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The Rich (Still) Get Richer.. Understanding Ideology, Outrage and Economic Bias

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Editor's Note: The ASC meetings in November marked the 50th anniversary of that organization. They also marked the 20th anniversary of the publication of Jeffrey Reiman's book, *The Rich Get Richer & the Poor Get Prison*, now in its 5th edition from Allyn & Bacon. A panel at the conference featured a series of papers to mark two decades of this book being in print. The following are the substantive prepared remarks given by Jeffrey Reiman at this panel.

I am extremely honored to be here. I am, in addition to being honored to be here, surprised. Surprised that twenty years have passed since the original publication of *The Rich Get Richer*, surprised that the book seems still to be a popular text, and surprised at how little has changed with respect to the economic bias in criminal justice that the book tries to document. (Of course, I thank all of you for forcing your students to buy *The Rich Get Richer* year after year, thereby making me richer and — per my hypothesis — helping me stay out of prison.)

Not that I thought the publication of *The Rich Get Richer* would bring about massive social change (though my mother still wonders why the President hasn't offered me a cabinet-level job to fix the criminal justice system). Rather it occurs to me that my book was originally published at a time when many writers were bringing social science research to bear on the economic bias in the criminal justice system. Indeed, not many years before, the Johnson crime commission report, "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society," had emphasized the way in which the criminal justice system systematically focused on the poor and powerless in our society, writing, in language that now seems almost quaint: "The offender at the end of the road in prison is likely to be a member of the lowest social and economic groups in the country." But for all this attention and documentation, little has changed--on some accounts things have gotten worse.

Of course, the mechanisms of economic bias have changed. Now we have sentencing guidelines the effect of which is that judges no longer have the discretion with which to favor well-off

folks — instead that is now left to prosecutors whose discretionary decisions about charging are far harder to monitor, happening as they do, not in open court, but behind closed doors. And this is not to mention the bias that is built into the sentencing guidelines themselves (and the extremely harsh minimum sentences that often accompany them), such as the famous gap between the penalty for crack cocaine and that for powder. Likewise, as police have hopefully become less and less racist in their personal outlooks, the war on drugs has led to massive police presence in the poorest sections of our cities, with the inevitable effect that poor drug sellers continue to be arrested and imprisoned in great numbers, while it is obvious that the drug trade reaches far beyond the inner city.

Economic bias is still with us. What has changed is that the attention and concern that was once focused on economic bias as a serious problem that threatened to undermine the legitimacy of the criminal justice system has steadily diminished. It was easy to find material for the first edition of *The Rich Get Richer* because the social science journals were chock full of studies showing economic bias in criminal justice; but as the years have passed, with each succeeding revision of the book, I have found the studies decreasing in number and eventually dwindling to a trickle. At the same time, I have yet to find a major criminology textbook that even has an index entry on economic status or class; the FBI Index gives no information of the economic class of arrestees for various crimes, the Bureau of Prisons reports give only scant information on the pre-incarceration economic situation of current inmates, the Victimization Reports give some gross categorization of victimization by household income but of course nothing about that of the victimizers, and so on.

So we have on one hand a continuation — some times even an aggravation — of economic bias, and, on the other hand, a diminution of studies by social scientists (not to mention an unbroken silence among politicians and other leaders) about that economic bias. I think that there is a lesson to be learned here about the power of ideology and the way in which it works.

It is commonly thought that ideology is a system of false beliefs. But I think that this is a mistaken view, for several reasons. First, it is, I think, a plain fact that people's judgments are generally rational in light of their experience and normally correct. Any serious doubt of this flies in the face of reality, but it

(Continued on page 4)

From the Editors...

It's a new year and time to renew your membership to ASC and the Division. Even if you just paid membership dues to attend the November conference, the calendar year has run out and it is time to pay again. (Sorry, but it is not our rule.) We're emphasizing this point because last year many people forgot to renew either with ASC or the Division. Our membership dropped and people wondered why they were no longer receiving the newsletter. So, PLEASE RENEW and REMEMBER TO RENEW FOR THE CRITICAL DIVISION AS WELL. If you've lost the renewal form, there's one on page 20 to fill out and send in. Because ASC makes up our mailing labels from their Division membership list, you will not receive the next newsletter (Summer 1999) unless you are paid up. Thanks.

The editors are happy to report great interest in using the newsletter as a publishing outlet. Most of the articles we receive are unsolicited, which indicates that people regard this as valuable publication. Several bibliographic services have also been in touch with Stuart about indexing back issues on their databases. We've also received some requests to have articles from the newsletter reprinted in coursepacks for classroom use.

In spite of the intellectual vibrancy and interest in critical criminology, the division still has some financial issues. There's a statement from Gregg (Division Chair) on the back page that explains the situation. The lack of cash flow threatens the viability of the Division's journal as an outlet for quality, cutting edge critical criminology. You can help by renewing and paying dues; by buying Collective Press books (see p 12); and/or by acting on the information on the last page about the Sustainer program.

We hope that this issue helps demonstrate the value of division membership. Jeffrey Reiman shares his latest thoughts about ideology and crime, which he originally presented at November's ASC meeting at a Division sponsored panel. On the international front, Anne Alvesalo writes about the problems confronting critical criminologists in Finland as that country tries to tackle the problem of white collar crime. Also, Michael Rodrigues talks to a Puerto Rican political prisoner about his case. (Many thanks to Dragan for bringing this article to our attention and getting it to us in a form we could reproduce.)

Dragan Milovanovic also provides an excellent example of

constructive intellectual engagement in his response to an article in the last issue by Stretsky and Lynch about race, class and gender. We welcome further thoughts by the original authors or others. Ellen Leichtman shares some thoughts about the privileged position of quantitative methods. Jennifer Hatten rounds out the issue by writing about some early findings in her ongoing study of women, feminism and the survivalist right.

The next edition of the newsletter will be out in the summer of 1999. We welcome articles, poetry and letters. Please send a hard copy and diskette version, no longer than 2,500 words (to offer room for many voices) and specify the software/word processing software being used. We ask that references be in the (Author Date: Page) format with minimal use of endnotes. Conversations or less formal non-referenced articles are also acceptable, but we expect that they will still represent polished final manuscripts that have been subjected to spell check and proof-reading.

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Gregg Barak, Jennifer Hatten & Paul Leighton can be reached at the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI 48197. Phone 734/487 0012. Short announcements can be sent by e-mail to <SOC_Leighton@online.emich.edu>

The Critical Criminology Homepage is maintained by Jim Thomas. It contains more information about the division along with links to a wide variety of data, current statistics, legal resources, political writings, teaching and mentoring information, and the Division's parent organization — The American Society of Criminology. <http://sun.soci.niu.edu/~critcrim/>

Division membership is available through Sarah Hall at the American Society of Criminology: 1314 Kinnear Rd., Suite 214 Columbus, OH 43212. Subscription to the newsletter for non-members is \$10 yearly, available from Stuart Henry, who also handles information about back issues.

Table of Contents

Anne Alvesalo Critical Criminology & White Collar Crime Control	4
Dragan Milovanovic Response to Lynch & Stretsky	8
Ellen Leichtman Quantitative v Qualitative.....	13

Michael Rodrigues Interview with Political Prisoner Jordan.....	17
Jennifer Hatten Women of White Sipremacy.....	19
ASC Membership form Yes, it's time to pay your dues	20
Message from the Chair Critical Criminology Sustainer Fund	21

Division News

Nominations for Division Officers

Nominations are being solicited for the following Division Officers: Chair, Vice-Chair, Secretary-Treasurer, and three Executive Officers. Each position involves a two-year term. Nominations can be sent to Michael Blankenship, Associate Dean College of Arts & Sciences, ETSU Box 70730, Johnson City, TN 37614. TEL: 423/439-6807. FAX: 423/439-6798. Email: <blankenm@etsu.edu>.

The deadline for receiving nominations is April 15.

1999 ASC Call for Papers

The Division on Critical Criminology seeks abstracts for papers for the 1999 ASC meeting, November 17-20, 1999 in Toronto. The theme for the meeting is "Explaining and Preventing Crime: the Globalization of Knowledge," but submissions on a variety of topics relevant to critical criminology are welcomed. Abstracts of less than 200 words dealing with critical criminological issues should be submitted to:

Michael J. Lynch, Soc-107, Department of Criminology, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida 33620-8100. Phone: 813-974-8148. FAX: 813-974-2803.

E-mail: mlynch@luna.cas.usf.edu

THERE IS A FIRM DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF MARCH 31, 1999.

For further information on the ASC conference, you may visit the ASC website at:

<http://www.asc41.com/call4paperToronto.htm>

Panel forms and abstract forms are available on-line:

Panel form: <http://www.asc41.com/panform.html>

Abstract form: <http://www.asc41.com/absform.html>.

Please note, due to the growth in the annual ASC conference, new rules affecting conference participation have been put in place for the 1999 meeting. Specifically, each participant is limited one first author presentation and one other appearance as a chair or discussant.

NEW BOOK

Teenage Runaways: Broken Hearts and "Bad Attitudes"

By Laurie Schaffner, foreword by Esther Madriz

Utilizing sociological theories of Symbolic Interactionism and the sociology of emotion, *Teenage Runaways* deconstructs the common misconceptions of this widespread social problem. The book includes a qualitative study of 26 runaways in a New England shelter to assist the reader in understanding the multiple issues surrounding runaways—from their reasons for leaving home to their personal experiences as teens living on the streets. *Teen-*

age Runaways appeals to a variety of disciplines as well as parents and youth.

List Price \$29.95 (*outside US/Canada/Mexico: \$36.00*) ISBN: 0-7890-0550-6. The Haworth Press, Inc., 10 Alice Street, Binghamton, NY 13904-1580. Telephone: 1-800-HAWORTH. Fax: 1-800-895-0582.

Email: <getinfo@haworthpressinc.com>.

Web: <http://www.haworthpressinc.com>

The author may be contacted at: Laurie Schaffner, University of California, Sociology Department, 410 Barrows Hall #1980, Berkeley, CA 94720-1980.

Human Radiation Experiment Information

For division members interested in state crime or restorative justice issues, the U.S. Department of Energy has created a website to tell the truth about the radiation experiments it performed on humans without any type of informed consent. The introduction from the website notes: "The Office of Human Radiation Experiments, established in March 1994, leads the Department of Energy's efforts to tell the agency's Cold War story of radiation research using human subjects. We have undertaken an intensive effort to identify and catalog relevant historical documents from DOE's 3.2 million cubic feet of records scattered across the country. Internet access to these resources is a key part of making DOE more open and responsive to the American public."

