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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

OCCUPATIONAL CRIME. By *Gary S. Green*. Nelson Hall, 1990. Pp. 299.

As stated by the author, "the purpose of this book . . . (is) to bring together under the single rubric of occupational crime several literatures which have been heretofore either disparately or differently categorized" (p. 256). The author accomplished this purpose. Green's text, which is an introductory level text intended for a student audience, should also prove useful to the more learned professional as well.

The content is formidable: it is full of historical fact, legal rulings, empirical findings, and theoretical evaluations of much of the diverse findings reported. For example, the reader will be treated to the historical insight that 14th century B.C. populations were no less indignant over occupational crime than we are now. The occupational crime phenomenon seems to be the same then as now, with only the examples having changed.

The text is well-written, and each of the eight chapters have classroom discussion questions placed at the end. Chapter one provides a delightful discussion of the discovery of the concept of occupational crime, an event generally attributed to Edwin Sutherland more than fifty years ago. The chapter also includes, however, a nice discussion of the writings of Charles R. Henderson, Edward A. Ross, and Albert Morris, each of whom, as the author noted, anticipated Sutherland's more extensive evaluations of white collar crime up to four decades earlier. In this manner, criminaloids described by Ross in 1907 probably would exemplify what is currently referred to as a white collar criminal, devoid of moral sensitivity and possessing a double standard of morality.

Chapter one focuses on how occupational crime is defined, and is unique because of the author's overview of the concept. It is important to recognize that the author's focus is occupational crime, and Green is meticulous in making the distinction between this phenomenon and white collar crime. Drawing from a vast literature, the concept of occupational crime is delineated into four categories: or-

ganizational crime; exercise of state-based authority; professional; and crimes by individuals as individuals. Each of these categories are later developed into full chapters.

Chapter one is exceptional. In addition to being well-written, the content is finely tuned to blend the conceptual with the empirical. An excellent summary of the remaining chapters also is presented.

Chapter two, entitled "Counting and Recording Occupational Crimes and Criminals," begins with a discussion of the unknown universe of criminals and the actual recorded number of criminals (the "dark figure"). It then overviews the difficult task encountered by the government agencies and individual researchers involved in both recording and evaluating occupational crimes and criminals. This may be a formidable chapter for the novice reader. It discusses the incidence of occupational crime and occupationally related offenses, as well as public perceptions of such crimes. In addition, public perceptions of occupational crime are compared with public perception of more traditional crimes.

The chapter discusses at length the four general methods used to determine the incidence of crimes and criminals; namely, agency-based records, victim-based records, criminal-based records, and direct observation records. Once again, the author uses a historical approach to explain how these various methods developed over time. This historical method of presentation may be considered a major strength of the book because the reader is enlightened while also being presented with an important lesson; namely, that members of our contemporary society are attempting to cope with crime statistics in a manner similar to the historical methods used to document the exact nature of previous generations' crime problems.

Dating the crime recording problem back to at least 1842, Green again weaves a nice presentation through which he discusses this effort, identifies the assumptions upon which the four recording categories are based, identifies problems inherent in each recording effort, and offers suggestions for improving these recording procedures. The examples included should prove to be quite useful to both the lay reader and those who profess to be more knowledgeable on the subject area. Illustrations, used when more technical issues are discussed, will also prove to be useful, as will the explanation of the various sampling models (*see* pp. 43-4).

If a criticism can be rendered, it would be the author's tendency to review a particular piece of literature at such great length that he creates a potentially erroneous impression that the oft-cited piece

represents a definitive statement on the sub-area under consideration. After such a thorough discussion, he briefly cites to other references, but these tend to be placed as an afterthought. Similar examples of this technique are found in later chapters as well.

The third chapter is another important segment of the book; it provides a fairly insightful introduction to the theories used to explain crime and juvenile delinquency. The foci of this chapter are on individual behavior as well as community reactions for dealing with occupational crime.

