

# Research Activities Regarding “White-collar Crime” in Germany

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## 1 Research Problems – an Introduction

Numerous research activities concerning the issue of “white-collar crime” were carried out in connection with the programme “Fighting White-collar Crime” (cf Liebl 2006). Research and publishing gained enormous impetus especially in the late 70ies and early 80ies due to the programme “Fighting White-collar Crime” initiated by the Federal Ministry of Justice, the Land administrations of justice, and the police authorities. Compared to research done as early as in the 50ies and 60ies they rather based on generally accepted statements, i.e. on largely representative research methods or they tried at least to do so. Early studies were often founded on everyday-life experience or fairly limited segments of analysis.

All in all it will not be very useful to give a chronological overview of the research activities. This would result in an unstructured enumeration of authors and their research projects and publications, which could only be reasonable under bibliographic aspects (cf Liebl/Liebl 1993). Therefore it seems to be more suitable to ask how to classify present studies according to their branches of research to be able to see the findings previous studies have brought and the basis they might possibly offer for continuous research.

It should be stated as a general preface that German criminological research very often had a kind of “learning relationship” towards US American criminology. Although this mostly happened with a longer or even very long time lag, however, considerations made in the US have become a drafted programme for German white-collar criminology particularly since the late 70ies (cf Liebl 1984; Savelsberg/Brühl 1988). For instance many aspects of prosecuting and punishing white-collar crimes caught up with the state of research in other countries and here especially the USA and to an extent they made essential progress thus laying foundations for highly instructive further research (cf Liebl/Liebl 1993). When now the specific German research and considerations will be presented below and certain key issues become apparent, the frequent impact of US American criminology must not be underrated.

On the other hand it has to be noted that there also were specific “German” directions of research, including but not limited e.g. the long-lasting discussion about the perpetrators of white-collar crimes. However, the reasons for such “extra paths” rather lie in different legal systems and probably in the aftermath of the post-

war period just like it was the case with the entire post-war criminology, which could in short be summed up as a search for the “neglect” in the field of economic life. Since this cannot be the place for detailed explanation, this note should be sufficient except for the addition that with regard to the above lines these considerations and the research were less connected with the discussion on white-collar criminology rather than with a generally existing criminological line.

As mentioned before, most of these project ideas were either not continued or not implemented. This often brought about partial results only because grants were either cut off or the interest in making prosecution in the sphere of white-collar crime more effective was lacking (cf also Liebl 1984; Bussmann/Lüdemann 1995). Therefore the reader should keep in mind that no latest continued research in the field of white-collar crime exists or has become known except for certain "modus operandi" studies and these almost exclusively on a police level for instance to improve (police) investigations <sup>1</sup>.

## **2 The Issue of “White-collar Crime”**

A rather substantial part in discussing white-collar crime has been the issue of defining the latter in Germany ever since the 50ies. Two reasons were given: On the one hand this should help to derive factors for the proper recording of white-collar crime and on the other hand to define decisive strategies of action for “fighting” this type of crime. The use of numerous terms either complementing or overlapping one another or of entirely different ones like “white-collar crime”, “occupational crime”, “economic crime”, “corporate crime” added on to the confusion at that time (cf. in detail Liebl 1982: 21 et seq.). Without recalling the discussion of definitions once more it may be stated that the discussion ended without consequences due to pragmatic references to the guidelines set by the Judicature Act section 74(c). The terms were neither defined unambiguously and in detail nor did the discussion of definition have any effect on special research considerations. As far as this is concerned, the term “white-collar crime” is still used today as a synonym for economic crime although it was merely the opposite of “blue-collar crime” and originally did not mean “economic crime” (cf. Sutherland 1949). Terms like “corporate crime”, “occupational crime” or “economic crime” do not play a part in current German discussions in criminology and have so far initiated only rare incidents of consideration.

