

Of Big Tents and Handmaidens: The Origins and Evolution of Criminology at Simon Fraser University

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Abstract

There are long-standing concerns that, due to the subject matter, university-based Criminology and Criminal Justice programs are at risk of becoming too closely aligned with criminal justice agencies and other agents of the State. It is feared that these affiliations will compromise the academic integrity of the programs while at the same time legitimizing the more coercive and oppressive features of the criminal justice system.

An examination of the creation and evolution of the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University provides the opportunity to consider the dynamics that surrounded the development of a multi-disciplinary program that has had, and continues to have, a significant impact on the academic and applied landscape both in Canada and internationally. Using archival documents and interviews with the founding Director of the now School of Criminology and nearly all of the subsequent Directors of the School during its forty year (1974-2014) history, the study considers the personalities and politics that have defined the School, the challenges it has faced in erecting, and sustaining a “big tent” approach to the study of Criminology, the evolution of the curriculum, and the issues that it continues to encounter. Among the findings of the study are that the issue of whether the School of Criminology has been, or is, a “handmaiden” of the State has been less of an

¹ The views expressed in this paper regarding SFU and its development are our own and are not in any sense an “official” retrospective on the department.

issue than the commitment on the part of the School's leadership to maintain among the faculty a balance in orientations and methods. This approach has largely prevented the program from slipping either too far to the Left or to the Right, while respecting the disciplinary and theoretical orientations of the faculty. In this respect, the School has generally been successful in maintaining the delicate balance between the theoretical and applied dimensions of Criminology.

Introduction

The School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University is an interdisciplinary program that offers a BA, MA and PhD in Criminology. The 27 full-time faculty in the School represent a broad range of disciplines, including psychology, sociology, law, biology, political science, geography, and anthropology, among others. In addition, the School has a robust Adjunct Professor roster that includes persons with expertise in a variety of areas, including criminal intelligence analysis, law, etc. The faculty produce the majority of texts that are used in criminology and criminal justice programs across the country; its doctoral graduates populate university faculties worldwide; and its undergraduates fill positions throughout the criminal justice system from sea to sea to sea.

Tracing the origins and evolution of the School provides an interesting case study of a unique program that was founded on an interdisciplinary model that sought to embrace both criminal justice and criminology. Its history facilitates an examination of the potential tension between criminal justice and criminology, the potential for, and challenges of, collaboration between university-based programs, governments, and criminal justice agencies, and the professional and interpersonal dynamics that exist in a multi-disciplinary program. As a program now in its 40th year with its inaugural cohort having begun to retire,² the inception and evolution of the pro-

² This includes the two of us, who are both senior members of the department. One of us was part of the earliest cohort of hires in the late 1970s that gave life to the new program; the other of us was hired during the School's first period of expansion in the early 1980s.

gram reflects how it was envisioned, what it has become, and the decisions it faces in future.

The materials for this discussion were gathered from archival materials provided by the founding Director of the program;³ student data provided by SFU Institutional Research and Planning;⁴ publicly available information regarding curricula; archived articles from *The Peak*, SFU's student newspaper, published when the criminology program was being discussed and first came into existence; and interviews with six of the seven faculty members who have served as Chair/Director of the School.⁵ Interviews were open-ended and began with us noting we were preparing this article and then simply asking each individual to elaborate on their perspective on the evolution of the School and the issues they confronted when in office.⁶

Criminology Looks for a Western Home

Any recounting of the history of Criminology at SFU would be remiss if it did not recognize three unique elements that would come together in the early 1970s. One was SFU itself – one of a new generation of universities created in the 1960s as post-World War II baby boomers came of age – and its openness to new ways of considering the world. Isolated courses were being taught at Douglas and Camosun Colleges, and Ken Woodsworth of Continuing Studies at the University of British Columbia (UBC) had developed a certificate program in criminology, but when Woodsworth led an advisory group to consider developing an actual degree program in criminology, UBC balked while SFU stepped forward.

3 We are indebted to Dr. Ezzat Fattah both for saving these materials and for making them freely available to us.

4 Many thanks to Yolanda Dorrington of IRP for compiling these data on short notice.

5 The Chairs/Directors of the Department/school have included Dr. Ezzat Fattah (1975-78); Dr. Simon Verdun-Jones (1978-82; 1984-87; 1988-90); Dr. Duncan Chappell (1982-1984); Prof. Neil Boyd (1987-88; 1993-96; 2013-present); Dr. Margaret Jackson (1990-93; 1996-98); Dr. Robert Gordon (1998-2013).

6 We thank the former Directors for agreeing to these candid and informative exchanges.

A second was the vision of Robert Brown, a geographer from the University of Oklahoma who became Dean of SFU's Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies in 1972. The administrative separation of this new Faculty was key in allowing emerging trans-disciplines such as Kinesiology, Communications, Contemporary Arts and eventually Criminology, to take root while buffering them from turf wars with existing disciplines.

