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Undergraduate Education in Legal Psychology

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The purpose of this article is to describe ways that legal psychology can be introduced into the undergraduate curriculum. The extent to which undergraduate "psychology and law" courses are currently a part of the curriculum is described, and a model is proposed for coursework in a Psychology Department that might adequately reflect coverage of the legal area. The role of legal psychology in interdisciplinary programs and Criminal Justice departments is discussed. Sources for teaching aids and curricular materials are described.

Like death and taxes, no one can avoid the legal system. The law affects everybody and its effect continues throughout life; thus, it is quite appropriate that the legal system has become a topic of study as part of an undergraduate curriculum. It is the position of this article that the field of psychology as a discipline has much to offer as one vehicle for the study of the law.

We offer several reasons for this claim. Concepts and information learned in what we will call legal psychology courses will continue to be applicable to students' real-life decisions, and they frequently will encounter issues from these courses as they process information about the contemporary world.

Second, legal psychology courses meet important goals of the undergraduate curriculum. For example, legal psychology courses provide an enviable opportunity to stimulate and develop critical thinking processes. The dilemmas inherent in a psychological approach to the legal system force students to confront their own values, as well as increasing their sensitivity to the ethical principles. Furthermore, legal psychology courses lend themselves well to the educational goals of providing opportunities for "writing across the curriculum," as well as encouraging interdisciplinary education.

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Third, the range of students attracted to legal psychology courses reflects the diversity that serves as a goal for our profession. For example, currently the undergraduate criminal justice major attracts a relatively high percentage of minority students and may serve as a way of recruiting such students to graduate work in legal psychology. In addition to psychology and criminal justice majors, legal psychology offerings enroll prelaw students, journalism majors, and students from other backgrounds. The differing perspectives of this diverse clientele provide a stimulating exchange of ideas and values.

A goal of this article is to illustrate the ways that legal psychology can be introduced into the undergraduate curriculum, whether it is in a department of psychology or a department of criminal justice or legal studies. The article is organized into four sections. First, we review the extent to which undergraduate "psychology and law" courses are a part of the curriculum, and offer a model for coursework in a psychology department that might adequately reflect coverage of the legal field. Then, we offer suggestions about curricular materials and teaching aids for those instructors who wish to develop an undergraduate legal psychology course.

As implied in our curricular plan, it is our feeling that legal topics should not be isolated in just one specialized psychology course; therefore, we offer a section on ways to introduce legal psychology topics into the introductory psychology course. Lastly, we recognize that the material of legal psychology is often taught by psychologists housed in departments other than Psychology, and we discuss the benefits and problems of teaching legal psychology in such departments.

FREQUENCY OF THE LEGAL PSYCHOLOGY COURSE IN THE UNDERGRADUATE CURRICULUM

What is the status of "psychology and the law" in the undergraduate psychology curriculum? Do psychology majors have opportunities to study legal psychology? When they do, is it in the form of introductory survey courses, upper-division seminars, or practicum opportunities? How often are legal psychology topics included in basic psychology courses?

As an initial attempt to answer some of these questions, we surveyed the undergraduate bulletins of each of the universities whose department of psychology was ranked as one of the top 25 doctoral programs by the National Research Council (NRC) (1995). In this survey we simply counted the number of psychology and law courses open to undergraduates that were listed in the institutions' bulletins.

This is, of course, anything but a representative sample of the country's psychology departments. The ranked departments are large, well-funded, research-intensive programs that encourage faculty specialization beyond what is possible in many institutions. On the other hand, the academic agendas of these departments exert a significant influence on psychological scholarship in this country. If psychology and law courses are missing from these curricula, their absence says something about the priority accorded to legal psychology by academic psychologists.

The results of this small survey indicated that of the 25 NRC top-ranked departments, 15, or 60%, listed at least one formal psychology and law course in their most recent (1994-95 or 1995-96) undergraduate bulletin. Four departments, or 16%, listed more than one course devoted to a psychology and law topic. Typically,

in the case of multiple listings, one course was a survey course of law and psychology topics and the second one was a seminar on subjects such as eyewitness identification (University of Washington), children, families, and the law (University of Virginia), or the psychology of justice (University of California at Berkeley). About half of the survey courses appeared to be open to lower-division students, while the others were more advanced. Finally, almost all of these departments had at least one other course that did not carry a psychology and law title, but included crime, law, legal policy, equity, or dispute resolution among its topics. The most frequent course title for these offerings was Applied Social Psychology.