## **3 Research Regarding the Scale of White-collar Crime**

The issue of the scale of white-collar crime stood out when discussions started. At the beginning of the perception of this new type of crime they were marked by

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<sup>1</sup> As mentioned before the sphere of computer crime and corruption was not taken into account since it has developed into an independent field of research in the last years.

scandalizing single cases that had become known and by large numbers of estimates. After the then federal government had implemented demands to record white-collar crime centrally and the Freiburg Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law had been mandated with the assessment, it turned out soon that estimates were greatly exaggerated, however, the annual amount of loss exceeded by far the overall amount of loss by "ordinary" offences like theft, burglary or robbery (cf. Liebl 1984a). After submitting several investigation reports (Berckhauer 1977; Berckhauer 1980) and a final report (Liebl 1984a) and discontinuing statistics<sup>2</sup> by the federal government not only the discussions about amounts of loss ebbed away. The demand for continuing records (last time by Berckhauer/Savelsberg 1987), too, was no longer raised. Thus the current discussion is being led on the same level as at the beginning of discussions about white-collar crime, i.e. extraordinary cases like e.g. the "Schneider" case or the Flowtex complex are made the basis of estimates and scandalized or "peanuts" discussions are being led (cf. German News, Mo. 25.4.1994 under „www.mathematik.uni-ulm.de/germnews“ or See/Spoo 1997: 9).

Finally it has to be stated that all findings are based on Hellfeld details only. Frequently planned dark field investigations into white-collar crime were not implemented, probably because related considerations in US American criminology were not continued due to immense research problems (cf. also Biderman/Reiss 1979). Therefore this field is left to speculation and individual estimates of amounts of loss.

#### **4 The Search for Generalization and the Perpetrators' Motives**

As was the case with other offences (cf. Kaiser 1996: p. 471 et seq.), the question was asked with industrial offences in Germany concerning the "why" of the criminal actions and their perpetrators. On this topic an almost unmanageable number of thesis projects were written, whose contents could mostly be derived from their titles: "The bankruptcy offenders in the regional court district of A-village from 1960 to 1962" or "Fraudulent tax evasion in the region of Obersürstrup from August to September" etc. (cf. bibliographic listing by Liebl/Liebl 1993).

Typifying characteristics were worked out with a view to the aspect that these findings could possibly enable a better offender-oriented prevention. Typical findings were e.g. statements that the fraud offender was on average 38 years of age, married, Roman Catholic, and had two children (cf. for instance Frese 1956; Ullrich 1961; Skrotzki 1963; Nippoldt 1974; Henssen 1976; Seckel 1978; Leßner 1984).

<sup>2</sup> The statistics were continued internally but without the category of amount of loss. Results of these statistics have not been published yet in a summarising form and have neither been accessible in individual cases. Reason for discontinuing was mainly that the annual amounts of loss increased drastically and no political countermeasures could be expected. This decision took an explosive development off public discussion (cf. Liebl 1986a). As is well known the sums published in the last years from the criminal statistics of the police could paint a convincing picture to a limited extent only.

However, the fact was often left unattended that in addition a business occupation and having reached a certain age were required. Moreover it was not expounded what statements of this kind could at all contribute to prevention and what crime-preventing measures could be derived from them.

As to the question “why”, there had been the idea for a remarkably long period of time that “the evil one” would put on the “robe” of a “respectable businessman” in order to disguise his criminal actions and would exploit the respectability of a merchant or businessman to benefit his own activities. This discussion was dominated particularly by members of the police or police stations in the 50ies and 60ies (Mommsen 1954; BKA (*German Federal Bureau of Investigation*) 1957; BKA 1963) and for many years the attitude towards the perpetrators was determined by the cited programmatic book title “Von Schwindelfirmen und anderen unlauteren (kriminellen) Unternehmen des Wirtschaftslebens (*On Bogus Firms and Other Dishonest (Criminal) Enterprises of Economic Life*)” (Zirpins/Terstegen 1963; and also Zirpins 1959; Gössweiner-Saiko 1962 as well or even very early Eichler 1951).

But the “search for the evil” was given up when the high amounts of loss and the multitude of cases became known. Adding on to this were the findings of US American criminology, which had fairly early stated and complained about the decline in morals within companies (cf. as one of the first statements Finkelstein 1958; finally also See 1990; Müller 1991; See/Spoo 1997).

Reasons other than characteristics merely specific to the personality when committing the act were now seen, however, this question was discussed in general only (cf. e.g. Frehsee 1991) or dealt with in a few specific surveys (Teufel 1982; Kreß 1983). Beyond that there were reflections concerning criminal theories, which will be discussed later.

A statement by Braithwaite may be quoted as result of these reflections and the research reading: “Only banal generalizations are possible in answer to questions of who engages in white collar crime and why” (Braithwaite 1985: 1).