The author's purpose is to describe and then evaluate various theoretical explanations of crime and delinquency for their usefulness in explaining the occupational crime phenomenon. Thus, an excellent overview of the state of criminological theory and important theoretical distinctions often glossed over by most analysts are delineated. In this regard, Green's work is up-to-date. For example, he discusses Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi's recently published "propensity-event" approach to explaining occupational crime (pp. 85-7).¹ Based in part on Hirschi's classic control theory explanation of juvenile delinquency,² this discussion provides a critique of the propensity-event explanation as well as suggestions for improving what is identified as unresolved inconsistencies in the theory.

The author begins with the bio-criminological approach and labeling, both of which he quickly dismisses as useless for explaining occupational crime. According to Green, the most important explanations are the legal conflict analyses (conflict and group conflict), the behavior of the law, and the behavior of the individual (which includes differential association, operant conditioning, normative validation, strain, neutralization, and control theories).

Green further states that the differential association theory and the neutralization theory may be the most useful and valid explanations for why some persons engage in occupational crime. Green applies both of these theories in several of the remaining chapters, even though he indicates in this chapter that only differential association theory will be applied extensively in the subsequent chapters.

The next five chapters constitute the second part of *Occupational Crime*. In each of these chapters, the author details the nature of occupational crime by using brief case studies gleaned from published learned-journal articles, books, and Associated Press accounts. Occasionally, these various cases are evaluated within the

¹ See M. GOTTFREDSON & T. HIRSCHI, *A GENERAL THEORY OF CRIME* (1990).

² See T. HIRSCHI, *THE CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY* (1969).

context of theory (as promised in an earlier chapter). In this area, the theoretical framing is not as extensive as the reader is led to believe will occur. However, the cases used demonstrate well the categories delineated by the author.³

Having thus established the theoretical base, the author, in chapters four through six, establishes by definition the specific foci, and then proceeds to review a large body of literature pertinent to the topic. These chapters are replete with both interesting and current examples, as well as fairly elaborate discussions of the research conducted over many decades. This material represents a valuable resource because Green highlights the vast network, environment, and normative structures through which these types of crime occur.

Chapter four, entitled "Organizational Occupational Crime," includes examples from areas such as criminal liability and other problems involving misrepresentation in advertising, and violations which adversely affect consumers. Breaches of the public trust, such as antitrust violations including price fixing, bid rigging, rebating, and the distribution of unsafe products are also discussed. Organizational crimes against workers are explored through examples of unfair labor practices and unsafe working conditions. Finally, the chapter concludes with violations of the natural environment, bribe giving, and examples of organizational pressures to produce results.

Chapter five, entitled "State Authority Occupational Crime," describes crimes which occur through the individual exercise of state authority; more specifically, these are crimes that occur through use of power lawfully vested in a person charged with the responsibility to enforce laws or to command others. As with the previous chapter, many of the case studies should be familiar to the reader. Examples of these crimes include military atrocities, the Watergate scandal, receipt of illegal political campaign contributions, falsification of public evidence and records, and perjury. This chapter is developed into five sections: genocide and torture; police brutality; civil rights violations; theft; and bribe taking.

In chapter six, entitled "Professional Occupational Crime," ethical issues involving professional occupational crimes are the topic of discussion. In defining this topic, which has been the focus of considerable discussion of late, Green states:

Crime in the professions is conceptually distinct from other occupational offending because the professions invariably require some sort

³ For example, chapter eight represents agencies strategies and proposed policies for reducing occupational crime.

of oath or ethical commitment that bestows upon these practitioners a special trust on which the persons serve believe they can rely (p. 179).

Professional occupational crime then refers to the violation of a special trust. It is a deceitful crime which violates the ethical standards of a profession.

Professional occupational crimes garner much self-serving support from professional colleagues and other community members, and the violators often receive special consideration from prosecutors because of the community status of the individual involved. These criminal violators of the public trust include members of the clergy, medical personnel, lawyers, druggists, and dentists. Unnecessary surgery and treatment, compromised academic examinations, fraudulent insurance claims, sexual assault, and fraudulent professional degrees constitute the examples used.

As noted by Green, one major problem in working with professional occupational crime is the difficulty in identifying this type of criminal activity, primarily because a fine line exists between criminal intent and what is identified as professional judgment. The theoretical orientation employed throughout this chapter on unethical, criminal activities is, as promised, differential association. However, neutralization and control theories also are intensively used.

