

White-Collar Crimes and Organizational Offending: An Integral Approach

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Abstract

White collar offending continues to hold relevance in academic/trade studies as well as the socio-cultural landscape. The Integral Theory of philosopher Ken Wilber provides a theoretical framework for interpreting and understanding a wide range of academic disciplines and professions and has contributed to the study of business and organizational practices. In addition, Integral Theory (IT) holds promise as a comprehensive roadmap for theorization and research in criminology. This paper reviews some of the principles of IT and how they may be brought to bear on the topic of white collar/organizational offending. Key components of IT include (but are not restricted to) Quadrants of knowledge modes; empirical and subjective realms of thinking; recognition of differing lines (or streams) of development; the hierarchical structure of waves of development. Maintaining awareness of an All Quadrant/All Lines/Levels (AQAL) Integral approach can assist professionals and academics in understanding ongoing dynamics of white collar crime as well as generate new lines of research.

Keywords: white collar crime, Integral Theory, organizational offending, corporate crime

Introduction

This paper discusses how principles of Integral Theory may be brought to focus on the issue of white collar crime. The Integral Theory (IT, or alternatively *Integral model* or *perspective*) of philosopher Ken Wilber represents a wide-ranging intellectual roadmap of human erudition, behaviors, spirituality and physical, cognitive and moral development (Wilber, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2003, 2007). Due to the expansive reach of IT and its multiple facets, only its most fundamental tenets will be introduced here. Similarly, because the topic of white collar deviance also encompasses numerous areas of research interest, the review of extant literature will be limited to examples that illustrate issues pertinent to IT application. The intent of this work is to review a few of the basic tenets of IT and relate them to recent literature on white-collar deviance, with the general purpose of illustrating how IT provides a useful template for understanding some of the recent and salient issues surrounding this branch of crime.

The principles of IT have proved to be useful to scholars and practitioners in the fields of business, the arts, psychology, and others (Wilber, 2000b, 2003). Because IT maps the basic mechanics of human thought and activity from established, traditional frameworks but does not establish detailed models at the levels of specific disciplines and sub-disciplines, researchers at this level have adapted the Integral template for use at their own specific fields. The Integral perspective has been applied to the areas of public administration (Neal, 2008); community ecology (Priest, 2008); organizational leadership (Kupers & Statler, 2008; Saiter, 2009); aspects of criminology (Gibbs, Giever & Pober, 2000; Martin, 2006); psychotherapy (Marquis & Wilber, 2008; Bentheim, 2009); identification of business risks (Letens, Van Nuffel, Heene & Leysen, 2008); consumer studies (McGregor, 2010); futures studies (Collins & Hines, 2010); and social work (Starnino, 2009).

However, despite the fact that Wilber's work has influenced both business practices as well as criminology, there continues to be a gap in the literature in relating Integral thought to the problem of white collar crime. This work is intended to introduce some of the IT concepts and how they may apply to the study of white collar/organizational offending.

1. Defining White Collar Crime: Issues and Conflicts

Sutherland defines white collar crime "approximately as a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation" (1983, p. 7), aligning with the popular conception of the white collar offender as a Gordon Gekko-esque bugbear that continues to pervade the cultural interest in organizational deviance as a symbol of high-level corporate greed and malfeasance.

Sutherland further notes the importance of each element of the definition, distinguishing white collar criminality from other offenses committed by high-status individuals such as robbery or rape that were not related to occupational behaviors. He also pointed out that wealthy organized crime figures who committed crimes of deception would not meet his definition because they did not enjoy “respectability and high status.” (1983, p. 7). The Center for Corporate policy (n.d.) also defines the offenses as “crimes by individuals in prestigious positions.” (“Corporate crime and abuse,” para.8).

However, as Barnett (n.d.) points out, other definitions hinge on the nature of the offense itself rather than the status of the offender, and a third definition type refers to the organizational aspect of criminality. The FBI defines white collar offending as: ...those illegal acts which are characterized by deceit, concealment, or violation of trust and which are not dependent upon the application or threat of physical force or violence.... to obtain money, property, or services; to avoid the payment or loss of money or services; or to secure personal or business advantage. (USDOJ, 1989, p. 3., as cited in Barnett, n.d.).

