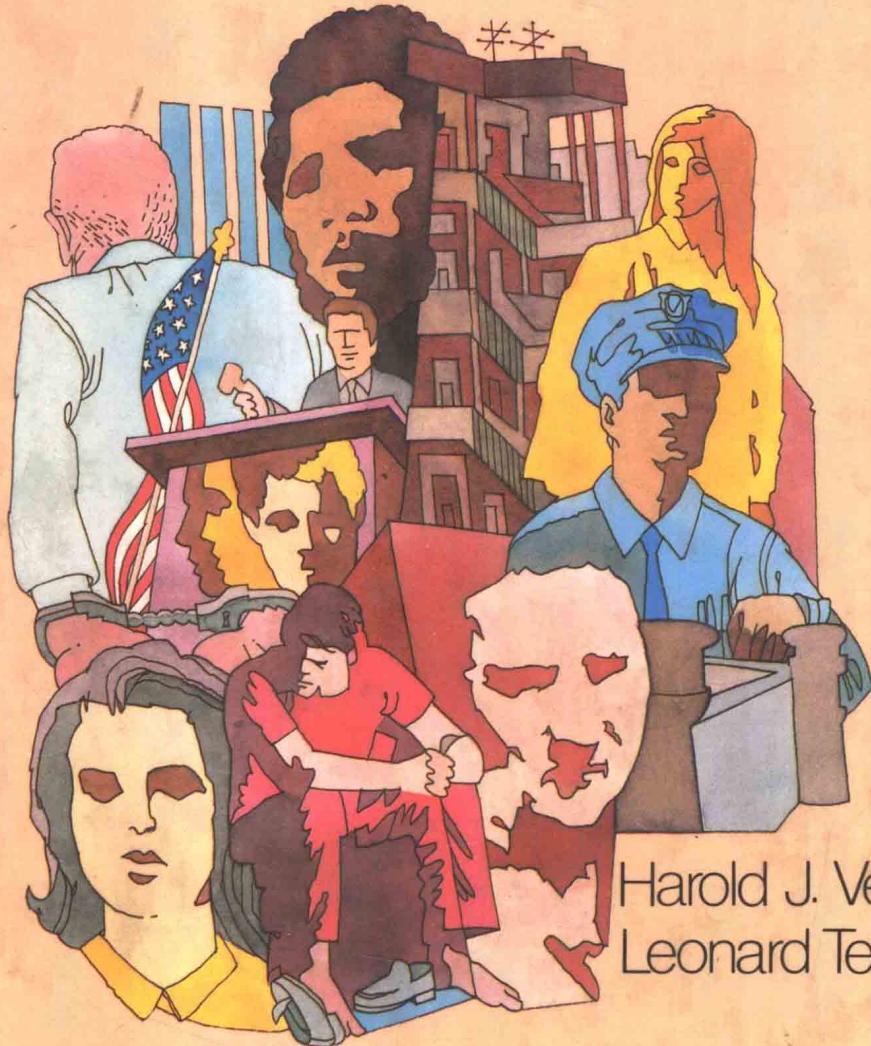


# Crime & Justice in America

A HUMAN PERSPECTIVE



Harold J. Vetter  
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# crime and justice in America: a human perspective

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**WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY**

*St. Paul | New York | Los Angeles | San Francisco*

*Chapter opening photos:*

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- 18 Dekalb County, Georgia, Police Department

*Copy Editor: Barbara Bryan*

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50 West Kellogg Boulevard  
P.O. Box 43526  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55165

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*Printed in the United States of America*

**Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data**

Vetter, Harold J., 1926-  
*Crime & justice in America.*

*Bibliography: p.*  
*Includes index.*

1. Criminal justice, Administration of—United States.
2. Crime and criminals—United States. I. Territo, Leonard. II. Title. III. Title: Crime and justice in America.

