1937, 2/3) (1937, 2/3), 1938, M) (1940, M) (1947, 2/3) (Support anti-lynching legislation)
- Sit-down strikes (1939, 2/3) (1937, 2/3)
- Strikes in war plants and plants run by the government during the war (1944, 2/3) (1944, 2/3)
- Communist Party membership (1941, 2/3) (1947, M) (1949, 2/3)
- Communists in civil service jobs (1945, 2/3)
- Police labor unions (1951, M)
- Jaywalking (1939, 2/3)
- Rapid transfer of gambling information (1950, M)
- Betting in lotteries, races, numbers (1950, M)
- Loaded weapons in the home (1959, M)
- Handguns except for police (1959, M)
- Stricter pornography laws (1965, M)
- Marijuana illegal (1969, 2/3) (1972, 2/3) (1972, 2/3) (1974, 2/3)

*Year and degree of unanimity are indicated in parenthesis following behavior: "P" indicates plurality; "M" indicates majority but less than 2/3; and 2/3 indicates 2/3 or more.

**Responses vary depending upon slightly different wording of some questions grouped under the same heading.

Table 2-2. Gallup Poll questions concerned with legalization issues: categorized by direction of advocacy; degree of advocacy*; and year in which the question was asked -- 1935-1976** (Continued)

Legalization issues about which most respondents indicated they favor initiating or maintaining illegal status for a certain behavior.

- Voluntary euthanasia (1973, M)
- Prohibition (liquor manufacture and sale) (1936, 2/3) (1938, 2/3) (1938, 2/3) (1949, 2/3) (1942, M) (1942, M) (1942, M) (1943, M) (1944, M) (1944, M) (1945, 2/3) (1946, 2/3) (1948, M) (1949, M) (1950, 2/3) 1952, M) (1954, M) (1857, 2/3) (1959, 2/3) (1966, 2/3)
- Wartime prohibition (1944, M)
- Voluntary sterilization for those with mental or physical affliction (1966, 2/3)
- Police labor unions with no strike (1951, P)
- State run lotteries (1963, M)
- Horsebetting (1938, M)
- Pistols and revolvers restricted to police (1975, M)
- Abortion for the health of the mother (1966, 2/3)
- Abortion if the child may be deformed (1966, M)
- Certain abortions legal (1975, 2/3)
- Abortion to three months (1973, P) (1974, M)

*Year and degree of unanimity are indicated in parenthesis following behavior: "P" indicates plurality; "M" indicates majority but less than 2/3; and 2/3 indicates 2/3 or more.

**Responses vary depending upon slightly different wording of some questions grouped under the same heading.

Table 2-3. Gallup Poll questions concerned with regulatory issues: categorized by direction of advocacy; degree of advocacy*; and year in which the question was asked -- 1935-1976**

Regulatory issues for which most respondents indicated they favor initiating or maintaining legal regulation

- Uniform traffic laws (1936, 2/3)
- Mental and physical drivers tests (1936, 2/3) (1939, 2/3) (1957, 2/3) (1961, 2/3) (1953, 2/3)
- Require driver training course (1957, 2/3)
- Compulsory auto insurance (1936, 2/3) (1939, 2/3) 1965, M)
- Speed governors on cars (1936, 2/3) (1939, 2/3)
- Compulsory auto inspection (1939, 2/3) (1957, 2/3)
- Require installation of safety belts by auto manufacturers (1955, M) (1961, M) (1962, M) (1965, M)
- Universal fingerprinting (1937, 2/3) (1939, M)
- Require ID cards with fingerprints (1941, 2/3)
- Require aliens to be fingerprinted and registered (1939, 2/3)
- Require syphilis testing (1938, 2/3)
- Weekly medical exam, over police control for war time prostitution (1943, M) (1942, M)
- Require registration of pistols (1938, 2/3) (1967, 2/3) (1974, 2/3) (1975, 2/3)
- Require police permits for guns (1959, 2/3) (1963, 2/3) (1965, 2/3) (1966, 2/3) (1971, 2/3) (1972, 2/3)

*Year and degree of unanimity are indicated in parenthesis following behavior: "P" indicates plurality; "M" indicates majority but less than 2/3; and 2/3 indicates 2/3 or more.

**Responses vary depending upon slightly different wording of some questions grouped under the same heading.

Table 2-3. Gallup Poll questions concerned with regulatory issues: categorized by direction of advocacy; degree of advocacy*; and year in which the question was asked -- 1935-1976** (Continued)

Regulatory issues for which most respondents indicated they favor initiating or maintaining legal regulation

- Require police permits for shells (1959, M)
- Strictly regulate guns for those under 18 (1965, 2/3) (1966, 2/3) (1967, 2/3)
- Stricter hand gun legislation (1975, 2/3)
- Stricter rifle legislation (1975, P)
- Gun licensing (1975, 2/3)
- Require union officers to take to Federal Labor Board before strike (1945, 2/3)
- Require union officers to take an oath they are not Communists before can take issues to Labor Board (1949, 2/3) (1949, 2/3)
- Require registration of Communists with the Justice Department (1949, M) (1949, 2/3)
- Endorse war curfew (1945, 2/3)
- Endorse juvenile curfews (1954, 2/3) (1959, 2/3) (1965, 2/3)
- Regulate tranquilizer sale (1957, 2/3)
- Stricter divorce laws (1945, P)

*Year and degree of unanimity are indicated in parenthesis following behavior: "P" indicates plurality; "M" indicates majority but less than 2/3; and 2/3 indicates 2/3 or more.

**Responses vary depending upon slightly different wording of some questions grouped under the same heading.

Table 2-3. Gallup Poll questions concerned with regulatory issues: categorized by direction of advocacy; degree of advocacy*; and year in which the question was asked -- 1935-1976** (Continued)

Issues for which most respondents indicated they favor rejecting regulatory legislation

- Civil rights legislation (1949, P)
- Civil rights hiring legislation (1953, P)
- Poll tax (1950, 2/3)

*Year and degree of unanimity are indicated in parenthesis following behavior: "P" indicates plurality; "M" indicates majority but less than 2/3; and 2/3 indicates 2/3 or more.

**Responses vary depending upon slightly different wording of some questions grouped under the same heading.

people in this time. Similarly labor relations were listed as the number one problem in 1947.

In the period 1955 to 1976 questions concerning drug laws and penalties, gun control, abortion, and desired penalties for specific crimes are asked more frequently. The asking of recommended sentences, except with regard to capital punishment or use of parole, was not done by Gallup Poll researchers in the period 1935 to 1956. With the exception of euthanasia and sterilization, all of the topics listed in Table 2-1 are ones about which at least one of the professional organizations have also issued statements over the period of their history. An outline of the criminalization and regulation choices of the public, the degree of consistency of public opinion over time, and the degree of agreement of Gallup Poll choices with the police choices of the three organizations is now presented.

Criminalization/Regulation Choices

Table 2-2 lists only those topics for which the public was asked a question concerning initiating or maintaining illegal status. It includes behavior for which the prohibition or allowing of an act itself is the major issue. Table 2-3 includes those behaviors for which the legal requirement or regulation of a behavior is the major issue. While this distinction is not always straightforward, it attempts to look at regulatory questions separately from those of criminalization.

The first fact that becomes apparent from looking at Table 3, is that within the Gallup Poll, as within the policy concerns of the three organizations, there has been a limited number of behaviors for which legalization itself is an issue. With the exception of strike behavior, issues surrounding property rights are not included. Legalization questions relate to issues surrounding the rights of the person and moral/vice behavior.

Of the 27 separate behaviors listed one can see that 15 are consistently chosen to be legally proscribed by a majority of the people. Illegal status was rejected for eight behaviors each time it was asked

and for three behaviors there have been changes in majority preference in the direction of non-advocacy of illegal status. These were euthanasia, certain abortions, and outlawing of handguns. One can see from the timing that the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion apparently influenced public opinion in favor of abortion. In 1969 a majority opposed legalized abortion to three months but by 1974 a majority favored this option.

Comparison of Legalization Stances with the ACA, the IACP and NCCD

All three professional groups have been silent throughout their history on the most salient crime related issue to Gallup Poll surveyors, that of federal prohibition of liquor sale. Early in their history both the ACA and IACP endorsed local citizen regulation of liquor sale and suppression of intemperance. However, in the period after 1910 they were silent on the issue of federal prohibition.

