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White-Collar Crime Defense Knowledge: Predictors of Lawyer Fame

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Abstract
The white-collar crime attorney is a lawyer who is competent in general legal principles and in the substantive and procedural aspects of the law related to upper-class financial crime. Based on a sample of 310 convicted white-collar criminals and their defense lawyers, this paper presents results from statistical analysis of relationships between crime characteristics and defense characteristics to predict lawyer fame. Statistical regression analysis was applied to the sample, where amount of crime money and years in prison represent crime characteristics, while number of client cases and lawyer income represent defense characteristics. Ninety-one percent of the variation in attorney fame is explained by these four independent variables.

Keywords: Financial crime; defense lawyer; statistics; white-collar crime; crime amount; lawyer income; lawyer fame; client cases.

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White-Collar Crime Defense Knowledge: Predictors of Lawyer Fame

Introduction

Three themes are particularly noteworthy when distinguishing white-collar crime defense from other defense strategies for lawyers (Mann, 1985). First, the role of white-collar criminal lawyers is radically different from the typical criminal lawyer who defends persons charged with street crime. For instance, the former spend far more time on each case, both in terms of work load and in terms of calendar time. This implies that a white-collar crime lawyer works on fewer cases in parallel. The white-collar lawyer gets the case much earlier and is far more likely to keep charges from being filed. Second, information control is at the center of the attorney's work. The lawyer is concerned with acquisition of crucial information and keeps damaging information out of the hands of government investigators and prosecutors. A third theme centers round a major dilemma of these lawyers: how to vigorously defend the client without thereby becoming a party to the criminal act (Kiser, 1986).

White-collar crime is defined both in terms of the offence and in terms of the offender. The offence is typically financial crime such as fraud, tax evasion, corruption and insider trading. The offender is typically a person of respectability and high social status, who commits crime in the course of his occupation (Sutherland, 1949). Sutherland's (1949) theory of white-collar crime has served as a catalyst for an area of research that continues today (e.g., Alalehto and Larsson, 2009; Benson and Simpson, 2009; Blickle et al., 2006; Goldstraw-White, 2012; Robb, 2006).

Lawyers are in the business of making money based on their knowledge. Lawyers are knowledge workers who can make an income based on their ability to analyze and provide

solutions to legal problems (Dibbern et al., 2008). Since white-collar attorneys typically have wealthy clients, it is interesting to explore determinants of lawyer fame. In this article, we study two kinds of predictors of lawyer fame, criminal case characteristics and lawyer characteristics, respectively. Our empirical study is based on a sample of convicted white-collar criminals and their attorneys from 2009 to 2012 in Norway. Research on the roles of lawyers in white-collar crime is important since it provides new insights into a specific area of legal advice linked to corporate and occupational economic crime.

Characteristics of White-Collar Criminals

In Sutherland's definition of white-collar crime, a white-collar criminal is a person of respectability and high social status who commits crime in the course of his occupation. This excludes many crimes of the upper class, such as most of their cases of murder, adultery, and intoxication, since these are not customarily a part of their procedures (Benson and Simpson, 2009). It also excludes lower class criminals committing financial crime, as pointed out by Brightman (2009).

What Sutherland meant by respectable and high social status individuals are not quite clear, but in today's business world we can assume he meant to refer to business managers and executives. They are for the most part individuals with power and influence that is associated with respectability and high social status. Part of the standard view of white-collar offenders is that they are mainstream, law-abiding individuals. They are assumed to be irregular offenders, not people who engage in crime on a regular basis (Benson and Simpson, 2009: 39):

> Unlike the run-of-the-mill common street criminal who usually has had repeated contacts with the criminal justice system, white-collar offenders are thought not to have prior criminal records.

When white-collar criminals appear before their sentencing judges, they can correctly claim to be first-time offenders. They are wealthy, highly educated, and socially connected. They are elite individuals, according to the description and attitudes of white-collar criminals as suggested by Sutherland.

Therefore, very few white-collar criminals are put on trial, and even fewer upper class criminals are sentenced to imprisonment. This is in contrast to most financial crime sentences, where financial criminals appear in the justice system without being wealthy, highly educated, or socially connected.

