

# CRIMINAL COURTS

Structure, Process, and Issues

FOURTH EDITION

# FOURTH EDITION

# CRIMINAL COURTS

STRUCTURE, PROCESS, AND ISSUES

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# Contents

```
PREFACE x
ABOUT THE AUTHORS
Chapter 1
                      Law: The Legal Battlefield 1
                      Introduction 2
                      What Is Law? 4
                           The Dred Scott Case and the Law 4
                           The Courts and the Criminal Justice System 4
                      The Functions of Law 6
                           Social Control 6
                           Dispute Resolution 7
                           Social Change 7
                      The Evolution of Disputes 8
                           Naming, Blaming, and Claiming 8
                      Types of Law 9
                           Substantive Law 9
                           Procedural Law 9
                           Common Law 10
                           Civil Law 12
                           Criminal Law 12
                           Administrative Law 13
                      Sociolegal Perspectives and the Law 13
                           Sociological Jurisprudence 14
                           Legal Realism 15
                           Critical Legal Studies 15
                           Feminist Legal Theory 16
                      Theoretical Perspectives of Criminal Court Decision-Making Practices 16
                      Summary 17 • Key Terms 19 • Critical Thinking Exercises 19 • Case Study
                      Decision-Making Exercise 20 • Concept Review Questions 20 • Suggested
                      Readings 21
Chapter 2
                      The Structure of American Courts 22
                      Introduction 23
                      Classifying America's Courts 24
                           Subject Matter Jurisdiction 24
                           Geographic Jurisdiction 25
                           Hierarchical Jurisdiction 26
                      Federal Court Organization 26
                           U.S. Magistrates 28
                           U.S. District Courts 28
                           U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeal 29
                           The U.S. Supreme Court 30
```

# State Court Organization 33 Courts of Limited Jurisdiction 37 Courts of General Jurisdiction 38 Intermediate Courts of Appeal 39 Courts of Last Resort 40 Summary 40 • Key Terms 42 • Critical Thinking Exercises 42 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 42 • Concept Review Questions 43 • Suggested Readings 43 The Prosecution 44

### Chapter 3

Introduction 45

The Adversary System 48

The Prosecution 49

The Roles of Prosecutors 50 Prosecutorial Misconduct 53 Misconduct Risks and Sanctions 58

Summary 59 • Key Terms 61 • Critical Thinking Exercises 61 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 61 • Concept Review Questions 62 • Suggested Readings 62

#### Chapter 4 The Defense 63

Introduction 64

On Legal Ethics and Professional Responsibility 66

The Right to Counsel 67

The Right to a Trial by Jury 72

The Defense 73

Functions of the Defense 77 Defense Misconduct 79

Interactions Between Prosecutors and Defense Attorneys 80

The Discovery Process 81

### Defense Attorneys and Defenses for Criminal Conduct 84

Automatism and/or Insanity 86 Intoxication 87 Coercion or Duress 87 Necessity 87 Alibi 88 Entrapment 88 Defense of Property 88 Ignorance or Mistake 88 Self-Defense 89

Summary 89 • Key Terms 92 • Critical Thinking Exercises 92 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 93 • Concept Review Questions 93 • Suggested Readings 93

#### Chapter 5 Judges 94

Introduction 95

### Judges and Their Qualifications 96

The Politicalization of Judicial Selection 97 State Judicial Selection Methods 98 Appointments of Judges by Governors 99

```
Legislative Appointments of Judges 100
                           Merit Selection of Judges 101
                           The Missouri Plan 101
                           Federal Judicial Selection Methods 104
                      Judicial Training 107
                      Judicial Misconduct and Abuses of Discretion 108
                           Forms of Judicial Misconduct 108
                      Other Issues with Judicial Behavior 109
                      Removing Judges from Office 110
                           Impeachment 111
                           Recall Elections 112
                      Summary 112 • Key Terms 114 • Critical Thinking Exercises 114 • Case Study
                      Decision-Making Exercise 114 • Concept Review Questions 114 • Suggested
                      Readings 115
Chapter 6
                      Juries 116
                      Introduction 117
                      The History of Juries 118
                      The Development of the Grand Jury 119
                      The Development of the Petit Jury 119
                      The Jury Selection Process 120
                           Venire 120
                           Voir Dire 121
                      The Elimination of Jurors 121
                           Challenges for Cause 121
                           Peremptory Challenges 122
                      Jury Consultants and Scientific Jury Selection 126
                      Jury Size 127
                      Jury Sequestration 130
                      Jury Decision Making and Voting 131
                      Jury Verdicts 132
                      Jury Nullification 133
                      Jury and Juror Misconduct 134
                      Summary 135 • Key Terms 137 • Critical Thinking Exercises 138 • Case Study
                      Decision-Making Exercise 138 • Concept Review Questions 139 • Suggested
                      Readings 139
Chapter 7
                      Pretrial Procedures and the Trial Process 140
                      Introduction 141
                      Arrest and Booking 143
                           Arrest 143
                           Booking 143
                      Initial Appearance 144
                      The Right to Bail 145
                      Bail Bondsmen and Bonding Companies 146
                      Competing Goals of Bail 146
                      Other Forms of Pretrial Release 148
                      Bounty Hunters 149
```

### Preliminary Hearings 150 The Defendant Waives the Right to Preliminary Hearing 151 The Defendant Does Not Waive the Right to Preliminary Hearing 151 Grand Jury Action 151 Arraignments 151 Trial Process and Procedures 153 The Speedy Trial 153 Bench Trials and Jury Trials Contrasted 156 Bench Trials 156 Jury Trials 158 The Trial Process 159 Pretrial Motions 159 Opening Arguments 161 The State Presents Its Case 162 The Right of Cross-Examination 162 Eyewitnesses and Expert Witnesses 167 The Defense and Summation 168 **Jury Deliberations** 170 Must Juries Agree on a Verdict? 171 The Verdict and Its Aftermath 173 Summary 175 • Key Terms 178 • Critical Thinking Exercises 178 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 179 • Concept Review Questions 179 • Suggested Readings 180 Pretrial Procedures: Plea Bargaining 181 Introduction 182 Plea Bargaining: Negotiated Guilty Pleas 183 Types of Plea Bargaining 193 Implicit Plea Bargaining 193 Charge Reduction Bargaining 195 Judicial Plea Bargaining 196 Sentence Recommendation Bargaining 197 The Pros and Cons of Plea Bargaining 199

Arguments for Plea Bargaining 199
Arguments Against Plea Bargaining 201

### Why Is Plea Bargaining Banned in Some Jurisdictions? 205

Reasons for Banning Plea Bargaining 206

Judicial Instructions for Accepting Guilty Pleas and Rights Waivers 206

Sentencing Systems and Plea Bargaining 210

Summary 211 • Key Terms 213 • Critical Thinking Exercises 214 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 214 • Concept Review Questions 214 • Suggested Readings 215