The third ingredient was the personal stamp placed upon the school by its founder, Dr. Ezzat Fattah, a Faculty of Law graduate from the University of Cairo and former Cairo Prosecutor who received his MA and PhD from the Université de Montréal. It was his detailed proposal for a Department of Criminology, written while he was an Associate Professor at the Université de Montréal – and his subsequent persistence and not taking “no” for an answer that enticed the university's Senate to approve the new program in the spring of 1975. His detailed and complete curriculum – completed and adopted by Senate before a single faculty member was hired – operationalized that vision.

Origins of the School: The Initial Vision

Fattah's (1972) proposal envisioned faculty and students undertaking a “scientific” study of crime and its control. The department would embrace an empirical approach instead of the “policies of social control based on common sense or conventional wisdom [that] have proven to be utter failures” (p.3). Success would involve “new techniques and methods which can only be learnt through higher and specialized education as well as professional training” (p.4).

An Interdisciplinary and Applied Science

Fattah (1972) also argued that the problems of crime and its control were so complex that only an interdisciplinary approach would be up to the analytical task:

Disciplinary approaches are partial and inadequate; just as medicine is a distinct science that connects with biology, physiology, chemistry, physics and so on, so too is criminology a distinct discipline that requires its own space that incorporates advances from a variety of disciplines. (p.6)

The proposal further affirmed that criminology was inherently an applied science and hence that a fundamental part of both education and research in criminology should involve a willingness to engage the field. The combination of the two – interdisciplinarity and practicality – required both horizontal and vertical integration; the horizontal integration would come from a balanced attention to the partial knowledge emerging from criminology’s contributing disciplines (psychology, sociology, psychiatry, law, and so on) while vertical integration would come from the mixture of theory and practice. The emphasis was clearly to be an “educational” program and not a “vocational” one:

Education varies from training. ...The role of the university is to provide scientific background to those requiring or desiring it and not to become a training centre for police, parole or probation officers, or any other practitioner who requires additional technical skills of the kind that can be developed by vocational education or by in-service training. The only acceptable type of training in a university setting are the training in research and the type of professional training necessary to accommodate classroom theory with practical reality. Therefore, an academic program attempting to include the practical side and to link theory to reality by means of field study should not be immediately tagged as being vocational. What is important is that the professional training does not become the main objective of the program. (pp.19-20)

Fattah’s vision emphasized ongoing interaction with criminal justice institutions, offering the analogy that, just as budding physicians need to see real patients so that they can

understand what real symptoms look like and carve appropriate diagnoses, so, too, must students of criminology have exposure to “juvenile delinquents and adult offenders and to observe the criminal justice machinery in action” (1972, pp.29-30). The general model foresaw the “professionalization” of the criminal justice workforce by providing an analysis of crime and its control within an empirically-driven discourse that considered justice issues in a broader historical and cultural context.

One issue considered was whether to begin with a graduate or undergraduate program. Fattah saw no distinct advantage either way in the abstract, but thought “local considerations” called for an undergraduate program first. In his view, BC’s existing and prospective criminal justice workforce was not yet ready for graduate-level programming; the more immediate need was for a broadly-based undergraduate education that would provide entry-level qualifications for individuals across justice-related institutions in the province. However, noting that departments with graduate programs would provide more opportunities for research and thereby be more appealing to top-notch faculty, Fattah suggested that the university should make clear from the outset its longer-term commitment to graduate-level programming.

Developing a Curriculum and Hiring Faculty

Fattah then developed a curriculum in accordance with the vision he had outlined. Identification of a core program would help both direct and justify the hiring process that followed. The stated goals of the program were:

1. to contribute to the advancement of knowledge in general, and of criminology in particular, through education and research;
2. to cater to the educational and professional needs of the community by producing action-oriented graduates, who are better prepared than any currently available, to work at various levels in the different sectors of the criminal

- justice system and within the community, to meet the challenge of crime in a free, democratic society;
3. to promote individual, social and organizational change by producing innovative and change-oriented graduates, not just to work in the criminal justice system, or to administer it as it stands, but to be capable and willing to evaluate, analyze and change it;
 4. to contribute to public education and public enlightenment about crime and justice, through the dissemination of scientific, unbiased information, to assess and eventually help to change public attitudes towards crime and punishment;
 5. to accelerate the shaping of a fair, rational and responsive criminal justice system, and a criminal policy that establishes an equilibrium between individual liberties and the necessary social controls;
 6. to promote understanding and co-operation between people in the social, legal and behavioral sciences, in and outside the University, through an interdisciplinary and integrative approach, through *team* teaching and team research; [and]
 7. to contribute in various ways to social development and social reform. (Fattah, 1974, p.12)

The view of the founding Director was thus reformist in its aspirations: “There was a need for persons with degrees in criminology to work in the criminal justice system – to change the system from within.”

Fattah’s original curriculum included 44 different courses (see Appendix A). First year courses would include an introduction to the discipline as a whole as well as what Fattah viewed as its foundations – psychological explanations of crime/deviance, sociological explanations, sociology of law and philosophy of law, psychiatric and biogenetic explanations, an overview of the justice system and law enforcement. Second and upper level courses offered advanced versions of

the lower levels and went into greater specificity with particular justice system elements (e.g., corrections, policing, the courts; juveniles), practices (i.e., crime prevention, research methods, correctional practice, procedure and evidence), and understandings of “justice” (e.g., critical approaches, human rights and civil liberties, criminological perspectives on social problems).