White-collar criminals are not entrenched in criminal lifestyles as common street criminals. They belong to the elite in society, and they are typically individuals employed by and in legitimate organizations.

What Podgor (2007) found to be the most interesting aspect of Sutherland's work is that a scholar needed to proclaim that crimes of the "upper socioeconomic class" were in fact crimes that should be prosecuted. It is apparent that prior to the coining of the term "white collar crime," wealth and power allowed some persons to escape criminal liability.

Characteristics of White-Collar Lawyers

Lawyers are competent in general legal principles and procedures and in the substantive and procedural aspects of the law (Dibbern et al., 2008). Lawyers, as knowledge workers, apply a variety of knowledge categories such as declarative and procedural knowledge. Most lawyers spend several hours a day answering queries, generally the types of queries you cannot really capture or look up in a know-how database. As part of the execution of knowledge processes, knowledge lawyers can decide for themselves and is free to decide whether and what knowledge they need, what knowledge they want to evaluate, develop, implement, and communicate. When several lawyers work on a case, there is often an independence of

professionals working together, which might be characterized as collective individualism or individualistic collectivism that makes the sharing of knowledge both dynamic and random. Lawyers, as knowledge professionals with a great deal of autonomy, are free to choose an individual approach to knowledge processes, including the need, storage, access, sharing, application, creation, and e evaluation of knowledge. Autonomy of the performance is an important structural feature that can promote knowledge processes, since such autonomy encourages individuals to develop new knowledge. At the same time, several people (brains) looking at the same problem can come up with different, novel approaches to solving the problem.

Basic knowledge is required for a lawyer as a professional to understand and interpret information, and basic knowledge is required for a law firm as a knowledge organization to receive inputs and produce outputs (Galanter and Palay, 1991). Advanced knowledge is knowledge necessary to get acceptable work done (Zack, 1999). Advanced knowledge is required for a lawyer as a knowledge worker to achieve satisfactory work performance, and advanced knowledge is required for a law firm as a knowledge organization to produce legal advice and legal documents that are acceptable to clients. When advanced knowledge is combined with basic knowledge, then we find professional knowledge workers and professional knowledge organizations in the legal industry (Mountain, 2001; Nottage, 1998; Phillips, 2005). Innovative knowledge is knowledge that makes a real difference. When lawyers apply innovative knowledge in analysis and reasoning based on incoming and available information, then new insights and possible novel solutions are generated in terms of situation patterns, actor profiles and client strategies.

Knowledge levels were here defined as basic knowledge, advanced knowledge and innovative knowledge (Parsons, 2004).

An alternative approach is to define knowledge levels in terms of knowledge depth: know-what, know-how, and know-why, respectively. These knowledge depth levels represent the extent of insight and understanding about a phenomenon. While know-what is the simple perception of what is going on, know-why is a complicated insight into cause-and-effect relationships about why things are going on:

1. *Know-what* is knowledge about what is happening and what is going on. A lawyer perceives that something is going on, that might need his or her attention. The lawyer's insight is limited to the perception of something happening. The lawyer understands neither how it is happening nor why it is happening.
2. *Know-how* is a lawyer's knowledge about how a legal case develops, how a criminal behaves, how investigations can be carried out, or how a criminal business enterprise is organized. The lawyer's insight is not limited to the perception that something is happening; he or she also understands how it is happening or how 'it is'. Similarly, know-how is present when the lawyer understands how legal work is to be carried out and how the client will react to advice put forward in the process.
3. *Know-why* is the knowledge representing the deepest form of understanding and insights into a phenomenon. The lawyer does not only know that it has occurred and how it has occurred, but he or she also has developed an understanding of why it has occurred or why it is like this. It is a matter of causal understanding, where cause-and-effect relationships are understood.

A law firm is a business entity formed by one or more lawyers to engage in the practice of law. Most law firms use a partnership form of organization. In such a framework, lawyers who are highly effective in using and applying knowledge for fee earning are eventually

rewarded with partner status, and thus own a stake in the firm, resulting in an income often ten times as much as initially earned.

