From Correction to Prevention: An Analysis of the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 1958-1983

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Abstract

As a forum for research and discussion in the justice disciplines, the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* provides an opportunity to examine the development and the contours of the justice disciplines. This article surveys the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* from its creation, in 1958, to 1983. The article connects discussion in the Journal to broader historical developments in Canadian society during this period. Accordingly, initial discussion in the Journal demonstrates a modernist faith in positivism, government intervention and correctionalism, like individual treatment. Later, in the 1960s, the decade's counterculture influences discussion in the Journal. During this period, discussion in the Journal reflects on positivism, correctionalism, and society's ability to construct crime and criminals. As well, in the 1970s, the concerns of marginalized populations, such as women and Indigenous people, receive credence in the Journal. Finally, at the end of the 1970s, the ascendancy of neoliberalism in Canadian society begins to reshape the Journal. Instead of work focused on the individual, institutional analyses of the criminal justice system are seen in the Journal and economic reasoning, such as actuarial penology, is used to discuss crime. By 1983, institutional analyses and economic reasoning culminate in discussion that, instead of correction, endorses crime prevention. Ultimately, this article argues work in the Journal and, in turn, the justice disciplines is shaped by developments in Canada's broader social, political and economic climate.

Introduction

In Canada, the justice disciplines have been shaped by the country's social, political and economic climate. In this article, I use the term justice disciplines to discuss two distinct, but intertwined disciplines: criminology and criminal justice. Recognizing that, historically, the study of criminology and criminal justice is not limited to universities, I include research and study conducted outside of universities as part of the justice disciplines. To explore shifts in the justice disciplines, I survey five editions of the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, between its inception in 1958, to 1983. As a national publication for the justice disciplines, I use the journal's research to illuminate the contours of the justice disciplines and, in turn, its connection to changes in Canadian society between 1958 and 1983. This discussion is divided into three parts. Part One examines the Journal from 1958 until the first half of the 1960s. Following World War II, the justice disciplines emerged as an arm of government and, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, government funded university programs and research departments were established for the justice disciplines. During this period, the justice disciplines used positivistic methodology to pursue correctional objectives, such as individual treatment. Part Two examines the Journal between the latter half of the 1960s and the 1970s. During this period, the country's counterculture applied a critical lens to society. I use the term counterculture to refer to the social and civil rights movements that materialized in Canadian society during the 1960s (Kurusawa, 2002). Consequently, critical discourses, discussion of social values, and the concerns of marginalized groups receive credence in universities and society. During this period, the journal remains entrenched in positivistic methodology and correctional responses to crime, but the effects of the counterculture are evident. During this time period, research in the journal aligns with the emergence of critical criminology, a field that questions the legitimacy of positivism, correctional responses to crime, such as individual treatment,

and which examines how crime is socially constructed in society (Vallier, 2002). Additionally, issues of justice pertinent to the counterculture, such as women's and Indigenous people's relationship with the criminal justice system are discussed. In the instance of women's issues, theoretically, discussion occurs through a liberal feminist lens.

Part Three of this paper examines the Journal from the end of the 1970s until 1983. In the 1970s, the economic growth and affluence that had characterized society since the conclusion of World War II was disrupted by economic stagflation, a period when inflation rose but employment rates declined (Garland, 2001; Borstellman, 2013). In response, neoliberal and neoconservative ideology developed in Canadian society. Consequently, universities and research were economized. While government funding persisted, universities and research became more generally concerned with and directed towards economic ends. In the justice disciplines, correctional responses to crime that are focused on the individual remain, but institutional analyses of the criminal justice system also emerge. The institutional analyses use economic styles of reasoning, in the form of actuarial assessments of risk, to discuss crime (Garland, 2003). Consequently, research focused on crime prevention appears in this period in the journal.

In summary, this article argues that positivism and correctional responses to crime initially dominate the journal, but are then critiqued during the 1960s and 1970s as critical criminological perspectives begin to take root in the justice disciplines reflecting a broader countercultural social movement in Canada. However, by the end of the 1970s, economic styles of reasoning and crime prevention become emphasized in the journal, reflecting broader shifts in the political and economic ethos of Canadian society at that time. Ultimately, I argue that the journal and, in turn, the justice disciplines are influenced by Canada's social, political and economic climate.

Volume One to Volume Five, 1958–63: Positivism and Correctionalism

After World War II, scientific rationalism, expert opinion and large government shaped Canadian society. In the vein of large government, Canada's federal government began providing universities with a large portion of their financing (Fisher and Rubenson, 1998). In addition, between World War II and 1969, federal research and development funding escalated from $5 million to $200 million (Fisher et al., 2006). It is through the context of scientific rationalism and large government that the justice disciplines can be understood after World War II. Guided by the modernist principle that the state could respond to crime and ensure law and order, the justice disciplines began to emerge in universities and converge under the domain of government.