FBI reporting of white collar crimes includes ATM/check card fraud, welfare fraud, and confidence schemes (Barnett, n.d.). Blickle, Schlegel, Fassbender & Klein (2006) define white collar crime as “non-violent crime for financial gain committed by means of deception” (p. 221). In a study by Bucy, P.H., Formby, E.P., Raspanti, M.S. & Rooney, K.E. (2008) the study participants defined a "white collar criminal" as “someone who commits a non-violent, business-related crime” with some also mentioning the high social standing of the offenders (p. 403-404). Furthermore, the Legal Information Institute (LII) defines white collar crime as variety of “nonviolent crimes usually committed in commercial situations for financial gain.” (Legal Information Institute, 2010). Menard, Brunet and Savoie (2011) state that related white collar offenses also include interpersonal workplace deviance (such as sexual harassment) as well as misconduct directed against the organization itself.

While the varied definitions of white collar crime all have viability depending on how one chooses to address the topic, this paper shall assume Sutherland’s vision of the white collar criminal: a socioeconomically advantaged person who offends within the context of employment (1983, p. 7). This qualification of white collar deviance allows for the AQAL approach to understanding because it more fully captures the role of all Quadrants in examination of the topic. In fact, Sutherland went on to assert that the most noteworthy aspect of white collar offending is that it is not associated with the social pathologies of poverty, as a declaration that low socioeconomic status cannot be properly regarded as the sole cause of criminality (1983, p. 7). This demonstrates the influence of the Left-Quadrant reality of the subjective/interior influences on the topic.

2. Overview of the Integral Perspective

A comprehensive treatment of Wilber’s Integral perspective would far exceed the scope of this paper. However, a review of some of the model’s basic tenets is necessary in order to bring them to focus on the issue of white collar crime. Those familiar with the Integral model will note that I have omitted some of the key concepts such as traits and states of consciousness. This was again for the sake of brevity and may be undertaken in future work. The Integral model portrays human thinking and activity in four Quadrants, based approximately upon the classical Greek conceptions of the Good, the True and the Beautiful (or, Morals, Science and Art). Furthermore, the model comprises individual and collective as well as interior and exterior realms of phenomena. For example, internal cognitive development or subjective thinking of the individual is differentiated from the overall development of collective culture, even though both are on the Left side of the map. The Right-hand Quadrants involve the external observation of empirical scientific rationalism in individual (Upper Right) as well as collective/systemic (Lower Right) realms. Figure 1 depicts my modification of the Quadrants as they relate to the issue of white collar crime.

Insert Figure 1 here

In addition, each Quadrant contains a hierarchical progression of levels and lines of development, with each successive level including and transcending the previous one. The model, which is also known as “AQAL” (All Quadrants-All Lines/Levels) provides a way for researchers and trade professionals to be Integrally informed about the topic under study. AQAL/IT does not postulate a specific theoretical stance about individual disciplines or their various sub-divisions, but instead serves as a “theoretical meta-framework” (Marquis & Wilber, 2008), or an epistemological lens, through which to view the study of particular fields or topic of interest.

Insert Figure 2 here

In short, the Integral/AQAL model provides an orienting perspective of traditional and contemporary scholarship and allows scholars and practitioners from various fields to understand their endeavors from a wider and richer perspective. The most tangible benefit of being informed from an Integral perspective is that it allows for the understanding that all of reality, all knowledge, events, experiences and behaviors fall somewhere within the four Quadrants. The AQAL model's expansiveness includes the physiosphere, biosphere and noosphere, and is richly correlated with the work of many other theorists (Wilber, 2000b).

2.1 Developmental Lines and Levels

The hierarchical (or holarchical) progression of developmental levels runs across many lines, from molecular structures to spiritual enlightenment, of particular interest to the subject matter at hand. In any discussion of deviance or criminality it is useful to examine established models of moral development, with the understanding that moral judgment has little to do with cognitive ascension. The distinction between lines of development (in this case cognitive vs. moral) is the equivalent of an Integral imperative. It is well-known that one can attain very high levels of cognitive ascension and still be morally impaired (as the phrase "smartest guys in the room" gained popularity when applied to the corporate figures from the Enron scandal in a documentary of the same name (Gibney, 2005)). What may not be so widely perceived is that there are at least a dozen lines of developmental hierarchies that have been established, and that each one is tied to a particular holarchical evolution (Wilber, 2003). These lines include cognitive, moral, kinesthetic, sexuality, linguistic and others. These lines (or *streams*) unfold in ascending waves or stages. Lines are based in part on Gardner's work on multiple intelligences as well as Loevinger's conceptions of ego development (Gardner, 1993, 1995, 2000; Loevinger, 1976; Wilber, 2000b, 2000c, 2003). Within individuals and societies, some lines may be more or less developed than others, and some may be pathological (Wilber, 2000c). For example, a person may have high kinesthetic stream but a relatively undeveloped cognitive line. This principle also applies to corporations, social structures, and nations. Tibet, for example reflects a high spiritual attainment stream but lower line of scientific achievement, relative to other societies (Wilber, 2003).