## **5 “Modus Operandi” Studies**

It was of major importance for a targeted and appropriate “fight against” or prevention work in the field of white-collar crime to determine certain characteristics of the commission of an act. Therefore it is hardly surprising that especially the prosecution authorities and police authorities in particular were interested in such research projects. As early as in the 50ies (e.g. Renger 1954; Bertling 1957; BKA 1957) and 60ies (e.g. Bayerisches LKA [*Bavarian state criminal investigation department*] 1965) first findings predominantly based on the authors’ everyday-

life experience were introduced to the public. These publications acquired an almost unmanageable volume especially in connection with the programme of "Fighting White-collar Crime". The spectrum of reports and reflections spread from foreign trade crime to customs legislation. Statements made were usually not based on comprehensive research but on minor analyses of records and cases and in particular on preliminary proceedings collected by the respective authors (cf. Polizei-Institut Hilstrup 1971; Herbst 1973; Schäfer 1974; Teufel 1979).

Few surveys have been made since the mid 80ies and they were structured similarly. Therefore investigations made on representative bases are only occasionally available like e.g. on industrial espionage (Liebl 1987b), credit fraud (Kießner 1985) or computer offences <sup>3</sup> (Sieber 1983; Grosch/Liebl 1994).

All these investigations were "research for the police", i.e. they aimed at shedding some light upon the way of acting of perpetrators. That's why they provided findings on a "criminology of white-collar crime" only as a side-effect. But because of their abundance of data they should not be excluded or left unmentioned when discussing white-collar crime. It would, however, be reasonable to combine and compare the findings made in this field because a large fund of materials is surely left unattended to, not the least under the aspects of criminological history.

## **6 Studies on Investigations and Problems of Prosecution Authorities**

Contrary to the "modus operandi" studies these studies show problems while investigating and prosecuting white-collar offences. For several years the major issues have been those of proving, of securing evidence, of producing evidence, of the duration of investigations and criminal proceedings, as well as the internationalisation of economic activities and the collaboration with domestic and foreign offices.

This topic, too, had been discussed and debated at length at the beginning of the discussions on white-collar crime. These problems were also largely presented in the expert opinions on the programme "Fighting White-collar Crime" (cf. Bundesministerium der Justiz [*Federal Ministry of Justice*] 1972). A lot of publications, essays and theses dealt with these questions, too (cf., inter alia, Tiedemann 1972; Heinz 1977; Jung 1979; Wassermann 1984; Müller/Wabnitz 1993). These publications did usually not go far beyond presenting the problems or problematic situations viewed from daily professional praxis. Though demands for improving the conditions of investigations and prosecution were taken down, however, no considerable improvements were made concerning the multitude of problems (cf. also Poerting 1985; Kramer 1987).

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<sup>3</sup> The sphere of "computer crime" is not tackled in this paper, hence this hint is made without further discussion of a "criminology of computer crime".

Hence still the same problems are mentioned today that were addressed as early as in the 60ies (cf. Lampe 1996; Hillinger 1997). One of the reasons is that either international relations or rather delimitations in the field of prosecution turned out to be very “stable” or rather specialization or better collaboration between national offices was not made an "official" programme, i.e. improvements were left to inferior levels or were dismissed as being single phenomena and thus not worth dealing with. Main reason for the poor success achieved in fixing the known problems is for sure that individual case analyses often existing of the said problems could easily be “refuted” or questioned and that especially the idea of specialization within the police offices could so far not yet be put into practice due to different circumstances (cf. Liebl 2002).

Eventually it has to be stated that above all representative surveys on these problems at least initiated a process of improving the professional basis since e.g. the Land police administrations realised advantages and disadvantages and shortcomings could be remedied (cf. Bora u. a. 1992; Risch 1995). Presumably similar surveys could lead to proposals fit to be implemented in other fields, too, as e.g. in that of the duration of criminal proceedings. Yet the standstill in contract research in this field of criminology mentioned before does not give reason to expect foreseeable results at the moment.

## **7 The “Adequate” Punishment for White-collar Perpetrators**

Sanctions against white-collar crime were analyzed based on the problems in preliminary investigations and criminal proceedings. And in particular against the background that US American criminologists had pointed to numerous problematic issues, which also existed in Germany to a certain extent, as e.g. the problem of the "actual" perpetrator <sup>4</sup>, the problem of punishing enterprises, the problem of a possible transfer of fines to the buyers of products, prison sentences for enterprises (i.e. their organs), consequences of punishments for the employees, the production of evidence and previous principles of criminal proceedings, arising possibilities of negotiation or the question of double punishment by a sentence and loss of reputation. And the additional question arose, which sentence would be adequate for an amount of loss of 10 million Deutschmarks when a criminal offence of embezzlement with a damage of a few thousands of Deutschmarks usually resulted in a prison sentence. On the other hand these sentences should also be in “proportion” to sentences for robbery, i.e. it is not acceptable that somebody who has caused a “mere” property loss would be punished harder than somebody who has also endangered a person’s body and life (cf. also Lieber 1987).