The intent was to give students a broad overview of justice issues and then allow them to choose one or more specializations – a curriculum model that still exists today. Another element that Fattah included in the original proposal that remains to this day was the imposition of breadth requirements to encourage students to broaden their horizons with courses in political science, philosophy, communications, sociology/anthropology, and so on.

The Criminology proposals enjoyed broad circulation. External letters of evaluation were laudatory. For example, Andre Normandeau, Chair of the School of Criminology at Université de Montréal, described the proposed curriculum as both “innovative and classical.” Its classical aspect was illustrated by the fact the proposed program, “has retained within its diverse courses the essential backbone of any criminology program around the world, that is a strong theoretical and research-oriented basis in the fine liberal arts tradition” (Normandeau, 15 November 1974, p.1).

But there were discordant notes as well. Other disciplines expressed concern where criminology overlapped with their turf. The Mathematics department was unhappy about statistics and quantitative methods being included in the criminology curriculum, while the Chair of Political Science objected strongly to the inclusion of law courses in the curriculum, ostensibly because he had plans to establish a law school at SFU (Fattah, 15 July 2014). The Psychology department sought reassurance from Dean Brown that courses “which contain psychotherapies as a major component of their subject matter” would not lead “ambitious and eager” undergraduate Criminology students to feel they could then go and offer

therapy (Brown, 14 November 1974). Fattah (18 November 1974a) reassured the Dean that Criminology's interests were not in the delivery of therapies, but in understanding their theoretical and empirical basis and teaching students the methods to critically evaluate their effectiveness.

More extensive objections came from the Chair of the Department of Sociology/Anthropology (S/A), who expressed concerns about Criminology's overlap with S/A content:

As you know the Senate decision to set up an undergraduate program in Criminology was passed without any consultation with this department at all but it was our understanding that your program would be very largely of a vocational type. ... The departmental ad hoc committee [also] feels that your undergraduate program includes many items that are discussed generally in our own curriculum. Deviance in particular is discussed by many faculty in many of their courses even when this term does not appear in the calendar description. There are also other areas of overlap, especially socialization. (Whitaker, 15 November 1974)

The Chair of S/A attributed these problems to the "absence of communication before your appointment and a lack of clear guidelines as to the way a program in an applied science should govern the relations with the 'pure' parent discipline." He concluded, "Had your program been largely post-graduate, some of these problems would not have arisen." Fattah replied not to Whitaker but to Dean Brown, stating that "I do not want to engage in polemical discussions with the S/A Department," (Fattah, 18 November 1974b), and dismissing S/A's concerns by noting simply that the fact "deviance" is discussed in sociology should not mean it cannot be discussed in criminology.

Students were expressing their reservations as well. An un-attributed editorial in *The Peak*, the student newspaper, was headlined, "Criminology not for us." The article explained that while reform and "sanity in crime control and correctional practice" was much needed, the "real" problem was not

criminals, but the “maddening social structure” and “twisted priorities” that produce them (Editor, 1973, p.4). It was a thoughtful lament that recognized the possibility for reform that a critical analysis of the justice system might afford, while simultaneously expressing concern about a criminology program’s potentially oppressive impact. It concluded, “I don’t trust us with it” (p.4).

On 3 February 1975 at a meeting of the Faculty Senate, a motion was made that Senate approve the criminology curriculum. A final disciplinary-based concern was brought forth when the Chair of Chemistry expressed his department’s reservations about the proposed “Criminalistics and Forensic Science” course, suggesting that one course was actually too little to cover the field and would need a more scientific foundation than criminology likely could provide; Fattah withdrew the course with the suggestion that the area might be more fully developed at a later date (Minutes, 17 December 1974).

The students had the final word as the proposal went to the Board of Governors for final “rubber stamp” approval. A tongue-in-cheek article entitled “Future Pot Hassles at SFU?” warned of unintended consequences; criminologists going into the field to enhance social justice was one thing, but inviting agents of the state to campus was quite another:

Students who have naturally become accustomed to this mountain sanctuary as a peaceable place to smoke a joint while gazing out on the fabulous scenery now must prepare themselves for the possibility of being busted.

Take that studious-looking chap on your right, for instance. Are you SURE that he’s not an RCMP officer picking up a few graduate credits while on ‘leave’ from the force? ‘Tis the stuff of paranoia, to be sure. ...

Now that Senate has invited the police force to take their rightful place in the university community as students, it is hoped that they will have the courtesy to leave their badges at home. Else, where will the dope smokers go? (Unattributed, 14 February 1975)

The first course, Criminology 101-Introduction to Criminology, was taught in September, 1975, by the founding Director. Professor Fattah recalls it was enormously popular, with registration capped at 475 – the capacity of the largest lecture hall available at SFU at that time (Fattah, 15 July 2014).

