



introduction to criminology

SECOND EDITION

pamela j. schram • stephen g. tibbetts

Introduction to Criminology: Why Do They Do It?, Second Edition offers a contemporary and integrated discussion of the key theories that help us understand crime in the 21st century. With a focus on why offenders commit crimes, this bestseller skillfully engages students with real-world cases and examples to help students explore the fundamentals of criminology. To better align with how instructors actually teach this course, coverage of violent and property crimes has been integrated into the theory chapters, so students can clearly understand the application of theory to criminal behavior.

Unlike other introductory criminology textbooks, the *Second Edition* discusses issues of diversity in each chapter and covers many contemporary topics that are not well represented in other texts, such as feminist criminology, cybercrime, hate crimes, white-collar crime, homeland security, and identity theft. Transnational comparisons regarding crime rates and the methods other countries use to deal with crime make this edition the most universal to date and a perfect companion for those wanting to learn about criminology in context.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

- **An increased emphasis on victimization** (Ch.1) focuses on victims of crimes and presents key concepts in victimology.
- **A new chapter dedicated to measuring crime** (Ch.2) offers students a stronger foundation for understanding how crime data enhances our understanding of criminal activity.
- **A new section on multicide** gives students a deeper look into the motivations behind mass murders, school shootings, and issues of race and religious ideology related to these crimes.
- **Up-to-date research, statistics, and coverage of key issues in the field** present students with information on topics such as gun control, mental health, disparity in the criminal justice system, cybercrime and internet fraud, hate crimes, and terrorism.
- **Critical thinking questions are included with all of the features** to provide students with a clear connection between the real-world examples and theory.
- **Revised learning objectives align with Bloom's taxonomy** to better guide students through the pedagogical framework.

SAGE edge™

Give your students the SAGE edge!

SAGE edge offers a robust online environment featuring an impressive array of free tools and resources for review, study, and further exploration, keeping both instructors and students on the cutting edge of teaching and learning. Learn more at edge.sagepub.com/schram2e.

SAGE www.sagepublishing.com
Los Angeles | London | New Delhi | Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne



schram • tibbetts

introduction to criminology

SECOND EDITION



introduction to criminology

SECOND EDITION

pamela j. schram • stephen g. tibbetts



The Tools You Need!



SHARPEN YOUR SKILLS WITH SAGE EDGE!

SAGE edge offers a robust online environment featuring an impressive array of tools and resources for review, study, and further exploration, keeping both instructors and students on the cutting edge of teaching and learning. SAGE edge content is open access and available on demand.

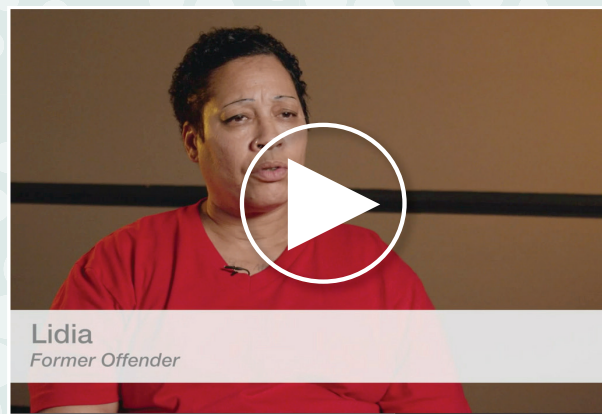


ENHANCED INTERACTIVE EBOOK

- The easy-to-follow interactive eBook gives you access to the same content and page layout of the traditional printed book, but in a flexible digital format.
- Access to premium SAGE Original Videos is only available in the interactive eBook.
- Learn more at edge.sagepub.com/schram2e

SAGE-FILMED ORIGINAL VIDEOS

- **Personal Perspective videos** feature former offenders talking about the crimes they committed and the steps they are taking to turn around their lives.
- **What Were They Thinking?! videos** profile unusual crimes that are related to chapter content.
- **Author videos** discuss concepts presented in each chapter to provide additional clarification and examples.



A Fresh Approach to Criminology

WHY
DO THEY
DO IT?

OMAR MATEEN



Below is a modified CNN timeline of the Orlando, Florida nightclub shooting:

- Sunday (June 12, 2016), 2:02 a.m. ET: Shooting erupts at Pulse, a gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida. There are approximately 320 that evening enjoying the club's "Latin flavor" event. An officer working extra duty in full uniform at the club responds. He and two officers nearby open fire on the shooter, and a gun battle ensues. The shooter goes inside the club, where a hostage situation develops. Over 100 officers from Orange County Sheriff's Office and the Orlando Police Department respond to the scene.
- 2:09 a.m. ET: A standoff follows. Police say they had to wait three hours to access the situation, get armored vehicles on the scene, and ensure they had enough personnel.
- 2:22 a.m. ET: Shooter calls 911 to pledge allegiance to ISIS. He also mentions the Boston Marathon bombers.
- Approximately 5:00 a.m. ET: Heavily armed SWAT team members use an armored vehicle to smash down a door at the club, clearing the way for some 30 people inside to flee to safety. SWAT officers confront the suspect in the doorway, then shoot and kill him.¹⁵⁴

At least 49 people were killed that evening, and over 50 individuals were injured. It was the worst mass shooting in U.S. history. As the news unfolded, many were asking what could motivate someone to engage in such a horrific crime.



People across the world, such as here in Seoul, South Korea, held vigils for the victims in the Orlando, Florida shooting.

Omar Mir Seddique Mateen was 29 years old. His parents are from Afghanistan; he was born in New York but lived in an apartment in Fort Pierce, Florida. Interviews with coworkers revealed that he was "scary." This was not just sometimes, but all the time. He had some anger management issues. Issues that would upset him revolved around women, race, or religion. In 2013, Mateen was interviewed two times by federal agents after co-workers reported he made "inflamatory" comments about radical Islamic propaganda. The next year, he raised concerns with the FBI because of his ties with an American who traveled to the Middle East to become a suicide bomber.

Sitora Yusufiy, Mateen's ex-wife, reported that he was a violent man and beat her. Not only did he physically abuse her, but he also isolated her from her family. They were married only a few months. They officially divorced in 2011. Mateen's father told reporters that Omar became enraged after a same-sex couple kissed in front of his family.¹⁵⁵

THINK ABOUT IT:

1. Was this a terrorist act?
2. Was this a hate crime?
3. Frida Ghitis of CNN asked this very question: terrorism or homophobia? Her answer was "both."¹⁵⁶ Do you agree?

I LIKED THE WAY THIS TEXT INTEGRATED THE THEORY AND THE CRIME. I THINK THAT IT DEMONSTRATED THAT NOT ALL THEORIES EFFECTIVELY EXPLAIN ALL CRIMES.

—Marilyn S. Chamberlin
Western Carolina University

TOOLS DESIGNED FOR CLASSROOM ENGAGEMENT:

Applying Theory to Crime features help students integrate the concepts they learn with violent and property crimes and scenarios.

Why Do They Do It? cases give students an opportunity to critically analyze some of the most high profile cases they hear about in the news.

Chapter-Opening Case Studies present real-life examples that tie directly to the concepts learned in the chapter. These cases are revisited throughout the chapter as students learn additional theories and concepts.

Comparative Criminology boxes present transnational comparisons regarding crime rates and the systems other countries employ to deal with crime.

Helpful end-of-chapter pedagogical features include **theory comparisons**, **policy implications** and **critical thinking questions**.

"I really like how the authors integrate the various street crimes with the theories, which is not normally how Criminology texts are written."

—Christopher Davis
Campbell University—Buies Creek

"I predict that the opening case studies will be most beneficial to my students because the case studies link theory to real-life behavior and profiles."

—Tim Goddard
Florida International University

introduction to **criminology**

SECOND
EDITION



Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne

introduction to **criminology**

SECOND
EDITION



pamela j. schram
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN BERNARDINO

stephen g. tibbetts
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN BERNARDINO



Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne



FOR INFORMATION:

SAGE Publications, Inc.
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320
E-mail: order@sagepub.com

SAGE Publications Ltd.
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London EC1Y 1SP
United Kingdom

SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road, New Delhi 110 044
India

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte. Ltd.
3 Church Street
#10-04 Samsung Hub
Singapore 049483

Acquisitions Editor: Jessica Miller
eLearning Editor: Laura Kirkhuff
Editorial Assistant: Jennifer Rubio
Production Editor: Libby Larson
Copy Editor: Rachel Keith
Typesetter: C&M Digitals (P) Ltd.
Proofreader: Sally Jaskold
Indexer: Joan Shapiro
Cover Designer: Scott Van Atta
Marketing Manager: Amy Lammers

Copyright © 2018 by SAGE Publications, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Schram, Pamela J., author. | Tibbetts, Stephen G., author.

Title: Introduction to criminology : why do they do it / Pamela J. Schram, California State University, San Bernardino, Stephen G. Tibbetts, California State University, San Bernardino.

Description: Second Edition. | Thousand Oaks : SAGE Publications, [2017] | Revised edition of the authors' Introduction to criminology, [2014] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016040618 | ISBN 9781506347561 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Criminology.

Classification: LCC HV6025 .S38 2017 | DDC 364—dc23
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016040618>

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

17 18 19 20 21 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

BRIEF CONTENTS

Preface	xxi
Acknowledgments	xxv
About the Authors	1
CHAPTER 1: Introduction to Criminology	2
CHAPTER 2: Measuring Crime	28
CHAPTER 3: Classical School of Criminology Thought	58
CHAPTER 4: Contemporary Classical and Deterrence Research	88
CHAPTER 5: Early Positivism	110
CHAPTER 6: Modern Biosocial Perspectives of Criminal Behavior	138
CHAPTER 7: Psychological/Trait Theories of Crime	166
CHAPTER 8: Social Structure Theories of Crime I	196
CHAPTER 9: Social Structure Theories of Crime II	228
CHAPTER 10: Social Process and Control Theories of Crime	250
CHAPTER 11: Labeling Theory and Conflict/Marxist/Radical Theories of Crime	290
CHAPTER 12: Feminist Theories of Crime	324
CHAPTER 13: Developmental/Life-Course Perspectives Criminality	356
CHAPTER 14: White-Collar Crime, Organized Crime, and Cybercrime	378
CHAPTER 15: Hate Crimes, Terrorism, and Home Land Security	422
CHAPTER 16: Drugs and Crime	466
Glossary	G-1
Notes	N-1
Index	I-1

DETAILED CONTENTS

Preface	xxi
Acknowledgments	xxv
About the Authors	1



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINOLOGY 2

Introduction	3
Key Concepts to Understanding Criminology	3
What is a Crime?	3
Case Study: Burke And Hare	4
What is Criminology and Criminal Justice?	5
The Consensus and Conflict Perspectives of Crime	5
Learning Check 1.1	6
The Criminal Justice System	6
Law Enforcement	7
Courts	7

Corrections	8
The Juvenile Justice System	9
Learning Check 1.2	11
Introduction to Comparative Criminology	11
Applying Theory To Crime: Motor Vehicle Theft	13
Comparative Criminology: Motor Vehicle Theft	14
Criminology Theory	15
Characteristics of Good Theories	16
Learning Check 1.3	17
Three Requirements for Determining Causality	17
Why Do They Do It? Diane and Rachel Staudte	18
Theory Informs Policies and Programs	19
Victimology	20
Victim Precipitation	21
Incidence/Prevalence of Victimization	21
Child Abuse and Neglect	22
Compensation/Restitution	23
Victim Impact Statements	24
Learning Check 1.4	25
Victim Rights Awareness	25
Conclusion	26
Key Terms	26
Discussion Questions	26
Web Resources	26



CHAPTER 2: MEASURING CRIME 28

Introduction	29
Crime Data From Law Enforcement Agencies	29
Case Study: September 11, 2001, Victims	30
Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)	31
Comparative Criminology: Child Abuse	36
Why Do They Do It?	37
Learning Check 2.1	38
Supplementary Homicide Reports	38
The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)	40
Data Collection	40
Limitations of NIBRS	42
Hate Crime Data	42
Data Collection	43
Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted Statistics	44
Data Collection	44
Crime Data from Victims of Crime: The National Crime Victimization Survey	45
Learning Check 2.2	46

Limitations of the NCVS	47
Comparing the NCVS with the UCR	48
Crime Data from Self-Report Surveys	48
Monitoring the Future	49
The National Survey on Drug Use and Health	50
National Youth Survey—Family Study	50
Additional Approaches to Collecting Crime Data	51
The National Youth Gang Survey	51
Applying Theory to Crime: Hate Crime	52
Spatial Analyses of Crime	54
Learning Check 2.3	55
Conclusion	56
Key Terms	56
Discussion Questions	56
Web resources	56



CHAPTER 3: CLASSICAL SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY THOUGHT 58

Introduction	59
Case Study: Deborah Jeane Palfrey	60

Pre-Classical Perspectives of Crime and Punishment	62
Punishments under Pre-Classical Perspectives	63
The Age of Enlightenment	64
Learning Check 3.1	65
The Classical School of Criminology	65
Influences on Beccaria and His Writings	66
Beccaria's Proposed Reforms and Ideas of Justice	66
Beccaria's Ideas of the Death Penalty	69
Beccaria's Concept of Deterrence and the Three Key Elements of Punishment	70
Learning Check 3.2	71
Beccaria's Conceptualization of Specific and General Deterrence	73
Summary of Beccaria's Ideas and Influence on Policy	74
Learning Check 3.3	75
Impact of Beccaria's Work on Other Theorists	76
Jeremy Bentham	76
The Neoclassical School of Criminology	77
Why Do They Do It? The Harpe Brothers	78
Applying Theory to Crime: Other Assaults (Simple)	79
Loss of Dominance of Classical/ Neoclassical Theory	81
Policy Implications	81
Comparative Criminology: Homicide Rates	82
Conclusion	84
Summary of Theories in Chapter 3	84
Key Terms	84
Discussion Questions	85
Web Resources	85



CHAPTER 4: CONTEMPORARY CLASSICAL AND DETERRENCE RESEARCH..... 88

Introduction	89
Case Study: Wayne	90
Rebirth of Deterrence Theory and Contemporary Research	91
Formal and Informal Deterrence	95
Rational Choice Theory	96
Learning Check 4.1	98
Applying Theory to Crime: Driving Under the Influence	98
Comparative Criminology: Threats and Assaults	99
Routine Activities Theory	100
The Three Elements of Routine Activities Theory	101
Applications of Routine Activities Theory	102
Learning Check 4.2	104
Policy Implications	104
Why Do They Do It? The Green River Killer	106
Conclusion	107
Summary of Theories in Chapter 4	107
Key Terms	108

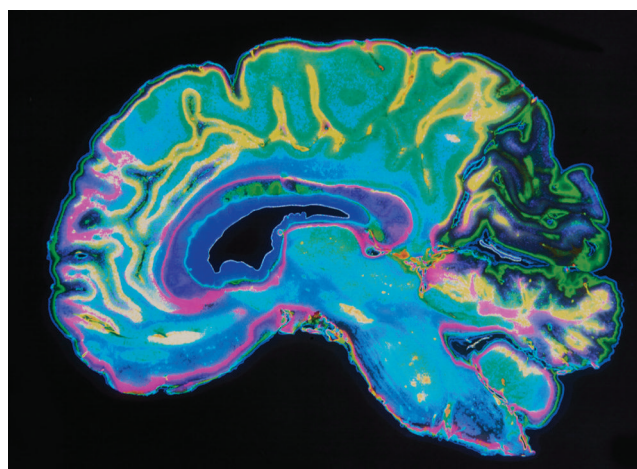
Discussion Questions	108
Web Resources	108



