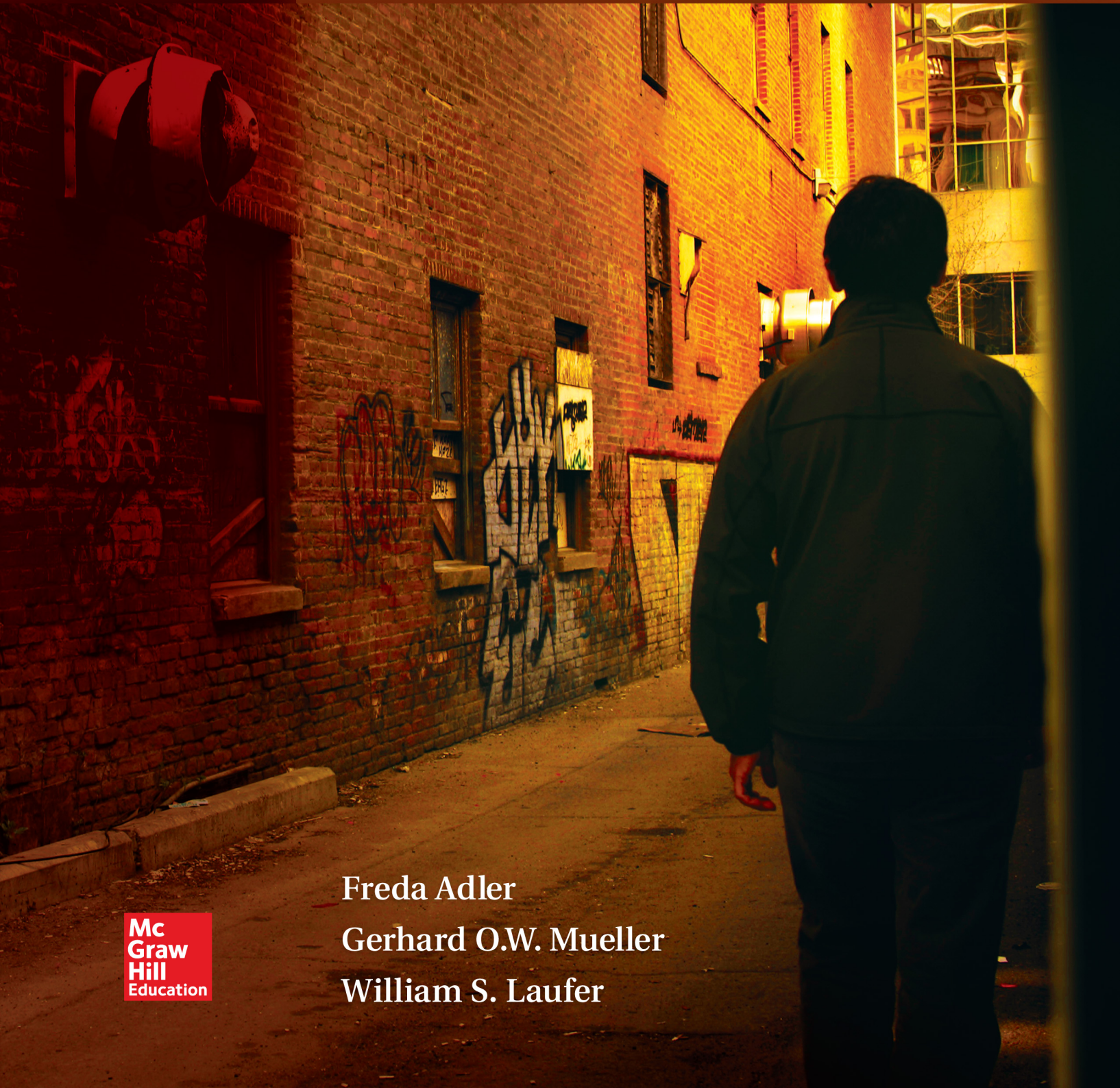


Criminology

Ninth Edition



Freda Adler

Gerhard O.W. Mueller

William S. Laufer

**Mc
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Education

CRIMINOLOGY

Ninth Edition

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CRIMINOLOGY, NINTH EDITION

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To: *David S., Daniel A., Julia A., Noah A., Zoe A., Hannah M., Nicolai A., John J.,
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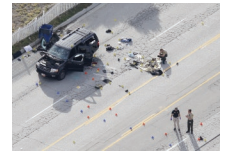
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Preface

Criminology is a young discipline. In fact, the term “criminology” is only a little more than a century old. But in this brief time, criminology has emerged as an important social and behavioral science devoted to the study of crime and criminal behavior, and the society’s response to both. Criminology fosters theoretical debates, contributes ideas and constructs, develops and explores new research methodologies, and suggests policies and solutions to a wide range of crime problems that dramatically affect the lives of countless people in the United States and around the world. Problems as vital and urgent as those addressed in this book are challenging, exciting, and, at the same time, disturbing and tragic. Moreover, these problems are immediately relevant to all of our lives. This is especially true today, when crimes here and abroad touch so many lives, in so many ways.

Our goal with this book has been, and remains, to discuss these problems, their origins, and their possible solutions in a clear, practical, straightforward fashion that brings the material to life for students. We invite faculty and students alike to join the authors’ in traveling along criminology’s path, exploring its expanding boundaries, and mapping out its future.

THE NINTH EDITION

In the eight preceding editions of this text, we sought to prepare students of criminology to appreciate the contemporary problems with which criminology is concerned and to anticipate those problems society would have to face as we progress in the twenty-first century. It is now time to face the new century’s crime problems as we simultaneously continue to work on solutions to old problems. Because of the forward-looking orientation of previous editions of *Criminology* and the respect and acceptance those editions have enjoyed, we maintain the book’s established structure and approach with modest but significant changes.

In prior editions we spent considerable time with the emergence of the crime of terrorism in the field of criminology, highlighting the threat of domestic terrorism as a catalyst of change in the criminal justice system. No single crime was ever poised to share and reshape the field of criminology

like the crime of terrorism. It remains unclear that this has happened or should happen. There is no doubt, however, that terrorism will continue to be studied intensely by criminologists around the world, and that such research will result in theoretically-rich and policy-relevant work. To that end, we continue to incorporate the latest findings from criminological research into terrorism.

The continued spate of corporate malfeasance represents another potential challenge to our field. We continue to expand our coverage of white-collar and corporate crimes, including significant coverage of some of the criminological antecedents of the credit crisis in the United States. Like crimes of terrorism, white-collar and corporate offenses have been on the periphery of the field of criminology—but no longer.

As in prior revisions, we have vigorously researched, refined, and updated every chapter of the text—not only to maintain this edition’s scholarly integrity, but also to ensure its relevance. In addition to updating the research presented in every chapter, we expanded coverage of the most critical issues facing the field, and how advances in sister disciplines, including the neurosciences, inform our research.

Inasmuch as developments in criminology influence and are influenced by media reports of national and local significance, students will find discussion and analysis of recent major current events.

As in previous editions, we have endeavored not only to reflect developments and changes, but also anticipate them on the basis of the latest criminological data. After all, those who study criminology with the ninth edition must be ready to address and resolve new criminological problems of tomorrow, when they are decision makers, researchers, faculty, and policy analysts. The aim with this edition, however, remains the same as it was with the first edition more than twenty years ago: to arrive at a future as free from crime as possible.

ORGANIZATION

The ninth edition of *Criminology* continues with the revised format of our book. The printed book contains Chapters 1-14, covering criminology. The remaining criminal justice chapters

(Chapters 15–18) are available at our book-specific Online Learning Center (<http://highered.mheducation.com:80/sites/007814096x>). For schools that retain the traditional criminology course, which includes criminological coverage of criminal justice, our text and the online chapters provide the ideal resource.

Part 1, “Understanding Criminology,” presents an overview of criminology—now made more exciting with integrated coverage of terrorism and related crimes—and describes the vast horizon of this science. It explains what crime is and techniques for measuring the amount and characteristics of crime and criminals. It also traces the history of criminological thought through the era that witnessed the formation of the major schools of criminology: classicism and positivism (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries).

Part 2, “Explanations of Crime and Criminal Behavior,” includes explanations of crime and criminal behavior based on the various theories developed in the twentieth century. Among the subjects covered are theories that offer biological, neurocriminological, psychological, sociological, sociopolitical, and integrated explanations. Coverage of research by radical, socialist, and feminist criminologists has been updated. Theories that discuss why offenders choose to commit one offense rather than another at a given time and place are also covered in Part 2.

Part 3, “Types of Crimes,” covers the various types of crimes from a legal and sociological perspective. The familiar street crimes, such as homicide and robbery, are assessed, as are criminal activities such as white-collar and corporate crime—so much in the spotlight these days—as well as technology-dependent crimes that have been highlighted by researchers only in recent years.

Part 4, “A Criminological Approach to the Criminal Justice System” (available only online), includes an explanation of the component parts and functioning of the system. It explains contemporary criminological research on how the people who run the criminal justice system operate it, the decision-making processes of all participants, and the interaction of all the system components.