In many countries, lawyers and law firms enjoy privileges that make them attractive to white-collar criminals and crime. For example, money placed in a client account at a Norwegian law firm is strictly confidential. The law firm does not have to tell tax or other authorities about names or amounts. Knowing that some of this money flow freely to and from tax havens like the Cayman Islands and knowing that some of the money originates from white-collar crime makes the job of the prosecution extremely difficult (Vanvik, 2011).

Another example is Danish law firms where there is an "in kassu" system. Many inkassus are run by law firms, and they buy debts and chase "debtors" for many companies in Denmark. The reason is that unlike non-law firms, they are authorized and not subject to regulation. The only way a complaint can be filed is through the law firms' own organization Board of Lawyers (Trustpilot, 2013).

Knowledge Competition in Court

From a legal perspective, a court situation is characterized by efforts to conclude whether the charged persons and company are guilty or not guilty. From a knowledge perspective, this situation is characterized by a competition as illustrated in Figure 1.

Depending on the relative knowledge levels of prosecution and defense, a knowledge rivalry with three alternative situations might exist as illustrated in Figure 1:

1. Defense lawyers are experts, while prosecutors are not experts in areas such as international tax regulations, tax havens, global company operations, and management of international operations. Defense lawyers have innovative knowledge (know-why), while prosecutors have core knowledge (know-what).

2. Prosecutors are experts, while defense lawyers are not experts in Norwegian laws and regulations. Defense lawyers have core knowledge (know-what), while prosecutors have innovative knowledge (know-why).
3. Both parties are at about the same knowledge level, leading to a real knowledge competition in court between the defense lawyers and prosecutors.