CHAPTER 5: EARLY POSITIVISM 110

Introduction	111
Early Biological Theories of Behavior	111
Case Study: Javier	112
Cranimetry	113
Phrenology	114
Physiognomy	115
Lombroso's Theory of Atavism and Born Criminals	116
Lombroso's Theory of Crime	116
Lombroso's List of Stigmata	117
Lombroso as the Father of Criminology and THE Father of the Positive School	119
Learning Check 5.1	120
Lombroso's Policy Implications	120
Why Do They Do It?	
Dr. Harold Shipman	121
Learning Check 5.2	122
AFTER Lombroso: The IQ-Testing Era	123
Goddard's IQ Test	123
Policy Implications	124
Sterilization	125

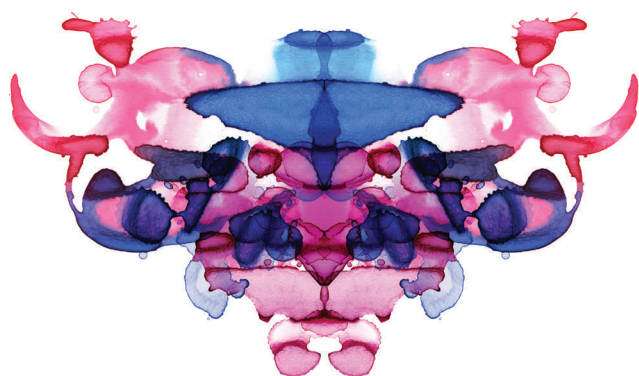
Reexamining Intelligence	125
Applying Theory to Crime: Burglary	127
Comparative Criminology: Burglary	128
Body Type Theory: Sheldon's Model of Somatotyping	129
Learning Check 5.3	130
Learning Check 5.4	133
Policy Implications	133
Case Study Revisited: Javier	134
Conclusion	135
Summary of Theories in Chapter 5	135
Key Terms	136
Discussion Questions	136
Web Resources	136



CHAPTER 6: MODERN BIOSOCIAL PERSPECTIVES OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR 138

Introduction	139
Nature Versus Nurture: Studies Examining the Influence of Genetics and Environment	139
Case Study: Faith and Hope	140
Family Studies	141
Twin Studies	142
Adoption Studies	143
Learning Check 6.1	143
Twins Separated at Birth	145
Learning Check 6.2	146

Cytogenetic Studies: The XYY Factor	146
Hormones and Neurotransmitters: Chemicals That Determine Criminal Behavior	148
Applying Theory to Crime: Aggravated Assault	149
Comparative Criminology: Assault	150
Brain Injuries	152
Learning Check 6.3	153
Central and Autonomic Nervous System Activity	154
Why Do They Do It? Charles Whitman	155
Learning Check 6.4	158
Biosocial Approaches Toward Explaining Criminal Behavior	159
Behavioral Genetics Studies	160
Diet/Nutrition	160
Toxins	160
Policy Implications	162
Conclusion	163
Summary of Theories in Chapter 6	163
Key Terms	164
Discussion Questions	164
Web Resources	164



CHAPTER 7: PSYCHOLOGICAL/ TRAIT THEORIES OF CRIME 166

Introduction	167
Early Psychological Theorizing Regarding Criminal Behavior	167

Freud's Model of the Psyche and Implications for Criminal Behavior	167
Case Study: Albert Fish	168
Hans Eysenck: Theory of Crime and Personality	170
Lawrence Kohlberg: Moral Development	172
John Bowlby: Attachment Theory	174
Example Case History: Derek B.	176
Modern Versions of Psychological Perspectives of Criminality	176
IQ and Criminal Behavior	176
Learning Check 7.1	177
James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein: Crime and Human Nature	177
Applying Theory to Crime: Rape	178
Comparative Criminology: Sexual Offenses	181
Psychopathy and Crime	182
Box 7.1	183
Mental Health and the Criminal Justice System	184
Learning Check 7.2	185
Treatment	185
Why Do They Do It? Ariel Castro	186
Mental Health Courts	187
Insanity Defense	188
Learning Check 7.3	191
Conclusion	192
Summary of Theories in Chapter 7	192
Key Terms	193
Discussion Questions	193
Web Resources	193



CHAPTER 8: SOCIAL STRUCTURE THEORIES OF CRIME I 196

Introduction	197
Early Theories of Social Structure:	
Early to Late 1800s	197
Early European Theorists: Comte, Guerry, and Quetelet	197
Case Study: The Black Binder Bandit	198
Durkheim and the Concept of Anomie	200
Learning Check 8.1	201
Learning Check 8.2	205
Merton's Strain Theory	205
Cultural Context and Assumptions of Strain Theory	205
Learning Check 8.3	209
Evidence and Criticisms of Merton's Strain Theory	210
Variations of Merton's Strain Theory	211
Cohen's Theory of Lower-Class Status Frustration and Gang Formation	211
Cloward and Ohlin's Theory of Differential Opportunity	213
General Strain Theory	216
Why Do They Do It?	
Christopher Dorner	217
Evidence and Criticisms of General Strain Theory	218
Learning Check 8.4	219

Why Do They Do It? Gang Lu	220
Applying Theory To Crime:	
Bank Robbery	221
Summary of Strain Theories	222
Policy Implications of Strain Theory	222
Comparative Criminology:	
Bank Robbery	223
Conclusion	225
Summary of Theories in Chapter 8	225
Key Terms	226
Discussion Questions	226
Web Resources	226



CHAPTER 9: SOCIAL STRUCTURE THEORIES OF CRIME II 228

Introduction	229
The Ecological School and the Chicago School of Criminology	229
Cultural Context: Chicago in the 1800s and Early 1900s	229
Case Study: Los Angeles Gangs	230
Ecological Principles in City Growth and Concentric Circles	232
Shaw and McKay's Theory of Social Disorganization	235
Learning Check 9.1	237
Reaction and Research for Social Disorganization Theory	237
Applying Theory to Crime:	
Stalking	239

Cultural and Subcultural Theories of Crime	240
Early Theoretical Developments and Research in Cultural/ Subcultural Theory	240
Learning Check 9.2	241
Comparative Criminology: Violence Against Females	242
Criticisms of Cultural Theories of Crime	244
Policy Implications	244
Why Do They Do It? Whitey Bulger	245
Conclusion	246
Summary of Theories in Chapter 9	246
Discussion Questions	247
Web Resources	247
Key Terms	247



CHAPTER 10: SOCIAL PROCESS AND CONTROL THEORIES OF CRIME 250

Introduction	251
Learning Theories	251
Case Study: The Weavers	252
Differential Association Theory	253
Learning Check 10.1	258
Differential Reinforcement Theory	258

Elements of Differential Reinforcement Theory	258
Differential Reinforcement Theory Propositions	259
Applying Theory to Crime: Murder	260
Psychological Learning Models	261
Operant Conditioning	261
Comparative Criminology: Homicide	262
Bandura's Theory of Imitation/ Modeling	264
Reaction to Differential Reinforcement Theory	265
Neutralization Theory	267
Techniques of Neutralization	267
Learning Check 10.2	269
Reaction to Neutralization Theory	269
Control Theories	269
Early Control Theories of Human Behavior	271
Thomas Hobbes's Social Contract	271
Emile Durkheim's Idea of Collective Conscience	272
Freud's Concept of Id and Superego	272
Early Control Theories of Crime	273
Reiss's Control Theory	273
Toby's Concept of Stake in Conformity	274
Nye's Control Theory	274
Reckless's Containment Theory	275
Modern Social Control Theories	277
Matza's Drift Theory	277
Hirschi's Social Bonding Theory	279
Integrated Social Control Theories	281
Tittle's Control–Balance Theory	281
Hagan's Power–Control Theory	281
A General Theory of Crime:	
Low Self-Control	282
Psychological Aspects of Low Self-Control	282

Physiological Aspects of Low Self-Control	283
Learning Check 10.3	284
Why Do They Do It ? Jesse Pomeroy	284
Conclusion	285
Summary of Theories in Chapter 10	287
Key Terms	287
Discussion Questions	288
Web Resources	288

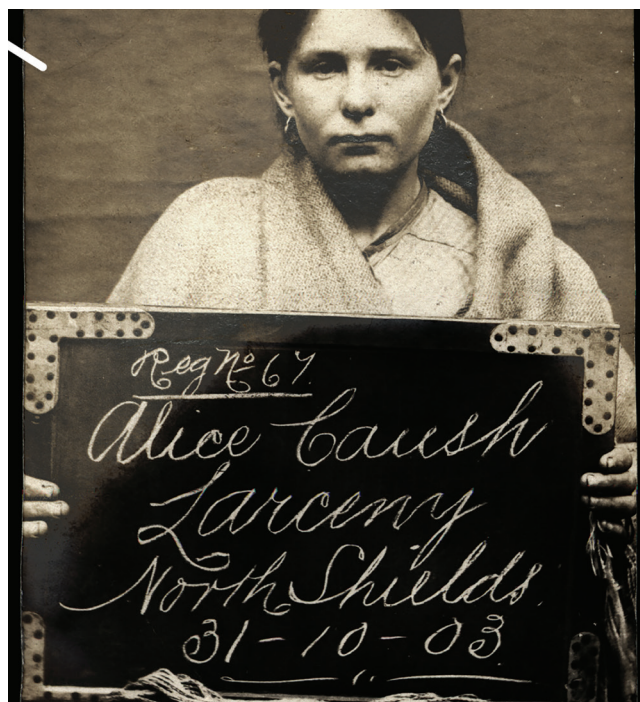


CHAPTER 11: LABELING THEORY AND CONFLICT/MARXIST/RADICAL THEORIES OF CRIME 290

Introduction	291
Labeling Theory	291
Case Study: The Flint, Michigan, Water Crisis	292
Foundation of Labeling Theory	293
Frank Tannenbaum: The Dramatization of Evil	294
Edwin M. Lemert: Primary and Secondary Deviance	294
Howard S. Becker: The Dimensions of Deviance	295
Edwin M. Schur: Defining Deviance	297

Basic Assumptions of Labeling Theory	298
Learning Check 11.1	299
Evaluating Labeling Theory	299
Research on Labeling Theory	299
Critiques of Labeling Theory	299
Why Do They Do It? Brian Banks and Wanetta Gibson	300
Conflict Perspectives	301
Applying Theory to Crime: Larceny-Theft	302
The Conservative (Pluralist) Conflict Perspectives	303
George Vold: Group Conflict Theory	303
Comparative Criminology: Larceny-Theft	304
Austin Turk: The Power to Define Criminal Behavior	305
Richard Quinney: The Social Reality of Crime	306
Learning Check 11.2	308
The Radical Conflict Perspectives	308
Marxist Criminology	308
William Chambliss and Robert Seidman and the U.S. Criminal Justice System	309
Additional Explanations of Crime Using a Marxist Framework	310
Colvin and Pauly's Integrated Structural-Marxist Theory	310
Herman and Julia Siegel Schwendinger and Adolescent Subcultures	311
Steven Spitzer and Problem Populations	312
Learning Check 11.3	312
Evaluating Conflict Theories	312
Research on Conflict Theories	312
Critiques of Conflict Perspectives	313
Why Do They Do It? Ted Kaczynski	314

Additional Critical Theories	315
Peacemaking Criminology	315
Restorative Justice Perspective	316
Left Realism	318
Policies Related to Labeling and Conflict Theories of Crime	319
Conclusion	321
Summary of Theories in Chapter 11	321
Key Terms	322
Discussion Questions	322
Web Resources	322



CHAPTER 12: FEMINIST THEORIES OF CRIME..... 324

Introduction	325
A Brief History of Feminism in the United States	325
Case Study: Gertrude Baniszewski	326
Key Terms of Feminist Perspectives	327
Learning Check 12.1	328
Feminist Perspectives on Gender	328
Traditional or Conservative Perspective	328

Liberal Feminism	329
Radical Feminism	330
Marxist and Socialist Feminism	331
Postmodern Feminism	333

Learning Check 12.2 333

Additional Feminist Perspectives	333
Traditional Theories of Female Crime	334

Comparative Criminology: Trafficking in Persons 335

Cesare Lombroso: Physical Attributes of Female Offenders	336
W. I. Thomas: The Biology of Female Offending	337
Sigmund Freud: Female Inferiority	337
Otto Pollak: Hidden Female Criminality	338

Learning Check 12.3 338

Feminist Critiques of Previous Research Studying Women and Crime	338
Liberation Thesis	340

Applying Theory to Crime: Female Sex Offenders 340

Power-Control Theory	341
Feminist Perspectives on Understanding Crime and Criminal Behavior	342

Why Do They Do It? Lavinia Fisher 343

Objectivity and Subjectivity	344
Qualitative "Versus" Quantitative Analyses	344
Feminist Criminology	345

Learning Check 12.4 347

Critiques of Feminist Theories	347
--------------------------------	-----

Applying Theory to Crime: Robbery 348

Comparative Criminology: Robbery 350

Policies Based on Feminist Theories of Crime	351
Conclusion	353
Summary of Theories in Chapter 12	353

Key Terms	354
Discussion Questions	354
Web Resources	354



CHAPTER 13: DEVELOPMENTAL/ LIFE-COURSE PERSPECTIVES CRIMINALITY 356

Basic Concepts and Early Developmental Theory	357
Case Study: The Teen Burglar	358
Antidevelopmental Theory: Low Self-Control Theory	360
Learning Check 13.1	361
Comparative Criminology: Child Abuse	362
Modern Developmental/Life-Course Perspectives	362
Sampson and Laub's Developmental Model	362
Moffitt's Developmental Taxonomy	364
Why Do They Do It ? Henry Earl	365
Thornberry's Interactional Model of Offending	366
Applying Theory to Crime: Arson	367
Learning Check 13.2	370
Policy Implications	370
Comparative Criminology: Crime Rates	371
Conclusion	374

Summary of Theories in Chapter 13	374
Key Terms	375
Discussion Questions	375
Web Resources	375



CHAPTER 14: WHITE-COLLAR CRIME, ORGANIZED CRIME, AND CYBERCRIME 378

Introduction	379
What is White-Collar Crime?	379
Definitions and History of White-Collar Crime	379
Case Study: William T. Walters	380
Why Do They Do It? Charles Ponzi	383
Incidence and Impact of White-Collar Crime on Society	385
Learning Check 14.1	385
Why Do They Do It ? Enron	387
Economic Costs	387
Physical Costs	388
Breakdown in Social Fabric	389
Types of White-Collar Crime	390
Crimes Against the Environment	390
Learning Check 14.2	390
Labor Violations	391

Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996	430	Origins of Homeland Security	450
Campus Hate Crimes Right to Know Act of 1997	430	Definition of Homeland Security	450
Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr., Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009	431	Homeland Security Organizational Network	451
Model State Legislation: Hate Crimes/ Violence Against People Experiencing Homelessness	431	Agencies Responsible for Homeland Security	451
Why Do They Do It? Matthew Shepard	432	Why Do They Do It? Omar Mateen	456
Theoretical Explanations of Hate Crimes	432	Bureaucratic Problems and Solutions	455
Learning Check 15.1	433	Issues Related to Civil Liberties	457
Multicide	433	The Torture Debate	457
Categories of Mass Killers	435	Human Rights	458
School Attacks	435	The Constitution	459
Disparity in Rates of Committing Multicide Across Race and Religious Ideology	436	USA PATRIOT Act of 2001	459
What Is Terrorism?	437	Learning Check 15.3	460
Definition of Terrorism	438	Policy Implications	460
Typologies of Terrorism	438	Conclusion	463
Extent of Terrorism	439	Key Terms	463
Historical Context of Modern Terrorism	440	Discussion Questions	463
The French Revolution	441	Web Resources	464
Late 19th and Early 20th Century Terrorism	441		
Applying Theory to Crime: Terrorism	442		
Comparative Criminology: Terrorism	443		
Contemporary Terrorism	444		
Current Context of Terrorism	444		
Organizational Networks	444		
Financial Support	435		
Influence of the Media	446		
Domestic Terrorism	447		
Theoretical Explanations of Terrorism	448		
Learning Check 15.2	449		
What Is Homeland Security?	449		