PEDAGOGICAL AIDS

Working together, the authors and the editors developed a format for the text that supports the goal of achieving a readable, practical, and attractive text. In addition to the changes already mentioned, we include plentiful, current photographs to make the book even more approachable. Redesignated and carefully updated tables and figures highlight and amplify the text. Chapter outlines, lists of key terms, chapter review sections, and a comprehensive end-of-book glossary all help students master the material. Always striving to help students see the relevance of criminology in their

lives, we also updated a number of the features to this edition:

- **Theory Connects marginal inserts.** These notes in the text margins correlate the intensely applied material in Part 3 of the text (“Types of Crimes”) with the heavily theoretical material in Part 2 (“Explanations of Crime”), giving students much-needed cross-reference material and posing critical-thinking questions that will help them truly process what they are reading.
- **Criminology & Public Policy exercises.** These end-of-chapter activities challenge students to explore policy issues related to criminology.
- **Crime Surfing.** These particularly interesting web addresses accompanied by mini-exercises allow students to explore chapter topics further.
- **Did You Know?** These surprising factual realities provide eye-opening information about chapter topics.
- **Theory Informs Policy.** These brief sections in theory chapters demonstrate how problems identified by criminologists have led to practical solutions.

Our “box” program continues to be updated and improved. In the boxes, we highlight significant criminological issues that deserve special attention. All chapters have a number of boxes that enhance and highlight the text—including boxes that raise debatable issues, criminological concerns, and reveal just how the field of criminological touches every part of the world.



The ninth edition of Criminology is now available online with Connect, McGraw-Hill Education’s integrated assignment and assessment platform. Connect also offers SmartBook for the new edition, which is the first adaptive reading experience proven to improve grades and help students study more effectively. All of the title’s website and ancillary content is also available through Connect, including:

- A full Test Bank of multiple choice questions that test students on central concepts and ideas in each chapter.
- An Instructor’s Manual for each chapter with full chapter outlines, sample test questions, and discussion topics.
- Lecture Slides for instructor use in class.



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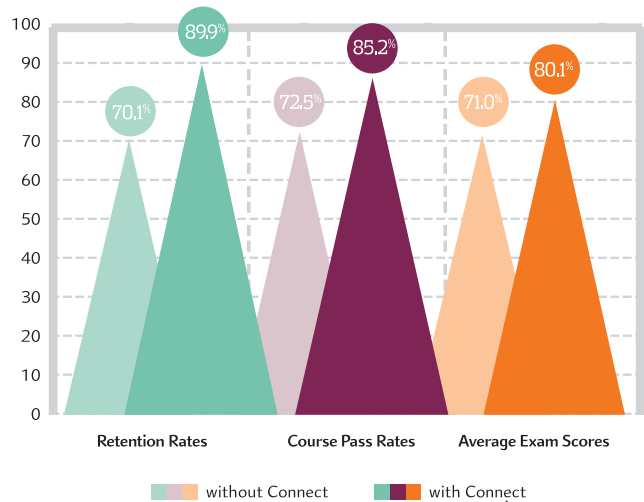
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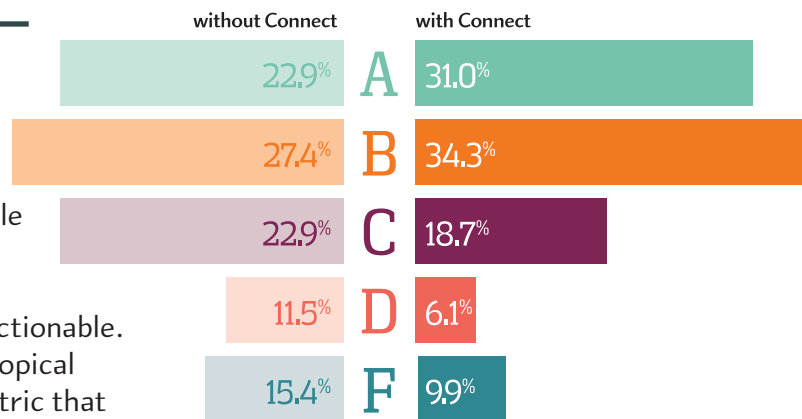
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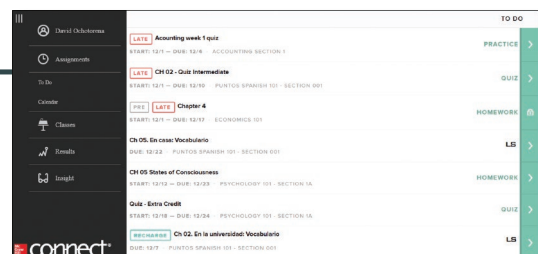
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A combined total of over a hundred years of teaching criminology and related subjects provides the basis for the writing of *Criminology*, Ninth Edition. We hope the result is a text that is intellectually provocative, factually rigorous, and scientifically sound and that offers a stimulating learning experience for the student.

Freda Adler
William S. Laufer

A Guided Tour

Up-to-the-Minute Coverage

The expansion of white-collar and corporate crime, the effects of the current global economic downturn, and a new look at the connection between biology and criminology are among the cutting-edge topics discussed in this Ninth Edition.



■ Andrea Voss (top left) was sentenced to life in prison in March 2002 for shooting her children in a bathtub. Voss pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity—claiming postpartum psychosis and postpartum depression.

lakeside apartment, returning momentarily with his daughter Ashley in his arms. The police arrived on the scene to find Joe in a state of agitation and Ashley face-down in Lake Appopka. Seated in the back of a squad car, handcuffed, the bewildered Joe had no recollection of the preceding events. When his blood was tested, he had a glucose level of 20 milligrams per deciliter of blood. The average is 80 to 120 milligrams; Joe was suffering from severe hypoglycemia. According to a sheriff's spokesman, "he had virtually no thought process."⁴⁹

Hypoglycemia is a condition that occurs when the level of sugar in the blood falls below an acceptable range. The brain is particularly vulnerable to hypoglycemia, and such a condition can impair its function. Symptoms of hypoglycemia include anxiety, headache, confusion, fatigue, and even aggression.

Hormones

Experiments have shown that male animals typically are more aggressive than females. Male aggression is directly linked to male hormones. If an aggressive male mouse is injected with female hormones, he will stop fighting.⁵⁰ Likewise, the administration of male hormones to pregnant monkeys results in female offspring who, even three years after birth, are more aggressive than the daughters of non-injected mothers.⁵¹

While it would be misleading to equate male hormones with aggression and female hormones with nonaggression, there is some evidence that abnormal levels of male hormones in humans may prompt criminal behavior. Several investigators have found higher levels of testosterone (the male hormone) in the blood of individuals who have committed violent offenses.⁵² Some studies also relate premenstrual syndrome (PMS) to delinquency and conclude that women are at a greater risk of aggressive and suicidal behavior before and during the menstrual period. After studying 156 newly admitted adult female prisoners, Katharina Dalton concluded that 49 percent of all their crimes were committed either in the premenstrual period or during menstruation.⁵³ More recently, however, critics have challenged the association between menstrual distress and female crime.⁵⁴

Neurocriminology

In England in the mid-1950s, a father hit his son with a mallet and then threw him out of a window, killing him instantly. Instead of pleading insanity, as many people expected him to do, he presented evidence of a brain tumor, which, he argued, resulted in uncontrollable rage and violence. A jury acquitted him on the grounds that the brain tumor had deprived him of any control over and knowledge of the act he was committing.⁵⁵ Brain lesions or brain tumors have led to violent outbursts in many similar cases. Neurocriminological studies, however, have not focused exclusively on brain tumors; they have included a wide range of investigations: studies of cerebral structure, brain wave



■ Senator Elizabeth Warren leading the charge of the Senate Banking Committee by asking regulators: why haven't we seen any prosecutions of top managers of large banks under the Dodd-Frank Act?

Stock manipulation is common in the "pink sheets" over-the-counter market, in which some stocks are traded at very low prices, but it is by no means limited to such stocks. Brokers who have a stake in a particular security may make misleading or even false statements to clients to give the impression that the price of the stock is about to rise and thus to create an artificial demand for it.

Boiler rooms are operations run by stock manipulators who, through deception and misleading sales techniques, seduce unsuspecting and uninformed individuals into buying stocks in obscure and often poorly financed corporations. Significant federal and state legislation has been passed (Penny Stock Reform Act of 1990) to curtail these operations, but the manipulation continues. The problem is particularly significant in Florida, where the state has warned the public.

Bankruptcy Fraud

The filing of a bankruptcy petition results in proceedings in which the property and financial obligations of an insolvent person or corporation are disposed of. Bankruptcy proceedings are governed by laws enacted to protect insolvent debtors. Unscrupulous persons have devised numerous means to commit **bankruptcy fraud**—any scam designed to take advantage of loopholes in the bankruptcy laws. The most common are the "similar name" scam, the "old company" scam, the "new-company" technique, and the "successful-business" scam.

The similar name scam involves the creation of a corporation that has a name similar to that of an established firm. The objective is to create the impression that this new company is actually the older one. If the trick is successful, the swindlers place large orders with established suppliers and quickly resell any merchandise they receive, often

to fences. At the same time the swindlers remove all the money and assets of the corporation and either file for bankruptcy or wait until creditors sue. Then they leave the jurisdiction or adeptly erase their tracks.

The old-company scam involves employees of an already established firm who, motivated by a desire for quick profits, bilk the company of its money and assets and file for bankruptcy. Such a scam typically is used when the company is losing money or has lost its hold on a market.

The new-company scam is much like the similar name scam: A new corporation is formed, credit is obtained, and orders are placed. Once merchandise is received, it is converted into cash with the assistance of a fence. By the time the company is forced into bankruptcy, the architects of the scheme have liquidated the corporation's assets. The successful-business scam involves a profitable corporation that is well positioned in a market but experiences a change in ownership. After the new owners have bilked the corporation of all its money and assets, the firm is forced into bankruptcy.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation estimates that 10 percent of all bankruptcy filings involve fraud. On average, this suggests that, in recent years, approximately 250 fraudulent bankruptcies were filed every day. Two-thirds of these cases involve some form of hidden assets.