<http://tis-nt.eh.doe.gov/ohre/>

ASC & Critical Division Dues Reminder

The ASC just sent out forms to renew memberships, which run from January until December. (If you paid late in the year to register for the conference, it is still time to renew.) Please pay your ASC dues on time. Last year several members paid late or forgot to pay at all, or did not check the box for the Critical Criminology Division on the ASC renewals notice. This meant that their names were removed from the membership list and they did not receive the newsletter because ASC prints mailing labels for us. **Members will not receive the Summer issue of the newsletter if they have not renewed by March 31 for 1999.**

Remember, this is your last bargain basement year at \$5 (dues will increase to \$30 next year! See the statement by the Chair later in this issue). Make sure you continue to get your copy of the newsletter by renewing NOW while it's still the deal of the century!

Membership forms can be downloaded from the ASC's website, <http://www.asc41.com/>

(Continued from page 1)

also leads to the most depressing implications for progressives since if you think that people are generally irrational and mistaken in their judgments you cannot be very optimistic about the possibility of social change. Moreover, if the people are generally irrational, what of the social scientists? How can they even identify beliefs as ideological if they too, being people, are generally irrational?

Second, if ideology were just false beliefs, I think it would be easier to penetrate ideology than it palpably is. After all, coupled with the general rationality of the people, showing a belief to be false should open the way to contrary beliefs. And third, the simple fact is that people know about economic bias in the criminal justice system. Is there anyone in America who, after months of the O. J. Simpson murder trial, is unaware that O. J. got the best justice that money could buy? Whether one thinks he was guilty or innocent, no one can doubt that a poor defendant with similar evidence against him would have been lucky to get away with a life sentence!

Rather it seems that people are aware of economic bias, *but they're just not outraged about it*. Economic bias in criminal justice seems rather like the many other ways in which rich peo-

think of ideology, not as false beliefs, but rather as an angle of moral vision – an angle of vision from which the world is seen, and in light of which facts are evaluated morally

ple get better treatment than poor folks. It's more or less par for the course. In America some people are rich and some are poor and that's life and you get what you pay for, and so on.

I think that this becomes easier to understand if we think of ideology, not as false beliefs, but rather as an angle of moral vision--an angle of vision from which the world is seen, and in light of which facts are evaluated morally.

To fix this idea (and perhaps entertain you as well), I want to use as a way of showing the nature of ideology something from the old days of TV, when the world was black and white. At that time, as some of you might have heard, there was a very brilliant creative oddball comedian named Ernie Kovacs who had a daytime TV show. On one of these shows, there was a skit that took place in what looked like a farmhouse kitchen. In the middle of the kitchen, two farmers sat at a wooden table. On the table was a pitcher of milk and a glass, and a bowl of oranges. When one farmer tried to pour the milk from the pitcher into the glass, the milk, instead of flowing vertically down into the glass, flowed at a diagonal, missing the glass by inches and causing gales of laughter in the studio and in my house. When the other farmer put an orange on the table in preparation for cutting it up and eating it, rather than staying put, it rolled horizontally across the table and fell on the floor, causing further laughter in the studio and my house. This went on until the laughter reached life-threatening proportions. Then, a second TV camera on the side of the set was turned on to show how this hilarious feat had been accomplished. What now was visible was that the farmhouse kitchen was tilted at an angle of about 15 degrees and the TV camera and camera operator who were shooting it during the skit

were slanted at the same angle.

That's how ideology works! Imagine that the slant in the set represents the degree to which relationships in a society are characterized by morally unjustified domination. I don't mean merely hierarchical relations or differences in power, since these might be justified. By morally unjustified domination, I mean relations that are based on no more than the power of some to control the lives of others. Imagine that the farmers at the table and camera operator televising them--and even us, the viewers at home--are the members of this slanted society. Ideology, then, is represented by the fact that the members of the society are, so to speak, lined up with the society so that they see it as *not* slanted. Instead of relations of unjustified domination, they and we see the famous "level playing field."

More precisely, ideology is an angle of vision that makes unequal relations look like relations between equals, and thus turns their inequality into a matter of morally irrelevant differences. Then, for example, if the two farmers were to get into a fight, the one on the higher side of the slanted floor would have an advantage over the other--but it wouldn't be seen as a morally unjustified advantage. It would look as if he just were stronger or a better fighter. And that's generally how economic advantage

looks in our society, namely, as if it were a matter of each individuals' good or bad luck, special talents or lack of them--but not as a form or effect of unjustified domination.

In Marxian theory, the mechanism that accomplishes this varies with the mode of production. In feudalism, it is the belief

in the equality of souls before God, in conjunction with which, differences in power look like punishments or rewards for sins or like conditions of the test that all must pass to get into heaven, but in any event as not very important compared to the divine judgment that all are subject to and the eternal condition to which that will lead. In capitalism, the corresponding mechanism is the law, not just the law in the courts, that of course, but also "legality" as a governing metaphor for human relations, seeing people as "owners" of themselves and so on. The law bestows to capitalist and worker alike the same rights to property and control over themselves. Accordingly, they meet as two people each equally free to come to terms with the other or to refuse to. Their differences, the fact that one owns a factory and machines and raw materials and the other owns the muscles in his back, look like natural differences--matters of good or bad luck, but not like unjustified domination. And the same effect spreads through the society: so that differences in wealth are not seen as forms or means of unjustified domination, but only as morally irrelevant differences.

Notice in this view of things, people are not thought to be irrational, and their beliefs (this is a table, that's an orange) are generally correct. All they and we fail to see is the real moral angle of the playing field. I think, by the way, that this accurately characterizes neo-classical economics of the Milton Friedman variety. Not only is just about everything that neo-classicists say about the economy true, just about everything they say was believed true by Marx! However, unlike Marx, the neo-classicists

(Continued on page 5)

A Sitting Duck or a Trojan Horse?

Critical Criminology and White Collar Crime Control

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To situate critical criminology in the map of predefined possibilities is not of interest to me as such; more relevant is to contemplate what is my motive for "doing critical criminology". What I see as important in my research on white collar crime is to remember that *the fundamental function of critical criminology is to expose and deconstruct the problems of the existing system and to reveal the limits of justice* (Barak, 1998). Other inspiring thoughts of critical scholarship are those of critical legal studies (CLS). Although CLS is marked by diversity, its scholars share the ambition to *react against many features of the role played by law and legal institutions in modern society, and try to expose the role law plays in facilitating domination* (e.g. Hunt, 1987, Minda, 1995). For CLS, *the Rule of Law is a mask that lends to existing social structure the appearance of legitimacy and inevitability* (Hutchinson, 1989).

From these starting points the study of white collar crime appears to be a sitting duck for a critical criminologist. In fact, to study white collar crime *per se* is critical, because criminologists have an ethical responsibility to investigate the crimes of the powerful as well as the crimes of the powerless. Many studies have shown that although elite deviance inflicts far more damage to society than all street crime combined, the reactions of the criminal justice system against white collar crime are not as intense as against street crime. This can be seen on various levels of control: in legislation, policing, prosecution, adjudication and in the determination and enforcement of punishments. There are many causes for this phenomenon, and we do have a considerable amount of analyses on almost all the stages of the law enforcement process, and on the socio-economical, ideological and political reasons on why the "rich get richer and the poor get prison" (Reiman, 1998[1979]). It seems easy to agree on that there is a need for the criminal law in this area to be strictly and consistently enforced (Pearce and Tombs, 1990). However, there are certain problems in being a *critical* white collar crime criminologist. The main dilemma, David Nelken has suggested in his analysis on why the labeling approach has been neglected in the study of

white collar crime: that [even critical] criminologists here line up with those doing the labeling (Nelken, 1994).

The Finnish government made a decision to fight white collar crime in 1996 with a three-year program. Resources were also granted to different institutions, including the customs, execution and tax authorities, police and prosecution. In the beginning of this year the program was extended to last until the year 2001. Finnish decision-makers began to pay attention to white collar crime after a period of depression at the beginning of the nineties, when several banks published their unprofitable part-year reports. Several illegal acts committed by bank directors, politicians and businessmen were revealed (the situation resembled the U.S. Savings & Loans mess in many ways). The total cost of the bank crisis has been estimated to sum up from 7 to 16 billion U.S. \$ (our national budget for the police is ca. 0.5 billion U.S. \$ year). All in all, there was strong political pressure to do something about the illegalities of the elite, because the damages were paid by the state guarantee, that is, by the taxpayers. In 1993 the Ministry of Interiors funded our research designed primarily to assess the extent of white collar crime and the amount of losses in the cases that were sentenced. The main result of our research was that only 10% (50 million U.S.\$) of the damages that are known to the police and prosecutor (500 million U.S.\$) are adjudged. Furthermore, only 5% of the damages and 7% of the fines that were collected were retrieved from the offenders by the state or other victims. Also, an estimate was presented (2.5 billion U.S.\$) of the total amount of damages caused by white collar crime (Laitinen - Alvesalo, 1994, Virta - Laitinen, 1996). This study - called The Dark Side of Economy - with the power of "facts based on scientific research" played its part in legitimating the present crusade against white collar crime in Finland.

Reforms have been made on almost all the levels of official control, and indeed, a lot has happened. New laws have been passed, not only new criminalizations, but laws that have as their aim to make the control of economic crime more effective (e.g. the law regulating bankruptcies, register of companies, debt recovery procedure, concealment regulation between authorities and bank secrecy). There are new positions for public prosecutors

(Continued on page 6)

(Continued from page 4)

just don't see the slant, and thus everything they say is ideological!

Blind to the slant, economic differences in our society look like individual differences in fortune, like difference in talent or strength, not like forms or means of unjustified domination. We may envy the rich and feel sorry for the poor, but we don't normally see poverty itself as a form of socially caused victimization. Consequently, we grow accustomed to the fact that people have different amounts of wealth and get different sorts of treatment as a result, and we feel it would be better if this were less so, but it is after all not that terrible, no more terrible than the fact that some people are smarter than others and get better treatment for that reason.

If this is so, then we might wonder how it was that in the sixties and seventies there was widespread recognition, by social scientists and even by some political leaders, of economic bias. And I think that the answer is that the slant in the society becomes visible at times of social upheaval, like the Great Depression in the 30s,



and like the convergence of the civil rights and anti-war movements that gave America its own cultural revolution in the 60s. Until such upheavals, concern about the economic bias in the system is likely to be limited to small groups, such as critical criminologists.