CHAPTER 16: DRUGS AND CRIME466

Introduction	467
Commonly Abused Drugs	467
Depressants	467

Case Study: Kenneth Saltzman	468	Comparative Criminology: Drugs	487
Diagnosing Alcohol Problems	471	Drug Courts	488
Narcotics	472	Maintenance and Decriminalization	490
Stimulants	473	Harm Reduction	492
Other Drugs	474	Applying Theory to Crime: Drug Selling/Trafficking and Drug Use	493
Learning Check 16.1	475	Learning Check 16.3	494
Trends of Drug Use	476	Recommendations for Future Policies	494
Early History of Cocaine and Opioid Addiction	476	Why Do They Do It? Pablo Escobar	495
Prohibition Era	477	Conclusion	496
“Reefer Madness”	477	Key Terms	496
The 1960s and the Baby Boomers	478	Discussion Questions	496
The “War on Drugs” Era	479	Web Resources	497
Current Trends Regarding Drug Use	480	Glossary	G-1
Why Do They Do It? Ryan Thomas Haight	481	Notes	N-1
The Drug-Crime Link	482	Index	I-1
Learning Check 16.2	483		
The Tripartite Conceptual Framework	484		
Modern Policies Related to Reducing Drug Use	485		
Interdiction Strategies	485		
Eradication Strategies	486		

PREFACE

If you are considering a career in any aspect of criminal justice, and want to know more about the motivations and socio-psychological make-up of serious offenders, then this book is meant for you! *Introduction to Criminology: Why Do They Do It?* places a primary emphasis on applying the dominant theories in the existing criminological literature for why people commit crimes, and we also examine in detail many recent true (as well as many hypothetical) examples of serious crimes, and demonstrate theoretical applications for why they offended in those particular cases. While other textbooks do a decent job in discussing both the basic theories, as well as exploring the various types of crime, our book is distinctively unique in that it integrates various street crimes within each chapter, and applies theories that are appropriate in explaining such criminal activity. This is extremely important because most instructors never get to the latter typology chapters in a given semester or term. So our approach is to incorporate them into the theoretical chapters in which they apply directly to the theories that are being presented in the sections that they are most appropriate.

The emphasis on specific examples and true crime stories, such as notable serial killers and other recent crime stories, as well as utilizing established theoretical models to explain their offenses in each chapter, is another primary distinction of this book from that of most other criminology textbooks. Obviously, this book is meant to be used as a textbook in an introductory course in criminology, but due to the emphasis on applied theoretical explanations, this book is highly appropriate for higher-level undergraduate and graduate courses in criminological theory, as well as a reference for any person working in the field of criminal justice. This integration of true crimes (and some hypothetical examples) in this text occurs on both a general level, such as our Applying Crime to Theory section in each chapter, as well as more specific cases – the High Profile Crime sections—in each section, which often involve notable cases of serial killers, mass murderers, or other notorious example of offender/offending.

The subtitle of our book, “Why Do They Do It?” is the running theme in this book. Our goal in writing this book was to apply established theories of crime, which are often seen as abstract and hypothetical, to actual examples that have occurred, as well as to hypothetical examples that are quite likely to occur. To this end, we explore the various reasons of offending or the “why they do it” the subtitle for this book for various cases, from the first documented serial killers in the US—the Harpe Brothers in the late-1700s—to the most recent killers, such as California cop-killer/spree-killer Christopher Dorner in 2013 and Dylann Roof, a 21-year-old white male, entering the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina in 2015 and shooting numerous members. Importantly, theories will be applied throughout these discussions of the actual crimes. We shall see that some of the theories that applied to the earliest crimes also seem to apply to the most modern crimes as well.

Additionally, our textbook is unique from others because it does not include separate chapters on violent or property crimes, because we have worked those into each chapter, and applied them to the theories explored in those chapters. We strongly believe that by integrating discussions of such serious crimes—all of the FBI Index offenses of murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, larceny, and arson, as well

as other non-Index crimes such as simple assault and driving under the influence—into the theoretical chapters is the best approach toward explaining why individuals commit such offenses. And the flip side is good as well; by discussing the offenses with the theories, this also provides an example of how to apply theories toward explaining criminal behavior. Again, this goes back to our theme of “why do they do it?” Our integration of such specific offenses into the chapters that discuss relevant theories in explaining them is the best way to approach such material and demonstrates our goal: apply the appropriate theories for the specific crime.

Additionally, our book is distinguished from other textbooks in that we don’t have an overwhelming amount of boxes and special sections that diverge from the text material. Rather, we narrowed down the special sections into three basic categories, largely based on the goal of this text, which are mostly dedicated to applying criminological theory to actual offenses, or true cases. We also added a special section in each chapter regarding international comparison of certain offenses (comparative criminology), with an emphasis on how various rates of such crimes differ across the world, especially as compared to the United States. The offenses we compare range widely, from homicide to human trafficking to the correlations of beer consumption and assaults (Ireland was a high outlier). We felt this was important for readers to see how the US compares to other nations in terms of various criminal offenses. So our goal is for readers to understand the ever-growing global nature of criminality, and where the United States is positioned regarding various rates and trends in illegal behavior.

This text is also unique from all of the others by providing a separate chapter on feminist criminology. Given that over half of our citizens are female, and there has been a recent increase in females committing certain crimes (e.g., simple assault), this is an important addition to the study of crime. Furthermore, while males are still universally responsible for the vast majority of violent acts—murder, robbery, aggravated assault—in all societies, if we can understand why females commit so much less violence, then maybe this will have significant implications for reducing male violence. So this separate chapter is vitally important for not only understanding female offenders, but also has implications for male criminals as well.

Another unique aspect of this book is that we devoted separate chapters on the developmental/life-course perspective, as well as modern biosocial approaches regarding propensities to commit crime. These two frameworks/perspectives have become some of the most accepted and valid frameworks on understanding why individuals engage in criminal behavior, but most other criminology textbooks do not examine these topics as closely as we do. A recent study that surveyed key criminologists in the field showed that the developmental/life-course perspective ranked as the second most accepted perspective in explaining chronic offending (and biosocial perspective ranked #6, out of 24+ theories), yet most other textbooks have only a small portion or shallow coverage of this perspective. This developmental/life-course perspective, as well as the biosocial perspective, currently is the “cutting edge” of the field right now, and our chapters on those frameworks highlights the importance of these theoretical models, as well as the recent empirical studies that have been done in those areas of study.

Our text does follow a somewhat traditional format in that it presents theories chronologically from the Classical School to the Positive School of Criminology, discussing all of the established theories in the areas of social structure, social process, and conflict theories as they became popular over time. However, we place much emphasis on examining why certain theories became popular at certain times, which is often due more to politics and societal trends than what empirical studies showed regarding the empirical validity of the given theory. These political and societal trends are vital in every aspect of our lives, and criminological theory is no different. So we tried to work that principle into the text throughout each chapter, showing how crime and theorizing about it is just one manifestation about society at that time period.

Finally, our special typology chapters, located in the last three chapters of the book, are dedicated to more contemporary topics, such as cybercrime, hate crimes, terrorism, white-collar/corporate crimes, drug-related offenses, as well as several others that do not fit into the FBI Index crimes. We have done our best to provide the most current research on these topics, and we hope that readers will gain far more insight on these topics. Furthermore, we believe that our coverage of these modern forms of offending are the most vital in understanding the current state of criminal offending occurring in our society.

Our book also provides an ancillary package with numerous resources to support instructors and students.

Digital Resources

SAGE edge offers a robust online environment featuring an impressive array of tools and resources for review, study, and further exploration, keeping both instructors and students on the cutting edge of teaching and learning. Learn more at edge.sagepub.com/schram2e.

Instructor Teaching Site

SAGE edge for Instructors supports your teaching by making it easy to integrate quality content and create a rich learning environment for students. A password-protected site, available at edge.sagepub.com/schram2e, features resources that have been designed to help instructors plan and teach their courses. These resources include an extensive test bank, chapter-specific PowerPoint presentations, lecture notes, sample syllabi for semester and quarter courses, class activities, web resources, and links to the video, audio, city and state rankings, author podcasts, and SAGE journal articles.

Student Study Site

SAGE edge for Students provides a personalized approach to help you accomplish your coursework goals in an easy-to-use learning environment. An open-access student study site is available at edge.sagepub.com/schram2e. This site provides access to the video, audio, city and state rankings, author podcasts, and SAGE journal articles as well as several study tools including eFlashcards, web quizzes, web resources and chapter outlines.

Available tools that can be found in the Interactive eBook:



Videos: Links are provided to videos that correlate to the chapter content and increase student understanding.



Premium videos: Available only in the Interactive eBook, original videos showcase author Stephen Tibbetts discussing real-world examples and strange crimes and a first-person view of the correctional system from former offenders.



Journal articles: Articles from highly ranked SAGE journals such as *Crime and Delinquency*, *Theoretical Criminology*, *Criminal Justice Review*, and more can be accessed.



Audio Links: Links are provided to audio clips that enhance student comprehension of chapter content.



Web Links: Links are provided to relevant websites that further explore chapter-related topics.

Access SAGE premium video through the Interactive eBook!

Learn more at edge.sagepub.com/schram2e/access

Overall, we really hope you appreciate our unique approach to studying criminology, and hope you believe that after reading this book that you will have a better understanding of why offenders do what they do.

New to This Edition

As we mentioned previously, a constant theme of this book is “Why Do They Do It?” We explore different reasons of offending by presenting various cases, both hypothetical as well as actual cases, current as well as historical. For this edition, we have updated some of these materials, including more recent crime data as well as more current news stories. Other significant changes in this edition include the following:

- A more extensive discussion on victimization which focuses on victims of crime and presents key concepts in victimology.
- An entire chapter is dedicated to measuring crime (Chapter 2). This chapter provides students a strong, and essential, foundation to understanding and appreciating how crime data enhance our understanding of criminal activity.
- A new section on multicide examines the motivations behind mass murders, school shootings as well as issues of race and religious ideology linked to these types of crimes.
- Up-to-date coverage of contemporary issues such as gun control, mental health, disparity in the criminal justice system, cybercrime and internet fraud, hate crimes, and terrorism.
- Critical thinking questions have been included with other features of this text to help students understand the connection between the real-world examples and theory.
- The revised learning objectives follow Bloom’s taxonomy and provide students with a clearer pedagogical framework.

*Pamela J. Schram, PhD
Stephen G. Tibbetts, PhD
California State University, San Bernardino*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would first like to thank Publisher Jerry Westby. It was Jerry's idea for us to write this book, and he has “gone to bat” for us numerous times regarding various unique things about this text, such as integrating the violent and property street crimes into the theoretical chapters, rather than just having separate chapters on these topics at the end of the book that instructors often don't get time to cover in a single term, as well as including separate chapters on feminist and developmental/life-course perspectives. This is a rather unorthodox approach, compared to other introduction to criminology textbooks, but Jerry was fully supportive, even at the outset. So we offer him the highest level of respect for his support in backing us on our rather deviant way of approaching this material.

We would also like to thank the staff at SAGE Publishing, for doing such a great job at putting the book together, which includes checking all of the mistakes we made in drafts of the chapters, as well as so many other things that go into producing this book. We specifically want to thank Associate Editor Theresa Accomazzo for all of her help in getting the drafts of the first edition in order to be sent to the copyeditor, and for giving advice on how to make the book far more polished than it was in its original draft. We also want to thank our copyeditor, <copyeditor>, who has gone to great lengths to make us sound much better than we are. She did a fantastic job, and it was a pleasure working with her. Also, we would like give a special thanks to Digital Content Editor Nicole Mangona and Laura Kirkhuff, who were invaluable in finding the various links to videos and other sources that were vital in the e-text version of the text and for pulling together the new original filming for the second edition. Overall, we give the greatest thanks to all of the SAGE staff that worked on this book!

Pamela Schram would like to acknowledge some very special people who had an influence on her life prior to her college years. First and foremost, she would like to thank her ninth grade English teacher, Mr. Joe Devlin. She remembers her first day of English class. Mr. Devlin said, “I can't learn you. First, that is poor English, and second, that is not how it works. I can teach you, but the learning part is on you.” Obviously, this has “stuck” with her; it has been over 30 years and she still remembers his “opening” lecture. Later, he was Pam's Latin teacher; Pam continued to take Latin and she was the only student for Latin III. Mr. Devlin would stay after school to conduct this class. As you can imagine, this was not a popular after school activity. But, it taught Pam an important lesson as to how a truly dedicated teacher cares about his students.

Pam would also like to acknowledge Mrs. Frank. She was her second grade teacher. Mrs. Frank was one of those teachers who would incorporate learning with fun things, especially arts and crafts. Mrs. Frank encouraged Pam to write, especially short stories. These were the times when students learned cursive writing on paper with the various lines for lower and upper case. Pam still has some of those short stories written on the “special writing paper.” It brings back many fond memories as well as an appreciation for another special teacher who touched her life.

Pam would finally like to give a special thanks to her organ teacher, Mrs. Cessna. (As you can tell, Pam wasn't considered popular in school.) Mrs. Cessna was one of the most patient teachers Pam has ever had in terms of continuously giving her encouraging words. It may have also helped that Mrs. Cessna had some hearing difficulties. When

most of her friends were taking piano, she decided to try organ lessons. She obviously endured some ridicule, especially from her brothers. Their words of encouragement were something like, “Well, with those lessons you can one day play at the Detroit Tiger stadium.”

As Pam has gotten older, she has realized the numerous people that have touched her life in so many special ways. One of those special people is her co-author Steve Tibbetts. Steve is an extremely intelligent and well-respected criminologist in the field. He is also a wonderful friend with those important words of encouragement, usually with a sense of humor. He has been very patient and understanding with her not just when writing this book but during his years at CSUSB. Through his friendship, he has helped her to be a better person.

Stephen Tibbetts would like to thank some of the various individuals who helped him complete this book. First, he would like to thank some of the professors he had while earning his undergraduate degree in criminal justice at the University of Florida, who first exposed him to the study of crime and inspired him to become a criminologist. These professors include Ron Akers, Donna Bishop, and Lonn Lanza-Kaduce. He would also like to thank several professors who were key influences in his studies during his graduate studies at University of Maryland, such as Denise Gottfredson, Colin Loftin, David McDowell, Lawrence Sherman, and Charles Wellford. A special thanks goes to Raymond Paternoster, who was his mentor during his graduate studies at Maryland, and provided the best advice and support that any mentor could have given.

Tibbetts would also like to mention the support and influence that work with Alex Piquero, and his wife, Nicole Piquero, had on his career. He was lucky enough to share an office with Alex early on in graduate school, and the work that they did together early on in his career was key in inspiring him to do more work on biosocial and life-course criminology, which are both important portions of this book. Tibbetts' collaboration with Nicole Piquero on the issues of white-collar crime was also important, and has led to more recent studies in this often neglected topic of illegal behavior. He would also like to acknowledge several colleagues who have been important in his research in more recent years, such as John Paul Wright at University of Cincinnati, Nichole H. Rafter at Northeastern University, Chris L. Gibson at University of Florida, Kevin Beaver at Florida State University, and Cesar Rebellon at University of New Hampshire.