### **Chapter 9** Sentencing Goals and Structures 216

Introduction 217

Chapter 8

### Functions and Goals of Sentencing 218

Punishment Philosophies 219 Retribution/"Just Deserts" 219 Incapacitation 220

```
Deterrence 223
Reintegration 223
Forms of Sentencing 224
    Indeterminate Sentencing 224
    Determinate Sentencing 225
    Presumptive or Guidelines-Based Sentencing 226
    Mandatory Sentencing 229
Habitual Offender Statutes and Truth-in-Sentencing Laws 229
    Habitual Offender Statutes 229
    Use-a-Gun-and-Go-to-Prison Statutes 232
    Truth in Sentencing 232
Summary 234 • Key Terms 236 • Critical Thinking Exercises 236 • Case Study
Decision-Making Exercise 236 • Concept Review Questions 237 • Suggested
Readings 237
Judicial Sentencing Options, Sentencing Disparities, and Appeals 238
Introduction 239
Judicial Options at Sentencing 240
    Incarceration 240
    Probation 242
    Shock Probation and Split Sentencing 243
    The Death Penalty and Bifurcated Trials 244
    Bifurcated Trials 245
The Sentencing Hearing 247
    Weighing the Aggravating and Mitigating Circumstances 247
The Presentence Investigation Report (PSI): Contents and Functions 248
    Functions of PSIs 248
    The Offender's Sentencing Memorandum 249
    Victim Impact Statements and Victim Input 249
Imposing the Sentence 250
Sentencing Disparities 250
    Sentencing Disparities According to Race/Ethnicity, Gender, and Socioeconomic Status 250
    Race and Ethnicity 251
    Gender 253
    Socioeconomic Status 254
Appeals of Sentences 255
    The Purposes of an Appeal 255
    Appeals of Sentences 255
    Appellants and Appellees 255
    Bases for Appeals 256
    Writs of Certiorari 257
    Initiating Appeals 257
    The Discretionary Powers of Appellate Courts 258
    Appeals by Indigents 258
    Wrongful Convictions and Pardons 259
Summary 261 • Key Terms 262 • Critical Thinking Exercises 262 • Case Study
Decision-Making Exercise 263 • Concept Review Questions 263 • Suggested
Readings
          263
```

Rehabilitation 221 Restoration 222

Chapter 10

Chapter 11	The Juvenile Justice System: Juvenile Rights and Case Processing 264 Introduction 265
	Delinquency, Juvenile Delinquents, and Status Offenders 266  Juvenile Delinquents 266  Status Offenders 267
	The Jurisdiction of Juvenile Courts 269 Parens Patriae 269
	Modern Applications of Parens Patriae 270
	Juvenile Court History 270
	The Juvenile Justice Process 272  Referrals, Intake, and Petitions 272  Juvenile Court Prosecutors and Decision Making 273
	Juvenile Rights and Standards of Proof 274
	Variations in Criminal and Juvenile Court Processing 277
	Summary 278 • Key Terms 279 • Critical Thinking Exercises 280 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 280 • Concept Review Questions 280 • Suggested Readings 280
Chapter 12	Juvenile Courts: Adjudication and Disposition 281
	Introduction 282
	Adjudicatory Proceedings 283
	Dispositions 283
	Changing Juvenile Court Practices 284
	Defense Counsels as Advocates for Juveniles 285  Transfers, Waivers, and Certifications 286
	Types of Waivers 288
	Waiver and Reverse Waiver Hearings 289
	Implications of Waiver Hearings for Juveniles 289
	Criminal Court Processing of Juvenile Offenders 290
	Blended Sentencing Statutes and the Get-Tough Movement 291 Blended Sentencing Statutes 291
	Teen Courts 292
	The Use of Teen Courts 293
	Blue Earth County Teen Court 294
	Teen Court Variations 294  The Successfulness of Teen Courts 295
	Trends and Implications for Juvenile Offenders 296  A Summary of Juvenile Justice Trends 296
	Summary 297 • Key Terms 298 • Critical Thinking Exercises 299 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 299 • Concept Review Questions 299 • Suggested Readings 300
Chamber 12	
Chapter 13	Diversion, Alternative Dispute Resolution, and Specialty Courts 301
	Introduction 303
	Decriminalization, Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), Diversion, and Restorative Justice: Exploring Alternatives to Criminal Prosecution 303
	Decriminalization 304
	Alternative Dispute Resolution 305
	Restorative Justice 305

	Victim—Offender Reconciliαtion 307	
	Pretrial Diversion 308  The History and Philosophy of Diversion 308  Functions of Diversion 308  Factors Influencing Pretrial Diversion 309  Criticisms of Diversion 309  Other Noncriminal or Criminal Sanctions 310  Community Service 310	
	Restitution and Victim Compensation 310  Specialty Courts 312  Drug Courts 313  Domestic Violence Courts 313  Youth Courts 314  Mental Health Courts 314  Veterans Courts 315  Summary 316 • Key Terms 318 • Critical Thinking Exercises 318 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 319 • Concept Review Questions 319 • Suggested Readings 319	
Chapter 14	Courts, Media, and the Litigation Explosion 320 Introduction 321 Trials and the Court of Public Opinion 323 History of the Media and the Courts 324 Current Status of Media Access to the Courts 326 Pretrial Publicity 326 What Types of Information Do Potential Jurors Consider Prejudicial? 329 How to Minimize the Effects of Pretrial Publicity 330 The Litigation Explosion 331 Torts 332 Industrial Capitalism 332 Changing Legal Doctrine and Legislative Intervention 333 The Influence of Legal Scholars 334 Arguments for Tort Reform 335 A Dramatic Increase in the Number of Tort Cases 335 Juries Delivering Excessive Awards 336 Who Benefits from Tort Reform? 337 Summary 338 • Key Terms 340 • Critical Thinking Exercises 340 • Case Study Decision-Making Exercise 340 • Concept Review Questions 341 • Suggested Readings 341	
GLOSSARY 342		
REFERENCES 365		
CASES CITED INDEX	X 379	
NAME INDEX 381		
SUBJECT INDEX 38	35	
Contents ix		

Impartial Arbiters and Their Qualifications 306

Victim Participation and Input 307

# Preface

Criminal Courts: Structure, Process, and Issues (fourth edition) is a comprehensive examination of the U.S. Criminal Court systems, to include discussion of actors in the system with decision-making power, and case processing from the point when offenders are arrested and charged with crimes through the sentencing and appeals process. This book also deals with issues confronting the system from historical, philosophical, sociological, and psychological perspectives. Some of these include judicial activism and the Supreme Court, prosecutorial and judicial discretion, the right to legal representation, judicial misconduct, jury nullification, diversion and alternative programs, specialty courts, and the role of plea bargaining in our system of justice. Finally, throughout this work, there are comparisons of court ideals with actual court functioning. This is to give students a more straightforward look at how the courts in our criminal justice system operate as well as how the persons who work in the system sometimes follow the rules, and at other times they bend the rules. This is not to say that our system of laws and justice can be manipulated, even though that sometimes happens, but that much of the law is broad and ambiguous and actors in the system are given discretion to interpret it. The reality of the criminal justice system, including the criminal courts, is that often limited human and financial resources hinder actors' ability to invoke the formal legal system to its full extent. It is through this ideal versus reality lens that students will learn much about the structure and function of the U.S. Criminal Courts.