In 1950, British Columbia's provincial government assembled a commission to examine the government's penological practices. Referencing American criminology, the commission's report concluded that, "Both the school of social work and of criminology at the University of California serve the department of corrections... The resources of the University of British Columbia could render a similar service" (Parkinson, 2008, 597). In a testament to the justice discipline's developing nexus with government, BC's provincial government agreed to fund half the cost of a professor for a criminology program at the University of British Columbia (UBC), on the condition that half of the professor's time was used to train staff at the government run Oakalla Prison training college. In 1951, UBC capitalized on the government's proposal and established Canada's first criminology program. Situated within the university's Department of Social Sciences, the criminology program eventually offered a B.A., M.A. and postgraduate diploma. In 1958, due to conflict with other university departments, lack of funding, and faculty resignations, the program was discontinued, and only one course and one faculty member were retained (Parkinson, 2008). Despite this, the connection between government and the

justice disciplines that UBC's criminology program represented would be expanded upon elsewhere in Canada.

In the 1960s, Canada's federal government took steps to develop its relationship with the emerging justice disciplines. It began funding criminology research departments at the Université de Montréal (1960) and the University of Toronto (1963). Unlike UBC's criminology department, government funding was not connected to specific research projects. Instead, departments had the liberty to pursue their own avenues of inquiry (Stenning, 1999). In addition, criminology research branches were established in federal agencies. This included the Correctional Service of Canada, the National Parole Board, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Canadian Police College and the Canadian Penitentiary Service (Woods, 1999). In 1960, concerned about the dissemination of research and development initiatives, the Federal Government launched a royal commission to address the productivity of government organizations. The commission recommended that the government consolidate research and development programs. In 1973, the Federal Government acted on the commission's conclusion and began consolidating its research and development departments (Fisher et al., 2006). This included criminology and criminal justice research: in-house research departments were assembled under the Ministry Secretariat's umbrella (Woods, 1999). By funding new university criminology departments and establishing criminology research departments in government agencies, the Canadian government fortified its nexus with the justice disciplines during the 1960s.

Despite the liberty the federal government ostensibly provided for research, the justice disciplines were rooted in positivism: a methodology that suggests knowledge can be discovered using science, statistics, quantitative methodology and research from experts (Garland, 2001; Kraska & Newman, 2011). In 1954, a faculty member in UBC's criminology department, Coral Topping, expounded the importance of science and professionals, stating "The research programme

for drug addicts has been centered in the Medical Faculty of the Provincial University. The Classification Clinic at the Provincial Prison Farm is also grounded in scientific principles, with a psychiatrist in charge and with a psychologist and social workers" (Ratner, 2002, 146). Despite maintaining a certain level of academic freedom, justice research pursued government objectives and routes of inquiry. The in-house departments' purpose was to fulfill the federal government's research objectives (Stenning 1999; Woods 1999). The Ministry Secretariat articulated this objective, stating its purpose was to "Improve the quality of advice we are able to give to the Solicitor General and the quality of Ministry's service to the public" (Woods 1999, 172). This is demonstrated by the RCMP's research division. It examined personnel selection, training and police service techniques (Woods, 1999). During the postwar years, the justice disciplines developed a nexus with the Canadian government, and used positivistic methodology to pursue governmental research objectives.

The growth of the justice disciplines, their connection to government agencies, and the rise of positivism is exemplified by birth of the Canadian Corrections Association. Founded in February, 1956, its inception parallels the birth of UBC's Criminal Justice Program. Subsequently, the Association launched the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* in 1958 (See Appendix I). Originally titled the *Canadian Journal of Corrections*, Volume One, Number One of the Journal was published in October, 1958. Demonstrating the justice discipline's connection to government, six of the eight articles published in Volume One, Number One were authored by individuals employed by government agencies. This includes the Ontario Training School for Boys, the Ontario Reformatory and the Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation in Saskatchewan's Correctional agency. For example, the authors of one of the articles in Volume One, Number One, "The Forensic Clinic of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital," Edward Turner, Harry C. Hutchison and Lorraine O'Donnell are employed by the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital. Their article discusses the Forensic Clinic of the Toronto

Psychiatric Hospital, which was opened by the Province of Ontario in May, 1956 (Turner, Hutchison, & O'Donnell, 1958).

Additionally, discourse surrounding the justice discipline's expansion into the university materialized in the journal during the 1960s. Published in January, 1963, the articles in Volume Five, Number One, discuss the development of the justice disciplines in Canada (See Appendix I). In the article, "Institute of Criminology," the author, Frank Potts (Director of Psychology, Department of Reform Institutions, Toronto), proposes to found a criminology institute at a Canadian university. Potts envisions the Institute as a department that conducts research, teaches and consults individuals in the criminal justice system. Potts recommends an interdisciplinary institute comprising scholars with backgrounds in medicine, law, psychology, sociology, social work, and theology (Potts, 1963). Publications during the journal's first five years show a significant portion of the justice research was produced under the umbrella of government and that discussion of creating justice discipline departments in universities was also developing.

