

White Collar Crime Representation in the Criminological Literature Revisited, 2001-2010

Danielle McGurrin
Portland State University

Melissa Jarrell
Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi

Amber Jahn
Liquid Learning Group, Ltd.

Brandy Cochrane
Monash University

Abstract: *This study aims to measure what changes the disciplines of criminology and criminal justice have undergone over the past decade with respect to white collar crime representation in the criminological literature. It is well documented in the white collar crime literature that white collar offending causes a greater number of fatalities, injuries, and illnesses as well as greater economic losses than all street crimes combined. Nevertheless, our analysis of the contents of 15 leading criminology and criminal justice journals from 2001-2010, 13 best-selling introductory CCJ textbooks, and all U.S. Ph.D. granting criminology and criminal justice programs indicates that white collar crime continues to be underrepresented in the criminological literature relative to all street crimes, similar to the findings in Lynch et al.'s 2004 study. Since then, the U.S. has experienced two unprecedented corporate crime waves, in the early part of the 2000s and in the latter part of the decade. Implications for white collar crime representation findings are discussed within the context of harm and crime seriousness relative to street crimes.*

Keywords: corporate crime, criminological scholarship, white collar crime, white collar crime representation

INTRODUCTION

For over 20 years, white collar crime (WCC) researchers have empirically demonstrated that white collar crime is under-represented in the criminological and criminal justice literature relative to traditional street crimes (Cullen and Benson 1993; Lynch, McGurrin, and Fenwick 2004; Rothe and Ross 2008; Shichor 2009; Tunnell 1993; Wright 2000; Wright and Friedrichs 1991).

Despite overwhelming data demonstrating the greater loss of life, higher injuries and illnesses, and larger economic losses caused by white collar crimes (Coleman 2005; Lynch et. al 2004; Moore and Mills 1990), the disciplines of criminology and criminal justice have historically focused their research sights to a far greater degree on conventional crimes resulting in a sizeable imbalance between white collar and traditional crime representation in the criminological literature.

This study aims to measure what changes the disciplines of criminology and criminal justice have undergone over the past decade with respect to white collar crime representation in the criminological literature. To more fully appreciate the issue of outcomes in this study (i.e. scholarly representation), it is first necessary to establish some of the roots that originated this imbalance, as well as make a case for why such imbalances matter. How crimes are operationalized, as well as data availability, accessibility, and resource allocation are foundational for understanding which topics receive criminological attention and which topics are marginalized in the discipline.

MEASURING COSTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF WHITE COLLAR CRIME

Before proceeding to our discussion of what we know about white collar crime data and its costs and consequences, it is important to note that the manner in which crimes are defined help determine how crime data are generated. This ontological fact precedes any examination of data collection which makes it an essential starting point for unpacking white collar crime measurement. With respect to criminal and civil law making, white collar harms¹ are defined under a vast assortment of constitutional, executive, administrative /regulatory, case, federal, and state criminal laws (Friedrichs 2010). Both the enormity and complexity of white collar offenses necessitate law enforcement efforts that extend well beyond traditional federal, state, and municipal policing capacities. This is useful to keep in mind as we turn our attention from white collar crime law making to law enforcement.

In the United States a relatively small number of less serious white collar crimes are recorded annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) Program. According to the FBI, "Crimes Known to the Police" fall into one of two categories known as Part I and Part II offenses. The UCR's most serious offenses category, Part I, further distinguished between violent and property offenses and these are selected for inclusion based on their nature and volume. More specifically, the rationale and ranking of Part I and II offenses are that these are the crimes most likely to be reported to the police and that occur with sufficient frequency for purposes of comparison (USDOJ 2013).

Intimately related is that many (perhaps most) white collar crime victims are unaware of their victimization, and only infrequently report the crimes committed against them to traditional law enforcement agencies (Friedrichs 2010). Despite the fact that white collar crimes are often serious (causing greater loss of life, injuries, illnesses, and economic losses than all street crimes combined) and are committed routinely and against a broad range of the U.S. population, governmental white collar crime (WCC) data

collection efforts have yet to reflect this reality. The practical implication of the UCR's encapsulation of only a narrow range of less serious white collar crime under its Part II offense category is that criminological research is most commonly constrained to street crime, reifying a distorted and incomplete picture of crime as a social problem.

Issues regarding data availability, access, resources, time, and other practical considerations have obvious consequences for what, how, and why researchers choose or are able to research given topics and not others. With regard to the study of white collar crimes, the U.S. Department of Justice does not have a national database for its white collar crime statistics. Neither the FBI nor the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) currently has a central repository for annually collecting, tracking, and reporting on the wide variety of white collar criminal offenses and offenders. As noted above, the FBI's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) Program includes Part II Offenses administered through the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). The NIBRS does collect incident-based statistics on a very limited number of white collar crime offenses. Principally, white collar crime arrest data are collected on forgery/counterfeiting, fraud, bribery, and embezzlement—offense categories largely represented at the individual-level (Barnett 2000). However, an FBI report (USDOJ 2011) examining the measurement challenges with white collar offenses specified that both the UCR and NIBRS were developed with the crime data interests and needs of state and local law enforcement (not researchers) in mind, and because white collar crimes generally fall under the jurisdiction of federal agencies, many white collar crime categories (not to speak of white collar crime counts and rates) are not included.

Notably, organizational offenses, particularly corporate criminal offenses and crimes committed in a governmental context (i.e. state or state-corporate crimes) are not generally captured in the NIBRS. Moreover, although state participation in the NIBRS system is growing with 32 states participating as of June 2012 (JRSA 2012), according to the FBI report noted above on white collar crime measurement (Barnett 2000), white collar crimes only represent a little less than four percent of the incidents reported to the FBI. With the notable exception of identity theft, the Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which collects household and personal victimization data, does not include white collar crime.

However, the non-profit National White-Collar Crime Center (NW3C) does collect victimization survey data on WCC approximately once every five years. NW3C's *National Public Survey on White Collar Crime 2010* is the most recent and comprehensive nation-wide survey on WCC victimization measuring credit card fraud, price misrepresentation, unnecessary repairs, monetary losses (internet), identity theft, fraudulent business ventures, false

stockbroker information, and mortgage fraud. According to this survey, nearly one in four households (24 percent) and one in six individuals (17 percent) experienced an average of 1.3 WCC victimizations during 2010 (Huff, Desilets, and Kane 2011). Huff et al. (2011) assert that there is strong evidence from the Federal Trade Commission (whose consumer protection charge involves “preventing fraud, deception, and unfair business practices in the marketplace”), that such victimizations may be on the rise.

As one example, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) documented a 27 percent increase in consumer complaints between 2007-2009 involving fraud, identity theft, and other crimes against consumers. And, in just 2009 alone, Huff et al. (2011) note that 1.9 million complaints were filed through the FTC’s Consumer Sentinel database with total losses of more than \$1.7 billion to victims. It remains to be seen whether a successful integration of resources and data sharing between the FTC and the newly formed Consumer Financial Protection Bureau will yield greater overall reporting in this area and whether this will improve overall data collection and protection for crimes against consumers.

Returning to the topic of capturing an overall measure of white collar crime, in the absence of systematic, annual governmental collection efforts, white collar crime researchers (as evidenced above) rely upon an enormous patchwork of data to locate, analyze, and interpret the frequency and scope with which white collar crimes are committed, as well as attempt to uncover the costs, consequences, and control of these crimes. In addition to the data sources already noted, white collar crime data resources include periodic governmental reports, university sourcebook and archival data, regulatory agency enforcement databases, non-profit databases, and case studies, to name a few. While these source categories provide vital data on selected white collar offense types, neither independently nor collectively do they provide even a near complete accounting of all white collar crime types. Despite the lack of a national database allowing for a more systematic measurement of white collar crime, even narrowly defined offense categories show evidence of overwhelming harm and expense by its perpetrators.

With respect to economic losses, the FBI and the American Association of Certified Fraud Examiners estimate financial losses from white collar crimes to be between \$300 and \$600 billion annually (Kane and Wall 2006). When one considers that in the early 2000s a mere five, albeit giant corporations (Enron, WorldCom, Qwest, Tyco and Global Crossing) committed financial frauds resulting in estimated losses of approximately \$460 billion (Rezaee 2005), it is likely that annual financial losses from white collar crime are even greater than the above estimates.