KF9223.V47 1984 345.73'05 83-21800  
ISBN 0-314-77854-3 347.3055

# **preface**

This book is intended to introduce the student to the study of crime and the administration of justice in America at a time when fear about the former and skepticism concerning the latter may have reached an all-time peak. The focus throughout this presentation is on the human dimensions of the criminal justice *system*—the police, prosecution, courts, and corrections—and the criminal justice *process*, which largely deals with the handling and disposition of people charged with the commission of crimes. We have sought to emphasize the people, rather than the institutions, as the reality behind the abstraction. Instead of concentrating on the mechanics of the criminal justice system and its often complicated operations, we have chosen to emphasize the manifold interpersonal relationships and interactions which make up the daily activities that are covered by the term “administration of justice.” We have tried to describe the victim and perpetrator, the police officer and prosecutor, the judge and the defense counsel, the correctional administrator and the prison guard—and, above all, the victims of crime—in the kind of detail that will make them familiar to the reader. Consistent with this objective, the text is heavily illustrated with cases, narratives, descriptions, and visual display materials. Our hope is to be interesting as well as informative, to be entertaining as well as instructive, in our coverage of these topics.

The actions and interactions that take place in the criminal justice system are characterized by a spectrum of emotions and attributes as broad as the human condition itself—violence, pathos, humor, suspense, irritation, pettiness, greed, brutality, and occasional flashes of heroism and inspiration. We want the reader to identify with the people involved in the criminal justice system and process as individuals. Thus, when we speak of job stress among police officers, we should like the reader to be able to sense and feel the frustrations involved in irregular hours, bleak prospects for promotion, burial under a heavy load of paperwork, and the almost inevitable growth of cynicism that results from seeing one’s efforts result in failure because of technicalities in the system. When we discuss the work of the correctional counselor in a community-based facility, we want the reader to share in the occasional successes as well as the frequent disappointments of the job.

In short, we believe that these are the ingredients of an interesting, informative, and potentially entertaining experience for the student and the instructor. It is better, in our judgment, to tell a story than to belabor an abstraction; and it is this consideration that has guided our selection, organization, and presentation of topics in this book.

# acknowledgments

Writing a book is a solitary endeavor. However, as a process, writing is highly interactive—making the transition from an idea to a published work requires considerable goodwill and support from families, friends, colleagues, reviewers, editors, and production staff. We wish to recognize those organizations and individuals who so graciously assisted us and, in many cases, shared their works with us.

Dr. C.R. Swanson, University of Georgia, generously provided us with material that we were able to incorporate into the chapter on jails and detention. Dr. Robert Taylor, University of South Florida, wrote the Issue Paper in Chapter 5, “Terrorism—The Crime of the Future.” He also developed an annotated bibliography for the instructor’s manual used in conjunction with this book. Dr. David Agresti, University of South Florida, supplied several of the photos that appear in the chapter on corrections. Photos were also contributed by our long-time friend, Chief Robert L. Smith, Tampa Police Department, Tampa, Florida; Margaret C. Hambrick, Warden, Federal Correctional Institution, Butner, North Carolina; Robert J. Henderson, Superintendent, Auburn Correctional Facility, Auburn, New York; Frank W. Wood, Warden, Minnesota Correctional Facility—Oak Park Heights, Minnesota; Harold J. Miller, Warden, United States Penitentiary, Marion, Illinois; Dean J. Leech, Executive Assistant, and Michael Aun, Information Officer, U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Prison System.

Also, this book could not have had its strong human perspective if so many photographers and publishers had not been willing to share their works with us.

Typing was provided by a battery of people who collectively made innumerable contributions. Many thanks to Mike Copeland, Maggie Deutsch, Gregg Gronlund, Robin Kester, Marian Pittman, and Cecile Pulin.

Lastly, our sincerest thanks to our editor, Gary Woodruff, for his belief in this project and his support for our desire to write a different kind of book.