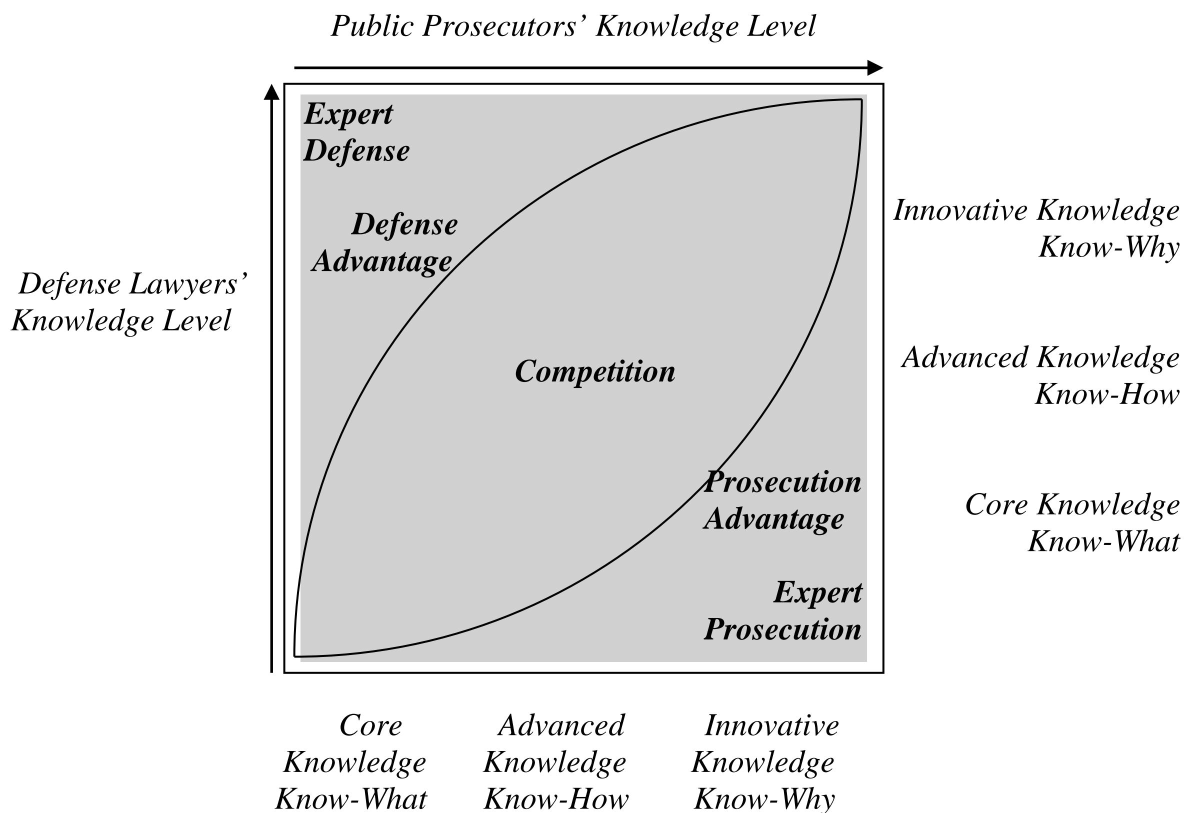

Figure 1 Knowledge Rivalry between the Prosecution and the Defense in Court

While street criminals such as burglars and rapists seldom can afford several top defense lawyers for weeks and months in court, white-collar criminals often can afford it. This discrepancy emphasizes the importance of Sutherland's (1949) seminal work on white-collar crime. The most economically disadvantaged members of society are not the only ones committing crime. Members of the privileged socioeconomic class are also engaged in

criminal behavior (Brightman, 2009) and the types of crime may differ from those of the lower classes. Some examples of the former are business executives bribing public officials to obtain contracts, chief accountants manipulating balance sheets to avoid taxes, procurement managers approving fake invoices for personal gain (Simpson and Weisburd, 2009).

Knowledge competition can be understood in terms of three defense strategies applied by white-collar lawyers: substance defense strategy, information control strategy, and symbolic defense strategy. The counterpart for an attorney in crime cases are the authorities, which decide whether a suspect shall be prosecuted or not. To avoid and prevent a prosecution decision, the defense lawyer will try to convince the police and prosecution that the client has done nothing that justifies court proceedings. It is all about substance defense strategy at an early stage. The strategic issue for the attorney is how to succeed in stopping the state prosecutor from advancing the investigation and case from suspicion to prosecution in court. While very different from other crime cases, an attorney's active defense work often starts in the initial phases of a police investigation, when there are only rumors of wrongdoing that may or may not be relevant for criminal law.

Defense lawyers in white-collar crime cases tend to take charge over information control at an early stage, which is according to the information control strategy. Instead of being at the receiving end of documents from the police and prosecution, the attorney is in a position where the flow of information can be monitored. Of particular interest to the attorney is crucial information that can harm the client's case. The flow of harmful pieces of facts, insights and knowledge of causes and effects, that might become legal evidence in the police, is restricted and stopped by the lawyer.

Third and final defense strategy is the symbolic defense strategy. A symbol is an object or phrase that represents, stands for, or suggests an idea, belief, or action. Symbolic defense is an alternative and a supplement to substance defense. Substance and symbolic defense are

different arenas where the white-collar attorney can work actively to try to make the police close the case, to make the court dismiss the case, and to enable reopening a case to enable the client to plead not guilty. The purpose of symbolic defense is to communicate opinions and intentions by means of symbols. Examples of meaning are publicly announced complaints about delays in police investigations, poor police work quality or other issues related to police and prosecution work.

Research Model

Predictors of white-collar attorney's fame can be found among characteristics of their clients' cases as well as characteristics of themselves.