Despite Potts's (1963) reference to theology, scientific rationalism was the dominant methodology in the journal. In Volume One, Number One, this is exemplified by Mrs. Marty Mann's (Executive Director, National Council in Alcoholism, New York, NY) article, "Alcoholism, 1958 Where Do We Go From Here? A 'do-it-yourself plan for meeting alcoholism" (1958). By praising the substitution of theological understandings of alcoholism with scientific rationality, the article highlights the transition into modernity that followed World War II. Lamenting that in the past, "The church prayed and preached while more and more people developed alcoholism," Mann states, "Out of desperate need, two new gleams of light flickered into being. Science began to take a long hard look at alcoholism" (Mann, 1958, 3). Fittingly, the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*'s first published article praises the decline of the church and the rise of positivism to study issues related to criminal justice

Following Mann's commendation of the introduction of scientific understandings of crime, the first issue's additional articles reiterate the importance of scientific rationality. In the 1950s, forensic psychiatry was gaining acceptance as a legitimate field of study. An article by Turner, Hutchison and O'Donell (1958) attests to this. The authors note a recent survey that argued for the dissemination of forensic psychiatry in all domains of the criminal justice system – such as the court system – and improved post-secondary education in forensic psychiatry. In response, the authors outline the Forensic Clinic of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital. They state that after an open meeting with forensic psychiatry experts, the clinic was opened to study and treat individuals charged with criminal offenses, particularly sexual offenders. The authors state that the clinic is inserting forensic psychiatry into the criminal justice field by attempting to develop an affiliation with a psychiatric or mental hospital, using psychiatry to study offenders other than inmates and offering courses in the University of Toronto's Faculty of Medicine (Turner, Hutchison, & Williams, 1958).

In addition, G.W. Russon's (Senior Psychiatrist, Corrections Branch, Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, Regina, SK) article, "Psychiatric Consultation: Fact and Fallacy," lobbies for the use of psychiatry, in the form of psychiatric counsel, by social workers (1958). A distinctly scientific discipline, the rise of forensic psychiatry and articles dedicated to discussing it and psychiatry demonstrate the prominence of positivism in the journal's first issue. In the 1960s, positivism continued to pervade the justice disciplines. In Volume Five, Number One, E.R. Markson and V. Hartman seek to define criminology. Defining it as rooted in positivism, they conclude the discipline is a "multidisciplinary science which includes within its scope a number of basic sciences relevant to the problem of crime and criminal behavior" (Markson & Hartman, 1963, 11).

In the post-war years, penal-welfarism characterized the crime control field, and in turn, criminal justice research

(Garland, 2001). Consequently, the justice discipline's positivistic government research pursued correctional objectives. This included rehabilitation, individualized treatment and indeterminate sentences (Garland, 2001). Penal reform and rehabilitation was the impetus for UBC's Criminology Department. Articulating the dominant correctionalist discourse, the UBC program's first faculty member Hugh Christie stated "The only way to bring a prisoner back to normal and useful life is by wise rehabilitation methods" (Parkinson, 2008, 598). Throughout the program's duration, faculty members published and contributed to reports that affirmed the need for treatment of criminals (Parkinson, 2008). This included the royal commission's Fateaux Report. Published in 1956, the report recommended the construction of treatment facilities that were tailored to the individual needs of offenders (Ratner, 2002). During the period following World War II, criminology and criminal justice research and the policy it recommended forwarded and affirmed penal-welfarism and, subsequently, correctional approaches to crime.

The journal's original title, The Canadian Journal of Corrections, exemplifies the importance of corrections in the discipline in the 1950s. Expanding on the journal's title, in its initial publication's first letter to the editor, the Association's Chairman, S. Rocksborough-Smith, suggests the Association should increase dialogue in the field of corrections. To expand the field of corrections, he suggests founding subsidiary organizations in each province that instead of meeting every two years, like the National Association, could meet monthly. He states, "The result of the thought and discussion emanation from such meetings of provincial groups could prove most stimulating... and lead to a greater participation and more enthusiasm" (Rocksborough-Smith, 1958, 50-51). The inception of the Canadian Corrections Association and its publication's title, The Canadian Journal of Corrections, show that the justice disciplines concentrated on correctionalism.

In Volume Five, Number One, Charles E. Hendry (Director, School of Social Work, University of Toronto) commented on

the emergence of correctional study in the post-war years, in his article, "Toward Collaboration in the Study of Crime And Corrections." Situating the founding of the Canadian Corrections Association within the development of correctional study in universities, voluntary agencies and government, Hendry observes that since returning to Canada in 1946, he had witnessed few changes "more striking or significant than the upsurge of serious concern and constructive study in the area of crime and corrections" (Hendry, 1963, 1). A faculty member in the University of Toronto's School of Social Work, Hendry comments the department had developed connections with government departments, such as the Department of Reform Institutions and the Department of Public Welfare, as well as connections to private organizations, like the John Howard Society and the Elizabeth Fry Society. Notably, Hendry commends the acquisition of a $75,000 five year grant from the Junior League of Toronto, for an interdisciplinary position in corrections at the University of Toronto (Hendry, 1963). Published in 1963, Hendry's observations attest to the growth of corrections in the postwar era.

