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chapter 14



Public Order Crime

Do It Now, Before They Pass a Law Against It

—*Bumper sticker*

It all starts on the streets. What do you see when you walk down a downtown street? Do you see the hooker conning a john? The pool hustler with his permanent pale taking a break between games? The pimp hustling a new woman? The transvestite prostitute with his head in the car window of a potential customer? Do you notice the man on the corner passing baggies to customers or the drunk in the doorway with his brown bag clutched in his hand? When you looked down the alley, did you see the people by the dumpster shooting up? Did you notice the slips of paper being passed between the news vendor and his clients? Were you surprised to see two men having sex when you stepped into the public restroom? . . . These are the players of the deviant street network at work.

—*John H. Lindquist (1988, p. 1)*

Is vice-related behavior a matter of civil liberties and individual choice in a free society? What is the role of the criminal justice system in enforcing a semblance of public morality and a sense of civic decency? **Public order crime**, sometimes referred to as **crimes without victims** (Schur, 1965) or “legislated morality,” refers to a number of activities that are illegal because they offend public morality. Such nonpredatory crime generally includes activities such as prostitution, acts related to homosexuality, alcohol and narcotics abuse, gambling offenses, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, and minor forms of “sexual deviance.” These crimes outnumber other recorded crimes and have traditionally represented the bulk of police work.

A number of other concepts have been used to refer to certain categories of public order criminal activity. H. Laurence Ross (1961) coined the term “**folk crime**” to refer to relatively common violations that occur in part because of the complexity of modern society. Traffic offenses, fish and game law violations, tax offenses, gambling, and sexual deviations all can serve as illustrations. Many, but not all, of the activities to be discussed in this chapter are examples of crimes that are *mala prohibita*—bad because they have been prohibited by law. They violate various conceptions in society as to appropriate moral conduct, but lack the quality of acts *mala*



Author Podcast 14.1
Listen to the author's
podcast for this chapter.



Video Link 14.1
Watch a video about
prescription drugs.

in se, such as murder or rape, in which there is clear and abhorrent victimization of others. Offenses related to prostitution, homosexuality, gambling, and the like serve as examples of “consensual crimes” in that there is free consent on the part of participants. In many “victimless” crimes, the offenders have customers rather than victims (Silberman, 1978, p. 265).

Broken Windows

In their classic article “Broken Windows,” J. Q. Wilson and Kelling (1982) give a different view of the need to regulate such deviant conduct. Kelling (1988b) explains,

Just as unrepaired broken windows can signal to people that nobody cares about a building and lead to more serious vandalism, untended disorderly behavior can also signal that nobody cares about the community and lead to more serious disorder and crime. Such signals—untended property, disorderly persons, drunks, obstreperous youth, etc.—both create fear in citizens and attract predators. (p. 2)

Deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill without adequate follow-up or community treatment facilities has added yet another population to an already existing homeless problem. The public wants the police to assist the mentally ill, the public inebriate, and the homeless (Finn & Sullivan, 1988, p. 1). Neighborhood disorder, drunks, panhandlers, youth gangs, and other incivilities unsettle a community; produce fear; and disrupt social, commercial, and political life.

A large decrease in crime in New York City in the nineties was attributed in part to a new policing policy of zero tolerance for previously ignored “squeegee men” (who try to wash car windows when drivers are stopped at traffic lights), aggressive panhandlers, subway turnstile hoppers, vagrants, and disorderly conduct. By enforcing small things, the police claim to have gotten a better handle on crime in general.

While much of the reduction in crime beginning in the 1990s was attributed to application of **broken windows** theory by its advocates, critics point out that other cities without a broken windows policy also experienced similar decreases during this period.



Audio Link 14.1

Listen to a discussion of the broken windows theory.

Prostitution

Prostitution can be defined as the practice of having sexual relations with emotional indifference on a promiscuous and mercenary basis. In some countries and most U.S. states, prostitution itself is not a criminal offense; it is the act of soliciting, selling, or seeking paying customers that is prohibited. Sometimes referred to in jest as “the world’s oldest profession,” prostitution certainly has been widespread in societies both ancient and modern.

Until the Protestant Reformation in Western society, prostitution was pervasive and tolerated as a “necessary evil.” It was often taxed by the church and was a major source of community revenue in the Middle Ages. Public health concerns that arose with the discovery of syphilis and the emergence of the Protestant ethic with its strong emphasis on individual morality were instrumental in prostitution’s prohibition. Essentially, concepts of sin were translated into legal notions of crime. Despite its prohibition, prostitution exists internationally, with the exception of some poor and underdeveloped societies where it would be in little demand. While prostitution is generally regarded as a low-status occupation in societies in which it is approved of, in different cultures in the past certain prostitutes have enjoyed high status, such as the *hetaerae* of early Greece, the *lupanaria* in the Roman Empire, the *devadasis* in India, and the *geishas* of Japan (K. Davis, 1961). Such courtesans were often well-educated and trained entertainers or religious performers.

In most U.S. states, prostitution is considered a misdemeanor, and laws prohibiting it are generally enforced only when the public insists on it. Typically, prostitutes are rounded up, booked, made to pay a small bail or fine, and then are put back on the streets. In order to control the undesirable activities often associated with prostitution and to avoid public complaint, many cities create vice zones or “combat zones”—adult entertainment areas or “red-light districts.” Most public order offenders do not regard their behavior as criminal, perhaps in part because of general societal ambivalence toward much of it (Clinard & Quinney, 1973). Some of the behavior may reflect personal psychological disability, but much of it reflects either adult consensual relations that are agreeable to both parties and harmful to neither or personal choice to participate in activity that the individual desires, even though it may be illegal or societally disapproved of.

This discussion will concentrate primarily on female prostitution, which appears to persist despite wide variations in economic, political, and social systems. One explanation is that prostitution serves a function in society: It services otherwise unmet sexual needs. There is a strong demand in many societies for no-strings-attached sexual release, particularly in relatively isolated male environments. City leaders—particularly in seaport cities such as Hamburg, Marseilles, and Baltimore—would argue that toleration of prostitution enabled the servicing of armies, the rejected, strangers, and the perverted, thus protecting “decent” females of the community. In addition to the strong demand for such services, prostitution can offer relatively lucrative rewards for females, depending, of course, on the status of customers.

Eleanor Miller, in *Street Woman* (1986), interviewed 64 prostitutes and, like Terrence Sullivan (1988), found that economic and social problems propelled young women into “hustling” as an alternative to boring, dead-end jobs. For others, it was an escape from abusive or dysfunctional families. Money and survival became key motivations for street hookers (Ritter, 1988).

Armstrong (1983) points out that the role of pimps (procurers) in recruiting women to prostitution is actually minimal. James (1978) notes that this is a direct challenge to the view of prostitutes as victims. James (1977) sees the view of pimps as active panderers (drumming up business and recruits) as based on past behavior of pimps, sensational journalism, and protectionist policies toward women. Lemert (1968) describes the “white slave myth,” indicating that “the trauma of forced entry into prostitution inspires sympathy and provides a way to discount responsibility for one’s actions” (p. 84). While American explanations of recruitment point to disaffection with family, child abuse, drug use, and the like, McCaghy and Hou (1988) tell us that in Taiwan there is a historical tradition of prostitution that is sanctioned by a patrilineal system that devalues female children. Prostitution often occurs with the families’ approval as a means of securing economic well-being during times of family stress.



Photo 14.1

A prostitute negotiates with a “John” customer.

Types of Prostitution

Prostitution involves a number of types and settings, including the following:

- Brothel prostitutes
- Bar girls
- Streetwalkers
- Massage parlor prostitutes
- Call girls
- Madams
- Other

Like any other occupation, prostitution is stratified, the lowest status and remuneration assigned to brothel or house prostitutes and streetwalkers and the highest prestige and reward attached to expensive call girls, who are able to command higher prices from more exclusive clientele (MacNamara & Sagarin, 1977, p. 99; Perkins & Bennett, 1985).

Brothels—sometimes called whorehouses, cathouses, or bordellos—were widespread in the United States until the post–World War II period. Often clustered together in “red-light districts,” brothels were managed by “madams” with whom prostitutes shared the proceeds from their “tricks” (sexual transactions). The term “red-light district” supposedly had its origin when railroad construction workers in the American West hung their red signal lanterns outside whorehouses they were frequenting in order to keep in contact with their



Journal Article Link 14.1

Examine literature regarding prostitution.



Handbook Article Link 14.1

Read an article on prostitution.

dispatchers (Winick & Kinsie, 1971, p. 132). While some illegal brothels still exist in the United States, most have disappeared, although legal brothels exist in some counties in Nevada.

The following description of a red-light district in Erie, Pennsylvania, in 1907 is illustrative:

In the three blocks of French Street mentioned, there are roughly sixteen immoral houses. Within these resorts a conservative total of 75 girls have been leading a life of shame. None of these resorts hold a liquor license, but at all of them, drinks of any description can be obtained at any hour of the day . . . by a visitor of almost any age.

Seventy-five percent of the girls of the tenderloin are under 21 years of age. Ninety percent of the visitors are young men under 20. Fully thirty percent are boys of 16 and 17. (“Erie Red Light Resorts,” 1988)

Streetwalkers or “hookers” parade and negotiate the sale of their wares on the public streets. The term *hooker* was apparently derived from camp or circuit traveling prostitutes who followed and serviced the Union troops of General Joseph Hooker during the Civil War (Winick & Kinsie, 1971, p. 58). Such “working girls” earn the lowest fees of all prostitutes and are most vulnerable to police interference. Streetwalkers also are most likely to have arrangements with pimps, who play the combined roles of managers, protectors, and pseudo-fathers. In the United States since the sixties, the majority of street pimps have been black. Recent research suggests that pimping is held in less regard than in the past and may be of less importance in the world of prostitution

than it was at one time (Winick & Kinsie, 1971, p. 120). While relationships between pimps and their stables of prostitutes vary, many hookers are required by their pimps to earn a certain amount per day or suffer physical harm (Milner & Milner, 1972; Sheehy, 1973; Slim, 1969).