What does it mean that over half of these departments offered formal courses in psychology and the law? One conclusion is that among psychology's most prestigious departments, legal psychology has earned at least a substantial foothold in the standard psychology curriculum. Would this rate be maintained in other psychology departments? A second survey suggests that the extent of coverage at other types of institutions is not as great.

We examined the course bulletins of the 10 liberal arts colleges rated by *U.S. News and World Report* (The best college values, 1995, p. 93) as the "most efficient" national liberal arts colleges in the United States. The faculties of their psychology departments typically number less than 10, and they attempt to maintain small student-to-faculty ratios. Of the 10 departments, only 2 included a psychology and law course in the curriculum. This rate did not represent an avoidance of specialization courses in general; over half of the colleges not listing a psychology and law course offered a title in the curriculum that was at least as specialized, if not more specialized, than psychology and law (e.g., Psychology of the Arts, Psychology of War and Peace, Economic Psychology). No doubt the determining factor at many small schools is whether there is a faculty member competent to teach a legal psychology course.

Based on personal experiences at our own universities and colleges, we can attest that the number of undergraduates requesting courses, research opportunities, and volunteer experiences in psychology and law is growing and clearly rivals other specialization interests such as the psychology of women, or industrial/organizational, or health psychology. In general, the level of student demand that we encounter surpasses existing formal educational opportunities in psychology and law that we provide.

SCOPE OF LEGAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE UNDERGRADUATE CURRICULUM

Recognizing that psychology and law courses have now achieved some degree of representation in undergraduate education, several questions remain about how undergraduates interested in psychology and law can and should be educated. Four general issues need to be considered when answering these questions. Related factors to consider in addressing these issues are the level of student interest, a department's faculty resources, and the support available from other academic units or community agencies. Briefly, the issues we believe should be considered are as follows: (1) What is the proper scope of undergraduate education in psychology

and law? (2) What applied experiences should be provided? (3) How should research training be structured? (4) What goals should this education serve?

First, with respect to the depth and breadth of training, at least four options are possible. At the low end of the dimension, a department might offer one or two elective courses in psychology and law as part of its standard curriculum. Currently, this is probably the most typical format, at least in the lead departments we surveyed. A second format would be a specialization track within the psychology major that included a sequence of two or three courses devoted to topics in legal psychology. A few departments appear to offer this opportunity to their students. A specialization track could also be implemented by arranging for separate sections of advanced courses in, for example, social, abnormal, cognitive, and experimental psychology that use legal procedures, topics, or problems as illustrations or extensions of basic psychological principles and research. These courses would need to supplement their standard texts with additional readings illustrating legal and forensic applications and implications. We believe that this strategy might be particularly successful in emphasizing the theoretical and basic science underpinnings of psychology and law topics.

Finally, at the high end of this dimension, a department could offer an undergraduate major in psychology and law, requiring approximately 30 hours. This major could be organized around the basic courses that constitute the typical core of the psychology major, plus some combination of the following: introduction to psychology and law, criminology, forensic psychology, psychology of the courtroom, psychology of law enforcement, and a multidisciplinary social science and justice seminar. A major could also be fashioned out of core courses plus an expanded list of advanced courses in which separate law and psychology sections are included, as discussed above. Both versions of the major should include a capstone experience involving either a supervised practicum or a supervised research project.

Even in large departments, it might be difficult to staff a Legal Psychology major without a considerable investment in new teaching resources, an unlikely scenario in today's funding climate. In smaller units, such a major would be very unlikely. Therefore, thought might be given to ways of using distance learning technology to bring together a consortium of universities and colleges that would offer the courses in this curriculum to students at several institutions simultaneously.

The second issue concerns the practicum opportunities that might be arranged for undergraduates. Semester- or year-long placements in one of several agencies are possible. We are aware of practicum-for credit experiences in law enforcement agencies, administrative offices (e.g., worker compensation boards), and court settings (e.g., jails, juvenile facilities, probation services), and court settings (e.g., working with judges, district attorneys, public defenders, and negotiation/arbitration centers). In general, for every hour of academic credit, a student would be expected to spend about 3 h per week at the practicum site.

A third decision involves how best to train students in the research skills and scholarly habits on which future knowledge in psychology and law depends. As with any content area, the foundation for these skills requires basic education in research design and inferential statistics. Beyond these fundamentals, three research experiences could be offered to students—being members of psychology/law research teams, conducting supervised research projects, and designing and completing in-

dependent undergraduate theses. Training in research needs to recognize the range of methods used in psychological research on the legal system.