In the area of gun regulation, as has been indicated, the ACA in 1928 called for outlawing of the revolver. They did not repeat the statement and in the 1930's they supported only regulatory legislation. They have not issued statements in recent decades on the issue. As can be seen from Table 2-2 outlawing of handguns for all but police was initially endorsed by a majority of Gallup public in 1959, but rejected in 1975. Regulatory legislation continues to be supported. The IACP rejected proposed outlawing of handguns in the early 1920's, but supported and participated in drafting of regulatory legislation in the areas of interstate shipment, police permits and, licensing of dealers in this period. They have supported legislation outlawing ownership for "aliens" and "ex-felons." In recent years they have been less active in this area, although some regulatory legislation is endorsed.

One sees that the public was even more willing than the U.S. Congress to make Communist Party membership illegal in the 1940's and 1950's, and to support various restrictions on their civic and job possibilities. Likewise, as Table 2-2 indicates, they have not as a majority looked favorably upon strike behavior. The ACA and NCCD have not issued statements in this area. The IACP has never endorsed by resolution outlawing of the

Communist Party. But they have issued several condemnations of Communism. The first was in 1919 and periodically they have pledged themselves to fight Bolshevism and industrial unrest. They have also condemned civil disobedience as a means to achieve political goals, and have issued monographs in the 1920's against police unions. Police strikes have also been consistently condemned by the IACP.

Between 1910 and 1940 almost 1,000 people were reported as having been lynched in the U.S. In the 1930's efforts to curb this practice became a national issue. Federal legislation, making it a federal offense for a police officer not to attempt to prevent this occurrence, was proposed and was endorsed by a majority of Gallup Poll respondents each time the topic was addressed between 1937 and 1947. As has been indicated, the ACA likewise endorsed this legislation. The IACP was silent on the issue.

In contrast to consistent rejection of prohibition the Gallup Poll public thus far has resisted strongly decriminalization in the area of drugs. For example, in 1974 over two-thirds of those interviewed for this poll stated they opposed legalization of marijuana. In this they resemble the IACP. The ACA and NCCD, as was discussed in Part I, have both issued decriminalization resolutions in this area.

Regulatory Choices by Gallup Poll Respondents

The regulatory issues placed before the public by Gallup are primarily in the area of regulating individuals rather than corporate groups. Exceptions to this are in the areas of control of unions, auto manufacturers, and in the area of civil rights. One can see from Table 2-3 that of the 29 separate regulatory issues only three were not supported by a majority, in most cases a two-thirds majority. Support was strong for such things as uniform traffic laws, drivers' tests, compulsory auto insurance, speed governors on cars, required installation of safety belts, universal fingerprinting, syphilis testing, pistol registration, required police gun permits, registration of Communists, juvenile curfews, non-Communist oaths of labor leaders, and required federal arbitration before striking.

The only regulatory procedures not supported were general civil rights legislation in the 1940's and a federal civil rights hiring law in the 1950's. The elimination of the voting poll tax, however, was supported in 1950, as was civil rights legislation in the area of public accommodations in 1963. The IACP, ACA, and NCCD have been generally silent about civil rights legislation. The ACA did issue a condemnation of hotel segregation in the early 1950's and subsequently refused to hold conventions in segregated facilities. The differences in affirmative action stance of the three have been discussed in Part I.

One sees from the frequency of public support of auto regulation that IACP's regulatory recommendations in this area are generally consistent with those endorsed by the public. For both the IACP and the Gallup Poll auto-related issues have been of very high saliency.

Sanctioning Choices

Table 2-4 lists the Gallup questions which have put forth penalties about which the public is asked to approve or disapprove. It can be seen from the table that the public usually indicates agreement with the penalties proposed. Only five sanctioning possibilities were consistently rejected by most of the people responding. These were: reinstatment of whipping (rejected by two-thirds in 1937); capital punishment for those under 21 (rejected by a majority in 1937 and 1965 and by two-thirds in 1957); less strict penalties for marijuana sale (rejected by two-thirds in 1974); and less strict penalties for marijuana possession (rejected by a majority in 1972).

Acceptance or rejection of capital punishment has fluctuated. In 1937 when the question was first asked 65 percent approved of its use. This had risen slightly to over two-thirds approval by 1953, but by 1957 a majority rejected its use. Throughout the 1960's support and rejection of capital punishment was about evenly divided. In 1966 a plurality said they did not favor it but a large number of persons were undecided. However, in the 1970's support increased until in 1976 almost two-thirds, 65 percent, as many as in 1937, again said they favored its use. The stance of the ACA

Table 2-4. Gallup Poll questions concerning criminal justice related penalties and sanctions: acceptance/rejection by most respondents, year and degree*

Penalties/sanctions accepted/approved by most respondents

- Stricter penalties for violation of traffic laws (1936, 2/3)
- Special marking for cars at fault in auto accidents (1936, 2/3)
- Registration tag on the drivers license of a reckless driver (1952, 2/3)
- Capital punishment for murder (1937, M) (1953, 2/3) (1960, M) (1965, P) (1972, M) (1972, M) (1974, M) (1973, M) (1976, M)
- Parole made more strict (1937, 2/3)
- Revoke drunken driver license (1939, 2/3)
- Revoke license for speeding (1957, M)
- Stricter liquor regulation (1940, M) (1942, M)
- Parole prisoners early for war service (1942, M)
- Death for treason (1953, 2/3)
- Home stays for prisoners (1953, M)
- Getting started right over punishment as the role of prisons (1955, 2/3)
- Kill or imprison American Communists (1946, P)
- Require classes for parents of juvenile delinquents (1946, 2/3) (1957, M)
- Hold parents responsible for damage done by children: pay find or serve sentence (1949, P) (1957, 2/3) (1959, 2/3)

*Year and degree of unanimity are indicated in parenthesis following behavior: "P" indicates plurality; "M" indicates majority but less than 2/3; and 2/3 indicates 2/3 or more.

Table 2-4. Gallup Poll questions concerning criminal justice related penalties and sanctions: acceptance/rejection by most respondents, year and degree* (Continued)

Penalties/sanctions accepted/approved by most respondents

- Long imprisonment for selling dope to teenagers (1951, 2/3)
- Agree courts are not harsh enough (1965, P) (1965, M) (1968, M) (1969, 2/3)
- Publish the name of youth who breaks the law (1965, M)
- Take away loans from students who break the law in a demonstration (1967, 2/3)
- Double sentence for all who commit a crime with a gun (1969, M)
- Deny parole to someone who commits another crime while convicted of previous crime (1969, 2/3)
- Ten year or more prison terms:

  dope selling (1969, 2/3)
  armed robbery (1969, M)
  arson (1969, M)

- Over ten year prison terms

  bomb in public places (1970, 2/3)
  hijacking (1970, M)
  start serious riot (1970, P)
  sell heroin (1970, 2/3)
  sell marijuana (1970, 2/3)

- Two to five year prison terms

  heroin in possession (1970, P)
  marijuana in possession (1970, P)

- Life without parole for seller of hard drugs (1973, 2/3)
- Probation for a juvenile with no record of convicted of auto theft (1963, M)

*Year and degree of unanimity are indicated in parenthesis following behavior: "P" indicates plurality; "M" indicates majority but less than 2/3; and 2/3 indicates 2/3 or more.

Table 2-4. Gallup Poll questions concerning criminal justice related penalties and sanctions: acceptance/rejection by most respondents, year and degree* (Continued)

Penalties/sanctions rejected by most respondents

- Capital punishment for those under 21 (if responded yes to capital punishment (1937, M) (1957, 2/3) (1965, M)
- Capital punishment for murder (1957, M) (1966, P)
- Less strict penalties for marijuana sale (1972 2/3)
- Less strict penalties for marijuana possession (1972, M)

*Year and degree of unanimity are indicated in parenthesis following behavior: "P" indicates plurality; "M" indicates majority but less than 2/3; and 2/3 indicates 2/3 or more.

and the NCCD against the use of capital punishment, and of the IACP in its favor have been noted.

The question of the fluctuation in severity of punishment advocacy can be seen from the choice of questions. All the less severe sanctions (except for marijuana penalties) suggested for consideration were in the 1940's, 1950's, and early 1960's. In this period early parole for war service (1942), home stays for prisoners (1953) and rehabilitation over punishment as the role of prisons (1955) are supported by the majority.

Overall the public has been quite willing to express approval for severe sanctioning, throughout the period of 1935 to 1976. In the late 1930's when prison rates were already the highest they had ever been, the public indicated they favored stricter use of parole by a two-third majority. In this they were following the lead of J.E. Hoover who was leading a public attack on parole practices. This, as well as IACP criticism against parole, has been discussed in Chapter 4 and throughout the thesis.