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(Continued from page 5)

specialized in the field of white collar crime. In particular, the level of investigation has been subjected to several reforms. The police and tax authorities have developed new ways to control white collar crime.

The key element of the new control policy is to attain damages and to control white collar crime - not years after they have occurred, but *as they are happening*. This has meant that the culture of investigation has changed in cases of white collar crime. As a result of these new requirements, the police are much more active in their control measures. They are using more coercive means such as house search, detention of suspects and seizure of their property. The co-operation of officials has become quite routinized and relatively effective and as a result, a considerable amount of the proceeds of crime have been seized. These figures have been useful to the police in demanding for even more resources for white collar crime investigation. All in all, white collar criminals have been forced to face, at least to some extent, *similar kinds of reactions from the control system as those faced for ages by conventional criminals*.

I want to problematize the above-mentioned phenomenon in two ways. Firstly, is it really so that white collar criminals in Finland have become subject to control as "any ordinary criminals"? Secondly, what are the dangers in these crusades against (white collar) crime?

The weakness of the criminal justice system in responding to white collar crime has raised demands for more powers and legal tools for the police...and there lies the pitfall: *more repressive measures as the only solution to control crime.*

Nils Christie has analyzed the possibility of economic crime (a concept often used in Scandinavian countries) defined as a "suitable enemy". Suitable enemies are unwanted conditions that are seen as suitable to be raised as "social problems" (e.g. drugs). He claims that economic crime is a perfect and indispensable enemy but completely useless if taken seriously; because the good enemy must be relatively small, it must be without great political power. *But this enemy is a good one, only so long as we keep him on a rather distant and abstract level. Clearly exposed, he might become dangerous.* Furthermore, Christie questions the possibility of law and order campaigns against white collar criminals: "Who has heard of a society using police force against its rulers?" (Christie, 1986). At first sight it seems that there is, in fact, a law and order campaign against white collar crime in contemporary Finland. Examining the state of affairs more closely, one cannot be so sure this will continue in the long run. Firstly, the intensified control measures of both the police and tax authorities have resulted in heavy reactions against the control as well. The representatives and associations of entrepreneurs have reacted strongly: they are describing the new control policies with expressions like "police-state", "miscarriage of justice", "political persecution", "unnecessary shaming" etc. The entrepreneurs' association announced heavily in the mass media that, based on their research on the actions of tax authorities, they have come to the conclusion that most audits had been arbitrary, included several kinds of illegalities and caused unnecessary bankruptcies. In fact, as a result of the claims made by the entrepreneurs, the state's audit unit inspected the actions of tax authorities. The result of the inspection was that the entrepreneurs' claims were largely inaccurate. Well-known citizens subject to investigation have constantly made statements on the unfairness and arbitrariness of the criminal justice system in the mass media. Reading any of these interviews is like studying Sykes and Matza's techniques of neutralization all over again; denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of

the condemners and appeal to higher loyalties are all beautifully present in the rhetoric of white collar criminals. The popular thing to do is to counterlitigate and lodge complaints against the police on all possible matters. Complaints are widely used also by the "rank and file" white collar criminals.

Although the general atmosphere appears to be harsh, and the control of the elite's crimes seems to be strict at the moment, one should ask, is the *control of control* of white collar crime in the end more effective than the control itself? As Friedrichs has suggested, political pressure is more likely to be exerted to block or derail white collar crime investigations than in conventional crime cases, and the police can operate effectively only to the extent that they are free from political influence. Furthermore, will the strong and noisy critique of the elite's representatives lead to the demand and development of new mechanisms outside the criminal justice system. If so, will those alternative mechanisms be applied only to the illegalities of the elite? (Alvesalo, 1998). This is what has happened in e.g. Canada, where - according to Snider - the bulk of corporate crime has been eliminated through de-criminalization or de-regulation. Snider documents "the systematic disappearance of command and control, state-centered regulation and the political, ideological and social effects of its demise" (Snider, 1998).

Even though there is a national program to combat white collar crime, the overall strategies of policing and crime prevention focus strongly on street crime.

The development of community policing and the control of drugs are major issues in the official strategies of the police. The new national program for crime prevention hardly mentions white collar crime. Furthermore, a popular theme in the field of crime control is the NYPD model of *zero tolerance*. Representatives of the NYPD visited Finland last fall introducing their crime control strategies. The "miraculous" achievements have impressed many people, and claims have been made that the same methods should be applied here in Finland (which is actually paradoxical, because - as

Korander has pointed out - in Finland there has always been "zero tolerance" of our streets. The crucial difference is that the marginalized have been taken care of by welfare agencies, not the police).

The views presented in the mass media have been almost solely pro zero tolerance, with the exception of one article in Helsingin Sanomat, the main newspaper in Finland (Korander, 1998). Street crime - particularly drug related crime - has become the main issue in the discussions concerning citizens' security. An alarming feature of this is that within the police there seems to be the impression that white collar crime squads are now overloaded by resources and manpower, and the resources, according to the Finnish Police's Union, have been *taken* from the uniformed police. Furthermore, there has been pressure in individual police departments to transfer posts from white collar crime squads "back to the real police." The successful rates of the recovery of assets by white collar squads have been questioned within the uniformed police. For example, I have heard the popular saying "lie, mega-lie, statistics" been transformed into a new one by a Finnish uniformed chief: "lie, mega-lie, statistics, with regard to *the assets retrieved by white collar crime squads*."

It is not only the ideological and political pressures that make me (and many others) question the possibility of truly effective control of white collar crime. Through participant observation I am studying how the different tools of the criminal justice system - particularly criminal law - work in white collar crime investigation (my observations are only preliminary). In the investigation of white collar crime case *law* is an important daily tool for the investigators. This is naturally the case in all policing, but the use of law has different dimensions than in traditional crime. As one investigator said: "In traditional crime investigation, the police are searching for the *criminal*, but in cases of white collar crime they are searching for the *crime*". The search of the crime means that the police try to "find" the essential

(Continued on page 7)

(Continued from page 6)

elements of an offence. Even if the things that have happened are known, and even if they can be proven to be true, there still lies the problem to make these elements formulate the legal definition of a crime.

This naturally causes insecurity in the investigation; if the police want to make a search of a business, or arrest a suspect, it is often the case that even if they have hard evidence of what has happened, they are not sure if those obviously fraudulent actions fulfill the *legal* definition of a crime. This not so much because of the lack of legal expertise, but because criminal law, its definitions, concepts and doctrines are designed for other types of crimes than white collar crimes; even the prosecutors and courts have difficulties in applying criminal law to white collar crime cases. This - and the increase in complaints lodged by the suspects with an army of skilled attorneys - can easily result in the police choosing to investigate only low-level simple crimes by criminals who use a crowbar rather than a limited liability company.

It is essential to recognize the dangers of all law and order campaigns, including those against white collar crime. I am not only referring to the risk that - in the end of the day - the resources invested in white collar crime are used to control low-level offences or conventional crime (e.g. by defining organized prostitution as white collar crime). The important thing to ask is whether crime control techniques as a whole are legitimated if not boosted through this war against white collar crime. Furthermore, one should bear in mind - as Henry and Milovanovic point out - that conventional crime control efforts fuel the engine of crime. That is to say, *control interventions take criminal activity to new levels on investment and innovation...public horror and outrage call for more investment in control measures that further feed the cycle. In short crime is "autopoietic" (self-referential) in that it is self-sustaining through its absorption of others reactions to it* (Henry and Milovanovic, 1996). Moreover, they continue that modernist criminological research with the production of "scientific results", plays its part in this circle by concretizing and affirming reality. A Finnish example of this is that the weakness of the criminal justice system in responding to white collar crime has raised demands for more powers and legal tools for the police, such as reversed burden of proof in cases of confiscation. In demonstrating the criminal justice system's failure with white collar crime, there lies the pitfall of advancing *more repressive measures as the only solution to control crime*.

The overall suitability and success of the criminal justice system in its task - crime control - has been questioned by critical criminologists. For example, from the abolitionist standpoint the criminal justice system is *itself* a social problem, and the "Holy Trinity" (crime, criminal, punishment) way of understanding and dealing with problems in society is fundamentally flawed (Hulsman, 1986). There is a risk of white collar crime crusades and research being used as Trojan horses for expanding the totality of the repressive armory of the state. Bearing in mind the other unwanted extreme: the almost total disappearance of state-centered command on white collar crime in Canada, one however, needs to ask is it the role of a researcher to reaffirm the existing realities of the criminal justice system?

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Dislocations and Reconstructions:

Comment on Lynch and Stretesky's "Uniting Class, Race and Criticism through the Study of Environmental Justice"

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Michael Lynch and Paul Stretesky, in their recent essay in the *Critical Criminologist* (Fall, 1998) discuss two areas of critical scholarship: first, "the decline of Marxist class-based analysis" and, second, the importance of intersections of gender, race and class. My comments are more in the form of suggesting further dialogue on the respective subjects, rather than an attempt at any type of wholesale dismissal of their thesis. Certainly their essay is a call for further refinement of critical tools of inquiry.

Their first point, resurrecting an image of a "working class," conflates an economic with a consciousness question. This nexus is in need of re-examination in light of the contemporary form of the social formation. The concept "working class" may be employed strategically or conceptually only in certain scenarios in an imaginary way, an "as if" manner (*as if* it reflects homogeneity, uniformity, self-consciousness). But postmodern society suggests that the term encompasses a variety of relationally constituted and often oppositional discursive subject positions. Here, then, homogeneity is an exceptional instance. Their second point, forcefully advocating the examination of intersections (e.g., the intersections of class and race; gender is not developed), with application to environmental issues, highlights the importance of complex forms of repressive practices that are more than merely additive. Accordingly, we have at least two issues here: first, the issue concerning when indeed an otherwise heterogeneous construct (e.g., class, gender, race) attains homogeneity, and, second, when homogenizing has occurred, how the various categories intersect with their attendant consequences. Given the viability of the three categories at a more general abstract level of critical analysis, the strategy of "grafting" one onto another as a "personal preference" should shift to an analysis of how one category becomes dominant, subordinant, conflictual, or augmentative in particular historical conditions. At another level, these very categories are in need of critique. Within the categories, in other words, differences exist.