Typifying the journal's name, correctional approaches to crime, such as individually based treatment, are articulated in its early volumes. In the first issue's final article, "After Care Pre-Release Preparation of Inmates," the author, D.C.S Reid (Executive Assistant, John Howard Society of Ontario, Toronto, ON), outlines the method used by the John Howard Society to provide pre-release preparation for inmates. First, admitted inmates are interviewed by a classification officer and treatment plans are prepared. Next, approximately two months before their release date, inmates are interviewed again to discuss their post-release plans. Following their release, inmates are intermittently interviewed by the John Howard Society. Highlighting the use of individualized treatment, Reid describes the work as an "individualizing process" (Reid, 1958, 42). The John Howard Society began providing pre-release preparation to inmates in 1953, in Kingston. By 1956, their services were requested by fifty-six percent of the inmates at Kingston Penitentiary and sixty-two percent of the

inmates from Collin's Bay Penitentiary who were released on full-time expiry (Reid, 1958).

The journal's advocacy of individualized treatment was not limited to Reid's work. In his article, "Special Disciplinary Reports," C. Sanderson (Superintendent, Ontario Reformatory, Guelph, Ontario) outlines a system being used to control difficult inmates at the Ontario Reformatory. Introduced in 1957, the new reporting system is meant to provide individualized reports for inmates because normal reports "tend to group inmates as a mass rather than individuals" (Sanderson, 1958, 30). The reports are made either daily or weekly, and two versions are prepared: one by the officer responsible for the inmate's living area and a second by the officer supervising the inmate's workplace. In Canada, the growth of the programs discussed by Reid and Sanderson parallel the growth of the justice disciplines. The programs and their inclusion in the journal also highlight the eminence of correctional responses to crime, like individualized treatment, in both the journal and the crime control field.

The importance of treatment in the journal continued in the 1960s. In Volume Five, Number One, Denis Szabo (Department of Criminology, University of Montreal), discussed the significance of individual treatment to criminology in his article, "Criminology and Criminologist: A New Discipline and a New Profession." Discussing the inspiration for the University of Montreal's criminal justice department, he quotes the Fauteux Report which states "the crime problem in Canada underscores the need for professional training which focuses directly upon crime and its treatment" (Szabo, 1963, 28). Concurrent with Markson's and Hartman's (1963) definition of multidisciplinary study, Szabo defines the justice disciplines as "disciplines which are concerned with the treatment of offenders" (Szabo, 1963, 28). Additionally, Szabo (1963) suggests the justice disciplines should be separated into three distinct areas of study: police, penology and corrections. Concurrent with developments in the justice disciplines, Volume One, Number One and Volume Five,

Number One of the journal demonstrate that during its first five years, 1958-1963, it relied on government research, positivism and pursued correctional studies of crime. Consequently, by endorsing positivism and correctionalism, the journal exhibits a modernist faith in science and in the idea that crime can be cured.

Volume Ten to Volume Twenty, 1968–78: The Counterculture

In the 1950s, shifts in Canada's social, cultural and political climate began to emerge. Increases in women's autonomy and the civil rights movement helped produce a counterculture that challenged the tenets of contemporary society during the 1960s. The 1960s counterculture began to question foundations of positivism, such as the authority of expertise and value free research. In its place, researchers connected with the counterculture and they applied a more critical lens to society. Instead of representing the interests of government, academics and their work began to connect with the marginalized groups that were at the base of the counterculture. This included women and ethnic minorities (Gitlin, 1993; Garland, 2001). Specifically, in universities, the counterculture catalyzed the creation of interdisciplinary studies to better represent marginalized groups in civil society, such as women's studies and ethnic studies (Kurasawa, 2002). As part of this movement, radical criminology ascended in the justice disciplines. Theoretically, radical criminology rejects positivism and correctionalism, and it conceptualizes the social order as a system that obstructs individual liberty. Accordingly, deviance was understood as the exercise of human agency and crime control as the obstruction of this emancipation (Vallier, 2002). As well, the rise of the counterculture and second wave feminism paralleled the rise of feminist criminology in the justice disciplines: work directed towards dismantling women's subjugation to men (Vallier, 2002).

Hints of the counterculture's desire to alter the direction of education in universities also began to be reproduced in governmental discourse. Instead of serving the federal gov-

ernment's direct interests, the Economic Council of Canada (ECC) conceptualized education as a social service. In 1969, the ECC stated that research produced in educational institutions should be examined critically and, "A significant portion of such research should be focused on improving the effectiveness and efficiency of our educational effort" (Fisher et al., 2006, 32). While the counterculture was confronted by a backlash at the beginning of the 1970s, its effects began to emerge later in the decade (Borstelmann, 2013). Following the counterculture movement, the justice disciplines began to demonstrate an interest in its concerns. As a result, positivistic and critical discourses clashed in universities, such as at the University of California-Berkeley's School of Criminology (Morn, 1995). Despite its increasing connection to government, use of positivism and correctional study, the counterculture reshaped the contours of the justice disciplines.