Since 2005, the FBI, in its *Financial Crimes Report to the Public*, has been providing aggregate summary reports on financial crimes, including corporate, securities and commodities, financial institution, mortgage, health care, insurance, and mass marketing frauds. Unfortunately, the FBI only lists case counts and recovery/restitution statistics for these financial crime categories; estimates of actual economic losses resulting from white collar crimes in each category are not included in the *FCRP*. Still, the FBI does provide targeted reports on economic losses for a small number of white collar criminal law violations. Selecting just two of these white collar crime types illustrate the massive economic losses resulting from these illegal acts. According to the FBI, non-health care related insurance industry fraud cost nearly \$30 billion in annual losses in 2011 (USDOJ 2012). Mortgage fraud limited to loans originating from fraudulent loan application data cost \$10 billion in 2010 (USDOJ n.d.) By comparison, the FBI’s *Crimes in the U.S. 2010* report an estimated \$15.7 billion in losses from all property crimes (USDOJ 2011).

With respect to physical harms caused by white collar crimes, Burns, Lynch, and Stretesky (2008) report that about 85 percent of the U.S. population is exposed to toxic air pollution each year, ten times greater than the number of individuals victimized by conventional crimes. According to the Earth Policy Institute (Fischlowitz-Roberts 2002), air pollution alone kills nearly 70,000 persons in the U.S. annually. In a national investigative report by the Hearst Corporation (2009) on patient safety and medical related deaths, the researchers found that nearly 200,000 Americans die each year due to preventable medical errors and preventable hospital-acquired infections. In the realm of worker safety and health, 4,690 American workers were killed on the job in 2010 by occupational injuries, and an additional three million workers were injured or became ill from occupational diseases in 2011 (USDOL 2012). Once again, by comparison, according to the FBI’s *Crimes in the U.S. 2010* report, an estimated 14,748 persons were murdered in 2010 (USDOJ 2011).

The data above highlight two chief points often asserted by white collar crime researchers: one, the data gaps due to the absence of a national white collar crime database or sourcebook is likely quite large with undercounting difficult to estimate, and two, despite these massive data gaps, there is overwhelming evidence to support the fact that collectively white collar crimes cause greater physical and financial harms than conventional street crimes.

THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF WHITE COLLAR CRIME RESEARCH

With the understanding that scholarly attention to a given topic can have meaningful consequences ranging from the dissemination of knowledge in the classroom to

future CCJ professionals and researchers, to impacting relevant public policy decision-making, to outcomes borne by communities, citizens, and the environment, many white collar crime researchers have studied the subfield's representation.

The first study to identify this trend of white collar crime underrepresentation was conducted by Wright and Friedrichs (1991). The authors examined white collar crime coverage in introductory criminology and criminal justice (CCJ) textbooks and course offerings in criminal justice programs. The purpose of their study was twofold. First, the authors aimed to discover whether coverage of white collar crime, in comparison to street crime, had increased between 1956-1965 and 1981-1990 in the textbooks examined (n=70). Second, Wright and Friedrichs (1991) examined whether there had been an increase in white collar crime course offerings, in comparison to women and crime and comparative CCJ courses, in the surveyed departments between the years 1986 (n=782) and 1991 (n=943). In their findings, the authors concluded that while white collar crime coverage had increased in textbooks and course offerings over the study years, the topics of both white collar crime and women and crime made much smaller inroads compared to comparative criminology and criminal justice. Moreover, they found that white collar crime courses lagged behind both comparative CCJ and women and crime courses in their 1991 data. The publication of this study provided a catalyst for future white collar crime representation scholarship over the next two decades.

Two more studies examining white collar crime representation were published in the early 1990s. Cullen and Benson (1993) published a content analysis study specifically looking at the criminal justice curriculum and the prevalence of courses dealing with white collar crime. Their findings were consistent with those of Wright and Friedrichs (1991). The authors concurred that there was a lack of white collar crime representation in comparison to other criminal justice courses. Next, Tunnell (1993) analyzed introductory CCJ textbooks published in the 1970s (n=11) and in or after 1980 (n=38). Through a qualitative and quantitative content analysis looking specifically at the coverage dedicated to a sub-type of white collar crime, political crime, Tunnell demonstrated that in comparison to mainstream criminological topics, political crime was nearly absent in the criminal justice textbooks (0.05 percent) and scarcely represented in the criminology textbooks (2.7 percent).

The 2000s brought an additional set of white collar crime representation articles that illustrated similar trends to the studies conducted in the 1990s. Wright (2000) delved deeper into the content of introductory criminology textbooks (n=34), published between 1990 and 1999, by examining their coverage of critical and radical perspectives, as these perspectives often inform white collar crime scholarship. Findings concluded that while the

amount of pages dedicated to the two perspectives varied between texts, on average, the topics received only 27.8 devoted pages. However, Wright noted that this number was highly skewed by a small sample of textbooks printing more pages dedicated to the critical and radical perspectives than other textbooks. As before, the pattern of white collar crime under-representation in the CCJ literature remained consistent a decade after it was originally identified by Wright and Friedrichs in 1991.

Lynch et al. (2004) expanded the study of white collar crime representation further in 2004 by incorporating three facets of the criminological field into their study: CCJ journals (n=8), introductory CCJ textbooks (n=16), and CCJ doctoral programs (n=21). Not surprisingly, their findings demonstrated that white collar crime representation was minimal in each category. For example, only 3.6 percent of the 1,118 journal articles collected focused upon white collar crime. Similarly, the coverage of white collar crime that appeared in their examination of CCJ textbooks (4.5 percent) and doctoral programs that required a white collar crime course (0 percent) ranged from minimal to non-existent.

In 2008, Rothe and Ross revisited Tunnell's 1993 research by examining eight leading introductory criminology textbooks for coverage of state crime. Like Tunnell's finding 15 years earlier, they found no evidence of increased coverage. Specifically, Rothe and Ross (2008) found that none of the texts incorporated the topic of state crime within the broader category of white collar crime or as an independent field of study; no texts included a review of the state crime literature; and no text included a theoretical framework for understanding and explaining the causes, correlates, dynamics and other components of state crime.

A year later, Shichor (2009) published an article specifically looking at how frequently white collar crime topics *and* researchers were cited in criminology and criminal justice introductory textbooks and academic journals. He concluded that compared to traditional street crime and its researchers, the coverage of white collar crime and its researchers was highly disproportionate. Shichor's study called attention not only to the under-representation of white collar crime in criminological scholarship, but the overall under-representation of white collar crime scholars in the field, as well.

As a more critical approach to studying crime, WCC scholars owe a large intellectual debt to the early works of American conflict and later radical criminologists including William Chambliss, Richard Quinney, Julia and Herman Schwendinger, Anthony Platt, and Paul Takagi, to name a prominent few. Their recognition and understanding of the political economy of crime, which emerged most decidedly in the famed Berkeley School of Criminology marked an important turning point for the discipline of criminology in the late 1960s. Later generations of radical, critical, and integrative

criminological scholars continue to advance this tradition (e.g. Barak 2009, 1998; Braithwaite 2008; Croall 2001; Lynch 2005; Michalowski and Kramer 2006), and their work has important theoretical utility for both the study and control of white collar crime.

Returning to the current study, we employ Barak's (2009, 1998:12) theoretical premise that disciplinary structures help produce and construct our worlds just as the models of what and how we research or investigate give shape to how we view our worlds. Following this line of reasoning, Barak (1998) argues that criminology [like any academic discipline] is inextricably linked with the dominant societal values of which it is a part. Barak (1998) continues that the development of criminological research evolved with the influence of particular disciplines, incorporating some types of knowledge while excluding others. These vestiges from early in the development of both criminology and criminal justice can be seen by the theoretical influences of foundational "roots" disciplines like biology, psychology, sociology, and law for example. However, disciplines outside this core (e.g. heterodox economics, industrial labor, environmental science, to name a few) are very infrequently incorporated into either criminological theorizing or analysis to integrate a more holistic body of CCJ scholarship. Perhaps the disciplinary tendency to focus more narrowly on its historical roots and traditional research areas (as supported in multiple ways by governmental policies and CCJ history, culture, and practices), might explain why even extreme external events outside the knowledge core might not be sufficient to dramatically alter either criminological research endeavors or the representation of criminology and criminal justice topics in the literature. Even though the U.S. has experienced two unprecedented corporate crime waves, in the early part of the 2000s and in the latter part of the decade, we hypothesize that white collar crime research continues to be under-represented in criminological scholarship as well as textbooks and Ph.D. programs.