Finally, the scope of undergraduate education in psychology and law depends on the outcomes that a program wants to accomplish. A number of goals are possible, but we suspect that the following three goals will stand out most for faculty and students:

1. Understanding how basic psychological theory and science apply to legal procedures, problems, and reforms, and appreciating the similarities and differences between psychology and law as formal disciplines.
2. Training students for careers in law enforcement, forensic sciences, corrections, academia, and public policy.
3. Preparing students for postgraduate and professional education in law, applied psychology, psychology and law programs, criminal justice studies, and forensic science.

SOURCES OF TEACHING AIDS IN LEGAL PSYCHOLOGY⁸

As noted above, many colleges and universities offer at least one undergraduate-level course in psychology and law. This was not always so. In the past (and, in particular, when the field was in its infancy), undergraduate legal psychology courses were few and far between. They were typically developed and taught by faculty whose scholarly interests were in the area of psychology and law.

As the discipline has matured, as research findings and policy issues related to psychology and law have been disseminated to and debated among a wider audience, and as more scholars have been attracted to the field, many colleges and universities have begun to develop offerings in this area (Liss, 1992). Ogloff, Tomkins and Bersoff (1996) suggest that the increase in the number of textbooks devoted to psychology and law reflects the growing number of courses. Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, which publishes three textbooks in legal psychology, lists 213 schools that have adopted one of their titles for classroom use (M. Taflinger, personal communication, July 1995). A final indication of growth in the field (and in undergraduate course offerings) comes from analysis of the number of syllabi submitted to the American Psychology-Law Society and published as a collection of psychology and law syllabi. The first edition, printed in 1983 under the direction of Ronald Roesch, included descriptions of 25 undergraduate courses. The second edition, compiled by Marsha Liss in 1988, included syllabi from 35 courses, and the third edition, compiled in 1993 by James Ogloff, included descriptions of 55 courses, the majority intended for undergraduates. The syllabus collection is described below.

As the number of course offerings has grown, so has the diversity of approaches to teaching the subject. Many undergraduate courses focus on general topics or surveys of the field. Other courses focus on courtroom issues or criminal justice concerns. A smaller (but growing) number of courses focus on mental health or forensic topics.

Diversity in the backgrounds and experiences of the instructors has also increased. Many instructors come to this course with a background in psychology and

⁸An expanded version of this section is contained in Greene (1997).

law. Not infrequently, an undergraduate course is taught or cotaught by an instructor with a J.D. degree. On occasion, a faculty member whose primary scholarly interests are in nonlegal areas of social, developmental, cognitive, or abnormal psychology is enlisted to teach this course. That faculty member may have relatively little scholarly knowledge of the interdisciplinary field of psychology and law.

The purpose of this section is to aid both veteran and novice teachers of legal psychology by describing several kinds of instructional tools that can assist faculty to prepare an undergraduate legal psychology course. We include options for use inside and outside of the classroom that can be tailored to any level of undergraduate education (e.g., an introductory level survey course as well as a senior or capstone seminar on a more narrowly defined topic). These materials do not constitute an exhaustive collection of relevant possibilities. In fact, the listings are informed largely by information accessible to the authors. Readers will undoubtedly have their own suggestions for additional materials.

Textbooks

Several textbooks are available for use in undergraduate legal psychology courses. These include Bartol and Bartol (1994), Foley (1993), Monahan and Walker, 1994), Swenson (1993), and Wrightsman, Nietzel, and Fortune (1997). Instructor's manuals accompany the texts of Monahan and Walker and of Wrightsman et al.; Slobogin (1991) reviews an earlier edition of Monahan and Walker's book, and Williams (1992) reviews an earlier edition of Wrightsman's text. As Liss (1992) notes, instructors occasionally assign only specialized readings rather than textbooks. Wrightsman et al.'s instructor's manual provides a number of suggestions for additional readings.

Collection of Syllabi

In 1983, the American Psychology-Law Society began to publish psychology and law syllabi. As noted earlier, the third edition of the collection, compiled in 1993, includes over 50 syllabi.⁹ Approximately half of the courses are intended for undergraduates. Roesch, Grisso, and Poythress (1986) described materials included in the first syllabus edition, and Liss (1992) reviewed the course offerings and the assigned readings for courses included in the second edition. A similar syllabus compilation project was undertaken by the Law and Society Association in 1989 (Liss, 1992). For a description of an entire undergraduate course in psychology and law, see Greene (1987) and Tomkins (1992).

Demonstration Materials

Benjamin (1991) notes that the most effective teaching methods are those that promote students' active participation in the learning process. A number of ideas

⁹Some copies of this remain available, and can be obtained from Edith Greene, Department of Psychology, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, Colorado Springs, CO 80933; e-mail: egreene@mail.uccs.edu.

for interesting demonstrations, class discussions, and role-playing exercises are included in the Instructor's Manual for Wrightsman et al. (1997). A selective list of other demonstration ideas follows.

