RESPONSES

Thinking Critically About the Next Decade of Convict Criminology

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ABSTRACT

Convict Criminology (CC) is a quarter-century old. During those years, this combined approach, group, organization, school, theory, and network has produced scholarly literature and mentored actual and aspiring doctoral students who have been incarcerated and released from carceral custody, assisting them in their careers and engaging in corrections-related policy debates and activism. As the academic fields and real-world practice of Corrections and Critical Criminology have changed, and the people who have been involved in CC have come and gone, Convict Criminology has evolved. This paper briefly reviews the aims and history of CC, then applies a strength, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (SWOT) analysis to Convict Criminology with the goal of suggesting ways that the leadership, members, and allies of the CC approach might best further its mission.

INTRODUCTION

The Convict Criminology (CC) idea was born over a quarter of a century ago. It started out as a series of conversations between Stephen C. Richards and Jeffrey Ian Ross, then morphed through a number of panels held at academic conferences, the production of scholarly studies, and the development into a worldwide global approach, collective, field, group, movement, network, organization, school, and theory.¹

Given an appropriate quantity and quality of resources (including interest), the implications of each of these different labels, the relative suitability of them, and their advantages and disadvantages could be traced. We might even be able to set up a rough heuristic by which to judge them under those circumstances, but this path would probably not be much more than a temporary distraction. In reality, CC is a little of each of these things. In other words, it fits into each one of these categories just a bit, and that is why CC is a somewhat difficult to categorize and for those not familiar with it to understand.

Undoubtedly, whichever label is applied to CC will inevitably beg a number of questions. Most importantly, what are the implications of using

one label over another, and how should we measure the success or failure of this kind of entity? Again, this effort would likely turn out to be a rabbit hole, with minimal gains to be achieved. That being said, it is probably a good idea to clarify the original aims of CC. When the movement began in the mid-1990s, its founders shared a general overall belief that the convict/ex-convict voice was ignored, if not at least marginalized, in the academic fields of criminology, criminal justice, and corrections, in addition to policy-making contexts (Ross & Richards, 2003). CC also sought to help individuals who had been incarcerated, as well as those who had been released from jails or prisons who were interested in pursuing graduate degrees and perhaps careers in academia.

CC also attempted to engage in prison and criminal justice/legal activism and policy work, as a means to reform and transform corrections and the criminal justice system. Originally this kind of activity was difficult to do as older, former or original members of CC were too occupied and focused on organizational maintenance and development (Ross & Tietjen, this issue). Many individuals currently associated with Convict Criminology feel that correctional reform is a treadmill and a futile endeavor; they want to do more than reform and transform, wishing to change what the criminal justice/legal system looks like and how it operates, with a much stronger focus on decarceration/prison abolition (Kalicia, 2018) and a greater commitment to social justice. This focus may reflect the kinds of literature the newer generation of CC members were exposed to versus the older one, which includes, but is not limited to concentrations on popular Black feminist research, and sluggish criminal justice and correctional reforms.² It may also be a reflection of exposure to popular social and cultural movements like Black Lives Matter and the #metoo movement. These subtle changes in CC's overall direction may also be the result of an increased awareness of these issues.

Meanwhile, Convict Criminology was and still remains global in scope (e.g. Ross & Vianello, 2021), and this approach has recently boomed due to an influx of new and more diverse members. In other words, the CC approach could be applied to any country that locks up their citizens, and not simply the locations where CC emerged.

Another thing to keep in mind is that CC was not established exclusively for convicts and ex-cons, but also for people who were justice-involved or justice-impacted, and individuals who might be considered or self-identify as prison activists (Tietjen, 2019). Why? There are a significant number

of individuals who, because of prior suspected or actual criminal activity committed by themselves or by a loved one, had close contact with the criminal justice system, but were never charged, convicted, or incarcerated. This experience affected these colleagues deeply, thus they support the overall CC mission, sharing its goals and vision.