The opening chapter begins with an examination of law and its social and political origins as well as where and how courts and the legal system fit into the criminal justice system. Despite the different periods or eras into which world history has been divided by scholars, the pervasiveness and continuity of law are apparent. Laws have always existed in some form or another, but largely intended to fulfill the same general purposes regardless of the culture we choose to examine. The major functions of law are social control, dispute resolution, and social change. Over time, technological changes have occurred and social ideas have evolved, and this has contributed to new thinking about how persons should orient themselves to others. The courts have made landmark decisions related to what the constitution guarantees to persons and many social and legal issues have been addressed and restructured via the law; in some instances, liberating persons and their beliefs, and in others restricting previously tolerated behaviors.

Laws can also be differentiated according to whether they pertain to civil or criminal matters. Statements about what the law says and how we should comport ourselves in our daily lives or out in the community in the company of others are referred to as substantive law. In less complex social systems, substantive law tended to be espoused by the courts in the form of common law. Common law is based on traditions, dependent upon the particular needs and desires of groups of people living together in cities or towns. As our social systems have become increasingly complex, we have devised more elaborate legal schemes and more formal mechanisms to maintain the social order and regulate human conduct. How the law should be applied is the province of procedural law. The United States has one of the most complex and contrived legal systems. Today, there are all types of law pertaining to different aspects of our society. These laws are either civil or criminal, and increasingly, a whole body of law focuses upon administrative law.

It is a legal reality that the early applications of the law favored particular interests over others. Some persons believe that our laws have been created to preserve the status quo for those who possess political and economic power. Thus, there have been inherent disparities existing in how the law is applied and for whom it is implemented. Those suffering the most from legal disparities historically have been women, children, and minorities. In recent decades, sociolegal movements have prompted substantial social changes in response to disparate treatment of certain groups, and still there are groups today who believe their interests are not reflected in the current application of the law.

Understanding the laws of the United States begins with a critical examination and description of the dual court system that is present in the United States. The principal components of the dual court system are federal and state court apparatuses. Chapter 2 describes federal and state court organization, and various functions of these different types of courts. There are diverse court systems, and there is little continuity among the states concerning what these different courts should be called. We do not have a universal nomenclature that can be applied to all state and local courts at various levels. However, there is considerable continuity within the federal court system. Federal and state court jurisdictions are distinguished, and the processes and functions of different types of courts are described and discussed.

The court workgroup consists of the same types of actors, regardless of whether we are discussing federal or state jurisdictions. Whenever one or more laws are violated, prosecutors at the state or federal level act against alleged offenders to bring them to justice. Thus, Chapters 3 and 4 examine prosecutors and defense counsels in some detail, identifying their principal functions and duties. The U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights have vested all citizens with particular rights to ensure that they will be treated equally under the law. All persons who are charged with a criminal offense are entitled to counsel if they are obligated to appear in court to answer criminal charges. Under particular circumstances, anyone may enjoy the right to a jury trial comprised of one's peers. These are due process rights afforded to those accused of criminal acts. These due process rights and the roles and functions of both prosecutors and defense counsels are examined and discussed.

The judge is often seen as the most important actor in the court system. Judges oversee all court proceedings and make important decisions. Several types of systems are used for judicial selection. These systems are described. While legal backgrounds are strongly recommended for persons functioning as judges, it is not necessarily true that all judges have law degrees or legal training. Thus, different methods for selecting judges are explained, together with the strengths and weaknesses of these methods. Merit selection of judges now seems to be favored in many jurisdictions to try and seat the best qualified candidates as judges. There is still, however, a segment of the judiciary clearly lacking the qualifications and commitment to make good decisions. Judicial misconduct of various kinds will be described, and some of the remedies available to the public for recalling bad judges will be examined.

At the heart of our legal system is the jury process despite the fact that a very small percentage of cases actually result in a jury trial. In fact, juries account for only about 10 percent of all criminal cases that are pursued. Nevertheless, considerable time is devoted to examining the jury process and how jurors are selected. Juries are comprised of persons from the general population. Methods of jury selection vary greatly among jurisdictions. Both prosecutors and defense counsel conduct *voir dires* or oral questioning of prospective juries from a list of veniremen or a *venire*. Sometimes experts are used to assist as consultants, since some persons believe that jury selection can enhance the chances of a conviction or an acquittal. Various methods for discharging prospective jurors are examined, including challenges for cause and peremptory challenges. Various standards among the states and the federal system are described to show that there are different criteria applied

for determining the appropriate jury size and the process of jury decision making. The decision-making process of juries is examined in some detail, and the important topics of jury nullification and juror misconduct are explored.

For offenders who are prosecuted criminally for violating the law, the arrest and booking process are described in Chapter 7. The issue of bail is also discussed. An overview of bail decision making and bail bondspersons is provided. Bail has always been a controversial issue and critics assert that it is punishment against poor offenders who often cannot afford bail. The purposes and practices of bail, therefore, are also discussed in detail. Changing sentiments in some jurisdictions has led to bail reform in order that bail might be more affordable to all offenders and that jail and detention overcrowding might be alleviated.

The actual trial process is also illustrated. Those charged with crimes may undergo either bench or jury trials, where either a judge will decide their case or a jury will deliberate. The criminal trial process is described in some detail with various fictional scenarios that have paralleled some actual legal cases in the recent past. In any criminal trial, due process requires that we consider any defendant innocent of a crime until proved guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. This is a difficult standard to achieve in many cases. Prosecutors who pursue criminal cases against particular suspects believe that they can convince juries of the defendant's guilt. However, the defendant is represented by counsel who attempts to show that the defendant is innocent. Various witnesses are brought forth and testify, either for or against particular defendants. Some of these witnesses are eyewitnesses, while others are expert witnesses who testify about the quality and significance of collected evidence. Juries deliberate and decide one's guilt or innocence.

One, however, must also keep in mind that the most frequently used resolution strategy for criminal offenders is not a trial but plea bargaining, which is discussed in Chapter 8. Plea bargaining is a preconviction agreement between prosecutors, defense counsels, and their clients where guilty pleas are entered to criminal charges in exchange for some type of leniency. Plea bargaining results in a criminal conviction, but the penalties imposed are often less harsh compared with the penalties imposed through trial convictions. Different types of plea bargaining will be discussed. The pros and cons of plea bargaining are listed. Furthermore, some jurisdictions have abolished plea bargaining, and their reasons for doing so will be examined.