Recognizing the different lines of development within the Quadrants is a particularly resonant aspect in examining white-collar and organizational deviance, as it makes room for the disparity of high cognitive and educational attainment coupled with rock-bottom moral consciousness. Likewise, corporate or political units may have pathological streams of development that lead to white-collar deviances from a sexually hostile environment to a culture that fosters or accepts fraud or embezzlement as part of the overall structure. There are numerous models of moral development, including hierarchies conceptualized by Kohlberg (1973), Gilligan (1982), Buddhist chakra traditions (Wilber, 1998), and Piaget (1997/1932), to name a few. Although these models may vary in terms of numbers of stages, one particular example from the moral stage-based literature that has been applied to various disciplines is based on the work of Carl Graves and further developed by Beck & Cowan (1996) in their theory of Spiral Dynamics. This stage-based theory is an essential part of understanding Wilber's overall AQAL framework (Wilber, 2000b, 2000c, 2003). The holarchy progresses towards upper tier integrality in consciousness. Maslow (1954) would call the upper stages self-actualization, and Kohlberg and Gilligan may consider it post-conventional thinking. They all point to the initial formation of second tier Integral thinking represented by the Yellow meme of Spiral Dynamics (Beck & Cowan, 1996; Wilber, 2000a, 2003).

The Spiral Dynamics model, like other stage-based theories, identifies and explains levels of development that every person goes through in their maturation process. Each stage (or *meme*) is identified by a color and progression through the waves is represented as a spiraling unfolding of progression. This use of terminology, "spiral" and "unfolding" is more than semantics; it represents a non-linear, organic, wave-based approach to apprehending the nature of the progression, rather than a strict, ladder-like series of sharply defined steps (Beck & Cowan, 1996; Wilber, 2000a, 2000b, 2003).

Figure 3 represents an interpretation of the Spiral Dynamic holarchy and synthesizes the elements of each meme's description from the work of Graves, Beck and Cowan and Wilber.

Insert Figure 3 here

In addition, Wilber maintains that each meme/stage has a harmful, pathological dimension to it. Pathologies occur when one holarchical level attempts to impose itself on others (Wilber, 2000b, 2003), or when the stage seeks to impose harm on others out of self-centered egoism. Each meme contains the lower ones (as in any holarchy), therefore all of the lower memes can influence the higher one.

For example, an individual whose primary center of gravity is at Green can still act out violently as a Red when faced with a self-defense situation. Once one accepts the premise that criminal activity can stem from pathological manifestations of Spiral Dynamic memes, it is assumed that criminal activity will be one result. Every level, even the higher ones, can potentially dip into harmful and selfish dimensions, and this may result in offensive conduct as well as criminal pathology. Criminality can then be accounted for by the understanding that pathological dimensions exist at every stage of development. Furthermore, because every progressive wave of development includes the lower, individuals can still act on lower memes. One can be at Blue or Green developmentally and still behave selfishly and harmfully, as is evidenced by the actions of police officers and environmental terrorists, respectively.

In examining white-collar deviance, the most obvious to consider meme seems to be Orange (with its emphasis on material success), even though other stages certainly come into play. The pathological Orange represents the coercive imposition of individual success and achievement against the other holons. In light of extant literature on white collar deviance, the offenses are certainly multi-factored in terms of causation, but pathological Orange is a good place to start. As stages of individual and collective development unfold, the complexity of the behavior in question increases. White collar crime does not exist without a complex social context, and complex social contexts require understanding from a multi-Quadrant perspective that addresses the interior and exterior/objective dimensions of the issue. Addressing organizational deviance demands an understanding that the Lower Left Quadrant and its waves of media, law and culture play an important part in the discussion.