# contents

*Preface* vii

- 1** *Crime and justice in America* 1
  - 2** *Crime, deviance, and criminal law* 41
  - 3** *The nature and distribution of crime* 75
  - 4** *Factors and theories in criminality: the search for criminal man* 113
  - 5** *Police operations and the crime laboratory* 149
  - 6** *Trends, issues, and problems in law enforcement* 195
  - 7** *Prosecution and defense* 227
  - 8** *Pretrial procedures* 255
  - 9** *The courts* 281
  - 10** *The criminal trial* 307
  - 11** *Sentencing and after* 333
  - 12** *Jails and detention* 363
  - 13** *Correctional institutions* 393
  - 14** *Social, political, and racial forces in American prisons* 423
  - 15** *Alternatives to confinement* 453
  - 16** *Juvenile justice* 489
  - 17** *The victims of crime* 531
  - 18** *Crime control and prevention* 555
- Index* 585

## **Crime In American history**

### **The economic Impact of crime**

*Public expenditures for criminal justice*

*The cost of juvenile crime*

### **The psychological and social Impacts of crime**

*Fear and its consequences*

*The impact of criminal violence*

*Assault on the quality of life*

### **Defining and classifying crimes**

*Conventional crimes*

*Economic crimes*

*Syndicated (organized) crime*

*Political crimes*

*Consensual crimes*

### **The administration of justice**

*System and process: The role of discretion and accommodation*

*The police*

*The prosecutor*

*The courts*

*Corrections*

### **Crime control versus due process**

### **Summary**

**Issue paper: High-tech crime—a glimpse at a possible future**



**C**RIME is widely feared in American society. The exact figures are not known, but Wright and Rossi (1982) estimate that approximately 120 million guns are held in private ownership in the United States; further, in about 15 percent of all gun-owning households, someone has used a gun in self-defense at some time. Diminishing public confidence in the ability of the criminal justice system to deal effectively with crime corresponds to a growth in sales of police whistles, deadbolt locks, intricate locks and latches, attack dogs, and karate courses. Private security has become a multibillion-dollar business that employs a larger work force than public agencies (Bilek 1977; Law Enforcement Assistance Administration 1978).

“Crime in the streets,” “law and order,” and “the crime problem” are phrases that capture some sense of the fear and uneasiness in all segments of American society about personal safety and property security. Not so many years ago, public concern over crime was fueled by urban rioting and campus violence. Today, public anxiety about crime has not abated—even though student protests are (at least for now) a phenomenon of the past and ghetto violence is sporadic and fitful. Quite to the contrary: a recent nationwide Gallup survey (February 1983) shows that Americans are as concerned as ever about violence and crime. A few highlights from the survey are:

- 1 A majority (54 percent) of Americans say that more crime occurs in their communities or neighborhoods today than one year ago; three out of four respondents believe that criminals today are more violent than they were five years ago.
- 2 Urban residents cited crime as the top problem facing their neighborhoods. A quarter of a century ago, crime was not named among the top ten urban problems.
- 3 Nearly half of all people interviewed are afraid to walk alone at night in their own neighborhoods. Fear is most pronounced in smaller communities: 32 percent of people in small towns or villages and rural areas are afraid to venture out after dark within their own communities. One person in six admits to being afraid even behind the locked doors of his or her own home.
- 4 One U.S. household in four has been hit by crime at least once in the past twelve months, with either property stolen or a household member victimized by physical assault. This finding confirms reports from victimization research that crime is far more frequent than indicated by official data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Is the public justified in worrying so much about crime? Is present society more violent, more lawless, and more crime-ridden than in past years? To answer these questions, we must take a look at crime from a historical perspective.



## Crime In American history

Apprehension about crime has been present in every period of American history. Riots and mob violence erupted in American cities during the Civil War. Rival gangster mobs battled in the streets in the Roaring Twenties. The bank-robbing exploits of Bonnie and Clyde marked the Great Depression. In fact, “crime waves” and “the crime problem,” are nothing new. As noted by the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice:

A hundred years ago contemporary accounts of San Francisco told of extensive areas where “no decent man was in safety to walk the streets after dark; while at all hours, both night and day, his property was jeopardized by incendiarism and burglary.” Teenage gangs gave rise to the word “hoodlum”; while in one central New York City area, near Broadway, the police entered “only in pairs, and never unarmed. . . .” “Alarming” increases in robbery and violent crimes were reported throughout the country prior to the revolution. And in 1910 one author declared that “crime, especially in its more violent forms, and among the young is increasing steadily and is threatening to bankrupt the Nation” (*Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, 1967, p. 19).