Regardless, both the objectives of CC and the people who have been drawn to the network were and remain relatively disparate, committed, and ambitious. The growth of CC, much like negotiating traffic whether as a pedestrian, bicyclist, or motorist, has been at times exciting, frustrating, and fun. On the plus side, CC has granted those affiliated with the group the opportunity to play a small part in advising those released from correctional custody through their bachelors and graduate degrees and into the professional job search process. On the other hand, it can often be challenging to encounter those individuals whose sole purpose seems to be to disrupt and challenge, rather than to build.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONVICT CRIMINOLOGY NETWORK

We could trace the history of the CC network in a variety of ways. For instance, we might choose to look at the larger structural forces that were conducive to the formation of CC (Ross, 2021b). Alternatively, we could examine the network through the paths of the various individuals who have come in and out of the group via the numerous panels and conferences held at different venues where CC members attended and presented papers (e.g. Ross & Vianello, 2021; Ross & Tietjen, 2022). Although this historical knowledge base is important and helps provide a context, this kind of information is available elsewhere,³ thus it is not necessary to review it again here. On the other hand, it might be valuable to ask why it is important to explore where CC currently is as a network and where it is going.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO HAVE A SENSE OF WHERE CONVICT CRIMINOLOGY IS NOW AND THE FUTURE OF THE NETWORK?

Although one might wish to distinguish between the CC network and the official ASC Division of Convict Criminology, for the sake of simplicity,

these two groups are comingled. In sum, this exercise can help us with the strategic planning process. CC has limited resources (e.g. time, social capital, etc.), so it is wise to consider carefully their appropriate application and choose approaches that will minimize wastefulness. This strategic planning will also assist CC in adapting to current circumstances and enabling the network to achieve its stated goals.

HOW DO WE GO ABOUT GETTING A SENSE OF THE FUTURE OF CONVICT CRIMINOLOGY?

It is difficult to predict the future. This notion is even more salient when the world experiences black-swan events, such as the global COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, experts have developed numerous qualitative and quantitative methods to assist them in trying to determine what the future might look like for a variety of situations and organizations. Choosing an appropriate method among these options depends upon a number of factors, including the quality of the data and the resources that are available to perform the analysis.⁴

Before trying to forecast the future of CC, selecting publicly available information may prove helpful to shaping our analysis. This includes the conclusions of major books on CC and the critiques of CC. Perhaps there is some merit in consulting the relatively short conclusions of the major CC texts such as books by Ross and Richards (2003), Earle (2016), and Ross and Vianello (2021). Examining these three works, we find, however, that although the last chapters of the monographs predictably review or summarize the contents of the studies, only the two edited books by Ross and Richards (2003), and Ross and Vianello (2021) prognosticate about the future.

That being said, although Richards and Ross (2003) outline what they believe needs to be done to improve or reform the field of corrections, they do not make specific predictions or recommendations about what is in store for CC.⁵ Vianello and Ross (2021), on the other hand, basically argue that the network should continue to do what it is doing, and they outline five "practical suggestions" (p. 214-216). They are:

- "CC panels must be organized to accommodate the growing interest in the group" (p. 215);
- "strengthen our active involvement in prisoner education" (p. 215);

- develop and increase "contacts within the nonprofit sector (e.g., Foundations) and among prisoner support groups which advocate for prisoner rights and criminal reform and carry out awarenessraising campaigns" (p. 215);
- "take seriously the challenges of internationalization..." (p. 216);
 and
- "develop new opportunities inside the university environment (visiting professorships and exchanges for Ph.D. students) dedicated to former prisoners (which also means finding the funding for this purpose" (p. 216).

These recommendations were published approximately one year ago. Some attention could be spent determining where CC is with each of these suggestions, but I think that this might be a little premature. Instead, I will leave this analysis to someone else who is suitably motivated.

Critiques of Convict Criminology

Meanwhile, a handful of critiques of Convict Criminology have been published (e.g. Larsen & Piché, 2012; Newbold & Ross, 2013; Belknap, 2015). In short, these evaluations point to three primary shortcomings within the CC framework: the CC methodology is not sufficiently rigorous; CC seems to be unnecessarily exclusive; and CC needs to do more to include women, ethnic minorities, and members of the LGBTQ community. Some of these criticisms are legitimate, whereas others are unfounded or based on a poor understanding of CC (Ross et al., 2016). Currently, however, I believe that the most helpful approach to move CC forward is to perform a SWOT analysis.

STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES, OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS ANALYSIS

One of the prominent ways to determine the status of an organization and where it is going is the SWOT analysis method. Although observers may be aware of the flaws of this technique and, thus, disinclined to utilize this analytical approach, which is relatively easy to perform, it is an appropriate place to start this examination. If it stimulates some productive

conversations, then it will have served its purpose. In my SWOT analysis, I focus primarily on the CC network, though I also comingle my review with the field of corrections. In outlining what I believe are CC's current strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, issues might spill over from one category to another.

Strengths

Compared to other recent approaches to understanding and reforming corrections, CC remains a realistic policy-oriented approach to improving the lives of the many men and women who are incarcerated or released from correctional custody. Convict Criminology has close to twenty-five years of scholarship, mentorship, activism, and experience to draw on, which includes providing a realistic picture of life behind bars, life upon reentry, and the fight to end mass incarceration, both in the United States and elsewhere. CC has assisted numerous formerly incarcerated people through their bachelors, masters, and doctoral degrees. CC has also connected with a relatively large number of people who are interested in the subject and network. These individuals are not simply scholars, but are also students (at different levels of their formal education), people who are or were incarcerated, and supportive people who have not had direct contact with the criminal justice system.

In terms of scholarship, one of the more exciting developments has been the translation of Ross and Vianello's *Convict Criminology for the Future* into Portuguese and its publication as *A Criminologia dos Condenados E O Futuro* by Brazilian publisher Tirant Lo Branch. Now that the book has been translated, it will be most useful to Portuguese-speaking students and scholars of criminology/criminal justice and corrections, journalists, prison activists, and relevant policy makers, legislators, and practitioners (i.e. especially individuals who work in correctional facilities) or those who are incarcerated. Among the ten countries where Portuguese is the principal language, the book may find its greatest utility in Brazil and Portugal, countries that have some of the highest numbers of people who are incarcerated in the world.

Over the past decade, various Brazilian criminologists and lawyers have been introduced to Convict Criminology scholarship and pedagogy. Hopefully *A Criminologia dos Condenados E O Futuro* will be useful for

them. The translation of the book into Portuguese will increase discussions regarding not just the role of convicts and ex-convicts in the scholarly study of criminology/criminal justice, including much needed reforms, as well as serve as a catalyst to greater cross-national co-operation in addressing the challenges faced by incarcerated individuals who are pursuing postgraduate studies behind bars and upon release.

CC is now an official division of the American Society of Criminology (ASC). The Division of Convict Criminology (DCC) also has a significant number of members. By latest counts, the division has 80 members in good standing (i.e. members who are officially registered). Panels are well attended, as are the social and dinner that the division sponsors.

Why is this a good number? The division was granted official status during the pandemic, and the DCC now has more members than a handful of other divisions of the ASC that were also recently started.⁷ The DCC also has excellent relationships with other ASC divisions, including the divisions of Critical Criminology and Social Justice, Queer Criminology, Victimology, and Women and Crime.

At least 75 percent of the eight-member executive board of the DCC is diverse in terms of gender and race, and at least half of the membership is composed of women. A similar pattern exists in terms of the six committees that report directly to the board. In short, CC has social capital. In a broader sense, no nation has yet to abolish its carceral facilities nor is this going to happen any time soon. Furthermore, at least in the United States, the number of individuals who are being sent to jails and prisons is decreasing (Gramlich, 2021), while due to COVID a greater number appear to have been released. Many of these individuals wish to complete not just a bachelor's degree, but advanced degrees as well. In the United States and Canada, at least, academia represents a real option for those individuals who will re-enter society. In other words, they may not be able to get a job in a trade, especially one that requires state licensing, but they may be able to secure a job and excel at teaching in a community college or university.

Weaknesses

With respect to weaknesses, there continues to be a number of people who make and hold unfounded assumptions about CC. These beliefs are often based on rumors, incomplete information, or a poor understanding about

the aims of CC and what CC does. Why is this the case? I suspect it has something to do with the following factors:

- the so-called death of expertise (e.g., Nichols, 2018);
- the exponential increase in the presence of and reliance on social media;
- confusion and poor understanding surrounding the role of lived experiences, and some people's and organizations' commitment to reifying the "lived experience"; and
- a disinclination, not just by the general public, but by many of our criminology colleagues, to avoid reading peer-reviewed research and properly understanding it.