1. Dragon (1992) suggests a demonstration of eyewitness accuracy in which students stage and videotape an instructor's mock assassination. Less dramatic crimes (including staged assaults and purse snatchings) can be reenacted in the classroom to demonstrate the unreliability of eyewitness memory.

2. Grosch and Sparrow (1992) describe the use of an inexpensive galvanic skin response (GSR) monitor to demonstrate polygraphy. The demonstration touches on the current controversy surrounding the use of physiological measures to detect deception.

3. Gray (1995) describes the dramatization of a retrial of John Hinckley, Jr., to teach the concept of the insanity plea. This demonstration involves a cast of six students who reenact the roles of judge, defendant, attorneys, and expert psychiatric witnesses in a moot courtroom of a law school. After the trial, there is a period of discussion about the criteria for an insanity verdict and judgments from student jurors about the guilt or innocence of the defendant. A lively discussion usually follows.

4. Tomkins (1992) describes role-playing exercises that focus on both trial-level and appellate-level litigation. Early in the course, Tomkins' students reenact a New York case (*In re Seiferth*, 1955) that concerns an adolescent's right to make her own medical treatment decisions. Students read the judicial opinion from the case and portray the roles of attorneys, social and health care professionals, social and developmental psychologists, and the adolescent and her family in a 3-hr videotaped trial.

In another demonstration, Tomkins spends several class sessions examining issues related to the use of social science evidence in appellate litigation; the class then "reargues" the case of *Lockhart v. McCree* (1986) on the constitutionality of death-qualified juries in capital cases. One student group argues for the constitutionality of Arkansas' death-qualification procedures, another group argues on behalf of the respondent, and a third group represents the APA as *amicus curiae* in order to present empirical social science evidence on this issue. Oral arguments are presented before a panel of three "Supreme Court Justices" and are videotaped. Tomkins suggest that these demonstrations serve to teach both substantive and methodological psychology as well as issues related to government, law enforcement, public policy, and the courts. He reports that because the materials are provocative and controversial, students are able to retain the information beyond the time while they are taking the course.

5. Larsen's (1987) demonstration of the prisoner's dilemma illustrates the decisions people make when they have the choice of cooperating or competing. With some clever refinement, the demonstration can be effectively used in the context of plea bargaining and negotiating.

Film and Videotape Materials

The subject areas typically covered in an undergraduate legal psychology course are of general interest to many adults. This interest is tapped by film makers of

both feature films and educational resource materials. With appropriate integration with other course material and relevant discussion, films and videos can provide immediate, relevant, and concrete information to undergraduates (Fleming, Piedmont, & Hiam, 1990).

Anderson (1992) describes an undergraduate psychology and law course that includes in-class discussions of three feature films (*Nuts*, 1987; *The Onion Field*, 1979; and *Taxi Driver*, 1976).¹⁰ The discussions are of two sorts: in the first, students identify legal principles and research that is relevant to the film's content and critique the accuracy of the film's portrayal of legal material. In the second, students analyze the psycholegal issues the film raises and critique the film's presentation of these issues. Anderson suggests that feature films provide opportunities for increasing students' comprehension, refining critical thought, and examining new perspectives.

An annotated list of educational videotapes relevant to an undergraduate legal psychology course is included in Greene (1997).

Using the Internet

A wealth of resources relevant to psychology and law can be found on the Internet. Of most relevance to undergraduates are on-line discussion groups and World-Wide Web sites.

On-Line Discussion Groups

A listserv list is a discussion group organized around a certain topic. Students with access to e-mail can easily "subscribe" to these lists. Once students have subscribed, messages appear in their e-mail box and they may post messages to the group through e-mail to the list's address. Some instructors require that undergraduate students follow the discussions on these lists in order to become exposed to contemporary discussions among psycholegal scholars and practitioners. A highly arbitrary compilation of some relevant lists and instructions for subscribing follows:

1. Psychology and law
Address: LISTSERV@UTEPVM.EP.UTEXAS.EDU
Message: Subscribe psyllaw-1 Your name
2. Law and society
Address: LISTSERV@POLECAT.LAW.INDIANA.EDU
Message: Subscribe
3. Credibility assessment and witness psychology
Address: LISTSERV@IDBSU.IDBSU.EDU
No message necessary
4. Domestic abuse and violence
Address: LISTSERV@UR1ACC.UR1.EDU

¹⁰Anderson also cites these films as being relevant to a psychology and law course: *Twelve Angry Men*, 1957; *The Verdict*, 1982; *The Paper Chase*, 1973; *The Conversation*, 1974; *The Bedroom Window*, 1987; and *The Accused*, 1988. Other feature films also come to mind: *The Silence of the Lambs*, *Presumed Innocent*, *The Juror*, *Dead Man Walking*, *Reversal of Fortune*, *A Few Good Men*.