The FBI launched a series of joint undercover investigations with multiple field offices—for example, Remington Raider and Total Disclosure, Operation Total Disclosure alone resulted in the arrest of 110 bankruptcy fraud subjects.

Fraud against the Government

Governments at all levels are victims of a vast amount of fraud, which includes collusion in bidding, payoffs and kickbacks to government officials,

Crime Starting

www.fbi.gov/ncj/1999a08

Jan

How much does crime cost society?

Consider the estimates of street crimes from a host of different sources.

Then determine how you would go about assessing the costs associated with white-collar and corporate crime.

Chapter Openers

Each chapter opens with an outline of key topics, followed by a lively excerpt highlighting concepts from the field of criminology.

9

Theories of Crime, Place, and Victimization



■ Sharp metal spikes were installed on top of the White House fence in 2005 to discourage fence jumpers.

Situational Theories of Crime

Environmental Criminology
Rational Choice Perspective
Routine-Activity Approach
Practical Applications of Situational Theories of Crime

Theories of Victimization

Lifestyle Theories
Victim-Offender Interaction
Repeat Victimization
Hot Spots of Crime
Geography of Crime
Interrelatedness of Theories

Preventing Crimes against Places, People, and Valuable Goods

Situational Crime Prevention
Situational Crime Prevention—Pros and Cons

THEORY INFORMS POLICY

Review

Criminology & Public Policy

You Be the Criminologist

Key Terms

Here we have a host of different types of crimes, committed in a two day period in New York. The prosecutors in these jurisdictions will know what to do. They will identify these crimes under the New York penal code, and carefully weigh the evidence, making judgments about whether it is possible to get a conviction if they move forward with a prosecution. But the criminologist, looking more deeply into these

crime scenarios, will consider something in addition, something seemingly not of interest to the law—namely, that these crimes occur at a specific time, at a specific place. The presence of an offender is only one of the necessary components. Crimes require many conditions that are independent of the offender, such as the availability of a person to be assaulted or of goods to be stolen.

8

Labeling, Conflict, and Radical Theories



■ Ferguson, Missouri riots: Violence erupts after Michael Brown police shooting verdict (November 4, 2014)

Labeling Theory

The Origins of Labeling Theory
Basic Assumptions of Labeling Theory
Labeling in the 1960s
Labeling Theory in Action
Empirical Evidence for Labeling Theory
Evaluation: Labeling Theory

Conflict Theory

The Consensus Model
The Conflict Model
Conflict Theory and Criminology
Empirical Evidence for the Conflict Model

Radical Theory

The Intellectual Heritage of Marxist Criminology
Engels and Marx
Willem Adriaan Bonger
George Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer
Radical Criminology since the 1970s
Evaluation: Marxist Criminological Theory
Emerging Explanations

Review

Criminology & Public Policy

You Be the Criminologist

Key Terms

Each era of social and political turmoil has produced profound changes in people's lives. Perhaps no such era was as significant for criminology as the 1960s. A society with conservative values was shaken out of its complacency when young people, blacks, women, and other disadvantaged groups demanded a part in the shaping of national policy. They saw the gaps between philosophical political demands and reality. Blacks had little opportunity to advance; women were kept in an inferior status; old politicians made wars in which the young had to die. Rebellion broke out, and some criminologists joined the revolution.

These criminologists turned away from theories that explained crime by characteristics of the offender or of the social structure. They set out to demonstrate that individuals become criminals because of what people with power, especially those in the criminal justice system, do. Their explanations largely reject the consensus model of crime, on which all earlier theories rested. Their theories not only question the traditional explanations of the creation and enforcement of criminal law but also blame that law for the making of criminals (Table 8.1).

It may not sound so radical to assert that unless an act is made criminal by law,

NEW! World News Boxes

Part of our acclaimed thematic box program, World News boxes feature current issues and problems reported from across the globe.

WORLD NEWS

Sex Trafficking Factsheet

Trafficking women and children for sexual exploitation is the fastest growing criminal enterprise in the world. This, despite the fact international law and the laws of 134 countries criminalize sex trafficking.

- At least 20.9 million adults and children are bought and sold worldwide into commercial sexual servitude, forced labor and bonded labor.
- About 2 million children are exploited every year in the global commercial sex trade.
- Almost 6 in 10 identified trafficking survivors were trafficked for sexual exploitation.
- Women and girls make up 98% of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Sex Trafficking Is a Human Rights Violation

They forced me to sleep with as many as 50 customers a day. I had to give [the pimp] all my money. If I did not [earn a set amount] they punished me by removing my clothes and beating me with a stick until I fainted, electrocuting me, cutting me.

—Kolab, sex trafficking survivor from Cambodia

Sex trafficking—whether within a country or across national borders—violates basic human rights, including the rights to bodily integrity, equality, dignity, health, security, and freedom from violence and torture. Key international human rights treaties, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), consider sex trafficking a form of sex discrimination and a human rights violation.

Survivors of sex trafficking tell stories of daily degradation of mind and body. They are often isolated, intimidated, sold into debt bondage and subject to physical and sexual assault by their traffickers. Most live under constant mental and physical threat. Many suffer severe emotional trauma, including symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and disassociation. They are at greater risk of contracting sexually transmissible infections, including HIV/AIDS. Many become pregnant and are forced to undergo often unsafe abortions.

Window to the World Boxes

Drawing on criminology's increased emphasis on global factors, Window to the World boxes examine developments abroad that affect America's crime situation.

WINDOW TO THE WORLD

Nations with Low Crime Rates

Most criminologists devote their efforts to learning why people commit crime and why there is so much crime. A few have looked at the question from the opposite perspective: In places with little crime, what accounts for the low crime rate? Using the United Nations' first World Crime Survey (1970–1975), Freda Adler studied the two countries with the lowest crime rates in each of five general cultural regions of the world⁽¹⁾

Western Europe: Switzerland and the Republic of Ireland


Eastern Europe: the former German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and Bulgaria

Arab countries: Saudi Arabia and Algeria

Asia: Japan and Nepal

Latin America: Costa Rica and Peru⁽²⁾

This is an odd assortment of countries. They seem to have little in common. Some are democratic, others authoritarian. Some are republics, others monarchies. Some are ruled by dictators, others by communal councils. Some are rural, others highly urbanized. Some are remote and isolated, others are in the political mainstream. Some are highly religious, some largely atheistic. Some have a



Workers in Japan showing solidarity in an early morning exercise ritual.

very high standard of living, others a very low one. What explains their common characteristic of low crime rates? Investigations slowly revealed a common factor in all 10 countries: Each appeared to have an intact social control system, quite apart from whatever formal control system (law enforcement) it had. Here are brief descriptions of the types of social control systems identified:

Western Europe: Switzerland fostered a strong sense of belonging to and participating in the local community.⁽³⁾ The family was still strong in the Republic of Ireland, and it was strengthened by shared religious values.

Eastern Europe: The former German Democratic Republic involved all youths in communal activities, organized by groups and aimed at having young people excel for the glory of self and country. In Bulgaria, industrialization focused on regional industry centers so that the workers would not be dislodged

from their hometowns, which served as continuing social centers.

Arab countries: Islam continued to be strong as a way of life and exercised a powerful influence on daily activities, especially in Saudi Arabia. Algeria had, in addition, a powerful commitment to socialism in its post-independence era, involving the citizens in all kinds of commonly shared development activities.

Asia: Nepal retained its strong family and clan ties, augmented by councils of elders that oversaw the community and resolved problems. Highly industrialized Japan had lost some of the social controls of family and kinship, but it found a substitute family in the industrial community, to which most Japanese belonged: Mitsubishi might now be the family that guides one's every step.

Latin America: Costa Rica spent all the funds that other governments devoted to the military on social services and social development, caring for and strengthening its families. Peru went through a process of urbanization in stages. Village and family cohesion marked the lives of people in the countryside, and this cohesion remained with the people as they migrated from Andean villages to smaller towns and

then to the big city, where they were received by and lived surrounded by others from their own hometowns.

The study concluded that **synomie**, a term derived from the Greek *syn* meaning "with" and *nomos* meaning "norms," marked societies with low crime rates.

In an update of Adler's original low-crime-rate study, Janet Stamatel wrote:

The capacity for societies to maintain social control can change over time in response to other changes in social conditions. This means that countries labeled as either "low crime" or "high crime" at one point in time may experience changes in their crime status as social control mechanisms change over time. For example, in a study examining how crime rates in the ten countries that Adler identified as low crime in the late 1970s have changed as of 2000, Stamatel analyzed crime statistics from the United Nations and the World Health Organization to find that several of these countries (e.g., Algeria, Japan, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, and Switzerland) have remarkably been able to maintain low crime rates for several decades. In contrast, a couple of these countries, namely Bulgaria and Peru, were not able to maintain their "low crime" status as dramatic political and economic changes severely disrupted their social control systems.

Not only can we learn a lot about how to control crime from countries with consistently low crime rates, but we can also learn much about what happens to crime rates when social control mechanisms are no longer able to function as intended by studying changing crime rates over time.⁽⁴⁾

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2. Freda Adler, *Nations Not Obsessed with Crime* (Littleton, Colo.: Fred B. Rothman, 1983).
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4. Janet P. Stamatel, "Revisiting Nations Not Obsessed with Crime" (working paper, December 2008).

Questions for Discussion

1. People in the United States work in factories, live in family groups, go to church, and join youth groups. Why do these institutions not function effectively as forms of social control to keep the crime rate low?
2. How could government or community decision makers use the information presented by this study to help solve crime problems in the United States?