White-collar/organizational deviance has resonated deeply within the collective social Left Quadrant, and periodically emerges as a high-profile issue due to media coverage of stories involving varying levels of misconduct with Enron (Roston, 2002), the Bernie Madoff pyramid scheme (Lenzner, 2008), Project Fast and Furious/Gun-Walker (Attkisson, 2011), and the Solyndra company (Higgins, 2011). Leaving alone the potentially questionable veracity of media coverage for a moment, what cannot be denied is that Lower Left Quadrant cultural/media complex contributes to *zeitgeists* of populist, anti-corporate and/or anti-government sentiment surrounding recent white collar misbehavior. This aligns with Levi's (2006, 2009) assertions about the media role in constructing issues of social reverberation. In a related vein, the "Occupy Wall Street" and similar protest movements of late 2011 (Susman, 2011) are also undeniably rooted in the political/cultural realms of the Lower Left. Some contemporary popular issues even became the topic of peer reviewed works (Brickey, 2006; Lewis, 2010), constituting stark examples of the emerging need for trade professionals and academics to be Integrally informed. The link between the political/social/media machinations to scholarly review is exemplified by Chibe's (2006) discussion of how a series of high profile case in the early and mid 2000s led to a special topics issue of the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. This did not happen because white collar crime suddenly became more testable or easily measured, but because of Lower Left activities.

Although contemporary media treatments of scandals tend not to age well when cited in academic papers, a number of peer-reviewed articles are indeed rooted in unfolding media dramas involving Kenneth Lay of Enron (Brickey, 2006) and Bernie Madoff (Lewis, 2010). This recognition of how the Lower-Left Quadrant informs organizational research and practice is a key part of holding an overall Integral vision of the phenomena. This Quadrant of the intersubjective, which includes culture and law, has an undeniable influence in defining the argument for academic and professional purposes. The topic of white-collar deviance remains part of the scholarly picture not only because of Right Quadrant empiricism but also because issues that first receive popular attention in the mainstream media later become topics of discussion in peer-reviewed works (Chibe, 2006).

Tapping into populist indignation at white-collar deviance is a pervading theme of media activity (Levi, 2006, 2009). Paradoxically, it may also be argued that the same Lower Left Quadrant simultaneously supports attitudes supportive of organizational deviance, often stressing the (pathological) Orange attainment of wealth over non-materialistic values (Messner & Rosenfeld, 2000). So, an AQAL/Integrally-informed perspective of white collar offending would include (at the minimum) recognition and awareness of all four Quadrants, the various streams or lines of development, and the stage/wave based progressions of these lines.

2.2 The Upper Left and Individual Intent

The Lower Left Quadrant, containing as it does the lines and levels of culture and its political/legal/media spinoffs, clearly plays an important role in the AQAL vision of white collar crime. In addition, that realm also generates the treatment of others as part of a moral developmental stream.

The Upper Left Quadrant, or the subjective interior of the individual, is also important to the overall goal of Integral awareness. The overall development of the moral stream (from egocentric to ethnocentric to word-centric to transpersonal spirit-centeredness) involves an “interior qualitative shifting” (Wilber, 2000a, p. 116) at the individual level and may therefore be argued to reside in the Upper Left realm. Despite the cultural and environmental influences on white-collar crime, the ultimate decision to embezzle or defraud others (for example) is often an individual one. This is so even whether the criminal action is undertaken on the behalf of a corporation or for one’s own gain.

Furthermore, Sutherland’s characterization of white collar criminals as those who have attained “respectability” and “high social status” (1945, p. 40) connotes significant development in certain individual interior lines. These Upper-Left lines may represent cognitive, motivational, moral, or some other stream that would contribute to the attainment of this status (Gardner, 2006; Wilber, 2003, 2007). However, the troublesome nature of defining white collar crime negates any rigid conclusions about the status of the offender. Barnett (n.d.) points out that tracking FBI UCR and NIBRS reports of economic criminality (ranging from forgery to welfare fraud) provide no data on the socioeconomic status of the offenders.

It is important to remember the role of the Upper Left in studies that are measuring personality correlates of behaviors, such as a few of those mentioned below. Even when an empirical approach is brought to bear on the internal motivations and tendencies of offenders, these are at their essence internal dynamics that reside in the Upper Left Quadrant.

2.3 The Upper and Lower Right Quadrants: Empirical and External Observation

The value of the empirical/objective realm cannot be understated in the study of crime. The Right-Quadrant lens of scholarship through objective measurement and analysis provides the validity, reliability, rigor and structure to the field, whether it is undertaken by academic or trade researchers. It is the Right-hand Quadrants that separate scientific analysis of a criminal topic from the informal conversation one encounters at coffee-shop. The peer-reviewed publication of empirical work lends the study of organizations and deviance credibility and lends foundation to future studies. The distinction between the Upper and Lower Right realms hinges on the individual vs. collective nature of the exterior observation. Simply put, the Upper Right concentrates on the evolution of the individual, and the Lower Right on the development of systems and groups (Wilber, 2007). Both of these domains play key roles in white collar deviance and organizational offending, for the study of the individual actor as well as the organizational systems. Both are necessary to approach the problem. These Right-side Quadrants represent the scientific objectivity of human thinking and are well represented in the peer-reviewed literature.