Deconstruction and Reconstruction

Gender, race, and class as analytic categories have undergone vigorous critique and deconstruction in critical postmodernist influenced scholarship. Butler (1990) has explained the discursive constructions of "gender." What constitutes stability in identities, she argues, is repetition ("iterable practices") and interpellative effects (1993: 191-93, 220). Change will appear only when repetition itself is undermined ("subversive repetition," p. 147). See also Stockdill's presentation of "queer theory" (1999). Laclau and Mouffe (1985) have rejected the notion of "the working class" (p. 167) and noted rather the existence of a "plurality of antagonisms" and of no "privileged positions." Postmodern society is characterized by structural dislocations where previously

articulated symbolic and imaginary constructions are breaking down; new "nodal points" are materializing, and a constant antagonism of differences prevails. Antagonisms are multiply discursively constructed. Subordination is therefore "polysemic" (p. 169). The search for universalities or totalities, for them, is outdated. At best, we have "contingent articulations" (p. 98). The notion of a homogeneous, universal "working class" must be rejected, for the relations of production constitute a plurality of discursive subject positions whose basis reflects a difference principle not sameness. More recently, Laclau (1996) has noted that the current postmodern society is marked by a "widening of the field of structural undecidability" (p. 88), inherent dislocations, and new forms of temporary equilibria revolving around the dialectic between the logic of equivalence and the logic of difference (p. 97). Within this context, then, alliances will find only a temporary point of stability as various inherent differences will quickly undermine any form of homeostasis. [1]

As to race, Collins (1993) has stressed the importance of moving away from just the "additive analysis of oppression" and toward how "race, class and gender function as parallel and interlocking systems" (p. 29). Crenshaw's (1993) analysis is instructive for it shows that within the category of "race" antagonisms prevail. She questions the separate application of race and gender, as "exclusive or separate categories" (ibid: 114), and notes, with a favorable nod to postmodern theory, the intersectional nature of subordination. Similarly, Kappeler (1995) indicates the intersectional nature of speciesism showing how race, class, and gender intersect with an ecofeminist analysis. For her, crimes against animals parallel crimes against women and thus rather than human rights we should develop a notion of "species rights." [2]

For each of these authors race, gender and class in the singular is no longer the most salient characteristic for understanding the contemporary postmodern society with its tendency toward "radical undecidability" (Laclau, 1996: 53). It is not that historical stabilities do not appear, but the search for universalities, totalities and desirable end-states is research of an era passed. Rather, investigation is directed toward historically contingent, relatively stabilized articulations of instances.

Articulation of Instances

Several postmodernist influenced authors have suggested an alternative direction to unilateral analysis of class, gender and race. For example, Hunt (1993) has argued for the notion of "relation-sets." A particular social relation such as class could be examined in terms of various dimensions (e.g., power, institutional, ideological, discursive). For him, "the characteristics of each relation-set are identified by the relative predominance of its constituent relations and, in particular, by whether any pattern of dominance exists" (p. 252). At another level, of course, each relation-set is further constituted by others that appear in certain constellations. Hunt continues, "the specificity of a relation-set

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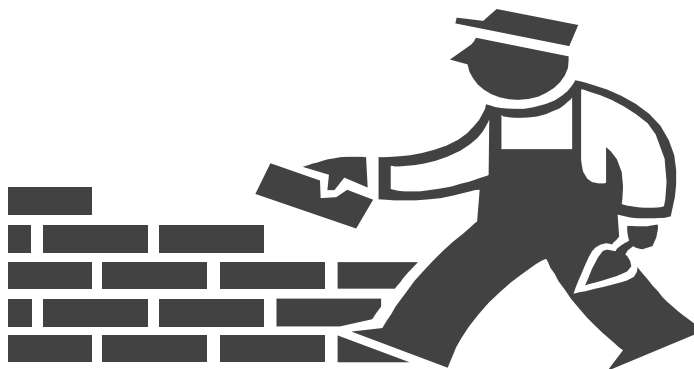
should be specifiable in terms of patterns of interaction between different relations identifying whether they supplement or conflict with each other" (p. 252). Collins, stressing "parallel and interlocking systems," has also argued that these specificities can be located in institutional, symbolic and individual localities of oppression. She advocates building coalitions, not unilaterally, but around common causes and through the development of empathy especially toward people different from ourselves (1993). Crenshaw's (1993) critical race theory notes the multiply intersecting nature of subordination: "structurally" in terms of overlapping sources of domination; politically, in terms of discursive practices "erasing" women of color; and representationally, in terms of the ways circumscribed images are created. Butler (1992) has suggested the notion of "contingent universalities." Rather than being situated in the debate between essentialism vs. non-essentialism, her position is that relatively stable, historically sensitive political agendas can be established as a basis of social change; but these agendas are subject to reflection, change, deletion and substitution. Chaos theorists have offered the notion of "dissipative structures" which offer both temporary, relatively stable forms but which show extreme sensitivity to social conditions. Small perturbations may fundamentally change these "structures" to be more sensitive to their environment. Much of Unger's early work (1987) on transformational theory makes implicit usage of this dynamic.

Elsewhere, Stuart Henry and I (1996) have offered an integration of these various threads and suggested the notion of constitutive inter-relational sets (COREL sets) as a conceptual tool that reflects the intersecting nature of phenomena. COREL

sets can be envisioned as configurations of relatively stable and coupled iterative loops which exhibit singularities, bifurcations, catastrophes, fractal geometrical space, nonlinearities, disproportional effects, and various attractor states. Following Collins and Hunt, within these COREL sets there may exist conflictual or supplemental patterns. Or, following Laclau, these COREL sets may be in tenuous configurations of relative stability, as the dialect between the logic of equivalence and the logic of difference plays itself out. An intersectional approach would also be sensitive to exclusionary and closure dynamics. Crenshaw, for example, has argued that "women of color are erased when race and gender politics proceed on grounds that exclude or overlook the existence of women of color" (1993: 116).

Conventional positivistic and linear analysis may not adequately reflect these intersecting dynamics. Doing "cross-sectional" analysis, for example, may momentarily capture a dynamic process in movement and say little about various phases of

the phenomena over time. Similarly, regression analysis with its linear logic may overlook feedback loops (iteration), singularities (where, for example, bifurcations and catastrophes may exist), nonlinear developments, disproportional effects, "reciprocal causality," and indeterminacy (chance factors) at play. Agreeing that intersections is an important dynamic, the challenge, then, will be to show how various relatively stable configurations of iterative loops are animated with effects. Instructive here is Kappeler's (1995) ecofeminist analysis of harm indicating how a "speciesist paradigm" has been historically driven by white male dominance within the configuration of a gender-race-class relational-set producing continued subordination and a legitimating ideology reflective of this supremacy. Let's briefly re-examine Lynch and Stretesky's thesis. They have shown class and race intersections in the production of harms in three settings (pest management, contaminated drinking water supplies, and the siting of waste-to-energy facilities). An ecofeminist view might, first, indicate how



race, gender and class in the singular are no longer the most salient characteristic for understanding the contemporary postmodern society with its tendency toward "radical undecidability"

a hierarchical "ladder of categories" (read classes) -- inclusionary and exclusionary -- exist which only recently has included black (men and women) and women (black and white) into the ranks of "human" and "citizen"; second, indicate that the highest rungs are still "manned" by white, propertied males; third, that due to the "compartmentalizing of violence and oppression," "competition between oppressions," "differential cooptation," the existence of a "multiple system of oppression," and the focus on singular causes (Kappeler, 1995), that harms of repression and reduction (Henry and Milovanovic, 1996) continue; and fourth, since non-human animals are still lower on the rungs, relatively unrestrained violence (pest management, contaminated water, hazardous waste) in the name of some cause can be directed to-

ward them. Thus Lynch and Stretesky's showing of the intersection of class and race factors in the production of harms of reduction and repression could be extended to an ecofeminist analysis in indicating how those even lower on the rungs are also systematically harmed.

Not only do the categories appear articulated in specific ways in context, but, at a deeper level, the very categories as unitary constructs must be questioned themselves. In making use of the term "class" uncritically, for example, one can easily overlook the underlying processes of social construction, reification and their effects. The use of "working class," as an academic reification, has consequences as researchers who use it unquestioningly attest. Reconceptualized, gender, class, and race categories could be seen as discursive constructions -- notwithstanding at times their strategic value in effectuating social change. These discursive constructions, however, as Laclau has quite convinc-

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ingly argued (1985: 168-69), can be articulated to emancipatory as well as right wing politics. These are inherent dangers. The precise articulation is always subject to hegemonic struggles for supremacy. We then ask, following Butler (1993), what repetitive discursive practices “give those terms the intelligibility that they have” (p. 148)? In answering this question, a constitutive criminological viewpoint would see the created categories as being both cause and effect. This apparent tautology is the wherewithal of the hyperreal. At best, in postmodern society, following Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 97) we have a “contingent articulation.” Sensitivity to contextualized nominational practices would demand discursive usage reflective of the intersectional, dynamic, and dialectical nature of the various conceptual categories of which a researcher makes use. Critical analysis, therefore, would begin with “strategies of subversive repetition” (Butler, 1990: 147; see also Butler, 1993: chapter 3) whereby other possible articulations could be imagined. The term “class” and “working class” for many have already withered away and must be replaced with symbolic and imaginary articulations reflecting a very different social formation than that envisioned by Karl Marx and continuously reified by more dogmatic Marxists.

In this context, let us briefly examine gender. Gender as attributional, and sex as biological seems a self-evident dualism. However, Butler (1990), in a brilliant deconstruction, and Cornell (1998) in a reconstruction, argue that this duality is misconceived. First, the connection between the two may be arbitrary; second, historical and cultural specificities intermingle with other intersectional phenomena to produce particular manifestations of what we mean by gender; third, gender could be better understood as relational in character (Butler, 1990: 10); and fourth, the self-evident feeling of the category of gender and sex is precisely what has to be examined, for these categories have their wherewithal in fixed hierarchical social formations. Cornell adds that in neither the case of sex, nor gender, do we become cognizant of imaginary identifications, and thereby she chooses the concept of “sexuate being” (1998: 7). For both, doing gender analysis, or gender law is often reification, for, in pursuing legal redress, differences are often brought within the law of equivalence, a homogenizing principle that deflects developing an understanding of unique being. The notion of COREL sets suggests, with Cornell and Butler, that differences have multiple interrelational specificities, and that conceptions of justice must reflect these differences.