Debatable Issues Boxes

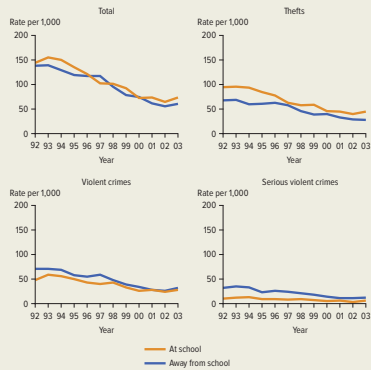
These boxes highlight controversies requiring real-world resolutions.

Maximum-Security Schools?

The 2005 Indicators of School Crime and Safety report places the problem of school violence in some perspectives:

In the 2002-03 school year, an estimated 54.2 million students in prekindergarten through grade 12 were enrolled in about 125,000 U.S. elementary or secondary schools. Preliminary data on fatal victimizations show youth ages 5-19 were victims of 22 school-associated violent deaths from July 1, 2001, through June 30, 2002 (17 homicides and 5 suicides) (Indicator 1). In 2003, students ages 12-18 were victims of about 1.9 million nonfatal crimes at school, including about 12 million thefts and 740,000 violent crimes (simple assault and serious violent crime)—150,000 of which were serious violent crimes (rape, sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault) (Indicator 2). These figures represent victimization rates of 45 thefts and 28 violent crimes, including 6 serious violent crimes, per 1,000 students at school in 2003. Students were more likely to be victims of serious violence or a homicide away from school. In 2003, students ages 12-18 reported being victims of serious violence at a rate of 12 crimes per 1,000 students away from school and 6 crimes per 1,000 students at school. Similarly, in each school year from July 1, 1992, through June 30, 2002, youth ages 5-19 were over 70 times more likely to be murdered away from school than at school.

For several measures, data show trends in student victimization decreasing over the last decade. The nonfatal victimization rate for students ages 12-18 at school gen-



Rate of student-reported nonfatal crimes against students ages 12-18 per 1,000 students, by type of crime and location: 1992-2003

Note: Serious violent crimes include rape, sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault. Violent crimes include serious violent crimes and simple assault. Total crimes include violent crimes and theft. 'At school' includes inside the school building, on school property, or on the way to or from school. Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), 1992-2003.

differences were detected between 2002 and 2003 in the rates of total victimization, violent victimization, or theft at school. For fatal victimization, between July 1, 1992, and June 30, 2002, the number of homicides of school-age youth at school declined as well (Indicator 1). Although you would not know it, given all the media coverage surrounding school-shooting incidents, as well as experts' premonitions of doom and gloom, we are actually in the midst of a decline in violent crime



In some inner-city schools, security measures rival those used in prison: metal detectors, drug-sniffing dogs, frequent searches for weapons, and surveillance cameras that monitor the movement of students in and out of classrooms.

searches for years. Then there are the other schools in towns few have heard of places like Paducah, Coryers, and Littleton. The image of these suburban schools as safe havens has been shattered. Although the likelihood of a shooting in any particular school is small, officials are not taking any chances. Interestingly, the prevention measures listed below fall squarely into Clarke and Homel's situational-crime-prevention model.

Access control

- Intercom systems are being used at locked doors to buzz in visitors.(2)
- Students have to flash or swipe computerized identification cards to get into school buildings.
- Perimeter fences delineate school property and secure cars after hours.

Controlling lockers

- Students in Deltona, Florida, get an extra set of books to leave at home. The schools have banned backpacks and dismantled lockers to eliminate places to stash weapons. Other school districts are encouraging see-through lockers and backpacks.
- After the Littleton, Colorado, incident, school boards across the coun-

tersize garments, apparently to prevent students from hiding weapons on their bodies or in their clothing.

Entry/exit screening

- Handheld and walk-through metal detectors keep anyone with a weapon from entering schools.

Formal surveillance

- Uniformed police officers and private security guards, some of them armed, patrol school halls.
- Schools are installing surveillance cameras in hallways and on school buses.

Surveillance by employees (or, in this case, students)

- Students are carrying small notebooks so that they can log and then report overheard threats.
- Tiny microfilm is hidden inside expensive school property so that it can be identified if stolen.

Identifying property

- On the face of it, these measures seem to make good sense. They can prevent people from bringing weapons into schools and keep unauthorized people out. They increase the

crime, identify evildoers, and prevent criminal incidents from happening. But have school officials and others gone too far? Diana Philip is the director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Texas for the northern region, which has filed several lawsuits against schools. She observes that "over the summer, we have had school boards putting together the most restrictive policies we have ever seen. A lot of them are in clear violation of the Fourth Amendment, which guarantees freedom from unreasonable searches."³

³ Chicago Tribune columnist Steve Chapman argues that schools treat students as "dangerous, incorrigible, underserving of respect" or privacy. He asks, "What's the difference between school and prison? At school, you don't get cable TV."⁴

Sources

1. J. F. DeVoe, K. Peter, M. Noonan, T. D. Snyder, and K. Baum, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety 2005* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Justice, 2005).
2. Jacques Steinberg, "Barricading the School Door," *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1999; New York section, p. 5.
3. S. C. Gwynne, "Is Anyplace Safe?" *Time*, Aug. 23, 1999.
4. Walter Olson, "Dial 'O' for Outrage: The Sequel—Tales from an Overlawyered America," *Reason*, Nov. 1999, pp. 54-56.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do you think there would be as much concern over school violence if these shooting incidents had happened in urban schools? Why are people more upset when crime happens in places they perceive to be safe (such as in the suburbs)?
2. Does your high school or college campus have any security measures in place? If so, how do they fit into Clarke and Homel's 16 techniques of situational prevention?
3. Is there a point at which security measures in schools become so extreme that they can no longer be justified? Have we reached that

Criminological Concerns Boxes

These boxes focus on problems that challenge us to come up with effective responses right now.

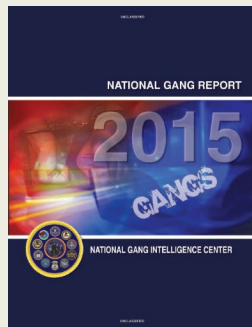
CRIMINOLOGICAL CONCERNS

National Gang Report 2015

The 2015 National Gang Report (NGR) presents an overview of current gang activities and trends in the United States. Intelligence in this report is derived primarily from a survey administered by the National Alliance of Gang Investigators' Associations (NAGIA) and from a second survey on Safe Streets and Gang Task Forces administered by the FBI Safe Streets and Gang Unit (SSGU). The quantitative data herein is supplemented by qualitative open source reports and reporting from federal, state, local, and tribal law enforcement from across the nation.

(U) EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

(U) Results of the 2015 NGR indicate that gangs of all types remain steadfast in their objectives to generate revenue and gain control of the territories they inhabit; and in their dedication to these objectives, gangs continue to grow in numbers and expand in their criminal activities. As the 2015 NGR reveals, progressions in membership and criminality stem from how fluidly gangs adapt to shifting



Gangs in the United States.

and tribal law enforcement over the past two years, the NGIC provides the following assessments:

- (U) Approximately half of respondents report street gang membership and gang-related crime increased in their jurisdictions. The most prevalent crimes street gangs commit are a street-level drug trafficking, large-scale drug trafficking, assault, threats and intimidation, and robbery. Street gangs exhibit few indicators of decreasing membership or criminal activity. Neighborhood-based gangs remain the most significant threat, while national-level street gangs have a moderate-to-high impact in approximately half of reporting jurisdictions.
- (U) Approximately one-third of jurisdictions report an increase in threats to law enforcement. The attacks that were carried out against law enforcement and judicial officials over the past two years were violent and brazen. However, the number of actual attacks against law enforcement remained relatively stable.
- (U) Larger OMGs have established new chapters and have attracted many new members. The surge in membership has incited clashes for geographic dominance, which has created higher levels of violence. OMGs continue to engage in all types of violent crimes to include: weapons possession, threats and intimidation, assault, arson, extortion, and drug trafficking. OMGs have a notorious reputation for their use of violence and often employ brute force to exact punishment on rival gangs and on their own members. OMGs mainly recruit motorcycle enthusiasts and members of the US biker community. Some larger OMGs require smaller motorcycle gangs or sport bike clubs to wear a support patch and demand monthly payments in exchange for the patch. OMGs rely on support clubs for recruitment purposes, financial support, and to counter rival gangs.
- (U) Gangs continue to foster partnerships with MTCDs. Survey respondents identified more than 96 gangs involved in cross-border crimes. Surenos, Barrio Azteca, and Tango Blast rank as the top
- (U) Survey respondents indicate that over the past two years known or suspected gang members from over 100 jurisdictions have applied for positions or gained employment with the US military, law enforcement agencies, corrections facilities, and within the judiciary. Employment with the US military ranked as the most common, followed by corrections, law enforcement, and the judiciary.
- (U) Approximately 15 percent of respondents report that gangs in their jurisdiction engage in human trafficking. According to law enforcement reporting, gang involvement in sex trafficking has increased over the past two years. This is likely a significant underestimation, as sex trafficking is often underreported for two reasons: victims fail to report due to shame or fear; and misclassification of gang-involved cases, where the offense is coded as prostitution, as opposed to sex trafficking. Gangs that partake in sex trafficking and prostitution crimes typically collaborate with other criminal organizations in order to maximize profit and evade detection from law enforcement.

Learning Aggression and Violence

Social learning theory maintains that delinquent behavior is learned through the same psychological processes as any other behavior. Behavior is learned when it is reinforced or rewarded; it is not learned when it is not reinforced. We learn behavior in various ways: observation, direct experience, and differential reinforcement.