DATA AND METHODS

This study examines the representation of white collar crime in 15 leading criminology and criminal justice journals, 13 introductory textbooks, and all criminology and criminal justice doctoral programs in the United States. In establishing the rationale for our current study, we wanted to answer two essential research questions about white collar crime representation in the criminological literature. Firstly, compared to traditional criminological topics, how frequently are white collar crime topics represented in criminology and criminal justice journals, textbooks, and Ph.D. programs? Secondly, over the past ten years, that is, the first decade of the 2000s, how has white collar crime representation in CCJ journals, textbooks, and doctoral programs changed?

The methodological approach we employed in the current study for the *non-white collar crime* articles was to adopt the same keyword search strategy used in the Lynch et al. (2004) study². After carefully examining the thousands of journal articles, table of contents, and indices in the journals and textbooks selected, we found that these major topics continued to be important staples of the criminological literature and therefore appropriate for inclusion in the current study. We coded non-white collar crime articles as *criminal law violations* (index crimes,³ domestic violence/intimate partner violence, hate crimes, terrorism, international-crimes-non-white collar, and cybercrimes-non-white collar), *criminal lifestyles* (drugs, DUI/DWI, guns, gangs), *demographics* (race/ethnicity, gender, age), *representation/perception of crime*, *criminal justice system/administration* (policing, courts, and corrections), and *researching criminal behavior* (theory, methods, statistical analysis).

For the *white collar crime* article and text coding, we expanded the approach by Lynch et al. (2004) by employing David Friedrichs's (2010) white collar crime typologies as elucidated in his seminal white collar crime text, *Trusted Criminals*.⁴ White collar crimes were coded as corporate, enterprise/entrepreneurial, governmental /state-corporate, occupational, and white collar crime theory. Articles that did not fit into any of the above categories were coded as "other."

Although there is some debate as to the most appropriate definition of "white collar crime," we utilized the definition set forth by fifteen white collar crime scholars at a 1996 National White Collar Crime meeting. White collar crime refers to "illegal or unethical acts that violate fiduciary responsibility of public trust committed by an individual or organization, usually during the course of legitimate occupational activity, by persons of high or respectable social status for personal or organizational gain" (Helmkamp, Ball, and Townsend 1996:351). As noted above, articles coded as white collar crime were sub-categorized using Friedrichs' (2010:7) core typologies in *Trusted Criminals*. *Corporate crime* refers to illegal and harmful acts committed by corporate officers or employees to promote corporate and personal interests.⁵

Enterprise/entrepreneurial white collar crime refers to two distinct but related typologies. Enterprise crimes refer to offenses involving cooperative syndicated and business activities, and entrepreneurial crimes are used to describe a hybrid of traditional professional crime and entrepreneurial activities (Friedrichs 2010:7). *Governmental and state-corporate crimes* are also two distinct but related white collar crime categories. Governmental crime is an umbrella term that includes both activities committed on behalf of governments by agencies and officers of the government (i.e., state crime) and by government officials for their own enrichment (i.e., political white collar crime). State-corporate crime refers to white collar crimes committed by governments in

collusion with the corporation(s) or its organizational entities (Friedrichs 2010:7). And, *occupational crime* refers to illegal and unethical activity committed within the context of a legitimate occupation (2010:7). Articles related specifically to advancing or testing theory were coded as *White Collar Crime Theory*. And, articles that could not be uniquely classified/captured under the five broad white collar crime categories above were coded as *white collar crime-other*.

Journal Articles

In order to assess the representation of white collar crime in criminology and criminal justice (CCJ) journals, we selected fifteen CCJ journals (Appendix A). The majority of these journals, particularly the top ten journals, are consistently recognized as the top criminology and criminal justice journals from prestige surveys (Sorensen et al. 2006), and Institute for Scientific Information (now Thompson Reuters) impact factor-based assessments (Science Watch 2009; Sorensen et al. 2009). Most of these journals were employed in previous criminological citation research and were also included in the most recent white collar crime citation study (Lynch et al. 2004).

In addition to the highest ranked journals, we also included two critically-oriented journals (*Social Justice and Crime, Law and Social Change*) to assess whether white collar crime scholarship was included or excluded to a similar extent in both traditional and critical criminology and criminal justice journals. We included a second major international CCJ journal (*Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*) to assess whether white collar crime representation differences existed among top American, British, and Canadian CCJ journals. An added rationale for including critical and international journals in our study was to include all eight of the journals used in Lynch et al.'s (2004) white collar and corporate crime representation study. Data collection in these 15 journals consisted of scholarly articles published from 2001 to 2010, representing ten years of CCJ scholarship (n=4,878 articles). Full-text articles were collected from a university online library database. When journals were not available in the university database, articles were collected from the journal's website.

For each full-text article, the following information was collected: journal name, title, author(s), volume number, issue number, year of publication, page count, and abstract. Each article was analyzed in order to assess the primary topical focus. If an article did not fit into one of the categories below, we coded the article as "other". Although many articles fit into more than one category, we selected the *primary* topical focus of both white collar and non-white collar crime articles utilizing key, commonly indexed criminological and criminal justice concepts and terms (Lynch et al. 2004). To establish high intercoder reliability, we developed a coding protocol and

implemented three trial runs. Two research assistants coded each case independently. Next, an assistant reviewed each spreadsheet for cases lacking intercoder agreement. The authors' reviewed each instance of conflicting data and came to an agreement on the proper values.

Textbooks

Thirteen of the best-selling introductory CCJ textbooks were included in our analysis. As utilized in previous CCJ textbook content analyses studies (Keith and Ender 2004; Rhineberger 2006), we contacted each of the textbook publishers advertised in the 2009 and 2010 American Society of Criminology Conference Program to determine their best-selling textbooks in CCJ and requested exam copies of each textbook. For each textbook, we counted the total number of pages (excluding glossary, indices, table of contents, chapter summaries, bibliography, and appendices) and categorized page counts based on the same topical categories as utilized in the journal article analysis. Both of these methodological approaches were also used in the Lynch (2004) et al. study.

Ph.D. Programs

In 1998, twenty-one schools in the U.S. offered a doctoral degree in criminal justice or criminology. According to the Association of Doctoral Programs in Criminology and Criminal Justice (2012), there are currently thirty-eight CCJ doctoral programs in the United States. A brief questionnaire was sent to the Program Director or Chair of each doctoral program in order to determine if the program currently offers courses in white collar crime. If a questionnaire was not returned, a follow-up phone interview was conducted. Program Directors/Chairs were asked if the doctoral program offered a white collar crime course and if the course was required. All but one school responded to our questionnaire or via phone interview. We asked if a white collar crime course had been offered in the past two years and if the program had plans to include a white collar crime course in the future. If a white collar crime course was offered, we asked how long this course had been offered in the program as well as the title of the course. Information was also obtained via program websites.

Limitations

With regard to methodological limitations, since not all of the measures included in the Lynch et al. (2004) research are the same as what we included in the current study, a direct comparison for all results is not possible. Additionally, this study only measures white collar crime *representation* in the criminological literature. It does not measure white collar crime article *submissions* or *editorial decisions* in the 15 CCJ journals examined. As Lynch et al.

(2004) noted, submission and outcome data would allow researchers to analyze any apparent bias with respect to the editorial decision-making process. However, since most journals do not collect these detailed data and since each new journal editor may or may not adopt the practices of his/her predecessor, the consistency in resources and record-keeping make long term analysis of submissions and outcomes particularly challenging. Absent such record-keeping uniformity across CCJ journals, future survey research could examine white collar crime scholars' submission practices and experiences.