The effects of the counterculture, as described by Gitlin (1993) and Kurusawa (2002), can be seen in the journal during the latter half of the 1960s. Published in January, 1968, Volume Ten, Number One does not provide a radical critique of crime or criminal justice. A special issue, Volume Ten, Number One, remains rooted in correctional approaches to crime. Titled "Concepts of Treatment and Training in the Field of Corrections," it presented a series of working papers related to correctional treatment. Demonstrating the entrenchment of psychological theories of crime in the journal and their role in correction, in the article, "Biological and Psychodynamic Positions and Treatment," A.S. Zajac (M.D., D.Psych, Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, Toronto, ON) reviews psychological theories of crime but concludes "it may not be useful at this time to examine these theories in detail" (Zajac, 1968, 25). In the article, "The Role of the Adult Court in Corrections," Magistrate E.W. Kenrick (Juvenile and Family Courts, Haileybury, ON) affirms Zajac's uncritical review of correctional responses to crime. Praising correctional study for making sentencing easier, Kenrick states "Old concepts of punishment, retribution and deterrence are giving way to new concepts of diagnosis, treatment, training, classification and re-habilitation" (1968, 151).

Although Volume Ten, Number One is entrenched in and endorses correctional responses to crime, it does reflect on the justice discipline's correctional approach to crime. In his article, "Social Science and Social Treatment," J.W. Mohr (M.S.W., Ph.D., Head, Social Pathology Research, Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, Toronto, ON) questions the adherence to individual treatment. He states, in the postwar era "The focus on the person as a unit of change is so much ingrained in us that we even find it difficult to conceive of any other approach" (Mohr, 1968, 47). He continues by acknowledging that while crime can be understood using theories rooted in the individual, such as personality or disposition, crime "is basically defined by society and defined in terms of acts, not in terms of character nor even in terms of behavior systems" (Mohr, 1968, 47). By reorienting the justice disciplines from the study of the actor to the study of the act, Mohr rejects correctional responses to crime. Additionally, Mohr suggests individual treatment could exacerbate the problem of crime. He comments "everything conspires to re-enforce the definition of deviance, including the imposition of treatment... it is therefore little wonder that methods directed towards personality change have in the main proved to be singularly unsuccessful" (Mohr, 1968, 47). Ultimately, in the vein of the counterculture's skepticism of positivism, Mohr concludes that the justice discipline's basic assumptions surrounding crime and correctional treatment must be questioned and considered within the context of the social construction of crime.

Five years later, in Volume 15, Number One, Mohr (Professor, Osgoode Hall Law School; Professor Department of Sociology, York University) suggests correctionalism is being questioned and social understandings of crime endorsed (1973). Pursuing his critique of correctional treatment, he questions the positivistic methodology used in correctional study. In the article, "Facts, Figures, Perceptions and Myths - Ways of Describing and Understanding Crime," Mohr uses the term "myths" to describe the empirical knowledge used in the justice disciplines because it is a "mixture of observation and interpretation which is largely determined by

our needs" (Mohr, 1973, 39). Highlighting the effects of the counterculture, Mohr (1973) demonstrates a shift away from scientific rationalism and towards a more critical approach. Consequently, by critiquing positivism and correctionalism and by conceptualizing crime as something created by society, theoretically, Mohr aligns with the emergence of radical criminology in the justice disciplines.

Concurrent with the counterculture's concern for marginalized groups, Volume 15, Number One, shows an interest in the concerns of ethnic minorities. Published in January 1973, Volume 15, Number One's first article, by Michael C. Bennett (Executive Director, The John Howard Society of Vancouver Island, Victoria, BC), is titled "The Indian Counsellor Project - Help for the Accused." Indigenous people's concerns are absent from earlier volumes, but Bennett's work demonstrates an interest in Canada's Indigenous population. Bennett's article discusses a survey conducted by the Society. Over a period of five months, the Society interviewed every Indigenous person incarcerated in a penal institution on Vancouver Island. Along with quantitative concerns, such as the type of offense committed and the number of offenses committed, they attempted to ascertain Indigenous people's sentiments towards law enforcement authorities and the criminal justice system. Like Mohr (1973), Bennett also moves away from dogmatic adherence to positivism. He acknowledges that Indigenous people feel disadvantaged by the "acceptance of the non-Indian way of life" (1973, 1). By discussing Indigenous people and attempting to understand their relationship with the criminal justice system from their point of view, the journal reflects the counterculture's concern for marginalized populations.

The entrance of the counterculture's concerns for marginalized populations in the justice disciplines is further demonstrated by the journal's discussion of women's relationship with criminal justice. In the journal's early issues, discussion of sex and females is largely absent, but research surrounding women's concerns with the criminal justice system begins to crystallize in the 1970s. Theoretically, it takes the form of

liberal feminism. Like radical criminology, liberal feminist criminology questioned the use of positivism. Specifically, liberal feminist criminology produced studies on female criminality and attempted to remove patriarchal influence from society by inserting women's concerns into discussions of crime (Vallier, 2002). In contrast to the absence of women's issues in earlier editions of the journal, three of the articles published in Volume 20, Number 1 (January, 1978), explicitly discuss issues related to women: "The Effect of Age and Sex Composition of Provincial Populations on Provincial Crimes Rates," by Timothy F. Hartnagel (Department of Sociology, University of Alberta); "Groups for Women who Shoplift," by Mary Russell (Assistant Professor, School of Social Work, University of British Columbia); and "An Examination of Sex Differences in a Clinical Sample of Juvenile Offenders," by Lorraine Wilgosh and Daniel Paitich (Student Counseling Services, University of Alberta and Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, Toronto). In her article, "Groups for Women who Shoplift," Russell discusses the overrepresentation of depressed, isolated and otherwise non-deviant women in the shoplifting population. She rejects the popular response to female shoplifters and the general approach to deviance in earlier editions of the journal: correctional and individual based treatment. The common response to female shoplifters that is critiqued by Russell includes sedatives, aversion therapy and insight-stimulating therapies. Instead of the popular responses, Russell advocates for group programs. She argues that by facilitating peer interaction and by developing networks of support, they combat the depression and isolation affecting female shoplifters (Russell, 1978).