These questions were also discussed in a few empirical surveys, which mainly dealt

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<sup>4</sup> Who for instance is finally responsible for a certain action taken in a company.

with the degree of a sentence (cf. Meine 1982; Meine 1986; Meinberg 1987), the risk of punishment (Mönch 1978) or the negotiating process with regard to the degree of punishment (Meinberg 1985; Bussmann/Lüdemann 1995; Bussmann/Lüdemann 1989; Bussmann 1991). The aspects mentioned further were dealt with rather theoretically than proved by extensive factual material. Though different punishment had been addressed previously (Bennhold 1973), the problem remained unsolved as to how to compare sentences for different offences, which would also involve different degrees of violence.

An almost finished survey by the author (cf. Liebl 2002a) shows for identical offences (fraud and embezzlement) that perpetrators classified as belonging to white-collar crime may expect significantly milder sentences than “ordinary”<sup>5</sup> perpetrators. These results would only confirm previous assumptions that white-collar offences, and here property offences in particular, are punished with milder sentences than fraudulent and embezzlement actions not classified as belonging to white-collar crime.

In addition surveys revealed that within white-collar crime different degrees of punishment are imposed. Adjudging bankruptcy and now insolvency offences has proved lately that white-collar offences due to non-compliance with formal provisions are being punished faster and harder than property offences (cf. Liebl 1988). This fact concerning the success story reported in punishing white-collar offences (cf. e.g. Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern [*Saxon State Ministry of the Interior*] 1997; Berthel 2000) in the last years and likely to question this success record would have to be pursued further.

Eventually it can be stated that this issue managed to catch up in a remarkable way with international research whose focus is still on US American but also Australian criminology.

## **8 Safety Questions, Prevention and Protection of Economy**

The field of preventive research is a part to be mentioned independently because the issue of victims of white-collar offences was introduced into the discussion. However, this field is less one of science but rather the one of trade-protection societies of the industry (cf. e.g. Sieben/Poerting 1977; Burger-Scheidlin 1996) and of the police (as e.g. Kube 1984). At the beginning of the 80ies the BKA carried out first conferences with publications on a broader basis and played a pioneer role. Above all the safety questions in connection with possibilities for prevention asked by Kube still represent something like the “state of the research” (Kube 1984). But this does not refer to those documents which come from advisory and trade-protection societies of the industry (as recently at the 7<sup>th</sup> German Prevention Day in

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<sup>5</sup> In the meaning of a perpetrator in the field of “street crime”.

Düsseldorf; Deutscher Präventionstag 2001).

## 8 Specific Sociological Research and Case Studies

Fairly early Opp wrote a “Soziologie der Wirtschaftskriminalität [*Sociology of White-collar Crime*] (Opp 1975), which, however, should be classified as to belonging to a descriptive rather than theoretical and explaining sociology. The work summarizes findings at that time on offenders, victims, amounts of loss and special issues of discussion like e.g. borderline moral. Hence it just presents a sociological and criminological state without giving further impetus. The questions once more asked by Opp, particularly with regard to the aspects of “borderline moral” (cf. the earlier attempts made by Schöllgen 1963) and the aspect of “damage without a victim” (cf. the note by Opp 1983) were not taken up and continued by sociology or criminal and legal sociology respectively.

The discussion shared by Opp (Opp 1972) about the “labeling approach” with reference to white-collar crime and his dispute with Sack (cf. Sack 1972; Schwartz 1977) had no consequences and did not become part of the discussion about white-collar crime.

Apart from that some attempts to explain white-collar crime theoretically were made in those years. Here the works by Breland (Breland 1974; Breland 1975) on educational theory and by Arold (Arold 1976; Arold 1977) with regard to attitude and its possible theoretical reviewing met with a broader response.

Another main sociological focus within white-collar crime developed only 10 years later. Here the research projects on implementing the 2<sup>nd</sup> Act on Fighting White-collar Crime have to be mentioned (Savelsberg 1987; Savelsberg/Brühl 1988; Savelsberg/Brühl/Lüdemann 1987). There also used to be research designs on carrying out large-scale research projects on the 1<sup>st</sup> Act on Fighting White-collar Crime, which could, however, not be put into practice (Bundesministerium der Justiz [*Federal Ministry of Justice*] 1972; Liebl 1987).