Deconstructing race becomes much more problematic. Take for example Matsuda’s clarification (1996): “What sets jurisprudence of color apart...from the various modernist and postmodernist schools is the pragmatism rooted in concrete political organizing” (p. 24). Continuing, she states that the use of law to fight racism is necessary, for critical race theorists are unwilling to “stand naked in the face of oppression without a sword, a shield, or at least a legal precedent in our hands” (p. 24). Strategically, then, given the imperatives, using an “as if” notion (e.g., homogeneous category) of race may further struggle in law. But this is also with some ambivalence: “scholars of color have attempted to articulate a theoretical basis for using law while remaining deeply critical of it” (p. 24). Here, the category of race, having historical roots in blatant forms of oppression, must be dealt with at a higher level of homogeneity for social transformational practices. Nomination must precede implementation. Still, Collin’s work

suggests that within the category of race, intersectional configurations exist manifesting differential forms of oppression (see also Harris, 1991).

Critical transformative practices, then, are located within a dialectic: on the one hand, nomination must take place for overcoming subordination; on the other, the very nomination reifies subjectivities providing an objectification and the basis of interpellative practices. To free the imaginary domain is to go beyond this very dialectic, a transpraxis. Scholars who simply use the categories of gender, race and class *as if* they were homogeneous categories, without more, may unwittingly be accomplices to reification. Activists who simply rely on law and attempt to bring gender and race within the purview of formal equality litigation overlook the dialectics of struggle.

Related to doing gender, race, class and/or intersections analysis, no, more precisely, intimately connected with it, is the question of agency. In each instance there exists implicit conceptions of the subject: in traditional Marxist analysis, the question of the conscious subject and a class-for-itself; in gender analysis, the “sex which is not one” (Irigaray, 1985); and in race analysis, the multi-faceted, multi-conscious subject (Harris, 1991). The politics of representation and nomination often downplay the significance of the polyvocal subject and needs to incorporate a statement of the various discursive constructions and multiple sites of production of identities at play -- their decentered nature, their fictive representations, their denials, erasures, and excesses, the privileging of some identities over others.

Conclusion

Highlighting the importance of intersections by Lynch and Stretesky in their essay is well in the direction of developing alternative intersectional forms of analysis (see also Schwartz and Milovanovic, 1996). The three included examples in their essay, at one level of generality, certainly bring out the intersecting nature of class and race. And certainly, at one level, provides valuable insights as to possible interventional, corrective practices. However, their call for a “Marxist class-based analysis,” and, by implication, the resurrection of the notion of the “working class,” unilaterally, without more, is a questionable direction for critical scholarship to pursue. Rather, critical scholarship would find greater benefit in searching for historically contingent, relatively stabilized articulations of instances. The notion of the “working class” must give way to the importance of multiplicity, polyvocality, polyvalent, dislocations, and the discontinuous, heterotopic, and heterogeneous.

But this is not despair. It is not a call for relativism, objectivism, essentialism, fatalism, or nihilism. Rather, drawing from postmodern theory we can develop “contingent universalities,” relatively stable political positions that are the basis of concrete historical actions challenging systems of subordination. This has everything to do with the positive side to the emerging postmodern society where “surpluses of meaning” prevail, where “structural undecidability” (Laclau, 1996: 82) is ubiquitous. It is an opportunity for the development of new spaces, for the rearticulation of the imaginary and symbolic domain, of developing new possibilities in work, family, leisure and forms of identities (see also Lash and Urry, 1994). It is an opportunity for: developing a new ethic, as suggested by Cornell (1998), the “equal protection of the imaginary domain”; specifying new forms of nomi-

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nation sensitive to polyvocality (Matsuda, 1996); subverting conventional forms of repetition (Butler, 1993) and for the engendering of new articulations. Simultaneously, it is an awareness of excesses that lurk within the possible – hate politics, revenge politics, political correctness, reversal of hierarchies, exorcism, “moral hate,” and schmarxism.

Notes

1. Doing gender, race, class and/or intersectional analysis suggests, for example, the polysemia involved particularly when issue focused. There are many feminist approaches (radical, marxist, social feminist, postmodernist, etc.) as there are many “ecological” approaches (environmentalism, deep ecology, ecofeminism, etc.). But there are also many “ecofeminisms” (Myers, 1999) with differences, i.e., deep ecology vs ecofeminism.
2. Elsewhere we have developed the notion of “harms of reduction” and “harms of repression” that cut across species (Henry and Milovanovic, 1996).

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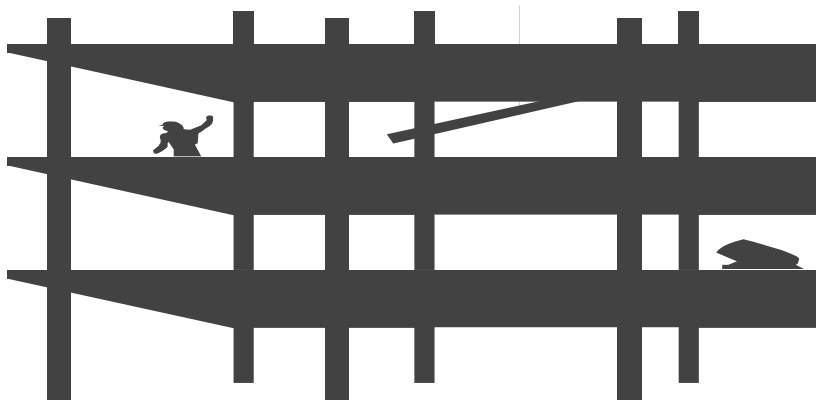
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drawing from postmodern theory we can develop “contingent universalities,” relatively stable political positions that are the basis of concrete historical actions challenging systems of subordination



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QUANTITATIVE VS. QUALITATIVE: A BIASED DISCUSSION ABOUT METHODS

Ellen C. Leichtman

Temple University

I was a little disconcerted when I first entered this field at the bias against research that was not statistically based. The usual reason given was that such research, lumped under the term “qualitative,” was not rigorous or scientific, that it was not objective. What I saw was a dichotomizing of research into two distinct, mutually exclusive spheres: one, “quantitative,” based on science, which meant, by definition, that it was rigorous, objective and logical; and the second, “qualitative,” based on nothing anyone could discover, which was therefore, also by definition, soft, subjective and emotional. If any of you detect an implied male/female dichotomy here, let me underscore it. Those who do quantitative analysis consider themselves to be more scholarly, more intelligent, and more rigorous than those they label “qualitative,” and are often dismissive of them. In order to be taken seriously by the mainstream in criminal justice, a person labeled as a qualitative researcher first has to prove him or herself in the quantitative arena.

But quantitative analysis implies the acceptance of a particular world view, that of Western rationalism. This tradition holds that reality is determined by nothing outside itself, that it is simply what it is. This belief leads to an understanding of the world as if it consists of independently existing objects that can be observed with precise objectivity.

If we agree with this world structure, “qualitative” analysis looks pretty weak. There is nothing universal about it. It thrives on the particular, the biased and the individual. Thus, if we believe that reality and truth are absolute, and universal, and that science, which presupposes the oneness of truth and reality, is the methodology that can reveal them to us, what can we learn of importance through a qualitative study? That is the question asked by the quantitative analyst.

Robert Sampson gives an answer to this question in his 1993 article “Linking Time and Place.” While he agrees with the rationalist position, he says that statistics has shaped the way social scientists think and structure their question, and that, rather than tailoring methods to a theory, social scientists often tailor their theories to their methods. This has resulted in an understanding of the social world as a modeled construct of the latest statistical technique. An example of this is the use of causal theory which, Sampson says, has been found wanting. This theory states that causality is attributed to independent variables like gender, social class, and economic level rather than social agents, and that these variables have an effect on crime, “net of other factors.” Sampson contends that these variables are not enough to understand how an event happens. For him and his “paradigm of dynamic contextualism,” it is also necessary to include both time and context (Sampson 1993:). As an aside, however, it is somewhat ironic that there is a new statistical technique that integrates context, that of hierarchical linear modeling.

Sampson advocates a multidimensional research strategy

that includes a complementary ethnography and a systematic social observational study (Sampson 1993:437). However, he is still of the mindset that the important study is the quantitative analysis as only it complies with the universal nature of reality. Thus he proposes to continue using a positivist causal framework for his work.

Sampson’s article is a good example of what is wrong with the quantitative/qualitative split. The implied meaning of dividing research into quantitative (or scientific) and qualitative is to label certain studies as those that will further our knowledge of reality, and to label other studies as those that will embroider that knowledge with stories and tales that make the hard research understandable and human in particular instances.

But this brings us back to rationalism’s definition of reality. How do we know that reality is? We don’t. It’s an assumption. We only know that if reality is, science would be a good way, as far as we know today, to uncover its truths. Thus, science could be considered a cultural expression of the imagination, a way to comprehend the world through a particular world lens, a creative endeavor (Madison 1982:77) However, the rationalist tradition understands science as definitional. It states that only through science will we discover what reality and truth “really” are.

Three Assumptive Paradigms

I want to discuss three paradigms of quantitative analysis. I am using the term “paradigm” according to the meaning discovered by historian of science Thomas Kuhn. He says that a paradigm is an achievement that is sufficiently compelling to attract a group of followers away from other competing modes of scientific activity. At the same time, it is open ended, and thus leaves problems for this new group of practitioners to resolve. Paradigms are not rejected through comparisons with the world, or because of encounters with anomalies or counterinstances. A paradigm is only rejected by a simultaneous acceptance of another paradigm (Kuhn 1970:77). Thus, paradigms are particular scientific practices that are used as models and which form the basis of the scientific tradition (Kuhn 1970:10).

Three paradigms of quantitative analysis are: first, that the language of science is a reflection of reality; second, that truth is identified with science; and third, that knowledge is measurement. In the traditional rationalistic view, thought is understood to exist independently of language and is the translation of reality, or essence, into language. Language is the vehicle that is used to transmit a thought. The value of language depends upon how closely it conforms to reality. Thus, traditional conceptions involve three terms, which are referenced by three branches of philosophy. Moving left to right in Figure 1, reality determines thought which determines language. Moving right to left, language references thought which references reality. Toward the end of the nineteenth century a shift in emphasis occurred in philosophy that changed its focus from epistemology (the critique of knowledge) to logic (language and symbolism). Questions that became central included: what is the relationship between reality

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and language? and can thought be divorced from language? If language merely references an independent reality, then facts are there to be discovered, independent of language, and there should exist an ideal language that perfectly reflects reality (Madison 1982:24-25).