Still, attitudes toward crime and the treatment of criminals have varied over the years.

Crime has been viewed as a sin, as an illness, as a result of individual flaws, and as a consequence of societal failure. Over the centuries criminals have been banished, beheaded, impaled, burned, flogged, mutilated, chained to oars as galley slaves, impressed into military service, exiled, and imprisoned. The intent was usually to punish the offender. However, as the ideas of sin and crime came together in Western religion, punishment took on a new dimension: penance. No longer was punishment meted out solely to get even with the offender; rather, through the punishment, the offender was to find a path to reformation and redemption.

Spiritual redemption as an approach to the reform of the criminal was a dominant theme in corrections during the Colonial period and in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. It was abandoned when it proved incapable of producing desired changes in people. Its decline was hastened by the growing urbanization and industrialization of the U.S. in the early and middle 1800s. For all practical purposes, spiritual reform for the criminal was largely discarded by the 1850s, although some of its influence endured—including its influence today within corrections. Although penitentiaries have not been very successful in reforming criminals, imprisonment has persisted as a punishment.

In the twentieth century, yet another approach to criminal reform evolved: rehabilitation was redefined as a medical, or psychiatric, problem. As a result, criminals have been operated on, given drugs, trained for jobs, counseled in groups or as individuals, conditioned, counterconditioned, and otherwise “treated” in attempts to modify mental states or behavior.

While attitudes and treatments change, crime persists. Crime may have been as frequent around the time of the Revolution as it is today. In the nineteenth century, both the cities and the frontier were dangerous; and immigrants were frequently blamed for rising crime. From 1900 to the 1930s, violent crime soared, with labor battles and racial violence contributing to the toll. Then, from about 1933 until the early 1960s, “the United States, perhaps for the first time in its history, enjoyed a period in which crime rates were either stable or declining and in which fear of crime was relatively low” (Silberman 1978, p. 30). This domestic peace contrasted with America’s past and its future.

Thus, crime is not a new, and not a peculiarly American, problem; crime is timeless and universal. But it is not crime in foreign countries that Americans fear; it is crime in their own communities. The concern is not whether crime is more prevalent or less prevalent than it was in some earlier period; people are afraid of crime *right now*. Social reality is largely what a society believes about itself. If the members of a society believe they are unsafe in their homes, workplaces, and public areas, apprehension and insecurity become an important part of social reality. Has this happened in the United States, where society sees itself as beleaguered by crime?

When people perceive themselves to be threatened by crime, they take measures to protect themselves, their families, and their property. Feeling like hunted animals, people are “curfewed by their own fear” (Conklin 1975, p. 3). In daily life, fear of crime may take an even greater toll than crime itself. Individuals and communities often respond to the threat of crime by seeking refuge behind deadbolts, German Shepherds, electronic alarms, closed-circuit television cameras, and security guards; these reactions are part of the *indirect costs* of crime. *Direct costs* are measured in terms of dollars lost, injuries suffered, and lives taken.

## The economic impact of crime

It is generally accepted that crime is a financial burden for everyone—as well as a source of emotional stress and physical danger. Conklin (1980) divides the economic costs of crime into five categories:

- 1 Direct loss of property
- 2 Transfer of property
- 3 Costs related to criminal violence
- 4 Illegal expenditures
- 5 Enforcement costs

Direct loss of property occurs in crimes such as arson and vandalism: residential and commercial buildings are destroyed or severely damaged, automobile windshields are smashed, tires are slashed, and public property is defaced and despoiled. When a television set or appliance is stolen in a burglary or cash taken in a holdup, property is transferred illegally from the victim to the criminal. Although the stolen goods are not de-