The highly substantial research findings by Savelsberg and others were unfortunately never continued. The reflections by Bussmann/Lüdemann in their study published in 1995 (Bussmann/Lüdemann 1995: 216 et seq.) and outlining a programme for future research projects are an obvious example for that. They demanded to consult the theory of generalized media of communication or to investigate the limits of effectiveness of criminal law when researching white-collar crime. These are both demands that have so far not been met. The reflections on the explanatory power of the rational-choice theory for white-collar offences (Entorf 1995) and the complex “penal law concerning business offences and abolitionism” (Bussmann 1989) remained isolated works, which have not been

taken up yet.

In addition to that there is a survey mentioned at the beginning basing on the case analysis of a Swiss white-collar offence (Wyss 1999). Even if case analyses in other branches of research have brought about numerous interesting results, the latter must be considered to be rather problematic for the field of white-collar crime. The present study deals with a scandalizable case containing indications to large conspiracies and the Mafia, which is of course attractive for journalists but of rather minor interest for scientists<sup>6</sup>. Hence there is need to properly check the cases to be used for such research in future. Finally a few “historical” precursors should be pointed out (cf. Liebl 1982a).

## 9 Miscellaneous

Eventually criminological-economic research has to be mentioned like e.g. the references to the suction and spiral effects of white-collar crime (Terstegen 1961) and the problem of isolation against even the otherwise most common research methods in criminology (Brusten and others 1977; but mainly Reiss 1987). The question of borderline moral in the business field and the co-ordination between entrepreneurial risk and illegal actions was discussed (cf. Schöllgen 1963) but not continued so far. Although these aspects are being discussed time and again today definite statements are missing on why certain entrepreneurial decisions also involve or favour contraventions of the law. What are the reasons for such actions or decisions particularly under the aspect that people taking said decisions often pay strict attention to complying with standards in their personal spheres of life?

The last aspects to be named in this summary are the connexion between white-collar crime and organised crime or the collaboration of “crime markets” and individual business companies (e.g. when smuggling cigarettes). These questions were addressed partially in literature, however, they have not been followed up yet (cf. Nauth 1978; Liebl 1984a; Polizei-Führungsakademie 1999; Wyss 1999; Albrecht 2002). Even if the research subjects listed could surely provide very interesting findings on structures of white-collar crime at the international level, it has to be stated altogether that the globalisation of the economy and thus the shifting of decision-making away from the national sphere of law have hardly been taken into account in research and literature so far. But it is for instance the collaboration between cigarette firms and the international cigarette-smuggling networks named in numerous press publications that gives an insight in the

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<sup>6</sup> A brief quotation to illustrate this: “At the same time four phases are visible in press coverage: 1. The ‘parvenu’ Rey buys the Bally firm in a non-Swiss manner”. (32) The author of the sentence arrives at the conclusion: “The way the actors are described allows to conclude that no one had acted in a particularly outstanding way.” (85) The terms of “parvenu” and “non-Swiss manner” are not being discussed neither is their meaning being explained (should e.g. the term “Swiss manner” be attached the meaning of a “high moral demand”?). And what does the statement mean “that no one had acted in a particularly outstanding way”? This gives the impression that a “journalism of scandals” is “marketed” as being scientific.

explosive nature of this topic.

## 10 Analysis of the Research Effects – or What is Left?

Due to recommendations made by research activities international co-operation and agreements on extending responsibilities of national means of criminal prosecution can be stated as for instance warrants of arrest and extradition requests get rather positive replies and these within shorter deadlines. However, they are often not (yet) due to international collaboration but rather to specific common interests and assessments of individual cases by the respective states. The required regulations are missing according to experts (cf. Hillinger 1997).

Owing to the discussion special investigation departments for “fighting white-collar crime” were established within the police authorities, particularly with the state criminal investigation departments (LKA). This brought about a concentration of investigative activities, which, however, is often not or only to a certain extent sufficient for the entire federal Land. Despite the fact that special departments were created at regional level, it is obvious at present that these local police stations start working on cases meanwhile only after special assignment. And it has to be stated like e.g. in Baden-Württemberg (cf. Schneider 2001) that the police force has taken up again to carry out investigations in relevant business proceedings and the results are corresponding <sup>7</sup>. The statement should be allowed here that police authorities have rather reduced specialization on white-collar offences at regional level.