Chapter seven, entitled "Individual Occupational Crime," is a catch-all category which includes the largest number of occupational crimes and criminals. It includes the familiar crime index categories constituting crimes against property and crimes against persons. Like the previous chapter, this is an interesting, albeit short, presentation of an important area. The various sections include discussions of employee theft, computer-related pilfering, consumer fraud, unethical falsification of research (an example which may be better placed in the previous chapter), income tax evasion, securities crime, and sexual assault. Some of these examples are quite brief, while other sections of this chapter conform to the more general detailed format found throughout the first five chapters. Of particular interest is the historical discussion of consumer fraud, especially the inferences made to the magnitude of the problem.

In the final chapter, entitled "Sanctioning, Social Control, and Occupational Crime," the author's focus is on strategies for reducing occupational crime. Of particular importance is the author's emphasis on moral education and normative validation, which, as founders of sociology emphasized, serve as the basis for boundary maintenance and the deterrence of deviant activities while also enhancing morally appropriate behavior.

Green refers to the need for legal and moral socialization be-

ginning early in life and continuing throughout the life cycle. Mediating social institutions such as the family, the church, and schools represent the means through which this training has occurred. Unfortunately, the author fails to establish his mark by demonstrating the importance of these institutions in thwarting the problem of occupational crime. Instead, he relies on the various deterrence measures described in the literature as well as a brief discussion on the purpose of rehabilitation and prevention strategies. He concludes this chapter by offering crime prevention recommendations based primarily on organizational change.

This is an excellent book. Although it is intended for an introductory reading audience, this reviewer found the overall presentation to be insightful and learned. In addition to the discussion questions that appear at the end of each chapter, the list of references can be considered an important asset. The brevity of two of the eight chapters may have resulted from an editorial decision to constrict the number of pages for publication. In any event, the book does cover a large territory, and I believe it represents an important contribution to the literature.

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DEATH WORK: A STUDY OF THE MODERN EXECUTION PROCESS. By
Robert Johnson. Brooks/Cole, 1990. Pp. xiv, 174.

On a subject that already has received considerable scholarly attention, Robert Johnson provides a provocatively argued and novel rationale for abolition of the death penalty. Johnson's main thesis is that the manner through which capital punishment is administered in the United States "strips [the] prisoner and executioner alike of their humanity [and] is an actual, and not merely metaphorical, instance of torture" (p. 4). Ergo, "since torture can never be just, the death penalty is rejected as an unjust punishment" (p. 4). His argument is well supported and reasoned.

The book is divided into four parts. In the two chapters that form part one, Johnson describes the historical changes in both the use and the social purposes of the death penalty. According to Johnson, as people became increasingly disgusted with the public spectacle of execution and began to empathize with the dehumani-

zation, degradation, and humiliation visited upon the condemned, communal stonings gave way to more impersonal and restrained methods of execution. Eventually, executions were moved first behind the walls of prisons, completely out of view of the public; then to a remote cell block within the prisons, hidden from all but a few official witnesses; and finally, they were hidden from the condemned themselves. The final stage in this progression, which is one example of Johnson's many insightful observations, was accomplished by bureaucratizing executions. Johnson maintains that this bureaucratization both dehumanizes and mutes the moral sensibilities of the various participants in the execution process. The end result, he argues, is that mechanical ritualism has replaced meaningful ritual, which, in turn, "abrogates our humanity under the guise of justice" (p. 29).

Parts two and three contain five chapters, which describe Johnson's three-year field study (from 1987 to 1989) of death row. The material in these chapters should dispel any notion that death row inmates experience anything other than a "living hell." As Johnson relates:

What I found in my research confirms that the cumulative confinement experience of condemned prisoners—from death row to the death-watch [the 24 hours prior to an execution] and, finally, to the death chamber—is profoundly dehumanizing, resulting in nothing less than the literal moral death of the person, who is reduced to a compliant object of execution (p. 36).