RESULTS

Our findings show that despite two corporate crime waves in the first decade of the 21st century, including the financial frauds that contributed to the largest economic recession since the Great Depression, white collar crime continues to be underrepresented in CCJ journals, textbooks, and doctoral programs, remaining little changed since Lynch et al.'s (2004) study.

Journal Articles

We examined 4,878 articles from fifteen CCJ journals (see Appendix A) from 2001 to 2010. Of these 4,878 articles, 289 (6.3 percent) articles focused on white collar crime (see Table 1). While this percentage is higher than the percent of white collar crime articles in the Lynch et al. (2004) study (3.6 percent), if we exclude articles from *Crime, Law, and Social Change* (n=108), the percentage of white collar crime articles falls to 3.9 percent (n=178). For the ten CCJ journals ranked highest in prestige (Sorensen et al. 2006), only 98 articles (3.4 percent) focused on white collar crime. For the top three CCJ journals by impact factor and prestige (Sorensen et al. 2009, 2006), *Criminology*, *Justice Quarterly*, and *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, only 14 articles of the 791 articles (1.8 percent) focused on white collar crime.

Similar to the findings in Lynch et al. (2004), with the exception of *The British Journal of Criminology* (n=42), critically oriented journals were much more likely to include articles on white collar crime and were the most significant source of research on white collar crime. Slightly more than half of all white collar crime articles (n=150) were published either in *Crime, Law, and Social Change* (n=108) or *Social Justice* (n=42). In the Lynch et al. (2004) study, 16 percent of articles appearing in *Crime, Law and Social Change* focused on white collar crime topics; this percentage more than doubled in our analysis to 37.4 percent. *Crime, Law, and Social Change* was also the only journal in our sample that published more articles on white collar crime (51 percent) than non-white collar crime articles. Notably, both *Crime, Law, and Social Change* and *Social Justice* have the lowest impact factor (0.19; 0.04) and ranking (27; 41) respectively, of the 15

CCJ journals in our sample (CJR 2012; Sorensen 2009).⁶ In addition to the top two journals for white collar crime representation, the *British Journal of Criminology* represented 14.5 percent of the coverage and *Law and Society Review* and *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* each published 24 white collar crime-related articles, respectively, representing 16.6 percent of the overall WCC coverage in our 15 journals. One-third of the journals (n=5) in our study published 83 percent of the articles on white collar crime topics. Only the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* was ranked in the top 10 journals by both Red Jasper's Center for Journal Ranking (2012) and Thomson Reuter's Social Science Citation Index (2009). The *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* (n=2, 0.7 percent), *Crime and Delinquency* (n=2, 0.7 percent), *Criminal Justice and Behavior* (n=2, 0.7 percent) and *Canadian Journal of Criminology* (n=1, 0.3 percent) had the fewest white collar crime journal article counts. Of the journals noted above, all but the *Canadian Journal of Criminology* are ranked in the top 10 criminology and criminal justice journals (CJR 2012; Sorensen 2009).

Another way of examining these data is to compare side-by-side the representation of articles dedicated to white collar criminal or regulatory law violations to the representation of traditional criminal law violations. Using a more conservative approach to specific categorical comparisons than Lynch et al. (2004), criminal law violations included Index (Part I) crimes, domestic violence/intimate partner violence, hate crimes, terrorism, international crimes, and cybercrimes (non-white collar). The authors of this study recognize that violent and property crimes not expressly identified in the journal articles as one of the eight Index I crimes (e.g. DV/IPV, hate crimes, terrorism, etc.) are listed as separate categories, though the *actus reus* may be the same. Since each article was only coded with one topic category (as determined by the author's primary article focus), there is no overlap between any of the non-white collar or white collar crime categories. These topics collectively represented 13.7 percent (n=667) of the articles published in our sample compared to 5.7 percent (n=280) of the articles published on corporate, professional/organized, governmental/corporate-state, or occupational crimes. If we also incorporate the category of criminal lifestyles which included several UCR Part II offenses (drugs, DUI/DWI, guns, and gangs) (n=340), the percentage of articles dedicated to traditional criminal law violations jumped to 21 percent, more than three times the number of articles dedicated to white collar crimes. It is also worth noting that because the authors coded only the primary journal article subject topic—this count underestimates the total number of articles that include traditional criminal law violation representations.

Table 1: White Collar Crime Representation in CCJ Journals*

Journal	WCC n (%)	Non-WCC n (%)	Total N (%)
<i>Criminology</i>	8 (2.3%)	336 (97.7%)	344 (100%)
<i>Justice Quarterly</i>	4 (1.4%)	277 (98.6%)	281 (100%)
<i>Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency</i>	2 (1.2%)	164 (98.8%)	166 (100%)
<i>Law and Society Review</i>	24 (9.7%)	247 (90.3%)	271 (100%)
<i>Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology</i>	24 (9.8%)	246 (90.2%)	270 (100%)
<i>Crime and Delinquency</i>	2 (0.8%)	254 (99.2%)	256 (100%)
<i>Criminology and Public Policy</i>	4 (1%)	401 (99%)	405 (100%)
<i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i>	0 (0%)	193 (100%)	193 (100%)
<i>Theoretical Criminology</i>	13 (7.5)	173 (92.5%)	186 (100%)
<i>Criminal Justice and Behavior</i>	2 (0.4%)	508 (99.6%)	510 (100%)
<i>Social Justice</i>	42 (13.4%)	313 (86.6%)	355 (100%)
<i>Crime, Law, and Social Change</i>	108 (51.2%)	211 (48.8%)	319(100%)
<i>Canadian Journal of Criminology</i>	1 (0.4%)	248 (99.6%)	249 (100%)
<i>The British Journal of Criminology</i>	42 (10%)	419 (90%)	461 (100%)
<i>The Journal of Criminal Justice</i>	13 (2.2%)	599 (97.8%)	612 (100%)
Total	289 (6.3%)	4589 (93.7%)	4878 (100%)

*The authors wish to note that *Criminology and Public Policy* had a dedicated issue to white collar crime topics in 2010 (Volume 9, Issue 3). In addition to the four journal articles, the issue included 10 separate commentaries on WCC.

Textbooks

The thirteen best-selling CCJ textbooks sampled (see Appendix B) contained a total of 5,953 pages of content (excluding glossaries, indices, tables of contents, chapter summaries, bibliographies, and appendices). White collar crime topics represented 5.7 percent (n=340) pages of text (see Table 2), a marginal increase as compared to Lynch et al.'s (2004) 4.5 percent (n=425), the latter of which contained about one-third more pages of textbook content. The white collar crime pages were sub-categorized as follows: corporate crime (n=102, 30 percent), professional/organized crime (n=144, 42.4 percent), governmental/state-corporate crime (n=32, 9.4 percent), occupational crime (n=15, 4.4 percent), white collar crime theory (n=20; 5.9 percent), and white collar crime-other (n=28, 7.9 percent). In the textbook sample, 94.3 percent (n=5,613 pages) covered non-white collar crime categories.

Although the overall percentage of white collar crime representation in both CCJ journals and textbooks is quite nominal relative to the coverage of non-white collar crime topics (6.3 percent and 5.7 percent respectively), it is important to recognize the variance of white collar representation as well as the specific types of WCC articles

and textbook content that are represented most frequently in the criminological literature. Similar to what Wright and Friedrichs (1991) found more than 20 years ago, on the balance, criminology textbooks generally provide greater white collar crime coverage relative to criminal justice texts. In the current study, the percentage of white collar crime representation in *criminology* texts ranged from 6.2 percent to 23.1 percent with an average coverage of 11.62 percent. *Introduction to Criminology*, by Frank Hagan, dedicated the largest number of text pages to white collar crime (n=84) and had the largest percentage of white collar crime content of the criminology texts. Conversely, with only one notable exception, white collar crime representation in the *criminal justice* texts we sampled was largely absent.