Bar girls, or B-girls, are common in seaport cities and areas serving military populations, such as in combat zones, or adult entertainment sections of some large cities. Such hookers entice customers to buy them drinks, usually nonalcoholic ones, for ridiculous prices, while also arranging for tricks, which may occur on the premises or at nearby “hot sheet” hotels.

Call girls represent the top of the prostitution profession. Such hookers generally are very selective in their clientele and are highly rewarded. Most are from more educated and middle-class backgrounds than streetwalkers or house girls and usually operate on referrals. “Escort services”

generally are fronts for prostitution in which clients may pay per hour for the company and “services” of usually attractive young women. In 2008, then New York Governor Elliot Spitzer was forced to resign in disgrace after it was revealed that he paid a call girl over \$4,000 for a visit and had done so on numerous occasions.

Massage Parlors

Breslaw Executive Health Spa! 15 Lovely Girls Upstairs and 15 Lovely Girls Downstairs to Serve You!

Advertisements such as that quoted above appeared on Canadian commercial television (CKCO-TV, Kitchener, Ontario, September 1, 1983, 12:45 AM EST). The massage parlor, in which forms of commercial sex are sold under the guise of a health spa or massage service, became quite common in North America in the seventies. Journalist Gay Talese (1979), who recorded extensive participant observation studies of such operations in his book *Thy Neighbor's Wife* (1979), concluded that for all practical purposes, under existing laws, such operations



Video Link 14.2

View a video on the business of prostitution.



Photo 14.2

Elliot Spitzer addressed the media with his wife to announce that he would resign from office.

constitute legalized prostitution. Since “extras” (prohibited sexual services) must be negotiated and requested by the customer, parlor girls can avoid actual solicitation, and law enforcement agencies must be careful of *entrapment*, or causing illegal activities to occur that would not otherwise have taken place.

Johns

While an extensive literature exists on prostitution, there has been a paucity of information regarding **johns**, or customers, except from interviews with prostitutes. Holzman and Pines (1979) note that much of the literature on johns portrays them as socially, psychologically, or physically inadequate, having to pay for that which others can obtain free as a matter of course (Benjamin & Masters, 1964; A. Ellis, 1959; Gibbens & Silberman, 1960; Laner, 1974; Morris & Hawkins, 1970). The term *trick* is derisively used to refer to the fact that the hooker tricks the john into paying for what he should be able to obtain for free (Milner & Milner, 1972, p. 38). Holzman and Pines indicate that much of this negative evaluation of johns has come from prostitutes and mental health practitioners and that field studies of such customers by social service researchers present a different picture (Campbell, 2003; Keire, 2010; Weitzer, 2000).

M. L. Stein (1974), employing one-way mirrors in order to observe and record hundreds of sessions between prostitutes and clients, was struck by the normal or “straight” quality of the customers. Employing in-depth interviews of a snowball sample of 30 primarily white, middle-class johns (a snowball sample asks the initial interviewee to suggest other subjects), Holzman and Pines (1979) were also unable to support the “pathology-ridden depictions of the clients of prostitutes.” All of the subjects indicated current involvements in relationships that involved sex and that they experienced little problem in obtaining sex from non-prostitutes. Some prevailing motivations for visiting prostitutes mentioned by their sample included expectations of mystery and excitement; special “professional” services; and guaranteed, easy, nonentangled sex, which excluded possible rejection.

A controversial, although apparently relatively effective, means of cracking down on open solicitation by prostitutes in given urban areas is to prosecute and embarrass johns by publishing their names and addresses in the local newspaper. Modeled after drunk driving and shoplifting programs for first-time offenders, some jurisdictions are experimenting with schools for johns. These remedial classes are designed to make such former customers of prostitutes aware of the seriousness of their offense.

Despite the increased visibility of prostitution in the United States beginning in the seventies, most studies suggest that prostitution has experienced a decline since the pre–World War II period. There appears to be an inverse or negative relationship between sexual permissiveness in a society and the strength of organized prostitution. Prostitution is strongest in countries with traditional concepts of marriage and the double standard code of sexual behavior that encourages sexual promiscuity on the part of males but discourages such behavior for females. Countries such as France and Italy, for example, discourage divorce and tolerate different expectations of sexual conduct for males and females. Since female sexual expression is discouraged outside of marriage, a small proportion of females serves the illicit, erotic desires of the male population. The decline in prostitution can be noted by comparing Kinsey’s 1948 and 1953 surveys of sexual behavior with more recent ones (Hunt, 1974, p. 144). These show that, while prior to World War II roughly 50 percent of white males had visited prostitutes, in the seventies only 25 percent of college-educated men had visited prostitutes. The erosion of the double standard has eliminated some of the demand for prostitutes’ services. Farley (2007) describes Las Vegas as the epicenter of North American prostitution and sex trafficking. She states, “If you peel back the thin, supposedly sexy veneer of the commercial sex trade, you’ll quickly see the rotten inside, where females are bought, sold, raped, beaten, shamed and in many, many cases, physically and emotionally wrecked” (pp. 1–2). Former Mayor Oscar Goodman of Las Vegas wanted to legalize prostitution there, as it already is in other parts of Nevada.

Underage Prostitutes

A large proportion of teenage prostitutes comes from “damaged families” and often represents “throwaway children.” Many had been raped or sexually abused by surrogate fathers. A Boston ring of homosexual boys being used to sell sex was run by the school bus driver, who peddled the bodies of 8- and 9-year-olds and advertised them through photographs all along the East Coast. When the ring was broken, police arrested a child psychiatrist, a clinical psychologist, a former assistant headmaster, and a teacher at a boys’ prep school. The sexual exploitation of children will remain a matter of serious concern, particularly with respect to the



State Rankings Link 14.1
Underage prostitutes.



Video Link 14.3
View a video about child prostitution.

long-term psychological impact of such victimizations on the young people involved (A. W. Burgess, 1984; Ritter, 1988; T. Sullivan, 1988; Weisberg, 1985).

One of the biggest trends in prostitution has been a movement from the streets to the Internet. The Internet, pagers, cell phones, and escort services have all made prostitution less noticeable. Advertisements for sexual services flourish on websites.

Homosexual Behavior

Homosexuality is the desire for sexual relationships with members of one's own sex. While homosexuality itself is not a crime, certain homosexual activities may be considered criminal, depending on various state or national laws. In certain states, homosexual activity, like some heterosexual activity, may be included under various laws prohibiting adultery, fornication, sodomy, crimes against nature, or lewd and lascivious conduct. *Adultery* is sexual relations of a married person with someone other than her or his spouse. *Fornication* refers to sexual intercourse between unmarried persons. **Sodomy**, or "crimes against nature," may cover anal intercourse, mouth–genital contact, and even mutual masturbation. The term *sodomy* is derived from the biblical city of Sodom, which (together with Gomorrah) was destroyed by God's wrath because of its rampant eroticism.

Following Judeo-Christian precepts, homosexuality was forbidden and punished in European countries until the French Revolution, after which the laws became more tolerant. Although puritanical America was slower in liberalizing its laws, sodomy statutes generally were not enforced or were selectively enforced for extortion or blackmail purposes.

From the standpoint of law enforcement, there is some criminal activity associated with the homosexual community, primarily on the part of those preying on homosexuals; entrapment, swindling, robbery, blackmail, and sometimes murder may take place. Of primary concern to the criminal justice system are cases in which the behavior is nonconsensual or involves underage persons. Also warranting attention are activities that take place in association with pickups or solicitations in public places, often involving male prostitutes who serve an almost exclusively homosexual clientele.

LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) students are especially at risk for harassment in schools (Burney, 2012). In an egregious example of both cyberbullying and hate crime, a distraught Rutgers freshman, Tyler Clementi, jumped to his death from the George Washington Bridge after discovering that his roommate had allegedly recorded his romantic encounter with another man and had streamed the interlude over the

Internet. In *Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States*, Mogul, Ritchie, and Whitlock (2011) claim that the decriminalization of homosexuality has not eliminated the criminalization, policing, and punishment of sex and gender, regardless of whether a crime was committed.

In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association passed a vote at its national convention, saying that homosexuality is no longer to be considered a mental illness, although a later survey of members found that a majority still regarded homosexuality as immature and abnormal behavior (Rathus, 1983, p. 395). Up until the sixties, all states forbade homosexual activity.

In 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down all state anti-sodomy laws when in *Lawrence v. Texas* it struck down the Texas sodomy law. This decision then overrode the sodomy laws in the 13 other states that had such laws in existence at the time, and made

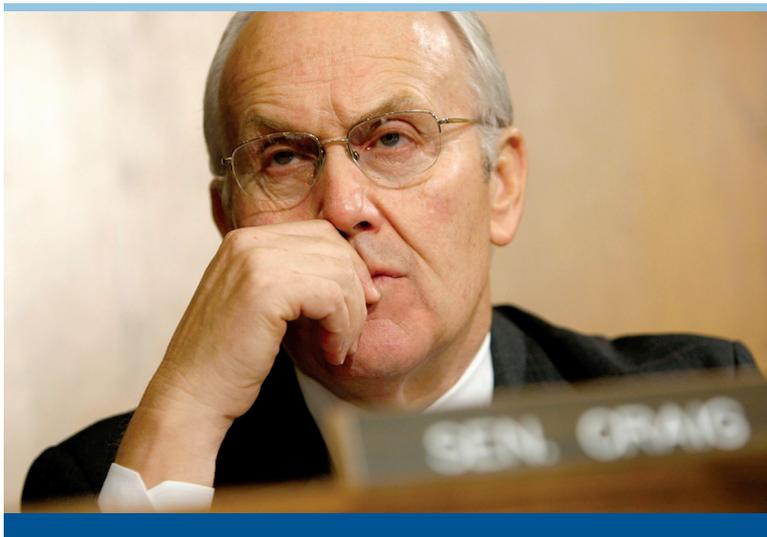


Photo 14.3

Senator Larry Craig was arrested in a public restroom at the Minneapolis airport that was notorious as a "tearoom."

homosexuality—same-sex sexual activity—legal throughout the land.