- Message: Subscribe intvio-1 Your name
- 5. Evidence
Address: LISTSERV@CHICAGOKENT.KENTLAW.EDU
Message: Subscribe Evidence Your name, institution, title
- 6. Family law
Address: LISTSERV@ACC.WUACC.EDU
Message: Subscribe Familylaw-1 Your name
- 7. Forensic medicine and sciences
Address: MAILSERV@ACC.FAU.EDU
Message: Subscribe Fores-1 Your name
- 8. Forensic psychiatry
Address: MAILBASE@MAILBASE.AC.UK
Message: Join Forensic-psychiatry Your name
- 9. Forensic psychology
Address: LISTSERV@SJUVM.STJOHNS.EDU
Message: Sub forenpsy

U.S. Supreme Court Decisions in Bulletin Format

Since 1993, the Legal Information Institute of Cornell Law School has provided a free e-mail service, distributing the syllabi of U.S. Supreme Court decisions in bulletin format within hours of their release. To subscribe, send an e-mail message to the following:

LISTSERV@LISTSERV.LAW.CORNELL.EDU
Message: subscribe liibulletin Your name

Browsing on the Internet: The World-Wide Web

The WWW is a tool that utilizes hypertext to permit the user to jump around the Internet at will, assessing all kinds of information (Kelley-Milburn & Milburn, 1995). To use the WWW, students need access to a browser. There are text-only browsers, such as Lynx and Cello, and sophisticated graphical browsers, such as Mosaic and Netscape. A highly selective list of some web sites of relevance to legal psychology follows:

1. Supreme Court opinions 1990-present
<http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/subct.table.html>
2. A variety of legal resources at Findlaw site
<http://www.findlaw.com/>
Includes academic law journals and law reviews, statutes and laws, judicial opinions and case law, U.S. Federal government resources, legal news, library information, state government resources, general legal indexes. A veritable trove of information.
3. Fifty online law libraries and news from the *National Law Journal* and *New York Law Journal*
<http://www.ljx.com/>
4. Criminal justice resources

<http://www.stpt.usf.edu/greek/cj.html>

Includes searchable law databases and links to criminal justice agencies and information on juvenile delinquency, drugs and alcohol, prison and the death penalty, due process and civil liberties, criminal justice education, *U.S. Law Week*, *National Law Journal*, and much more.

5. Psychiatry and law resources

<http://ualvm.ua.edu/jhooper/tableofc.html>

Includes legal issues for psychiatrists. Other links under construction.

Obviously, the ideas described here represent only a portion of the kinds of instructional tools and techniques employed in the classroom. The Training and Careers Committee of the American Psychology-Law Society intends to establish a clearinghouse of ideas related to undergraduate education, and this article constitutes an initial step in that direction.¹¹

OTHER PLACES FOR LEGAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE UNDERGRADUATE CURRICULUM

The core legal psychology course serves as a focus for coverage of related topics within the undergraduate curriculum, but a psychology-and-law emphasis can be manifested in other ways. In subsequent sections, we consider, first, the place of legal psychology topics in the introductory psychology course, and second, its role in interdisciplinary departments such as criminal justice or legal studies.

Integration of Legal Psychology into the Introductory Psychology Course

Psychology has traditionally divided its diverse subfields into two overlapping and sometimes indistinguishable areas: basic and applied psychology. During the first half of the 20th century, most psychologists were employed in university settings and were engaged in teaching and basic research (Anastasi, 1979). Since the end of World War II, this has changed drastically. Data collected by the American Psychological Association on its members show that a majority of psychologists now work in applied settings such as business, industry, clinics, hospitals, schools, community agencies, correctional institutions, rehabilitation centers, and government (see, for example, APA, 1993).

The field of applied psychology began with industrial/organizational (I/O) psychology, but quickly expanded to include several other areas: clinical and counseling psychology, environmental psychology, educational psychology, health psychology, sports psychology, and legal psychology (Anastasi, 1979). The growth and development of fields of applied psychology can be seen in their respective representations in a most critical arena: the introductory psychology textbook and course. Intro-

¹¹We thank Stuart Greenberg for suggestions about forensically related discussion groups and Erica Hyles for assistance in compiling the video list. Please address correspondence to Edith Greene, Department of Psychology, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs, CO 80933. (e-mail: egreene@mail.uccs.edu)

ductory texts constitute, albeit implicitly, one of the most important ways in which we represent our field to the general public. It is in the introductory course that students get their first exposure to the field of psychology, and to psychologists' livelihoods and careers. In order for legal psychology to be considered by students as a legitimate and realistic option within psychology, much less pursued as a specific career choice, it must first be represented in the introductory text. Such representation is critical to the expansion of the field of legal psychology.