Regardless of whether offenders plead guilty through some type of plea bargain or are found guilty at trial, they will have a sentencing hearing. Sentencing hearings are conducted by trial judges. Sentencing hearings permit victims or relatives of victims to make victim impact statements in either verbal or written form. Others testify on behalf of defendants. Judges are the final arbiters and impose different sentences, depending upon the seriousness of the crime, one's prior record, and other factors. Several different types of sentencing systems that are used by U.S. courts today will be discussed. Chapter 9 examines these systems as well as the goals of punishment. In the event that convicted offenders are dissatisfied with the verdict, they are entitled to appeal their cases to higher courts. Judicial sentencing options, disparity in sentencing, and the appellate process are discussed in Chapter 10. Featured are death penalty cases, which are always automatically appealed. The appeals process is especially lengthy, and even those who are sentenced to death in states with capital punishment laws may not be executed for ten or more years.

A parallel system of justice exists for juvenile offenders. Thus, Chapters 11 and 12 examine the juvenile justice system with particular emphasis upon how the juvenile court system is structured and operated. A different language applies to juvenile processing, and various comparisons are made between the juvenile and criminal justice systems. Several important landmark juvenile cases are cited where they have been granted certain constitutional rights by the U.S. Supreme Court. Over time, juvenile courts have taken on the characteristics of criminal courts. Some persons believe that in several years, the juvenile court may be abolished and that a unified court for both juveniles and adults will emerge.

Not all persons charged with crimes are ultimately processed by the criminal justice system. Chapter 13 discusses how some offenders are diverted to civil courts or into civil dispute resolution programs where their cases can be concluded in noncriminal ways. Victims and offenders are often brought together in alternative dispute resolution actions, where victim compensation and restorative justice are sought as remedies for wrongdoing. In some states, various laws are being scrutinized for the purpose of changing them and causing criminal acts to become decriminalized through legislative changes. Thus, the process of alternative dispute resolution, pretrial diversion, and specialty courts will be examined.

Chapter 14 concludes with an examination of how the court process is influenced by the media. As our society has become increasingly complex in a technological sense, we have mastered ways of delivering information to more people through different mediums such as television and the Internet. At the same time that we have been increasingly exposed to what goes on in the courtroom, a major litigation explosion has occurred, where increasing numbers of lawsuits are filed. We have evolved into a very litigious society. One reason for the great increase in litigation is the great publicity derived from courtroom coverage by the media and the sensationalization of particular cases. Media in the courtroom will be explored, and the pros and cons of media coverage will be examined in terms of how public opinion is shaped.

Ancillaries and desirable features of this book include critical thinking exercises, a case study decision-making exercise, and numerous concept review questions at the end of each chapter. Key terms are boldfaced and listed in the margins throughout the text and revisited again at the end of the chapter; a comprehensive glossary of these and other terms is found in an appendix. Recently published readings are also suggested at the end of each chapter so that those interested in learning more about particular subjects can locate further reading for their edification and education. An up-to-date bibliography of both research publications and legal cases is provided in the end-of-book references to facilitate one's research and general study. A new feature to this edition is the use of boxed sections which discuss key cases and legal issues in each chapter. These are included to feature landmark cases and current issues or events that complement the text itself. Some of these key cases are considered landmark decisions which have had a great impact on criminal justice in action, and the real people and real events that take place in society every day. Chapter openers have also been included to heighten student interest in learning more about our court system and to provide them with real stories or snapshots of important knowledge about courts and the law.

While this book is coauthored, it is acknowledged that the final result is the work of many persons. We wish to thank Gary Bauer, Lynda Cramer and Jennifer Sargunar from Pearson for their patience and help in getting this fourth edition together. We are also indebted to the many reviewers who have made helpful suggestions and constructive criticisms for all editions of this work (Stephen Brodt, Ball State University–Muncie; Kristine Mullendore, Grand Valley State University–Grand Rapids; Timothy Garner, Ball State University–Muncie; Sylvia Blake-Larson, Tarrant County College; Scott Donaldson, Tarrant County College; Robert Greenwood, Madonna University; and Julie Raines, Marist College). Finally, special thanks to Judge Catherine Torres-Stahl for her comments and suggestions on this fourth edition, and UTSA Masters students Michelle Hill, Johannes Laven, and Thomas Garza for their assistance in finding sources, references, and suggested reading materials.

# New to the 4th edition

 A revised introductory chapter discusses the criminal courts and their functions in the context of the larger criminal justice system to include a section on the relationship between the courts, and police and corrections agencies.

- Many new chapter openers have been added to introduce students to the main topic of the chapter.
- Boxed items in each chapter have been added under the themes of key cases and legal issues. Key cases succinctly list and describe the most important landmark cases that have been influential to the process and functioning of the courts and its key actors. Legal Issues boxes describe contemporary problems confronting the courts and ask students to opine about the best course of action for both policy and practice.
- Definitions for key terms are now listed in the margins of the chapters.
- Chapter summaries have been reorganized by learning objectives.
- New "What Do You Think" feature in each chapter prompts students to use critical thinking skills with real-world application.
- Policy-oriented critical thinking exercises and case study decision-making exercises have been added to complement the concept review questions at each chapter's end.
- Findings from contemporary and classic empirical research studies have been interspersed throughout the text to provide students with the knowledge of real-world functioning of courts and the criminal justice system.

—Richard D. Hartley Gary A. Rabe Dean John Champion

# About the Authors

Richard D. Hartley is an associate professor in the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of Texas at San Antonio. He holds a Ph.D. from the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. He teaches courses relating to criminal courts and the administration of justice, as well as research methods for criminology and criminal justice. Dr. Hartley's research interests include prosecutorial and judicial discretion, and extralegal determinants of court decision-making practices. He has been involved with a number of National Institute of Justice-funded research projects for which he analyzed court outcomes, especially those for federal narcotics and immigration offenders, as well as the impact of veterans treatment courts on justice involved veterans. He holds professional memberships in the American Society of Criminology, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, the Society for Empirical Legal Studies, and the European Society of Criminology. Dr. Hartley has also given lectures and collected data on court decisions in international venues in both Colombia and Spain. Some of his recent peer-reviewed publications appear in *Criminal Justice and Behavior, Criminal Justice Policy Review, Crime & Delinquency*, and *Justice Quarterly*.

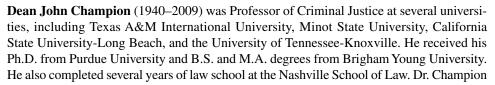


**Gary A. Rabe** After serving for five years as the Vice President for Academic Affairs at Minot State University (MSU), Dr. Gary A. Rabe has returned to his academic appointment as a professor within the Department of Criminal Justice.