Tibbetts would also like to include a special acknowledgment to Jose Rivera, who has contributed much to this book in terms of both video and written sections. Jose has gone above-and-beyond in trying to contribute to the information provided in this book, given his experience as a former incarcerated inmate for over 9 years in various prisons in Southern California. He has shown that such inmates can excel after they have been incarcerated, not only by earning his Master's degree in Communication Studies, but by becoming a fantastic educator, which was proven when he was awarded the Graduate Teaching Assistant of the Year Award by his college at California State University, San Bernardino, in 2012. Jose also recently was a recipient of the President Obama's Presidential Volunteer Service Award in 2012 for his work in programs that promote educational opportunities for Latinos.

Finally, but most important, Tibbetts would especially like to thank his co-author on this book, Pamela Schram, for providing him with the inspiration, motivation, and collaboration for completing this project. Without Pam's constant support and advice, his work on this book could not have materialized. So he gives the highest acknowledgement to Pam; she will always be his most trusted *consigliere*.

Pam and Steve would like to thank the reviewers of the initial proposal for their advice and critiques. They would also like to express their sincere appreciation to their colleagues who reviewed the text and gave them invaluable feedback:

Reviewers of First Edition

Kevin Beaver, Florida State University—Tallahassee
Doris Chu, Arkansas State University—Jonesboro
Christopher Davis, Campbell University—Buies Creek
Melissa Deller, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater
Daniel Dexheimer, San Jose State University
Tina Freiburger, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Chris L. Gibson, University of Florida
Jennifer Grimes, Indiana State University—Terre Haute
W. Bruce Johnson, Houston Community College/Northeast College
Michael A Long, Oklahoma State University
Scott Maggard, Old Dominion University—Norfolk
PJ McGann, University Of Michigan—Ann Arbor
Anna Netterville, University of Louisiana at Monroe
Angela Overton, Old Dominion University—Norfolk
Allison Payne, Villanova University—Villanova
Lacey Rohledef, University of Cincinnati
Anne Strouth, North Central State College—Mansfield
Patricia Warren, Florida State University—Tallahassee
Henriikka Weir, University Of Texas At Dallas—Richardson
Douglas Weiss, University of Maryland
Shonda Whetstone, Blinn College

Reviewers of Second Edition:

Marilyn S. Chamberlin, Western Carolina University
Dan Dexheimer, San Jose State University
Terri L. Earnest, University of Texas at San Antonio
Shanell Sanchez-Smith, Colorado Mesa University
Julie A. Siddique, University of North Texas at Dallas
Bradley Wright, University of Connecticut
Selena M. Respass, Miami Dade College
Charles Crawford, Western Michigan University
Tina L Freiburger, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Frank P. Giarrizzi, Jr., Colorado Technical University
Lindsey Upton, Old Dominion University
Egbert Zavala, University of Texas at El Paso
Christopher Salvatore, PhD, Montclair State University

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Pamela J. Schram has published articles on such topics as violent female offenders, female juvenile gang and non-gang members, as well as issues pertaining to women in prison, such as stereotypes about mothers in prison and vocational programming. She has co-authored three books on women in prison, theory and practice in feminist criminology, and a juvenile delinquency text. She is currently interested in issues pertaining to elderly prisoners. Dr. Schram has been involved in various research projects that have primarily focused on evaluating treatment effectiveness such as juvenile diversion options and programs for at-risk youths as well as programs for women in prison. Dr. Schram received her Ph.D. from Michigan State University. She is a professor in the Department of Criminal Justice. She is currently the Associate Dean of the College of Social and Behavior Sciences at California State University, San Bernardino.



Stephen G. Tibbetts is a professor in the Department of Criminal Justice at California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB). He earned his undergraduate degree in criminology and law (with high honors) from the University of Florida, and his masters and doctorate degrees from the University of Maryland. For more than a decade, he worked as a sworn officer of the court (juvenile) in both Washington County, Tennessee, and San Bernardino County, California, providing recommendations for disposing numerous juvenile court cases. He has published more than 40 scholarly publications in scientific journals (including *Criminology*, *Justice Quarterly*, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *Journal of Criminal Justice*, and *Criminal Justice and Behavior*), as well as eight books, all examining various topics regarding criminal offending and policies to reduce such behavior. One of these books, *American Youth Gangs at the Millennium*, was given a Choice award by the American Library Association as an Outstanding Academic Title. Tibbetts received a Golden Apple award from the Mayor of San Bernardino for being chosen as the Outstanding Professor at the CSUSB campus in 2010. One of his recent books, *Criminals in the Making: Criminality Across the Life Course* (Sage, 2008), was recently lauded by *The Chronicle of Higher Education* as one of the key scholarly publications in advancing the study of biosocial criminology.

CHAPTER

1

Introduction to Criminology

Often, crimes such as the mass shooting in San Bernardino, California, lead people to ask, "Why do they do it?"

Francine Orr/Getty Images



INTRODUCTION

When introducing students to criminology, it is essential to stress how various concepts and principles of theoretical development are woven into our understanding of crime as well as policy. This chapter begins with a brief discussion of such concepts as *crime*, *criminal*, *deviant*, *criminology*, *criminal justice*, and *consensus and conflict perspectives of crime*. The following section presents a general summary of the different stages of the adult criminal justice system as well as the juvenile justice system. Next, this chapter illustrates how criminology informs policies and programs. Unfortunately, there are instances when policies lack evidence and are not founded on criminological theory and rigorous research but are more of a “knee-jerk” reaction. The concluding section provides students with an overview of victimology and various issues related to victims of crime.

KEY CONCEPTS IN UNDERSTANDING CRIMINOLOGY

What Is a Crime?

There are various definitions of **crime**. Many scholars have disagreed as to what should be considered a crime. For instance, if one takes a legalistic approach, then crime is that which violates the law. But should one consider whether certain actions cause serious harm? If governments violate the basic human rights of their citizens, are they engaging in criminal behavior?⁴ As illustrated by these questions, the issue with defining crime from a legalistic approach is that one jurisdiction may designate an action as a crime while another does not recognize such an action as a crime. Some acts, such as murder, are against the law in most countries as well as in all jurisdictions of the United States. These are referred to as acts of ***mala in se***, meaning the act is “inherently and essentially evil, that is immoral in its nature and injurious in its consequence, without any regard to the fact of its being noticed or punished by the law of the state.”⁵

Other crimes are known as acts of ***mala prohibita***, which means “a wrong prohibited; an act which is not inherently immoral, but becomes so because its commission is expressly forbidden by positive law.”⁶ For instance, prostitution is illegal in most jurisdictions in the United States. However, prostitution is legal, and licensed, in most counties of Nevada. The same can be said about gambling and drug possession or use.

This text focuses on both ***mala in se*** and ***mala prohibita*** offenses as well as other acts of **deviance**. Deviant acts are not necessarily against the law but are considered atypical and may be deemed immoral rather than illegal. For example, in Nevada in the 1990s, a young man watched his friend (who was later criminally prosecuted) kill a young girl in a casino bathroom. He never told anyone of the murder. While most people would consider this highly immoral, at that time, Nevada state laws did not require people who witnessed a killing to report it to authorities. This act was deviant, because most would consider it immoral; it was not criminal, because it was not against the laws of that jurisdiction. It is essential to note that as a result of this event, Nevada made withholding such information a criminal act.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

As you read this chapter, consider the following topics:

- Describe the various definitions of crime, including the difference between criminal behavior and deviant behavior.
- Distinguish between criminology and criminal justice.
- Determine whether a theory would be considered from a consensus or conflict perspective of crime.
- List and describe the three general components of the criminal justice system.
- Identify some of the key distinguishing features of the juvenile justice system compared with the adult criminal justice system.
- Identify the criteria that characterize a good theory.
- Identify key concepts associated with victimology.

CASE STUDY

BURKE AND HARE

During the 1820s, Edinburgh, Scotland, was a major center for those pursuing an education in medicine. Almost 60 years prior to Jack the Ripper, the first serial murderers, William Burke and William Hare, captured media attention. During a 12-month period, Burke and Hare killed 16 people in Edinburgh before being arrested in November 1828. What made these killings so sordid was that Burke and Hare committed them for the sole purpose of selling the cadavers to medical schools for dissection and medical research. They were assisted by Burke's companion, Helen M'Dougal, and Hare's wife, Margaret. Burke and Hare would lure their victims with alcohol. Then, they would suffocate their inebriated victims by lying on their chests and holding their mouths and nostrils closed. Subsequently, Burke and Hare would sell these cadavers, "no questions asked," to Dr. Robert Knox, a promising anatomist.

During the trial, Hare was granted immunity in return for testifying against Burke. Burke was found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. He was hanged on January 28, 1829. Ironically, the next day, Burke's cadaver was donated to the University of Edinburgh, where Professor Alexander Monro conducted the dissection in the anatomical theater.¹ In fact, the University of Edinburgh Anatomical Museum has an exhibit of William Burke's skeletal remains. A description of the exhibit ends with a 19th-century children's rhyme:

Up the close and down the stair

In the house with Burke and Hare

Burke's the butcher

Hare's the thief

Knox the boy who buys the beef.²

In January 2016, Arthur and Elizabeth Rathburn from Grosse Point Park, Michigan (six miles outside Detroit), were indicted for running a black-market body part business. The Rathburns obtained most of the cadavers from two Chicago-area body donation labs. Many of the families who donated the bodies of their loved ones did so with the belief that they

would go to science. A number of these cadavers were infected with HIV, hepatitis B, and other diseases.

The Rathburns would use chainsaws, band saws, and reciprocating saws to butcher these cadavers for body parts. The Rathburns stored body parts from over 1,000 people inside a warehouse. Subsequently, they would sell these butchered body parts to medical and dental trainees. However, they sometimes did not disclose to their customers that these body parts were infected with disease.³

Over 180 years separate these two cases; the technological expertise needed to carry out these crimes significantly changed during this time. However, one consistent theme that links these two cases is motive—monetary gain. This is one of the most fascinating aspects to studying crime—although technology may have changed how crimes are committed (e.g., Internet fraud), have the explanations (i.e., "why they do it") changed?

WHAT MADE THESE KILLINGS SO SORDID WAS THAT BURKE AND HARE COMMITTED THEM FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF SELLING THE CADAVERS TO MEDICAL SCHOOLS FOR DISSECTION AND MEDICAL RESEARCH.

Other acts of deviance are not necessarily seen as immoral but are considered strange and violate social norms, such as purposely belching at a formal dinner. These types of deviant acts are relevant even if not considered criminal under the legal definition, for individuals engaging in these types of activities reveal a disposition toward antisocial behavior often linked to criminal behavior. Further, some acts are moving from being deemed deviant to being declared illegal, such as using a cell phone while driving or smoking cigarettes in public. Many jurisdictions are moving to have these behaviors made illegal and have been quite successful, especially in New York and California.

While most *mala in se* activities are also considered highly deviant, this is not necessarily the case for *mala prohibita* acts. For instance, speeding on a highway (a *mala prohibita* act) is not deviant, because many people engage in this act. Thus, while this is illegal, it is not considered deviant. This book presents theories for all these types of activities, even those that do not violate the law.⁷

What Is Criminology and Criminal Justice?

The term *criminology* was first coined by the Italian law professor Raffaele Garofalo in 1885 (in Italian, *criminologia*). In 1887, French anthropologist Paul Topinard used it for the first time in French (*criminologie*).⁸ In 1934, American criminologist Edwin Sutherland defined criminology as

the body of knowledge regarding crime as a social phenomenon. It includes within its scope the process of making laws, of breaking laws, and of reacting toward the breaking of laws. . . . The objective of criminology is the development of a body of general and verified principles and of other types of knowledge regarding this process of law, crime, and treatment or prevention.⁹

Criminology is the scientific study of crime, especially why people engage in criminal behavior. While other textbooks may provide a more complex definition of crime, the word *scientific* distinguishes our definition from other perspectives and examinations of crime.¹⁰ Philosophical and legal examinations of crime are based on logic and deductive reasoning—for example, by developing what makes logical sense. Journalists play a key role in examining crime by exploring what is happening in criminal justice and revealing injustices as well as new forms of crime. However, the philosophical, legal, and journalistic perspectives of crime are not scientific because they do not involve the use of the scientific method.

Criminal justice often refers to the various criminal justice agencies and institutions (e.g., police, courts, and corrections) that are interrelated and work together toward common goals. Interestingly, many scholars who referred to criminal justice as a system did so only as a way to collectively refer to those agencies and organizations rather than to imply that they were interrelated.¹¹ Some individuals argue that the term *criminal justice system* is an oxymoron. For instance, Joanne Belknap noted that she preferred to use the terms *crime processing*, *criminal processing*, and *criminal legal system*, given that “the processing of victims and offenders [is] anything but ‘just.’”¹²

The Consensus and Conflict Perspectives of Crime

A **consensus perspective** of crime views the formal system of laws, as well as the enforcement of those laws, as incorporating societal norms for which there is a broad normative consensus.¹³ The consensus perspective developed from the writings of late-19th- and early-20th-century sociologists such as Durkheim, Weber, Ross, and Sumner.¹⁴ This perspective assumes that individuals, for the most part, agree on what is right and wrong as well as on how those norms have been implemented into laws and how those laws are

crime: there are various definitions of crime. From a legalistic approach, crime is that which violates the law.

mala in se: acts that are considered inherently evil.

mala prohibita: acts that are considered crimes primarily because they have been declared bad by the legal codes in that jurisdiction.

deviance: behaviors that are not normal; includes many illegal acts as well as activities that are not necessarily criminal but are unusual and often violate social norms.

criminology: the scientific study of crime and the reasons why people engage (or don't engage) in criminal behavior.

criminal justice: often refers to the various criminal justice agencies and institutions (e.g., police, courts, and corrections) that are interrelated.

consensus perspective: theories that assume that virtually everyone is in agreement on the laws and therefore assume no conflict in attitudes regarding the laws and rules of society.



Los Angeles Airport Police via AP

Marsha Gay Reynolds, a JetBlue flight attendant, was accused of transporting \$3 million worth of cocaine in her suitcase. What might have motivated such behavior?

conflict perspective:

criminal behavior theories that assume most people disagree on what the law should be and that law is used as a tool by those in power to keep down other groups.

The conflict perspective maintains that there is conflict between various societal groups with different interests. This conflict is often resolved when the group in power achieves control.

Several criminologists, such as Richard Quinney, William Chambliss, and Austin Turk, maintained that criminological theory has placed too much emphasis on explaining criminal behavior; rather, theory needs to shift its focus toward explaining criminal law. The emphasis should not be on understanding the causes of criminal behavior but on understanding the process by which certain behaviors and individuals are formally designated as criminal. From this perspective, one would ask different questions. For instance, instead of asking, “Why do some people commit crimes while others do not?” one would ask, “Why are some behaviors defined as criminal while others are not?” Asking these types of questions raises the issue of whether the formulation and enforcement of laws serve the interests of those in a more powerful position in society.¹⁸

enforced. Thus, people obey laws not for fear of punishment but rather because they have internalized societal norms and values and perceive these laws as appropriate to observe rather than disobey.¹⁵ The consensus perspective was more dominant during the early part of the 1900s. Since the 1950s, however, no major theorist has considered this to be the best perspective of law. Further, “to the extent that assumptions or hypotheses about consensus theory are still given credence in current theories of law, they are most apt to be found in ‘mutualist’ models.”¹⁶

Around the 1950s, the **conflict perspective** was challenging the consensus approach.¹⁷

LEARNING CHECK 1.1

1. Crime that is evil in itself is referred to as _____.
2. Acts that are not necessarily against the law but are considered atypical and may be considered more immoral than illegal are _____ acts.
3. Criminology is distinguished from other perspectives of crime, such as journalistic, philosophical, or legal perspectives, because it involves the use of _____.