In the 1960's one can again note the growth in the belief that there had been a trend to leniency. Questions were formulated asking the public whether they felt the courts were too lenient, about right, or too severe in their treatment of criminals. In 1965 only a plurality indicated they believed the courts were too lenient. By 1969, two-thirds indicated they thought the courts too lenient. Several questions were asked in this period about penalties for sensational crimes such as bombing and hijacking, as well as other crimes like armed robbery, arson, and drug sale. Sentences of over 10 years were advocated, although in 1963 a majority still recommended probation for a young person with no previous record who was convicted of auto theft. It is interesting to note that in 1946 a plurality agreed with the statement that American Communists should be "killed or imprisoned." In 1973 "life without parole" for a seller of hard drugs was approved by over two-thirds of the respondents.

One can raise the question as to the role played by a media conscious group such as the FBI in forming perceptions and attitudes toward crime. Gallup Poll questions throughout the period found that Hoover, was

the most widely recognized government figure next to the president. He and the FBI were also consistently given strong public endorsement in Gallup Polls.

At the same time that strong penalties were endorsed, when asked whether the society or the individual was to blame for the crime and lawlessness, 58 percent chose the society in 1970. However, when asked what factors would aid the crime situation, correcting social and economic conditions was picked by only 18 percent in 1968. An equal number picked more parental control. Changing the courts and giving the police a freer hand was picked by 16 percent, and increasing the size of the police force was cited by 15 percent. One can see from this that in 1968 increased control measures are more frequently chosen than correcting social and economic conditions.

Procedural Rights and Views on Law Enforcement Activities

In addition to the questions cited above questions have also been formulated concerning controversial criminal justice procedures, and general evaluations of the police and the courts. Table 2-5 lists these topics and responses. In the area of procedural rights other public opinion research done in the late 1960's has noted the non-unidimensionality or ambivalence of the public in this area, supporting some safeguarding measures and opposing others (Chandler, 1972; McIntyre, 1967; Ennis, 1967).

Looking at the Gallup Poll responses one can see that the police generally get high levels of support. In the 1960's, two-thirds of respondents reported no police brutality in their areas; that they had a great deal of respect for the police; and that this respect was growing. Other studies indicate that the police are consistently given higher public ratings than the courts. In 1972, two-thirds indicated they approved of tougher police and law enforcement.

In 1961 at the time of a heightened civil rights movement, two-thirds of the public responded that they thought the Montgomery, Alabama

Table 2-5. Gallup Poll questions concerning criminal justice system evaluation and procedures: year and direction of most respondents

- Support of three-fourths jury agreement in non-murder cases (1937, M)
- Support women jurors (1937, 2/3)
- Support use of force to remove sit-down strikers (1937, M)
- Support Hoover and FBI methods (1953, 2/3) (1957, 2/3)
- Agree with the statement there is no police brutality in their neighborhood (1965, 2/3) (1967, 2/3)
- Support state provision of compensation to the family of crime victims (1965, M)
- Support the use of breath tests for alcohol (1960, 2/3)
- Disapprove of wiretapping (1969, P)
- Support tougher police and law enforcement (1972, 2/3)
- Support use of rewards in hard drug case (1973, 2/3)
- Do not agree with the statement "parole restores to a useful life" (1937, M)

Marshall had done the "right thing." At this time also two-thirds disapproved of freedom riders and civil rights marches. In the late 1930's the use of force to remove sit down strikes was also approved by a majority.

Agreement/Disagreement with the Three Organizations of Study

From the discussion above it becomes clear that public sentiment at least as expressed in the Gallup Polls, resembles more that of the police IACP policy advocacy than that of the ACA or the NCCD. Table 2-6 presents the results of coding majority responses on each criminal justice related question according to overlap and agreement with those of each of the three organizations. It can be seen from this that the IACP has covered in its policy statements a wider number of the issues covered by the Gallup Poll. This is primarily due to the inclusion of auto regulation related questions. It can also be seen that the ACA and NCCD have more frequently been in disagreement and that this disagreement is increased in the period after 1955.

Internal Consistency

As with the policy statements, the question of analysis of internal consistency is made difficult because of the tendency not to repeat many questions, and to very frequently repeat a select number of questions; the responses to which have been consistent, such as prohibition questions. Some issues which have most certainly fluctuated such as treatment of American Communists were asked only in certain periods of high concern. Table 7 summarizes a categorization of each question according to consistency. In this categorization, in considering questions asked more than once, note was taken only of instances of change in the direction of the majority of respondents expressing an opinion.

From this table it can be seen that most responses are consistently in the same direction. Interestingly those areas where fluctuation or change has occurred relate primarily to life and death concerns. Voluntary enthanasia and abortion have both been behaviors in which change in the form of a majority favoring legalization have occurred. Capital punishment

Table 2-6. Gallup Poll questions on criminal justice related issues: classified according to consistency with policy advocacy of the ACA, IACP, and NCCD

ACA	1935-1955		1956-1976	
	#	%	#	%
Direct agreement	(15)	13.8	(3)	2.9
Direct disagreement	(8)	7.4	(15)	14.7
Partial agreement	(8)	7.4	(13)	12.7
Partial disagreement	(2)	1.9	(16)	15.6
Non-overlap	(75)	69.4	(55)	53.9
Total number	(108)		(102)	

IACP	1935-1955		1956-1976	
	#	%	#	%
Direct agreement	(23)	21.9	(35)	34.9
Direct disagreement	(0)		(4)	3.9
Partial agreement	(21)	19.4	(24)	23.5
Partial disagreement	(9)	8.3	(10)	9.8
Non-overlap	(55)	50.9	(29)	28.4
Total number	(108)		(102)	

NCCD	1935-1955		1956-1976	
	#	%	#	%
Direct agreement	(4)	3.7	(6)	5.8
Direct disagreement	(11)	10.1	(20)	19.6
Partial agreement	(6)	5.5	(5)	4.9
Partial disagreement	(1)	.9	(11)	10.7
Non-overlap	(86)	79.6	(60)	58.8
Total number	(108)		(102)	

Table 2-7. Instances of internal consistency of majority of Gallup Poll responses: 1935 to 1976

	1935-1955 N	1956-1976 N	Total N
New issue	68	39	107
Majority response in same direction to repeated question or to slightly modified question	40	51	91
Majority response in different direction to slightly modified question	0	7	7
Majority response in different direction to repeated question	0	5	5
Total	108	102	210

is an issue in which there has been a fluctuation of advocacy of use. As has been indicated at the start of the poll opinion was in the direction of support of the use of capital punishment. Then in the late 1950's and 1960's support declined below a majority, only to rise in the 1970's following the Supreme Court's decision against its practice in the early 1970's. Another area of change has been away from support of outlawing handguns.

Summary

From this outline the following can be noted vis-a-vis the policy statements considered in the thesis:

(1) Public opinion as expressed since 1935 in the Gallup Poll is more similar to that of the IACP than the ACA or NCCD.

(2) As within the three organizations, there has been a limited range of issues about which questions of legalization has occurred. These relate to morals or vice control and person life or death issues rather than property rights.

(3) There is evidence that issues such as outlawing handguns, fingerprinting, federal anti-lynching laws, parole curbing, drug legalization, and specific auto regulation issues have been dealt with at similar points in time by public polls and the policy statements of the three organizations.

REFERENCES

Books and Periodicals

Abrahamson, Mark
1967 The Professional in the Organization. Rand McNally, Chicago.

Akers, R.
1968 "The professional association and the legal regulations of practice." Law and Society Review 2:463-82.

Alexander, C.
1978 "The new prison administrators and the court: new directions in prison law." Texas Law Review 56:963-72.

Allen, F.
1959 "Criminal justice, legal values, and the rehabilitative ideal." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science 50, 3:226-32.

Allison, Richard
1979 "The politics of prison standards." Corrections Magazine. March, 1979: 54-62.

Alper, B., and Jerry Baren
1972 Crime: International Agenda. Lexington Books, Boston: 15, 155.

Ash, Roberta
1972 Social Movements in America. Markham Co., New York.

American Friends Service Committee Report
1971 Struggle for Justice. Hill and Wong, New York.

Bacon, Sheldon
1939 "Early development of the american municipal police." Dissertation, Yale University.

Balbous, Issac
1973 The Dialectics of Legal Repression. Russel Sage Foundation, New York.

Barnard, Harry
1954 R.B. Hayes and His America. Bobbs Merrill Company Incorporated, New York.