Why is this bad? CC constantly wages a battle against misinformation, and this becomes exhausting and frustrating. Many CC members appear to be burned out from continually having to explain CC concepts, ideas, and the purpose of this approach to critics who have read very little or no CC scholarship/literature at all. Since members of the network often juggle competing teaching, scholarship, service and family demands, this struggle becomes an additional burden. Closely connected to this last point is the fact that many formerly incarcerated people seem to disengage with the CC network once they get out of prison or reach one or more educational milestones (i.e. bachelors, masters, or doctoral degrees) (Ross & Tietjen, 2022).

Opportunities

The creation of the Division of Convict Criminology represents a true opportunity. When the founders and their allies got together almost twenty-five years ago, they had very modest goals, which transitioned over time. One of them was to not become a division of the American Society of Criminology. In fact, there was quite a bit of opposition to this specific engagement, but over time, this position softened.

On a related note, at no point in time has CC had as diverse a leadership group as it currently does. CC has also managed to attract a large number of energetic and curious graduate students. Furthermore, CC possesses a very strong intellectual scholarly base (of peer-reviewed articles, chapters, and books) to draw on (Ross & Tietjen, 2022). One aspect of

this effort has been a strong attachment to the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* (www.jpp.org), which specializes in publishing convict authors in a peer-reviewed academic journal.

Threats

Convict Criminology will have to face a number of challenges in both the near- and long-term. These cluster around the field, the division, universities, and society in general. To begin with, there is a tendency to get sidelined and wander down rabbit holes. One of these tangents is the perennial discussion regarding changing the network's name, as well as that of the ASC division. In response, this issue was addressed in a joint article (Ortiz et al., 2022) that critically analyzed the ownership of the term *convict*. All organizations, learned or otherwise, will encounter obstacles both internally and externally, and CC is no different. In general, six prominent considerations need to be addressed.

The academic field of criminology/criminal justice has a tendency to start new types or branches. Every few years, it seems that a new iteration of criminology emerges (e.g. Cultural, Environmental, Ghost, Green, Rural, etc.). This creates distracting and competing pressure for our time, especially in this attention-strapped economy.

Both carceral institutions and public universities continue to cut back on the funds they spend on academic activities. In the academic world, this results in less money being made available to faculty and students to attend conferences, conduct research, and graduate student stipends, and the like.

The Convict Criminology network has always had difficulty organizing people (not just those who are incarcerated) who share the CC mission, but are diverse and geographically spread out. This is especially true in terms of recently released people, who for valid reasons often prefer to fly below the radar. Also, they may or may not have access to financial sources to enroll in schools or attend conferences, plus like all of us, they have competing demands.

We also have struggled with people interested in CC not wanting to attend academic events. Formerly incarcerated members are often reluctant to tell people that they were formerly incarcerated, particularly in public settings, and CC never compels anyone to reveal their prior criminal or incarceration history. This is a totally personal decision. Having a criminal record, however, prevents the formerly incarcerated from doing numerous things. This is part of the collateral consequences of incarceration. Members

closely affiliated with CC understand this dilemma, which affects the degree and quality of participation among people who are on the margins of CC.

As mentioned above, from the beginning, a considerable amount of misinformation or misperceptions about CC has proliferated, including what CC is and what its goals are. In general, this is not intentionally malicious, though the group has tried to diminish this misinformation through the creation of a website, the launching of an official ASC division, the effective use of social media, the publishing of high quality, peer-reviewed research, and regular participation at criminology conferences.

Finally, CC and the DCC periodically have to deal with a handful of so-called bomb throwers and contrarians. Some individuals come to DCC meetings (though often with a superficial knowledge of CC and its history), but due to a variety of dynamics, their primary goal often seems to be to disrupt, seek attention, or engage in intellectual one-upmanship. The actions of these individuals can have a debilitating effect on recruitment and retention, thus becoming a distracting influence (Ross & Tietjen, 2022).

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF CONVICT CRIMINOLOGY

There is no shortage of ideas to further the agenda and mission of Convict Criminology – members of the network talk about these possible initiatives on a regular basis. Moving forward involves being aware of the weaknesses and threats confronting CC and successfully marshalling the organization's strengths to make optimal use of its opportunities. Below are ten major suggestions for the future that are reviewed from least to most pressing. However, before considering them, I wish to mention one direction that I do not think would be useful.