Dr. Rabe earned a Ph.D. in Criminology from the University Delaware, an M.A. in Criminology and Corrections from Sam Houston State University, and a B.S. in Criminal Justice from MSU. His professional experience includes Executive Director of the Rural Crime and Justice Center (MSU), Department Chair and Associate Professor of the Criminal Justice Center (MSU), Interim Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences (MSU), and Director of the Rural Law Enforcement Education Project at MSU. As Director of the Rural Crime and Justice Center, he was successful in obtaining over \$8 million dollars in grants and contracts.



Dr. Rabe's professional memberships and services have included the National Consortium for White Collar Crime Research, the American Society of Criminology, the Law and Society Association, and the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Dr. Rabe has served as a consultant to the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center and the National White Collar Crime Center, and served on the editorial board for the *Journal of Crime and Justice*. Dr. Rabe was recently reappointed by the Governor to a second consecutive four-year term on the North Dakota Commission on Alternatives to Incarceration. Dr. Rabe's academic areas of specialization include Criminological Theory, Criminal Justice Policy Evaluation, Rural Crime, Criminology, Corporate Crime and Sentencing, Courts, and Sociology of Law. He has coauthored three books and published several book chapters, articles, and technical reports.





was a prolific writer and has over 40 texts and/or edited works to his credit, a few of which were internationally recognized having been translated into Russian, Portuguese, Chinese, and Spanish.

He maintained membership in 11 professional organizations and was a lifetime member of the American Society of Criminology, Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, and the American Sociological Association. He was a former editor of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences/Anderson Publishing Company Series on *Issues in Crime and Justice* and the *Journal of Crime and Justice*, and a contributing author for the *Encarta Encyclopedia 2000* for Microsoft. He was also a former Visiting Scholar for the National Center for Juvenile Justice and president of the Midwestern Criminal Justice Association.

Some of his published books for Prentice-Hall include *Crime Prevention in America* (2007); *Research Methods for Criminal Justice and Criminology 3/e* (2006); *The Juvenile Justice System: Delinquency, Processing, and the Law 5/e* (2007); *Corrections in the United States: A Contemporary Perspective 4/e* (2005); *Probation, Parole, and Community Corrections 5/e* (2008). His specialty interests included juvenile justice, criminal justice administration, corrections, and statistics/methods. Dr. Champion was a great advocate of student education and will be missed by all who knew him. His absence will especially be felt in the classroom and at the association annual meetings.

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# Law The Legal Battlefield

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

As a result of reading this chapter, you will have accomplished the following objectives:

- 1 Apply your knowledge of what the law is and the role that courts play in various facets of our daily lives.
- 2 Compare and contrast the different functions of law, including social control, dispute resolution, and social change.
- 3 Understand the evolution of disputes and the formal resolution of them.
- 4 Identify the difference between substantive law and procedural law.
- 5 Summarize the different types of law, including common law, civil law, and criminal and administrative laws.
- Draw appropriate conclusions about the different sociolegal perspectives on law, such as sociological jurisprudence, legal realism, critical legal studies, and feminist legal theory.

Recently, a nonprofit organization called the Texas Sons of Confederate Veterans (Texas SCV) applied to the state to make available a specialty license plate that would be issued by the Texas DMV. The state rejected their application because the license plate proposed included confederate flags on it. The Texas DMV had a policy that it can refuse specialty license plates if they might offend some persons. The nonprofit sued, stating that their First Amendment rights were violated. The DMV argued, however, that license plates are considered "government speech," and therefore, the state can decide what messages to display on license plates. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals sided with the Texas SCV, ruling that the DMV discriminated against them by not approving their application to make the license plates available. The Supreme Court weighed in after appeal from the DMV and determined in a 5-4 decision that license plates are government speech, and therefore, the Texas DMV had the right to refuse the design submitted by the Texas SCV. Should states be able to determine what types of license plates they will issue? Does this, in your opinion, violate an individual's right to free speech? How is it that two different courts could come to two different decisions about this matter? Why did the Supreme Court have to make the decision in this case? What do you think? Was this about the nonprofit's ability to raise money through the license plate or was it truly that they wanted persons to be able to express their viewpoints through the specialty license plate? Couldn't the nonprofit sell bumper stickers that individuals could display next to their Texas license plates? Why are license plates regulated by the courts and bumper stickers not?

### Introduction

When most persons think of the law, they conjure up ideas about rules of conduct for behavior that have been written down. This is what we would refer to as substantive law. The law, however, also is the structures, procedures, and persons who have the authority to put the law into practice. The law can mean different things for different people. Some might see the law as an avenue for redress of social ills in society. Others might believe that the law is used only as a means to maintain the status quo and the power of those in the ruling class. The law is both, and can be viewed in many ways by many different people. The law may be liberating to some and at the same time oppressive to others (Vago 2006). Indeed, in the United States, the law enabled and eliminated slavery, controlled and liberated women, and ruled for and against government control of people's lives. In the introductory example, the Supreme Court weighed in on what is allowable to be displayed on a state license plate. A Texas nonprofit felt that the state violated their First Amendment rights when it rejected their specialty license plate application because the design included confederate flags on it. The federal courts have the authority to decide disputes between the states as well as between the states and individuals, and private or nonprofit organizations. This example also shows that courts decide not only matters of crime and justice, but also matters about constitutional rights. Remember that the U.S. Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and the federal courts have the right to determine whether the rights and freedoms enumerated in the constitution have been violated by state laws, city and county rules, and even governmental and private institutions' policies. No matter how one views the law, the criminal courts are both the institution and the structure that bring the law to life, and the courts make important decisions that affect society and the lives of its citizens.

The criminal court system in the United States is very complex and can be a confusing system to study and understand. The federal government and each state have their own court structure and rules of procedure for implementation of the law. There are also

different punishment structures; there are indeterminate and determinate sentencing structures, as well as guideline-based systems, and depending on the court or the crime, there may also be statutes in place that guide punishment, such as habitual offender laws, truth in sentencing, or mandatory minimums. To be even more confusing, criminal courts may not be the only option for administering justice. Throughout the United States, there are also military courts, tribal courts, juvenile courts, and specialty courts such as drug courts or veterans courts. There is no uniformity in the courts and the sentencing structures they employ among the jurisdictions across the country, and therefore, the U.S. criminal court system can sometimes be very confusing.