However, the *full* meaning of one language is never translatable into another. Even if one speaks several languages, one always remains the language in which he or she “lives.” In order to completely assimilate a language it is necessary to make the world it expresses one’s own, and one can only live in one world at a time (Merleau-Ponty 1962:187).

What does this mean to the Western rationalist concept of language as a vehicle for expressing reality? It suggests that particular languages only relate specific aspects of reality while missing others that are, or may be, encompassed by other languages and cultures. If this is so, is it possible to have an ideal language that will encompass all of reality, which, the rationalist tradition stipulates, is fully determinate in itself? This is the idea of a universal grammar. It would uncover the basic essence of language and would map isomorphically onto reality. Since language loses something in translation, the conclusion must be that anything lost in a translation into the language of science is essentially meaningless and unnecessary.

Experience counters this. The ideas that meaning is univocal and that words have precise and specific meanings are undermined for anyone who has lived in another culture and has sought to master it along with its language. When one actually encounters another culture, the experience is one of dislocation and confusion. It is a condition where the individual realizes there are entirely different ways of ordering the world and experiencing life. Some of these ways may contradict beliefs we hold. Others may be quite foreign to anything we have ever thought. This is known as “culture shock” (Madison 1982:45).

Such experiences have been explained in the works of linguist Benjamin Whorf and his teacher Edward Sapir by what is known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity. It states that every language is a vast pattern-system, which differs from other pattern-system. Within each such system, people not only communicate through forms and categories, which are culturally ordained, they also analyze nature, notice or neglect types of relationships and phenomena, channel their reasoning, and build their consciousnesses (Whorf 1956:252).

Thus, what they are saying is that thinking and understanding are bound to language. The particular grammar and logic of a language analyze nature in a particular way which, in turn, affects the way we think and understand reality. Language thus both conceals and reveals a specific view of reality. Thinking, as Whorf puts it, follows a network of tracks laid down in a given language (1972:256). This organization is probably transparent to

the native speaker until he or she learns another language or visits another culture. It posits a strong argument against the “ideal language” notion (Madison 1982:31-32).

Up through the 1970s, however, it was the anthropologist’s goal to study these cultures value-free, to be a scientific, objective observer. What the anthropologist did in the past was to take his/her research, often done in a foreign language and frequently through a translator, try to overcome prejudices and cultural conditioning, and translate experiences into a language considered culture- and value-free, in other words, objective. The anthropologist had to be both of the culture and outside it. The result became known as “emic” and “etic” studies, although this is now seen as a naïve oversimplification. This led to the problem of explaining customs and beliefs that are inherently different from those of the West in Western scientific terms.

Science is actually a product of our culture, although it is considered by many to be nonculturally dependent. Translating a culture into scientific language often left a study with the feelings of flatness and unrealness. This is because the “meaningless” aspects of the language and culture, those aspects that did not map into the scientific vocabulary, were not considered part of reality.

For science, the definition of knowledge is the representation of what reality is in itself, and its truth is determined by how closely it corresponds to this essential reality. Two problems arise from this. First, using this definition, how do we “know” that reality is a fully determinate entity that simply is itself? Science defines knowledge as the representation of reality. In criminal justice, this becomes the creed of “if you can’t measure it, you can’t know it.” But we know, practically, that we cannot measure reality. This is impossible. Therefore, we cannot scientifically “know” what we claim reality “is.” This was the problem the positivists faced. There is now general agreement that reality can only be approximated, never fully grasped. This is the position of the postpositivists.

Second, if we do not concede that there is a self-determined reality out there somewhere, how do we define knowledge? Perhaps a better conception of knowledge is understanding. We can then define knowledge as the ability to classify and situate something within a context or system, as the ability to create taxonomies that delineate meaning. This is only possible within a structure that limits its input because, as psychologist Robin Hogarth points out, the perception of information is not comprehensive, it is selective (1980:4).

We may be leading ourselves into a quagmire here. If we do not concede that reality maps isomorphically to one particular language or way of life, can all languages and cultures be viewed as equally true and yet have reality as somehow “one?” This would be possible if reality were viewed as transcendental, encompassing all cultures and languages. Science would become

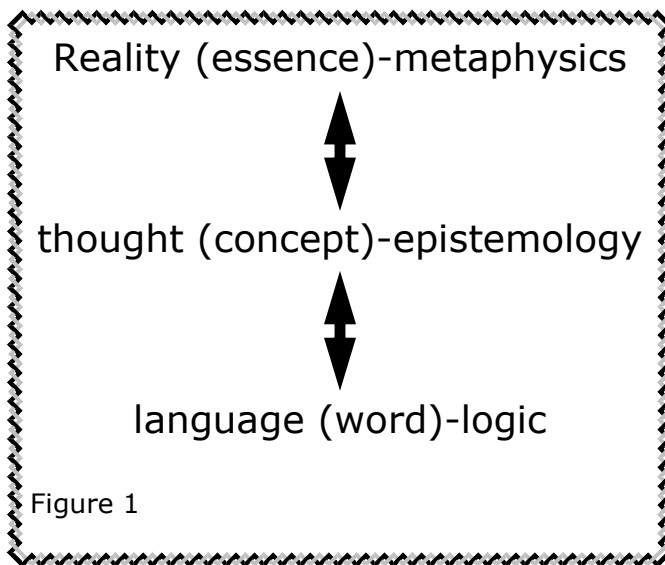


Figure 1

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one of many ways to view reality, one that is no more nor less real than that of other cultures.

If we change the focus from a reality that exists “out there” to one that grows out of human understanding, cultures can be perceived as ways people have devised to understand themselves and their world. Philosopher Gary Madison defines this creative act of understanding as “truth.” Does this mean, then, that we are left with many different kinds of “cultural truths” that cannot be reconciled, thus leading to relativism? To some, yes. See, for example, the work of philosopher Joseph Margolis. However, like the concept of “reality,” “truth” can be understood to be transcendental.

The rationalist tradition holds, however, that science determines truth as only it can reveal the essence of reality. It stipulates that what is true becomes knowable through the piecemeal accumulation of scientific facts, theories and methods. However, as Thomas Kuhn points out, this myth has become difficult to uphold. Historians have found that the closer they study Aristotelian dynamics and other views of nature that were once current but are now discredited, the more certain they feel that these views were, as a whole, neither less scientific nor more the product of the human idiosyncrasy than those found today (Kuhn 1962:2). Comparable examples in criminal justice are found in the scientific works of Lombroso, Ferri and Goring. On the applied plane, we can point, for example, to the work of police reformer August Vollmer (see Carte and Carte) and the Progressive movement’s impact on the women’s reformatory movement (see Rafter). According to Kuhn, we can either conceive of these earlier beliefs as myths, which leads to the conclusion that “myths can be produced by the same sorts of methods and held for the same sorts of reasons that now lead to scientific knowledge” or they are to be called science, which means that “science has included bodies of belief quite incompatible with the ones we hold today” (Kuhn 1962:2). Give these two options, historians of science have opted for the latter, that out-of-date theories are not in principle unscientific just because they have been discarded. This has resulted in a change of focus for historians of science. Now, instead of trying to trace science as a continuing process, which they have shown it is not, historians address the integrity of that science within its own time and cultural context (Kuhn:1962:2-3).

This illuminates the idea that truth is what a given belief system believes is real. People will agree on what is true only if they share a common world system of understanding. The people who agree with the scientist who argues that science is the revealer of truth are those who already subscribe to the view that there is only one real world out there, the physical world that is fixed, precise and meaningful. It is explaining something in terms that are already agreed upon by a particular belief system.

The Quantitative/Qualitative Divide

This is a major problem of the quantitative/qualitative divide. “Qualitative” analysis is understood as “anything else” in relation to the precepts of the Western rationalist tradition. All

other philosophical approaches are lumped together. As far as I have been able to discern, criminal justice uses historical studies and insights as background, has rarely addressed the differences in approach between hermeneutics and structuralism (which was of major research interest in anthropology in the 1980s), and often mistakes ethnographies for (bad) analyses.

Ethnography is not analysis. It is used as description to help explain the researcher’s hypothesis. It is often ongoing, the basis for further work. The problem for quantitative analysts may be the confusion that while the ethnographer is the researcher, the ethnography is not an analysis. The ethnographer lives the ethnography, which encompasses not only the finished written product, but also the experiences that went into the collecting of it. This is called “participant observation.” This then becomes part of the foundation for the researcher’s hypothesis, which is also based in theory. Again this is an oversimplification (see the work of James Clifford). The researcher’s hypothesis is based in theory. A methodology is chosen for its ability to illuminate that theory. Unlike data-collection, both fieldwork and archival work are ongoing processes, with the researcher constantly questioning his or her assumptions as the work progresses. It is circular rather than linear. The quantitative researcher decides on a hypothesis, collects data and draws a conclusion, based on the methodology of science, as to whether the hypothesis has been disproved or not. The fieldworker and the historian take that conclusion, redraw the hypothesis and do more work.

All analyses begin with hypotheses, not just quantitative analyses. If we want to make comparisons, archival research and fieldwork may be equated with data collection. Just as the quantitative analyst tries to take everything into account and get data on all the questions he or she thinks will “cover the field,” the ethnographer tries to look at all aspects of the situation he or she is in, and the historian tries to uncover all the facts about a situation or time period. One major difference between the quantitative researcher and the ethnographer or historian is that the latter two have come to the realization that fieldwork and data collection are never bias free. There are many famous articles and book on

this. (See for example the works of Barzun, Graff, Marcus, Geertz, Clifford and Goffman.) Quantitative analysts cannot accept this, as their research would be

invalidated by such an admission. Therefore, they try to keep as much bias as possible out and interpret their numbers as if they were bias free.

The crux of bias, however, is not that it is bad or good. What is important about it is to realize that it is, that we all have it and that it is important to acknowledge. Branislaw Malinowski’s famous diary started it all, at least in anthropology. Thus, while data collectors try to exclude their humanity from their studies of people, historians and ethnographers try to use and understand theirs.

The goal for these latter researchers is understanding a particular problem, often from a variety of perspectives, or from an overarching theory, not disproving a given hypothesis. Thus, not

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How do we know that reality is?
We don't. It's an assumption.

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only are the methodologies different, the types of questions they ask are different. They are deeper and more searching. They do not expect definitive answers, and rarely get them, as the purpose is understanding and interpretation rather than not disproving an hypothesis.