Barnes, Elmer and Teeters Negely
1959 New Horizon in Criminology. Prentice Hall, New Jersey: 74.

Becker, Howard
1963 The Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. Free Press, New York.

Bittner, Egon
1970 The Functions of the Police in Modern Society. National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Maryland.

Blau, Peter
1955 The Dynamics of Bureaucracy. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Blau, Peter and Richard Scott
1962 Formal Organizations. Chandler Press, New York.

Blau, Peter
1964 "The structure of social associations: exchange and power in social life." American Sociological Review. 186-200.

Block, Fred
1977 "Beyond corporate liberalism." Social Problems. 24:352-61.

Boonstrom, Ronald
1974 "The personalization of evil: the emergence of american criminology." Dissertation, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Bopp, William
1971 The Police Rebellion: A Quest for Blue Power. Charles Thomas Publisher, Springfield, Illinois.

Bordua, David
1967 The Police: Six Sociological Essays. Wiley and Son, New York.
1968 "Police community relations." Connecticut Law Review 317.

Bosserman, Philip
1968 Dialectical Sociology. Porter Sarget Publications.

Bowers, William J.
1974 Executions In America. Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts: 40.

Bremner, R.
1955 "Police, penal and parole policies in Cleveland and Toledo." American Journal of Economics and Sociology 14:387-398.

Bruce, T.
1967 "The role of the police." Annals. 374, 54-69.

Bucher, R.
1962 "Pathology, a study of social movements within a profession." Social Problems 10:40-51.

Bucher, R., and Joan Stelling
1969 "Characteristics of professional organizations." Journal of Health and Social Behavior 10, 1:3-15.

Burrow, James
1956 "The political and social policies of the AMA 1901-1941." Thesis History, University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana.

Buckley, Walter
1968 "Society as a complex adaptive system." Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Scientist. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.

Cahalan, Margaret
1979 "Trends in Incarceration in the U.S. Since 1880." Crime and Delinquency, (January), 1-48.

Chambliss, William
1964 "A sociological analysis of the law of vagrancy." Social Problems 12, 1:67-77.

Chambliss, W., and Milton Markoff
1976 Whose Law, What Order, A Conflict Approach to Criminology. Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York.

Chevigny, Paul
1969 Police Power Abuses in New York City. Pantheon Books, New York.

Christian, Charles
1970 The Police Force in New York City. Arno Press Edition, New York (originally published 1825).

Clark, J. P.
1965 "Isolation of the police, a comparison of the British and American situation." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science 66:307-319.

Connor, Walter
1972 "The Manufacture of Deviance: The Case of the Soviet Purge," American Sociological Review 37:403.

Cressey, Donald
1955 "Hypothesis in the sociology of punishment." Sociology and Social Research. 39:394-400.
1969 Theft of the Nation. Harper and Row, New York.

Crime and Justice Foundation
1978 Comparative Analysis of Standards for Adult Correctional Facilities. Boston, Massachusetts.

Cristianson, Scott
1979 "Corrections law developments." Criminal Law Bulletin 15, 3 (May-June):240.

Czajkosk, Eugene
1971 "A brief for public policy analysis in criminological research." Criminology 221-229.

Darendorf, Rolf
1958 "Toward a theory of social conflict." Journal of Conflict Resolution 2:170-83.

David, J. B.
1964 "The professions in the class systems of present day society." Current Sociology 12-13.

Denzin, Norman and K. Metlin
1968 "Incomplete professionalization the case of pharmacy." Social Forces 46, 3:375-381.

Dickson, Donald
1969 "Bureaucracy and morality: an organizational perspective on a moral crusade." Social Problems 16, 2:143-156.

Dobrowalski, Kazimierez
1966 "Studies in professional ideologies." Polish Sociological Bulletin 14:89-102.

Doleschal, Eugene and Nora Klapmuts
1970 "Hidden Crime," Crime and Delinquency Literature 2(5):546-572.
1973 "Towards a new criminology." Crime and Delinquency Literature 5,4:607-625.

Douglas, Jack
1971 American Social Order. Free Press, New York.

Durkheim, E.
1933 The Division of Labor in Society. Free Press, New York.
1958 Professional Ethics and Civic Morals. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

Etzioni, A.
1969 The Semi Professions and Their Organization. Free Press, New York.

Form, William
1968 "Occupation." International Encyclopedia of Social Science. MacMillan, New York 253.

Form, William and Sigmund Nosow
1962 Man, Work and Society, A Reader in the Sociology of Occupations. Basic Books, New York.

Form, William and Joan Rytina
1969 "Ideological beliefs on the distribution of power in the United States." American Sociological Review 1, 34:19.

Fosdick, Raymond Blaine
1920 Crime in American and the Police. The Century Company, New York.

Friedman, Laurence
1973 A History of American Law. Simon and Schuster, New York.

Gallup, George Horace
1973 The Gallup Poll, 1935-1971. Random House, New York.
1965-1976 "Gallup Opinion Index: Political Social and Economic Trends." American Institute of Public Opinion, Princeton, New Jersey.

Gammaze, Allen
1972 Police Unions. Thomas Publishing Company, Springfield, Illinois.

Garceau, Oscar
1941 The Political Life of the AMA. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Glaser, Daniel
1971 Social Deviance. Markham Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois.

Gilb, R.
1966 Hidden Hierarchies: the Professions and Government. Free Press, New York.

Gill, Howard
1940 The Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Gold, Harry
1976 "Organizations, professions and foundations," in Hirsch, Walter, Zollschran, George. Social Change. Wiley, New York.

Goode, William
1969 "The theoretical limits of professionalization," The Semi-Professions and Their Organization. Free Press, New York:266 (Etizoni, Editor).

Gusfield, Joseph
1955 "Social structure and moral reform: a study of Women's Christian Temperance Union." American Journal of Sociology 61:223.
1963 Symbolic Crusade, Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Hage, Jerome and Michael Aiken
1966 "Program change and organizational properties, a comparative analysis," American Journal of Sociology 72:503.
1970 Social Change in Complex Organizations. Random House, New York.

Haller, Mark
1970 "Urban crime and criminal justice, the Chicago case," Journal of American History Vol. 57 (Dec.):619-655.

Harris, Louis
1968 "Changing public attitudes toward crime and corrections," Federal Probation 32, 4:1-16.

Heath, James
1963 Eighteenth Century Penal Philosophy. Oxford University Press, London.

Hofstadter, Robert
1963 The Progressive Movement 1900-15. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Holsti, Robert
1964 "An adaption of the general inquirer for the systematic analysis of political documents." Computers in Behavioral Science.
1967 "Content analysis" in Gardner, Linsay, Handbook of Social Psychology. Addison Wesley, Reading, Massachusetts.

Huber, Joan and William Form
1973 Income and Ideology, An Analysis of the American Political Formula. Free Press, New York.

Hughes, Everett
1953 Men and Their Work. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
1963 "Professions." Daldalus 92, 4:655-668.

Irwin, John
1971 "Changing the criminal justice system." Corrections in Context. Doris Baker (ed.), University of Wisconsin Extension, Madison, Wisconsin.

Jackson, J. A.
1970 The Professions and Professionalization. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Jamison, H.
1969 "On the characteristics of professional organizations." Journal of Health, and Social Behavior 10, 4:344-5.

Jankovic, Ivan
1977 "Labor market and imprisonment." Crime and Social Justice (Fall, Winter):17-31.

Kadish, Sanford
1967 "The crisis of overcriminalization." Annals 374 (November):157-70.

Kaufman, Herbert
1971 The Limits of Organizational Change. University of Alabama Press, Birmingham.

Killinger, George, Paul Cromwell and Jerry Wood
1979 Penology: The Evolution of Corrections in America. West Publishing, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Killingsworth, Charles
1968 Jobs and Income for Negroes. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Kleingartner, A.
1967 Professionalism and Salaried Worker Organizations. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.

Kolko, Gabriel
1963 The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History. Free Press, New York.

Krisberg, Barry
1975 Crime and Privilege, Toward a New Criminology. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Kronus, Carol L.
1975 "Occupational values, role orientations, and work settings: The case of pharmacy." Sociological Quarterly 16:171-83.

Kuhn, Thomas
1967 The Structure of Scientific Revolution. Knoph, New York.

Lane, Richard
1967 Policing the City. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Lermon, Paul
1968 "A comment on the police and the Kerner report." Issues In Criminology 4, 1:61-68.