Although many variations could be distinguished, those participating in homosexual activity may be simply divided into two types: situational homosexuals and preferential homosexuals. *Situational homosexuals* are those who may prefer heterosexual activity but participate in homosexual activity as a temporary or substitute means of erotic gratification or a means of monetary reward. *Preferential homosexuals* seek sexual gratification predominantly and continually with members of the same sex. Such individuals tend to develop a homosexual self-concept and to join a gay or homosexual subculture. In actuality, a variety of homosexual roles can be



Audio Link 14.2

Listen to a discussion of Senator Larry Craig.

distinguished, including overt or secret, adjusted or maladjusted, true homosexual or situational turnout, and primary or secondary (Clinard & Quinney, 1973, p. 87).

Many individuals participate in homosexual activity but do not identify themselves as homosexual. Much situational homosexuality occurs in isolated sexual environments such as prisons, unisex boarding schools, and military environments. In male prisons, for instance, “wolves” exert their masculinity by having fellatio (oral stimulation) performed on them or sodomizing “queens,” avowed homosexuals, or “punks,” weak males who are forced to perform sexual services (Sykes, 1958, pp. 95–97).

Sexual behavior may reflect opportunity and circumstance in addition to preference. In many traditional Islamic countries, a high premium is placed on virgin brides, and there are strong prohibitions against wifely infidelity and even premarital dating. In such a system, heterosexual males use other males for sexual outlets. Sexual assaults on boys are more prevalent than attacks on women in such countries (D. J. West, 1988, p. 183).

In 2007, Republican Senator Larry Craig (Idaho) was arrested in a public restroom at the Minneapolis airport that was notorious as a “**tearoom**” for impersonal homosexual contacts. Interested individuals would use various insider signals such as shoe tapping, hand waving, and body positioning as indicators of interest in such liaisons. Such behavior on the part of Craig was detected by an undercover police officer. Activity like this is participated in by consensual adults who are for the most part hidden homosexuals, but since it takes place in public settings, it attracts police response. Crime File 14.1 reports on a study of homosexuality in public restrooms.



Video Link 14.4
View a video about
Senator Larry Craig.

Crime File 14.1

Laud Humphreys' *Tearoom Trade*

The following is a brief account of Laud Humphreys' (1970) controversial and important study of “tearooms,” public restrooms where homosexual activity is common. Such solicitations and activities prompt the most law enforcement attention and arrests for homosexual activity. Despite public fears of child molesters lurking in wait in such places, surprisingly little information existed prior to Humphreys' study of such localities. Using the controversial method of disguised observation, Humphreys posed as a “watch queen,” a voyeur who obtains erotic excitement by observing such activities, but also serves the crucial role of lookout for police and other unfriendly strangers who may wander onto the scene and interrupt the homosexual tryst. Humphreys traced the automobile license numbers of participants and showed up at their homes some time later under the guise of performing a mental health survey.

According to Humphreys, tearooms are popular because they provide instant, “no-strings-attached” sex, inexpensive erotic kicks without commitment. They are not gathering places for preferential homosexuals. Such individuals have “come out of the closet,” have admitted their sexual preference, and would far more likely be found in gay bars. Tearooms attract a variety of men, only a few of whom are members of the homosexual subculture. The majority have no homosexual self-concept. In fact, over half were married and currently living with their wives.

Humphreys' typology of tearoom participants included trade, ambisexuals, gay guys, and closet queens. The predominant activity in tearooms is fellatio. Individuals classified as *trade* made up 38 percent of the subjects and were described by Humphreys as “insertors,” “fellators,” or those who have fellatio performed on them. Most were married, but there was little sex in their marriages. Other sexual outlets, such as affairs, were viewed as too complicated and expensive. Such individuals at the turn of the twentieth century would most likely have visited inexpensive red-light districts.

Ambisexuals are more likely to be “insertees”; that is, they perform the oral function. Representing 24 percent of Humphreys' sample, most of these men also were married and indicated that their home sex life was satisfactory. Many enjoyed the adventure, excitement, and risk of such illicit activity. *Gay guys* constituted 14 percent of the participants. Such individuals openly associate in the gay subculture. Humphreys claimed that most prefer more permanent, “married” homosexual relationships, which are not to be found in the transitory atmosphere of the tearoom. **Closet queens**, hidden or unavowed homosexuals, made up the remaining 24 percent. Such persons were usually unmarried and fearful of involvement in other areas of the sexual marketplace. Many were particularly interested in young boys, although few of these are to be found in tearooms. Humphreys felt that the unwillingness of “closet queens” to come to terms with their sexual preference and participate in the homosexual subculture makes such individuals potentially dangerous. For most homosexuals, the civil consequences of revelation of their activities are a greater personal concern than the threat of criminal penalties.

Web Research Project

Review the topic of “research ethics.” Do any of the articles provide guidance in deciding the ethical status of Humphreys' research?

Sexual Offenses



Handbook Article Link 14.2

Read an article on sexual offenses.

While sexual assault, rape, and adult sexual relations with minors are taken very seriously by the criminal justice system, other acts have been given less attention by authorities in the past and attract a response only when they involve other criminal activity (see Lowman, Jackson, Palys, & Gavigan, 1986; T. Sullivan, 1988). In addition to prostitution and homosexual offenses, some other sexual offenses that have criminal implications include exhibitionism, voyeurism, fetishism, incest, and pedophilia. Related “deviant” sexual activity that may attract criminal predators includes sadism and masochism. **Exhibitionism** usually involves the purposive and unsolicited indecent exposure of sexual parts, usually of the male penis to an unsuspecting female. **Voyeurism** consists of invading the privacy of another by viewing him or her either unclad or in a sexual situation (“peeping Toms”). **Fetishism** involves obtaining erotic excitement through the perception and often collection of objects associated with a desired human sexual object.

Paraphilia



Journal Article Link 14.2

Examine literature regarding arrest histories of sexual offenders.

Paraphilia refers to abnormal sexual practices involving sexual interest in nonhuman objects (for example, underwear of the opposite sex), giving or receiving pain, or sexual interest in children who are below the age of consent. Some of these activities, when harmless and committed in private by adults, are of little interest to the criminal justice system (Hickey, 2006). Areas that are of interest to the criminal justice system include asphyxiophilia, or autoerotic asphyxia, such as binding or partial strangulation as a means of sexual gratification; frotteurism (rubbing against people in crowded areas); voyeurism; exhibitionism; sadomasochism; and pedophilia.

Exhibitionism generally involves the purposive public exposure, usually by males, of private sexual parts, in order to elicit shock in unsuspecting victims. While laws prohibiting indecent exposure are equally applicable to both sexes and are usually enforced as a result of public complaint, most “flashers” are male (Forgac & Michaels, 1982). Illustrated by the “dirty old man in a raincoat” who exposes his genitals, exhibitionism may also take the form of adolescent pranksterism consisting of “mooning” (displaying one’s bare buttocks to an unsuspecting audience) and “streaking” (running naked through a public gathering). Mooning and streaking are performed for kicks; there appears to be little erotic motivation on the part of the participants. The following annual tradition at one university is illustrative (Landers, 1991):

Hundreds of Princeton University sophomores shed jeans and down jackets for a traditional event dubbed the “Nude Olympics,” held to celebrate the area’s first snowfall of the year. About 1,500 spectators cheered them on last week as the students, clad only in boots and hats, lit the torch before doing sit-ups and push-ups in a campus courtyard and ran up and down Nassau Street in Princeton, NJ, reported United Press International. (p. C8)

“Flashers,” on the other hand, participate in such activity as a means of sexual arousal and gratification. Most are described as the least harmful of sexual offenders; such exhibitionists are generally immature in their sexual development, wish to evoke fear or shock, and actually would be fearful if the victim acted interested or wanted further contact (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, & Christenson, 1965).

Voyeurs attain sexual gratification by viewing others in an unclad state. While legal voyeurism can be practiced in establishments catering to such trade—for example, “topless bars” or adult entertainment districts—illegal voyeurism involves uninvited “peeping” into private homes, parked cars in “lovers’ lanes,” or other areas. Voyeurs are often called “peeping Toms,” a name derived from the fable of the man who stole a peep at Lady Godiva on her naked ride through Coventry. While some patterns of burglary may be associated with voyeurism, in most instances it appears to be pursued as an end in itself. Voyeurism is primarily practiced by juveniles as a means of achieving erotic excitement. Most persistent voyeurs are also at a relatively immature level of psychosexual development and, contrary to the fears of many female victims, do not employ voyeurism as a prelude to sexual attack. In this sense, voyeurs are much like obscene phone callers in that they often fear contact with the opposite sex; otherwise they would avail themselves of readily obtainable erotic outlets in the adult sexual marketplace.

Fetishism involves sexual arousal from the perception of inanimate objects or articles of clothing usually associated with the opposite sex. While some level of fetishism is normal, it becomes abnormal when an individual acquires such items, often through theft, and venerates such articles as a displaced sexual object. There are, for instance, some episodes of shoplifting associated with fetishistic behavior in which the objects are sought because they have significant value for the erotic feelings they arouse.

Of possible concern to law enforcement are sexual practices involving sadism and/or masochism. *Sadism* involves the attainment of sexual gratification by means of inflicting pain on others. Often unable to achieve sexual arousal or orgasm through any other means, such individuals may harm nonconsenting partners. *Masochism* refers to the attainment of erotic satisfaction through suffering pain. The masochistic individual must be physically punished in order to gain sexual fulfillment. The leather, whips, and chains school of “kinky sex” is often serviced by prostitutes who specialize in catering to the bizarre needs of their clients.