Observational Learning

Albert Bandura, a leading proponent of social learning theory, argues that individuals learn violence and aggression through **behavioral modeling**: Children learn how to behave by fashioning their behavior after that of others. Behavior is socially transmitted through examples, which come primarily from the family, the subculture, and the mass media.⁸²

Psychologists have been studying the effects of family violence (Chapter 10) on children. They have found that parents who try to resolve family controversies by violence teach their children to use similar tactics. Thus, a cycle of violence may be perpetuated through generations. Observing a healthy and happy family environment tends to result in constructive and positive modeling.

To understand the influence of the social environment outside the home, social learning theorists have studied gangs, which often provide excellent models of observational learning of violence and aggression. They have found, in

Crime Surfing



www.ncjrs.org

Maternal deprivation can be related to delinquent behavior. What happens to deprived (often abused and neglected) children? Is there a cycle of violence?

DID YOU KNOW?

... that, while evidence is lacking that deprivation directly causes delinquency, research on the impact of family-based crime prevention programs is promising? Programs that target family risk factors in multiple settings (ecological contexts) have achieved success.

Crime Surfing Features

Internet references accompanied by mini-exercises allow students to further explore chapter topics.

Did You Know? Facts

Intriguing, little-known facts related to specific chapter topics engage students' natural curiosity about criminology.

Theory Connects Features

These marginal notes correlate the applied material in Part 3 of the text ("Types of Crimes") with the theoretical material in Part 2 ("Explanations of Crime"), giving students much needed cross-reference material and posing critical-thinking questions.

THEORY CONNECTS

Pornography

Psychologists have long studied the deleterious effect on children of violence on television (Chapter 4). Does cyber pornography pose similar threats to children? To what extent does violent pornography, freely available on the Internet, legitimize violence against girls and women?

of children. That was the stance taken by many national and local societies devoted to the preservation of public morality in the nineteenth century. More recently, the emphasis has shifted to the question of whether the availability and use of pornography produce actual, especially violent, victimization of women, children, or, for that matter, men.

Pornography and Violence

The National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography in 1970 and the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography in 1986 reviewed the evidence of an association between pornography, on one hand, and violence and crime, on the other. The National Commission provided funding for more than 80 studies to examine public attitudes toward pornography, experiences with pornography, the association between the availability of pornography and crime rates, the experience of sex offenders with pornography, and the relation between pornography and behavior. The commission concluded:

[E]mpirical research designed to clarify the question has found no evidence to date that exposure to explicit sexual materials plays a significant role in the causations of delinquent or criminal behavior among youth or adults. The Commission cannot conclude that exposure to erotic materials is a factor in the causation of sex crimes or sex delinquency.⁷⁹

Between 1970 (when the National Commission reported its findings) and 1986 (when the Attorney General's Commission issued its report), hundreds of studies had been conducted on this question. For example:

- Researchers reported in 1977 that when male students were exposed to erotic stimuli, those stimuli neither inhibited nor had any effect on levels of aggression. When the same research team

(1) leads to a greater acceptance of rape and violence against women; (2) results in pronounced effects when the victim is enjoying the use of force or violence; (3) arousing for rapists and for some males in the general population; and (4) has resulted in sexual aggression against women in the laboratory.⁸²

The Feminist View: Victimization

To feminists, these conclusions supported their call for greater restrictions on the manufacture and dissemination of pornographic material. Historian Richard D. Hofstadter has coined the term "pornoretic," meaning

any representation of persons that sexually objectifies them and is accompanied by actual or implied violence in ways designed to encourage readers or viewers that such sexual subordination of women (or children or men) is acceptable behavior or an innocuous form of sex education.⁸³

Hoff's definition also suggests that pornography, obscenity, and erotica may do far more than stimulate sexual sensitivities. Such material may victimize not only the people who are depicted but all women or children, if they are the people seen. Pornographers have been accused of profiting from the exploitation, objectification, and degradation of women. Many people who call for the prohibition of violent pornography argue that it also promotes violence toward women. Future state or federal legislation is likely to focus on violent, violence-producing pornography, not on pornography in general.

The Legal View: Supreme Court Ruling

Ultimately, defining pornographic acts subject to legal prohibition is a task for the U.S. Supreme Court. The First Amendment to the Constitution

values. Those communities most accessible to Atlantic City suffered the worst economic consequences.

Middle- and working-class people tend to escape the urban ghetto, leaving behind the most disadvantaged. When you add to those disadvantaged the people moving in from outside who are also severely disadvantaged, over time these areas become places of concentrated poverty, isolated from the mainstream.

Some social ecologists argue that communities, like people, go through life cycles. Neighborhood deterioration precedes rising crime rates. When crime begins to rise, neighborhoods go from owner-occupied to renter-occupied housing, with a significant decline in the socioeconomic status of residents and an increase in population density. Later in the community life cycle, there is a renewed interest on the part of investors in buying up the cheap real estate with the idea of renovating it and making a profit (gentrification).⁵⁹

Evaluation: Social Disorganization Theory

Although their work has had a significant impact, social ecologists have not been immune to challenges. Their work has been criticized for its focus on how crime patterns are transmitted, rather than on how they start in the first place. The approach has also been faulted for failing to explain why delinquents stop committing crime as they grow older, why most people in socially disorganized areas do not commit criminal acts, and why some bad neighborhoods seem to be insulated from crime. Finally, critics claim that this approach does not come to grips with middle-class delinquency.

Clearly, however, modern criminology owes a debt to social disorganization theorists, particularly to Shaw and McKay, who in the 1920s began to look at the characteristics of people and places and to relate both to crime. There is now a vast body of research for which they laid the groundwork.

THEORY INFORMS POLICY

Theorists of the Chicago School were the first social scientists to suggest that most crime is committed by normal people responding in expected ways to their immediate surroundings, rather than by abnormal individuals acting out individual pathologies. If social disorganization is at the root of the problem, crime control must involve social organization. The community, not individuals, needs treatment. Helping the community, then, should lower its crime rate.

The Chicago Area Project

Social disorganization theory was translated into practice in 1934 with the establishment of the

Chicago Area Project (CAP), an experiment in neighborhood reorganization. The project was initiated by the Institute for Juvenile Research, at which Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay were working. It coordinated the existing community support groups—local schools, churches, labor unions, clubs, and merchants. Special efforts were made to control delinquency through recreational facilities, summer camps, better law enforcement, and the upgrading of neighborhood schools, sanitation, and general appearance.

In 1994, this first community-based delinquency-prevention program could boast 60 years of achievement. South Chicago remains an area of poverty and urban marginalization, dotted with boarded-up buildings and signs of urban decay, though the pollution from the nearby steel mills is under control. But the Chicago Area Project initiated by Shaw and McKay is as vibrant as ever, with its three-pronged attack on delinquency: direct service, advocacy, and community involvement. Residents, from clergy to gang members, are working with CAP to keep kids out of trouble, to help those in trouble, and to clean up the neighborhoods. "In fact, in those communities where area projects have been in operation for a number of years, incidents of crime and delinquency have decreased."⁶⁰

Operation Weed and Seed and Others

Operation Weed and Seed is a federal, state, and local effort to improve the quality of life in targeted high-crime urban areas across the country. The strategy is to "weed" out negative influences (drugs, crime) and to "seed" the neighborhoods with prevention and intervention.

When the program began in 1991, there were three target areas—Kansas City, Missouri; Trenton, New Jersey; and Omaha, Nebraska. By 1999, the number of target areas had increased to 200 sites. An eight-state evaluation showed that the effectiveness of Operation Weed and Seed varied by the original severity of the crime problems, the strength of the established network of community organizations, early seeding with constant weeding, active leadership of key community members, and the formation of partnerships among local organizations.⁶¹

Another community action project has concentrated on revitalizing a Puerto Rican slum community. Sister Isolina Ferre worked for

10 years at Brookline, Massachusetts, where she worked as a doctor, project director, and university professor.

Organizational crimes are characterized by the use of a legitimate or illegitimate business enterprise for illegal profit. As American corporations grew in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they amassed much of the nation's wealth. Many corporations abused their economic power. Government stepped in to curb such abuses by legislation.

Edwin Sutherland, who provided the first scholarly insight into the wrongdoing of corporations, originated the concept of white-collar crime. Subsequent scholars have distinguished white-collar crime, committed by individuals, from corporate crime, committed by business organizations. Corporate or individual white-collar offenses include securities-related crimes, such as misrepresentation and churning; bankruptcy fraud of various kinds; fraud against the government, in particular contract and procurement fraud; consumer fraud; insurance fraud; tax fraud; bribery and political fraud; and insider-related fraud. In the twentieth century,

corporations have been subjected to criminal liability for an increasing number of offenses, including common law crimes and environmental as well as other statutory offenses.

The phases of the corporate criminal law include a transition from a period when concerns over personhood predominated to a time when corporations used creative strategies to avoid criminal liability. In recent years—after a series of compliance and governance failures and multiple scandals—legislators, regulators, judges, and academics are raising questions about extant law. Models of corporate culpability that focus on proactive fault, reactive fault, corporate culture, constructive concepts of organizations, and corporate policy extend current law. With new allegations of fraud stemming from the credit crisis and the recent recession, it is clear that the future of organizational criminality and the legitimacy of Wall Street are inextricably connected.

Questions for Discussion Professors Weisburd and Waring make the point, in the introduction to their book *White Collar Crime and Criminal Careers*, that much of the conventional wisdom of white-collar offenders is untrue. These researchers previously established that white-collar offenders are not "elite" offenders as Sutherland conceived. White-collar criminals generally come from the middle class and have multiple contacts with the criminal justice system. White-collar offenders have criminal careers as well! What can you conclude from the similarity between and among white-collar and street criminals? Should criminologists expect meaningful differences in the life course of offenders? Should policy makers ensure different or similar treatment in the criminal process?