Demonstrating the journal's broader relationship with developments in Canadian Society, Russell facilitates her argument by discussing an initiative located in Vancouver. Founded when the efforts of second wave feminism began to bear fruit, in 1972, the Elizabeth Fry Society of British Columbia launched a group designed for female shoplifters facing psychological challenges, such as depression (Russell, 1978). Russell notes that stress related to spouses, social isolation and

feelings of worthlessness were cited by many of the women. By providing participants an outlet to discuss their issues, she concludes that women found the program preferable to individual treatment and that it improved interpersonal relationships, self-image and coping ability (Russell, 1978). By rejecting positivistic responses to female shoplifting, such as individual treatment, and attempting to create interventions directed towards women that are rooted in their concerns, Russell's work also demonstrates the influence of liberal feminist criminology in the journal. Consequently, the Elizabeth Fry Society of British Columbia's program and Russell's discussion of it demonstrates the effects of the counterculture movement: the concerns of civil society, such as women's rights, receive attention in the Journal.

Also telling is Volume 20, Number One's concluding editorial, "A Critical Note," by Stuart D. Johnson (Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba). Subtitled "Rape," Johnson (1978) states, "the rise of the feminist movement and other so-called liberationist movements has produced increasing' pressure on governments and other policy makers to make substantial and often drastic changes in both the substantive and procedural law relating to rape" (86). Highlighting the journal's retention of empirical value and a belief in the journal's isolation from broader society, Johnson (1978) argues research cannot be affected by the feminist movement's politicization of rape. He makes "a plea for the rapid accumulation and dissemination of scientific knowledge as the basis for change" (86). Johnson's appeal to the justice disciplines to remain empirically based and impervious to public sentiments highlights the conflict between the justice discipline's positivistic and correctional roots and the emergent critical research. During the 1960s and 1970s, the journal remains rooted in a positivistic ontology, by relying on quantitative and correctionalist research, but the counterculture's influence is evident. Throughout Volumes Ten, 15 and 20, the journal is influenced by the tenets of radical criminology: it questions positivistic methodologies used to support correctional responses to crime, and it considers crime as a

social construction. As well, the concerns of marginalized populations, such as Indigenous people and women, receive attention in the journal. Theoretically, discussions of women's concerns in the journal were shaped by the period's emerging liberal feminist criminology.

Volume Twenty to Twenty-Five, 1978–83: Economic Reasoning and Crime Prevention

In the 1970s, the period of affluence and economic growth that followed World War II was halted by economic stagflation. Eventually, the economic collapse undercut the tenets of post-war society, such as Keynesian economics and large government (Garland, 2001; Borstelmann, 2013). In their place neoliberal economic policies prescribing smaller government and less social spending emerged. Neoliberalism proliferated in the 1980s and in Canada, its emergence is demonstrated by Brian Mulroney's federal government. Elected in 1984, Mulroney's federal government replaced Canada's Liberal Party which had governed for 32 of the 39 years since the end of World War II, and which had contributed to the development of Canada's postwar welfare state. Supported by middle-class Canadians who were disillusioned with government intervention, Mulroney's government began contracting the established Keynesian welfare state. To accomplish this, it transferred public responsibilities, such as crown corporations, to private industry and substituted obligatory tax schemes for voluntary ones to finance certain services (Conrad & Finkel, 2009; Fisher & Rubenson, 1998). In this context, government intervention was conceptualized as an obstacle, not an aid, to economic prosperity (Slaughter, 1998). In addition, neoconservatism, a social doctrine that conceptualizes the proper citizen as hard working, composed of family values and self-governing, materialized (Garland, 2001). Neoconservatism challenged the counterculture's desire to represent all segments of civil society, and it undid the sense of community that had characterized post-war society. Neoconservatism excluded specific social classes and its reliance on self-governance conflicted with correctional policy that attempted to

aid individuals (Garland, 2001). Described as late-modernity by Garland (2001), during the 1970s, shifts in society eroded the principles of post-war society and enabled the ascendance of neoliberalism and neoconservatism.

For the justice disciplines, the rise of neoliberalism and neoconservatism precipitated a decline of correctionalism. This is articulated by the journal publisher's decision to change its name. On July 3, 1977, it changed its name from the Canadian Criminology and Corrections Association to the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime (McGrath, 1978). The addition of the word "Prevention," is meant to elucidate the Association's broader study of crime and criminal justice. This includes a discussion of current legislation and nodes in the criminal justice system, such as the police, courts, corrections, education and welfare services (McGrath, 1978). The Association's decision to drop the label Corrections for Prevention symbolizes a decline in correctional understandings of crime and the ascendance of preventative responses to crime at the end of the 1970s.