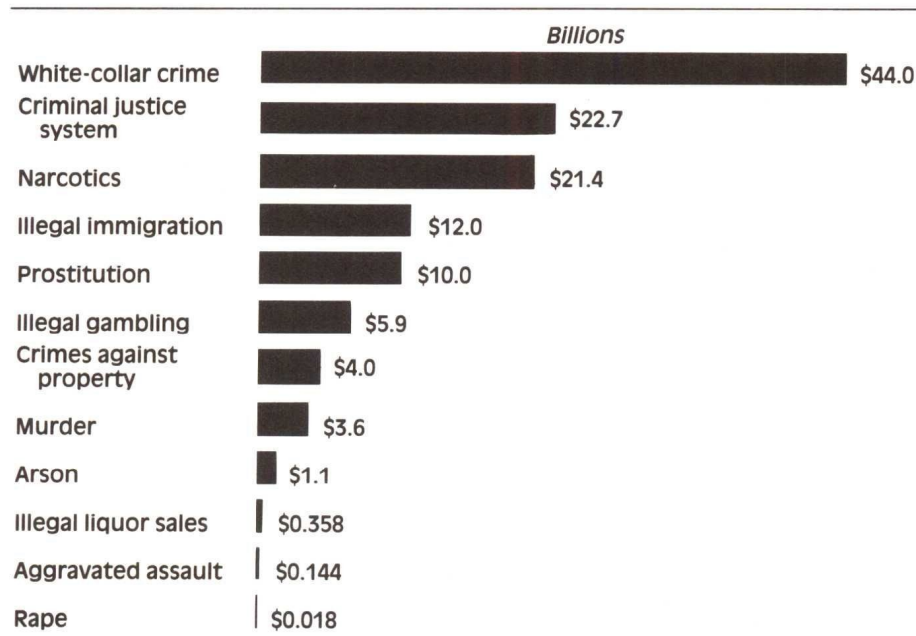


stroyed, the victim suffers the same net loss as he or she would by actual destruction. Costs related to criminal violence include everything from the loss of productivity by an injured victim to social security and compensation payments. Expenditures for illegal goods and services such as drugs, prostitution, and gambling are a cost that can be viewed as a kind of entertainment expense—paid with income derived from a legitimate job. Enforcement costs consist of expenses incurred by agencies of the criminal justice system—police, prosecution, courts, and corrections—in enforcing criminal laws.

In 1976, the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress estimated the total economic cost of crime in the United States to be \$125 billion. This cost is itemized in figure 1.1. White-collar, or economic, crime is by far the most expensive criminal activity in terms of financial cost to U.S. society. According to one judge, “the accountant’s certificate and the lawyer’s opinion can be instruments for inflicting pecuniary loss more potent than the chisel or the crowbar” (Conklin 1980, p. 45). The second largest financial cost of crime is public expenditure for criminal justice.

### Public expenditures for criminal justice

Prior to 1968, the cost of enforcing laws and administering justice in the United States was chiefly borne by local and state governments. Federal expenditures for these services were largely restricted to government agencies responsible for offenses covered by federal law. For example, the Office of the Attorney General, the federal court system, and the U.S. Department of Justice were charged with investigating and prosecuting federal crimes.



**FIGURE 1.1**  
The financial cost of crime in the United States. Data from J. E. Conklin, *Criminology* (New York: Macmillan, 1981), p. 45, by permission of the author and the publisher.

This situation changed in 1968, however, with the passage of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. This act made available to state and local governments substantial and steadily increasing amounts of federal dollars for activities related to law enforcement and criminal justice.

**Table 1.1** breaks down expenditures for criminal justice by level of government for the years 1971–78. During this period, the total cost of operating local, state, and federal agencies of criminal justice was \$24 billion. Put in perspective, this figure roughly equals the total cost of the entire Apollo space project.

### The cost of juvenile crime

In 1980, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) published a report assessing the economic implications of serious juvenile crime in the United States. Based on 1975 data, the OJJDP estimated the total primary direct cost of serious juvenile crime—including uncompensated costs to victims and psychic costs incurred by victims and wit-

**TABLE 1.1** Direct expenditures for criminal justice (in dollars and percent change) by level of government, fiscal years 1971–78