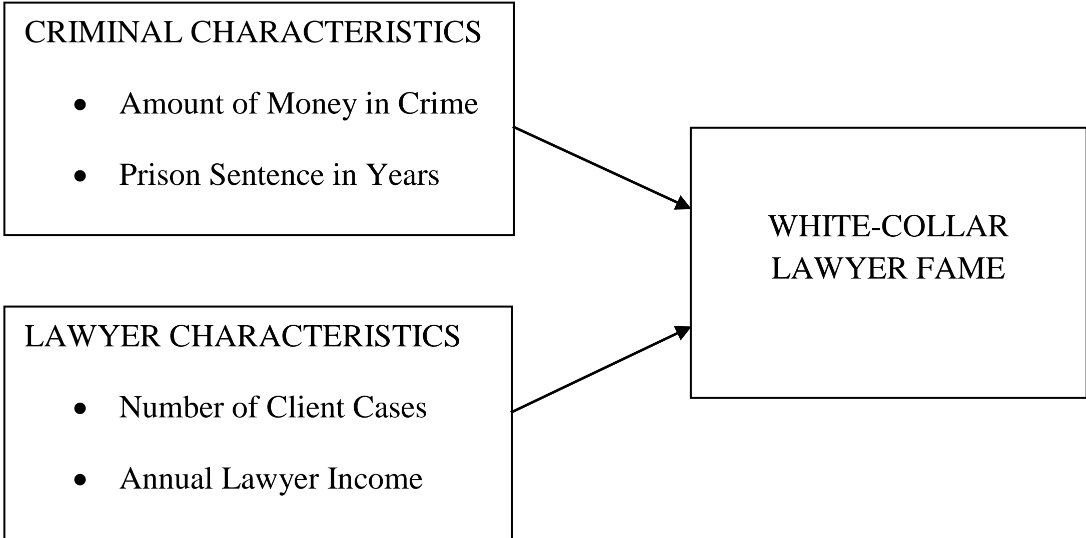

Figure 2 Research model to predict lawyer fame

First, characteristics of the case include amount of money involved in the crime and the number of years in prison for the criminal, where research hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

Hypothesis 1: A defense lawyer handling a white-collar crime case involving a larger amount of money in the crime will be more famous.

Hypothesis 2: A white-collar criminal receiving a longer prison sentence in year will make the defense lawyer more famous.

Characteristics of lawyers include number of white-collar cases handled by lawyer as well as lawyer income:

Hypothesis 3: A defense lawyer handling more white-collar crime cases will be more famous.

Hypothesis 4: A white-collar defense lawyer making more money will be more famous.

Sample of Lawyers

Several options exist to identify a substantial sample of white-collar criminals and to collect relevant information about each criminal and his or her lawyer. However, in a small country like Norway with a population of only five million people, there are limits to available sample size. One available option would be to study court cases involving white-collar crime and criminals. A challenge here would be to identify the relevant laws and sentences that cover our definition not only of white-collar crime, but also the required characteristics of white-collar criminals. Another available option is to study newspaper articles, where the journalists already have conducted some kind of selection of higher class, white-collar individuals convicted in court because of financial crime. An advantage of this approach is that the cases are publicly known, which makes it easier to identify cases by individual white-collar names. The selective and otherwise filtered information in newspapers might be a problem in other kinds of studies, but is considered acceptable in this study. Therefore, the latter option was chosen in this research.

Based on this decision, our sample has the following characteristics as applied by newspapers when presenting news: famous individuals, famous companies, surprising stories, important events, substantial consequences, matters of principles and significant public interest. The sample consists of high profile and large yield offenses. This is in line with research by Schnatterly (2003) who searched the Wall Street Journal for several years in her study of white-collar crime which was published in the Strategic Management Journal.

The two main financial newspapers in Norway are “Dagens Næringsliv” and “Finansavisen”, both of which are conservative-leaning business newspapers. In addition, the business-friendly national daily newspaper “Aftenposten” regularly reports news of white-collar criminals. Left-wing newspapers such as “Klassekampen” very seldom cover specific white-collar criminal cases, although generally report on white-collar crime. It is important to understand the agenda setting and framing functions of the press and media, perhaps the two most important schemes in journalism, media and communication studies, and clearly relevant as the theme and focus of this article.

It is important to keep in mind that our selection of defense lawyers is based on newspaper accounts of white-collar crime, not the distribution of white-collar crime in society, because that is not what is being measured. Using a newspaper sample is different from the population of white-collar crime cases. We argue that a newspaper account is one of the characteristics of white-collar crime as defined previously. Therefore, news reports are relevant reflections of knowledge about white-collar crime.

We make no distinction between prison and jail in this study. A prison or jail in Norway is a place in which people are physically confined and deprived of a range of personal freedoms. Imprisonment is a legal penalty that is imposed by the state for commission of a crime judged in court. In the United States, the difference between jail and prison is primarily a function of imprisonment length, where the use of prison over jail implies a more serious punishment.