Over the years, the introductory psychology textbook has become a big business. Publishers compete fiercely for adoptions and sales; a best-seller in the field holds the potential of big profits for both the publisher and the author. The introductory psychology course generates large enrollments at most institutions. It is not only the foundation course for anyone intent on a psychology major, which in itself constitutes a large number of students, but is also represented within general education requirements for many other major areas. A college or university with 20,000 students will routinely order 3,000–4,000 copies of the introductory text per year.

Introductory texts in the 1950's and 1960's usually limited themselves to basic areas. For example, the 1962 text by George Miller, *Psychology: The science of mental life* (Miller, 1962), covered the traditional areas of consciousness, perception, learning, memory, animal behavior, child psychology, social psychology, intelligence, and so on. Applied fields, with the exception of clinical psychology (represented only by Freud), were omitted, apparently intentionally. Miller commented in the preface that "I have neglected the more technological and applied aspects of the science" (Miller, 1962, p. ix).

By the 1970's, textbooks slowly began to cover applied areas other than clinical psychology. Generally, mention of these other areas was brief, often a few sentences, and was contained in standard chapters. Perhaps the most popular text of the mid-1970s, that by Hilgard, Atkinson, and Atkinson, (1975), by then in its sixth edition, had begun to mention the reliability of witness accounts in the memory chapter, insanity in the psychopathology chapter, and stress and health in the psychopathology chapter. Environmental, educational, and I/O psychologists were mentioned only on the context of their discussion of the types of psychologists in Chapter 1. Other texts of the same era, however, had not even done this much. For example, McMahon (1974) mentioned stress and health but no other area of applied psychology with the exception of the customary chapter on psychopathology and treatment. Mischel and Mischel (1977) mentioned environmental, educational, and I/O psychology in their discussion of the types of psychologists, but did not discuss any applied topics specifically. Another popular text, that by Krech, Crutchfield, and Livson (1974), in its third edition by that time, discussed insanity and even civil commitment in the psychopathology chapter, but made no mention at all of any other applied areas.

By the 1980's, applied areas were being discussed more often. For example, Bourne and Ekstrand (1985) discussed educational, I/O, and clinical/counseling psychologists in their discussions of types of psychologists, but also made one of the first mentions of the work of Loftus on eyewitness testimony in the memory chapter. Stress and health was discussed in a highlight section after the motivation and emotion chapter. Both law (jury decision making) and environmental psychology were discussed in a similar highlight section after the social psychology chapter. Rubin and McNeil (1981) discussed applied psychology in the context of types of psy-

chologists, memory and law, and insanity, and also had what may have been the first specific chapter on stress (Chapter 9, Emotion and Stress). Myers (1986) did the same, discussing the same topics and also having a separate chapter on health. McConnell (1986) discussed applied psychologists in Chapter 1 (including clinical, counseling, and I/O psychologists only), as well as the topics of memory, lie detection, and I/O psychology in various chapters along with the now customary chapter on stress and coping.

By the beginning of the 1990's, treatment of applied topics had become standard in introductory psychology texts. Typically, health psychology had become a chapter of its own. I/O psychology had achieved mention as a form of psychology career, with an occasional feature elsewhere in the text, often in discussions of social psychology application. Clinical psychology had achieved status as a separate chapter much earlier, applications to law had begun to appear in the context of insanity or even occasional discussions of involuntary civil commitment. Legal psychology topics were achieving some mention, primarily in three areas: memory, insanity, and lie detection, in chapters on memory, psychological disorders, and emotion, respectively. Sports psychology was not discussed at all, and environmental psychology was mentioned either as an afterthought to social psychology or not at all.

Textbooks in the past 5 years have made significant changes in their coverage of applied topics. Primarily, this involves the movement of these applied topics to chapter status. All texts by now have a health or stress chapter, along with the standard clinical chapter(s). Other applied topics have been similarly upgraded in some texts, albeit not to chapter level in their own right. Baron (1995) has a separate I/O chapter. Coon (1995) has an applied psychology chapter, including I/O and law. Wood and Wood (1996) have an applied psychology chapter that includes I/O, environmental, sports, consumer, and forensic psychology. Gerow's (1995) applied psychology chapter includes I/O, environmental, and sports psychology. Weiten (1995), perhaps the most popular current text, has an appendix on I/O psychology. Morris (1996) has the same. Neither Weiten nor Morris has an "applied" chapter. Some still are holdouts; Sternberg (1995) and Worchel and Shebilske (1995) mention applied topics like I/O and law only in boxes scattered throughout the text material, in a manner reminiscent of the 1980's.