3. White Collar Crime: Review of Key Issues from an Integral Perspective

Sutherland’s seminal works on white collar criminality (1945, 1983; see also Sutherland & Cressey, 1960) establish significant inroads into the topic that align with a multi-Quadrant understanding to the phenomenon. From a Lower-Left Quadrant perspective, Sutherland (1945) identified two classes of victims in his concept of white collar crime: occupational associates of the actor and general consumers or members of the public (1945). That is, the holarchy of victimization includes two dimensions of the Lower Left socio-cultural environment, both proximal (occupational colleagues) and distal (the general public). Other Lower Left lines touched upon in Sutherland’s work include the social context of the offender, as discussed above. The issues of social/cultural environment (Lower-Left systems) and Upper-Left Orange level achievement (for example) are as inextricably entwined with the study of white-collar offending as Right-side empirical studies of individual and organizational correlates of this brand of deviance.

3.1 The Right Quadrants: Issues from the Literature

The Upper Right (empirical observation of the *individual*) and Lower Right (empirical observation of *systems*) Quadrants of the IT model are scientific in nature and for the purposes here represent quantified studies of the crime. It should be noted that this positivistic approach to the problem is a necessary and legitimate one, but is “not the whole story” (Wilber, 2000b, p. 132). Moreover, the Right-side Quadrants tend to work from a structural-functionalist standpoint so that the examination of the lines focus on what they actually *do*, rather than what they *mean* (Wilber, 2000b). Therefore, the examination of legal codes and adjudication can be said to reside within the realm of lower Right systems, (even though the collective worldviews and moral lines properly reside in the Lower Left Quadrant).

Right-hand treatment of white collar offending is thus a multi-modal undertaking and includes empirical review of offender behaviors and characteristics, corporate/organizational structures, and criminal adjudication. This section will briefly review some of the current literature that reflects a Right-hand approach to organizational offending. In a study of employee theft and self-control (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), Langton, Piquero & Hollinger (2006) report from a review of extant literature that environmental and social variables alone cannot account for employee theft, but found some support for the theory of general self-control as contributing to overall criminality and analogous behaviors such as resume fraud. Reed and Yeager (1996) effectively argue that organizational offending is a more varied and widely spanning dimension of criminality than conventional offending, even when the latter are of the white collar variety such as individual instances of embezzlement or fraud.

Bucy, et al. (2008) explored the motivations of this crime through a qualitative analysis of interviews with prosecutors and defense attorneys of white collar defendants. White collar criminals could be classified into two categories, “leaders” and “followers,” although the authors note that the distinctions are not sharply defined and there is some overlap between the two groups (p. 406). Bucy, et al. reported that greed, competitiveness, arrogance, entitlement and the use of rationalization techniques were among the motivating factors for the leaders. The “followers” emerged as either passive individuals who were unable to resist the pressures from others to go along with an illegal action, or as “true believers” (my term) abiding by the commands of a charismatic leader (Bucy, et al., 2008).

In a study of non-criminal German corporate managers and convicted “high-level” (p. 222) white collar criminals, Blickle et al. (2006) examined personality correlates of the offenders. The researchers reported that males were more likely than females to commit white-collar crimes. They further reported that, unsurprisingly, offenders tended to score higher in measures of narcissism and hedonism and lower in measures of self-control. An unexpected finding of this study was that offenders scored higher in a measure of conscientiousness than non-offenders. Blickel et al. posit that this finding may be that the operational definition of white-collar crime in the study was based on a principle of acting on behalf of the company interests, however the authors did recognize that this skewed sense of protectiveness did not necessarily align with the more self-serving attributes of offending suggested by the elevated narcissism and hedonism scores.

Schanzenbach & Yeager (2006) also undertook the question of offender characteristics in a study that examined offender race and its role in possible sentencing disparities. It is perhaps worth noting that this study relied on data from the United States Sentencing Commission and therefore assumed a legalistic definition of white collar offenses rather than the status-based one postulated by Sutherland (1945, 1983). The authors concluded, however, that perceived disparities in sentencing could be largely attributable to the ability of the defendants to pay heavier fines, with higher-income offenders enjoying more capability to mitigate lengthier sentences.