Not every sexual deviation yields a predictable mode of behavior. While only a very small minority of sexual deviants are potentially dangerous, any type may be associated with more serious criminality in the individual case. The vast majority of persistent offenders exhibit immature psychosexual development and, if their behavior elicits a police response, such offenders are usually treated under civil commitment proceedings. Since most research on sexual offenders relies on official statistics and the majority never come to official attention, far more reliable research is required in this area (Hickey, 2006; Laws & Donohue, 2008; Roudinesco, 2009; Toch, 1979, p. 413).

Non-Victimless Sexual Offenses

Of more serious concern are incest and pedophilia. **Incest** is sexual intercourse between individuals who are legally defined as too closely related to marry. **Pedophilia**, or child molesting, refers to sexual relations between an adult and a child, the latter usually defined as a person under the age of 12 or one who has not yet reached the age of puberty. These two types of offenses clearly are not “victimless” and, as will be described in greater detail shortly, are the most widely condemned and seriously punished of sexual depravations. As defined above, sadism involves the attainment of sexual gratification by means of inflicting cruelty on others, while masochism, sadism’s mirror image, involves sexual gratification through suffering physical pain. Unless both parties consent, sadomasochistic activity, sometimes called “S&M,” may entail harm or violent victimization.

While many states still have laws prohibiting certain sexual acts between consenting adults, regulations against homosexuality, cohabitation, fornication, adultery, and the like are usually ignored by law enforcement. Societal attempts to regulate obscenity and pornography continue to stir debate.

Sexual Predators

One of the more shocking cases of “serial” child sexual abuse was revealed in an ABC News investigation (ABC, 1992) of former Roman Catholic priest James Porter, who was accused by more than 100 former victims of molesting, sodomizing, or raping them when he was their parish priest in the sixties and seventies. A collective silence repressed such memories, until one person came forward and organized an investigation into why the Church hierarchy ignored such activity and instead moved the offender from one parish to another in Massachusetts, New Mexico, and Wisconsin without warning the new parishes. On December 6, 1993, Porter was sentenced to 18 to 20 years in prison. In 2005, defrocked priest Paul Shanley was convicted of raping and fondling a boy numerous times at his Roman Catholic parish. The activities had begun when the child was 6. Crime File 14.2 summarizes some of the findings of a report commissioned by the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops on child sexual abuse by Catholic priests.

Child battering, which can be defined as abuse primarily involving physical assault on children, was discussed in the chapter on violent crime (Chapter 9). While it is difficult to draw clear distinctions between abuse and molestation, this discussion will focus on child molesting, which primarily involves the sexual abuse of children or minors who are past puberty. A child is defined in most states as one who has not yet reached puberty, or age 12 or 14, depending on the state.



Photo 14.4

Former Roman Catholic priest James Porter was accused by more than 100 former victims of molesting, sodomizing, and raping them when he was their parish priest in the 1960s and 1970s. He was sentenced to 18–20 years in prison.

Crime File 14.2**Child Sexual Abuse by Catholic Priests**

A rising tide of charges against and convictions of Catholic priests for child sexual abuse persuaded the U.S. Conference of Bishops to commission John Jay College of Criminal Justice to undertake an objective national study of the phenomenon. Karen Terry was the principal investigator along with James Levine, who acted as coordinator. Accusations of molestation were found to have been made against 4,392 priests. This represented 4 percent of priests serving between the years 1950 and 2002. The number of people reporting having been abused by priests as children during that time equaled 10,667. The researchers were careful in devising a methodology that would assure confidentiality of both the diocese (which faced possible litigation) and the priests involved. The information was encrypted for each accused priest and then destroyed after analysis. Ninety-seven percent of the 202 dioceses participated by answering the researcher's questionnaire.

While some dioceses reported no cases of abuse, the estimate was as high as 24 percent of priests in one large diocese. Terry suggested that a victimization study of the Catholic population would provide a useful estimate of former abuse. While the study led by Terry probably underestimated the problem, it represented an honest, objective attempt to assess the extent of a previously well-hidden issue.

Sources: "Pulling Back the Veil," by B. Bullag, Chronicle of Higher Education, March 19, 2004, pp. A12–13; The Nature and Scope of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Catholic Priests and Deacons in the United States, 1950–2002, by K. Terry (New York: John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2004).

Web Research Project

Search for articles that update the issue regarding Catholic priests and pedophilia.

Pedophiliacs or *child molesters* are those who have sexual relations with children. Many myths exist about child molesters. Some common myths are that molesters are usually strangers, molesters will be caught and jailed, and children quickly get over the emotional harm of having been molested. In reality, most molesters, 85 percent, are known to the child and his or her family. Most are not caught and, if apprehended, are likely to be treated leniently. Fewer than 10 percent of convicted felon child molesters go to prison. One offender claims that psychiatrists will generally release them as long as they do not appear to be "mad dogs" (ABC, 1983a), since such offenders are assumed to be mentally ill, and they are permitted to plead to lesser offenses, even though victims of child molesters report long-term psychological damage as a result of such incidents. Pressure groups such as SLAM—Society for Laws Against Molesters—are lobbying for stricter laws, insisting that repeat offenders receive mandatory prison sentences consisting of a minimum of 4 to 8 years.

The case of assistant football coach Jerry Sandusky would unravel "Happy Valley" (Penn State) ultimately resulting in the firing of Penn State football coach Joe Paterno and university president Graham Spanier for inaction once they learned of Sandusky's behavior. It is alleged that Sandusky regularly molested and raped young boys who attended his summer football camp for at-risk children. Apparently, Penn State allowed Sandusky, operating under the protection and reputation of the Penn State football program, to have continued access to young boys just as long as it did not occur on the University Park campus.

The typical act of child molesting involves an adult male and a female victim, usually 11–14 years of age. McCaghy (1976a, p. 87) identified six types of child molesters:

1. High-interaction molesters, who have known the children for some time and usually perform or have performed genital fondling
2. Incestuous molesters, who take advantage of a child living in the same household
3. Asocial molesters, who are involved in illegal careers
4. Senile molesters, who are older, poorly educated offenders
5. Career molesters, who have persistent offense patterns involving child molestation
6. Spontaneous-aggressive molesters, who have had little previous contact with their victims and tend to commit their offenses in a physically forceful and unplanned way

While high-interaction offenders represented only 10 percent of McCaghy's sample, it is likely that they represent the majority of molesters. Since most are well known to the family and do not employ physical force, they are less likely to be charged with the offense. Although statistics are unreliable, in many cases of sexual child abuse the offenders are family members (Lanning, 2001).

One overlooked aspect of the rising rate of teen pregnancy is the fact that it is often an outcome of child abuse. One study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute found that 66 percent of teen mothers had children by men who were 20 or older. A 1992 Washington State study found 62 percent had been raped or molested before they became pregnant; the offenders' mean age was 27.4 years. "Girls who become pregnant aren't just amoral, premature tarts—they are prey" (J. Klein, 1996). Enforcement of statutory rape laws would be a significant start toward addressing this crime.

There have been other attempts to classify child molesters. Groth, Burgess, Birnbaum, and Gary (1978) describe two types: the "regressed" abuser and the "fixated" abuser. The *regressed abuser* is one who, having led a fairly normal sexual life, regresses to a sexual interest in children. A previously normal father who suddenly develops sexual interest in children would be an example. *Fixated abusers* have an early and strongly focused interest in children as sexual objects, often to the exclusion of any other type of adult sexual activity (Crewdson, 1988). While there has been an increase in literature on the topics of sexual molestation, incest, and pedophilia, more such research is needed (Finkelhor, 1986; S. T. Holmes & Holmes, 2008; O'Brien, 1986; Terry, 2013; Vander & Neff, 1986).

In 1990, the "McMartin preschool molestation trial" ended with the acquittal of all the accused. Beginning with accusations that child molesting had taken place in 1983, and continuing through 3 years in court, it was one of the longest and costliest criminal proceedings in U.S. history. The trial may also have represented a "moral panic" and "witch hunt." The jury finally concluded that the state's children's therapist put the child abuse charges into the children's mouths through the therapist's method of questioning the children (Rabinowitz, 1991). The children were believed to be vulnerable to leading questions and wishing to please adults with their answers (A. Hagedorn, 1991). Care must be taken lest we railroad the wrong people in our attempts to fight such abuse. One suggestion that has been made in light of all the charges associated with child care centers is to have a national registry for background checks of child care providers that could be consulted in order to avoid hiring known child abusers.

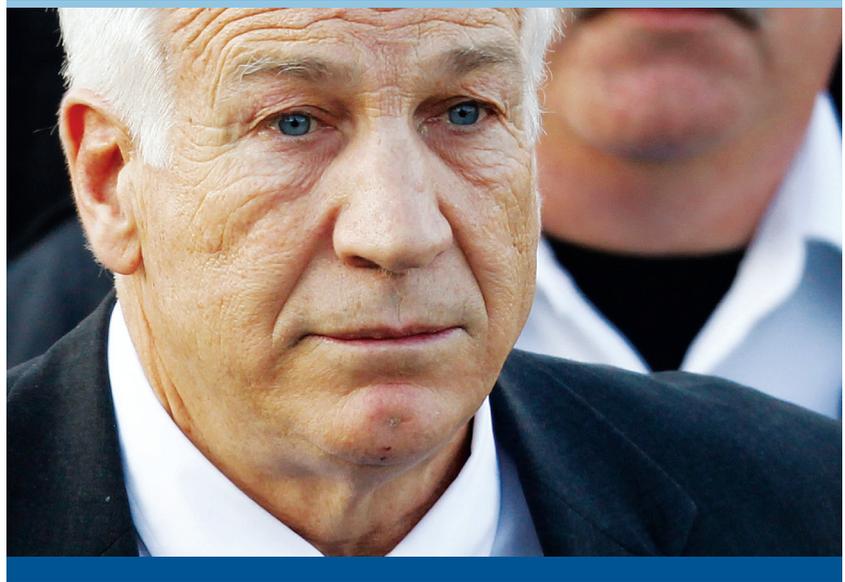
Incest

Claims of childhood sexual abuse and incest by Roseanne Barr, Oprah Winfrey, La Toya Jackson, and former Miss America Marilyn Van Derbur Adler have opened the door for others to confront long-repressed, painful memories of such abuse.