Unfortunately, similar progress has been lacking for legal psychology. Law continues to be mentioned in the three areas of memory, insanity, and lie detection. Social psychology applications such as jury selection are less frequent now than ever. Formal chapter status for legal psychology is entirely lacking. Not even authors who would be considered legal psychologists are immune from this; introductory texts by Wortman & Loftus (1995), Spear, Penrod, & Baker (1988), and Kassin (1995) discuss legal topics and other applied material in boxes only; health psychology and/or stress has its own chapter.

In summary, historical analysis of the coverage of applied psychology topics in the introductory course textbook shows that as a topic has achieved independent chapter-level status, so, too, has the applied area flourished. As clinical psychology, industrial/organizational psychology, and health psychology have achieved independent textbook coverage, so too have the areas increased in strength, vitality, and overall numbers. Clearly, this is a correlational relationship; still, while it cannot be said definitively that coverage of an area in introductory texts causes that area to flourish, it is worth noting anecdotally that I/O psychology was one of the earliest

areas of applied psychology but did not begin to achieve its current status in the field until after its coverage in introductory texts years later.

At this time, legal psychology topics are relatively unmentioned in introductory texts. Given the growth in interest in the field, measured by such diverse indicators as journal outlets, degree programs, membership in professional organizations, and the like, it is safe to say that coverage in introductory texts is far less than is warranted. The history of the other applied areas makes it abundantly clear that legal psychology has a clear interest in ensuring that it is better represented in the introductory course than it is at present. Such courses will help "legitimize" legal psychology within the field.

Accordingly, legal psychologists working in academic settings need to encourage publishers and textbook authors to include legal psychology materials in their introductory psychology packages. Several possibilities in this regard could be pursued: (1) preparation of separate sections or chapters on legal psychology, possibly commissioned or written by the American Psychology-Law Society, which could be provided to publishers or authors for use either as reference material or actual text material; (2) the production of law-related material for instructor's manuals, such as "sample lectures"; and (3) the production of media and multimedia materials such as films, videos, CD-ROMS, laserdiscs, etc., for use by teachers of introductory psychology classes. Active promotion of legal psychology as an integral part of the introductory psychology curriculum will serve to encourage students to pursue upper-level legal psychology courses, to see legal psychology as a viable graduate school option, and most importantly to see legal psychology as a viable career option.

The Role of Legal Psychology in Interdisciplinary Education

Most of this article has centered on the role of legal psychology within a department of psychology. But the content of legal psychology is often covered in courses in other departments, especially criminal justice and legal studies interdisciplinary programs.

Regarding the role of legal psychology in interdisciplinary studies, a few points of definitional clarification are needed at the onset. First, there is sometimes confusion about the meaning of "administration of justice," "criminal justice," "justice studies," "legal studies," and other departmental labels used in colleges and universities. The most common programs are "criminal justice", and even in programs with different titles, the criminal justice system is covered more extensively than other legal systems. Regardless of the label used, both undergraduate and graduate programs typically offer courses that deal with the nature of crime (its political definition, its causes, its consequences) and the nature of society's response to crime (through laws, the criminal justice system, and general citizen actions). Legal psychology is presented either as a distinct course or is represented in material covered in other courses.

During the 1970's and early 1980's, criminal justice programs had a strong applied orientation. Funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1967, many programs were known as "cop shops" because of a focus more on practical training than scholarly work. However, a perspective soon emerged that viewed criminal

justice as a system with defined inputs, processes, and outcomes. More importantly, critical inquiry began as to the costs, benefits, efficiency, and values reflected in the criminal justice system. In the late 1980's, reflecting discipline-wide changes, most criminal justice programs began to assume a stronger academic, scholarly orientation. The interdisciplinary programs took on a variety of identities and affiliations, depending more on the structural idiosyncrasies of the particular university or college than on any preconceived model of interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary education.