The functions of criminal courts are more straightforward; most persons believe that the primary function of law is to maintain social order, and indeed, the law and court structure are charged with maintaining order. This is accomplished through the adversary system that characterizes the U.S. courts, and its adjudicative function. Throughout societies, the law vests considerable power in judges to impose punishment on convicted offenders. The instrument of law and punishment is the criminal justice system whose actors are responsible for apprehending offenders, charging them with crimes, ascertaining guilt, and meting out punishments. The adversary system of justice pits the prosecution against the defense in a search for the truth. Some, however, might question whether the system is adversarial as the relationship between the prosecution and defense seems to be more reciprocal than adversarial. In other words, the prosecution, defense, and judge (the courtroom workgroup) have broader common interests to efficiently process the court's caseload than to argue and search for the truth. This is exemplified by the fact that roughly 90 percent of cases are plea bargained rather than settled at trial. This notion of prosecution, defense, and judge being cooperative rather than adversarial is based upon the idea that the actors who practice the law must work together to efficiently process cases. Eisenstein and Jacob (1977) assert that the courtroom workgroup has many shared goals, and thus, working together is incentivized. The courtroom workgroup is more than just prosecution, defense, and judge, however, and includes bailiffs, clerks, and even defendants whose interactions on a daily basis affect court outcomes.

There are two broad philosophies regarding how courts function. One portrays a legal institution that focuses on rules and procedures and where justice is the ultimate goal, and the other depicts a community where interdependent actors rely on one another to perform their roles and where the nature of these relationships will influence processes and practices. Indeed, the formal rules and procedures are in place to guide the administration of justice, but courts are complex political institutions and different courtroom communities may dispense different kinds of justice.

Notwithstanding the manner in which one views the role and function of courts in society, there are several different kinds of laws or rules that attempt to govern our behavior and the way the citizenry conduct their lives. There are laws against many violations we may or may not know exist but are in place to protect us from things that may harm or injure us. Law is dynamic and has many definitions. What is against the law in one place or at one time may not be a violation in another place or at another time. What elements of a crime need to be proved to meet the different evidentiary standards? Different states and the federal government define crimes in particular ways. There is much variation among the states about the nature and seriousness of different types of offenses. There is also variation among different jurisdictions in the application of laws, even if they have the same or similar laws. This is referred to as interdistrict disparity. For example, if two persons commit the same federal narcotics violation and have similar backgrounds, but one is being convicted in district court in Texas and the other in district court in North Dakota, their sentences may be very different because of local court contexts (plea bargaining, departure rates, and prison overcrowding) even though they violated the same federal law.

There are also many definitional differences of criminal law in various places and also at various times. While these definitions are important to learn, it is also important to understand the different functions of law for a society as well as the consistency and inconsistency with which the law is applied. This chapter examines various perspectives regarding the purposes and functions of law. Law can be used as a means to regulate the behavior of society, it can be used to settle disputes between grieving parties, and it can be used to elicit change in current practices or ideas. This chapter also provides a framework for the evolution of disputes and their formal resolution. There are different stages in the evolution of disputes. Persons investigating this evolution are concerned with developing a conceptual framework in order to better understand which disputes will reach the courts for formal resolution. Different types of law are also described—substantive versus procedural law, common law, civil law, administrative law, and criminal law. Another section describes some of the more important contributions of sociolegal scholars like Oliver Wendell Holmes, Roscoe Pound, Karl Llewellyn, and Roberto Unger, as well as some feminist legal theorists who have investigated the interplay between law and society. Finally, some theoretical perspectives related to court decision-making processes and practices are offered.

### What Is Law?

law the body of rules of specific conduct, prescribed by existing, legitimate authority in a particular jurisdiction and at a particular point in time.

Low is a set of rules defining behavior for a particular place and at a particular time. Law has been argued by some as an expression of the needs of the ruling class. Depending on your particular view of the legal system, law might be perceived as either liberating or oppressive, preserving the status quo, or providing the means and opportunity to challenge the existing social order. Law has been used to both perpetuate and eliminate slavery, dominate and liberate women, and convict and acquit the innocent. Law is related closely to all of these different definitions (Vago 2006).

### The *Dred Scott* Case and the Law

The role of law was very apparent in the *Dred Scott* case, in which the slavery issue was challenged. This case was more about citizenship than slavery. Dred Scott was the slave of an army officer. The officer took Scott from Missouri, to Wisconsin, and eventually to Illinois. When Scott returned to Missouri, he claimed that he was no longer a slave because slavery was not recognized in either Wisconsin or Illinois. Therefore, an important constitutional question arose as to whether citizenship and freedom were vested in former slaves as the result of their relocating in states where slavery was prohibited. The U.S. Supreme Court heard and decided the case in 1857. Recognizing the rights of individual states, the U.S. Supreme Court held that citizenship was not a federal issue. Rather, the issue of slavery was to be determined by the individual states. Thus, according to this decision, Dred Scott was still considered a slave, since the U.S. Supreme Court chose not to interfere in states' rights. This decision encouraged antislave activists to make federal citizenship take priority over state citizenship. Subsequently, the efforts of these antislave activists resulted in the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment established the primacy of federal citizenship and became the foundation by which many legal and social issues have been addressed by the U.S. Supreme Court (Vago 2006).

## The Courts and the Criminal Justice System

Crime has been considered to be a major problem in society for some time and has been the focus of numerous government efforts throughout the history of the United States. Even though crime, especially violent crime, has declined in the past three decades, crime and the criminal justice system still eat up a large portion of federal and state budgets. The cost for public safety in communities around the country as well as for incarcerating those who have been convicted of violating the law continues to rise, forcing many jurisdictions around the nation to rethink the administration of justice. Indeed, the criminal justice system is a major institution in society and is generally thought of as being made up of three entities: the police, the courts, and corrections. Of course, many more agencies and entities are involved in criminal justice, from bail bonding companies to substance abuse and mental health treatment providers, who all play important roles in ensuring that the system continues to operate. There is also interdependence among the agencies involved in the criminal justice system even though each entity's goals, objectives, and responsibilities might be different. The courts play a critical role in the criminal justice system because actions by the police and corrections agencies require, or are the result of, actions from the courts. Likewise, actions by the courts may be influenced by processes that the police and corrections undertake or implement. In this sense, the criminal justice system is a system that is codependent on the entities and actors involved for its continued functioning.

On the other hand, one could argue that the criminal justice system is very disjointed. The police, courts, and corrections rely on each other to do their jobs; however, there is no articulated coordination among them, and each has its own large hierarchical organization that is bureaucratic in nature. Each makes decisions that will affect its own workload and implements rules and procedures to achieve its particular goals. Each also competes for resources from the government and local counties and municipalities. Resources are usually in limited supply and each has to justify requests for increasing budgets. Police agencies want more police officers, courts want more prosecutors and judges, and corrections wants more jail and prison guards, and probation and parole officers.