A particularly interesting finding of Johnson's research is that not only are condemned inmates dehumanized by their experience on death row, but so too are their guards, though to a lesser extent. Johnson's interviews with the members of execution teams also are of interest. The interviews reveal that few of the team members support capital punishment without reservation. After having participated in executions, some of them doubt the wisdom of the justice of the death penalty. In addition, some members of the execution team suffer delayed reactions, like morbid dreams about the people they have executed. Nevertheless, they do their jobs, because they accept unquestionably the authority of the law, believe that "the matter is essentially out of their hands," and know that they will do the job "right."

In the two chapters that comprise part four of the book, Johnson develops his argument that "confinement-unto-death . . . is a clear and complete case of torture" (p. 121). For Johnson, "it is the literal dehumanization of individuals that distinguishes torture from punishment" (p. 126). Recall that both the condemned and their

guards are dehumanized, although the dehumanization of the latter is of a different type. Johnson maintains:

The underlying function of death row confinement . . . is to facilitate executions by dehumanizing both the prisoners and, to a lesser degree, their executioners, making it easier for both to play their roles in the execution process. The confinement that produces these results is a form of torture (p. 136).

Johnson concludes that confinement on death row:

violates any notion of humaneness or respect for persons one can adduce, and hence violates the Eight Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which bans "all punishments which do not comport with 'broad and idealistic concepts of dignity, civilized standards, humanity and decency.'" As such, death row confinement 'makes no measurable contribution to acceptable goals of punishment and hence is nothing more than the purposeless and needless infliction of pain and suffering' (p. 142).

In the book's final chapter, Johnson proposes an alternative to capital punishment: lengthy prison sentences, and for the worst murderers, true life sentences without the possibility of parole. He also anticipates and addresses possible objections to his proposal.

Though one may not agree with all aspects of Johnson's analysis, his enlightening examination of the realities of death row confinement is an important contribution to the literature on capital punishment. Johnson's novel insights constitute a basis for another flank in the assault on the institution of capital punishment in the United States. The book shows that the harm produced by the death penalty is not confined to the condemned but extends to all of the many participants in the ritual of state-imposed execution, including the society that allows it.

My hope is that more people will read this book, that through it, opponents of the death penalty will encounter some new and compelling reasons in support of their stance, and that people who either support the death penalty or are undecided about it will find compelling reasons to change their views.

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RACE RELATIONS IN PRISONS. By *Elaine Genders & Elaine Player*. Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. viii, 180.

Race Relations in Prisons, which focuses on British prisons, provides an in-depth and sometimes captivating look at the problems of race and racial policies in penal institutions. Undertaken at the request of and supported by the Home Office Planning and Research Unit, this text will be seen as a major contribution to the otherwise sparse literature in the area.

While prisons in the United States historically have been categorized by "official" racial segregation, and even though minorities make up the bulk of inmate populations, race relations in penal institutions virtually have been ignored in much of the criminological literature. In the 1960s and 1970s, prisons, like society itself, underwent major structural changes characterized by increased attention to race relations and racial awareness. By the mid-1970s, lawsuits initiated by Black Muslims and other suppressed minority groups helped to foster increased federal court involvement in prison administration; this involvement, in turn, radically changed the face of American prisons.

British prisons, however, do not share the same history of racial segregation observed in American institutions. Nonetheless, the same problems exist and can be observed in both systems. As one reads the various responses and observations by the British prison staff, the comparisons with our own system become readily apparent.

The text begins with a brief historical overview of the immigration legislation and race relations policy that have shaped British society over the past few decades. This introduction is interesting, and it provides very helpful information for comparing the British prison system to our own.

The actual project employed a three-phase research strategy of personal interviews, participant/observation, and quantitative analysis of prison records. Personal interviews were conducted with randomly selected inmates and prison officers who worked closely with those inmates, and sought initially to determine both the type and extent of discrimination and racial stereotyping existing in these institutions. While the overall sample size was small (158 inmates and 101 officers in five institutions); it was adequate for the purposes of the research.

The authors observed and participated in various routine activities of both the staff and inmates, ranging from recreational breaks

to industrial work to attending race relations meetings. Although this type of research can be criticized in several ways, the authors believed that, for this project, it was the only way to monitor social interactions as they naturally occurred. Given the fact that participant/observation was only one of the strategies employed, it seems appropriate.