CC Presence in Other Learned Organizations

Many of the large scholarly criminology organizations have divisions on corrections, but lack Convict Criminology sections. For example, similar to what happened with the ASC Division of Critical Criminology and Social Justice, we might consider opening a division of Convict Criminology at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. This might be helpful, but it is not

pressing, since it may drain resources that could be best spent assisting the newly formed DCC. More useful are the following approaches and initiatives.

Better Tracking of CC Accomplishments

Many CC members engage in considerable scholarship, mentoring, and activism, but this is rarely tracked or communicated to others. This step is often ignored because it is boring, time consuming, distracting, or perceived as pretentious. By the same token, this kind of effort is necessary for members of the group to learn how to improve what they do and to demonstrate to external audiences our productivity and the breadth of our engagement.

Continuously Engage in Self-reflection

If the CC network is going to grow and flourish, both the members and leadership must engage in self-reflection, listen to its membership, and actively seek out the membership's desires, wants, and needs. It should also remain attuned to the fact that the person shouting the loudest may not necessarily reflect the best direction that the organization should take or be attuned to what is going on at a deeper level.

Regularly Release CC-relevant Communications

To fulfill the activism mission of CC, the executive needs to release regular statements about issues that are currently or will affect its membership and constituency. In support of this initiative, the DCC produced its very first newsletter in the fall of 2021. This is a resource-intensive exercise, but the DCC should now strive to release newsletters twice a year.

Periodically Hold Conferences Separate from the American Society of Criminology

It is important for members of the Convict Criminology network to meet on a regular basis to exchange scholarly communications, mentor junior colleagues, and develop a sense of community. This is why the annual conferences of the American Society of Criminology are so important to the maintenance of the CC approach. Also helpful are periodic meetings for people who are interested in CC but who may not live in the United States, where the majority of the ASC meetings take place. Examples of this kind of engagement were the Tampere, Finland (2010) and Padua, Italy

(2019) conferences. There was also some discussion about holding a CC conference in London in 2020, but then the pandemic hit. We should reexamine the possibility of holding a CC conference in South America (Ross & Darke, 2018; Vegh Weiss, 2021), for which Rio di Janero or São Paulo, Brazil might be good locations. Why? Darke and Aresti have developed strong connections to a number of Brazilian criminologists and doctoral students there, and *Convict Criminology for the Future* (Ross & Vianello, 2021) was recently translated into Portuguese (Ross & Vianello, 2021b).

Reconsider the Necessity of Separate National CC Groups

When CC originated, there was a belief that because the practice of corrections is slightly different in each country (Aresti & Darke, 2016; Earle, 2018) and because formerly incarcerated people often experience international travel restrictions, it might be wise to create separate CC organizations in places like the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand (Carey et al., 2022). Over time, because of the ebb and flow of people who have come into the group and improvements in web-based electronic communications (e.g., Facetime, Skype, Zoom, etc.), the need and desire to form country-specific divisions or chapters seems less important now than it once did.

Adopt New Communication Technologies

Closely connected to the previous point, conferences are expensive to attend, frequently requiring flights and hotel stays, as well as conference fees. They are also very time-consuming. One way to counter these costs is to increase the use of online conferences. To do that, people in the CC network need to master communication strategies like Zoom or other web-based conference applications. For example, this method was successfully utilized during the 2021 ASC annual conference that was held in Chicago. At this venue, the DCC customized a system using personal Zoom presentations that were then streamed to individual computers.

Organize Special Issues of Relevant Academic Journals

Over the history of CC, the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* has published three special issues devoted to the network. The very first was edited by Stephen Richards and Mike Lenza, and the second by Andy Aresti and Sacha Darke, while the third was managed by Grant Tietjen, J. Renee Trombley, and

Alison Cox. Each team has brought with it a set of unique knowledge and skills, attracting and mentoring new people to CC through their networks.⁹

Battle Misinformation

It is important to identify specious arguments advanced about corrections in general and CC in particular by individuals who have minimal contact and understanding of Convict Criminology. Often these people show up at CC panels and meetings, or make unfounded claims about CC. If these individuals are amenable, CC representatives should spend the necessary resources trying to educate them. This requires sending these individuals articles and chapters to read, as well as walking them through their arguments in a systematic, but nonthreatening manner.