Oftentimes, these fights are more political than logical or need-based. Since the terrorist attacks in 2001, for example, an increasingly larger share of the crime and justice budget has gone to law enforcement to combat terrorism and other crimes that fund criminal organizations. Meanwhile, many districts at the federal level are in need of increased numbers of judges, and many judgeships sit vacant as Congress is not moving to confirm the President's nominations. Funding for prisons and incarceration is also being reduced as many jurisdictions around the country are realizing the effects of an increased incarceration population and lengthy prison sentences. The get-tough movement and crime control era of the late 1980s and 1990s saw increasingly harsh and even draconian sentences meted out by the courts (truth in sentencing, three strikes, mandatory minimums, and habitual offender statutes are just a few of the tools that were enacted and utilized in an effort to curb crime by increasing punishment). This meant an exploding prison population, and now a recognition that incarceration is expensive, and not that effective, with recidivism rates somewhere around 66 percent for those released from prison. Now many jurisdictions are rethinking their responses to certain offenses, and increasingly using diversion, alternative dispute resolution, and treatment for certain offenders. As the focus of how to respond to crime shifts, so do the courts. Many jurisdictions now have several specialty, or problem-solving, courts to process certain types of cases or offenders as an alternative to traditional criminal court case processing.

The public has also become increasingly distrustful of the amount of tax dollars that are being spent by the criminal justice system with seemingly little effect on future crime and public safety. Criticisms of the way the criminal justice system operates and functions are nothing new, and have focused on one or more of the different components at different times. Although the current focus of criticisms is on discretion and its use and misuse and abuse by law enforcement, for the previous 25 years it was focused on the courts. Namely, judges and their wide-ranging discretion to hand out punishments that they deemed appropriate were the focus of major reforms at both the federal and state court levels. Prosecutors have also been the recipients of much scrutiny aimed at the great deal of power they

hold as the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system and their wide-ranging discretion over liberty, and in some cases, life.

Courts have also been a very political subject regarding the extent to which they make decisions that intrude on the lives of the citizenry; critics have accused some judges of legislating from the bench. Some recent SCOTUS (Supreme Court of the United States) decisions give examples of decisions that have an impact on society. For example, in *Evenwel v. Abbott*, the court decided that under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, states can draw their legislative districts based on population, and in *Fischer v. The University of Texas*, the court decided that using race as a factor in the University's admission process did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. In *Holt v. Hobbs*, the court decided that a restriction against prisoners growing beards violated inmates' rights to exercise their religion, and in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, the court decided that states were required to license and recognize same-sex marriages under the Fourteenth Amendment. All of these decisions will have some effect on people and what they can and cannot legally do in society. Often, these decisions also affect how some aspect of the criminal justice system will operate.

Determining precisely what the law should and should not be has proved to be elusive. Adamson Hoebel (1954) has said that seeking a precise definition of law is like the quest for the Holy Grail. Legislators, prosecutors, defense attorneys, judges, defendants, businesspersons, consumers, parents, students, priests, the wealthy, and the poor all have different perspectives about what the law is and how it should be applied. Despite these diverse views of the law, there are several fundamental assumptions about the functions of law.

### ▶ The Functions of Law

Various legal scholars have studied the functions of law in different social systems and at different points in time. Their many observations about the functions of law can be classified as (1) social control, (2) dispute resolution, and (3) social change.

### **Social Control**

Social control consists of efforts by society to regulate the behavior of its members. The most visible form of social control is the application of the law (e.g., being arrested, prosecuted, and sentenced). For most citizens, this method of control is often the subject matter of the evening news and only happens to other people who they believe deserve to be controlled by the state. We seldom realize that we are subject to these same social controls in our daily lives.

Legal scholars distinguish between informal and formal social controls. Informal social controls are an integral feature of the socialization process. From early childhood, we are constantly taught the norms of behavior that our parents and the social world expect of us. These norms are a product of cultural expectations regarding dress, language, and behavior and our biological capacity to comprehend and adapt to these expectations. These informal social controls are effective because we are rewarded or punished by people who are important to us. Such persons are known as significant others in our lives. Parents, teachers, and even friends and acquaintances are essential in developing a person's sense of right or wrong and will ultimately guide and form our future behaviors. It is through a system of rewards and punishments that these informal social controls become the tools that stop most people from engaging in behavior that would require invoking formal social control mechanisms. Formal social controls include the police, the courts, and corrections. The formal social controls most people think of include being arrested by the police and being prosecuted, convicted, and sentenced by the courts. For

social control informal and formal methods of getting members of society to conform to existing norms. most citizens, these formal social control mechanisms will never have to be utilized. This is because informal social controls and the socialization processes they foment are enough to keep most citizens law abiding.

### **Dispute Resolution**

A second function of law is dispute resolution. Persons frequently engage in disputes with others. Spouses might disagree about the division of labor in their household. Employees may disagree with their employers about their work effectiveness and quality. Sometimes, disagreements occur among total strangers about how to drive on the interstate highways or how we or our children should behave in shopping centers or stores. Historically, persons involved in disputes have relied on informal methods for dispute resolution. In colonial times, families or individuals relied on their village elders to settle disputes. Not so long ago, disputes about many issues were considered private matters settled in nonlegal ways. In more recent decades, informal nonlegal resolutions of disputes have changed considerably. Increasingly, disputants rely on the legal system to resolve issues that once were settled privately. A major change in our social dynamics is largely responsible for this shift. Informal methods for dispute resolution used to be more effective in small, closely knit homogeneous societies. Often, the members of these communities were more closely related either through family ties or economically. Therefore, disputes were quite disruptive to the stability of the community and had to be resolved quickly. It was not deemed necessary to use legal means for resolving disputes because these disputes rarely rose to such formal levels.

One additional benefit of nonlegal methods to resolve disputes is that agreements are usually reached that are satisfactory to both parties. In traditional courtroom litigation, legal dispute resolution results in winners and losers. One side is usually dissatisfied with whatever decision was rendered, but tradition called for accepting that decision without further argument. However, as social systems became increasingly complex and heterogeneous, informal dispute resolution methods were less effective. There was no clear interdependence among the disputants, and the authority attempting to resolve the dispute was unclear. This social evolution generated more formal methods for dispute resolution, which gradually replaced less formal methods. Although formal, legal methods may settle the disputes to the satisfaction of the legal system, this doesn't necessarily mean that the dispute will never recur. It has been claimed, for instance, that a legal resolution of a conflict does not necessarily result in a reduction of tension or antagonism between the aggrieved parties (Vago 2006, 20). However, it is unlikely that most disputes are ever fully resolved; rather, they are temporarily quelled but eventually are resurrected into new conflicts and disputes.