Answers located at www.edge.sagepub.com/schram2e

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

According to the 1967 President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice,

any criminal justice system is an apparatus society uses to enforce the standards of conduct necessary to protect individuals and the community. It operates by apprehending, prosecuting, convicting, and sentencing those members of the community who violate the basic rules of group existence.¹⁹

This general purpose of the criminal justice system can be further simplified into three goals: to control crime, to prevent crime, and to provide and maintain justice. The structure and organization of the criminal justice system has evolved in an effort to meet these goals. The structure and organization is often presented as three components: law enforcement, courts, and corrections.²⁰

Law Enforcement

Law enforcement includes various organizational levels (i.e., federal, state, and local). One of the key features distinguishing federal law enforcement agencies from others is that they were often established to enforce specific statutes. Thus, their units are highly specialized and often associated with specialized training and resources.²¹ Federal law enforcement agencies include the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), the U.S. Secret Service, the U.S. Marshals Service, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF). Further, almost all federal agencies, including the Postal Service and the Forest Service, have some police power. In 2002, President George W. Bush restructured the federal agencies, resulting in the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security. This department was created in an effort to protect and defend the United States from terrorist threats.²²

The earliest form of state police agency to emerge in the United States was the Texas Rangers, founded by Stephen Austin in 1823 to protect settlers. By 1925, formal state police departments existed throughout most of the country. While some organizational variations exist among the different states, two models generally characterize the structure of these state police departments.

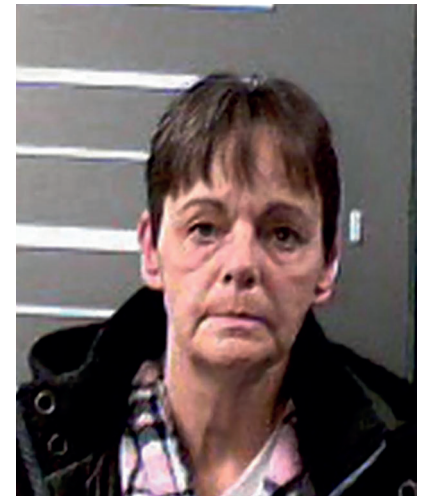
The first model can be designated as **state police**. States such as Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Vermont, and Arkansas have a state police structure. These agencies have general police powers and enforce state laws as well as perform routine patrols and traffic regulation. Further, they have additional functions such as specialized units to investigate major crimes, intelligence units, drug trafficking units, juvenile units, and crime laboratories. The second model can be designated as **highway patrol**. States such as California, Ohio, Georgia, Florida, and the Carolinas have a highway patrol model. For these agencies, the primary focus is to enforce the laws that govern the operation of motor vehicles on public roads and highways. In some instances, this also includes not just enforcing traffic laws but investigating crimes that occur in specific locations or under certain circumstances, such as on state highways or state property.²³ Agencies on the local level are divided into counties and municipalities. The primary law enforcement office for most counties is that of county sheriff. In most instances, the sheriff is an elected position. The majority of local police officers are employed by municipalities. Most of these agencies comprise fewer than 10 officers. Local police agencies are responsible for the “nuts and bolts” of law enforcement responsibilities. For instance, they investigate most crimes and engage in crime prevention activities such as patrol duties. Further, these officers are often responsible for providing social services such as responding to incidents of domestic violence and child abuse.²⁴

Courts

The United States does not have just one judicial system. Rather, the judicial system is quite complex. In fact, there are 52 different systems, one for each state, the District of Columbia, and the federal government. Given this complexity, however, one can



Montgomery County Sheriff's Office via New York Daily News



Law enforcement officials often find crime in unusual places. These two women were arrested after being accused of cooking meth inside a rural Illinois church.

state police: agencies with general police powers to enforce state laws as well as to investigate major crimes; they may have intelligence units, drug trafficking units, juvenile units, and crime laboratories.

highway patrol: one type of model characterizing statewide police departments. The primary focus is to enforce the laws that govern the operation of motor vehicles on public roads and highways.



Andrew Harter/Bloomberg via Getty Images

A black wool crepe is draped over Justice Antonin Scalia's bench chair in the Supreme Court courtroom. His death in 2016 left a vacancy on the Supreme Court bench.

characterize the United States as having a *dual court system*. This dual court system consists of separate yet interrelated systems: the federal courts and the state courts. While there are variations among the states in terms of judicial structure, usually a state court system consists of different levels or tiers, such as lower courts, trial courts, appellate courts, and the state's highest court. The federal court system is a three-tiered model: U.S. district courts (i.e., trial courts) and other specialized courts, U.S. courts of appeals, and the U.S. Supreme Court (see Figure 1.1).²⁵

Before any case can be brought to a court, that court must have *jurisdiction* over those individuals involved in the case. Jurisdiction is the authority of a court to hear and decide cases within an area of the law (i.e., subject matter such as serious felonies, civil cases, or misdemeanors) or a geographic territory.²⁶ Essentially, jurisdiction is categorized as limited, general, or appellate:

Courts of limited jurisdiction. These are also designated as lower courts. They do not have power that extends to the overall administration of justice; thus, they do not try felony cases and do not have appellate authority.

Courts of general jurisdiction. These are also designated as major trial courts. They have the power and authority to try and decide any case, including appeals from a lower court.

Courts of appellate jurisdiction. These are also designated as appeals courts. They are limited in their jurisdiction decisions on matters of appeal from lower courts and trial courts.²⁷

Every court, including the U.S. Supreme Court, is limited in terms of jurisdiction.

limited jurisdiction: the authority of a court to hear and decide cases within an area of the law or a geographic territory.

probation: essentially an arrangement between the sentencing authorities and the offender requiring the offender to comply with certain terms for a specified amount of time.

jail: jails are often designated for individuals convicted of a minor crime and to house individuals awaiting trial.

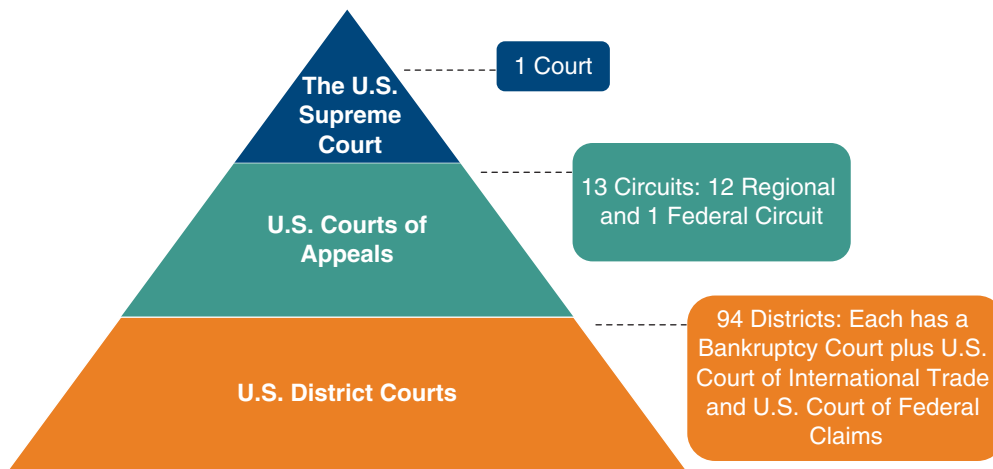
Corrections

After an offender is convicted and sentenced, he or she is processed in the corrections system. An offender can be placed on probation, incarcerated, or transferred to some type of community-based corrections facility. **Probation** is essentially an *arrangement* between the sentencing authorities and the offender. While under supervision, the offender must comply with certain terms for a specified amount of time to return to the community. These terms are often referred to as conditions of probation.²⁸ Examples of *general conditions* include the offenders regularly reporting to their supervising officer, obeying the laws, submitting to searches, and not being in possession of firearms or using drugs. *Specific conditions* can also be imposed, such as participating in methadone maintenance, urine testing, house arrest, vocational training, or psychological or psychiatric treatment.²⁹ There are also variations to probation. For instance, a judge can combine probation with incarceration, such as *shock incarceration*. This involves sentencing the offender to spend a certain amount of time each week, oftentimes over the weekend, in some type of institution like a jail; during the remaining time period, the offender is on probation.

Some offenders are required to serve their sentences in a corrections facility. One type of corrections facility is **jail**. Jails are often designated for individuals convicted of minor

FIGURE 1.1

Three-Tiered Model of the Federal Court System



Source: Adapted from <http://judiciallearningcenter.org/our-programs/>

crimes. Jails are also used to house individuals awaiting trial; these people have not been convicted but are incarcerated for various reasons, such as preventative detention. Another type of corrections facility is **prison**. Those sentenced to prison are often convicted of more serious crimes with longer sentences. There are different types of prisons based on security concerns, such as supermax, maximum, medium, and minimum security. Generally, counties and municipalities operate jails, while prisons are operated by federal and state governments.³⁰

Given the rising jail and prison populations, there has been increased use of alternatives to traditional incarceration. For instance, examples of residential sanctions include halfway houses as well as work and study release. Examples of nonresidential sanctions include house arrest, electronic monitoring, and day reporting centers.³¹

The Juvenile Justice System

Prior to the establishment of the juvenile justice system, children were treated the same as adults in terms of criminal processing. Children were considered as “imperfect” adults or “adults in miniature.” They were held to the same standards of behavior as adults. The American colonists brought with them the common law doctrine from England, which held that juveniles seven years or older could be treated the same as adult offenders. Thus, they were incarcerated with adults and could also receive similarly harsh punishments, including the death penalty. It should be noted, however, that youths rarely received such harsh and severe punishments.³² Beginning in the early 1800s, many recognized the need for a separate system for juveniles.³³ For instance, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a Swiss educator, maintained that children are distinct from adults, both physically and psychologically.

While there is some disagreement in accrediting the establishment of the first juvenile court, most acknowledge that the first comprehensive juvenile court system was initiated in 1899 in Cook County, Illinois. An essential component to understanding the juvenile justice system is the concept of **parens patriae**. This Latin term literally means “the parent of the country.” This philosophical perspective recognizes that the state has both the right and the obligation to intervene on behalf of and to protect

prison: generally for those convicted of more serious crimes with longer sentences, who may be housed in a supermax-, maximum-, medium-, or minimum-security prison, based on security concerns.

parens patriae: a philosophical perspective that recognizes that the state has both the right and the obligation to intervene on behalf of its citizens in the case of some impairment or impediment such as mental incompetence or, in the case of juveniles, age and immaturity.

its citizens who have some impairment or impediment such as mental incompetence or, in the case of juveniles, immaturity. The primary objective of processing juveniles was to determine what was in the best interest of the child. This resulted in the proceedings resembling more of a civil case than a criminal case. The implication of this approach was that the juvenile's basic constitutional rights were not recognized; these rights included the right to the confrontation and cross-examination of the witnesses, the right to protection against self-incrimination, and compliance regarding the rules of evidence. Another distinctive feature separating the juvenile justice system and the adult criminal justice system is the use of different terms for similar procedures in each system (see Table 1.1).

During the 1960s, there was a dramatic increase in juvenile crime. The existing juvenile justice system came under severe criticism, including questions concerning the informal procedures of the juvenile courts. Eventually, numerous U.S. Supreme Court decisions challenged these procedures, and some maintained that these decisions would radically change the nature of processing juveniles. For instance, in the case *In re Gault* (1967), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a juvenile is entitled to certain due-process protections constitutionally

TABLE 1.1

Comparing Juvenile and Criminal Justice System Terms

JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM TERM	CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM TERM
Adjudicated delinquent – Found to have engaged in delinquent conduct	Conviction
Adjudication hearing – A hearing to determine whether there is evidence beyond a reasonable doubt to support the allegations against the juvenile	Trial
Aftercare – Supervision of a juvenile after release from an institution	Parole
Commitment – Decision by a juvenile court judge to send the adjudicated juvenile to an institution	Sentence to prison
Delinquent act – A behavior committed by a juvenile that would have been a crime if committed by an adult	Crime
Delinquent – A juvenile who has been adjudicated of a delinquent act in juvenile court	Criminal
Detention – Short-term secure confinement of a juvenile for the protection of the juvenile or for the protection of society	Confinement in jail
Detention center – A facility designed for short-term secure confinement of a juvenile prior to court disposition or execution of a court order	Jail
Disposition – The sanction imposed on a juvenile who has been adjudicated in juvenile court	Sentence
Disposition hearing – A hearing held after a juvenile has been adjudicated	Sentencing hearing
Institution – A facility designed for long-term secure confinement of a juvenile after adjudication (also referred to as a training school)	Prison
Petition – A document that states the allegations against a juvenile and requests a juvenile court to adjudicate the juvenile	Indictment
Taken into custody – The action on the part of a police officer to obtain custody of a juvenile accused of committing a delinquent act	Arrest

Source: Taylor, R. W., & Fritsch, E. J. (2015). *Juvenile justice: Policies, programs, and practices* (4th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education, p. 9.

guaranteed to adults, such as a right to notice of the charges, right to counsel, right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, and right against self-incrimination. The case *In re Winship* (1970) decided that the standard of proof in juvenile delinquency proceedings is proof beyond a reasonable doubt. The first U.S. Supreme Court case to address juvenile court procedures was *Kent v. United States* (1966). The court ruled that juveniles who are facing a waiver to adult court are entitled to some essential due-process rights.

Although the major impetus for establishing the juvenile justice system was to emphasize rehabilitation, since the 1980s, there has been an emerging trend toward a more punitive approach to juveniles. This changing trend is due to various converging developments, such as broadening due-process protections of adults to include juveniles, the resurgence of retribution, and societal changes in perceptions about children's responsibility and accountability.³⁴ Another aspect to this more punitive trend is in reference to transfer provisions—waiving a juvenile offender from the juvenile justice system to the adult criminal justice system. The reasons for waivers have often been that the juvenile justice system cannot provide the needed treatment or protect the community from the offender. In reality, however, the reason for waivers is an immediate increase in the severity of response to the juvenile.³⁵

Some states have had transfer provisions since the 1920s; other states have had such provisions since the 1940s.³⁶ Transfer provisions can be categorized into three types: judicial waiver, concurrent jurisdiction, and statutory exclusion.

Judicial waiver: The juvenile court judge has the authority to waive juvenile court jurisdiction and transfer the case to criminal court. States may use terms other than *judicial waiver*. Some call the process *certification*, *remand*, or *bind over* for criminal prosecution. Others *transfer* or *decline* rather than waive jurisdiction.

Concurrent jurisdiction: Original jurisdiction for certain cases is shared by both criminal and juvenile courts, and the prosecutor has discretion to file such cases in either court. Transfer under concurrent jurisdiction provisions is also known as *prosecutorial waiver*, *prosecutor discretion*, or *direct file*.

Statutory exclusion: State statute excludes certain juvenile offenders from juvenile court jurisdiction. Under statutory exclusion provisions, cases originate in criminal rather than juvenile court. Statutory exclusion is also known as *legislative exclusion*.³⁷

While all states have some type of provision that allows some juveniles to be tried in adult criminal court, 34 states have what is termed the “once an adult, always an adult” provision. Under this provision, juveniles who have been tried and convicted as adults *must* be prosecuted in criminal court for any subsequent offenses.

Introduction to Comparative Criminology

Another area of criminological research is the study of the nature and extent of crime and criminal justice systems across societies. This is an expanding area of research given

LEARNING CHECK 1.2

1. Law enforcement agencies on the state level that have general police powers as well as additional functions, such as investigating major crimes, are designated as the _____ model.
2. Law enforcement agencies on the state level whose primary focus is to enforce laws concerning public roads and highways are designated as the _____ model.
3. Every court, including the U.S. Supreme Court, is limited in terms of _____.
4. Recognizing that the state has both the right and an obligation to protect juveniles is referred to as _____.