Fattah was adamant that the university show its support by allowing him to hire a core cohort of faculty very quickly – and at one point offered his resignation if he was not allowed eight faculty positions immediately. He soon thereafter hired the first cohort of eight individuals from Canada, the US and Australia from an array of disciplines – law, psychology, sociology, political science, mathematics and urban planning. A proposal for a graduate program came quickly thereafter, with slightly different objectives:

Contrary to the undergraduate program, which aims mainly at preparing the students to work effectively in one of the sectors of applied criminology, the proposed graduate program concentrates on advanced academic study, and has a strong research emphasis. By concentrating on theory and research, it hopes to fulfill the goals outlined above, and to provide the groundwork for a doctoral program aimed at producing university and college teachers, highly qualified research workers and professional policy makers. (Fattah, undated, pp.5-6)

The first MA degree in Criminology was awarded in 1981 and the first PhD in 1987.

Evolution of a Program

The Chairs we interviewed distinguished between administrators who are “builders” versus those who are “managers,” and all described Fattah as one of the former. He would remain as Chair for 4 years, overseeing the hiring of the first faculty cohort, one of whom then became Chair and oversaw the next phase of expansion of the program, which lasted into the 1980s. This huge burst of hiring in the early years yielded two significant implications. The first was that the luxury of being able to hire up to five faculty at a time made it easier to

establish the multi-disciplinary nature of the program from the outset. Second, Criminology at SFU was launched with an extremely flat organizational structure – a very young department full of Assistant Professors all launching their careers and enjoying exceptional productivity in what seemed for a time a period of unlimited growth.

As the program and the faculty who ran it matured, the curriculum changed as well. Appendix A shows the original and current undergraduate course offerings. Perhaps most noticeable are the various tentacles of specialization that developed, particularly in upper level courses. While lower level (core and foundational) courses would change names, the number of (dis)appearances was fairly small – 14 lower level courses in 1975 compared to 15 in 2014. The most significant expansion came in the growing number of upper level seminars – from 30 in 1975 to 79 in 2014 – that reflected the unique interests that different faculty pursued that became manifest in new course offerings.

Particularly noteworthy from our perspective is the diversity of perspectives and interests embodied in the upper level courses – environmental criminology, corrections, policing and forensics stand alongside courses in Indigenous justice, restorative justice, gender and the professions, corporate crime, and miscarriages of justice. This collection came to be known internally as a “big tent” approach to the study of criminology, reflecting the view that any comprehensive program in criminology should acquaint students not only with the criminal justice system, but also with its critique, involve some degree of comparative analysis of different ways of doing justice, and that among the faculty, some would be doing more “theoretical” work while others would be more “applied” in their approach, working in collaboration with criminal justice agencies.

An ever-growing number of undergraduate Criminology majors and the development and expansion of both MA and PhD graduate programs meant there were ever-growing numbers of students to fill the seats. In 1977, the first co-

hort of 31 individuals with majors in Criminology received their degrees. The number of Criminology majors receiving degrees each year would escalate steadily to a high of 362 in 2013-14. By the end of Convocation 2014, a total of 6,283 BA degrees with a Major in Criminology have been awarded, as well as 434 MAs and 76 PhDs. Graduates from the undergraduate program have gone on to populate the criminal justice system across the country and include senior-level justices, Crown, police leaders, senior corrections personnel, the current Federal Correctional Investigator, and so on. Others have become employees and Directors of such agencies as the John Howard Society, Elizabeth Fry, Amnesty International, and restorative and Aboriginal justice programs. Our PhD graduates are to be found in faculties across North America, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia.

Key Issues in the Evolution of the School

Relations with Governments and Criminal Justice Agencies

An ongoing issue within the department has been the School's relationship with government and outside agencies. The original program included obligatory field practice for all students, but growth in the program soon made this untenable, and soon became an optional program element that a small cohort of students every year still pursue.

A more contentious element has been the faculty's relationship with government and criminal justice agencies. One former Director noted that because law is defined by the state and justice largely administered by the state, Criminology receives very little private support. He opined that, since criminology deals with public sector institutions, its funding should come from the public sector.

Historically, faculty research has been funded from three main sources: (1) self-funded research arising from unique relationships that faculty have with community groups and agencies; (2) research funded by one of Canada's three main granting agencies – typically the Social Science and Hu-

manities Research Council (SSHRC) – and any of numerous foundations (e.g., BC Law Foundation, Donner Foundation); and (3) collaborative research projects with federal/provincial/territorial governments and with state sponsored criminal justice and social service agencies. These relationships have been encouraged by successive Directors and, other than university-mandated ethics requirements, there are no restrictions on the types of relationships and projects that faculty can undertake. The extent to which these partnerships make the School and its faculty “handmaidens of the State” has never been discussed by the faculty as a whole, although individual faculty members over the years have expressed concerns about particular involvements.

The issue with respect to funding and decisions as to what monies should be taken from various sources, as one former Director framed it, was “How does the school manage and maintain its independence of thought?” The issue is particularly significant in times of fiscal restraint when programs are searching for “new monies,” which are often made available from private industry or government.

As of 2014, for example, the School currently had two RCMP-funded Research Chairs. The faculty holding these Chairs are involved in conducting research for the RCMP (and other police services) on a variety of police-related topics. A key issue is whether this arrangement compromises the integrity of the university and the School and legitimizes an agent of the State, in this case the RCMP. On one occasion, an RCMP Commissioner issued a “thinly veiled threat” that the Force’s funding might cease after the Director of the School made some negative comments about the RCMP’s role in the Vancouver missing women cases, many of which were determined to be murders attributed to a serial killer (Derosa, 2010). One of the Professors funded by the RCMP reassured readers that explicit protocols were in place to ensure any research retained its independence. In contrast, one former Director of the program indicated that he would not have approved this arrangement, stating: “Monetary considerations should not drive decisions.”