Prison records also were examined to discover the criminal and social backgrounds of a large sample of inmates (899 white, 233 black and 123 Asians in eight prisons). The classification forms not only contain demographic information on each inmate, but, more importantly, they also contain quantitative assessments by the staff. As a result, disparaging or patronizing language and racial stereotyping in formal assignments readily were apparent.

Throughout the research, it appeared that the staff held a number of common stereotypes concerning the nature and character of minority inmates, especially blacks. Black prisoners were described by the majority of officers as arrogant, hostile to authority, and 'having chips on their shoulders.' One officer stated:

They've got all the opportunities—what more do they want? We bend over backwards for them in this country. We've been stupid for too long. There's an inbred feeling amongst Blacks that the only way to overcome unemployment and become accepted into society is to commit crime. They purposely set out to commit crime (p. 51).

In contrast, Asian inmates were generally described as model inmates—hard working, polite and, for the most part, unobtrusive. Unlike their black counterparts, Asians were not perceived as being estranged from an acceptance of law and order.

The inmates' perspectives were perhaps more 'realistic.' Their responses were not as homogeneous as those of the officers, and were much more complex: while two-thirds of the inmates interviewed felt that racial prejudice existed within the prison populations, it rarely was seen to escalate to physical conflict or violence. Instead, its manifestation was limited to verbal aggression.

One of the study's more interesting findings concerned the lack of political consciousness among Black prisoners. While Black inmates in American prisons are more often than not extremely astute politically, no evidence of any organized political activity among Blacks existed in the British system.

The final section discusses and identifies the problems encountered in the implementation of a successful prison race relations policy. An exhaustive bibliography is included; so too is a glossary, which aids in the understanding of the specific organizational structure of the British penal system.

The reader should not be too quick to embrace the findings and conclusions of the authors. Race is a very complex concept, and, for example, the authors' interchangeable use of 'racial group' and 'ethnic group' can be confusing and misleading. If the text is viewed as a preliminary attempt to classify and categorize the various types and extent of racial divisiveness existing in British prisons, then it is a valuable contribution.

This study is an important one, not only in terms of race relations in prisons, but in terms of race relations in general. American criminologists often neglect the cross-cultural and cross-national aspects of their disciplines, and works such as this go far in enhancing our understanding of this difficult and complex problem.

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VIOLENCE: PATTERNS, CAUSES, PUBLIC POLICY. *Neil Weiner, Margaret Zahn & Rita Sagi*, Editors. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1990. Pp. xviii, 478. \$18.50.

Since the late 1960s, numerous books have been published attempting to present an overview of the problem of violence.¹ Like their predecessors, these editors pursued a lofty goal: "to fashion a textbook that captures the diversity and complexity of violent phenomena" in order to provide a "substantial and balanced account" to serve the needs of "students, colleagues, policy analysts, and other interested readers" (p. iii). Skeptics may ask whether another such book is necessary, and does this latest one have much that is new and worthwhile?

The book contains fifty-one articles divided into six parts: Patterns and Trends in Violence; Interpersonal Violence; Collective and Political Violence; Organizational Structure and Violence; Correlates and Contexts; and Prevention, Treatment, and Public Policy.

The book contains a mixture of valuable, standard classics (*e.g.*, Richard Maxwell Brown's "Historical Patterns of American Vio-

¹ See, *e.g.*, *VIOLENCE IN AMERICA* (T. GUIT ed. 1989); *AMERICAN VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC POLICY* (L. CURTIS ed. 1985); *CRIMINAL VIOLENCE* (M. WOLFGANG & N. WEINER eds. 1982); *VIOLENCE IN AMERICA* (H. GRAHAM & T. GUIT revised ed. 1979); *VIOLENT CRIMES* (J. INCIARDI & A. POTTINGER eds. 1978); and D. MULVIHILL, M. TURMIN & L. CURTIS, *CRIMES OF VIOLENCE* (1969).

lence" and Ted R. Gurr's "Alternatives to Collective Violence in a Democratic Society"), some trendy pieces (*e.g.*, "Mass Murder: America's Growing Menace"), and some thought-provoking pieces rarely seen elsewhere (*e.g.*, Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach & James F. Short Jr.'s "Collective Violence: The Redress of Grievance and Public Policy" and George Gerbner & Larry Gross' "The Violent Face of Television and Its Lessons"). In addition, the book includes some excellent thought-provoking essays (*e.g.*, Paul J. Goldstein's "Drugs and Violent Crime"), as well as some of the best, recent research on violence (*e.g.*, James D. Wright & Peter F. Rossi's "The Armed Criminal in America: A Survey of Incarcerated Felons").