Year	Millions of dollars			
	Total	Federal	State	Local
1971 . . . . .	10,517	1,215	2,681	6,621
1972 . . . . .	11,732	1,502	2,948	7,281
1973 . . . . .	13,007	1,651	3,304	8,052
1974 . . . . .	14,842	1,859	3,900	9,092
1975 . . . . .	17,249	2,188	4,612	10,449
1976 . . . . .	19,681	2,450	5,204	12,027
1977 . . . . .	21,574	2,779	5,812	12,983
1978 . . . . .	24,087	3,090	6,689	14,308
	Percent increase			
	Total	Federal	State	Local
1971 to 1972 . . . . .	11.6	23.6	10.0	10.0
1972 to 1973 . . . . .	10.9	9.9	12.1	10.6
1973 to 1974 . . . . .	14.2	12.6	18.0	12.9
1974 to 1975 . . . . .	16.2	17.7	18.3	14.9
1975 to 1976 . . . . .	14.1	12.0	12.8	15.1
1976 to 1977 . . . . .	9.6	13.4	11.7	7.9
1977 to 1978 . . . . .	11.7	11.2	15.1	10.2
1971 to 1978 . . . . .	129.1	154.3	149.5	116.1

Note: Because of rounding, detail may not add to total.

Data from U.S. Department of Justice, *Expenditure and Employment Data for the Criminal Justice System 1978* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 2, by permission of the U.S. Department of Justice.

nesses—to be \$10 billion (OJJDP 1980). Indirect costs were estimated as follows:

- 1 The annual cost of business crime, in terms of household expenses, is approximately \$400 per household.
- 2 Average home values in neighborhoods with high crime rates decreased between \$3,500 and \$5,500 in 1977 dollars.
- 3 Based on juvenile index crimes for 1977, processing in the juvenile justice system costs \$1.4 billion annually, averaging \$17 per household.
- 4 The average cost of a juvenile arrest is \$456; of juvenile court processing for one crime, \$286; and of secure detention for one night, \$60.
- 5 Nonsecure programs cost less than secure programs; per bed construction costs for secure correctional facilities range from \$40,000 to \$60,000.

## The psychological and social impacts of crime

Measuring the impact of crime in terms of economic factors is somewhat analogous to assessing the seriousness of an accident based on the total medical bill. Tangible possessions such as money and property can be replaced, even though their loss may impose a crushing burden. But the psychological and social costs of crime, because they involve subjective factors and intangibles, can constitute a far more serious problem.

### Fear and its consequences

Fear is a basic ingredient of any psychological or social reaction to crime. It is a gut reaction that produces marked changes in individual behavior. The most intense fear is of the crimes least likely to occur: murder, assault, and forcible rape. Ironically, the perpetrator in such crimes is often a family member, close friend, or personal acquaintance. Nevertheless, what people fear most is violence at the hands of a stranger. Fear of an unknown assailant is prominent in both individual and collective responses to crime. Fear of strangers generalizes to fear of strange places, and people eventually see even public streets as unsafe. When fear of public places peaks, people avoid areas perceived as potentially hazardous. Consequently, normal activity is interrupted in various areas, removing one deterrent to criminal activity. Areas thus avoided are then increasingly frequented by persons bent upon crime.

### The impact of criminal violence

Official crime reports generally distinguish between crimes against property and crimes against the person. However, this distinction ignores, or at least minimizes, the fact that property crimes inevitably affect a victim



adversely beyond *observable* losses of goods or money. For example, Bard and Ellison (1974) emphasize that **victims of burglary, armed robbery, assault and robbery, and rape suffer significant psychological consequences.**

The psychological impact of burglary on an individual is often disregarded, because the only visible consequence to the victim may be a property loss covered by insurance. What is often not recognized, however, is that people regard their homes or apartments as extensions of themselves. A person's home is more than his or her castle: it is a physical projection of the self. Moreover, in an urban-industrial society in which privacy is at a premium, the home is the only place that offers individual security and a place to escape from the pressures of everyday life. Furthermore, every home uniquely represents the personality of its occupants. When a home is burglarized, occupants are often far more upset about the actual intrusion into the home than about the loss of property. **The burglary represents a violation or intrusion into a part of the self.<sup>1</sup>** In armed robbery, not only is personal property lost, but also the victim is deprived of self-determination while the crime is in progress. The victim's fate rests in the unpredictable hands of the robber.