## **Social Change**

Social change is another important function of law. Social change is the use of the law to modify ideas and practices, either actively or passively through natural forces or deliberate social actions. Law is the principal avenue through which social ills and biases are resolved. Legislative bodies are responsible for most of the laws that society abides by, but the courts have been the mechanism by which the law is put into practice. In this sense, the judicial branch of the government plays an important part in the functioning of society. Judges decide what evidence will be admissible in court, and whether persons have violated the law. Circuit court and Supreme Court judges also produce social change with their legal decision making. Appellate court decisions decide correct interpretations and applications of the U.S. Constitution and other legal rules. Court rulings therefore sometimes establish precedents to which subsequent decisions must

dispute resolu-

tion civil action intended to resolve conflicts between two parties.

disputants opposing sides in a civil action or case.

social change process whereby ideas and/or practices are modified either actively or passively or naturally. adhere. These precedents then become the foundation for establishment or transformation of social policy. Under common law and the principle of *stare decisis*, decisions become law. *Stare decisis* literally means to stand by that which has been decided. This does not mean that all cases will be decided the same way, nor that a higher court cannot overturn the precedent. It simply means that courts will abide by the latest ruling on any given issue.

History is replete with examples of law used to effect social changes of various kinds. State legislatures continually implement new laws to change the existing social order. Legislative actions are diverse and change our lives in various ways. For instance, new laws passed by legislatures may require us to wear seat belts or pay increased taxes, may raise or lower the speed limit, or may declare new national holidays. Judges also create social change through their own interpretations of the law and how it should be applied. Thus, the precedents established by judges have formed the bases of changes in various social policies. These changes are the functional equivalent of law-making. Legislators regard this activity as judicial activism and are opposed to it, since they believe that legislatures, not the judiciary, should have the exclusive authority to make law. Beyond this, law is also a method by which to initiate broader societal changes. These processes demonstrate that the relationship between the law and the citizenry is not static but rather dynamic, and that social change arises out of continual iterations of policy and practice.

### judicial activism

judges' use of their power to accomplish social goals.

# ▶ The Evolution of Disputes

Disputes occur frequently, perhaps many times a day among individuals. We may have disputes with our spouses, children, coworkers, and bosses; however, we rarely rely on the legal system to resolve or settle these types of disputes. It is important to realize that many disputes follow particular patterns, and that a process for seeking legal remedies occurs only when several important factors converge. Some researchers have conceptualized the dispute process as consisting of various stages.

## Naming, Blaming, and Claiming

Felstiner, Abel, and Sarat (1980) identify three stages in the evolution of disputes: (1) naming, (2) blaming, and (3) claiming. These researchers were concerned with developing a conceptual framework to understand the evolution of disputes before they reach the courts for formalized resolution. Their view of disputes starts with classifying injuries into either perceived or unperceived. For instance, sometimes we are victimized or injured but aren't aware that we have been victimized or suffering any loss or injury. If we never realize we have been victimized, then we cannot consider bringing a dispute. Have you ever wondered why all of the gasoline prices are the same in your neighborhood? Perhaps this reflects a free and open market where competition has driven gas prices down as far as the local market forces can sustain. Or maybe, all of the gas station owners have secretly conspired to set fuel prices at fixed levels so that they can all benefit from higher prices. The point is that you never know when this situation actually occurs and whether you are being victimized. Each time you refuel your vehicle, you may be benefitting from the free-market system, or you may be being victimized through price-fixing. Thus, you may be the unwitting victim of a crime. When this occurs, even though you are a victim, no dispute arises. However, when you are able to identify yourself as a victim through naming, this is the first stage in formulating a legitimate dispute. The second stage in the dispute process is blaming. This stage involves translating your victimization into a formal grievance. In order for this event to occur, you must blame someone else for your victimization. For example, smokers move from naming to

naming identifying a party in a legal action.

blaming a step in the dispute process whereby the victim singles out someone as a potential target for legal action. blaming when they allege that the tobacco companies have failed to inform them about the hazards of smoking. The final stage in the formulation of disputes is **claiming**. This occurs whenever victims believe that they have been injured, have identified a particular victimizer (someone to blame), and formally express a grievance against the person or organization responsible for their victimization. In most cases, victims seek monetary remedies. These claims ultimately evolve into disputes when the claim is initially rejected by another person or an organization. Not surprisingly, most disputes do not result into formal lawsuits. Most injuries are never perceived, and if they are, it is difficult to identify a particular victimizer. Therefore, the courts are faced with and address only a small fraction of the disputes that evolve into formal complaints and where those involved seek legal remedies.

A similar typology of disputes has been developed by Nader and Todd (1978) and Nader (1979). Like Felstiner, Abel, and Sarat (1980), Nader and Todd describe three stages in the dispute process: (1) the grievance or pre-conflict stage, (2) the conflict stage, and (3) the dispute stage. The grievance or pre-conflict stage requires that individuals or groups must perceive that they have been involved in an unfair or unjust situation. If the grievance is not resolved at this stage, then it progresses to a conflict stage where the victims confront the party they believe is the cause of their victimization. The dispute fully evolves when it reaches the dispute stage and the dispute is made public.

claiming the process in a dispute where a grievance is expressed and a cause of action is cited.

grievance, grievance procedure formalized arrangements whereby institutionalized individuals have the opportunity to register complaints about the conditions of their confinement.

### pre-conflict

stage perception by individuals or groups that they are involved in a conflict situation where a legal resolution is sought.

conflict stage either a pretrial or an alternative dispute resolution phase where a plaintiff and a defendant confront one another and an accusation is made.

dispute stage public revelation of a dispute by filing of a legal action.

substantive law body of law that defines and prescribes the rights and obligations of each person in society.

procedural law rules that specify how the law should be implemented and applied against those who violate the law.

# Types of Law

Typologies of law are both important and necessary. Law varies according to who prosecutes, the nature and types of existing penalties, and a law's particular historical origins. A broadly applicable typology is difficult to develop that includes all types of law. A common distinction is made between substantive law and procedural law.

### **Substantive Law**

Substantive law is the law in books. Substantive law is what the law says. Basically, this is the compilation of local, state, and federal laws created by legislatures. A law exists that defines when someone is under the influence of alcohol when operating a motor vehicle. All states now have .08 BAC as the intoxication standard. Thus, if a motorist has a BAC of .08 or higher, then the motorist is legally intoxicated. If the motorist has a BAC level of .07 or lower, then the motorist is not legally intoxicated. Persons who take money from others by force commit robbery. If they use a dangerous weapon in order to take money from others by force, they commit armed robbery. Laws exist that define these and other criminal acts. Many additional laws combine to form the substance of substantive law.

### **Procedural Law**

Procedural law or the process of law pertains to how the law is applied. Procedural law is also called the law in action. Procedural law specifies how police officers must obtain and execute a search warrant. It also details how witnesses should be sworn when testifying in court, how evidence should be admitted in the courtroom, and how jurors should return their verdicts.

For example, Rule 4(b)(1) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure regarding warrants states that a warrant must:

(A) contain the defendant's name or, if it is unknown, a name or description by which the defendant can be identified with reasonable certainty; (B) describe the offense charged in