In addition to the Association's name change, its journal, the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice and Corrections* was renamed. The journal removed the word "Corrections," and retitled itself the *Canadian Journal of Criminology*. In addition to highlighting the effects of the 1960s counterculture movement by recognizing the importance of social values, the explanation for the name changes illustrates the ascendance of neoliberalism in the justice disciplines, by rejecting correctionalism.

> Explaining the decision to remove "Corrections" and retain "Criminology" in the Journal's name, Hans Mohr (Chairman, *Canadian Journal of Criminology*) notes crime cannot possibly be understood in just an empirical context... What is seen as criminal and what is done about it cannot be understood without reference to the values a society hold and the responses it develops to the infringement of these values. This is elementary. Yet we often talk and behave as if crime was a problem which

> can be solved by detecting and punishing or correcting criminals and not, first and foremost, a mirror of our society which tells us unpleasant truths. (Mohr, 1978, 1-2)

In the 1980s, neoliberalism reconfigured the structure and the role of the university. Instead of continuing as an instrument of government or as an institution focused on the concerns of civil society, the university was economized. Government funding for academia and research continued, but private funding also emerged (Chunn & Menzies, 2006). In the university sphere, the federal government initiated a number of collaborative efforts between universities and industry. Demonstrating that neoliberal policy was not limited to Mulroney's Conservative Government, the Liberal Party's 1993 election manifesto, *Creating Opportunity: The Liberal Plan for Canada*, pledged to consolidate links between the education sector and private sector for the purpose of knowledge transfer and economic growth (Fisher *et al*., 2006). This included reducing funding for federal research councils, such as the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) and the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERCC) (Fisher and Rubenson, 1998). Although, collectively, government funding continued to increase, between 1981 and 2002, the total portion of university research funded by the federal government decreased by twenty percent. Comparatively, between 1985 and 1996, the proportion of university research funded by private industry increased from 4.3 percent to 10.4 percent (Fisher *et al*., 2006).

The emergence of neoliberalism has also corporatized the structure of the university: senior administrators are modeled after CEOs, academics have become sales people and students have become consumers and streams of revenue. Under this structure, institutional success is defined by the obtainment of funding for initiatives, infrastructure building and monetary profit (Chunn and Menzies, 2006). In the justice disciplines, neoliberalism has produced an emphasis on economy and profit. For example, students are used as

free or cheap labor to conduct research through field placements (Chunn and Menzies, 2006). Along with depending on private industry for funding, the economization of the university has reconstructed criminology and criminal justice departments into units that act as businesses.

Neoliberalism has also introduced economic styles of reasoning into the university. Specifically, research is often used for economic gain. Emphasis on work that will produce capital and serve economic interests means that research is directed to applied projects. This comes at the expense of critical and theoretical work that do not serve the interests of capital and, in turn, a neoliberal state, such as the perspectives advocated by the counterculture. Woods and Shearing (1999) note, "From this perspective there seems to be no place at all left for the intellectual" (317). The commercialization of university research is achieved through a series of processes. At the inquiry phase, research is directed towards applied or technical areas that are relevant to commercial gain. The conclusions derived from inquiry are often interpreted in a way that is favorable to the research's source of funding. In other instances, where conclusions are not favorable to commercial interests, findings are not released. Furthermore, subjects of inquiry that have popular appeal, and thus economic potential, may be emphasized at the expense of projects with less popular appeal (Kurusawa, 2002). Since the 1980s, neoliberalism's economization of the university has shifted work away from penal-welfarism and correctionalism, and towards analyses that incorporate economic reasoning into their study.

In the 1980s, at the expense of correctional pieces of scholarship, institutional analysis of the criminal justice system begin to appear in the journal. Published in January, 1983, four of Volume 25, Number One's articles provide an institutional analysis of the criminal justice system. This is exemplified by the edition's first article, T.C Willet's (Department of Sociology, Queen's University) "Prison Guards in Private." The objective of Willet's article is to explore the operation of the prison system and to discover the ideolo-

gies used by correctional staff to guide their actions. Willet prefaces his article with the acknowledgement that "Recently there has been a sudden surge of interest in prison workers in the basic grades: a group almost completely neglected by researchers until now" (1983, 1). Further attesting to the growth of institutional analyses in the justice disciplines, Willet explains the impetus for his inquiry into prison workers arose from teaching a course at Queen's University that explores "the relationship between ideology and structure in the agencies of social control empowered by the State to use coercive force" (1983, 1). Articulated by the motive for the article and its area of inquiry, Willet's work demonstrates the emergence of institutional analyses in the journal during the 1980s.