Another former Director noted that decisions as to whether or not to take corporate monies to support activities of the department arose on several occasions during their tenure. For this faculty member, the key issue was whether taking outside monies might result in a conflict with the research being undertaken and to ensure that academic integrity was maintained. This former Director noted that there were no policies in this area.

This raises the larger issue of the boundaries in criminology and criminal justice programs and how the integrity of an academic program is to be maintained in a field that has a significant applied component. The challenge is how to develop and maintain collaborative partnerships with criminal justice agencies which, on the one hand, provide opportunities for field research and graduate student research, while at the same time maintaining a “healthy distance” that ensures that academic integrity and independence are maintained.

One former Director stated that what was required was both a critical and practical approach: “You get research access by having applied access.” He also stated, “You need to have good relationships with government, but it is a difficult balancing act. There can be informed criticism, that is you can be critical but you need to back it up with research. You can be critical if you have the data.” Another added, “You maintain ethical involvement with government to affect change.” And yet another: “You can be critical but it’s how you are critical. You can be involved with government as long as you maintain your ethics.”

The question of whether Criminology is “handmaiden to the state” can be considered at both individual and collective levels. Individuals make choices in the research they will do, the breadth of perspective embodied in the data they seek, and in the range of interpretations they will consider. To the extent that the results can be written before the data are gathered, one can be a handmaiden to any perspective. In Criminology because of the centrality of the state to questions of access and funding, becoming a handmaiden of the state is the

strongest pull, and the biggest temptation. While particular arrangements by some faculty may raise eyebrows among some of their colleagues, in many ways the tacit agreement at SFU/Criminology has been that, as long as a “big tent” diversity of perspectives and approaches in the department is maintained, and academic freedom respected, then the School as a whole would not fall under the handmaiden label.

Criminology vs. Criminal Justice

A second theme that arose in our discussions with Directors was the occasional tension between criminology and criminal justice. The founding Director of the School offered the following distinction: “Criminology is a research-oriented discipline. It is science and research oriented. It is a social science discipline. It is to be differentiated from a school of criminal justice.” However, he also stated, “You cannot dissociate criminology from criminal justice.” Either without the other was seen as incomplete. Criminology without any applied connection was abstract theory devoid of substance. However, a criminal justice focus that fails to rise above agency perspectives to try and understand themselves in the context of broader principles of justice loses its critical edge and ends up re-arranging deck chairs without questioning whether the ship remains seaworthy. Indeed, one of the founding Director’s major complaints about Criminology’s evolution as a discipline lay in the way it had become mired in its own liturgy, with any contemporary American Society of Criminology program looking like the twenty that came before it. This raises the issue of whether Criminology as a discipline faces the danger of becoming a victim of its own success – a once fertile interdisciplinary nexus that will stagnate without a steady ingestion of cross-fertilizing perspectives.

The founding Director highlighted the pioneering nature of the SFU program and its inclusion of critical perspectives, noting, for example, that “The course on human rights and civil liberties that was included in the under-

graduate curriculum was the first course of its type.” One of his enduring disappointments has been the huge impact of one day – September 11, 2001 – after which so much of criminology and those in the justice system thought only of security and were all too willing to surrender human rights and civil liberties – criminal justice without a criminology to counterbalance its excesses.

Another former Director extended the distinction to three – criminal justice, criminology, and socio-legal studies. He saw tension between them as inevitable, but opined, “This is a useful tension as long as all of the camps are involved,” i.e., a reaffirmation of the “big tent” philosophy.

Yet another former Director argued that “Criminology is not a discipline” and observed that “much of criminology is actually related to health, such as the issue surrounding family violence.” Reiterating his original point, he stated, “Criminology is very much a function of who happens to be in a particular place at a particular time.” Although this perspective certainly would explain the diversity in “Criminology” programs that exist around the country, it also implies the idea of a “core” curriculum is ephemeral, and no more than the product of the originating vision that was provided by initial leadership and thereby framed each program’s subsequent development by the influence the leadership holds, or doesn’t, over the faculty that come to inhabit and thereby define any given program.