In addition to loss of self-determination and personal property, assault and robbery involve an injury inflicted on the body; and the body can be regarded as the "envelope of self." The injury causes both physical and psychological pain. As Bard and Ellison suggest, "victims are left with the physical evidence reminding them that they were forced to surrender their autonomy and also the fact that they have been made to feel like less than adequate people . . . a visible reminder of their helplessness to protect or defend themselves" (1974, p. 71).

Short of homicide, forcible rape is the ultimate violation of self. Rape victims are deprived of self-determination and often suffer external physical injury. Further, the offender intrudes internally into the victim's body. As far as the victim is concerned, it makes no difference which body orifice is breached; it is the act of forceful entry into the body that causes the trauma. This forceful intrusion is one of the most trying crises a victim can sustain, particularly in view of the moral taboos surrounding the sexual function. **In many cases, a rape victim is not physically injured, but suffers catastrophic psychological injury.**

### Assault on the quality of life

Each of us experiences the impact of economic crime whenever we make a purchase in a supermarket or department store. **The costs of offenses such as shoplifting and employee pilferage are inevitably transmitted to the consumer in the form of increased prices, adding appreciably to the burden of inflation.** But the harm of economic crime goes even deeper, extending to our social and economic institutions. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States assesses the damage this way: **"A major long-term impact of white-collar crime is loss of public confidence in business, industry, and the professions and debasement of competition"** (1974, p. 7). Edelhertz

gives specific examples of how white-collar crimes affect our system of competition:

... every stock market fraud lessens competition in the securities market. Every commercial bribe or kickback debases the level of business competition, often forcing other suppliers to join in the practice if they are to survive. The business which accumulates capital to finance expansion by tax evasion places at a disadvantage the competitor who pays his taxes and is compelled to turn to lenders (for operating and expansion capital). The pharmaceutical company which markets a new drug based on fraudulent test results undercuts its competitors who are marketing a properly tested drug, and may cause them to adopt similar methods. Competitors who join in a conspiracy to freeze out their competition, or to fix prices, may gravely influence the course of our economy, in addition to harming their competitors and customers (1970, p. 9).

In addition to debasing competition, indifference to ethical practices can retard economic growth. For example, many companies refuse to conduct business in one particular state in which payoffs to government officials are expected (Chamber of Commerce of the United States 1974). When such abuses become flagrant, public pressure sometimes results in legislation or regulations that adversely affect the innocent as well as the guilty. The Chamber of Commerce reports that, in reaction to numerous verified abuses, a district attorney in one county has essentially banned door-to-door sales. The policy is supported by local business people who fear that the unethical practices of some door-to-door sellers will undermine the public trust in local business, thus reducing the patronage of those businesses. Unfortunately, the policy makes life nearly impossible for ethical companies that employ honest door-to-door sellers.

In a broader sense, white-collar crime affects the entire moral climate of our country. When people in positions of community leadership—corporate executives and government officials, for example—receive light penalties for offenses, our criminal justice system is undermined. And conventional offenders are provided with an opportunity to rationalize their own misconduct. The burglary in the Watergate scandal, for example, may have led many burglars to rationalize their own offenses and to question the penalties imposed on them by the courts.

## Defining and classifying crimes

In colonial America, religious offenses such as blasphemy were punished as crimes. In the 1920s, it was a crime to drink Scotch. Today, it is illegal in the state of Wisconsin to sing in a bar; in Louisiana, it is illegal to appear drunk at a meeting of a literary society. Thus, crime is not synonymous with evil or deviance. A society may punish for many kinds of wrong or abnormal behavior by informal sanctions—disapproval, verbal abuse, ostracism (casting the offender out of the group). Crimes, however, are only those acts that violate laws, (i.e., formal, official, written statements of



norms). No matter how reprehensible an act or the omission of an act may be, a crime has not been committed unless a specific law has been violated. Moreover, the violation must be either intentional or negligent.

Laws vary greatly with time, place, and circumstance, but they are remarkably similar in their definition of the most serious crimes, felonies. A felony is an offense serious enough to merit strong punishment; in the United States, felonies are punishable by one year or more in prison. Criminal homicide, forcible rape, burglary, and aggravated assault—just to name a few—are all felonies. Lesser offenses are called misdemeanors, generally defined in the United States as crimes for which the sentence is confinement in a county jail for less than one year; a fine may also be assessed. Drunkenness, vagrancy, disorders of the peace, and small-scale gambling are all misdemeanors.