Of the eight best-selling introduction to *criminal justice* textbooks sampled, three had no pages dedicated to white collar crime, three had less than one percent (n=2; n=5; n=1), one had three percent (n=21), and one had 15.3 percent (n=57). It is interesting to note that the latter criminal justice text with the greatest white collar crime representation, *The Mythology of Crime and Criminal Justice*, by Kappeler and Potter, had nearly double the coverage of the seven other CJ textbooks *combined*. Also

worth noting is that 42.4 percent (n=144) of the white collar crime pages in criminal justice textbooks were on the topics of organized crimes or professional crimes (what Friedrichs terms as enterprise and entrepreneurial crimes, respectively), the categories that share the most characteristics with traditional street crimes. Even the *Mythology of Crime and Criminal Justice* text, which had the highest percentage of white collar crime coverage of any criminal justice textbook sampled, devoted more than 54 percent of its WCC coverage to organized and professional crimes (with the remaining 46 percent dedicated to corporate crime).

In comparison to both criminology and criminal justice textbooks, criminology and criminal justice journals provided relatively comparable coverage to corporate crimes, which, alongside governmental crimes, are generally regarded by white collar crime scholars as the most consequential forms of white collar crime (see Calavita, Tillman and Pontell 1997; Friedrichs 2010; Kramer and Michalowski 1990; Lynch and Michalowski 2005; Michalowski and Kramer 2006; Tombs and Whyte 2003). Specifically, 26 percent of the white collar crime articles in CCJ journals were dedicated to corporate crime

compared to 30 percent in the CCJ textbooks (more than one-third of which came from the criminology textbook *Crime, Justice, and Society*).

The differences in types of white collar crime coverage between CCJ journals and textbooks were most pronounced in the categories of governmental and state-corporate crime and professional/organized crime. *CCJ journals had more than four times as many articles* (44.3 percent versus 10.8 percent) dedicated to governmental and state-corporate crimes as CCJ textbooks had pages dedicated to this topic. However, it should also be noted that nine of the 15 CCJ *journals* in our sample had either one or no articles on governmental or corporate-state crime and only two journals, *Crime, Law and Social Change* and *Social Justice*, represented 66 percent (n=73) of the articles on governmental and corporate-state crime. Conversely, CCJ textbooks had more than two and one half times the coverage of professional and organized crimes compared to CCJ journals (n=144, 42 percent pages versus n=45, 15.6 percent percent). This particular finding, as noted previously, is consistent with the pattern of CCJ textbooks covering white collar crime types that share an affinity or characteristics of traditional criminal law violations.

Table 2: White Collar Crime Representation in CCJ Textbooks

Textbook	WCC Pages n (%)	Non-WCC Pages n (%)	Total Pages n (%)
<i>The Mythology of Crime and Criminal Justice</i>	57 (16.6%)	287 (83.4%)	344 (100%)
<i>Introduction to Criminology, Seventh Edition</i>	84 (23.1%)	279 (76.9%)	363 (100%)
<i>Criminology</i>	52 (6.2%)	788 (93.8%)	840 (100%)
<i>Criminal Justice: A Brief Introduction</i>	2 (.6%)	354 (99.4%)	356 (100%)
<i>Criminal Justice Today</i>	3 (.5%)	626 (99.5%)	629 (100%)
<i>Criminology: Theory, Research, and Policy</i>	20 (7.2%)	258 (92.8 %)	278 (100%)
<i>Crime, Justice, and Society</i>	66 (13.8%)	414 (86.2%)	480 (100%)
<i>Introduction to Criminal Justice, 7th edition</i>	0 (0%)	479 (100%)	479 (100%)
<i>Introduction to Criminal Justice, 13th edition</i>	20 (3.6%)	541 (96.4%)	561 (100%)
<i>Criminal Justice Essentials, 9th edition</i>	1 (.2%)	409 (99.8%)	410 (100%)
<i>Crime and Criminology, 13th edition</i>	35 (7.8%)	416 (92.2%)	451 (100%)
<i>The Decision-Making Network</i>	0 (0%)	438 (438%)	438 (100%)
<i>Crime and Justice in America</i>	0	324	324
TOTAL	340	5613	5953

Ph.D. Programs

There are currently thirty-eight CCJ doctoral programs in the United States (ADPCCJ 2012). All but one program responded to our survey for a 97 percent response rate. Sixteen (42 percent) of the doctoral programs offer a white collar crime course while the majority of programs, twenty-one (58 percent), do not offer a white collar crime course. Similarly, Lynch et al. (2004) found that nine of 21 doctoral programs offered a course in white collar crime

(43 percent). Only one program requires a white collar crime course; however, this course is only required in one of three tracks in the doctoral curriculum (University of Cincinnati). At the time of the Lynch et al. (2004) study, no doctoral program required a white collar crime course in any capacity.

The sixteen programs that offer a white collar crime course plan to continue this course offering, and one

program stated that they would likely offer such a course in the future. Twelve CCJ doctoral programs have no plans to offer a white collar crime course in the future. One program stated that students could take the course as an independent study, two programs were unsure, one program stated that students could take such a course in another program, and four programs did not respond. Titles of white collar crime courses include the following: White Collar Crime (n=8), Crimes of the Powerful (n=3), Crimes of the State (n=1), Economics and Crime (n=1), Financial Crime (n=1), Organized and White Collar Crime (n=1) and WCC Topic Varies (n=1). Of the sixteen schools that offer white collar crime courses, fourteen schools responded to the question, "How long has a white-collar crime course been offered in your program?" Seven programs indicated that a white collar crime course has been offered for a decade or longer. Four programs indicated that they have offered a white collar crime course for the past five to seven years. Three programs started offering a white collar course within the past three years. Thirteen programs offer a white collar crime course at least once every two years; only two programs stated that the course is offered annually. Three programs stated that a white collar crime course has not been offered in the past two years and one program stated that the course is offered once every four years.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As demonstrated in the results above, CCJ journals contained slightly more white collar crime coverage relative to CCJ textbooks and included more consequential forms of white collar crime overall. Also, criminology publications provided significantly more white collar crime representation compared with the criminal justice literature. However, the distribution of white collar crime representation in both CCJ journals and textbooks is contained to a comparatively small number of journals and texts relative to the distribution of non-white collar crime literature in these publications.

Similarly, less than half of all U.S. doctoral programs even offer a white collar crime course, much less require it. With respect to the C/CJ comparison, it may be somewhat expected that criminology would devote greater coverage to WCC relative to criminal justice given the multi-disciplinary nature and complexities of many white collar crimes relative to most traditional crimes. However, given the well-documented greater physical and financial harms that WCC cause, the persistence of underrepresentation in the criminological literature and the nominal progress in this area remains a cause of concern for both criminology and criminal justice.

Whether one examines the criminalization of white collar offenses (Black 2009; Cullen et al. 2006), the allocation of resources for its enforcement (Black 2012, 2011; Strader 2011), the prosecution of white collar crimes

(Barak 2012), the sentencing of white collar offenders (Van Slyke 2012), or the representation of white collar crimes in the criminological literature, the results are almost uniformly the same: white collar crimes are not treated as seriously as traditional street crimes. The fact that the State has historically dedicated comparatively fewer resources to combating white collar crime is neither new nor surprising. However, in other areas of criminology and criminal justice, criminologists are generally among the leading contributors of scholarship that promote best evidence-based practices as well as research that challenges the follies and perils of ineffectual and/or harmful public policies related to crime. That this is not generally the case with respect to white collar crime supports Barak's (1998:4) contention in *Integrating Criminologies* that the depth afforded to a narrower range of "preferred criminological knowledges" can have the unfortunate consequence of marginalizing vital criminological research endeavors.

White collar crimes studies undoubtedly add to the breadth of criminological inquiry. To omit or limit its representation within the field de facto is to distort its representation and potentially miss new ways of understanding not only white collar crimes, but traditional street crimes, as well. For example, in the *NW3C 2010 Victimization Survey*, the authors put forth a compelling argument that while ample data exist to support the historic declines in violent and property crimes over the past two decades, many measures of the most serious white collar crimes demonstrate an increase.

Huff et al. (2011) hypothesize that such a high rate of white collar crime victimization coupled with decreasing rates of most conventional crimes may very well indicate that (at least with respect to property crimes), offenders may be migrating away from more traditional street crimes to committing more white collar crimes. Such inquiries would absolutely necessitate "integrating criminologies" as Barak (1998) first advocated in his introductory theories of crime text nearly 15 years ago and reaffirmed through actually attempting to integrate these disparate knowledges more recently (Barak 2009).