How would you approach the problem of assessing and measuring crimes committed by corporations?

"Sutherland challenged the traditional image of criminals and the predominant etiological theories of crime of his day. The white-collar criminals he identified were middle-aged men of respectability and high-social status. They lived in affluent neighborhoods, and they were well respected in the community. Sutherland was not the first to draw attention to such criminals. In earlier decades, scholars such as W. A. Bonger (1916) and E. A. Ross (1907) and popular writers such as Upton Sinclair (1906) and Lincoln Steffens (1903) pointed out a variety of misdeeds by businessmen and elites. However, such people were seldom considered by those who wrote about or studied crime and were not a major concern of the public or policy makers when addressing the crime problem." (source: David Weisburd and Elin Waring, *White Collar Crime and Criminal Careers* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], p. 8.)

For obvious reasons, the extent of corporate crime is difficult to assess and measure. But criminologists do not shy away from significant challenges.

The numbers next to the terms refer to the pages on which the terms are defined.

bankruptcy fraud (293)
boiler rooms (293)
churning (292)
constructive corporate culpability (309)
consumer fraud (298)
corporate compliance programs (313)
corporate crime (301)
corporate ethos (308)
corporate policy (308)

embezzlement (300)
insider trading (292)
occupational crimes (291)
organizational due diligence (303)
proactive corporate fault (308)
reactive corporate fault (308)
Sherman Antitrust Act (309)
stock manipulation (293)
vicarious liability (308)
whistle-blower (316)
white-collar crime (289)

Theory Informs Policy

These brief sections in theory chapters demonstrate how problems identified by criminologists have led to practical solutions.

End-of-Chapter Features

Every chapter concludes with a Review, Criminology & Public Policy exercise, You Be the Criminologist exercise, and a listing of chapter-specific Key Terms. These tools help students reinforce and expand the chapter content.

REVIEW

CRIMINOLOGY & PUBLIC POLICY

YOU BE THE CRIMINOLOGIST

KEY TERMS

Understanding Criminology

Criminology is the scientific study of the making of laws, the breaking of laws, and society's reaction to the breaking of laws. Sometimes these laws are arrived at by the consensus of most members of a community; sometimes they are imposed by those in power. Communities have grown in size, from village to world, and the threats to communities have grown accordingly. Threats from sovereign nations and even self-proclaimed nations necessitated that criminological research and crime prevention strategies become globalized. Criminological research has become influential in policy making, and criminologists seek greater influence (Chapter 1).

Criminologists have adopted methods of study from all of the social, behavioral, and natural sciences. Like other scientists, criminologists measure. They assess crime over time and place, and they measure

the characteristics of criminals and crimes. Like other social scientists, criminologists pose research questions, state hypotheses, and test the validity of these hypotheses (Chapter 2).

Throughout history, thinkers and rulers have written about crime and criminals and the control of crime. Yet the term *criminology* is little more than a century old, and the subject has been of scientific interest for only two centuries. Two schools of thought contributed to modern criminology: the classical school, associated predominantly with Cesare Beccaria (eighteenth century), which focused on crime, and the positivist school, associated with Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, and Raffaele Garofalo (nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), which focused on criminals (Chapter 3). Contemporary American criminology owes much to these European roots.

The Changing Boundaries of Criminology

The Changing Boundaries of Criminology

Terrorism
 Illicit Drug Trafficking
 Strong Words on Dirty Money
 Money Laundering
 Infiltration of Legal Business
 Computer Crime
 Illicit Arms Trafficking
 Trafficking in Persons
 Destruction of Cultural Property
 The Reach of Criminology

What Is Criminology?

The Making of Laws

Deviance
 The Concept of Crime
 The Consensus and Conflict Views of Law and Crime
 Fairy Tales and Crime

The Breaking of Laws

Society's Reaction to the Breaking of Laws
 Criminology and the Criminal Justice System
 The Global Approach to the Breaking of Laws

Research Informs Policy

Review

Criminology & Public Policy

You Be the Criminologist

Key Terms



■ In the wake of a tornado in Oklahoma that left 80,000 residents without power, and many without homes, in March, 2015. Exploiting the tragic moment, looters pilfered homes for scrap metal, televisions, and car seats.

October 29, 2012. It's Monday at 3:45 P.M. Superstorm Sandy approaches the Jersey shore. Hurricane winds extend 175 miles out from Sandy's eye. U.S. Federal offices in Washington closed. The United Nations headquarters closed. Subways and municipal transit services shut down in cities along the East Coast. Stock exchanges closed, along with all New York airports.

States of emergency are called. Storm surges hit with a vengeance. Homes in coastal communities are destroyed. With billions in damages, hundreds of deaths, Superstorm Sandy goes down as the second costliest tropical cyclone on record. According to the National Hurricane

Center, Sandy's impact included damage to at least 650,000 houses. More than 8 million customers lost power. The storm resulted in estimated 50 billion dollars in property damage in the United States. Effects from the storm were felt as far away as Canada.

March 11, 2011. It's a Friday. At 2:26 P.M. The most powerful earthquake hit Japan since records were kept, struck the northeast coast, about 250 miles from the heart of Tokyo. The tremor triggered a massive tsunami. Everything in its path of the massive wall of water was stripped from the land: Cars, ships, and buildings were literally swept away.

Japan's ground self-defense forces were deployed, and the government asked the U.S. military based in the country for assistance. The scale of destruction was nearly unimaginable, with tens of thousands of deaths. Residents of affected communities formed long, orderly lines outside grocery stores, where employees try to fairly distribute limited supplies of food and water. There was no civil unrest or looting. Civility and cooperation are everywhere to be found.

January 12, 2010. It's a Tuesday in the late afternoon. Without warning, a magnitude 7.0 earthquake hits the town of Léogâne, approximately 16 miles west of Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital. Given the densely populated area in and around the epicenter of the earthquake, literally millions of Haitians were affected—approximately 316,000 people died, another 300,000 were injured and more than 1,000,000 made homeless. Close to 250,000 residences and 30,000 commercial buildings collapsed or were severely damaged. In less than two weeks after the earthquake, at least 52 aftershocks measuring 4.5 or greater are recorded. Without a discernable police presence in cities and towns, violence in the streets erupted, marked by looting and gang-related gunfire, making relief and humanitarian efforts that much more challenging.

August 26, 2005. It's a Friday. People all along America's Gulf Coast are going about their business and pleasure. Out in the Gulf of Mexico, a monstrous tropical storm is developing, dubbed Katrina. Its winds blow at category 5, the most severe storm. When Katrina makes landfall early in the morning of August 29, 80 percent of the city is under water, and thousands of residents huddle on rooftops waiting to be rescued. Looters take over some neighborhoods in the city, forcing the mayor to order 1,500 police officers on search-and-rescue duty to return to the streets to rein them in.

By now you may well be asking, What does this have to do with criminology? A great deal. Criminologists who study natural disasters have found that different

types of crimes (including looting, violence, and fraud) can be expected at each stage of a disaster.¹ Why, then, are officials in charge of emergencies often less than prepared to deal with the crimes and their impact on communities, which cause losses of life, destruction of property, and exploitation of the population? One answer, both self-serving and apparently true, is that those most responsible for failed leadership before, during, and after a disaster are not as acquainted as they should be with criminological research.

The first lesson of this book, then, is that criminology is not simply an abstract, theoretical science. Rather, it is a science that has much to offer policy—specifically, policy aimed at protecting the community from the most significant of all harms, criminal harm. In the aftermath of the earthquake and tsunami that devastated Japan in 2011, there is also another lesson. In even the most affected communities along the coast of Japan, stores were not looted, and there were no robberies or gang-related violence. Why? The boundaries of Criminology are quite elastic. Criminologists consider individual differences in both prosocial and anti-social behavior, group differences, and the role of culture, sub-culture, and opportunities in offending (Chapters 4 through 9). Indeed, the boundaries of Criminology allow for a special consideration of the different types of offending, including the Criminology of terrorism (Chapter 1 and 14), and a Criminology of white collar and corporate offending (Chapter 12), among others. We readily acknowledge that there are many criminologies yet to be discovered. And this is where our story begins.

THE CHANGING BOUNDARIES OF CRIMINOLOGY

911 is the number Americans call when they need police protection from a criminal attack or similar emergency. In a very real sense, then, 911 starts the process of criminal justice and its inquiry about perpetrators and victims, causes and motivations, offenses and defenses. 911, therefore, is a good symbol with which to start a course—or a book—dedicated to criminology. In 2001, 911 took on yet

another meaning, not only to the worldwide public, in general, but to criminologists, in particular.

It was in the morning hours of September 11, 2001, that four airliners were diverted in flight by perpetrators who had subdued or killed the crews. Two of the jets crashed into the New York World Trade Center. A third plane smashed into the Pentagon, in Washington, D.C. The fourth plane, apparently headed toward Washington, D.C., crashed into a field in Pennsylvania, allegedly as a result of passengers trying to overpower the hijackers.

The World Trade Center collapsed within the hour; the Pentagon was in flames; all passengers and crews of the airplanes died in fiery crashes. The death toll was nearly three thousand. It was the worst criminally caused catastrophe in American history. To this day, even as the 9/11 Memorial and Museum regularly open their doors to the public, neither the American economy nor the American psyche has fully recovered. And some very successful attacks on ISIS and al-Qaeda's leadership do little to help either. There are, of course, constant reminders of the resolve of terrorist organizations—from the Charlie Hebdo shootings in January, 2015, the November 2015 Paris terrorist attacks, to the San Bernadino, California massacre. Add to this 24-hour news coverage of threats around the world. As "soft targets" replace "hard targets," everyone, everywhere, waits for the next shoe to drop.