It can further be noticed that special training courses are on the decline and larger events on the topic of “white-collar crime” that were still be seen in the 70ies and 80ies are not popular at the moment <sup>8</sup>. The training of police staff rather turns away from the specialist towards the “generalist” (cf. Liebl 2002).

Moreover legal changes made in the meantime have not or only to a limited extent been evaluated or there is no information available on this. Missing in particular are surveys on why certain legal amendments that had actually been considered were not or only after a long time put into effect. This holds true e.g. to the facts of fraud by bid rigging (tender fraud) or to the establishment of magistrates courts in the business field.

From the view of criminological policy surveys are lacking researching why for instance the parties’ manifestos especially of the SPD (*Socialist Democratic Party of Germany*)

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<sup>7</sup> These are the results of a projected research project, which had to realise that e.g. no or fairly limited knowledge on commercial registers etc. was available.

<sup>8</sup> For sure the training seminars with police, public prosecution and justice will continue (cf. Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1997). But there is no key focus to be seen any more. Rather there are “specialized seminars” here and there whose “results” stay more or less unreflected. Compare this to numerous seminars on corruption or other “fashionable offences”.

or the “Greens” that used to demand explicitly an improved prosecution of white-collar offences in the past have no longer turned this issue into a programme for operation<sup>9</sup>.

It can be stated with a view to research prospects that already today analyses would be required of what contemporary white-collar crime looks like, where its main focus lies and what the new possibilities of commissioning offences are. Although successes are announced within the judicial authorities in criminal prosecution, most of the cases that became known were minor or medium cases of white-collar crime, particularly in the field of bankruptcy or insolvency offences (cf. e.g. LKA 1999). There is a better chance of proving incorrect activities with these medium or small-scale enterprises. This generates further questions to be discussed, e.g. whether such cases should at all be counted among white-collar crime?

Moreover the handling of sentencing of the various instances would have to be examined because the primary court instances pass more severe sentences in “minor” cases than the regional courts often do. Simple facts but also simple cases are punished harder than extraordinary cases and thus criminalized (cf. the demand made by Bussmann/Lüdemann 1995: 223 et seq.). This would be the right place for an analysis of the “Schneider complex”, with a special view to criminal prosecution of those persons who themselves ran into economic problems due to this bankruptcy and were thus probably subject to criminal prosecution as opposed to the principal offender himself (in continuation of the theoretical approach by Gessner and others 1978 or Weisel 1982).

Beyond that the issue of “borderline moral” needs to be tackled as well as questions that are being discussed for instance in US criminology like “Middle-class, White-Collar Offenders” (Mason 1999), “Corporate Deviance and Decisions, Moral Values in Conflict” (Reed 2000) or “The Effect of Formal Policies and Unformal Social Learning on Perceptions of Corporate Ethics” with Kronzon (1999).

All in all a critical self-reflection in particular by social but also legal sciences will be required since the research branch of “white-collar crime” as briefly mentioned above has been considered to be a rather exotic plant in German criminology and sociology. It is interesting but no mainstream of interest and thus provides only minor “market chances” for the scientists who have to acquire further qualifications also due to their research performances. But it is this “branch line situation”, which led to the fact that people dare “venture out” into this branch of research but

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<sup>9</sup> No initiative was made to reanimate the program of “Fighting White-collar Crime”. The question of the influence exerted by neoliberalism and the strengthening of “global monopolist groups” with the desire to implement a program of “creating new jobs” going along with that to make the “Fight against White-collar Crime” appear secondary should be discussed here. And it would also be interesting to find out why this swing of opinion took place (cf. Haffke 1991). Is it to prevent disclosing a probably wide-spread “immoral of the decent” and to avoid further damage to the picture of the “respectable businessman”? Questions that should definitely be discussed.

probably only once.

Furthermore the fatal repercussions connected with discontinuing the programme “Fighting White-collar Crime” have to be stated. Numerous research activities were initiated by the latter but after limiting or rather the fading of political interest in the subject and the subsequent discontinuation of research subsidies research activities petered out more or less. Therefore and despite the numerous research activities initiated by the programme of “Fighting White-collar Crime” and compared with the research efforts taken in other European countries (cf. Liebl/Liebl 1993) it has to be stated that the area of white-collar crime still displays a large white spot on the German research map. The facts brought to light by previous research are but a few colourful spots on this “map”.

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