The significance of such underrepresentation creates a cyclical dilemma for the CCJ disciplines whereby WCC scholarship is only minimally conveyed to undergraduate and graduate students in their courses, texts, and journals, which in turn impacts the white collar crime knowledge base and future entry into this essential subfield of study. If one thinks of the discipline of medicine in the U.S. as an analogous example, if public health was similarly marginalized in medicine, and scant attention was paid to the leading causes of preventable individual risk factor deaths like smoking, high blood pressure, or obesity (Danaei et al. 2009), or occupational and environmentally related deaths like air, land, and water pollution, or preventable medical errors and hospital acquired infectious diseases, as well as occupational diseases contracted on the

job, public health would be significantly less relevant than it is today.

The classification of smoking and obesity in most of the medical literature as “individual-level risk factors” speaks to the authors’ point about the need for multidisciplinary/holistic approaches to broad research areas. For example, over the past few decades, public health research has broadened its scope to study the impact of environmental pollution on human health. In doing so, this body of scholarship has grown the medical literature beyond solely individual, micro-level variables and analyses to incorporate macro-structural harms (e.g. air, water, and land pollution) that work synergistically upon human health.⁷

Similar to the advances in public health the evolution and continued development of white collar crime studies has dramatic and far-ranging potential for informing and influencing public policies on topics as diverse as our environment, worker safety and health, food security and safety, commerce, trade & finance, transportation safety, health and human services, housing and urban development, defense, domestic/foreign policy, globalization, and human rights. Corporate and state crime scholars in particular have provided much needed research on several of these topics including human rights violations (Greenfield 2008; Hagan and Ryman-Richmond 2008; Kauzlarich and Kramer 1998), criminal law violations of air, land, and water Acts (Burns et al. 2008; Gibbs and Simpson 2009; Jarrell 2007; Stretesky and Lynch 2011; White 2012), highway traffic and safety violations (Burns and Lynch 2002), occupational/worker safety violations (Almond 2008; McGurrin, Arnold and Covelli 2008; Tombs 2007); food safety violations (Reese 2006); and financial law violations (Barak 2012; Black 2010, 2005; Pontell 2011), to name a few.

Criminology and criminal justice have much to offer in expanding, integrating, and even challenging “preferred knowledges” of white collar crime studies. Academic disciplines ranging from sociology, law, and political science to heterodox economics, business, industrial labor, environmental science, and public policy are all fields whose white collar scholarship would be augmented from criminological theorizing, analysis, and understanding. Legislators, regulators and enforcers, corporations, and businesses need to appreciate the causes, correlates, and effects of white collar crimes as well as the serious physical and financial harms associated with these offenses; criminologists have a unique and critical role to play in informing and shaping WCC public policies and they need the support of the criminology and criminal justice disciplines to accomplish these objectives.

To this end, criminology and criminal justice journals can more frequently call for “special issues” on white collar crime as *Criminology and Public Policy* did in 2010 and *Western Criminology Review* has done in this current (August 2013) issue and the *Journal of Contemporary*

Criminal Justice, did in their summer 2013 issue. One promising development in 2012 was the Bureau of Justice Statistics call for research proposals for its *Federal White Collar Violations Statistical Series and State and Local White Collar Crime Program*, respectively. A rarity in terms of federal funding, these grants, if sustained, have the potential to provide incredible opportunities for white collar crime researchers in the future.

Additionally, we encourage CCJ journals to more routinely integrate WCC scholarship by examining the distribution and topical areas of coverage to ensure that core areas of the discipline are being adequately represented. As noted previously in the limitations, it would be useful if editors adopted a standard and uniform tracking policy across editorships to determine where the advocacy efforts are best placed. And, while a dedicated white collar crime journal would likely advance WCC studies in the same way that the journals *Violence Against Women* and *Feminist Criminology* further elevated the profile of feminist criminological scholarship, we would simultaneously encourage both authors and editors to work toward the goal of increased white collar crime scholarship in mainstream journals, and particularly top criminology and criminal justice journals.

For textbook authors, editors, and publishers, we state simply but definitively that greater exposure to white collar crime at the undergraduate (and graduate) levels would very likely increase the number of students interested in studying and researching white collar crime at the doctoral level. When the first two authors attended their doctoral program at a large urban research university in the late 1990s and early 2000s, only one white collar crime course was offered by a single faculty (of nearly two dozen) who specialized in this area. While the number of CCJ doctoral programs and those offering white collar crime courses have both grown comparably over the past decade, the CCJ departmental profile of one or even no white collar crime scholars and courses is still the norm in most Ph.D. programs. Collectively, even modest increases in these areas could markedly improve current white collar crime representation in all core areas of the criminology and criminal justice disciplines.

Notes

¹ The concept of harm is central to any discussion of white collar crime and deviance definitions, as not all white collar offenses are criminally codified. For a primer on the topic, see Holtfreter (2005).

² International crimes and cybercrimes (non-white collar) were added to the current study as more scholarly coverage of these categories over the past decade warranted their inclusion.

³ Most UCR Index Crimes in our study were Part I offenses which contain violent and property offenses exclusively. Infrequently, Part II white collar offenses were addressed in the criminological literature and coded under the appropriate white collar crime category.

⁴ Friedrichs is widely regarded by white collar crime researchers as one of the most influential contemporary white collar crime scholars and typologists. His WCC conceptual schemas are routinely referenced by white collar crime researchers in their classification discussions.

⁵ As queried by one reviewer, the current study did not include “environmental crime” as a *separate* WCC category in keeping with Friedrichs’ typological schema. Environmental crimes were incorporated under the umbrella of corporate crime, which Friedrichs sub-classifies as corporate violence against the public. For a distinct analysis of environmental crime research in the criminological literature, see Zilney, McGurrin and Zaran 2006.

⁶ The concept of a journal’s impact factor is used to assess a journal’s influence on the field and is typically based on the average number of times its articles have been cited in all other journals over a two year period. The journal impact factor and the journal’s ranking, which is based on its impact factor, for *Crime, Law, and Social Change* was obtained from Red Jasper’s Journalranking.com (2012) and the journal impact factor and ranking for *Social Justice* was located in Sorensen’s (2009) “An Assessment of the Relative Impact of Criminal Justice and Criminology Journals.” Given the two year rolling metric, these values and, therefore, ranking can vary every year.

⁷ Integration of theoretical perspectives that address different levels of analysis from micro- through meso- to macro- has been advocated in the analysis of school violence, which not only shifts the focus from the individual student’s psychology and personality development, but also includes interactive school processes, school climate, school organization, school board budgeting, educational policy and the wider societal processes involving community and neighborhood social ecology, mass mediated violence, gender and masculinities, American gun culture and the punitive justice system; all of which are implicated in the causal nexus that produces incidents of school violence (see Henry 2009; Henry and Bracy 2012; Hong et al. 2011).

References

Almond, Paul. 2008. “Public Perceptions of Work-Related Fatality Cases.” *British Journal of Criminology* 48(4): 448–467.

Association of Doctoral Programs in Criminology and Criminal Justice (ADPCCJ). 2011. *Membership directory*. Retrieved February 21, 2012 (<http://www.adpccj.com/members.html>).

Barak, Gregg. 1998. *Integrating Criminologies*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

-----, 2009. *Criminology: An Integrated Approach*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing.

-----, 2012. *Theft of a Nation: Wall Street Looting and Federal Regulatory Colluding*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing.

Barnett, Cynthia. 2000. “The Measurement of White-Collar Crime using Uniform Crime Report (UCR) Data” (NCJ 202866). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Information Services Division. Retrieved September 15, 2012 (<https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=202866>).

Black, William K. 2005. *The Best Way to Rob a Bank is to Own One: How Corporate Executives and Politicians Looted the S&L Industry*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

-----, 2009. Interview Transcript from Bill Moyers Journal. Retrieved August 5, 2012 (<http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/04032009/transcript3.html>).

-----, William K. 2010. “Wall St. Fraud and Fiduciary Responsibilities: Can Jail Time Serve as an Adequate Deterrent for Willful Violations?” *Testimony to the United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Crime and Drugs*. Retrieved August 5, 2012 (SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1607045> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1607045>).