Incest is related to child molestation, which, although varyingly defined by state or national laws, refers to the universal taboo prohibiting sexual relations or marriage between those who are defined as being too closely related either by blood or marriage. At issue in this discussion is not adult relations, but forms of incest that represent a type of child molesting or sexual victimization in which an adult who is closely related to a child has sexual relations with the child.

The incidence of child sexual abuse by a natural parent is difficult to document, even though the American Humane Association has shown a sharp escalation in such statistics since the mid-seventies. D. Russell (1986) reports that sexual abuse by uncles is more prevalent than father–daughter incest and that incest by stepfathers is 7 times more likely than that by biological fathers. "The more 'personal' the relationship between the victim and the offender, the less likely a case of sexual abuse will be reported" (Cardarelli, 1988, p. 9).

Since mother–son incest is rare and brother–sister incest is unlikely to involve as gross an age disparity, father–daughter and father–son incestual relationships are the primary subject of this brief presentation. One study found the average age of female victims to be 10.2 years (Finkelhor, 1979, p. 60). Incestual victimizations may be heterosexual or homosexual. Finkelhor found that, although brother–sister incest was by far the most common, father–daughter incest was most likely to come to the attention of authorities (p. 87), perhaps because of its more traumatic impact on the family and the child (Goodwin, 1982; Janeway, 1981). Some



 **Video Link 14.5**
Watch a video about Jerry Sandusky.

Photo 14.5

Former Assistant Coach Jerry Sandusky was accused of being a predatory pedophile who used a foundation for kids that he founded to allegedly have sexual relationships with them. These allegations led to the forced resignations of Penn State's president as well as its football coach, Joe Paterno.

factors associated with incest include high proportions of stepparent, foster, or adoptive parent relationships; family disorganization (J. D. Herman, 1981); low intelligence; alcoholism; and other types of personality disorganization. While official reports of child battering tend to be more prevalent among low-income families, the American Humane Association Children's Division (1984) reported that sexual abuse and incest are more evenly distributed among social classes. Linda Gordon and Paul O'Keefe (1984), in an analysis of historical records of family violence in the Boston area from 1800 to 1960, did not find that incest offenders were poorer, more alcoholic, or sicker than other assailants. In addition, they questioned the assumption that such violators exhibited pathology or were under external socioeconomic stress.

Characteristics of Sex Offenders

Hans Toch (1979) summarizes much of the research that has been conducted on characteristics of sex offenders:

- Most offenders, far from being “sex fiends,” are rather minor offenders.
- Only about 20 percent use force on their victims.
- Untreated, convicted offenders tend to be recidivists in both sexual and nonsexual offenses, but in no greater proportions than nonsexual offenders.
- While few offenders are psychopaths, many suffer from severe neurosis, borderline psychosis, or brain impairment, but most do not fit legal definitions of mental illness.
- Most are emotionally immature and sexually constricted and inhibited, although those involved in rape and incest are more likely to be overimpulsive and oversexed.
- Convicted statutory rapists and those involved in bestiality and incest are more likely to exhibit subnormal intelligence.
- The majority of offenders are young, unmarried, and from poor educational and social-class backgrounds (p. 414; see also R. M. Holmes, 1983, 1991).



Journal Article Link 14.3

Read an article about recidivism and sexual offenders.

Drug Abuse

Drugs, chemical substances that alter psychological or physiological functioning, have been used for centuries in various cultures as stimulants or depressants for medical, social, and often religious reasons. Even today in some Middle Eastern countries, alcohol is strictly forbidden by religious law, while the use of other highly addictive substances is tolerated. The fact that drug abuse has moved into the U.S. mainstream can be illustrated by reports of widespread abuse, particularly by professional athletes, entertainers, and other prominent figures. While alcohol is a drug, it is generally not included in most discussions of substances that are abused.

The types of common drugs of abuse include the following:

Cannabis: marijuana, THC, hashish

Depressants: barbiturates, methaqualone, tranquilizers

Stimulants: amphetamines, nicotine, caffeine, methamphetamines

Hallucinogens: LSD, mescaline, peyote, PCP, psilocybin

Inhalants: nitrous oxide, butyl nitrite, amyl nitrite, and aerosols

Narcotics: opium, morphine, codeine, heroin, and methadone

In the examination of the legal status of drugs and their known harmful effects, the surprising fact that comes to light is that there is often little relationship between the known harmful effects of a particular drug and its legal status in many societies. Substances such as alcohol or nicotine, while possessing mild, short-term, harmful impact, can have lethal, long-term effects and yet they enjoy a legal, sometimes even subsidized status. Drugs such as heroin, which may be lethal in the short run because of overdoses, are not known to be lethal in the long term, but nevertheless are strongly forbidden.



Video Link 14.6

View a video on America's marijuana industry.



Audio Link 14.3

Listen to a discussion about mandatory drug sentencing.

Drugs and History

Opium is believed to have been discovered as early as the Neolithic Age and was used by early physicians such as Hippocrates and Galen (McCoy, 1972, p. 3). Opium, the raw base of other derivatives such as morphine and

heroin, was first introduced on a wide scale to the rest of the world by Turkish traders around the eighth or ninth century (A. A. Block & Chambliss, 1981, p. 20) and was a trade commodity of European mercantilists as early as the sixteenth century, providing at one point almost half of the revenue of colonial governments. Opium dens controlled by European governments could be found in most Asian cities. When one Chinese emperor objected to such trade, the Opium Wars (1839–1842) were fought, in which the Europeans (the pushers) were the victors. American “China clipper” ships, known as “opium” clippers, had a major piece of this trade (Nash, 1981, p. 166).

In 1805, morphine was derived from opium, but widespread medicinal use of morphine and other derivatives such as codeine brought the onset of serious addiction problems. By 1874, heroin, another opium derivative, was developed and was at first believed to be a nonaddicting miracle drug. Cocaine, which was isolated from coca in 1858, was first thought to be a cure for morphinism (addiction to morphine) and was a popular ingredient of tonics such as Coca-Cola when the first soda fountains were introduced in the 1890s (Inciardi & McElrath, 2001). Its inclusion was outlawed by the Pure Food and Drug Laws of 1906. Backwater patent-medicine peddlers of the late-nineteenth-century American frontier provided highly addictive remedies such as Dover’s Powders, Sydenham’s Syrup, and Godfrey’s Cordial, which were so widely used that by 1900 an estimated 1 million Americans, mostly women, were opiate users (Brecher, 1972). Brecher described the turn-of-the-twentieth-century United States as a “dope fiend’s paradise” (p. 4).

The relatively unregulated distribution of narcotics by physicians and pharmaceutical companies was creating a tremendous drug abuse problem. By 1924, federal authorities estimated that there were 200,000 addicts (McCoy, 1972, p. 5). International concern over growing drug trafficking led to the Hague Convention of 1912, which called for participating nations to crack down on drug distribution. The U.S. response was the **Harrison Act** of 1914, which required a doctor’s prescription for narcotics and cocaine. The act required the registration of all legitimate drug handlers, but was not intended to interfere with the legitimate medical treatment of addicts. A vague clause in the law to the effect that physicians could dispense such drugs “only for legitimate medical reasons” led some overzealous federal agents to crack down on offending physicians. By the mid-twenties, an estimated 25,000 physicians had been arrested, with 3,000 serving jail or prison sentences (Goode, 1984, p. 109). The net result of the Harrison Act was that physicians abandoned the treatment of addicts, and the addict as “patient” was replaced by the addict as “criminal,” “dope fiend,” or outside menace (Duster, 1970; Goode, 1972; Lindesmith, 1965).

Howard Becker (1963) coined the term “**moral entrepreneurs**” to refer to individuals who personally benefit from convincing the public to label the behavior of others as deviant or criminal. Crime File 14.3 describes two classic moral entrepreneurs: Richard Hobson, “the hero of Santiago Bay,” and Harry Anslinger, “the Carrie Nation of marijuana.” Thomas Szasz, in *Ceremonial Chemistry* (1974), perhaps with some exaggeration, compares the drug war with the war on witches and heretics in Europe from 1430 to 1730; the latter cost 300,000 lives and was a reflection of ignorance and superstition. Successive federal legislation from the time of the Harrison Act until the 1970s, such as the Marijuana Tax Act (1937), the Boggs Act (1951), and Narcotics Control Act (1956), were all aimed at controlling drug abuse by means of criminalization and harsher penalties. In a related moral crusade, David Hajdu, in *The Ten Cent Plague: The Great Comic Book Scare and How It Changed America* (2008), describes the “moral panic” surrounding the “comic book panic” of the first half of the twentieth century. The moral entrepreneur that led the onslaught against comic books was Fredric Wertham in his book *The Seduction of the Innocent* (1954). His campaign led to the 1954 televised U.S. Senate hearings on the “comic book menace” and delinquency (Kennenberg, 2008).

Crime File 14.3

Moral Panics and the Strange Career of Captain Richmond Hobson—Moral Entrepreneur

“Moral panics” refer to periods in which a previously peripheral issue is pushed onto the social agenda and perceived as a major social menace. Myths associated with such panics may lead to wasteful and dangerous diversion of scarce resources (Jenkins, 1992b; Jenkins & Katkin, 1990). Such panics may be “symbolic crusades” (Gusfield, 1963) in which “moral entrepreneurs” attempt to place their social, moral, or political views at the top of the social agenda or in the forefront of the moral landscape. Even if unenforceable, new laws may make symbolic statements that benefit particular groups (Ben-Yehuda, 1990). Many laws aimed at regulating public morality, though nearly unenforceable, reinforce the values of moral guardians and agencies of social control.