Our operational definition of white-collar crime restricts the sample to those who receive jail time as punishment. This restriction excludes cases of fines as penal response, which is quite common. This sample restriction enables us to only study serious white-collar crime cases. Our intention is not to identify white-collar crime in reference to the law, but mainly with respect to the reporting of these offenses resulting in imprisonment. If the sample would be selected as references by the law, then a number of offenses would be defined in non-criminal statutes. Non-criminal statutes cannot, by their definition, result in jail time, only in civil remedies. Thus, by taking this view, we have essentially omitted most white-collar crime cases of fines from our study, since their severity is of a minor extent. Research articles edited by Gerber and Jensen (2006) suggest that only the most serious white-collar crime offenders end up in prison.

For this study, it was considered sufficient that the person was sentenced in one court, even if the person represented a recent case that still had appeals pending for higher courts. A sentence was defined as a jail sentence. Therefore, cases ending with fines only were not included in the sample. Since our research is based on newspaper articles written by journalists, the reliability and completeness of such a source is a challenge in social research. However, most cases were presented in several newspapers over several days, weeks or even months, enabling this research to correct erroneous initial facts as more information became available. Additionally, court documents were obtained whenever there was doubt about the reliability of a single newspaper report that could not be confirmed by other media. This happened in one-third of the reported cases.

It must be noted that there are, of course, disadvantages in using newspapers as data sources. According to Burns and Orrick (2002), research suggests that the media present a distorted image of crime by focusing on violent, sensational events that are atypical of crime in society. They argue that the media is neglecting coverage of corporate offenses, and that the media

disproportionately focus on conventional crime while neglecting the impact of corporate misbehavior. This line of reasoning does not only acknowledge possible biases in our research, but it can also be understood as an argument for our research design, where an important characteristic of our sample is that the white-collar crime cases are prominent in the media.

Nevertheless, some types of corporate crime – probably those that are more typical – maybe still go unreported than other types of corporate crime. For instance, the media may be biased against small corporate offenses preferring larger, more sensational offenses.

Two methodological issues have to be kept in mind because of our decision to use newspapers as sources:

- *Bias because of press coverage*. Financial crime committed by white-collar criminals is only exposed in the press to the extent that they are sensational and possibly revealed and discovered by the press itself. Therefore, no claim is made that the sample is representative of white-collar criminals in general. Rather, there is a bias towards white-collar criminals that, for some reason, are of special interest to journalists and newspapers that cover their story. Therefore, the attribute of news coverage is explicitly added to the list of attributes for white-collar criminals including items such as position of trust, network and opportunity. White collar crimes are committed by people at all levels of the social structure - all they need is the opportunity and mind set. Looking at only those reported in the newspapers, the high visibility white collar crimes certainly bias the results towards people at the higher social level.
- *Data errors in press coverage*. Newspaper articles tend to have some errors in them. There may be factual errors, such as offender name, offender age, imprisonment sentence, crime type, and crime year. Furthermore, there may be a disproportionate

> focus on the sensational aspects of both criminal and crime. Everyone who has ever read about himself or herself in the newspaper will know that there are errors or wrong impressions in the presentation. To minimize this source of error, several newspaper stories of the same case were read and cited based on investigative research. Furthermore, court sentences were obtained in most of the cases to check both factual and story elements concerning both criminal and crime.

However, an argument in favor of media as source of information is integrity measurement by Transparency International. In 2012, Renå (2012) applied the National Integrity System (NIS) for Transparency International to analyze and quantify the extent of integrity in Norwegian institutions in society. At the top of the list of pillars' in the country's governance system, both in terms of their internal corruption risks and their contribution to fighting corruption in society at large, we find the media in Norway. The pillars analyzed in a NIS include: legislative branch of government, executive branch of government, judiciary, public sector, law enforcement, electoral management body, ombudsman, audit institution, anti-corruption agencies, political parties, civil society, business, and media. With a score of 96 %, media achieved top ranking in Norway. Reasons for high media score include judicial framework enabling an independent press, media diversity, transparency in media activities, accountability of editors, and independence of journalists.