For example, the Criminal Justice Program at the University of Delaware is administratively housed within a Sociology and Criminal Justice Department, and is described as an undergraduate liberal arts major, with many courses focusing on the relationship between those institutions to the larger social context. In the program at Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, changes are noted in the department's history with the move from a College of Human Resources to a College of Liberal Arts in 1989, emphasizing a multidisciplinary approach to studying crime and justice. This transformation from "cop-shop" to scholarly, liberal arts orientation is ongoing in departments across the country (Ogloff et al., 1996). Thus, when examining various criminal justice, administration of justice, or justice studies programs, it is important to find out the department's orientation and where it is in this transformation process. Some programs in universities and colleges continue to reflect an applied orientation, but this is more commonly found in community and junior colleges.

Currently, the majority of interdisciplinary programs offer only a terminal masters degree, though there are around a dozen Ph.D. programs that specifically offer a Ph.D. in criminal justice and criminology. However, the field is growing in terms of student enrollments in undergraduate and graduate programs. Amazingly, in this era of austerity, new Ph.D. programs are being started. The two newest Ph.D. programs of which we are aware are at the University of Cincinnati and the University of Nebraska-Omaha. A current listing of many of the programs is included each year in *Peterson's guide to graduate programs in the humanities and social sciences*. Given the persistent nature of the problems frequently studied and taught in such programs (crime and social control), criminal justice and related interdisciplinary programs are likely to continue to grow in the future.

For legal psychologists, all of this good news. Interdisciplinary programs offer a number of benefits and opportunities for students and faculty interested in legal psychology. First, the programs provide a rich intellectual context for analyzing issues related to crime and justice. Courses and research done in the programs often reflect a range of the very best scholarship from across the curriculum directed at important social problems. Unfortunately, psychology in general and legal psychology in particular have not had as great an impact as would be expected, due primarily to the lack of diligence on the part of psychologists.

Psychologists have much to contribute, and relevant research could easily be incorporated into traditional course offerings in interdisciplinary programs, particularly the numerous criminal justice programs. In many departments, for example, there are survey and advanced courses on the police, courts, and corrections. The voluminous work by psychologists on eyewitness testimony and emerging work on interrogation could be usefully incorporated into police courses. Similarly, the favored research topic of legal decision making would be a natural fit for course on

the courts, while work on theories of punishment, behavior change, and the effectiveness of treatment programs would suitably fit courses in corrections.

At its boundaries, interdisciplinary programs examine the relationship between the criminal justice system and other mechanisms of social control, such as the civil law and the mental health and social welfare systems. Special topics courses on children and the law, juvenile justice, criminology, the psychology of criminal behavior, and gender, race, and law are also good possibilities for psychologists to teach advanced courses in criminal justice programs. When considering the expanded legal perspective of other interdisciplinary programs (e.g., legal studies), the outlook is even more promising, with possible offerings by psychologists on topics such as alternative dispute resolution, procedural justice, and media and the law.

That psychologists have not had more of an influence in interdisciplinary programs can partly be explained by the poor understanding of doctoral students of employment opportunities, and the inadequate preparation for entry into this job market. Fortunately, such deficiencies can be remedied.

In terms of learning about the job market, there are three main sources for job position announcements. First, the *Criminologist* is a newsletter put out each month by the American Society of Criminology (ASC), an organization of around 2,000 members, the majority of whom are in academic positions in criminology, sociology, or criminal justice programs. The annual ASC meeting also has a small job fair (similar to the one conducted by the American Psychological Association at its annual meeting). Additionally, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) also puts out a listing of academic as well as applied positions in the field of criminal justice. This listing is separate from the newsletter put out by the organization. ACJS is comprised of about 1,000 members, many of whom are academics, but a fair number are practitioners. Finally, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* advertises academic positions for many smaller criminal justice departments, and is published monthly. Incidentally, the job listings in the *Chronicle* can easily be searched through the Internet.

To be prepared for entry and success in the interdisciplinary world, applicants must master a vast criminal justice and legal studies literature, a task of some difficulty without proper guidance for a couple of reasons. First, much of its literature lies in fields outside of psychology and requires knowledge of appropriate journals, seminal articles, granting agencies, and government operations. Second, this literature is frequently qualitatively different in that the questions tend to be broader than psychologists typically address and the approaches to answering questions less methodologically narrow (e.g., postmodern, deconstruction).

Still, for those willing to venture forth in newly chartered waters, interdisciplinary programs offer a natural home for legal psychologists. Because interdisciplinary programs draw on the perspectives of a variety of disciplines to address the subject matter, legal psychologists blend well into such programs. The diversity in interdisciplinary departments is reflected in the frequent representation of such disciplines as criminal justice, criminology, educational psychology, geography, law, political science, psychology, sociology, and social ecology. With growing enrollments and a receptive environment of interdisciplinary research, these programs perhaps represent the best opportunity for legal psychology to flourish.

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