(Continued)



Video Link 14.7

View a video on the meth epidemic.

(Continued)

On June 3, 1898, Captain Richmond Hobson, a recent Annapolis graduate and temporary skipper of the USS *Merrimac*, piloted his vessel into the mouth of Santiago Bay, Cuba. His mission was to sink his ship in the channel, and thus block the Spanish fleet. Premature charges sank the ship before the mission could be accomplished, and Hobson not only failed in his mission but was captured by the Spanish (Epstein, 1977, p. 24).

Ironically, Hobson became the first hero of that short war, lauded in the American press while he was a prisoner in Cuba. When he was released as part of a prisoner exchange, the Navy chose to decorate rather than court-martial him for his incompetence in not accomplishing his mission, and they soon sent him on a cross-country lecture tour. Elected to Congress in 1906, Hobson campaigned first against the “Yellow Peril” (mass immigration of Asian peoples) and later was an organizer of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union. A campaigner against the evils of alcohol, he was the highest-paid speaker on the U.S. lecture circuit in 1915. With the demise of the anti-alcohol campaign in the thirties, the undaunted Hobson shifted his crusade to an anti-heroin jihad, describing heroin as a vampiric, demonic drug that created the “living dead” and desperados. Heroin was viewed as an “enslavement substance” that caused addicts to become criminals.

Hobson’s propaganda campaign usefully served the moral entrepreneurship of Harry Anslinger and his efforts to expand the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, which he headed. Anslinger influenced public opinion against marijuana by means of his writing and speeches. One of his articles was titled “Marijuana: Assassin of Youth.” In it, he portrays a marijuana “addict” who axe-murders his family (Anslinger & Cooper, 1937). Another propaganda feat of the period was a film titled *Reefer Madness*, which similarly displayed marijuana users as rampaging, raving maniacs. Primarily as the result of Anslinger’s efforts, the U.S. Congress passed the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937, making marijuana use a criminal matter.



Video Link 14.8

View a video about steroid abuse.

Web Research Project

Examine the issue of “moral panics.” In what ways may moral panics be used to marginalize minorities?



Photo 14.6

1988 Olympic gold medalist Ben Johnson was asked to give up his medals because of steroid abuse.

Drug Use in the United States: The Drug Dip?

Surveys of student drug use had shown declines since the late seventies. Beginning in 1991, however, there was a disturbing reversal of this trend. In the annual Michigan survey of teenagers for the National Institute of Drug Abuse, illicit drug use by eighth graders nearly doubled from 11 to 21 percent, use by tenth graders increased from 20 to 33 percent, and high school seniors’ use grew by about half to about 33 percent. This increase still left the level well below that of peak periods of the 1970s and 1980s (P. Thomas, 1995), and it finally peaked and began to show declines beginning in 1999.

Crack Cocaine

Coke—also known as snow, blow, nose candy, Bolivian marching powder—became the drug of Hollywood, of Wall Street, of “sex, drugs, and rock and roll.” Cocaine had become the “hip” drug of the last decades of the twentieth century. While at first believed to be nonaddictive, it has emerged as very dangerous, and what was at first thought to be a propaganda film meant to scare people, *Cocaine Fiends*, actually bore a close resemblance to reality (Maranto, 1985). A variation of cocaine, “crack” has considerably raised the level of violence associated with drug trafficking in inner-city ghettos. Images of 12- and 13-year-olds carrying Uzi submachine guns and earning more than their parents and teachers are no exaggeration (“Drug Rings Hire Gun-Toting Kids,” 1988). The crack cocaine epidemic began in 1986 and peaked by 1992, its declining use reflected in decreasing crime rates.

Another emergent drug is related in part to the fitness craze. “Steroid abuse” came to international attention during the 1988 Olympics when Canadian gold medalist Ben Johnson was asked to give up his medals because of

such a drug violation. Bodybuilders and athletes utilize steroids to promote tissue growth and to gain weight and muscle. While outlawed in most athletic organizations, it is used despite increasing research that shows tremendous potential harm. This may include injury to organs, possible increases in aggressive and psychotic behavior, and early death (Weaver, 1988).

A major drug of concern in the twenty-first century is methamphetamine (meth). Meth affects people across the socioeconomic spectrum and seems to be particularly prevalent in white, working-class families in rural areas and small towns. It is considered highly addictive and more powerful than cocaine, but longer lasting in effect. It is produced in simple but dangerous home labs from ingredients found in patented cold medicines such as Sudafed. Crystal meth from Mexico is twice as strong as that produced in home labs.

Drug Abuse and Crime

Some government figures estimating the cost of street crime due to addicts have amounted to statistical overkill. Estimates in the early seventies, such as \$18 billion, were several times greater than the total sum of property stolen but unrecovered throughout the entire country using UCR data for the same year (Epstein, 1977, p. 177; Singer, 1971). In 2004, a total of 17 percent of state prisoners and 18 percent of federal inmates said that they committed their current offense to obtain money for drugs (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004).

The concept of **addiction** is used primarily to describe those who have become dependent on opium and opium derivatives such as morphine, heroin, and various medicines that contain opiates. Addiction involves a physiological dependence commonly referred to as *tolerance*, in which the body requires larger and larger dosages of the substance in order to experience the desired effect. Once this dependence is developed, absence of the required dosage produces the **withdrawal** (or abstinence) **syndrome**, physical discomfort experienced by an addict when deprived of the drug on which he or she has become dependent. Finally, psychological dependence involves mentally connecting the withdrawal syndrome with one's physiological dependence and the decision thereafter to continue to use the substance. A survey of Vietnam veterans found that while about one third used opiates in Vietnam and one fifth were addicted, only 1 percent continued using the drugs on returning to the states (Robins, 1974).

Much of the crime associated with drug addiction is due to the high cost addicts must pay for illegal sources of supply in order to support their need for a "fix." While costs of heroin vary, assuming a hypothetical \$50-per-day habit, addicts would have to come up with over \$18,000 a year for heroin alone. Unless addicts have occupations that provide either high income or easy access to drugs (such as the medical field), most must steal to support their habit; the major means of support for many is dealing in drugs themselves (Inciardi, 1979, 1981; R. C. Stephens & Ellis, 1975). For others, other types of crime provide the source of funds. Gropper (1985) indicates that, contrary to what has been found in past research, heroin-using criminals are as likely as nonusing criminals to kill and rape and are more likely to commit robbery and weapons offenses. In addition, there is a wide variety of types of drug-involved offenders requiring different types of responses by the criminal justice system (M. R. Chaiken & Johnson, 1988).

B. D. Johnson et al. (1983) did a related in-depth study of 201 New York City heroin abusers. They found most of their subjects were polysubstance abusers. None used only heroin, and almost all also used cocaine, alcohol, and other drugs. While most were involved in criminal activity such as shoplifting and burglary, they also supported their habits through being "user-dealers." Nurco, Hanlon, and Kinlock's (1988) study of criminal activity by drug addicts found that, for those previously involved in crime, addiction simply increases an already established criminal lifestyle, while "for those not involved in preaddiction crime, addiction status is associated with a much sharper exacerbation in criminal behavior" (p. 418).

Drunkenness

Under English common law, drunkenness itself was not a crime; only when a disturbance of the peace or disorderly conduct occurred was it punished. In the United States, *public drunkenness* is covered by a variety of laws in different jurisdictions, such as public intoxication, breach of peace, disorderly conduct, and inability to care for one's own personal safety. Problem drinking is a primary ingredient in other criminal activity, particularly interpersonal violence. The majority of homicides, aggravated assaults, a large proportion of rapes, and about half of all vehicular deaths are believed to be alcohol-related. Alcoholism or problem drinking remains the number one drug abuse problem in the United States, despite official concern with more esoteric drugs.



State Rankings Link 14.2
Illicit drug users.



State Rankings Link 14.3
Alcohol dependence.

The Prohibition Experiment

In a period of missionary zeal, the temperance movement, spearheaded by the WCTU (Women's Christian Temperance Union), pressured the U.S. Congress to pass a Prohibition amendment. This was ratified in 1919 and would, until 1933, constitute what some called "the noble experiment" and others "the great illusion."

Prohibition did not eliminate the alcohol problem. Bootlegging—circumvention of the Volstead Act, the enforcement law of Prohibition—became a national pastime and one of America's largest industries, spawning corruption, organized crime, and public cynicism. As a result of its own failure as a social control policy, as well as of counterpressure from rival urban forces, Prohibition was repealed in 1933. Although alcohol use was decriminalized, it is still regulated by state laws. Just as Brecher (1972) had described the turn-of-the-twentieth-century United States as a "dope fiend's paradise" (p. 4), Rorabaugh (1979) indicates that U.S. consumption of alcohol was much higher during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than it is presently. Even today, examination of the problem of drug abuse in the United States finds alcohol abuse still constituting the nation's number one drug problem. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC, 2012) estimate that for 2001–2005, the deaths annually attributable to alcohol use were about 5 times greater than from all illicit drugs combined.

"**Problem drinking**" has already been described as a major lethal ingredient in crimes of violence as well as in vehicular homicide (Collins, 1981). The other major alcohol-related problematic area in criminal justice relates to chronic inebriates, who make up over half of U.S. misdemeanor arrestees and county jail inmates.

Problem drinkers consume alcoholic beverages in excess of dietary or social custom to an extent that affects their health and social relationships. Immersed in a drinking culture, some people cross the line into problem drinking or alcoholism. While there is no universally accepted medical or psychological model of alcoholism, many accept a "medical model," which describes it as a disease. A useful descriptive model that illustrates this approach is Jellinek's (1960) profile of the stages of alcohol addiction. These are the pre-alcoholic phase, the intermediate stage, the crucial phase, and the final or bottom phase. The pre-alcoholic phase involves occasional relief drinking as a means of alleviating tension. After a time, greater amounts of alcohol are needed to generate the desired effect. The intermediate stage occurs when drinking is no longer simply a source of relief, but is sought as a drug. Secretive drinking, occasional blackouts or amnesia, faking alibis, and a compulsion to drink are accompanied by a loss of control. In the crucial phase, the loss of control becomes more complete; the drinker is no longer able to maintain a resolution not to drink. Isolation from others, including family, increases as life becomes alcohol-centered. The final or bottom phase is characterized by the drinker's extensive emotional disorganization. Ethical deterioration, impaired thinking, and obsessive drinking characterize the bottomed-out, chronic alcoholic.