Le Jins, Peter
1971 "Ideas that have moved corrections" in Jackwell, Susman (eds.) Crime and Justice 1971. AMS Press, New York.

Lentz, W.
1971 "Police and reference group attitudes toward delinquency control." Police 15, 4:27-8.

Lindblom, C.
1968 The Policy Making Process. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Lipsit, Seymour
1969 "Why cops hate liberals and vice versa." Atlantic Monthly March.
1969 "The politics of the police." New Society 13, 336:355-8.

LuBov, Roy
1965 The Professional Altruist: Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Lunden, Walter
1958 "The mobility of chiefs of police." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 49:178-183.

Lyman, J. L.
1964 "The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829: an analysis of certain events influential in the passage and character of the Metropolitan Police Act in England." Criminal Law, Journal of Criminology, and Police Science 55, 1:141-154.

Martinson, Robert
1966 "The age of treatment: some implications of the custody treatment dimension." Issues in Criminology 2:276-93.

McCarthy, John, Zald and Mayer
1973 "The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization," General Learning Press, Morristown, New Jersey.

McIntyre, Jennie
1967 "Public attitudes toward crime and law enforcement." Annals 374:34-46.

McIver, Robert
1955 "The social significance of professional ethics." Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science 297:118-124.

McKelvey, Brian
1977 American Prisons: A Study of American Social History Prior to 1915. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 2nd edition (originally published 1936).

Merton, Robert
1958 "Some functions of professional associations." American Journal of Nursing 50-54.

Meyer, Marshall
1977 Theory of Organizational Structure. Bobbs Merrill, Indianapolis.

Mitchell, Robert
1967 "Use of content analysis for exploratory studies." Public Opinion Quarterly 31, 2:230-41.

Monane, Joseph H.
1967 Sociology of Human Systems. Appleton Century Crofts, New York.

Monkkanen, Eric
1975 The Dangerous Class: Crime and Poverty in Columbus, Ohio 1860-65. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Montilla, Robert
1978 Prison Employee Unionism. National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA, Washington, D. C. :43.

Mott, Paul
1965 The Organization of Society. Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Nagel, William
1977 "On behalf of a moratorium on prison construction." Crime and Delinquency 23:154-72.

North, Robert, Holsti, Zannovish and Zinnes
1963 Content Analysis: A Handbook with Applications for the Study of International Crisis. Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois.

Osgood, Charles, Nunnally and Saporta
1956 "Evaluative assertion analysis." Litera 3:47-102.

Parks, Evelyn
1970 "From constabulary to police society." Catalyst 5 (Summer):76-97.

Parson, Talcott
1968 "Professions," in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences. MacMillan, New York:545.

Perrow, Charles
1970 Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View. Brook Cole Publishing, New York: 113-174.

Platt, Anthony
1969 The Child Savers. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Platt, Anthony, and Lynn Cooper
1974 Policing America. Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Platt, Anthony, and P. Takagi
1977 "Intellectuals for law and order: a critique of the new realists." Crime and Social Justice (Fall-Winter):1-16.

Pool, Ithiel de Sola, and Harold Lasswell
1970 A Comparative Study of Political Symbols. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Price, Barbara
1977 Police Professionalism. Heath and Company, Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts.

Putney, Snell, and Gladys Putney
1962 "Origins of the reformatory." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 53, 4:431-445.

Quinney, Richard
1974 Critique of the Legal Order. Little Brown, Boston.
1977 On Theory and Practice of Criminal Justice. McKay Co., New York.

Rajak, E.
1967 The Economics of Professional Power and American Medicine. Cleveland World Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Ranulf, S.
1964 Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology. Schacken Books, New York.

Reader, William
1966 Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes In Nineteenth Century England. Basic Books, New York.

Reiss, A., and D. Bordua
1967 "Environment and organization: a perspective on police organization" in The Police, Six Sociological Essays, David Bordua (ed.), Willy and Son, New York:31.

Richardson, James
1974 Urban Police in the United States. Kennihat Press, Port Washington, New York.

Robinson, Louis
1969 History and Organization of Criminal Statistics in the United States. Patterson Smith Publishing Company, New Jersey (reprinted from Hart Schaffner and Marx, 1911).

Roby, Pamela
1969 "Police and criminal law, revision of New York state penal law on prostitution." Social Problems 17:83-109.

Rondale, Susan
1974 "The punitive - deterrent and therapeutic control strategies: some factors related to differential advocacy and applications by social control officials." Dissertation, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Rothman, David
1971 The Discovery of the Asylum. Little Brown, New York.

Rubin, Sol
1970 Crime and Juvenile Delinquency. Oceana Publishing Company, Dobbs Ferry, New York:120.
1973 The Law of Criminal Correction. West Publishing Company, 2nd edition, New York.

Rubschemeyer, Dietrich
1964 "Doctors and lawyers, comment on the theory of professions." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 1:17-30.

Sanders, W. C.
1933 The Professions. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Sartre, John Paul
1963 Search for a Method. Random House, New York.

Schattschneider, E. E.
1960 The Semi-Sovereign People. Holt Rinehard and Winston, New York:68.

Schneider, Louis
1971 "Dialectic in sociology." American Sociological Review 36:667-678.

Schrag, Clarence
1969 "The correctional system, problems and prospects." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 381:11-20.
1971 Crime and Justice American Style. NIMH, Rockville, Maryland.

Schur, Edwin
1969 "Reactions to deviance, a critical assessment." American Journal of Sociology 75, 3.
1971 Labelling Deviant Behavior, Its Sociological Implications. Harper and Row, New York.

Schur, Edwin, and Isadore Silver
1974 The Crime Control Establishment. Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Schwartz, Richard, and James Sckolnick
1962 "Two studies of legal signia." Social Problems 10, 2 (Fall):133-142.

Sechrest, Dale
1978 "The legal basis for commission standards." American Journal of Corrections, Nov-Dec:14-18.
1979 "Correctional standards and humanitarian reform." Paper for the American Society of Criminology, Nov., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Sherman, Lawrence C.
1974 "The sociology and social reform of the American police: 1950-1972." Journal of Police Science and Administration 2, 2:255-262.

Skolnik, Jerome
1974 "Consensus to conflict theories of criminology," in Sylvester Sawyer, Edward Sagarin, Politics and Crime. Praeger Publishing Company, New York.

Smith, David
1966 "The importance of formal voluntary associations for society." Sociology and Social Research 50, 4:483-495.

Solomon, Peter H.
1973 "Criminologist and criminal policy in the 1960's, specialists in Soviet policy making." Dissertation, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Soltow, Louis
1975 Men and Wealth in the United States: 1850-1970. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Stinchcombe, Arthur
1967 "The control of citizen resentment in police work," (unpublished paper) cited in A. Reiss and D. Bordua "Environment and organization." The Police. D. Bordua (ed.). Wiley and Son, New York:38.

Stone, Philip, Dexter Dunphy, Marshall Smith and Daniel Ogilvie
1966 General Inquirer, A Computer Approach to Content Analysis. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Strauss, G., and R. Bucher
1966 "Professions in process." American Journal of Sociology 4:325-34.

Sundeen, R. A.
1972 "A study of factors related to police diversion of juveniles, departmental policy, and structure; community attachment and professionalization of police." Dissertation, University of Michigan Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Taft, Philip, and Philip Ross
1969 "American labor violence: its causes, character and outcome," in Violence in America, Hugh Graham and Ted Gurr (eds.), New York Times Book, Bantam Books, New York.

Tamn, Quinn
1963 "Executive directors report." Police Yearbook. IACP, Washington, D.C.
1964 "The history and purpose of the IACP." The Police Chief. IACP, Washington, D.C.:9-12.

Taylor, Ian, Paul Walton and Jack Young
1973 The New Criminology, For a Social Theory of Deviance. Routledge and Regan, London.

Teeters, Negley
1969 "State of prisons in the United States: 1870-1970." Federal Probation, December:18-23.

Tittle, Charles, and Wayne Villemez
1977 "Social Class and Criminality." Social Forces, 56:474-502.
1978 "The Myth of Social Class and Criminality: An Empirical Assessment of Empirical Evidence." American Sociological Review, 43:603-656.

Trojanowicz, Robert
1971 "The policeman's occupational personality." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 1961:551-59.

Turner, William
1968 The Policy Establishment. Putnam and Sons, New York:278.

Turnez, Frederick
1975 "Attitudes of certain criminal justice personnel toward drug laws and drug offenders." Journal of Police Science and Admininstration 3, 3:354-362.

Upson, Lent
1929 "The International Association of Chiefs of Police, and other police organization." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CXIVI.