-----, William K. 2011. Interview Transcript from Jim Puplava’s *Financial Sense*. Retrieved August 5, 2012 (<http://www.financialsense.com/contributors/2011/09/14/william-black/transcript>).

-----, William K. 2012. “The War against the Regulatory Cops on the Bank Beat.” *New Economic Perspectives*. Retrieved August 5, 2012 (<http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/04032009/transcript3.html>).

- Braithwaite, John. 2008. *Regulatory Capitalism: How it Works, Ideas for Making it Work Better*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Burns, Ronald G. and Michael Lynch. 2002. "Another Fine Mess ...A Preliminary Examination of the Use of Fines by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration." *Criminal Justice Review* 27(1):1-25.
- Burns, Ronald G., Michael J. Lynch, and Paul B. Stretesky. 2008. *Environmental Law, Crime, and Justice: An Introduction*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing.
- Calavita, Kitty, Robert Tillman, and Henry N. Pontell. 1997. "The Savings and Loan Debacle, Financial Crime, and the State." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23:19-38.
- Coleman, James. 2005. *The Criminal Elite: Understanding White-Collar Crime* (6th ed.). New York, NY: Worth Publishing.
- Croall, Hazel. 2001. *Understanding White Collar Crime*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Cullen, Francis T., and Michael L. Benson. 1993. "White-collar Crime: Holding a Mirror to the Core." *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 4(2):325-348.
- Cullen, Francis T., Gray Cavendar, William J. Maakestad, and Michael, L. Benson. 2006. *Corporate Crime Under Attack: The Fight to Criminalize Business Violence* (2nd ed.). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing.
- Danaei, Goodarz, Eric L. Ding, Dariush Mozaffarian, Ben Taylor, Jurgen Rehm, Christopher J.L. Murray and Majid Ezzati. 2009. "The Preventable Causes of Death in the United States: Comparative Risk Assessment of Dietary, Lifestyle, and Metabolic Risk Factors." *PLoS Medicine* 6(4): 1-23. Retrieved August 12, 2012 (<http://www.plosmedicine.org/article/info:doi/10.1371/journal.pmed.1000058>).
- Fischlowitz-Roberts, Bernie. 2002. "Air Pollution Fatalities Now Exceed Traffic Fatalities by 3 to 1." Washington, DC: Earth Policy Institute. Retrieved September 15, 2012 (http://www.earth-policy.org/plan_b_updates/2002/update17).
- Friedrichs, David O. 2010. *Trusted Criminals: White Collar Crime in Contemporary Society* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Gibbs, Carole and Sally S Simpson. 2009. "Measuring Corporate Environmental Crime Rates: Progress and Problems." *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 51:87-107.
- Greenfield, Daniel M. 2008. "The Crime of Complicity in Genocide: How the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia Got It Wrong, and Why It Matters." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 98 (3):921.
- Hagan, John and Wenona Rymond-Richmond. 2008. *Darfur and the Criminology of Genocide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hearst Corporation. 2009. "Dead by Mistake." Retrieved September 15, 2012 (<http://www.hearst.com/press-room/pr-560-20090809.html>).
- Helmkamp, James, Richard Ball, and Kitty Townsend, eds. 1996. *Definitional Dilemma: Can and Should There be a Universal Definition of White Collar Crime?* Morgantown, WV: National White Collar Crime Center.
- Henry, Stuart. 2009. "School Violence beyond Columbine: A Complex Problem in Need of an Interdisciplinary Analysis." *American Behavioral Scientist* 52(9):1246-1265.
- Henry, Stuart, and Nicole L. Bracy. 2012. "Integrative Theory in Criminology Applied to The Complex Social Problem of School Violence." Pp. 259-282 in *Case Studies in Interdisciplinary Research*, edited by A.F. Repko, W.H. Newell, and R. Szostak. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Holtfreter, Kristy. 2005. "Sutherland-Tappan Debate." Pp. 777-779 in *Encyclopedia of White-Collar & Corporate Crime*, edited by L.M. Salinger. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hong, Jun Sung, Hyunkag Cho, Paula Allen-Meares, and Dorothy L. Espelage. 2011. "The Social Ecology of the Columbine High School Shootings." *Children and Youth Services Review* 33:861-868.
- Huff, Rodney, Christian Desilets, and John Kane. 2011. *The 2010 National Public Survey on White Collar Crime*. Fairmont, WV: National White Collar Crime Center.
- Jarrell, Melissa L. 2007. *Environmental Crime and the Media: News Coverage of Petroleum Refining Industry Violations*. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

- Justice, Research, and Statistics Association (JRSA). 2012. "Status of NIBRS in the States." Retrieved September 15, 2012 (http://www.jrsa.org/ibrcc/background-status/nibrs_states.shtml).
- Kane, John and April D. Wall. 2006. *The 2005 National Public Survey on White Collar Crime*. Fairmont, WV: National White Collar Crime Center.
- Kauzlarich, David and Ronald C. Kramer. 1998. *Crimes of the American Nuclear State: At Home and Abroad*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Keith, Bruce and Morten G. Ender. 2004. "The Sociological Core: Conceptual Patterns and Idiosyncrasies in the Structure and Content of Introductory Sociology Textbooks, 1940-2000." *Teaching Sociology* 32(1):19-36.
- Kramer Ronald and Raymond Michalowski.1990. "State-corporate Crime." Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology* November 7-12, Louisville, KY.
- Lynch, Michael. J., Danielle McGurrin, and Melissa Fenwick. 2004. "Disappearing Act: The Representation of Corporate Crime Research in Criminological Literature." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 32: 389-398.
- Lynch, Michael. J. and Raymond Michalowski. 2005. *Crime, Power, and Identity: The New Primer in Radical Criminology* (4th ed.). Washington, DC: Criminal Justice Press.
- McGurrin, Danielle, Ryan Arnold and Emily Covelli. 2008. "[OSHA's Inspection and Enforcement Record of Accident and Standard Violations in the Apparel Industry](#)". Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology*, November, St. Louis, MO.
- McGurrin, Danielle and David Friedrichs. 2010. "Victims of Economic Crime—On a Grand Scale." *Journal of International Victimology* 8(2):1-20.
- Michalowski, Raymond and Ronald Kramer. 2006. *State-Corporate Crime: Wrongdoing at the Intersection of Business And Government*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Moore, Elizabeth and Michael Mills. 1990. "The Neglected Victims and Unexamined Costs of White-Collar Crime." *Crime & Delinquency* 36 (3):408-418.
- Pontell, Henry N. 2011. "Global Meltdown: Fraud in Financial Crises." Pp. 30-39 in *Social Deviance: Readings in Theory and Research*, edited by H.N. Pontell and S.M. Rosoff. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Red Jasper's Center for Journal Ranking (CJR). 2012. Journal-ranking.com. Retrieved July 23, 2012 (<http://www.journal-ranking.com/ranking/listCommonRanking.html?selfCitationWeight=1&externalCitationWeight=1&citingStartYear=1901&journalListId=286>).
- Rezaee, Zabihollah. 2005. "Causes, Consequences, and Deterrence of Financial Statement Fraud." *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 16: 277-98. As cited in James Unnever, Michael Benson, and Frank Cullen. (2008). "Public Support for Getting Tough on Corporate Crime: Racial and Political Divides." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 45: 163-190.
- Rhineberger, Gayle M. 2006. "Research Methods and Research Ethics Coverage in Criminology and Criminal Justice Textbooks." *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 17(2): 279-296.
- Rothe, Dawn L. and Jeffrey I. Ross. 2008. "The Marginalization of State Crime in Introductory Textbooks on Criminology." *Critical Sociology* 34:741-751.
- Science Watch. 2009. "Journals Ranked by Impact: Criminology and Penology." Thomson Reuters. Retrieved August 15, 2013 (http://archive.sciencewatch.com/dr/sci/09/jun7-09_2/).
- Shichor, David. 2009. "'Scholarly Influence' and White-Collar Crime Scholarship." *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 51(1):175-187.
- Sorensen, Jon R. 2009. "An Assessment of the Relative Impact of Criminal Justice and Criminology Journals." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 37(5):505-511. Retrieved July 21, 2012 (<http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0047235209000944>).
- Sorensen, Jon R., Clete Snell, and John J. Rodriguez. 2006. "An Assessment of Criminal Justice and Criminology Prestige." *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 17(2):297-322.
- Strader, J. Kelly. 2011. *Understanding White Collar Crime* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Mathew Bender-LexisNexis.