In this post-9/11 world, the threat of another domestic terrorist attack—no matter how inevitable or likely—is used to support legislation and criminal justice policies that affect our civil rights and liberties. Criminologists have been slow to respond to reforms justified by concerns over homeland security with systematic research, and even slower to tackle the criminology of terrorism. However, criminologists have much to say. After all, terrorism is a crime!

Terrorism

The federal and state penal codes contain a number of crimes referring to terrorism. The federal criminal code has listed several new crimes regarding terrorism, including "acts of terrorism transcending national boundaries," "use of certain weapons of mass destruction," and "financial transactions" to finance terrorism. Several states have adopted similar legislation, many of which are based on global United Nations conventions.² Few of these laws define terrorism as such. Most incorporate crimes that terrorists are likely to commit in furtherance of their objective, such as murder, arson and kidnapping. While there is no universally agreed-upon definition of the term "terrorism," Title 22 of the U.S. Code, Section 2656f(d), defines it as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience."³ Most definitions imply the use of

violence or other significant forms of criminality to achieve the perpetrators' purpose. We propose an alternative definition: "The use or threat of violence directed at people or governments in response to past action and/or to bring about a change of policy that is consistent with the terrorists' objectives." This definition incorporates many forms of criminal conduct of interest to criminologists.

There is a second and equally important reason for criminologists to study terrorism: It is at the center of many forms of criminality that feed or are fed by terrorism. This can best be demonstrated by a wheel, the hub of which is terrorism. The seven spokes of the wheel are the seven forms of transnational criminality (see Chapter 14) that are directly relevant to terrorism, either because they support it or because they are a consequence or by-product of it. Let us continue our search for the reach of criminology by examining these seven categories (Figure 1.1).

Illicit Drug Trafficking

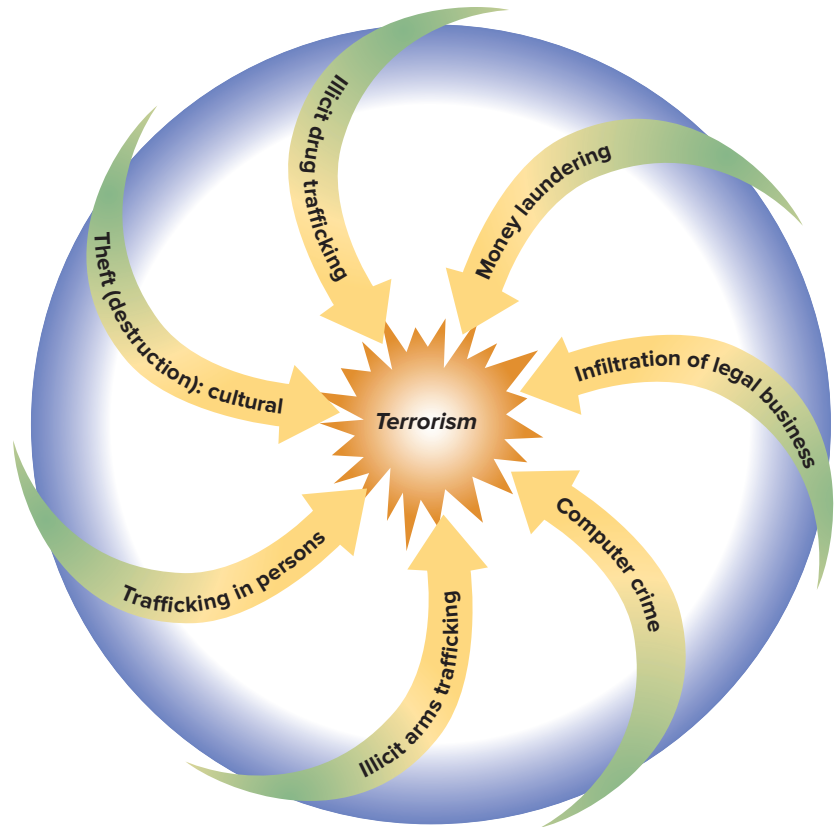
Terrorists need money for their operations. The drug trade provides easy access to large funds. The Taliban financed their terrorist activities from the vast opium production of Afghanistan. ISIS funds their operations from black market sales of oil. And that holds true for just about every other terrorist group around the world. Globally, it has been estimated that approximately \$1 trillion in "dirty money" is available for financing illegal activities, including terrorism. Approximately \$500 billion comes into the West from transitional and emerging economies, much of it from the illegal drug trade. Others estimate that between two to five percent of the worldwide global economy involves laundered money. Most criminologists, while recognizing the significance of the problem, are hesitant to offer an estimate without more and better data. While the "war on drugs" had received widespread attention in the media and on the part of government officials and criminologists, the "war against terrorism" has virtually replaced the prior emphasis. This is disturbing when it is becoming ever more clear that the drug trade nurtures terrorism and fosters the growth of international criminal organizations.⁴

Strong Words on Dirty Money

The globalizing era has produced an explosion in the volume of illegitimate commercial and financial transactions. North American and European banking and investment institutions have been flooded with laundered and ill-gotten gains. Amounting to trillions of dollars, most of these sums are generated through secretive arrangements between cooperating but distant private-sector entities.

Lagging legal codes have proven inadequate to deal with the situation. Much of this subject is

FIGURE 1.1 Wheel of terrorism.



taboo in business and government circles, yet this torrent of stolen, disguised, and hidden resources poses a major risk to state security, corporate stability, democracy, free enterprise, the effectiveness of international aid programs and the lives and well-being of billions across the world.

For more than a 100 years, North America and Europe solicited, transferred, and managed illicit proceeds seeking exit from other countries and residence in western accounts. In recent years, no nation received more such criminal, corrupt, and commercial dirty money than the United States. Our reasons are straightforward: we like the arriving billions of dollars and assume the inflows are good for our economy. And it is this equation that now demands searching reevaluation.

America cannot wage a successful war against drugs, crime, terrorism, global poverty, and state collapse, while simultaneously seeking and harboring ill-gotten gains from across our borders. To think we can is folly.

Those who favor the status quo—facilitating the inflow of all or some of the dirty money still legal—must make the argument that the benefits outweigh the costs to our society. In the absence of such a credible argument, logic dictates an alternative conclusion: We don't want it.

The remaining question is then narrowed and simplified: How do we curtail the billions of illegal, unwanted dollars arriving at our doorstep?

The answer begins with a willingness to put all three forms of dirty money—criminal, corrupt, and commercial—squarely on the political-economy table for determined action.

The notion that we can build the kind of orderly, globalizing world we want while feeding our appetite for dirty money is unsustainable. This process, a relic of an earlier age, needs to be promptly changed. America will be stronger, not weaker, as a result. Political will is the missing ingredient.

Source: Excerpt from Raymond Baker, "Dirty Money and its Global Effects," *International Policy Report* (Washington, D.C.: Center for International Policy, 2003). Copyright © 2003 Center for International Policy. All rights reserved. Used with permission. Available at: <http://www.ciponline.org/dirtymoney.pdf>

Money Laundering

"Dirty" (illegally obtained) money cannot be spent freely. While there is evidence that terrorist weapons have been obtained by direct exchange for drugs, or for dirty money, most expenditures by terrorists are for goods or services obtained on the free market, which demands clean cash. Hence, much of the dirty money must be laundered in a vast criminal enterprise called "money laundering." Of course, it is not just drug money that requires laundering. All illegally obtained funds

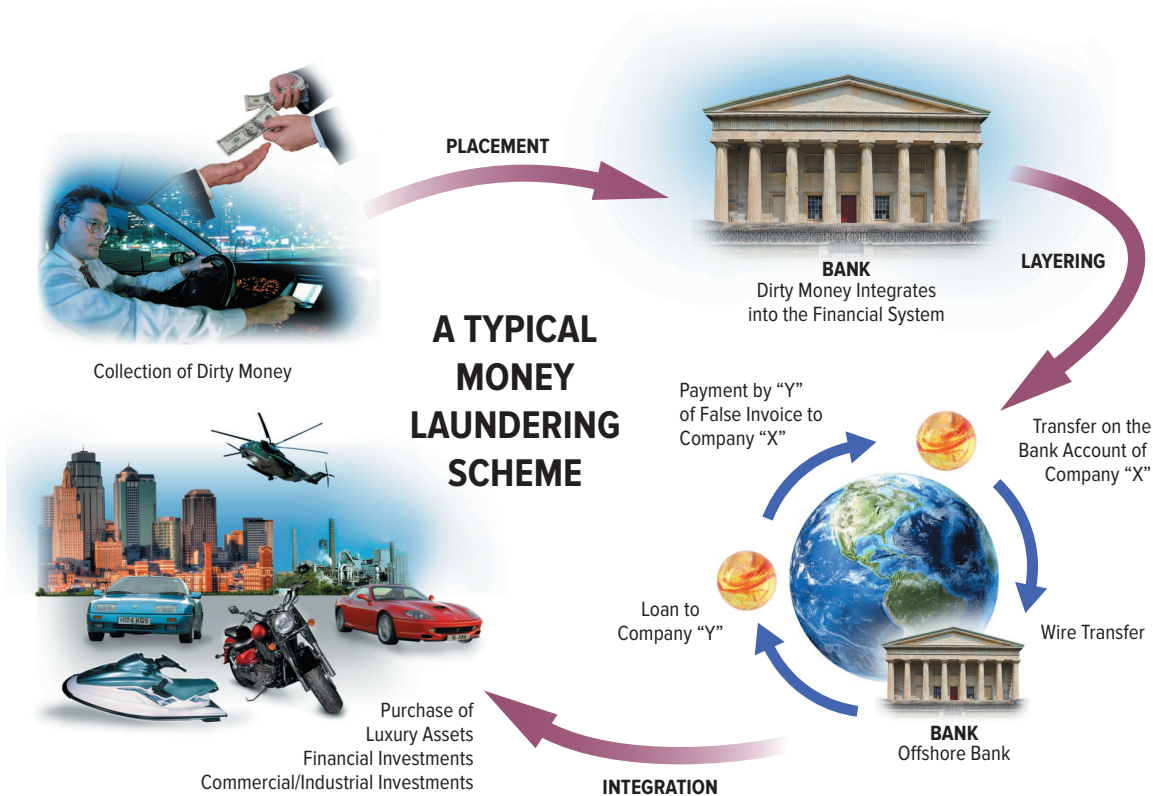


FIGURE 1.2 The Money-Laundering Cycle.