Ebb and Flow

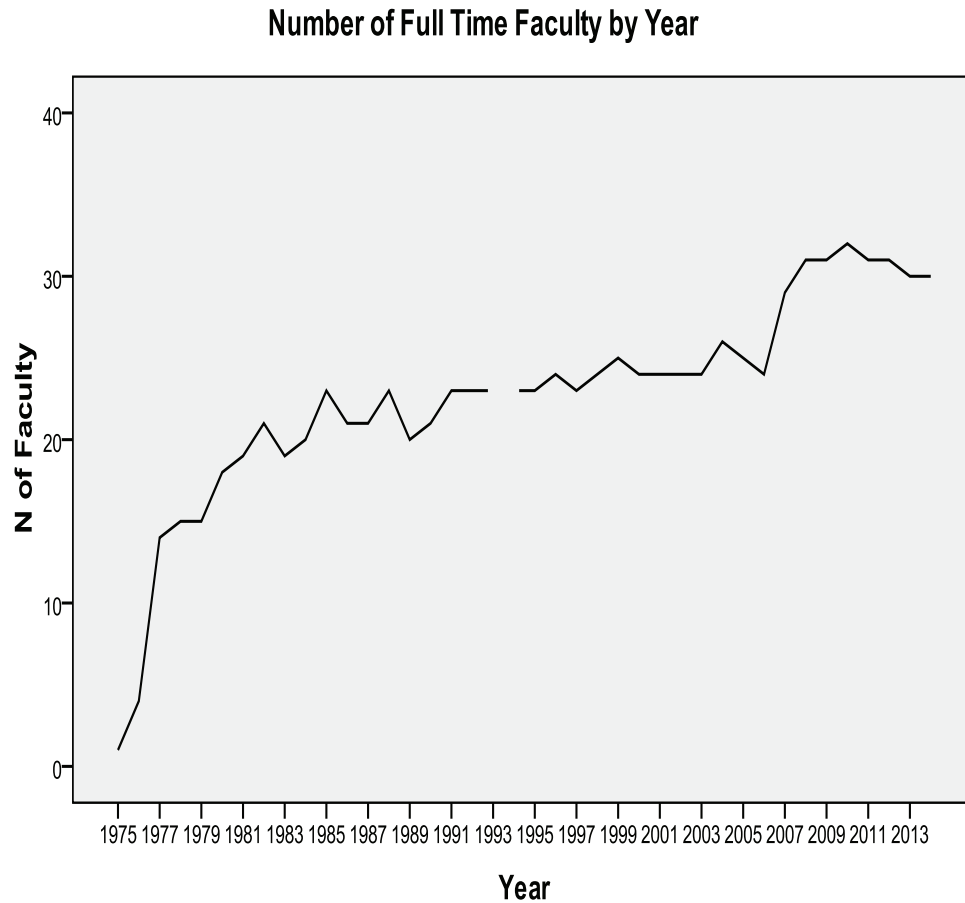
While different individuals may bring different approaches and skills to the Chair, those who occupy it also operate within parameters that are imposed both within the institution and without, which can either promote or impede growth and development. When SFU/Criminology came into existence in 1975, the federal government was highly supportive of the development of criminology in the country; Solicitor General Canada offered a yearly ‘no strings attached’ research budget to each of the Criminology Research

Centres in Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Simon Fraser and several other universities across the country. In contrast, during the 1980s, the Social Credit government in British Columbia cut educational funding substantially, which in turn limited growth. By the 1990s, the federal government was further limiting educational funding to the provinces, promoting “partnerships” with the private sector and any unconditional funding to the research centres was history.

Within the university, one former Director commented on the pivotal role played by the university administration. This former Director noted that “the University is primarily concerned about revenue and the relevance of programs is measured by student interest.” Any surveys of undergraduate students that either of us has been involved in show repeatedly that the bulk of students in Criminology look forward to careers somewhere in the justice system, rather than as academics, with “law school” and “policing and security” always vying for top status, and the two together consistently accounting for the substantial majority of students. To the extent that “bums in seats” dominates the university’s hiring considerations, this may function to push the School toward a more “applied” model of education.

Figure 1 shows the number of members of the SFU Criminology faculty from its inception to today.⁷

⁷ This includes Full, Associate and Assistant Professors, Lecturers and Senior Lecturers, and Instructors, including those on limited term appointments. It does not include sessional lecturers. The data set was generated from the faculty listings that appeared in SFU Calendars for all available years from 1975 to 2014.



It is evident from Figure 1 there have been two distinct “builder” phases. The first eight years of the program saw the number of faculty go from 1 in 1975 – the Founding Director – to 21 by 1982. The number of faculty stayed quite consistently in the low 20s for the next 25 years until jumping to 29 in 2007, and remaining just under 30 ever since.

But perhaps more important than the number of faculty has been the way their composition effectively operationalizes what “criminology” is. The original hires comprised a multi-disciplinary, multi-national cohort who collectively operationalized the foundational approach the founding Director had envisioned. A second round of hiring in the early 1980s saw a strong influence from the Centre of Criminology at the University of Toronto, a multidisciplinary program that traditionally has had a strong socio-legal orientation. The exit of four faculty from this tradition to the Sociology department

in the early 2000s created a departmental imbalance that was compounded by a significant influx of faculty members from the Université de Montréal, which has a strong quantitative orientation, as well as several other faculty who subscribe to more statistically-focused approaches. The question posed by this volume as to what “educating justice” means at SFU is exactly the question the School is now addressing. This article for the most part describes its past. But what of its future?

A Department in Transition

If “Criminology is very much a function of who happens to be in a particular place at a particular time,” then it is interesting to consider what this means for the future of Criminology at SFU. The strong reputation that SFU Criminology has enjoyed over several decades is being tested now as the demographics of the School are a portent for significant change. The “builder” years of the department’s first decade, coupled with few new hires from the 1980s to the early 2000s, resulted in many of the faculty growing up academically and looking at a roughly similar set of people for an extended period. National and international reputations were developed, and the curriculum evolved to include the array of specialties the cohort pursued. We cannot comment on whether particular individuals became handmaidens to the state or any other deity, but believe the diversity of the department as a whole ensured that the collective entity defied that categorization.