Vega, William
1968 "The liberal policeman: a contradiction in terms." Issues in Criminology 4, 1:15-34.

Vollmer, Howard, and D. Mills
1966 Professionalization. Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Walker, Samuel
1977 A Critical History of Police Reform. Heath Publisher, Lexington, Massachusetts.

Westley, William
1964 "The policy, a sociological study of law, custom, and morality," in Contributions to Urban Sociology. Burgess, Bogne (ed.). University of Chicago Press, Chicago:304-313.

Wheeler, Stanton, and Edna Bonacich
1966 "Agents of delinquency control, a comparative analysis." Controlling Delinquents. Wiley and Sons, New York.

Wickersham, George
1931 The Police. National Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement, U.S. Government Printing House, Washington, D.C., (II).

Wiebe, Robert
1962 Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1967 The Search for Order, 1977-1920. Hill and Wang, New York.

Wielk, Karl
1969 The Social Psychology of Organizing. Addison and Westley Publishers, Reading, Massachusetts.

Wiener, R.
1968 As cited in Buckley, Walter, Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Analysis. Aldine, Chicago.

Wildeman, John
1971 "The crime fighters: a study of the ideologies and reactions to criminally defined behavior on the part of members of an interest group operative in the official definition and management of deviance." Dissertation, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Wilensky, H.
1964 "The professionalization of everyone." American Journal of Sociology 70:137-158.

Wilkins
1969 Evaluation of Penal Measures. Random House, New York.

Williams, Hubert
1978 As quoted in the following article, "National Organization of Blank Law Enforcers (NOBLE). executive blasts IACP's support of Bakke." Criminal Justice Newsletter. NCCD, Nyack, New Jersey 9:5.

Williams, J., and M. Gold.
1972 "From Delinquent Behavior to Official Delinquency," Social Problems 20:209-229.

Wright, Eric
1972 The Politics of Punishment. Harper, New York.

U.S. Government Reports

U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Government Printing House, Washington, D.C.
1854, "Compendium of Seventh Census; 1850,": table CLXXVI.
1880, "Report on the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the U.S. as Returned at the Tenth Census; 1880,": 504-10 and IV-XI.
1894, "Compendium of the Eleventh Census; 1890,": Part II, 177.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Government Printing House, Washington, D.C.
1918, "Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in the U.S.; 1910,": 13-157.
1926, Prisoners: 1923, Crime Conditions in the U.S. as Reflected in Census Statistics of Imprisoned Offenders,": tables 1, 8, and 14, and 198-9.
1935, "Prisoners in Jails and Other Penal Institutions Under County or Municipal Jurisdiction; 1933,": table 35, 3.
1935, "Juvenile Delinquents in Public Institutions; 1933,": 6.
1935, "Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories; 1933,": table 10.
1939, "Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories; 1937,": table 11.
1943, "U.S. Census of Population; 1940 Special Report, Institutional Population,": 15, 3.
1943, "Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories; 1940,": 15.
1948, "Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories; 1946,": 103 and 45.
1953, "U.S. Census of Population; 1950, Special Report, Institutional Population," Volumn IV, 2c11, 1c19.
1962, "Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1957,": Series A: 71-85.
1963, U.S. Census of Population; 1960 Subject Report, Inmates of Institutions,": Pc(2)-8A, 4-13.
1972, "General Population Characteristics; Age of Population," 1970: Pc(51) table 52.
1973, "U.S. Census of Population; 1970, Subject Report, Persons in Institutions and Other Group Quarters," Pc(2)-4E: 21.
1976, "Statistical Abstracts 1975," table 1002-3; tables 286-331.
1976, "Historical Statistics of the U.S.; Colonial Times to 1970,": H 1135-43, 420.

U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, Government Printing House, Washington, D.C.
1954, "National Prisoner Statistics, Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions; 1950,": 63.
1964, "Federal Prisons; 1960,": 36,17.
1965, "National Prisoner Statistics, Characteristics of State Prisoners; 1960," 41: tables p-4, p-7.
1968, "National Prisoner Statistics, Characteristics of State Prisoners; 1964,": 18.
1972, "National Prisoner Statistics, State Prisoners: Admissions and Releases; 1970,": 6.
1974, "Statistical Report, Fiscal Years 1971 and 1972."
1974, "Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities 1974."
1976, "Statistical Report, Fiscal Year 1974."

U.S. Department of Justice, LEAA, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, Government Printing House, Washington, D.C.
1971, "National Jail Census; 1970."
1974, "Survey of Inmates of Local Jails; 1972."
1974, "Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics; 1973."
1975, "Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics; 1974," tables 6.15 and 6.22 and 248, 434.
1976, "National Prisoner Statistics, Census of Prisoners in State Correctional Facilities 1973,": 20-216.
1976, "National Prisoner Statistics, Special Report, Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities; 1974,": 28.
1977, "National Prisoner Statistics, Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions; 1975."
1977, "Capital Punishment; 1976," table 1.
1977, "Children in Custody; 1975,": table 2.

U.S. Department of Justice, Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Government Printing House, Washington, D.C.
1967, "Task Force Report on Corrections,": 80.
1967, "Task Force Report on Crime and its Impact."

U.S. Department of Justice,
1940, "Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures," Government Printing House, Washington, D.C.: 16, 25.

U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1932, "Uniform Crime Reports,": 7.
1975, "Uniform Crime Reports,": 11.

American Correctional Association Publications

American Correctional Association, College Park, Maryland.
1870 - current <u>Proceedings of Annual Congress of Corrections</u>. New York, College Park, Maryland.

1872 Livingston, Edward, A Code of Reform and Prison Discipline. New York.

1872 Wines, E. C., Report on the International Penitentiary Congress of London. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1889 Felton, Charles, "The Identification of Criminals." Knight and Leonard Co., Chicago.

1921 Chisolm, Benjamin, "Methods of Obtaining Confessions and Information From Persons Accused of Crime." Russell Sage, New York.

1922 Falconer, Martha, "The Jail as a Perverter of Womanhood." Russell Sage, New York.

1922 Macy, Valentine, "Self Government on a County Prison Farm." Russell Sage, New York.

1922 Zimmerman, Ralph, Saldo, "Plans for a Model Jail." Russell Sage, New York.

1923 Hart, Hastings, "Penology an Educational Problem." Russell Sage, New York.

1926 Committee on Lockups, Municipal and County Jails, United States Prisoners in County Jails. Russell Sage, New York.

1932 - current "State and National Correctional Institutions of the United States." New York, College Park.

1933 Jones, Perrie, 2500 Books for the Prison Library. Harrison Smith and Company, Minneapolis.

1933 "Fundamental Questions Concerning Prison Labor." (With the Osborne Association), New York.

1935 Cass, E. R., "Commission to Study the Problems and Education in Penal Institutions a Description and Commentary." New York.

1937 DeVine, Robert, Standing Committee on Jails, The American Jail. New York.

1939 - current American Journal of Correction. St. Paul, Minneapolis, College Park, Maryland.

1942 "Committee on Crime Prevention Report." New York.

1944 "Objectives and Standards for Libraries in Adult Prisons and Reformatories." New York.

1946 Manual of Suggested Standards. New York.

1947 Committee on Classification, Handbook On Classification in Correctional Institutions. New York.

1953 Committee on Classification and Case Work, Handbook on the Inmates Relationship with Persons from Outside the Adult Correctional Institution. New York.

1954 Committee to Revise the 1946 Manual, Manual of Correctional Standards. New York (revised 1959, 1966).

1957 Committee on Institution Libraries, "Approved Magazine List." New York.

1964 Arden House Conference on Manpower and Training for Corrections. (With New York Council on Social Work Education), New York.

1967 "A Study of Maryland State Department of Correction." (With NCCD), Saverna Park, Maryland.

1972 National Workshop of Corrections and Parole Administration Proceedings. Washington, D.C.

1973 The Mutual Agreement Program; A Planned Change in Correctional Service Delivery. Parole Corrections Project, College Park, Maryland.

1975 Committee on Classification and Treatment, Correctional Classification and Treatment: A Reader. W. H. Anderson Company, Washington, D.C.

1976 Epstein Robert, "The Legal Aspects of Contract Parole." Parole Corrections Project, College Park, Maryland.

1977 Commission on Accreditation for Corrections, Manual of Standards for Adult Correctional Institutions. Rockville, Maryland.

1977 Weisz Michael, Corrections Law Project, "Defense to Civil Rights Actions Against Correctional Employees." College Park, Maryland.