By its very nature, the Western rationalist tradition tends to view constructs as mutually exclusive. What this does in the quantitative/qualitative divide is to set up a series of false dichotomies. It pits scientific concepts against their opposites. Major examples of this are the usurpation of the concept of "rational" as being theirs alone, together with a focus on scientific rigor. This leads to the dismissal of other philosophies as "irrational" and lacking in rigor.

However, it is not the presence or absence of rational thought that is at issue here, it is the acceptance or rejection of absoluteness. It is not the use of lack of rigor that is in question, but the ideal of a knowable reality. The acceptance that reality is beyond our grasp, and that there are many paths toward it, each with its own insights into the unknowable, is the position of the hermeneutist. The mathematical concept of infinity, with its symbol, is similar. You can approach it, but you can't get there.

There is one final point I wish to make. There is a philosophical school of thought, called hermeneutics, that believes there are a myriad of ways to understand and interpret reality. Thus, if one subscribes to this view, methodologies that might be considered competitive actually work together. That is, a hermeneutist would use both quantitative and structural methods together, or historical and deconstructionist methods, or quantitative and archival, depending on the hypothesis. Each method would be used to explain part of the problem to be addressed.

My purpose here has not been to discredit the scientific method. It has been to point out that it is not incontestable. It is one way of looking at the world that has strengths and has given use insights no other method could. However, it is not the only way, nor is it necessarily the "correct" way.

Dividing research into two categories, which sets one method and approach above all others biases research. It would be more beneficial, might I say "real," to include different methods by name, giving each its due weight, and to consider several types of approaches when deciding upon a research design. Rationalism has made us aware of our biases and the need to correct for them in its search for objectivity. But it has also locked research into inappropriate approaches and designs, narrowed its scope, exemplified the trivial, tried to define concepts that needed interpretation, and limited the type and kinds of questions we are allowed to ask. It has also refused to acknowledge the human element that invariable inserts itself into all research. Such an acceptance is necessary if it is to be used positively. (Can we compare it to the history of discretion in criminal justice?) The use of Western rationalist concepts has given us technology, has allowed use to see past the particular, and to encompass populations. The use of other philosophies underscore complexity by allowing us to view the world as populated by individuals with cultural belief systems and historical pasts. Methods should be chosen to illuminate understanding, not to reinforce the one true way.

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In His Own Words:

An Interview with Puerto Rican Political Prisoner Jose Solis Jordan on the Eve of His Trial

Michael Rodriguez

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On February 22, 1999 the trial of Jose Solis Jordan will begin. This interview is designed to give readers an opportunity to learn about the man who stands to become the 16th Puerto Rican political prisoner. This interview was conducted in January, 1999 for *Que Ondee Sola*, a student publication at Northeastern Illinois University.

QOS: Can you tell us about yourself?

JSJ: Currently, I'm a professor at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) in the College of Education. I teach courses on the history of education in Puerto Rico and also the sociology of education.

I was born in Old San Juan, Puerto Rico to a military family. This meant that I had an opportunity to travel to many different places while growing up and attend both private and public schools throughout Puerto Rico. While in high school a group of students and I embarked on a campaign to get the Puerto Rican flag to fly at our school. Prior to our efforts the only flag flying was the U.S. flag. After a yearlong struggle we finally won. When I graduated from high school the dynamics of UPR were very heated and politicized around the issue of Puerto Rico.

For these reasons my parents didn't encourage me to go to UPR feeling I would get into trouble. Instead, they convinced me to study abroad. I went to study in

Texas at (TCU) Texas Christian University. Later I returned to Puerto Rico and began teaching in the public school system.

I then came to the University of Illinois in Champagne-Urbana to get my doctorate degree in education in 1987. After I graduated I began to teach at DePaul University from 1991-95. In 1995 I returned to Puerto Rico to teach at UPR.

I have five children. My oldest son is a graduate student at University of Illinois in Champagne-Urbana and my oldest daughter is in her third year of pre-med.

I also have a son who is a junior in high school, a daughter sixth grade and another in second grade. Returning to Puerto Rico allowed the children to be raised with family and loved ones.

I'm part of La Asociacion de Profesores Puertorriquenos Universitario (APPU), which translates into the Puerto Rican Association of University Professors. This organization works

around issues and problems involved in university life. We were also part of the phone company strike and general work strike during 1998.

QOS: Can you tell us about the events leading up to your arrest and about the day you were arrested?

JSJ: This whole situation began with the involvement of Rafael A. Marrero.* It seems Rafael A. Marrero is working for the FBI as an informant and now is the key government witness against me. Apparently he was, and has been, and continues to be on a campaign to impact in a negative way the Independence movement. He does not nor does anyone else have the capacity to destroy the Puerto Rican Independence movement whether here in Chicago or in Puerto Rico. His goal was to bring down the movement or at least create dissent in it. To carry out his goals Rafael A. Marrero bombed a military recruitment center in Chicago on Dec 10th 1992. He hoped his actions would create a spring board for subsequent repression's against the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, community implemented programs at Clemente High School, and the gentrification of the Puerto Rican community.

On Thursday, November 6th 1997 in Old San Juan, I was arrested by twenty or more FBI agents dressed like commandos. They blocked the streets on both ends and there were many cars in front of our house. It was a very militarized arrest. The reason for this, I feel was to intimidate me and to send out a message to the Puerto Rican community.

I was arrested by twenty or more FBI agents dressed like commandos. It was a very militarized arrest... to intimidate me and to send out a message to the Puerto Rican community. It stated to Puerto Ricans that this is what happens when you dare to confront the regime of colonialism in Puerto Rico under the United States

It stated to Puerto Ricans that this is what happens when you dare to confront the regime of colonialism in Puerto Rico under the United States. It seemed like they wanted me to go along with their little campaign. When I didn't go along with their campaign they had to follow through with the arrest and indict me.** I subsequently found out at one of my hearings that the FBI had done a physiological profile of me. The results [probably to their surprise] stated that I was an academic, a basically nice guy, obviously Pro-Independence, a father of five and a husband.

Principally, my arrest and indictment was based on the word of Rafael A. Marrero. As I said before Marrero carried out a bombing and is now the government witness against me. Marrero confessed to the bombing and since then has received immunity.

Since my arrest there has been a barrage of lies and manipulations to put more pressure on me. I was later informed there

(Continued on page 18)

(Continued from page 17)

was a possibility of making a plea bargain if I would state I was guilty. I was not under any circumstance going to say I was guilty for two reasons. First, I would not admit guilt for a crime I did not commit. Second, I would not criminalize the struggle.

Now we are in a position of pursuing our defense to fight the fight in court. The trial begins with the Jury Selections on February 22, 1998.

QOS: How are you feeling going into the trial?

JSJ: I feel real optimistic about the trial. All along I wanted this trial to become an opportunity for us to educate people. There is nothing I would like better than to turn the courtroom into a classroom. I think we are going to be able to do that. What I mean by that is that the case of Puerto Rico's colonial status will be made. Along with the trial the case of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago will be made around the issues of gentrification and the use of counter-intelligence programs against Puerto Ricans. This gives us the opportunity to educate people outside the Puerto Rican community on a broader scale.

Also what is making me feel good is the support I've received from student organizations such as Que Ondee Sola and the people in the Puerto Rican community in Chicago.

In Puerto Rico, I have received support from labor unions and academic organizations as well. What that does is it encourages, energizes and nourishes the human spirit to continue the struggle. As my close companero Jose Lopez said "We have reason on our side and the right is on our side, the moral argument." The government has the political power on their side. That then means we must be judicious, on guard and clear on how we defend this case.

My family is very strong and I have a wonderful wife who is my companion. Our kids are strong though its is very difficult to contemplate their father being the next political prisoner. We talk about the possibilities that can happen but it helps having a loving family to deal with moments in history like this in a personal and professional way.

QOS: Is there anything else you would like the reader to know?

JSJ: We must continue to be firm in demanding the excarceration of the 15 Puerto Rican political prisoners. Through this trial one can witness the oppression of the Puerto Rican Independence movement. No matter what we must not lose sight of the fact that the struggle must continue.

We must continue to work against elements that would like us to disappear or be destroyed. Also the spirit of this struggle must be generated out a love for ones people and not of a hatred of other people. I think that at times repressive actions tend to fuel in us hatred, and I've always thought hatred is not a good motivator because it creates obstacles against our better judgement. Better judgements can be made in a struggle whose spirit is founded in love. That's not a semantic twist on meanings or a manipulation of words. It really means you can fight, a very powerful fight in whatever way out a love for something and not out of a hatred. So when we decide to do something we should think very carefully about what our motivations are.

I always recommend at any time we engage in struggles whether by student organizations or individuals in student organizations, whatever concerns or criticisms are brought on by the

group, that we be careful about that which we are criticizing. Does it serve to divide us or does it serve to bring us together? If it serves to divide then we should question it carefully. If it serves to bring us together then it is something to work for. These are things that need to be thought out as you can see in my case. Now many have learned and are learning that divisive tactics are usually tactics employed to hurt the possibility of a struggle moving forward.

QOS: What can people do to support you?

JSJ: My case, the USA versus Jose Solis Jordan is not just about me. Granted its me at the individual level who is the example for the moment of a whole history of struggle. With that in mind, what we can do is educate people, so then the case becomes a springboard for the people to talk about the issues of colonialism, gentrification, and education in the Puerto Rican community. Support the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, and support this community in forging a democratic education at Clemente high school. We should support the development of Paseo Boricua. It is our space to be preserved and developed by the Puerto Rican community.

Bring classes of students and your family members to witness the trial because having a full courtroom sends out a powerful message. My focus is on the question of education and of people letting the government know that they are being watched. Let the government know you are watching cautiously and carefully to how this case is being handled.

The government knows it is a political case, which will be dealt with and will be defend as one.

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* Rafael Marrero was an F.B.I. agent provocateur who worked at the Puerto Rican Cultural Center from 1987 to 1995.

** Prof. Jose Solis Jordan was charged with in a four-count indictment with conspiracy, possession of explosives, and destruction of government property.

To support companero Solis, please send your contribution to the Jose Solis Jordan fund c/o the Law Offices of Jed Stone, 434 W. Ontario-Suite 400, Chicago IL 60610.