Money laundering allows crime to pay by permitting criminals to hide and legitimize proceeds derived from illegal activities. According to one recent estimate, worldwide money-laundering activity amounts to roughly \$1 trillion a year.

(for example, from bribery, black-market activities, corruption, extortion, and embezzlement) require laundering. Thus, money laundering is an activity aimed at making illegally obtained and, therefore, untaxed funds appear legitimate. Usually this is done by depositing such funds in numbered but unnamed (secret) accounts in banks of a number of countries where that is still possible. From there the funds are rapidly transferred elsewhere, and yet again, until it becomes impossible to trace them to the criminal activity that created them.⁵ Despite increased international cooperation to curb money laundering, it appears that terrorism has benefited greatly from this criminal activity.

Infiltration of Legal Business

Dirty money, once laundered, can be used freely (for example, to buy or establish a legitimate business). By way of example, police in Ham-burg, Germany, discovered that the innocent-looking import-export firms Tatari Design and Tatex Trading GmbH were not so innocent at all. They had been established as fronts for terrorist operatives to smuggle money, agents, and supplies.⁶ Of course, it is often the case that laundered funds, rather than directly financing terrorist enterprises, will be invested in businesses controlled by organized

crime, such as trash hauling, construction, seafood, or investment banking.⁷

Computer Crime

Cyberspace is there for everyone to use—or to abuse. And the abuses are increasingly being discovered and, indeed, legislated as crime. Above all, there is the abuse of cyberspace for money laundering, ultimately to support terrorist groups.⁸ Beyond that, there is the potential of cyber attacks on the national security and technology infrastructure of the United States. The security community generally expects terrorists to launch major strikes through networks in the intermediate, if not immediate future.⁹ ISIS is deemed to possess the capacity for these major cyber attacks.¹⁰

Illicit Arms Trafficking

The wars of the past have provided terrorists of the past—and the present—with surplus and remnant arms and munitions to fight for their causes. The market in small arms is vast and mostly clandestine. What is new, however, is the market for weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, biological, and chemical. There is considerable evidence that nuclear materials have been diverted from now-defunct

Sex Trafficking Factsheet

Trafficking women and children for sexual exploitation is the fastest growing criminal enterprise in the world. This, despite the fact international law and the laws of 134 countries criminalize sex trafficking.

- At least 20.9 million adults and children are bought and sold worldwide into commercial sexual servitude, forced labor and bonded labor.
- About 2 million children are exploited every year in the global commercial sex trade.
- Almost 6 in 10 identified trafficking survivors were trafficked for sexual exploitation.
- Women and girls make up 98% of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Sex Trafficking Is a Human Rights Violation

They forced me to sleep with as many as 50 customers a day. I had to give [the pimp] all my money. If I did not [earn a set amount] they punished me by removing my clothes and beating me with a stick until I fainted, electrocuting me, cutting me.

—Kolab, sex trafficking survivor from Cambodia

Sex trafficking—whether within a country or across national borders—violates basic human rights, including the rights to bodily integrity, equality, dignity, health, security, and freedom from violence and torture. Key

international human rights treaties, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), consider sex trafficking a form of sex discrimination and a human rights violation.

Survivors of sex trafficking tell stories of daily degradation of mind and body. They are often isolated, intimidated, sold into debt bondage and subject to physical and sexual assault by their traffickers. Most live under constant mental and physical threat. Many suffer severe emotional trauma, including symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and disassociation. They are at greater risk of contracting sexually transmissible infections, including HIV/AIDS. Many become pregnant and are forced to undergo often unsafe abortions.

former Soviet installations. During both the Clinton and the Bush administrations, fears were expressed that rogue states that have traditionally supported terrorism sought these materials for the creation of weapons of mass destruction. The United States finds itself at war with this justification as its premise. One of the pretexts for the U.S.-Iraq war was the issue of United Nations inspections of suspected Iraqi nuclear arms facilities. As history has demonstrated, no weapons of mass destruction were found by UN inspectors or U.S. military personnel.

Trafficking in Persons

Smuggling would-be illegal migrants from less-desirable homelands to more promising lands of opportunity has become a huge criminal enterprise involving millions of human beings, billions in funds paid to smugglers, and the loss of a great number of innocent lives. Many of the countries of destination fear the growth of immigrant communities that might be terrorist havens, like the refugee camps of Palestine. Even greater is the fear that terrorist organizations deliberately infiltrate their members into immigrant populations. To their dismay, for example, Italian law enforcement authorities have learned that among the waves of illegal immigrants washing ashore in Sicily are increasing

numbers of persons linked to terrorist organizations.¹¹ There are also masses of illegal aliens who have moved from Iran, Iraq, and Turkey—across the Aegean Sea—into Northern Africa, where they become vulnerable recruits for terrorist activities. The problem of illegal immigration is now a major political issue in the United States, raising concerns about border security, civil liberties, and the rights of citizenship.

Destruction of Cultural Property

Lenin's terrorists became infamous for their efforts to destroy the evidence of a culture past: Christian churches were destroyed. Hitler's terrorists burned down the synagogues of Germany and every other cultural symbol, especially literature, art, and music, deemed inconsistent with the new "culture" they wanted to impose. The Taliban took delight in firing artillery shells into two ancient statues of Buddha—the largest in the world—reducing them to rubble. And, countless antiquities have been destroyed in Syria and Iraq by ISIS "fighters." Most disturbing is the damage to both art and architecture in the ancient Syrian city of Palmyra in 2015. Terrorists, especially those with millennial goals or of religious or political extremism, seek to destroy past cultures and to impose their own vision of culture.

Elements of Sex Trafficking

Act: Recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons;

Means: Threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim;

Purpose: Prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, or slavery.

—From the 2000 UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, ratified by 154 countries.

Ending Sex Trafficking

A holistic and comprehensive strategy is needed to combat sex trafficking effectively. Efforts must include both eliminating gender discrimination and curbing the demand for commercial sex. Gender inequality and discriminatory laws that trap women in poverty and fail to protect them from violence, render them

vulnerable to prostitution and trafficking. Women who lack access to resources, such as housing, land, property, and inheritance, are at increased risk. Women and girls trafficked for prostitution are caught in cycles of sexual violence and assault. It is critical to implement legal safeguards for women and girls to alleviate poverty and create greater possibilities for non-exploitative options for girls and women.

Demand fuels sex trafficking and the commercial sex industry. Holding “buyers” of commercial sex accountable reduces sex trafficking. Sweden, Norway, and Iceland have effectively addressed the demand for commercial sex and sex trafficking by decriminalizing prostituted persons, and criminalizing those who purchase sex. As a result, street prostitution and sex trafficking have decreased. Countries that neglect to focus on the demand that fuels sex trafficking, or have legalized the commercial sex industry, have witnessed increased prostitution and greater numbers of trafficked women and girls to fulfil an influx

of international sex tourists as well as increased demand locally.

Addressing demand also includes eliminating sex tourism. So-called sex tourists are individuals who travel to another country to buy commercial sex or exploit weak legal systems that ignore sexual abuse, especially of girls from poor and marginalized communities.

*An estimated 80% of all trafficked persons are used and abused as sexual slaves. **This human rights violation is driven by demand for sexual services and the profit that is generated.** The commodification of human beings as sexual objects, poverty, gender inequality and subordinate positions of women and girls provide fertile ground for human trafficking.*

—Michelle Bachelet, UN Women Director & Former President of Chile

SOURCE: Equalitynow.org, *Sex Trafficking Factsheet*, <http://www.equalitynow.org/sites/default/files/GlobalSex%20TraffickingEN.v3.pdf>. All rights reserved. Used with permission.



■ The perils of illegal immigration are vast. Waves of Syrian refugees looking for asylum challenge European authorities in 2015.

The Reach of Criminology

We have completed our examination of the hub and the seven spokes of our criminological wheel. These represent terrorism and seven other forms of criminality that support or are the product of terrorism. These eight forms of criminality are part of a group of 18 that the United Nations has defined as “transnational criminality.” Not crimes by themselves but rather a mixture of other crimes, they all have in common the fact that they transcend

national boundaries and affect several nations and therefore are hard for just one nation to deal with. (We shall return to transnational criminality in Chapter 14, where we discuss the remaining 10 forms.)

Our effort to demonstrate the reach of criminology is not yet complete. As any exposure to today’s media will tell you, there is a competition for attention among those who deem terrorism to be the principal national challenge and those who