In a discussion of personality characteristics associated with unethical behaviors that result in white collar crime, Elliot (2010) states that the study of personality correlates should play a larger role in the overall study of the problem, in effect calling for increased Upper Right focus to supplement the Lower Right criminology of authors like Sutherland. From this standpoint, the levels and lines stage-based holarchies of IT based in Graves, Beck & Cowan model of Spiral Dynamics (1996) may be important to include in the scholarly mix, (even though their original realm is in the Upper Left individual interior). For example, the Orange meme is one that embodies the drive for material success, scientific and technological achievement, and competitiveness (Beck & Cowan, 1996). These generally positive dimensions of Orange (like any stage) can also manifest pathological tendencies (Wilber, 2000a), which is where it gets interesting for criminologists. Pathological Orange results in arrogance and entitlement in the pursuit of material success, and rationalizes the lawbreaking and unethical conduct as part of the game narrative.

The other memes, as part of a leadership structure, also contribute their pathologies towards illegal or unethical organizational conduct. Beck & Cowan (1996) describe the organizational Red as hostile and distrustful of subordinates who exercise an exploitive, egocentric and coercive imposition over others. Extrapolating from this, a Red manager will use intimidation to drive employees to ignore or go along with unethical or illegal practices within the organizational culture. In one final example of pathological memetics as part of the white collar deviance picture, the Purple stage represents heavy tribal/communal influences.

In an organizational structure, a Purple manager emphasizes the importance of the clan (corporation) and pushes for adherence to rituals and overall cohesion as well as emphasis on defending the group against threats from outsiders. In this light, the white collar deviant is acting out of motivations that defend the corporate entity. This relates to issues raised in the Bickle, et al. (2006) study about the “conscientiousness” found in white collar offenders. In this case, assuming some degree of Purple influence in white collar offending would explain and anticipate the conscientiousness of white collar offenders that was found alongside the more readily predictable correlates of arrogance and elitism reported in the study.

3.2 Lower Right Approaches

In a Lower Right approach to quantifying variables affecting the adjudication process, Albonetti (1998) examined the complexity of variables affecting sentencing of white-collar criminals. This study reported useful distinction between cases based on their complexity, distinguishing between simple and complex offenses as a contributing factor to severity of sentencing. Through structural equation modeling, Albonetti demonstrates support for the hypothesis that more complex crimes were more likely to result in favorable plea bargains for the offenders, due to a stronger position of negotiation for defense counsel. Albonetti’s model also investigated the effect of offender characteristics such as race, gender, and educational attainment, and revealed that while these variables did directly affect sentencing severity, the effect was the result of the interplay between case complexity and guilty pleas rather than merely attributable to the characteristics themselves (1998).

3.3 Left Hand Literature: The Role of Subjectivity

Eliason (2009) elucidates the lack of perceived justness in how the honest service fraud law was enforced and prosecuted, and McBarnet, D. (2006) objects to the strategy of “creative compliance” undertaken by high level corporate offenders, using legal technicalities to maintain conduct that violates the spirit, if not the level of the law. Levi’s (2006) discussion of the media influence on public perceptions on crime starkly represents the role of the Lower Left in how the general public perceives organizational offending, detailing how “structural, cultural and personal factors interweave and interpenetrate to ‘produce’ news and documentaries on white-collar and organized crime.” (p. 1054). Podgor (2007) points out that sentencing for serious white collar offenders with no criminal records “can exceed the sentences seen for violent street crimes, such as murder or rape” (p. 733).

Brickey (2006) examined trial and plea bargain outcomes of white collar offenders, specifically mentioning Enron has an impetus for study. Brickey’s work is interesting from an AQAL perspective because it approaches what is often regarded as a Right Quadrant topic from a subjective, Left hand view. This is apparent from the use of value-laden language in the article, such as when she compares Enron executives to Enron executives behaving like “pigs at a trough” (p. 397). Similarly, O’Sullivan calls the federal criminal code a “national disgrace” (p. 643) in a 2006 article that assesses federal obstruction charges. The prosecution of white collar crimes may often turn on Left Quadrant considerations of values and cultural definitions of corruption, as noted by Mills & Weisberg in their article on the social harm of these offenses (2008). This is another example of professionals relying on something more than strict Lower Right codifications of the offenses and criminal justice adjudication procedures.

The above works exemplify a compelling characteristic of criminological literature: Despite a tendency of the field to collapse much of the theoretical thought to the Right Quadrant to the exclusion of internal realms (Martin, 2006; see also Williams, 1999), it is the Left Quadrants that envelop moral development; the social context of laws; cultural influences; emotional ramifications of victimization, and a host of other dimensions of the subjective that can only be partially addressed (at best) by external empiricism. Put another way, the study of illegalities, misconduct and deviance would not exist at all without some type of Left-Quadrant judgment of what constitutes immoral or illegal behaviors. Concepts of justice are anchored in the realms of the intersubjective. Crime and deviance derive from the Left Interior of the individual and society, not the exterior observation of such, although the empirical description of Right Quadrant is what lends the study its rigor and academic validity.