Such chronic inebriates are often handled under what is called the "golden rule disposition" in which, for their own protection, they are picked up by police without formal arrest, jailed overnight, and then released in the morning (see Bittner, 1967). Despite frequent arrests or processing, most such individuals do not view themselves as criminals. Arrests for such drunkenness have in fact decreased in many jurisdictions since the early seventies: More police forces have begun to employ strategies of cooperation with local social service agencies that treat such problem drinkers. Typically, local police, when they come across a consistent public inebriate, call such a center. The center's personnel transport the subject to a treatment center where he or she is bathed, "dried out," fed, counseled, and provided the opportunity to break the alcohol-obsessive cycle. In addition to providing more meaningful treatment, such programs relieve the police and jails of an improper burden, freeing up law enforcement resources for more appropriate tasks. A particularly thorny problem facing college campus police has been that of binge drinking and alcohol-related arrests of students. In addition to heavier drinking among college students, the upsurge may also reflect greater reporting and enforcement. Alcohol abuse remains a bigger problem on campuses than other drugs. Reporting of such figures is now required by federal law. A survey by the Harvard School of Public Health found about 23 percent of the college student population reporting binge drinking in 1999. This is defined as drinking at least five (men) or four (women) drinks in a row at least three or more times in the 2 weeks before the survey ("Surge in Campus Alcohol Arrests," 2000).

Special Populations

A conservative political climate in the United States in the eighties led to cuts in social programs and a burgeoning homeless population, as well as a deinstitutionalized mentally ill population. The police force became, by default, social workers of last resort. "They do so because peace officers are unique in

providing free, around-the-clock service, mobility, a legal obligation to respond, and legal authority to detain” (Finn & Sullivan, 1988, p. 2).

Isaac and Armat, in *Madness in the Streets* (1990), note that the homeless and neglected mentally ill sometimes create the perception of “craziness” on our streets, which is destructive to the social order. The neglectful deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill brings them into oftentimes unpleasant contact with ordinary people, who then have a sense of public disrepair.

Societal Reaction

The rapid pace of social change and the subsequent cultural lag that it creates have been endemic in the United States in the post–World War II period. We tend to forget that early in the twentieth century, cigarette smoking was considered deviant. Similarly, the consumption of alcohol was so dimly viewed that it resulted in a constitutional amendment to forbid its usage.

As previously indicated, Edwin Schur’s (1965) concept of “crimes without victims” refers specifically to consensual, adult activities, usually conducted in private, in which there is no apparent harm to others. The criminalization of such activities, as illustrated by the Prohibition experiment, often involves ineffective overcriminalization, an inappropriate extension of the criminal law into areas of personal conduct and morality. Most public order crime constitutes violations of legislated morality. Prohibition of such crimes represents an effort to control or regulate moral and personal behavior through formal laws, often without attempts to mold public opinion, which is necessary in order to support the legislative and police activity. Since much of the activity is consensual and private, law enforcement efforts often involve invasion of privacy and the use of extraordinary efforts that threaten civil liberties, leading some observers to describe such efforts as not only expensive and ineffective, but also criminogenic (Morris & Hawkins, 1970, p. 2). Sumner’s notion, discussed in Chapter 1, that if laws fail to obtain the support of the mores they will tend to be ineffective, suggests that criminalization of these offenses has not markedly decreased their activity. Only a small proportion of offenders are reached by the criminal justice system or deterred by the criminal status of the offense.

In harmful, nonconsensual areas, the criminal justice system can have an impact in reducing prohibited activity. For example, in 1988, a U.S. Customs Bureau sting, “Operation Borderline,” set up a phony child pornography mail-order house in Toronto and then rounded up many pedophiles who ordered such materials. They were charged under a 1984 Child Protection Act, which outlawed the distribution of all sexually explicit material involving children. Such programs are believed to have reduced considerably the child pornography trade (J. Anderson & Van Atta, 1986; B. Cohn, 1988). In consensual vice activities, however, P. J. Cook (1988) points out, “The criminal law is a cumbersome, costly tool to wield against the harms associated with vice” (p. 1).

In April 1992, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a conviction and ruled that a Nebraska farmer had been entrapped by postal agents who coaxed him for 2 years to buy mail-order child pornography. “Project Looking Glass,” as it was dubbed, resulted in 147 convictions, of which 35 cases showed ongoing or past child abuse, although it also resulted in four suicides by offenders (R. Marcus, 1991).

The history of the regulation of vice has been one of constant symbolic political posturing with little relationship between what is said and what is done. In 1987, President Ronald Reagan not only declared war on drugs but also declared victory, claiming his administration’s drug jihad was “an untold American success story.” Two years later, national news magazines were sensationally claiming that sections of large cities were so overrun by drug gangs that they were “dead zones” or “Beirut, USA,” and that “the drug problem and its accompanying violence has clearly outstripped the resources and capability of local governments, police departments, courts, and prisons to cope with them” (T. Moore et al., 1988, p. 28).

Overcriminalization

Overcriminalization, or extension of the criminal law into inappropriate areas of moral conduct, results in a number of outcomes:

- Many such laws are virtually unenforceable.
- They often lead to corruption of criminal justice personnel and politicians.
- They undermine public respect for the law.

- They create illicit monopolies for organized crime groups.
- They criminalize activities and stigmatize their participants.
- They reflect no consistent, defensible theory of harm (Richards, 1982, p. 194).
- They isolate and embitter offenders.
- Penalties are often ineffective or inappropriate. In the past, for instance, tough drug laws netted many marijuana users and few big drug pushers.
- Such laws tie up law enforcement agencies in thankless tasks that could more appropriately be performed by other social agencies.

Decriminalization

Decriminalization refers to the process of lessening the penalties attached to particular offenses. Some arguments in support of decriminalizing many public order crimes include the following:

- Such activities should not be the concern of the state and formal agents of social control, but are more appropriately handled by informal modes of control such as the family, community, church, and the like.
- State interference with much of this behavior often makes matters worse. The criminalization of drug users and view of them as criminals rather than people with medical problems has cut off the legal supply of drugs, created illegal monopolies, and forced many into criminal activity in order to support their habits.
- Such laws tend to accomplish little with those already favorably disposed to such activity. Homosexuality, prostitution, gambling, and the like have been and will continue to be persistent activities in modern society.
- Law enforcement officers' focus on such public order crimes overburdens the criminal justice system with inappropriate tasks, preventing the deployment of resources in combating more serious crimes.

The issue of decriminalization is a matter of degrees of regulation/deregulation rather than of categorical legalization/illegalization. Proposals for decriminalization entail lessening of penalties, but not total abandonment of public or official concern with maintaining some degree of control over such activities. Fears have been raised that decriminalization of such activities constitutes societal approval.

A 1957 British government study, the Wolfenden Report, in examining laws related to homosexuality and prostitution, concluded that private, consensual, adult sexual relations were not the law's business. With respect to homosexuality, one could ask whether individuals really have much choice in or power to change their sexual orientations. Those who oppose decriminalization of homosexual activities fear proselytizing and seduction of the young. Such a "**floodgate theory**" (the assumption that decriminalization of homosexuality will increase such behavior) has not been borne out in England (D. J. West, 1988, pp. 181, 186).

The degree of decriminalization, of course, varies with the type of offense. Few propose decriminalization of predatory or harmful practices such as child molesting or incest, just as few would urge that acts that violate privacy, such as exhibitionism and voyeurism, simply be ignored. Civil commitment proceedings in which psychological treatment is prescribed are an important tool for the protection of society. In public inebriate programs, the police remain involved but maximize the use of community social service agencies. Combined with decriminalization, public media programs can play a role in discouraging undesirable activity. There has been some recent rethinking of the wisdom of decriminalizing public drunkenness. As our earlier discussion of "broken windows" (J. Q. Wilson & Kelling, 1982) suggested, "The presence on the streets of boisterous, obstreperous, and sometimes belligerent drunks contributes to a sense of social disorder" (J. R. Jacobs, 1987, p. 2). A field experiment in Lynn, Massachusetts, demonstrated the efficacy of street-level enforcement (making it difficult for drug dealers to make a sale and for buyers to "score" or purchase) in improving the quality of life in a community (Kleiman, Barnett, Bouza, & Burke, 1988).

The declining number of Americans who smoke tobacco, from 42 percent of adults in 1965 to 21 percent in 2006 (Smoking Stats, 2011), shows the effectiveness of a more moderate approach to discouraging the use of harmful substances. Arnold Trebach, in "Peace Without Surrender in the Perpetual Drug War" (1984), indicates,

We did not declare a war on tobacco. We did not make it illegal . . . we did not say that tobacco addicts . . . were evil. We did not seek to disrupt foreign or domestic tobacco supplies. Indeed, we still subsidize the production of the most dangerous psychoactive drug known to our people. We did not seek to convince



Audio Link 14.4

Listen to a discussion of the decriminalization of marijuana.



State Rankings Link 14.4

Substance abuse treatment.

our citizens not to smoke through persuasion, objective information and education. . . . Laws do not prohibit smoking entirely, only where and when an addict can take a “fix.” In other words, the law did not confront the user head on by absolutely prohibiting this deadly practice. But the law did have a role: it discouraged, it controlled, it curbed, it coaxed. (pp. 136–137)

Erickson (1990) proposed an alternative to the criminalization/decriminalization debate, arguing that a public health approach to demand reduction using social disapproval; informal family, community, and peer group controls; and beefed-up educational efforts could reduce drug usage.