Answers located at www.edge.sagepub.com/schram2e

judicial waiver: the authority to waive juvenile court jurisdiction and transfer the case to criminal court.

concurrent jurisdiction: original jurisdiction for certain cases is shared by both criminal and juvenile courts; the prosecutor has discretion to file such cases in either court.

statutory exclusion: excludes certain juvenile offenders from juvenile court jurisdiction; cases originate in criminal rather than juvenile court.

the complexities associated with crime, prevention, and detection in a high-tech, global environment.³⁸ There are various definitions for the term *comparative criminology*, some being more comprehensive in scope than others. Hardie-Bick, Sheptycki, and Wardak noted that comparative criminology should address questions such as the following:

- Why do some societies have lower crime rates?
- What are the differences and similarities in crime definition and control across social and cultural frontiers?
- How do theoretical models relating to crime translate across cultures?³⁹

The comparative perspective is not a relatively new approach. In 1889, E. B. Taylor outlined the benefits of such an approach during his presentation to the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain. But it was not until the mid-1950s that researchers outside anthropological studies, such as those in sociology, psychology, and political science, incorporated a more comparative approach in their research. Criminologists also began to incorporate this perspective in the late 1960s and early 1970s. While this approach has been relatively slow to gain prominence, a growing body of research incorporates this perspective.⁴⁰

The study of comparative criminology is no longer considered an option but rather a necessity.⁴¹

In our global village, crime problems are no longer a domestic concern. Many types of crime have international dimensions, and trends in crime and justice in different countries are increasingly interdependent. The international nature of markets for drugs, sexual services, and illicit firearms is generally recognized. Less well understood is the international nature of many other criminal markets such as that for stolen cars with an estimated half million stolen cars transported from developed to less developed countries annually. More and more criminal groups operate internationally through loose networks of partners in crime.⁴²

As mentioned previously, although there is an increased appreciation for the study of comparative criminology, there are limitations regarding the availability of international statistics on crime and criminal justice. In recent years, there have been increasing efforts to enhance international statistics on global social issues such as diseases, infant mortality, and the consumption of illegal drugs. However, efforts to collect information on crime are limited. One explanation for the relative paucity of data on this global issue is that some governments do not want to be exposed to data that may reveal their countries in a negative light. Scholars are working to break this politically inspired *conspiracy of silence*.⁴³

This text will include a series of boxes that compare the United States with foreign nations in terms of various aspects of criminology and criminal justice. Nearly every chapter in this textbook will include a Comparative Criminology box, and each will focus on a single type of serious crime; for example, the Comparative Criminology box in this chapter examines relative rates of motor vehicle theft. It is important to be aware of and understand where the United States stands in relative terms on crime rates, which enlightens us on how cultural and socioeconomic factors influence such rates. The same can be said of comparing various regions/states/cities across the United States, which some of the comparative boxes will also examine.

comparative criminology: the study of crime across various cultures to identify similarities and differences in crime patterns.

Most of the statistics in the various comparative criminology boxes of this book were obtained from *The World of Crime* by Jan Van Dijk, one of the best compilations of international crime statistics in that it synthesizes and reports on a variety of measures using both police reports and victimization surveys from a multitude of sources.

Applying Theory to Crime: **MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT**

A motor vehicle theft is defined as “the theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle. . . . A motor vehicle is a self-propelled vehicle that runs on land surfaces and not on rails.”⁴⁴ Examples of motor vehicles include sport utility vehicles, automobiles, trucks, buses, motorcycles, motor scooters, all-terrain vehicles, and snowmobiles. They do not, however, include farm equipment, bulldozers, airplanes, construction equipment, or watercraft. In 2014, about 689,527 motor vehicle thefts were reported in the United States. In that time, more than \$4.5 billion was lost as a result of motor vehicle thefts; the average dollar loss per stolen vehicle was \$6,537.

Slightly over 74% of all motor vehicle thefts were automobiles. According to the National Insurance Crime Bureau (NICB), the Honda Accord is stolen more often than any other car in the United States. This is followed by the Honda Civic, Ford pickup (full size), Chevrolet pickup (full size), Toyota Camry, Dodge Ram pickup (full size), Dodge Caravan, Nissan Altima, Acura Integra, and Nissan Maxima.⁴⁵ Further, the NICB noted that one should also consider vehicle theft fraud. In the past, vehicle thieves were focused on stealing cars and trucks the “old-fashioned way,” such as by forced entry and circumventing ignitions. Today, there are new scams for stealing vehicles that involve fraud:

- **Owner give-ups:** The vehicle owner lies about the theft of the vehicle and then orchestrates its destruction to collect insurance money. He or she claims the vehicle was stolen, but then it is found burned or heavily damaged in a secluded area, submerged in a lake, or, in extreme cases, buried underground.
- **Thirty-day specials:** Owners whose vehicles need extensive repairs sometimes perpetrate the 30-day special

scam. They will report the vehicle stolen and hide it for 30 days—just long enough for the insurance company to settle the claim. Once the claim is paid, the vehicle is often found abandoned.

- **Export fraud:** After securing a bank loan for a new vehicle, an owner obtains an insurance policy for it. The owner reports the vehicle stolen to a U.S. law enforcement agency but, in reality, has illegally shipped it overseas to be sold on the black market. The owner then collects on the insurance policy as well as any illegal profits earned through overseas conspirators who sell the vehicle.
- **Phantom vehicles:** An individual creates a phony title or registration to secure insurance on a nonexistent vehicle. The insured then reports the vehicle stolen before filing a fraudulent insurance claim. Often, antique or luxury vehicles are used in this scam, since these valuable vehicles produce larger insurance settlements.⁴⁶

One interesting approach to addressing the problem of motor vehicle thefts, which has been popularized by the media, is the use of bait cars. The Los Angeles Police Department defines the use of a bait car as “an undercover operation where [they] bring in a plain motor vehicle and load it with desirable goods (iPod, GPS, cigarettes, etc.) and hope someone breaks into the car as [they] are watching.”⁴⁷ On June 25, 2012, police in Albuquerque, New Mexico, were quite surprised when one of their bait cars was stolen by an 11-year-old boy. This boy wanted to take the car for a joy ride; on the way, he also decided to pick up two of his 10-year-old friends. A video camera had been placed in the bait car. In the video, the boy can be heard

bragging to his friends about his driving skills. For instance, while turning up the radio to enjoy the music as he drives, the boy says, “I’m a good driver, huh?” During their joy ride, apparently one of the boys spotted a police officer; one of the boys said, “Quiet,” while the other said, “Slow down.”⁴⁸

After reading about this youth, one might ask, “Why would he do that?” Some of you might consider that his 10-year-old peers somehow influenced his behavior, especially since it seems he wanted them to be a part of his criminal adventure. Others may argue that these boys lacked some form of adult supervision resulting from a dysfunctional family environment. Another possible explanation is that these boys lacked self-control, that they were thrill seekers who knew this was wrong, especially given their reaction when spotting the police. When we read about this type of behavior in a newspaper or hear about it on the news and ask, “Why would someone do that?” we are trying to find some kind of explanation. This is what theory attempts to do but in a more rigorous, scientific manner. Throughout this text, as we discuss various theories, we attempt to apply key points of those theories to either a real or hypothetical situation in boxes labeled “Applying Theories to Crime.” For each of these special boxes, we begin with a brief discussion of a particular crime, such as motor vehicle theft, robbery, or murder. Subsequently, we apply the relevant theory or theories in that chapter to that particular crime. With this approach, you will obtain general information about particular offenses as well as apply key features of various theories to those crimes.

THINK ABOUT IT:

1. What kind of influence did peers have on this 11-year-old’s behavior?
2. Do you think the lack of adult supervision could explain his behavior?

Comparative Criminology: **MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT**

Ranking Regions/Countries on Rates of Motor Vehicle Theft

The key measure of prevalence of motor vehicle theft in the world is the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS), which is a data bank that collects and standardizes police reports from more than 70 countries around the world. This measure has been conducted since 1987 and does have some weaknesses, but it is currently the best measure of most crimes in terms of cross-national comparisons.

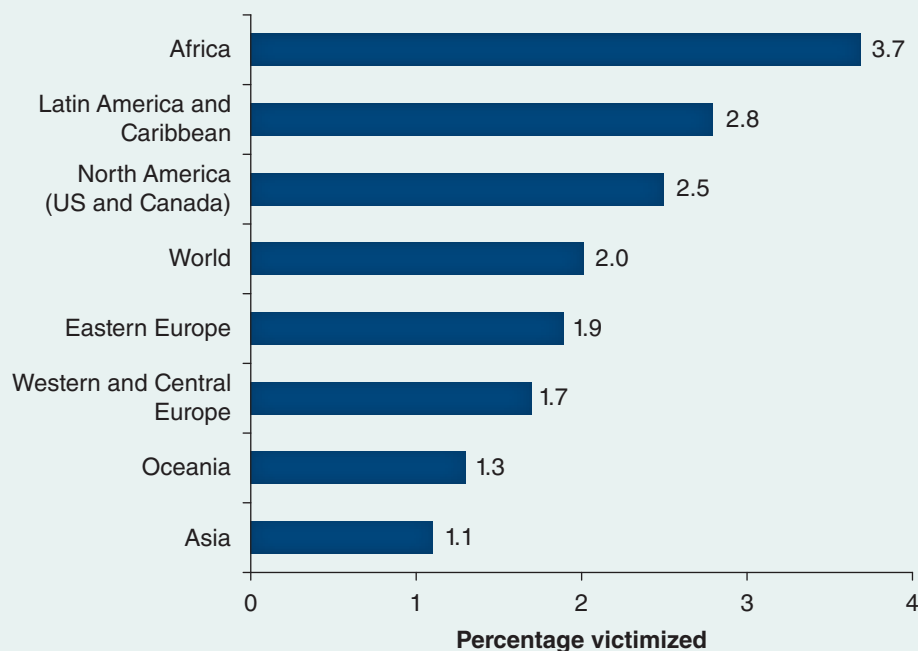
The ICVS has collected many years' worth of data on motor vehicle theft. Van Dijk synthesized the data from ICVS regarding car theft from the years 1996 to 2005.⁵¹ Some regions have very high numbers of stolen vehicles, but to make a fair

comparison across regions, rates of ownership should be accounted for. As seen in Figure 1.2, the countries with by far the highest percentages of car owners in urban areas who had been victimized by car theft were on the continent of Africa. A relatively distant second highest ranking area was countries in the region of Latin America/Caribbean.

To be more specific, we can examine the ranking of the countries in terms of their rates of vehicle theft. As can be seen in Figure 1.3, ICVS data show that Papua New Guinea had by far the highest rate (at 9.8% of car owners victimized each year), followed by Mozambique (7.5%) and then South Africa, Swaziland, and Brazil rounding out the top five. It is notable that the United States did not rank in the worst 15 countries for motor vehicle theft.

FIGURE 1.2

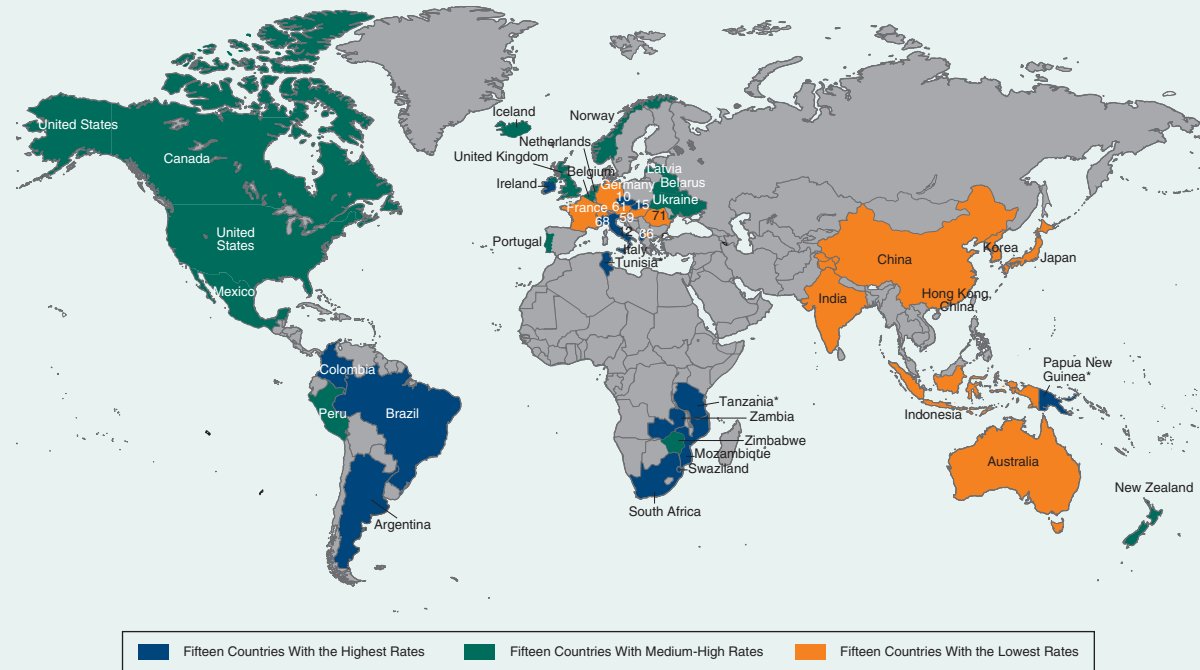
Percentages of Car Owners in Urban Areas Victimized by Car Theft or Joyriding During the Past 12 Months



Source: ICVS, 1996–2005, latest survey available.

FIGURE 1.3

World Ranking of Countries According to Victimization of Car Owners in Urban Areas by Theft of a Car in the Course of One Year, Rank Number, and Percentage of Victims per Year



Sources: ICVS, 1992, 1996–2005, latest survey available.

*Countries with data from ICVS, 1992.

It is not too surprising that motor vehicle theft tends to be higher (when accounting for rates of ownership) in some of the most deprived nations in the world, such as Africa and various Latin American/Caribbean countries. After all, in such extreme poverty, many individuals are driven to commit such crimes to survive. However, the results from the ICVS also reveal that vehicle theft actually happens quite a bit in many regions of the world (North America being ranked third), so motor vehicle theft is alive and well throughout virtually all societies.

THINK ABOUT IT:

1. According to the ICVS, what regions of the world had the highest rates of motor vehicle theft between 1996 and 2005?
2. Which regions had the lowest vehicle theft rates between 1996 and 2005?
3. Can you provide possible explanations for these differences across regions?

CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY

Respected scientific theories in all fields of study, whether chemistry, physics, or criminology, tend to have the same characteristics. This is further illustrated by the scientific review process (i.e., blind peer review by experts) used in all fields to assess which studies and theoretical frameworks are of high quality. The criteria that characterize a good theory in chemistry are the same ones used to assess what makes a good criminological theory. These characteristics include parsimony, scope, logical consistency, testability, empirical validity, and policy implications.⁴⁹ Each of these characteristics is examined in the next section.⁵⁰



RAUL ARBOLEDA/AFP/Getty Images

How would Lombroso classify this person?

parsimony:

a characteristic of a good theory, meaning that it explains a certain phenomenon, such as criminal behavior, with the fewest possible propositions or concepts.

scope: refers to the range of criminal behavior that a theory attempts to explain.

logical consistency: the extent to which concepts and propositions of a theoretical model make sense in terms of face value and consistency with what is readily known about crime rates and trends.

testability: the extent to which a theoretical model can be empirically or scientifically tested through observation and empirical research.