Boost Ongoing Mentoring Efforts

Finally, and most importantly, there is an ongoing need to recruit the next generation into the CC field. This requires proper mentoring (Tietjen et al., 2021). In the past, various members of CC have tried to launch an essay-writing program, but the responses were lackluster. Part of the reason for this failure was that many CC members are graduate students who have numerous obligations and limited resources (e.g. free time). Also, some people do not know the potential of the group. Thus, CC needs dedicated and rational leaders that will step up to meet that challenge by continuing to disseminate the framework's ideas and mentoring a younger generation. This could easily be done in the context of conferences, papers, and publications (Ross et al., 2015).

CONCLUSION

The way forward for CC is anything but clear. Convict Criminology has contributed to the scholarly literature (Ross & Copes, 2022), mentored numerous people from incarceration through release (and throughout the completion of undergraduate, masters, and doctoral degrees), and advocated for prison reform.

Newer members of the ASC Division of Convict Criminology are accomplishing a considerable amount of interesting scholarship, mentorship, and activism. And the diversity of the CC group bodes well

for the network's attempts to expand its base and outreach. Ultimately, the future of CC depends on the commitment of its members, and the skills and personalities of its leaders. The future will also be shaped, to some extent, by the group's relationship to the American Society of Criminology. Changes taking place in the wider field of corrections will also have an influence on future directions of CC.

However, if CC and the DCC can be strategic about the environment in which they operate, the people who are interested in this field and their goals, they will be able to make a positive contribution to the academic fields of critical criminology, criminology, and corrections by assisting individuals who are incarcerated and recently-released to earn bachelors, masters, and doctoral degrees, and to take their place in academia. Likewise, an individual does not need to be formerly incarcerated to identify with the CC perspective, nor must one be a member of the ASC Division of Convict Criminology to be considered a Convict Criminologist (Ross et al., 2016).

CC would like others to participate in its journey, to be part of its story, and to ultimately improve the lives of people who are or were once incarcerated, as well as the lives of their loved ones. The hope is to assist them in successfully re-entering society, earning degrees, and making valuable contributions to their communities.

Like all academic fields and specialties, the future of CC is unknown. Part of its success will be tied to its ability to achieve its modest goals. CC has a great and energetic leadership that is diverse and vested in the success of the organization. CC will also need to create meaningful feedback loops with its membership and audience, while remaining committed to deliberately pursuing goals in a more strategic way. CC also needs to do a better job encouraging people to read their scholarship and to not simply jump to conclusions about what they think they know about the field. Other things CC should do in the future are to be mindful of inclusion, as well as prevent the naysayers and bomb throwers from distracting it from achieving its mission. Finally, Convict Criminology needs to work more on teasing out a theory that is meaningful to our membership and multiple audiences.

In principle, CC will still be around as long as the voices of systemcontacted people continue to be marginalized and correctional facilities exist. The DCC expects to be active for many years to come. CC sincerely believes in the power of transformation. Together, we can further strive to change policy and laws dealing with incarceration.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The author did not receive support from any organization for the submitted work, nor do they have any relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose.

ENDNOTES

- There are also arguments for calling Convict Criminology a theory (Richards, 2013). This is an interesting debate, but not essential to the points that I am reviewing in this paper.
- Ross and Tietjen (2022) expand on the differences between the older generation of Convict Criminologists and the newer ones.
- This includes a series of articles (e.g. Tietjen, 2019; Ross, 2020) and chapters in edited books (e.g. Jones, Ross, Richards, & Murphy, 2009).
- Surveys of the membership might be an option. However, there are numerous people who for one reason or another are not members of the official division, and they too may have useful opinions.
- A multi-authored chapter, "Convict Criminology: Prisoner Re-entry Policy Recommendations" (Richards, Ross, Newbold, Lenza, Jones, Murphy, & Grigsby, 2011) makes some policy recommendations, but they are not specifically directed toward the field of CC.
- I do not believe that it is necessary to go into a detailed analysis of why most of these criticisms are unfounded. These can be found elsewhere (e.g. Ross, Jones, Lenza & Richards, 2016).
- ⁷ See https://asc41.com/divisions/division-account-balances-membership-figures.
- For example, a phantom CC website now exists.
- On a related note, in 2012, Richards edited a special issue of *Euro Vista: Probation and Community Justice*. Most of the contributors were ex-cons.

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