At times, however, the reader may wish that the text offered essays highlighting more recent studies or data. One study deals with violent crime from 1962 to 1982, while another deals with robbery from 1973 to 1980. In addition, a number of important contributions to the literature and issues, such as the effects of the economy and unemployment, are ignored.²

The final section, which addresses policy issues, provides the reader with the best opportunity to evaluate whether the editors provide a "balanced account." A look at two controversial issues, capital punishment and gun control, indicates that they did not. The book offers a "preachy" article in opposition to capital punishment of seven pages in length, followed by a "debate" in which the opponent has six pages and the proponent has four. Similarly, on the gun control issue, only one piece is included—namely, Glen L. Pierce and William J. Bowers' valuable but narrow article on Massachusetts' Bartley-Fox law. Moreover, after less than one page of discussion, an editor concludes, in a general article on strategies to reduce homicide, that although "firm conclusions cannot be drawn from case studies, they suggest that gun control can reduce homicide rates. However, gun control legislation must focus on owning or carrying guns rather than on mandatory sentences for crimes committed with a gun" (p. 386).

In reaching this conclusion, the editor did not cite, let alone discuss, any of the major contributions to the literature,³ or even the Wright and Rossi essay presented earlier in the book. Further,

² See, *e.g.*, A. LANSKY & M. STRAUSS, *SOCIAL STRESS IN THE UNITED STATES* (1986); D. ARCHER & R. GARTNER, *VIOLENCE AND CRIME IN CROSS NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE* (1984) (especially the chapter on the effect of war on post-war domestic homicide rates); and S. MILLER, S. DINITZ & J. CONRAD, *CAREERS OF THE VIOLENT* (1982).

³ See, *e.g.*, *FIREARMS AND VIOLENCE* (D. Kates ed. 1984) (especially chapter 5 by G. Kleck); J. WRIGHT, P. ROSSI & K. DALY, *UNDER THE GUN* (1983); and Cook, *The Role of Firearms in Violent Crime*, in *CRIMINAL VIOLENCE* (M. Wolfgang & N. Weiner eds. 1982).

Wright and Rossi's policy conclusions are edited out of that piece.⁴ Finally, the editor glossed over numerous complex issues, such as the possible crime-alleviating effects of gun ownership, enforcement problems, weapon substitution, and civil liberties issues.⁵

The absence of any essay written from a clearly "radical" or conflict perspective represents an even more serious lack of balance to the book.⁶ The editors noted this omission, and stated that "we were unable to locate completed pieces" (p. 4). Readers familiar with the literature in that area can evaluate the validity of that response.⁷ At least one interesting or controversial article from this genre must exist that could have been included in this book.

To return to the unanswered question posed at the beginning of this review, the answer, in this reader's opinion, is "no." Three of the pieces are reprinted from prior anthologies, a serious lack of balance exists, and the really new and interesting materials are too few and far between to warrant a more favorable review.

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⁴ Cf. J. WRIGHT & P. ROSSI, *ARMED AND DANGEROUS* (1986) (chapter 12).

⁵ See, e.g., Green, "Citizen Gun Ownership and Criminal Deterrence," 25 *CRIMINOLOGY* 63 (1987); Kessler, "Enforcement Problems of Gun Control," 16 *Crim. Law Bull.* 131 (1980); and S. HALBROOK, *THAT EVERY MAN MAY BE ARMED* (1984).

⁶ Some readers may consider Herman's *The Real Terror Network* (pp. 207-212) to be from this genre.

⁷ See, e.g., J. & H. SCHWENDINGER, *RAPE AND INEQUALITY* (1983).