Volume 25, Number One also highlights an emerging approach in the Journal's institutional critiques: they utilize economic reasoning. In the justice disciplines, economic reasoning can be understood as an actuarial penology: calculations of the probability of an act occurring, or assessments of risk, are used to control crime (Garland, 2003; Valier, 2002). For example, the issue's final article, "A Critique of Deterrence Research with Particular Reference to the Economic Approach," by Ezzat A. Fattah (Department of Criminology, Simon Fraser University), explicitly acknowledges the economics of crime. He begins his work by praising economics emerging contribution to the justice disciplines. Fattah states, "Economists should be given credit for one of the most exciting developments in research on deterrence in recent years... the discussions they have generated have stimulated interest in deterrence research beyond all expectations" (1983, 79). Fattah credits Gary Becker's 1968 article, "Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach," which argues that sociological theories, such as anomie, psychological theories and biological theories of crime could be discarded. Instead, he argues a model using economic choice is the most effective away to understand crime (1983, 79). Notably, the article begins to receive credence in the journal after the ascendance of neoliberalism, fifteen years after its original publica-

tion. Fattah acknowledges this by stating Becker's article and proceeding economic analyses were initially rejected by the justice disciplines (1983).

Although Fattah, himself, ultimately critiques the use of economic reasoning, the journal's proceeding piece, a research note, endorses the use of economic reasoning to respond to crime. In his note, "Project PRIDE - An Anti-Vandalism Program," economic concerns are disseminated through Gib Taylor's (The Lakehead Board of Education) discussion of a Canadian school board's approach to vandals. He notes the stimulus for the program was the increasing cost to repair vandalized property, commenting that the Board "spends a considerable number of tax dollars on the repair or replacement of vandalized school property... the figure has been increasing for the past few years" (Taylor, 1983, 91). To reduce vandalism Taylor lists a number of initiatives the Board has taken: the use of a silent alarm motion detector system, replacing glass with polycarbonates, covering windows with wire mesh, preventing access to school roofs and installing steel doors. Economy's importance to crime underlies Taylor's article. As a result, perhaps, the most significant aspect of Taylor's article is the Board's decision to consider "vandalism prevention in the design of new additions" (Taylor, 1983). By introducing methods that attempt to reduce crime, Taylor's work demonstrates the use of actuarial penology and, in turn, preventative responses to crime (Garland, 2003; Vallier, 2002).

The endorsement of economic reasoning and actuarial penology represents a significant shift from the Journal's correctional roots: instead of attempting to correct crime, the 1983 edition provides articles that attempt to prevent it. Discussing the effectiveness of the Board's initiatives, Taylor concedes "the solutions attempted by this and other boards, haven't accomplished very much in the way of curbing vandalism" (1983, 91). Demonstrating the increasing entrenchment of economic reasoning and crime prevention in the justice disciplines', this does not cause Taylor to reconsider the

overall approach. Instead, by concluding "a program that that will provide the rising generation with the necessary incentive to keep their own school buildings and grounds in better condition" is needed, he argues that a more vigorous preventative program is required (1983, 91-92). At the end of the 1970s, the ascendancy of neoliberalism and neoconservatism economized universities and research. In the Volume 25, Number One of the Journal, correctional responses to crime focusing on individual treatment were replaced by institutional analysis of the criminal justice system which utilized economic styles of reasoning, such as actuarial thinking, and, consequently, preventative responses to crime.

Conclusion

In this article, I have surveyed the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* from its birth, in 1958, to 1983. Divided into three parts, Part One of the paper examined the journal from 1958 to 1963. In 1951, the country's first justice department, a criminology program, was established at UBC. The program was, in part, constructed to serve the BC government. Additionally, the program was rooted in positivistic methodology and advocated correctional responses to crime. Seven years later, the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* was founded. Originally titled, the *Canadian Journal of Corrections*, the journal was methodologically and philosophically similar to UBC's criminology program: a large amount of the research was government funded, positivistic and correctional. Part Two of the paper explored the Journal from 1968 to 1978. In the 1960s, government sponsorship, positivistic methodology and correctional responses to crime continued to characterize the journal and the justice disciplines, but the decade's counterculture also affected the contours of the journal. Although the journal remained entrenched in a positivistic ontology by pursuing correctionalist research and work, the counterculture critiqued positivism and advocated for groups that, historically, had been marginalized, such as Russell's (1978) discussion of the dispositions of women who shoplift and Bennett's (1973)

inquiry into the challenges faced by BC's Indigenous population. Accordingly, although articles in the journal remain largely rooted in positivism, work begins to articulate radical criminology's contentions by questioning positivistic methodology, correctional responses to crime and by critiquing society's role in constructing criminals, as demonstrated by Mohr (1978).

The final part of this paper, Part Three, examined the journal between 1978 and 1983. At the end of the 1970s, neo-liberalism emerged in Canadian society. Consequently, universities and research became increasingly concerned with profit. Neo-liberalism also reshaped the content and focus of the journal. Positivistic methodology and correctional responses to crime persisted, but economic styles of reasoning, such as actuarial penology, and, subsequently, crime prevention were emphasized in the journal. Instead of correctional concerns focused on the individual, such as treatment during incarceration, research published in the journal focused on broader institutional analyses of the criminal justice system that used actuarial reasoning to support crime prevention strategies. Ultimately, between 1958 and 1983, research in the journal evolved from supporting correctional responses to crime at its inception, to social concerns in the 1960s and 1970s, to crime prevention in 1983. As a forum for discussion in the justice disciplines, these shifts in the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* demonstrate that the research produced by the Journal and, in turn, the justice disciplines, has been shaped by social, political and economic changes in Canada.

Appendix I: Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice

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