Women of the White Supremacy Movement: Exploring Issues of Gender and Feminism

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Critical criminologists have a tough time seriously considering conventional, mainstream social developments to which they are opposed; they are more content to expose their contradictions, hypocrisy, and lack of humanity, care and compassion. Even more difficult is for us is to understand extreme right wing social developments. Part of the problem here is that taking these movements seriously, involves reproducing, albeit for the purposes of criticism, some of their members' content, differences, struggles and disagreements. Doing this may give some degree of legitimacy to an enterprise to which we are wholly opposed.

However, I believe that without engaging in such understanding prior to analysis, we may ignore significant transformation in these movements that might ultimately lead them to become stronger and even more widely appealing. In the spirit of attempting to understand better that which we confront, I first explore some recent developments that have occurred within the White Supremacist Movement that involve a critique and co-optation of feminist issues. I then turn to how feminists critical criminologists might respond to this development with the aim of setting in motion a counter force within or at least around the White Supremacy Movement.



Women and Divisions within the White Supremacy Movement

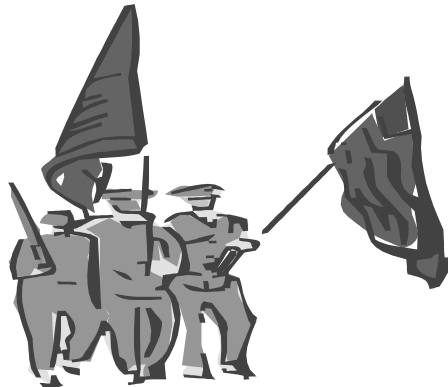
Although there is a low level of female relative to male involvement in the white supremacy movement—women account for less than 10% of right-wing extremist group affiliation—specific recruitment tactics are being utilized to increase and sustain female participation. Although there is an expanding amount of scholarly research on far-right extremism, there is relatively little discussion about the involvement of women, let alone this new recruitment initiative. The small amount of literature available on the topic offers some explanations for the lack of female involvement. These are frequently based on stereotypical assumptions about the character of women. For example, women are perceived as predominately passive and caring; therefore, the Movement's organizational ideologies would not appeal to them. Furthermore, the noticeable absence of credibility and advancement opportunities for women in such groups creates additional explanations for the lack of female involvement. That is, many women would not voluntarily join an organization that refuses to respect their opinions.

Organizers of the movement are beginning to understand the impact of this disrespect on female involvement. It is here that the feminist perspective offers a theoretical framework for analysis. The ideologies to which white supremacist women subscribe become secondary to the sexist hierarchical powers that they are trying to overcome. Women who subscribe to racist doctrines feel marginalized by the predominance of male organiz-

ers in the movement. These women argue that the Movement is exclusively characterized by a male perspective, that it ignores women's voice and issues, and that the organizational goals being pursued reflect male-defined standards, especially those concerning expectations that the proper role for women is raising 'racially conscious' children. For example, Nancy Jensen writing on the Internet criticizes her "male comrades" for dominating white women. Jensen argues, "saving our race is important for both white men and women, not just white men. The Aryan ideal is to allow people to follow their destinies and use their talents to advance mankind, and to force women to deny their natural desires to pursue interests other than childbearing is unAryan." Jensen is critical of white men who refuse to accept that white women can do more than procreate, urging them to understand the importance of the women's role in the movement.

Acknowledging such complaints, many leaders in the white supremacy movement are creating specific branches designed to address the concerns of women. The World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), for instance, has created the Women's Frontier. This branch of the church is dedicated to the recruitment and support of female followers. The goal is to recognize the value and intelligence of women in the movement. Although the WCOTC values the opinions of women, the church requires

women to disavow the "Jewish feminist concept of womanhood." Specifically, white women "shall create and build a world in which the Laws of Nature are understood and followed, with the recognition that men and women are not "equal" but each have their own roles to carry out as part of Nature's Eternal Plan." The Women's Director, Lisa



Turner, is presently recruiting female leaders for local chapters of the church. Turner is also in the process of establishing recruitment and support outlets for females. For example, she has established an Internet e-mail exchange for female participants (or those interested in joining the Movement).

Tom Metzger of the White Aryan Resistance (WAR) has also changed his position on female involvement. In the WAR belief statement, Metzger urges followers to breakdown artificial barriers (allegedly created by Middle Eastern and Asiatic gender ideals) to "male/female unity." Metzger states, "The Right Wing or conservative movement and the racial elements there of, have perpetuated some very negative attitudes. These positions have caused, in part, the political flight of many capable women, into the arms of lesbianism and race mixing." Aspects of the WAR statement maintain that there are certain differences between the sexes. Unlike WCOTC, however, Metzger is not opposed to female involvement in physical combat. Metzger argues that the Jewish faith has tainted the Aryan man's opinion on the physical ability of white woman. "Historically," states Metzger, "women have been proven to be great leaders, warriors,

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(Continued from page 19)

thinkers, and scientists."

In a similar manner, White Nationalists have created a specific section for female supporters entitled Women for Aryan Unity (WAU). Organized by two women, the division addresses issues concerning women in the movement. Specifically, women are provided information on the importance of activism and comradeship. They warn women of the false ideas, supplied by ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government) and other powerful non-whites, that fool women into believing abortion and race mixing are good. Similar to many other right-wing organizations, WAU argues that women are needed in the home. The woman's primary responsibilities are seen as supporting her spouse and raising racially conscious children. They assert that women who believe otherwise only do so because they have been emasculated by society (rather than a natural desire to compete with men). Nevertheless, WAU condones female participation in survivalist training and midwifery (only after accomplishing these goals should women pursue higher education).

White racists from various right-wing organizations have united to create an Internet site for single whites of the opposite sex to meet. Articles directed toward white women and mothers are also available from the site, such as one pertaining to careers for white women which offers advice on choosing a compatible career as well as listing careers that benefit the white race (i.e., law, law enforcement, real estate, human resources, etc). Likewise, numerous articles are provided for white mothers. Topics include the dangers associated with the television program "Sesame Street" and the importance of home schooling.

Recognizing that the lack of female involvement hinders successful growth of the movement, many of the right-wing organizations have started to approach the issue. Although the term is strongly disavowed by

Many of the white supremacist organizations believe the primary roles of women are in the home; nevertheless, they have adopted a liberal feminist approach to accommodate female supporters.

the vast majority of supporters, a version of a feminist ideology is subtly emerging within the movement. Many of the white supremacist organizations believe the primary roles of women are in the home; nevertheless, they have adopted a liberal feminist approach to accommodate female supporters. Specifically, they are willing to restructure the organizational ideals to allow more advancement opportunities for women. The WCOTC, for example, believes the lack of female participation can be corrected by assigning women to leadership positions.

Alternatively, other organizations are co-opting a more radical feminist perspective by challenging the gendered-constructs of the movement. The leader of WAR, Tom Metzger, argues that non-whites have distorted the image of white women from capable warriors to a belief that white women are fragile. Though differences between the sexes exist, women are not incompetent to the struggle. He urges men participating in the movement to breakdown male definitions of proper female roles and behavior. Women, free from patriarchal encompassment, will serve the movement with their intelligence and strength. The roles of women are expanding in his and similar organizations. They are participating in ceremonies and undertaking responsibilities that were once forbidden to women. They are becoming warriors, fighting for the Aryan cause.

The Significance of Critical Feminism

As critical feminists, what are we to make of these developments? It is clearly not enough to simply dismiss or ignore changes in social movements, however repulsive their members' thinking may be to critical feminist sensibilities. Without understanding of the changes taking place within such organizations, critical feminists may only speculate on the significance of expanding female participation and the adoption of feminism. As gendered definitions of "proper" female roles are slowly replaced by beliefs in gender equality, female participation rates are likely to increase—though the level of magnitude is not yet determined. Furthermore, feminist perspectives propose enlightenment and acceptance. Will the adoption of feminism modify, even eliminate, the ideology of hate such groups are advocating? I believe that there is something important changing here. As a critical feminist, I find it impressive that some of the most conservative groups are incorporating feminist ideologies into their organizational belief system. More importantly, the potential impact of increased female participation and the incorporation of feminist perspectives may lead to the demise of such organizations.

The author may be reached at: hatten@online.emich.edu

Endnotes

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From the Chair

As of the end of December, 1998, the division membership was 323, a small increase of some 20 persons since the ASC meetings in D.C. this past November. I would also like to inform you that the ballot amending the division constitution to raise the dues to \$30.00, effective in the year 2000, passed by a vote of 72 to 29, surpassing the necessary two-thirds vote.

Once the new dues kick-in, the division should be in a position to financially support and resume publication of the *Critical Criminology: An International Journal*. With respect to the unpublished 'double issue,' attempts are currently being made to publish it in other venues. In the mean time, there is still *The Critical Criminologist* that you are holding in your hand. Published three times a year, this division newsletter with the think pieces and essays included in each issue make it more like a "magazine" than a newsletter.

As many of you are aware, the journal has come under financial stress as a result of our membership not electing to assign enough classroom book orders from The Collective Press, which has published anthologies by the membership as well as the journal. Since the "volunteer" approach to adoption did not materialize, the thinking of those on the Steering Committee as well as some 50 persons in attendance at the last business meeting was to raise the dues to cover the costs of publishing the journal and meeting other expenses of the division. At present, however, as many of you are aware, Brian MacLean and Dawn Currie have personally gone into debt to the tune of \$4000 on the faith that adoptions would pick-up. Now then, as one means of reimbursing Brian and Dawn, please become a Critical Criminol-

ogy Sustainer and when you fill-out the form, simply write in their names after your address and before the address of the ASC.

We are also in the middle of nominations for Division Awards and Elections. With respect to the awards nominations, please contact Nancy Wonders, Awards Committee Chair, at nancy.wonders@Nau.edu. With respect to officer nominations, please contact Michael Blankenship, Elections Committee Chair, at <blankenm@etsu.edu>.

There are also nominations for ASC awards and elections going on until the end of this month. Jeff Ross, a division member, is being nominated for the Executive Counselor and needs the support of at least forty-one persons. You can mail your letters on his behalf directly to the ASC c/o Sarah Hall, 1314 Kinnear Rd, Suite 214, Columbus, OH 43212. Please cc a copy to jeff Ross, 2447 Tunlaw Rd, NW, Washington DC 20007.

Finally, with respect to the meetings in Toronto later this year, there is still time to submit abstracts and to organize sessions on behalf of the division. To do so, please contact Michael Lynch, the Division Liaison Person to the Program Committee for 1999, at <mlynch@luna.cas.usf.edu>. Last year, the division had a high profile with many critical sessions. Let's make this the case in 1999 as well.

Gregg Barak
Chair of CC

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