Evidence related to the criminalization/decriminalization debate is uncertain, as can be illustrated by attempts to control heroin or opium abuse (Inciardi, 1990). The pre-1972 British program that medically administered legal doses of heroin to addicts may have meant both a smaller addict population and little crime associated with such addiction (Trebach, 1982). On the other hand, the former British colony of Hong Kong, with the same British program but a different culture, has had an addiction problem much greater than that in the United Kingdom. A 5-year experiment in decriminalization of drug use was canceled in Zurich, Switzerland, as the number of addicts and dealers attracted from all over Europe overwhelmed the system (Lynch & Blotner, 1991). Similarly, in the early nineties the Netherlands decided to permit the sale of soft drugs (hashish and marijuana) in order to diminish crime and enable the police to concentrate on hard-drug trafficking. Possession of even small amounts of cocaine, heroin, and other hard drugs was tolerated and viewed as a public health problem to be addressed by treatment centers. However, what began as a successful experiment was flooded by “drug tourists” as European unity collapsed borders. Nevertheless, Dutch policy remains one of rejecting a “war on drugs” model in favor of a harm-reduction model (Leuw & Marshall, 1994).

Arguments for more zealous law enforcement efforts can point to the People’s Republic of China, which, through totalitarian policing, appears to have nearly eliminated the problem of drug addiction. Such police powers would be culturally unacceptable in Western democracies and have not been particularly successful in brutal authoritarian regimes such as contemporary Iran. Many of the issues that we have examined in this chapter are complex and laden with heavy moral implications. We have, of course, only scratched the surface of some intense debates on these subjects.

Theory and Crime

The theory that best explains most public order crime is labeling or societal reaction theory. Much of the activity that is covered is deviant, but need not be handled by the criminal law. Sin, amorality, and bothersome behavior become criminal when defined so by the criminal law. Moral crusades can result in the addition of activities to be regulated by the criminal justice system, while decriminalization may represent a decision to no longer utilize the criminal justice system as the means of assuring conformity with respect to a particular type of behavior. The war on drugs and the war on alcohol serve as interesting examples. Both have in the past tied law enforcement up with trying to enforce activities that might be better regulated in another manner. Similarly, the law enforcement system must attempt to avoid being used as moral police, as moral busybodies, trying to enforce that which cannot be enforced.

The provision of illicit services that are covered by public order criminality have historically created an illegal market for meeting the insatiable public desire for illegal goods and services. The immense profits to be made in meeting such a public desire for illegal sex, gambling, drugs, and other commodities find no shortage of entrepreneurs who use meeting such demands as a road to illegal fortunes.

Summary

Public order crime refers to a number of activities that are illegal because they offend public morality. Being primarily nonpredatory, *mala prohibita* acts such as behavior related to prostitution, homosexuality, drug and alcohol abuse, and sexual deviance are sometimes called “crimes without victims,” consensual crimes, or folk crimes. Wilson and Kelling’s concept of “broken windows” suggests that neglect of public peacekeeping functions encourages disorder.

Prostitution involves sexual relations with emotional indifference on a promiscuous and mercenary basis; the act of soliciting or seeking paying customers is prohibited, not prostitution itself, as defined above. With the exception of some preliterate societies, prostitution exists internationally and has in fact been tolerated throughout most of Western history. Homosexuality, sexual relations with members of one's own sex, may be prosecuted under sodomy statutes that prohibit "crimes against nature," often including mouth–genital and anal intercourse. These same laws, which are generally not enforced, also apply to heterosexual activity. The wide variety of sexual offenses includes exhibitionism (indecent exposure), voyeurism (peeping), and fetishism (unusual veneration of sexual attire or objects). Non-victimless sexual offenses include incest (intrafamilial sexual intercourse) and pedophilia (child molesting); these two are the most seriously regarded deviations. Sadism (inflicting pain for sexual gratification) and masochism (experiencing pain for sexual gratification) also may entail nonconsensual harm. The legal status of pornography (sexually stimulating media) continues to raise controversy, as does that of gambling and abortion. Drunkenness-related offenses are covered under a variety of state laws such as those prohibiting public drunkenness, breach of peace, disorderly conduct, and so on. The Prohibition experiment, complete criminalization of alcohol usage, was abandoned as a failure. Efforts to control drug abuse, the misuse of chemical substances, has followed much the same pattern as those aimed at controlling alcohol abuse; that is, primary control has been attempted until recently through criminal laws and penalties. There is an inconsistent relationship between drugs' known harmful effects and illegality.

Examination of the criminal careers of most public order offenders finds that most do not view themselves as criminals. Most are participating in either consensual adult relations or—in the case of activities such as exhibitionism—are suffering from some psychological disorder. Prostitution takes a variety of forms, including brothels, bar girls, streetwalkers, massage parlors, and call girls. Johns, prostitutes' customers, do not necessarily fit a pathology-ridden characterization. Underage prostitution, the sexual exploitation of children, is thought to be growing more prevalent in part because of the erosion of family structure. Homosexuality may be learned as part of the process of socialization; it consists of many types, including preferential and situational patterns. Humphreys' tearoom study of homosexual relations in public restrooms identified several types: ambisexuals, gay guys, closet queens, and trade. Sexual offenders include the more serious child molesters or pedophiles. The latter type is illustrated by cases in which young children have been molested by teachers or other caretakers, showing that many offenders are known and trusted by the victim and his or her family. Incest is another intimate type of victimization. General characteristics of sex offenders were presented.

The history of drugs and drug abuse portrays increased criminalization of drug usage beginning with the Harrison Act of 1914, which resulted in the concept of addiction as a sickness being replaced with that of addiction as criminal. This legal approach to drug policy was viewed as being brought about in part by moral entrepreneurs such as Anslinger and Hobson. Drug trafficking is highly lucrative and practiced by a large number of groups. While statistics regarding the association between drug abuse and crime have been subject to exaggeration, a tremendous amount of primarily nonviolent property crime is committed by addicts because of the high cost of obtaining illegal drugs. Addiction—which includes physiological dependence (tolerance), psychological dependence, and the abstinence syndrome—is less a permanent condition than is often suggested. Little crime is associated with addiction, however, if legal supplies are available. Problem drinking is associated with violent crime as well as with the chronic inebriate problem. The law enforcement burden imposed by the latter has been alleviated, in part, through greater utilization of social service agencies.

Societal reaction to public order criminality runs the gamut between overcriminalization and decriminalization. Totalitarian societies simply forbid such activities, while democratic societies must constantly balance the tensions between civil liberties and social morality. Various problems raised by overcriminalization were described, while arguments for decriminalization were also discussed.



Criminology on the Web

Log on to the Web-based student study site at www.sagepub.com/haganintrocrim8e for author-created podcasts, eFlashcards, quizzes, and more.

KEY CONCEPTS

Addiction
Broken Windows
Closet Queens
Crimes Without Victims
Decriminalization
Exhibitionism
Fetishism

Floodgate Theory
Folk Crime
Harrison Act
Incest
Johns
Moral Entrepreneurs
Overcriminalization

Pedophilia
Problem Drinking
Public Order Crime
Sodomy
Tearoom
Voyeurism
Withdrawal Syndrome

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are “public order crimes”? How do they and their offenders differ from other types?
2. What is the notion of “broken windows”? How has this been applied in modern policing?
3. Why is prostitution such a persistent crime? What have been some recent trends in prostitution and attempts to regulate it?
4. What do you feel should be the role of society in regulating pornography? Defend your views.
5. Discuss the history of attempts to regulate drug abuse. Do you feel that greater criminalization or decriminalization is required to properly deal with this problem?
6. What is a “moral panic,” and what are “moral entrepreneurs”? Give some examples.
7. What are paraphilias? Of what concern are these to the criminal justice system?
8. Discuss the problem of sexual abuse of children by Catholic priests. Do you think enough is being done to address this problem?
9. What was the effect of the Harrison Act of 1914 on drug regulation in the United States?

WEB SOURCES

American Civil Liberties Union

<http://www.aclu.org>

Drug Enforcement Agency

<http://www.usdoj.gov/dea>

Marijuana Legalization Organization

<http://www.mjlegal.org>

National Alliance on Mental Illness

<http://www.nami.org>

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children's CyberTipline

<http://www.cybertipline.com>

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism

<http://www.niaaa.nih.gov>

National Institute on Drug Abuse

<http://www.nida.nih.gov>

Prostitute's Education Network

<http://www.bayswan.org/penet.htm>

Sexual Predator Alert

<http://www.sexualpredators.com>

Speaking Out Against Drug Legalization

<http://www.justice.gov/dea/demand/speakout/index.html>

WEB EXERCISES

Using this chapter's recommended websites, investigate the area of public order crime.

1. What did you learn from your visit to the Sexual Predator Alert site?
2. Compare the Marijuana Legalization Organization site with the Against Drug Legalization site.
3. What are some current concerns discussed on the American Civil Liberties Union site?
4. What are some issues raised in the Prostitute's Education Network site?
5. Perform an online search on the “COYOTE” organization as well as on the “meth problem.”

SELECTED READINGS

Howard Becker. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press.

Becker, a major proponent of labeling theory, explores the role of moral entrepreneurs in making deviants into criminals and outsiders.

Bertram Gross. (1980). *Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America*. New York: M. Evans and Company.

Gross claims that the public is not being told the “big dirty secret of crime”: that the criminal justice system is soft on white-collar crime.

James Inciardi and Karen McElrath, editors. (2007). *The American Drug Scene* (5th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

In perhaps the definitive work on the subject, the authors provide an excellent selection of current and classic articles on the ever-changing drug scene.

Phillip Jenkins. (1992). *Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

One of the most lucid writers in the field tackles conventional wisdom regarding emergent crime problems, asking whether instead they are examples of moral panics.

Eleanor Miller. (1986). *Street Woman*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

This is Miller’s ethnographic study and interviews with 64 prostitutes. It examines their motivations and escape from abusive domestic settings.