1977 Crane, Richard, Legal Representation and Financial Indemnification for State Employees: A Study. College Park, Maryland.

1978 Committee on Classification and Treatment, Hippchen, Leonard editor, Handbook on Correctional Classification: Programming for Treatment and Reintegration. New York.

American Correctional Association
(Resolutions and Policy Statements are found on the following pages of the yearly proceedings: 1870-1976)

Year:Page

1870:541-547
1874:594
1883:182
1884:343
1886:314; 188; 189
1887:66; 93; 101; 109; 261
1888:230; 65; 66
1889:10, 70, 75, 150, 175, 257, 289, 290, 304, 306
1890:124, 143, 273
1891:256, 136
1893:25
1894:214; 234; 141; 68; 75
1896:328
1897:398, 113, 112
1898:513
1899:315-317
1900:344; 328; 378-379
1901:81; 256-258
1902:280; 281; 371
1903:223; 224; 373
1904:84, 114, 326, 328, 340
1906:358-359
1907:222-225
1908:298-301
1909:278-281
1910:183; 225
1911:23-29; 406-410
1912:445; 446; 447; 449
1913:407-409
1914:83
1915:398-399
1916:56; 479; 482; 483
1917:192
1919:586-596
1920:444-445
1921:346-350
1922:394-396
1923:324-325
1924:385-388
1925:388-391
1926:284-290
1927:202-212
1928:283-292
1929:287-295
1930:257-259
1931:307-311
1932:529-531, 429-435

Year:Page

1933:368-372
1934:356-359
1935:359-362
1936:310-318
1937:412-419
1938:484-489
1939:535-539
1940:549-554
1941:501-507
1942:372-376
1943:189-190
1944:242-248
1945:286-292
1946:274-280
1947:352-357
1948:324-329
1949:309-314
1950:293-296
1951:323-329
1952:338-342
1953:316-321
1954:251-257
1955:281-286
1956:344-353
1957:326-331
1958:445-449
1959:282-287
1960:474-479, 484-489
1961:254-268
1962:248-253
1963:411-421
1964:261-266
1965:275-283
1966:371-376
1967:323-327
1968:344-345
1969:343-348
1970:385-394
1971:357-362
1972:228-234
1973:361-366
1974:454-458
1975:354-361
1976:284 American Journal of Correction, 1976:

International Association of Chiefs of Police Publications

International Association of Chiefs of Police, Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1893 - current — *Proceedings of the Annual Convention, The Police Yearbook.* Chicago, Washington, D.C., Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1928 — Committee on Uniform Crime Records, A Uniform Classification of Major Offenses. New York.

1928 — Committee on Uniform Crime Reports, A Guide for Preparing Annual Police Reports. New York.

1929 — Committee on Uniform Crime Records, Uniform Crime Reporting a Complete Manual for Police. New York.

1930 — "Uniform Crime Reports for the United States and Its Possessions." Monthly Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1-7, New York.

1934 - current — "The Police Chief Official Publication of the IACP." Chicago, Washington, D.C., Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1935 — Committee on Uniform Crime Reports, A Guide for Preparing Annual Police Reports. Washington, D.C.

1937 — Safety Division, Northwestern University Traffice Safety Institute, Accident Prevention Bureaus in Municipal Police Departments. Evanston, Illinois.

1939/40 — The Police Bluebook. Chicago.

1940 — Hammond, Harold F., Kreml, Franklin M., Safety Division and National Conservation Bureau, Traffic Engineering and the Police. Evanston, Illinois.

1941 — Safety Division, Northwestern University Traffic Institute, Military Traffic Control. Evanston, Illinois.

1941 — Monroe David, Northwestern University Traffic Institute, State and Provincial Police; A Study of Police Functioning in the United States and Canada. Evanston, Illinois.

1942 — Safety Division, Northwestern University Traffic Institute, Point Control and Traffic. Washington, D.C.

1942 — Selective Service and Other Wartime Personnel Problems. Washington, D.C.

1944 — "Police Unions and Other Police Organizations." Bulletin #4, Washington, D.C.

1955 — Kreml, Franklin, Traffic Institute, Northwestern University, The Evidence Handbook for Police. Evanston, Illinois.

1958 "Police Unions: Bulletin on Police Problems." Washington, D.C.

1962 Field Services Division, "A Survey of the Police Department of Boston." Boston, Massachusetts.

1968 Vanderbosch, Charles, Professional Standards Division, Criminal Investigation. Washington, D.C.

1968 Division of State and Provincial Police, Comparative Data Report. Washington, D.C.

1968 Police Personnel Selection Survey. Washington, D.C.

1969 Management and Research Division, Police Traffic Responsibilities. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1969 Field Operations Division, Resource Material for the Improvement of Law Enforcement in the State of Tennessee. Washington, D.C.

1969 Professional Standards Division, Career Development Conference. Washington, D.C.

1969 Vanderbosch, Charles, Professional Standards Division, Traffic Supervision. Washington, D.C.

1969 Watson, Nelson A., Police and Their Opinions. Washington, D.C.

1970 Professional Standards Division, The Patrol Operation, Washington, D.C.

1970 Crochett, Thompson, kelly, James, Professional Standards Division, "Police Reference Notebook." Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1970 Campus Unrest: Dialogue or Destruction? Proceedings of IACP Workshop for State Police Officials and Campus Security Disorders. Washington, D.C.

1971 Kabetz, Richard, The Police Role and Juvenile Delinquency. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1972 "IACP Law Enforcement Legal Review." Gaithersburg, Maryland, #1.

1972 Sterling James, Changes In Role Concepts of Police Offices. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1972 Police Legal Center, Guidelines for a Police Legal Unit. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1972 "The Police Weapons Center Data Service." Research Services Section, Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1973 Kebetz Richard W., Juvenile Justice Administration. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1973 Eisenberg, Terry, Kent Deborah, Police Personnel Practices In State and Local Governments. Washington, Police Foundation.

1973 Highway Safety Division, Police Traffic Services; Handbook for Governors High Safety Representatives. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1973 Security Research Section, Morton, Jane, "Bombing Incident Research Section Report." Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1973 Highway Safety Division, Selective Traffic Law Enforcement Manual. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1974 Professional Standards Division, Sterling James, Protecting Dissent, Policing Disorder. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1974 Schmidt, Wayne, Survey of Police Misconduct Litigation. Evanston, Americans for Effective Law Enforcement.

1975 Legal Research Section, Managing for Effective Discipline. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

1976 "The Police Chief Executive Report." Police Chief Executive Committee, LEAA, Washington, D.C.

1979 Gentel, William D., Police Strikes: Causes and Prevention. Gaithersburg, Maryland.

International Association of Chiefs of Police
(Resolutions are found in the following pages of the yearbook: 1893-1976.)

Year:Page

1894:29, 45
1896:18; 22; 31-33; 36;41
1897:17; 25; 41; 49
1898:9;15;17-19;38;46;53;54;60
1899:12;26;29;40
1900:31;48
1901:34;38;46
1902:84
1904:99-100; 105
1905:135-6
1906:82-83
1907:92;101-104
1908:88

Year:Page

1909:26;48-49;101-103
1910:58;85;112
1911:134-5;185
1912:47;125;178-80;211
1913:49;150-152
1914:37;120;124;128;132
1915:99-100
1916:88-89
1917:No conference
1918:45, 59
1919:106-107,94-99
1920:26;98-99;120-121
1921:46-58;82
1922:42;49-51;53;80-82
1923:87-92
1924:21;74;132-134
1925:92-96; 107
1926:259-265
1927:232-235
1928:168-176
1929:149-157
1930:151-156
1931:87-99;206-208
1932:150-151
1933:201-205
1934:194-199
1935:169-175
1936:228-233
1937:206-212
1938/39:237-240
1940:378-384
1943:255-259
1944:No conference
1945:377-386
1949:270-279
1950:423-438
1952:249-254
1953:322-327
1954:288-294
1955:364-375
1956:375-383
1957:331-336
1958:325-335
1959:327-336
1960:314-321
1961:244-258
1962:387-395
1963:279-288
1964:381-391
1965:377-378; 355-370
1966:425-434

Year:Page

1967:285-296
1968:349-370
1969:266-272
1970:189-205; 238
1971:225-243
1972:177-191
1973:214-231
1974:159-169
1975:247-291
1976:274-289

National Council on Crime and Delinquency Publications

National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Hackensack, New Jersey.