- Stretesky, Paul. B. and Michael J. Lynch 2011. "Coal Strip Mining, Mountaintop Removal, and the Distribution of Environmental Violations across the United States, 2002–2008." *Landscape Research* 36(2): 209–230.
- Tombs, Steve and Dave Whyte. 2003. *Unmasking Crimes of the Powerful: Scrutinizing States and Corporations*. London, UK: Peter Lang.
- , 2007. *Safety Crimes*. Oxford, UK: Routledge, Taylor and Francis.
- Tunnell, Ken. 1993. "Political Crime and Pedagogy: A Content Analysis of Criminology and Criminal Justice Texts." *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 4(1):101-114.
- U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services Division. n.d. "Mortgage Fraud Report 2010, Year in Review." Retrieved September 15, 2012 (<http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/mortgage-fraud-2010>).
- U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services Division 2011. "Uniform Crime Report, Crimes in the United States 2010." Retrieved September 15, 2012 (<http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2010/crime-in-the-u.s.-2010/property-crime>).
- U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Services Division 2013. "Uniform Crime Reports General Frequently Asked Questions." Retrieved August 5, 2013 (http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/frequently-asked-questions/ucr_faqs).
- U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. 2012. "Investigating Insurance Fraud—A 30-billion Dollar a Year Racket." Retrieved September 15, 2012 (http://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2012/january/insurance_013112).
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2012. "Injuries, Illnesses and Fatalities. Occupational Injuries and Illnesses, Annual, 2011." Retrieved October 25, 2012 (<http://www.bls.gov/news.release/osh.nr0.htm>).
- Van Slyke, Shanna. 2012. "A Contemporary Study of the Decision to Incarcerate White-Collar and Street Property Offenders." *Punishment and Society* 14(2): 217-246.
- Walters, Reece. 2006. "Bio-Agriculture and the Exploitation of Hunger." *British Journal of Criminology* 4(1):26-45.
- White, Rob. 2012. "Environmental Forensic Studies and Toxic Towns." *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 24(1):105-119.
- Wright, Rob and David O. Friedrichs. 1991. "White-Collar Crime in the Criminal Justice Curriculum." *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 2(1):95-121.
- Wright, Rob. 2000. "Left-Out? The Coverage of Critical Perspectives in Introductory Textbooks 1990-1999." *Critical Criminology* 9: 101-122
- Zilney, Lisa, Danielle McGurrin, and Sam Zahran. 2006. "Environmental Justice & the Role of Criminology: An Analytical Review of 33 Years of Environmental Justice Research." *Criminal Justice Research* 31(1): 47-62.

Appendix A: Criminology and Criminal Justice Journals

<i>Criminology</i>
<i>Justice Quarterly</i>
<i>Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency</i>
<i>Law and Society Review</i>
<i>Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology</i>
<i>Crime and Delinquency</i>
<i>Criminology and Public Policy</i>
<i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i>
<i>Theoretical Criminology</i>
<i>Criminal Justice and Behavior</i>
<i>Social Justice</i>
<i>Crime, Law, and Social Change</i>
<i>Canadian Journal of Criminology</i>
<i>The British Journal of Criminology</i>
The Journal of Criminal Justice

Appendix B: Introductory Criminology and Criminal Justice Textbooks

- Anderson, Patrick R. and Risdon N. Slate. 2011. *The Decision-making Network: An Introduction to Criminal Justice*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Berger, Ronald J., Marvin D. Free, and Patricia Searles. 2009. *Crime, Justice, and Society: An Introduction to Criminology* (3rd ed.). London, UK: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Bohm, Robert M. and Keith N. 2011. *Introduction to Criminal Justice* (7th ed). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Publishers.
- Hagan, Frank. E. 2011. *Introduction to Criminology: Theories, Methods, and Criminal Behavior* (7th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing.
- Kappeler, Victor E. and Gary W. Potter. 2005. *The Mythology of Crime and Criminal Justice* (4th ed.). Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Newburn, Tim. 2007. *Criminology*. Collumpton, Devon, UK: Willan Publishing.
- Pollock, Joycelyn M. 2012. *Crime and Criminal Justice in America: An Introduction to Criminal Justice* (2nd ed.). Burlington, MA: Anderson Publishing.
- Reid, Sue T. 2012a. *Criminal Justice Essentials* (9th ed.). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- 2012b. *Crime and Criminology* (13th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Schmallger, Frank. 2011. *Criminal Justice Today: An Introductory Text for the 21st Century* (11th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson as Prentice Hall.
- 2012. *Criminal Justice: A Brief Introduction* (9th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson as Prentice Hall.
- Seigel, Larry J. and John L. Worrall. 2012. *Introduction to Criminal Justice* (13th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Vito, Gennaro F. and Jeffrey R. Maahs. 2012. *Criminology: Theory, Research, and Policy* (3rd ed.). Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Learning.

About the Authors:

Danielle McGurrin is an Associate Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice in the Division of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Portland State University. Her teaching and research interests are primarily centered on white collar crime, particularly corporate-state crime. Danielle has researched various forms of regulatory and criminal law violations by industry as well as occupational criminal behavior. Beyond her white collar crime interests, Danielle enjoys helping students navigate their CCJ career paths as coordinator of the internship program. In the community, Danielle teaches a domestic violence class at Coffee Creek Correctional Facility, an Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program course which brings together college and incarcerated students as peers in learning for an academic term.

Melissa L. Jarrell is an Associate Professor of Criminal Justice at Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi. She received her doctoral degree in Criminology from the University of South Florida. Dr. Jarrell has published articles in journals such as *Environmental Justice*, *Environmental Politics*, and *Review of Policy Research*. Her research interests include environmental justice, environmental victimization, and environmental crime and the media. Dr. Jarrell works closely with Citizens for Environmental Justice, a local grassroots organization founded in 2000 to address issues of poverty, pollution, and injustice in Corpus Christi, Texas.

Amber Jahn is a 2012 graduate of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Master's Program at Portland State University. Amber successfully defended her master's project, "Looking into the Past to Improve the Future: A Content Analysis of White Collar Crime Scholarship Between 2001-2010," chaired by Dr. Danielle McGurrin and Robert Lockwood, JD. This project was an outgrowth of nearly 5,000 journal articles collected (with Brandy Cochrane) for "White Collar Crime in the Criminological Literature Revisited" co-presented at the American Society of Criminology conference in November 2011. Currently, Amber is residing in Sydney, Australia where she is employed as a research analyst with a professional development company.

Brandy Cochrane is a 2012 graduate of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Master's Program at Portland State University. Brandy successfully defended her master's project, "Drowning in it: State Crime and Refugees," chaired by Dr. Emily Salisbury. Cochrane helped to provide the foundation for the current manuscript, collecting and coding nearly 5,000 journal articles (with Amber Jahn) for "White Collar Crime in the Criminological Literature Revisited" and co-presented at the American Society of Criminology conference in November 2011. Currently, Cochrane is a doctoral candidate at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia where she is continuing her research on State crime.

Contact Information: Dr. Danielle McGurrin, Hatfield School of Government, Criminology and Criminal Justice, PO Box 751, Portland, OR 97207; Phone: 503-725-8356; Fax 503-725-5162 ; E-mail: dmcgurri@pdx.edu.

Dr. Melissa L. Jarrell, Department of Social Sciences, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, 6300 Ocean Drive, Bay Hall 345, Corpus Christi, TX 78412; Phone: 813-748-2415; Fax: 361-825-2651; E-mail: melissa.jarrell@tamucc.edu

Amber Jahn, Liquid Learning Group, Ltd., GPO Box 1542, Sydney, NSW 2001, Australia; Phone: +61 2 8239 9700; E-mail: ambermjahn@gmail.com.

Brandy Cochrane, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Faculty of Arts, Criminology, Monash University, Wellington Road, Clayton, Victoria 3800, Australia; Phone: +61 3 9902 6011; E-mail: Brandy.Cochrane@monash.edu