## Conventional crimes

The most serious felonies are crimes against person: criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. These four crimes arouse the greatest public emotion and concern. They are the “headline” crimes that create fear and incite demands for tougher and more vigorous law enforcement. However, most felonies are directed not against persons, but against property. Property crimes—burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, arson—exclude crimes of violence.

Other offenses not commonly thought of as violent crimes or crimes against the person have the potential for violence. For example, an act of shoplifting can result in physical injury if a store employee tries to restrain the shoplifter and is attacked. Similarly, a homeowner who is awakened by a burglar may end up as a murder victim rather than a victim of breaking and entering. An arson may turn into a crime against the person if a security guard is in a building when it is torched. Thus, what starts as a crime against property may, as a consequence of circumstances, become a different crime—a crime against the person. Nevertheless, in recent years property offenses have made up the bulk of the more than 13 million crimes reported annually.

The government, for reasons long criticized by criminologists, collects data on eight offenses that make up the FBI’s Crime Index: criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. As is pointed out in chapter 3, the Crime Index provides information on “crime in the streets”; however, it fails to provide adequate coverage of “crime in the suites” (i.e., the highly profitable, large-scale property crimes perpetrated by corporations and businesses). Official statistics also fail to report accurately on “workplace crimes”—the auto mechanic who performs unneeded repairs or the microwave repairer who replaces a transistor and charges for a new mag tube; annual losses from these offenses dwarf by comparison losses from conventional crimes such as shoplifting and burglary.

## Economic crimes

Criminologist Edwin Sutherland introduced the idea of white-collar crime to direct attention to crimes of the “upper world,” in contrast to conventional crimes committed by the lower classes. He defined *white-collar crime* as offenses committed by “a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation” (1949, p. 9). Other criminologists find Sutherland’s definition too narrow. For one thing, many so-called white-collar crimes are committed by persons *outside* their occupations; for example, people file fraudulent claims for unemployment insurance, or they falsify income tax returns. For another, Sutherland’s definition fails to account for businesses in which crime is the central activity—businesses such as fraudulent land-sale companies, pyramid clubs, and bogus home-improvement companies.

Today, Sutherland’s white-collar crimes are often considered as part of a broader category, economic crimes. *Economic crimes* are illegal acts “committed by nonphysical means and by concealment or guile, to obtain money or property, or to obtain business or personal advantage” (Edelhertz 1970, p. 3). These crimes include:

- 1 **Personal Crimes.** Crimes committed by persons operating on an individual, *ad hoc* basis (credit purchases with no intention to pay; individual income tax violations; credit card frauds; bankruptcy frauds; and social security frauds).
- 2 **Abuses of Trust.** Crimes committed in the course of their occupations by workers operating inside business, government, or other establishments, in violation of their duty of loyalty or fidelity to employer or client (commercial bribery and kickbacks; embezzlement; securities fraud; employee theft; and padding of payroll and expense accounts).
- 3 **Business Crimes.** Crimes incidental to, and in furtherance of, business operations, but that are not the central purpose of the business (anti-trust violations; tax violations; food and drug violations; commercial espionage; and deceptive advertising).
- 4 **Con Games.** White-collar crime committed as a business or as the central activity of a business (medical and health frauds; phony contests; diploma mills; charity and religious frauds; insurance frauds; and coupon redemption frauds).

By one estimate, *economic crimes* cost Americans about \$45 billion annually (Chamber of Commerce of the United States 1974).

After many years of neglect, (since the 1940s, when Sutherland coined the phrase “white-collar crime”), economic crime is now receiving the attention due from the criminal justice system. One reason for this attention is that consumer advocacy has raised the public consciousness about economic crime. Complaints about the rudeness, stridency, and partizan zeal of groups such as “Nader’s Raiders” can probably be considered testimonial to the effectiveness of their activities—and an indication that many of