All Quadrants are part of the reality for any topic under study, and all should be taken into account in accordance with what they can properly offer. In white collar crime, the fairness or moral rightness of an action cannot be determined by statistical modeling or even qualitative analysis. They are part of the internal and subjective realms. Likewise, the measurement and analysis of recidivism or adjudication outcomes requires the dispassionate Right eye of the rational and empirical side of the model. Using the wrong “eye” in studying phenomena is called a *category error* (Wilber, 1998, p. 21) and leads to fallacious interpretations of the topic under scrutiny.

Consider how erroneous it would be to weigh the importance of a book or painting strictly by measuring its height, width and thickness, or how misleading it would be to report the recidivism rates of embezzlers by relying on how one judges the morality of high status criminals. Therefore, any multi-Quadrant approach to understanding subjects such as corporate leadership or dishonest business cultures should be mindful of how the information is obtained and interpreted. Being Integrally informed means maintaining an awareness of all Quadrants, but not heedlessly so.

3.4 Reintegrative Shaming: One Approach to an Integral Awareness of White Collar Offending

The concept of reintegrative shaming (Braithwaite, 1989, 2000) is one that includes Right-side examination of systemic sentencing procedures as well as Lower-Left subjective social considerations. Simply put, the theory involves the social communication of shame towards offenders as they are taken back into society's fold after legal sanctions are met. Reintegrative shaming avoids stigmatization and instead proposes a forgiving, respectful return to society's fold while still transmitting to the offender that he or she committed an injustice to another (2000). On the issue of white collar crime, Braithwaite also suggests that the US tends to pursue a rather narrow and punitive direction of enforcement and may benefit from a more preventive policing to deter these offenders (2010). Interestingly, Braithwaite also postulates that the "naming and shaming" (2002, p. 273) of politicians is not as effective as other white collar criminals because they, "like hardened criminals," (p. 273) have a well-fortified defense system against feeling shame. Braithwaite further states that corporate criminals can be shamed reintegratively (not pathologically stigmatized) when the shame is "internal," or transmitted from respected industry colleagues rather than the general public. In this way, shaming can be accomplished effectively for white collar offenders when it is accomplished within the specific social context of the corporate/industry "family."

In a related study, Murphy and Harris (2007) explored reintegrative shaming for white-collar criminals. Among their conclusions was that tax evaders were less likely to recidivate if they felt that their corrective experience was reintegrative rather than stigmatizing. It is interesting to note here that the propensity of the media to publicly humiliate white collar offenders with widely disseminated coverage of "perp walking" defendants such as Kenneth Lay (Reuters, 2011) and Bernie Madoff (Consumer News and Business Channel, 2011) continue to represent an attempt to stigmatize rather than shame. Brooks (2008) pointed out that although there is some valid criticism of shaming as simply the stripping of offender dignity under another name, he also asserted that there was legitimate use of shaming in criminal punishment. Clearly, the Lower Left Quadrant plays a key role in understanding white collar deviance, including the corporate culture, the values of greater society and the intermittent populist sentiments of the collective intersubjective realm. It is also apparent that even in Right Quadrant treatments of white collar crime the Left Side realms are often the origin of the lines and levels under study.

4. Discussion

The Integral model works in part as a high-level, meta-theoretical lens through which to view the world. These few examples of existing literature demonstrate how an Integral map can both guide and explain research and provide a more unified vision of the field. Integral Theory provides a cohesive framework for understanding and interpreting the disparate literature surrounding the issue of white collar offending. It gives context to the mix of studies from criminology, law, psychology, sociology and other disciplines. It also provides a useful lens for interpreting the rapidly unfolding dynamics of media and politics. This very limited treatment of some of the literature is merely a platform for further discussion of how Integral thought may be brought into the intellectual mix of white-collar crime scholarship. An Integrally informed approach to understanding the nature of white-collar deviance allows for empirical and subjective, as well as individual and collective understandings of the phenomena.