Characteristics of Good Theories

Parsimony is attained by explaining a phenomenon, such as criminal activity, in the simplest way possible. Other characteristics being equal, the simpler the theory, the better. The challenge with criminal behavior is that it is highly complex; however, some criminologists have attempted to explain this complex phenomenon using rather simplistic approaches. For instance, the theory of low self-control maintains that one personality factor—low self-control—is responsible for all criminal activity. As will be discussed in a later chapter, the originators of this theory, Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi, contend that every act of crime and deviance is caused by this same

factor: low self-control.⁵² A simple theory is better than a more complex one. Given the complex nature of criminal behavior, however, it is likely that a simple explanation, such as identifying one factor to explain all types of criminal and deviant behavior, will not be adequate.

Scope is the trait that indicates how much of a given phenomenon the theory attempts to explain. Other traits being equal, the larger the scope, the better the theory. To some extent, this is related to parsimony in the sense that some theories, such as the theory of low self-control, seek to explain all crimes and all deviant acts. Thus, the theory of low self-control has a very wide scope. As we will discuss later, other theories of crime may attempt to explain only property crime, such as some versions of strain theory or drug use. However, the wider the scope of what a theory can explain, the better the theory.

Logical consistency is the extent to which a theory makes sense in terms of its concepts and propositions. Sometimes it is easier to illustrate this point with an example. Some theories do not make sense simply because of the face value of their propositions. For instance, Cesare Lombroso maintained that the most serious offenders are *born criminals*; they are biological throwbacks to an earlier stage of evolutionary development and can be identified by their physical features.⁵³ Lombroso, who is discussed later in this book, maintained that tattoos were one of the physical features that distinguished these born criminals. This does not make sense, or lacks logical consistency, because tattoos are not biological physical features (i.e., no baby has been born with a tattoo).

Testability is the extent to which a theory can be empirically and scientifically tested. Some theories simply cannot be tested. A good example of such a theory is Freud's theory of the psyche, discussed in more detail later in this book. Freud described three domains of the psyche—the conscious ego, the subconscious id, and the superego. None of these domains, however, can be observed or tested.⁵⁴ While some theories can be quite influential without being testable (e.g., Freud's theory), a theoretical model that is untestable and unobservable is at a considerable disadvantage. Fortunately, most established criminological theories can be examined through empirical testing.

Empirical validity is the extent to which a theoretical model is supported by scientific research. This is closely associated with the previous characteristic of testability. While almost all accepted modern criminological theories are testable, this does not mean they are equal in terms of empirical validity.

For instance, deterrence theory proposed in part that offenders will not repeat their crimes if they have been caught and given severe legal punishment. If research finds that this is true for only a small minority of offenders or that punished offenders are only slightly less likely to repeat crimes than are unpunished offenders, then the theory has some, but not much, empirical validity.⁵⁵

Thus, questions of empirical validity include these: “What degree of empirical support does the theory have?” “Do the findings of research provide weak or strong support?” “Does the preponderance of evidence support or undermine the theory?”⁵⁶

LEARNING CHECK 1.3

1. When a theory can explain a phenomenon using a simplistic approach, this is considered _____.
2. When a theory attempts to explain all crimes and all deviant acts, this theory is broad in _____.
3. Empirical validity is the extent to which a theoretical model is supported by _____.

Answers located at www.edge.sagepub.com/schram2e

Three Requirements for Determining Causality

Various criteria are involved in determining whether a certain variable causes another variable to change—in other words, causality. For this discussion, we will be referring to the commonly used scientific notation of a predictor variable—called X—as causing an explanatory variable—called Y. These variables are often referred to as an independent or predictor variable (X) and a dependent or explanatory variable (Y). These criteria are used for all scientific disciplines, whether chemistry, physics, biology, or criminology. The three criteria required to determine causality are temporal ordering, covariation or correlation, and accounting for spuriousness.

Temporal ordering requires that the predictor variable (X) precede the explanatory variable (Y) if one is attempting to determine that X causes Y. Although this issue of time order appears to be quite obvious, there are instances when this criterion is violated in criminological theories. For instance, a recent scientific debate has focused on whether delinquency is an outcome variable (Y) caused by associations with delinquent peers and associates (X) or whether delinquency (X) causes associations with delinquent peers and associates (Y), which then leads to more delinquent behavior. This is an example of temporal ordering, or “which came first, the chicken or the egg?” Research has revealed that both processes often occur, meaning that delinquency and associations with delinquent peers are likely to be both predictor and explanatory variables.

Correlation or covariation is the extent to which a change in the predictor (X) is associated with a change in the explanatory variable (Y). For instance, an increase in unemployment (X) is likely to lead to a rise in crime rates (Y). This would indicate a positive association, because both increased. Similarly, an increase in employment (X) is likely to lead to a decrease in crime rates (Y). This would be a negative, or inverse, association, because as one decreases, the other increases. The criterion of covariance is not met when a change in X does not produce any change in Y. Thus, if a significant change in X does not lead to a significant change in Y, this criterion is not met.

It is essential to stress, however, that correlation alone does not mean that X causes Y. For example, ice cream sales (X) tend to be highly associated with crime rates (Y). This does not mean that ice cream sales cause higher crime rates. Instead, other factors, such as warm weather, lead to an increase in both sales of ice cream and the number of people who are outdoors in public areas, which could lead to greater opportunities and tendencies to engage in criminal activity. This example leads to the final criterion for determining causality.

empirical validity:

the extent to which a theoretical model is supported by scientific research.

temporal ordering: the criterion for determining causality; requires that the predictor variable (X) precede the explanatory variable (Y) in time.

correlation or

covariation: a criterion of causality that requires a change in a predictor variable (X) to be consistently associated with some change in the explanatory variable (Y).

WHY DO THEY DO IT?

DIANE AND RACHEL STAUDTE



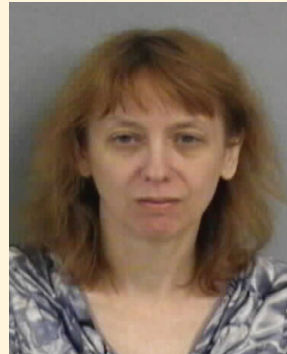
In an ABC 20/20 interview, Sarah Staudte stated that “she [her mother, Diane] had this journal that she wrote . . . her thoughts. She wrote the deaths of Shaun, my brother, and me. And that’s what worried me . . . I was shocked.” According to medical examiners, in April 2012, Mark Staudte, Sarah’s father, died of “natural causes”; five months later, her brother’s death was ruled as being due to “prior medical issues.” Both bodies were cremated.⁵⁷ In June 2013, Sarah was taken to Cox South Hospital in Springfield, Missouri. While she exhibited flulike symptoms, the doctors discovered that her kidneys and brain were deteriorating. After running a number of tests, doctors still could not determine the cause of her kidney and brain failure. While she was hospitalized, Springfield police detective Neal McAmis received an anonymous tip. The caller stated that Diane could be responsible for Sarah’s illness and might also have been involved in the deaths of Sarah’s father and brother. Following this tip, Detective McAmis went to the hospital. One of the doctors stated that he was suspicious that this was a possible poisoning case. He further noted that Sarah was essentially given a “zero percent chance” of living; the question was not whether she was going to die, but when. The detective also talked to a nurse, who commented that Diane was acting strangely, given the severity of the situation. Diane was joking about Sarah’s condition and was talking about her upcoming Florida vacation.⁵⁸

Subsequently, Detective McAmis brought Diane Staudte in for questioning. During a four-hour interview, Diane admitted to fatally poisoning her husband and son as well as poisoning her daughter. She, along with her then 24-year-old daughter Rachel, had put antifreeze in Coca-Cola and Gatorade. During her taped interview, Diane made some startling comments in reference to why she had poisoned her family members. She stated that she “hated his [her husband’s] guts.” Below are portions of the interview between Detective McAmis and Diane regarding her son, Shaun:

“He was almost to the point of inappropriate at times,” Diane Staudte said. “I mean he would walk into the bathroom if the door was shut. I mean just really bizarre stuff.”

“He was such an interference and a bother that you just said you can’t take it anymore?” McAmis prodded.

“He was more than a bother,” Diane Staudte said.



Greene County Sheriff's Office via AP

Diane and Rachel Staudte.

“More than a bother, OK. Would a pest, would that be a good word for it?” McAmis asked.

“No, it was more than that,” Diane Staudte said.⁵⁹

Further into the interview, when asked about poisoning her daughter, Diane Staudte stated that Sarah was unemployed and therefore could not financially contribute to the household.

Detective McAmis then interviewed Diane’s daughter, Rachel Staudte. Rachel stated that her mother initially brought up the idea, but soon after Rachel also became involved in the poisonings. When asked why she wanted to kill her father, Rachel stated, “[I]t was for a little peace.” When asked about her brother, she said, “Shaun, because he was annoying.” Finally, when asked about her sister, Sarah, Rachel stated “Sarah was just nosy. Very nosy.” Rachel told the detective that they were planning to poison her then 12-year-old-sister.

Diane Staudte was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole; Rachel, since she agreed to testify against her mother, was also sentenced to life, but she will be eligible for parole after serving over 42 years in prison.

Sarah Staudte did survive, but she suffered serious brain injury. She now has a guardian and lives in an assisted living facility.⁶⁰

THINK ABOUT IT:

1. How does a mother involve her own daughter in the poisoning of family members?
2. If Diane and Rachel had not been caught, how many more individuals might have been poisoned?

In this text, we will be presenting what some may consider “high-profile” crimes. These are crimes that have received a great deal of media attention due to the individuals involved and/or the horrendous nature of the offense. In some instances, such as the Diane Staudte case, these types of crimes go beyond the question, “Why did she do it?”

Considering for **spuriousness** is a complicated way of saying, to determine that X causes Y, other factors (typically called Z factors) that could be causing the observed association must be accounted for before one can be sure that X is actually causing Y. In other words, these other Z factors may account for the observed association between X and Y. What often happens is that a third factor (Z) causes two events to occur together in time and place. Referring back to Lombroso, tattoos may have predicted criminality at the time he wrote. However, Lombroso did not account for an important Z factor—namely, associates or friends who also had tattoos. This Z factor caused the simultaneous occurrence of both other factors.

Charles Ommann/Getty Images



What aspects of this neighborhood would cause it to be classified as “disorganized”?

Researchers in criminology are fairly good at determining the first two criteria of causality—temporal ordering and covariance or correlation. Most scientists can perform classical experiments that randomly assign participants either to receive or not to receive the experimental manipulation to examine the effect on outcomes. The problem for criminologists, however, is that the factors that appear to be important (according to police officers, parole agents, or corrections officers) are family variables, personality traits, employment variables, intelligence, and other similar characteristics that cannot be experimentally manipulated to control for possible Z factors. Thus, as criminologists, we may never be able to meet all the criteria for causality. Rather, we are often restricted to building a case for the factors we think are causing crime by amassing as much support as we can regarding temporal ordering and covariance or correlation, and perhaps accounting for other factors in advanced statistical models. Ultimately, social science, particularly criminology, is a difficult field in terms of establishing causality, and as we shall see, empirical validity of various criminological theories is hindered by such issues.

Theory Informs Policies and Programs

An essential aspect of a good theory is that it can help inform and guide policies that attempt to reduce crime. After all, a criminological theory is truly useful in the real world only if it helps reduce criminal offending. For instance, referring to the 11-year-old boy in Albuquerque who took the bait car for a joy ride, if one maintains that the reason he engaged in this criminal behavior was a lack of adult supervision, suggested policies and programs might be directed toward some type of after-school program. Many theories have been used as the basis of such changes in policy.

All major criminological theories have implications for, and have indeed been utilized in, criminal justice policy and practice. Every therapy method, treatment program, prison regimen, police policy, or criminal justice practice is based, either explicitly or implicitly, on some explanation of human nature in general or criminal behavior in particular.⁶¹ In each chapter, we will present examples of how the theories of crime discussed have guided policy making.

One theoretical perspective we will be discussing is differential association. A central tenet of this theory is the influence of close peer groups or other role models. The major implication of this theory is to replace negative, antisocial role models with more positive, prosocial role models. The influence of this position is reflected in the

spuriousness: when other factors (often referred to as Z factors) are actually causing two variables (X and Y) to occur at the same time; it may appear as if X causes Y, when in fact they are both being caused by other Z factor(s).

conditions of probation or parole; offenders are required to stay away from convicted felons. Programs that bring juveniles together for positive purposes and positive interaction with others will face obstacles because “the lure of ‘the streets’ and of the friends they have grown up with remains a powerful countervailing force regarding rehabilitation.”⁶²

Another theory perspective we will be presenting focuses on social structure. If individuals live in an environment that is considered *disorganized*, such as one characterized by high unemployment and transiency, this could be deemed the *root cause* of crime. The challenge with implementing policies and programs with this perspective is that it does not necessarily focus on the individual but rather the community. Clifford Shaw argued that rather than treating individual offenders, one needs to focus on the community. Subsequently, he developed the Chicago Area Project. Shaw, along with his staff, organized various programs aimed at establishing or enhancing a sense of community with neighborhoods. He also obtained the assistance and cooperation of schools, churches, recreational clubs, trade unions, and businesses.⁶³

VICTIMOLOGY

Victimology can be defined as the scientific study of victims.⁶⁴ Although this definition is quite simple, the range of specific topics and the depth to which they are examined can be complex. Specifically, the study of victims includes such widely varied topics as theoretical reasons that some individuals are more likely to be victimized, the legal rights of victims, and the incidence/spatial distribution of victimization in a given geographic area. These are just some of the many topics that fall under the general umbrella of victimology, and even these three topics can be broken into many categories of study. Before we discuss some of those areas, it is important to understand the evolution of the study of victims.

Victimology is a relatively new area of criminology, which is strange because there have been victims since the very beginning of human civilization. The earliest use of the term *victimology* is attributed to two scholars, Fredric Wertham in his book *The Show of Violence* (1949)⁶⁵ and Benjamin Mendelsohn, generally considered the Father of Victimology, in his 1956 article titled “Victimology” and published in a foreign journal.⁶⁶ This may not seem to many readers being that recent, but it is when you consider that most sciences, including criminology, had been studied for hundreds of years prior to the mid-20th century. Another indication that the science of victimology is very young is that the term *victimology* was not recognized as a correctly spelled word by spell checks in the most commonly used word-processing programs until the last few years.

However, the study of victims is a very insightful perspective for understanding crime. After all, for most crimes there is a victim, so to only try to understand the offender is to miss half the equation. As Wertham wrote:

The murder victim is the forgotten man. With sensational discussions on the abnormal psychology of the murderer, we have failed to emphasize the unprotectedness of the victim and the complacency of the authorities. One cannot understand the psychology of the murderer if one does not understand the sociology of the victim. What we need is a science of victimology.⁶⁷

It is also important to note that one of the most accurate measures of crime that exists is based on interviews with victims. Called the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), it was begun in 1973 and is generally considered a more accurate estimate of

crime in the United States than the Uniform Crime Reports collected by the police and FBI, especially for certain types of offenses, such as forcible rape and burglary. It is certainly the most important source for victimization data across the United States.

Victim Precipitation

One of the most basic underlying concepts of virtually all theoretical perspectives of victimology is that of **victim precipitation**.⁶⁸ Victim precipitation is when an individual does or doesn't do something that increases the risk that he or she will be victimized. For example, if someone does not lock their car and it gets stolen, this is known as *passive victim precipitation*, because it was something they did not or forgot to do. The other type, *active victim precipitation*, involves an individual actually doing something that increases their probability of being victimized. For example, if John yells a racial slur at Ron and then Ron attacks John, what Ron did is not justified, but John clearly increased his likelihood of being attacked, which is the reason why it is an active form of precipitation. The concept of victim precipitation is not about blame; rather, it is simply about raising the odds or risk of being victimized. To be clear, victims should not be blamed, but often what they did or didn't do made them more vulnerable to being targeted.