The next 5-8 years will see the School faced with a mass exodus of personnel – the retirement of approximately 14 individuals, most of whom were hired in the “building” years of the first decade, but whose exits are ambiguously timed because of the demise of mandatory retirement in British Columbia in 2008. To gain insights into the potential impact of the forthcoming exodus on the School’s teaching and research, we sent a query to members of this group asking which courses in the program they “usually” taught, and thereby tried to identify which might atrophy and disappear

after their retirement because they were uniquely tied to the retiring individual with no evident replacements available. While the “core” courses in the department appear likely to remain covered, as are the more applied/criminal justice courses in upper division offerings, those that seem likely to disappear include:

- 302 Critical perspectives
- 317 Prostitution in Canada
- 333 Law and human reproduction
- 334 Gender, law and the state
- 345 Theoretical perspectives on punishment
- 419 Aboriginal/Indigenous justice
- 429 Indigenous peoples and international law
- 432 Gender in the courts and legal profession
- 436 Corporate crime and corporate regulation
- 437 Crime and misconduct in the professions
- 438 Wrongful convictions and the miscarriage of justice

These losses are losses for “criminology” and especially for critical criminology, suggesting that Good Ship Criminology at SFU soon will be listing more strongly to its criminal justice side unless its new generation of faculty remain as committed as its originators were to a diverse and balanced “big tent.” It will be a telling time for the School and the opportunity for a “builder” to consider where our School will be placed among the myriad Criminology programs and their variants that now dot the nation.

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 Program.

**Appendix A:
 Original and Current Curriculum in Criminology**

Original Curriculum Approved 1975	Current Curriculum 2014
CRIM 101-3 - Introduction to Criminology	CRIM 101-3 - Introduction to Criminology
CRIM 102-3 - Crime: An Analytical Approach	
CRIM 103-3 - Psychological Explanations of Criminal and Deviant Behavior	CRIM 103-3 - Psychological Explanations of Criminal and Deviant Behavior
CRIM 104-3 - Sociological Explanations of Criminal and Deviant Behavior	CRIM 104-3 - Sociological Explanations of Criminal and Deviant Behavior
CRIM 130-3 - Philosophy of Law	[Now a 3rd year course: Crim 338]
CRIM 131-3 - Introduction to the Criminal Justice System - a Total System Approach	CRIM 131-3 - Introduction to the Criminal Justice System - a Total System Approach
CRIM 132-3 - Sociology of Law	[Now a 3rd year course: Crim 332]
	CRIM 135-3 - Introduction to Canadian Law and Legal Institutions: A Criminal Justice Perspective
CRIM 151-3 - Introduction to Law Enforcement	[Now a 2nd year course: Crim 251]
	CRIM 161-3 - Practicum I
CRIM 201-3 - Psychiatric and Biogenetic Explanations of Criminal and Deviant Behavior	[Now a 4th year course: Crim 402]
CRIM 203-3 - Societal Reaction to Crime and Deviance	CRIM 203-3 - Historical Reactions to Crime and Deviance
CRIM 210-3 - Juvenile Delinquency	CRIM 210-3 - Law, Youth and Young Offenders

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	CRIM 213-3 - Women and Criminal Justice
	CRIM 220-3 - Research Methods in Criminology
CRIM 230-3 - Criminal Law	CRIM 230-3 - Criminal Law
CRIM 231-3 - Introduction to the Judicial Process	CRIM 231-3 - Introduction to the Judicial Process
CRIM 241-3 - Introduction to Corrections	CRIM 241-3 - Introduction to Corrections
	CRIM 251-3 - Introduction to Policing
	CRIM 261-3 - Practicum II
	CRIM 300W-3 - Current Theories and Perspectives in Criminology
	CRIM 301-3 - Crime in Contemporary Society
CRIM 302-3 - Critical Approach to Crime and Deviance	CRIM 302-3 - Critical Approach to Crime and Deviance
	CRIM 310-3 - Young Offenders and Criminal Justice: Advanced Topics
CRIM 311-3 - Criminality of Particular Groups	CRIM 311-3 - Minorities and the Criminal Justice System
CRIM 312-3 - Criminological Perspectives on Social Problems	CRIM 312-3 - Criminological Perspectives on Social Problems
CRIM 313-3 - Specific Types of Crimes	CRIM 313-3 - Specific Types of Crimes
	CRIM 314-3 - Mental Disorder, Criminality and the Law
	CRIM 315-3 - Restorative Justice
	CRIM 316-3 - Sexual Offenders and Sexual Offences
	CRIM 317-3 - Prostitution in Canada
	CRIM 318-3 - Special Topics in Criminology
	CRIM 319-3 - Special Topics in Criminology