To be Integrally informed is to assume an all-Quadrant/all-Levels (AQAL) approach to the great puzzle of human knowledge and behaviors. Integral Theory provides a useful heuristic in making sense of the cacophony of data and its various interpretations and allows researchers and practitioners the means to understand the sheer volume of input from both Left-hand intersubjective/cultural as well as Right Quadrant empirically-based sources. As such, it serves as a useful roadmap for almost any subject of inquiry and allows for recognition of knowledge and truths from all epistemological realms. Integral awareness does not mean that the internal subjective realms should replace empirical rigor, nor does it mean that Right-sided positivism must be mixed in with the internal realms of the Left. The opposite is true. Confusion of focus results in category errors and misinterpretations.

Integral awareness simply means being informed of all-Quadrants/all Lines/Levels when studying a subject, and understanding that all have their own aspect of reality to consider. As previously stated, IT has already contributed to both academic and trade research in addressing key issues. Just as importantly, it constitutes rich theoretical soil for future research in white collar crime, business/organizational studies and criminology in general. Empirical investigation into memetic/stage characteristics, legal system machinations, and specific lines of development is already part of the landscape in literature review (although not identified in Integral terms). This awareness, coupled with an awareness of all four Quadrants as dynamic contributors to the great soupy holarchical milieu of human behavior, can help establish hypotheses for both professional and academic researchers.

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<p>Upper Left Interior-Individual (Intentional) An individual’s internal, subjective cognitions; affect and emotional states; awareness; individual moral stage development; internal spiritual experiences; individual criminal intentions and thinking patterns. Internal personality correlates of white collar offending.</p>	<p>Upper Right Exterior-Individual (Behavioral) An individual’s externally observable, measurable, empirically validated behaviors and physiological processes. Observable behaviors of the individual.</p>
<p>Lower Left Interior-Collective (Cultural) The collective internal experience; shared worldview; societal culture, laws within their social context. Collective influences on criminal behaviors; organizational and corporate climate. The intersubjective realm.</p>	<p>Lower Right Exterior-Collective (Social) Empirically testable collectives of an organization and its processes; empirically validated macro-structural factors in white-collar deviance; organizational and offending data. Criminal justice adjudication, systems and processes.</p>

Figure 1. A map of the Quadrants modified to white collar criminality (Wilber, 1998, 2000b, 2001, 2003).

<p><i>AQUAL</i>- All Quadrants/All Levels and Lines. AQAL expresses the idea of being “Integrally informed.”</p>
<p><i>Holon</i>- an irreducible whole unit of anything that is itself part of a larger whole. Holonic structures can include atoms, molecules, cells; developmental stages of moral development from pre-conventional, conventional, post-conventional; soldiers, teams, squads, platoons; football players, teams, divisions, conferences leagues; employees, departments, branches, companies, industries (as a few examples). Wilber asserts that there is nothing that is not a holon (Wilber, 2003).</p>
<p><i>Holarchy</i>- a hierarchy of holons. Each successive stage of holons (whether the example involves cognitive stages of development, business/organizational units, or solar systems) includes and transcends the previous holon. Successive stages have greater complexity and depth than previous ones. Pathologies occur when one particular holon imposes dominance on others within the holarchy.</p>
<p><i>Quadrant</i>- one of the four realms of knowledge identified by Wilber. Represents knowledge and behaviors from the Upper Left interior/subjective, Lower Left interior/intersubjective, Upper Right external/individual-materialism and Lower Right external/collective-materialism. Each Quadrant captures some section of reality, but improperly collapsing one Quadrant over another leads to category errors and pathological dominance of one Quadrant over another.</p>
<p><i>Lines (or streams)</i>- particular channel or avenue of development; akin to aptitudes or talents. Includes cognitive, logic-mathematical, moral, sexual, or spiritual streams.</p>
<p><i>Levels</i>-the successive stages of any holarchy. Each ascending level represents greater complexity, but less span. That is, the higher the stage of development, the fewer holons per level, but they are of greater depth. The term “level” is not meant to connote a rigid, stair-like progression but a more organic <i>wave</i> of unfolding.</p>

Figure 2. Glossary of basic terms from Integral Theory. (Wilber, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2003)

Meme	Description of Key Issues
Beige	Basic needs; subsistence
Purple	Rituals; tribal
Red	Company heroes; violence, tales of conquest
Blue	Law and order; social cohesion; lends stability to organizations and societies.
Orange	Individual success; opportunity and influence; science and materialistic achievement
Green	Egalitarianism; social caring and harmony
Yellow	Second Tier: Integrative, open and flexible orientation geared towards channeling energies.
Turquoise	Second Tier: Inter-connectedness and holistic worldview of mind and spirit

Figure 3. Memes of personal development (Graves; Beck & Cowan, 1996; Wilber, 2000b).