Marvin Wolfgang was a key researcher who conducted one of the first major studies of victim precipitation in the late 1940s and early 1950s, in which he found that a substantial percentage of homicides in Philadelphia involved situations in which the victim was the first to use force against the person(s) who killed them.⁶⁹ At the time, this was a key insight, because previously most researchers had assumed that most victims were completely innocent. Wolfgang's study showed that many of the victims of homicide were actually active precipitators of the crime. Many other theorists have expanded on this theory of victim precipitation, but none have really added to the original model and data provided by Wolfgang.

Incidence/Prevalence of Victimization

One of the most common misperceptions about rates of victimization involves the type of individual who is most likely to be victimized. Studies have shown that many people believe that the most likely individuals to be victims of violent crimes are elderly persons. Perhaps this is due to media coverage; when a grandmother gets raped or robbed, it makes the front page of every newspaper. In fact, however, older individuals are by far the least likely to be victimized by violence. The highest rates of violent victimization clearly occur among teenagers and young adults.⁷⁰ This is likely because young people are the ones who typically associate or "hang" with the most common offenders, namely young males.

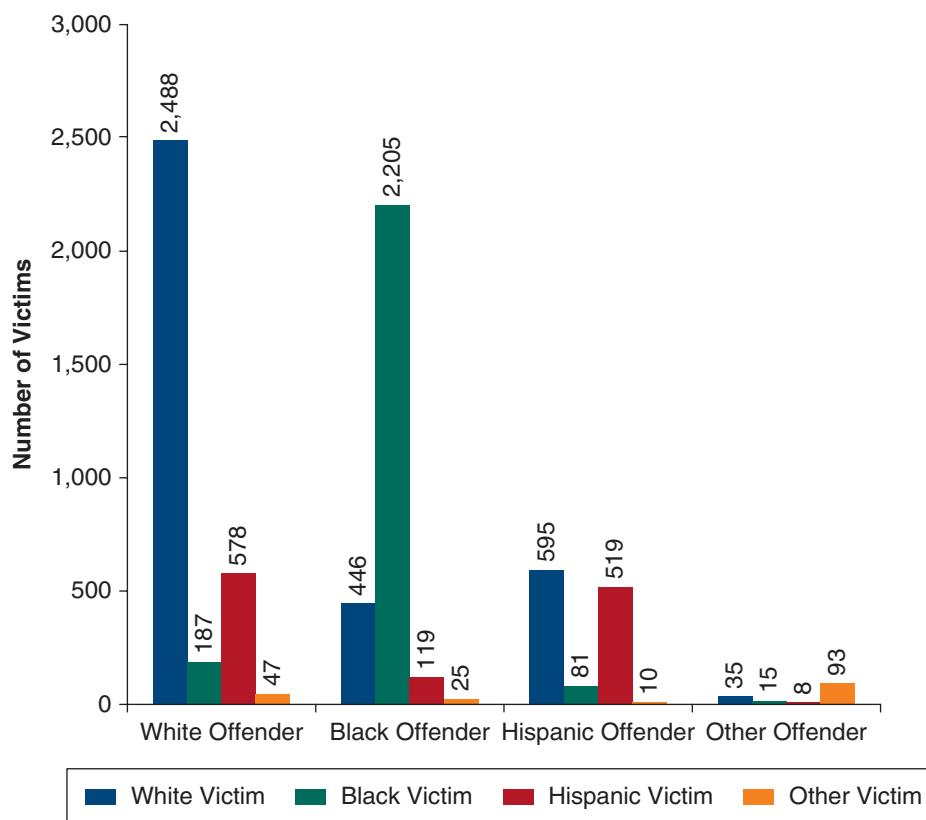
The vast majority of victimization is intraracial, meaning that typically the offender is of the same race or ethnicity as the victim (see Figure 1.4). Research from the Department of Justice shows that this is true for homicide, for example. This makes sense because people of a given race or ethnicity tend to socialize with other people of the same race or ethnicity.⁷¹

The good news is that violent victimization has been falling drastically since the early 1990s. According to both the National Crime Victimization Survey and the Uniform Crime Reports (police reports summarized by the FBI), violent victimization has dropped by over 50% since 1993. The reasons for this huge decrease are still unknown, but both of these independent measures show it to be a fact. For example, New York City has seen a decrease from over 2,200 homicides per year in the early 1990s to fewer than 400 per

victim precipitation: the increased likelihood of an individual becoming a victim due to something they did (or did not do) that put them more at risk (e.g., not locking their car door).

FIGURE 1.4

Homicide by Race of Victim and Offender



Note: "Other" includes American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.

Source: Crime in the U.S. 2014. FBI. Expanded Homicide Data Table 6.

year currently. Also, Los Angeles used to have well over 1,000 homicides per year in the early 1990s but is now averaging less than 500.

Child Abuse and Neglect

Rates of child abuse and neglect have decreased in the last few decades, probably due to more acknowledgment and awareness.⁷² It is well known that in traditional times, police and other law enforcement felt that domestic issues should be best handled at the home. It should be noted that any citizen can make an anonymous claim about child abuse or neglect; to do so, they should call their local child protection agency. However, individuals working in a professional capacity must reveal their identity and agency if they report such accusations of abuse or neglect.

Several agencies have been created at the national level to measure rates of child abuse and to provide helpful services in such cases. One of the most prominent is the Attorney General's Defending Childhood Initiative, which is administered by the federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), and its role is primarily to increase awareness about the long-term influence of

children's exposure to violence and to seek solutions to address the problem. Additionally, the OJJDP's Internet Crimes Against Children (ICAC) task force program assists state and local enforcement in preventing and investigating technology-based sexual exploitation.⁷³ Also, the OJJDP works with the Office of Justice Programs to manage the AMBER Alert program, in which notices go out nationally to try to find abducted children; this program is credited with helping to rescue over 800 children.⁷⁴

The Department of Justice has declared April to be National Child Abuse Prevention Month since 1983. Various agencies have been created to help children who are victims of crime and promote awareness of their rights and the services offered to them.

Compensation and Restitution

The main distinction between victim **compensation** and **restitution** is that the former is given by the state or government and the latter is given by the offender (typically as part of the sentence). New Zealand created the first victim compensation program in the world in 1963. California had the first state victim compensation program in the United States; it is still one of the largest and provides at least approximately \$70,000 for victims of violent crime. Property crimes are not included because victims usually have some type of insurance for most of them; one big exception is drunk driving, which the organization MADD [Mothers Against Drunk Driving] lobbied hard for and got, so that is actually allowed in most compensation programs. Now all states have victim compensation programs and receive federal funding from legislated programs, most of them enacted in the 1980s.

Interestingly, the first historical record about victims goes back to the Code of Hammurabi in 1754 BC. This code had many laws, but the most relevant for this course is a portion that called for a restoration of equity between the offender and the victim as well as encouraged victims to forgive their offenders.⁷⁵

Victim compensation programs are typically handled by the victims' services unit or department at local or county offices. Victims' services units are usually housed in the county district attorney's office, and they typically do a great job of helping victims, not just as first responders (where they counsel and give information about social services after a major crime) but also in helping victims fill out reports to apply for state compensation (for funeral services, medical expenses, etc.).

If an offender is required to pay *restitution* as part of his or her sentence, the victim will likely not fare well in actually receiving it. Most offenders are unemployed and/or moneyless and thus unable to pay their victims. There are cases in which victims do receive their court-mandated restitution (often because the offender is a juvenile and his or her parents pay the money), but these instances are the exception.



Roman Milert / Alamy Stock Photo

The Law Code of Hammurabi was inscribed on a seven-foot basalt stele. It is now on display in the Louvre Museum in Paris, France.

compensation: often paid to victims of violent acts; provided by crime that are provided by local, state, or federal governmental funds.

restitution: often ordered by the court to be paid to victims by the offender(s) as part of their sentence.

Here a woman is reading her victim impact statement during sentencing. Should the impact a crime has on a victim be given more consideration during a trial and sentencing?



ZUMA Press, Inc. / Alamy Stock Photo

Victim Impact Statements

Victim impact statements are reports of a victim (often a family member) to the court about how an offender affected their life. The first victim impact statement given in a court in the United States was reported in California in 1976. The admittance of victim impact statements to courts was challenged, and a number of cases made it to the U.S. Supreme Court, which wavered on the decision for many cases over the course of many years. However, the most definitive case is that of *Payne v. Tennessee* (1991), in which the highest court ruled that victim impact statements were relevant during the sentencing hearings. Nothing has really changed since that case; victim impact statements are still accepted under the law following a guilty verdict during the sentencing phase presented to judges or juries.⁷⁶

It is important to note that victim impact statements can be given only during the sentencing phase of a trial, not when the jury is determining the verdict. Thus, in most trials only the judge actually hears and rules based on such victim impact statements, which is likely why most studies show that such impact statements do not have much impact on the sentencing outcome. The reason for this, according to the U.S. Supreme Court, is that it is believed that such victim impact statements would too strongly bias the jury at the verdict phase of the trial, preventing jurors from making an objective determination of guilt or innocence. However, the Court believes they are relevant at the sentencing phase of the trial, particularly in capital cases, that is, those in which the defendant is facing the death penalty.

Studies show that such victim impact statements have little effect despite the victims' families disclosing traumatic revelations of how the various crimes have affected their lives. Although some studies have found support for the influence of such victim impact statements on sentencing, most studies show no significant increase on the sentencing

victim impact statements: formal statements given by victims in court about the incident in which they were offended, often in person but also in other ways (e.g., a video or written statement read by the court reporter); these statements can be considered in determining the offender's sentence.

of the offender.⁷⁷ Still, such victim impact statements are largely deemed significant and important contributions to the judicial process, as the U.S. Supreme Court agrees, if only for providing a voice and some closure for victims and their families.

Victim Rights Awareness

April has been designated by the U.S. Department of Justice as National Crime Victims Awareness Month. Although different months bring awareness to specific offenses (such as September as Campus Safety Awareness Month, because that is the beginning of the academic year at many schools, or October as Domestic Violence Awareness Month), April is the most important month because it brings awareness to all victims of crime. Thus, you will likely see many candle-light vigils and parades during the month of April. It was first declared Crime Victims' Rights/Awareness Month in 1981 by President Ronald Reagan and was a good representation of the increase in attention to victims in the 1970s and 1980s.

Other examples of this increased attention to victims in the 1980s include the formation in 1983 of the Office of Victims of Crime (OVC), which was created by the U.S. Department of Justice to implement recommendations from the President's Task force on Victims of Crime initiated by President Reagan in 1982. Also, the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) was passed in 1984, which established the Federal Crime Victims Fund to support state compensation funds and local victim service units and programs. The fund comprises various fines, penalties, forfeitures, and so forth collected by federal agencies.

Overall, far more attention has been given to victims of crime since the early 1970s. It is surprising that it took until the last five decades before victims were given such interest in terms of study and rights, especially when one considers that there have always been victims since the beginning of human civilization. In contrast, extensive scientific studies and theories of offenders have been conducted and promulgated for centuries. It has been beneficial to the field of criminology to add such study of victims, especially considering that they are nearly always half the equation when trying to determine why offenders attack.

LEARNING CHECK 1.4

1. Who is considered the Father of Victimology by most scholars?
 - A. Lombroso
 - B. Beccaria
 - C. Sutherland
 - D. Mendelsohn
2. When an individual does or does not do something that increases their risk of being victimized, this is referred to as victim
 - A. anticipation.
 - B. precipitation.
 - C. expectation.
 - D. consideration.
3. When an offender is ordered to pay money to the victim as part of sentencing, it is referred to as _____, whereas when the state or federal government provides funds to the victim for losses due to the crime, it is referred to as _____.
 - A. compensation; restitution
 - B. restitution; compensation
4. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that victim impact statements can be given during only what stage of a criminal trial?
 - A. before the verdict but not after
 - B. after the verdict and before the sentencing
 - C. both before the verdict and before sentencing
 - D. neither during the actual trial nor before sentencing; only after the sentence

Answers located at www.edge.sagepub.com/schram2e

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was twofold. First, we wanted to provide a general understanding of different aspects related to the field. We started with key concepts in understanding criminology, such as *crime*, *criminal*, *deviant*, and *victim*. We explored the difference between criminology and criminal justice as well as consensus and conflict perspectives of crime. Next, we provided a broad overview of the major components of the criminal justice system: law enforcement, courts, and corrections. When discussing the juvenile justice system, we reviewed fundamental differences between the adult criminal justice system and the juvenile justice system. Next, we introduced criminological theory by discussing what criteria are considered when assessing whether a theory is deemed good. We also briefly discussed the three requirements to show that a given factor causes changes in another factor. Next, we noted how theory should inform policies and programs. It is essential to stress that theory is not to be thought

of as some abstract or out-of-touch scientific endeavor. Rather, theory has an important purpose in terms of developing policies and programs. As Ronald Akers noted:

The question, then, is not whether policy can be or should be based on theory—it already is guided by theory—but rather, how well is policy guided by theory and how good is the theory on which the policy is predicated?⁷⁸

While you are learning and critiquing the various theories presented in this text, it is essential to ask that question continually!

Finally, we presented an overview of victimology, or the study of victims. We briefly discussed such topics as victim precipitation, the incidence and prevalence of victimization, child abuse and neglect, and victim impact statements.

KEY TERMS

comparative criminology, 12	criminal justice, 5
compensation, 23	criminology, 5
concurrent jurisdiction, 11	deviance, 3
conflict perspective, 6	empirical validity, 16
consensus perspective, 5	highway patrol, 7
correlation or covariation, 17	jail, 8
crime, 3	judicial waiver, 11
	limited jurisdiction, 8

logical consistency, 16	scope, 16
<i>mala in se</i> , 3	spuriousness, 19
<i>mala prohibita</i> , 3	state police, 7
parens patriae, 9	statutory exclusion, 11
parsimony, 16	temporal ordering, 7
prison, 9	testability, 16
probation, 8	victim impact statements, 24
restitution, 23	victim precipitation, 21

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How does criminology differ from other perspectives of crime?
2. Should criminologists emphasize only crimes made illegal by law, or should they also study acts that are deviant but not illegal? Explain why you feel this way.
3. Do you think the juvenile justice system procedures, as well as its philosophy, have changed since its inception in 1899? Why?
4. Would you consider the term *criminal justice system* an oxymoron? Explain your answer.
5. What characteristics of a good theory do you find most important? What are least important? Make sure to explain why you feel that way.
6. How much do you think an individual's behavior predicts their likelihood of being victimized? What types of circumstances do you think are most relevant?
7. If a member of your family was violently victimized, would you likely give a victim impact statement? Why or why not? Do you feel that such statements should be considered in the sentencing of offenders?

WEB RESOURCES

The Office for Victims of Crime website is the official website of the U.S. Department of Justice. The Office for Victims of Crime oversees programs that have been designed to benefit and assist crime victims (e.g., victims' rights, public awareness).

<http://www.ovc.gov/>

The Office for Victims of Crime fact sheet summarizes the amount of monies that are deposited into this fund from

such sources as criminal fines, forfeited bail bonds, and penalty fees.

https://www.ncjrs.gov/ovc_archives/factsheets/cvfvca.htm

This website provides a general overview of the criminal justice system and a flowchart of events.

<http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/justsys.cfm/>