CRIM 320-3 - Introduction to Criminological Research	CRIM 320-3 - Quantitative Research Methods
	CRIM 321-3 - Qualitative Research Methods
CRIM 330-3 - Criminal Procedure and Evidence	CRIM 330-3 - Criminal Procedure and Evidence
	CRIM 331-3 - Advanced Criminal Law
	CRIM 332-3 - Sociology of Law
	CRIM 333-3 - Women, Law and the State
	CRIM 334-3 - Law and Human Reproduction
CRIM 335-3 - Human Rights and Civil Liberties	CRIM 335-3 - Human Rights and Civil Liberties
	CRIM 336-3 - Corporate Crime and Corporate Regulation
	CRIM 338-3 - Philosophy of Law
CRIM 340-3 - Techniques of Correctional Practice	CRIM 340-3 - Criminal Justice Policy Making and Policy Analysis
CRIM 341-3 - Techniques of Criminological Treatment and Social Reintegration I	
CRIM 342-3 - Dynamics of Interpersonal Relationships	
	CRIM 343-3 - Correctional Practice
	CRIM 345-3 - Theoretical Perspectives on Punishment
	CRIM 346-3 - Current Issues in Corrections
CRIM 350-3 - Techniques of Crime Prevention I	CRIM 350-3 - Techniques of Crime Prevention I
	CRIM 351-3 - Police Accountability and Ethics
	CRIM 352-3 - Environmental Criminology - Theory and Practice

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	CRIM 355-3 - The Forensic Sciences
	CRIM 356-3 - The Forensic Sciences II
	CRIM 357-3 - Forensic Anatomy
CRIM 360-5 - Field Practice I	
CRIM 361-1 - Field Practice Feedback I	CRIM 361-3 - Practicum III
	CRIM 369-4 - Professional Ethics and Interpersonal Skills in Criminal Justice
CRIM 370-3 - Directed Readings	CRIM 370-3 - Directed Readings
	CRIM 380-3 - Introduction to Cybercrime
	CRIM 384-3 - Crime and Literature
	CRIM 402-3 - Biological Explanations of Crime
CRIM 410-3 - Decision Making in Criminal Justice	CRIM 410-3 - Decision Making in Criminal Justice
	CRIM 412-3 - Crime, the Media and the Public
	CRIM 413-3 - Terrorism
CRIM 414-3 - Criminal Typologies	CRIM 414-3 - Special Topics in Criminology
CRIM 415-3 - Victimology	CRIM 415-3 - Special Topics in Criminology
CRIM 416-3 - Current Issues in Criminology and Criminal Justice	CRIM 416-3 - Current Issues in Criminology and Criminal Justice
	CRIM 417-3 - Current Issues in Criminology and Criminal Justice
	CRIM 418-3 - Current Issues in Criminology and Criminal Justice
	CRIM 419-3 - Aboriginal/ Indigenous Justice
CRIM 420-3 - Techniques of Evaluation and Prediction in Criminology	CRIM 420-3 - Advanced Topics in Criminological Research

	CRIM 429-3 - Indigenous Peoples and International Law
	CRIM 431-3 - Comparative Criminal Justice Systems
CRIM 430-3 - Judicial Administration and Planning	
	CRIM 432-3 - Gender in the Courts and Legal Profession
	CRIM 433-3 - Communities and Crime
	CRIM 436-3 - Corporate Crime and Corporate Regulation: Advanced Topics
	CRIM 437-3 - Crime and Misconduct in the Professions
	CRIM 438-3 - Wrongful Convictions and Other Miscarriages of Justice
CRIM 440-3 - Correctional Administration and Planning	CRIM 440-3 - Correctional Administration and Planning
	CRIM 442-3 - Restorative Justice Practice: Advanced Topics
	CRIM 449-3 - Major Crime and Forensic Analysis for Law Enforcement
CRIM 450-3 - Techniques of Crime Prevention II	CRIM 450-3 - Techniques of Crime Prevention II
	CRIM 451-3 - Advanced Techniques in Forensic Science
	CRIM 452-3 - Skeletal Pathology and Criminalistics
	CRIM 453-3 - Policing Illegal Drug Markets
	CRIM 454-3 - Criminal Profiling
CRIM 455-3 - Law Enforcement Administration and Planning	CRIM 455-3 - Advanced Issues in Policing
	CRIM 456-3 - Investigative Psychology in Policing

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	CRIM 457-3 - Crime and Intelligence Analysis
	CRIM 458-3 - Community Policing
	CRIM 459-3 - Organized Crime
CRIM 460-5 - Field Practice II	
CRIM 461-1 - Field Practice Feedback II	CRIM 461-3 - Practicum IV
	CRIM 462-15 - Field Practice
	CRIM 464-3 - Street Gang Patterns and Policies
CRIM 465-5 - Field Practice III	CRIM 465-3 - Crime, Economics and the Economy
CRIM 466-1 - Field Practice Feedback III	
CRIM 469-3 - Professional Ethics	
CRIM 470-5 - Directed Studies	CRIM 470-5 - Directed Studies
	CRIM 480-3 - Computer Forensics and Cybercrime
	CRIM 481-3 - Advanced Issues in Cybercrime
	CRIM 490-5 - Honors Thesis I
	CRIM 491-5 - Current Theory and Research in Criminology: Advanced Topics
CRIM 499-8 - Honors Thesis	CRIM 499-12 - Honors Thesis II