1910 - current — Probation and Parole Directory. (title varies) New York

1911 — "Report on the Administration of Juvenile Courts and Probation: Outline and Investigations." New York

1915 - 1947 — Yearbook or Proceedings of the Annual Conference, New York

1921 — Committee on Juvenile Court Standards, Juvenile Court Standards. U.S. Childrens Bureau, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington

1921 — Cooley, Edwin J., Tendencies and Developments in the Field of Probation. New York

1975 — Priven, Herman, The Crisis in Qualified Manpower for Criminal Justice. U.S. Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1926 — Hiller, Francis, "Probation in Wisconsin: Report of a Survey." New York

1926 — "A Bibliography on Probation, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts, Crime, Psychiatric Treatment and Related Subjects." New York

1928 — Committee on Federal Probation, "Probation Service of the U.S. Courts." New York

1929 — Drowne, Ralph, "Juvenile Courts in Utah: Report of a State Wide Survey." New York

1930 — Hiller, Francis, "The Treatment of Juvenile Offenders in Nashville, Tennessee." New York

1930 "Juvenile Courts and Probation in New Hampshire." New York

1931 "Juvenile Courts and Probation in Florida." Tallahassee

1933 Hiller, Francis, Adult Probation Laws of the United States. New York

1933 Committee on Revision of the Standard Juvenile Court Act, "A Standard Juvenile Court Law." New York

1935 Regional Conference of Probation Executives, "Probation in Practice." New York

1936 "The Community Approach to Delinquency Prevention." New York

1938 "Community Cooperation for Social Welfare." New York

1940 Cosulich, Gilbert ed., Adult Probation Laws of the United States 2nd ed. New York

1940 Committee on a State Administered Probation and Parole Act, "A State Administered Probation and Parole System." New York

1942 Pigeon, Helen, Probation and Parole in Practice and Theory. New York

1943 Hiller, Francis, "The Juvenile Delinquency Problem in San Diego." New York

1943 Walls, Ralf, "Delinquency and Crime Treatment in Nevada." New York

1944 "The Juvenile Court and County Institutions for Children in Jackson County." New York

1944 Hiller, Francis, "Court Care of Children in Wyoming: Report of a Survey." New York

1944 Walls, Ralph, "The Juvenile Delinquent and the Adult Offenders in Arizona." New York

1946 Schapps, John, "Oregon State Juvenile Institutions." New York

1948 - 1954 "National Probation and Parole Journal." (Quarterly)

1955 - current Crime and Delinquency. (Quarterly) New York, Hackensack, New Jersey

1955 Rector, John and John Wallace, "Probation Services in New Jersey." New York

1957 Advisory Council of Judges, "Guides for Juvenile Court Judges." New York

1957 Advisory Council of Judges, "Guides for Sentencing." New York 2nd edition, 1974

1957 "Probation Service in Pennsylvania." New York

1958 "Correctional Services in Arizona." New York

1958 Langtry Virgil and Joseph Spangler, "Adult Parole and Probation in Oregon." New York

1958 "A Study of Adult Correctional Services in Vermont." New York

1958 "Oregon Services for Juvenile Offenders, Report of Survey for the Legislature." Interim Committee on Judicial Administration

1958 Standards and Guides for the Detention of Children and Youth. New York

1960 "Institutions and Related Services for Delinquent Children in New Mexico." New York

1961 "A System of Family Courts for Louisiana: A Survey for the Louisiana Youth Commission." New York

1962 Advisory Council of Judges, "Proceedings and Evidence in the Juvenile Court." New York

1962 - 1964 Information Center on Crime and Delinquency, "Current Projects in the Prevention Control and Treatment of Crime and Delinquency." New York

1963 - current Crime and Delinquency Abstracts. New York, Hackensack, New Jersey

1963 Advisory Council of Judges, "Model Sentencing Act." New York

1964 "The State of Washington Board of Prison Terms Parole and Field Services; a Survey." New York

1964 - current The Journal of Reseach in Crime and Delinquency. New York

1965 "Adult Probation and Parole in Virginia; an Appraisal of the Second Ten Years." New York

1965 Sellin John Thorsten, "A Bibliographic Manual for the Student of Criminology." National Research and Information Center on Crime and Delinquency, New York

1965 "Juvenile Delinquency a Report on State Action and Responsibilities." Chicago

1966 "A Balanced Correctional System for Oregon." Salem

1966 "Search Warrants and Organized Crime; A Policy Statement." New York

1966 "Correction in Oklahoma, A Survey." New York

1966 Correction in the United States: A Survey for the Presidents' Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. New York

1966 "Adult Correctional Institutions, Probation and Parole." New York

1967 "Maryland Commission to Study the Correctional System of Maryland Report." Saverna Park, Maryland

1968 "Citizen Action to Control Crime and Delinqency, Fifty Projects." New York

1969 Council of Judges, "Model Rule of Court on Police Action from Arrest to Arraignment." New York

1969 Council of Judges, "Juvenile Traffic Appendices; A Policy Statement." New York

1969 Council of Judges, "Model Rules for the Juvenile Court." New York

1970 Council of Judges, "Provision of Council in the Juvenile Court; a Policy Statement." New York

1972 "Model Sentencing Act." Hachensack, New Jersey

1972 Committee on the Model Act, "A Model Act for the Protection of the Rights of Prisoners." Paramus New Jersey

1972 "Alternatives to Drug Abuse Conference Proceedings," Santa Barbara, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Washington, D.C.

1973 "Clemency in Pennsylvania." Survey and Planning Center

1973 O'Leary Vincent, "Peaceful Resolution of Prison Conflict: Negotiation as a Means of Dealing with Prison Conflict." Hackensack, New Jersey

1974 "So you want to start a Community Corrections Project." Hackensack, New Jersey

1976 Martenson Robert, "Rehabilitation, Recidivision, and Research." Hackensack, New Jersey

Resolutions and Policy Statement of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (National Probation Association) are found in the following locations:

Year	Page
Conference Proceedings or Yearbook	
1915:	62
1916:	113-115
1918:	138-140
1919:	152-154
1920:	160-162
1921:	109-110
1922/23:	210-211
1924:	329-330
1925:	262-263
1926:	280-281
1927:	12-14
1928:	398-403
1929:	254-256
1930:	333-339
1931:	284-285
1932:	307-311
1933:	312-314
1934:	216-221
1935:	266-270
1936:	391-397
1937:	370-371
1938:	348-350
1939:	314-317
1940:	446-448
1941:	446-448
1942:	319-321
1943:	281-283
1944/45:	295-297
1946/47:	268-270
1948/49:	338-340
1950/51:	293-294
1952:	222-223
1953:	262-263

Year	Page
National Probation and Parole Journal	
1956:	172
1957:	318
1958:	86-88; 372-374
1959:	294-296

Year	Page
Crime and Delinquency	
1960:	97
1961:	379-380
1962:	97; 417-418
1963:	225, 324-326; 339
1964:	105
1965:	411
1966:	391
1968/69:	97; 107; 193
1970/71:	1; 9; 129
1972/73:	1; 129; 132; 329
1974:	1; 4; 10; 15
1975:	97; 315
1976:	1; 75

VITA

Margaret Werner Cahalan

Margaret Werner Cahalan was born in 1946 in Cincinnati, Ohio. She is married to Robert Cahalan and has two children, Joel aged 11, and Gabriel aged 7. She completed her B.A. degree cum laude in sociology at Thomas More College in 1967. She also holds a M.A. degree from Notre Dame University in theology and a A.M. in sociology from the University of Illinois. She has been employed since 1979 as a research associate at Westat Research, Rockville, Maryland.

The following is a list of Margaret's publications and conference papers:

"Trends in Incarceration in the United States Since 1880; A Summary of Reported Rates and the Distribution of Offenses," Crime and Delinquency, January 1979, pp. 9-41.

"Self-Reported Tax Law Compliance, A Pilot Survey Report," presented at the Law and Society Association Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, June 1980. Co-author.

"The Correction Standards Accreditation Program: An Opinion Survey of Correctional Employees," Final Report Submitted to LEAA, June 1981. Co-author.

"Critical Issues in Corrections: The Role of Standards and Accreditation" presented at the November, 1981 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology. Co-author.

"Change in Public Opinion on Legal and Crime Related Issues: A Study of the Saliency and Fluctuation in Gallup Opinion Polls 1935-1980" presented at the June 1982 Law and Society Conference.

"Criminal Justice Policy Advocacy Change in Three Occupation/ Reform Organizations, 1870-1976: A Comparative Analysis of the American Correctional Association, the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, November 1982.