Joshi et al. (2010) recognized the limitation of secondary data collection in that secondary data were susceptible to media bias because of unbalanced media attention and reports about different companies across various industries. To address this limitation, they searched a wide range of data sources in terms of news outlets to reduce potential media bias.

It must be noted that journalists in Norway enjoy respectability because of their integrity and seriousness. Very few newspapers, if any, are engaged in reporting undocumented, sensational stories. In fact, during our research into financial crime by white-collar criminals,

we have not found one such newspaper in Norway. Some journalists in the Norwegian financial press have developed sophisticated skills in digging for criminal cases, where they apply robust and transparent methodologies. Every year in Norway, a prestigious prize, the SKUP award, is given to journalist(s) who has (have) conducted an investigation and reported news in a professional way. The prize is awarded by the Norwegian Foundation for a Free and Investigative Press to someone who both found and reported a good story in a respectable and professional way.

Research Results

The total sample consists of 310 convicted white-collar criminals and their lawyers, based on media reports from 2009 to 2012. Average age of criminals was 48 years when convicted in court. Compared to regular street criminals around 20-30 years of age, white-collar criminals are thus much older. Average amount of money involved in crime was 47.2 million Norwegian kroner, which is about 8 million US dollar. Standard deviation of 158.0 million Norwegian kroner indicates a large variation in the sample.

Furthermore in Table 1, each white-collar attorney was handling 3.8 white-collar client cases, with a standard deviation of 5.3 cases. Average income for lawyers was 1.9 million Norwegian kroner, which is about 300.000 US dollars.

Some lawyers are more famous than others. How well-known a lawyer is to potential clients and in the public, might be measured in terms of media coverage. Financial newspapers represent a relevant source of fame for white-collar people. The largest Norwegian financial newspaper, Dagens Næringsliv, was searched for hits on their website. The most famous lawyer achieved 219 hits, followed by the second most famous lawyer with 112 hits on the newspaper web site. The average fame factor in terms of newspaper articles was 28.5, with a large standard deviation of 58.3.

Finally in Table 1, a number of interesting correlations are presented. Among the more obvious correlations, we find a significant relationship between crime money and prison sentence, as a more serious prison sentence is typically passed in court when the amount of Norwegian kroner involved in the crime is large.

	Average Value	Standard Deviation	Crime Money	Prison Sentence	Client Cases	Lawyer Income	Lawyer Fame
Crime Money	47.2	158.0	1	.243**	.070	.235**	.139*
Prison Sentence	2.3	1.9		1	.032	.069	.013
Client Cases	3.8	5.3			1	.540**	.947**
Lawyer Income	1.9	2.2				1	.616**
Lawyer Fame	28.5	58.3					1

*Table 1 Correlation analysis for white-collar criminals and their lawyers (** significance p<.01, * significance p<.05)*

Our research is concerned with predictors of lawyer fame, and three out of four correlation coefficients are significant in Table 1:

Hypothesis 1: A defense lawyer handling a white-collar crime case involving a larger amount of money in the crime will be more famous (.139).*

*Hypothesis 3: A defense lawyer handling more white-collar crime cases will be more famous (.947**).*

*Hypothesis 4: A white-collar defense lawyer making more money will be more famous (.616**).*

To test hypotheses, there is a need to involve all four potential predictors in a single regression analysis. In total, the regression equation shows that all six independent variables are able to predict 91 % of the variation in lawyer fame, since the adjusted R square coefficient is .91. This coefficient is significant at .000 with an F-value of 829.061.

Coefficients[a]

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	-13,364	1,751		-7,632	,000
Prison Sentence	-1,146	,522	-,038	-2,196	,029
Crime Money	,021	,007	,056	3,183	,002
Client Cases	9,574	,217	,872	44,051	,000
Lawyer Income	3,617E-006	,000	,134	6,597	,000

a. Dependent Variable: LawyerFame

Table 2 Regression analysis for white-collar criminals and their lawyers for lawyer fame

As listed in Table 2, all four potential predictors are significant at p<.05. Therefore, all four research hypotheses are supported in the sample of convicted white-collar criminals and their lawyers:

Hypothesis 1: A defense lawyer handling a white-collar crime case involving a larger amount of money in the crime will be more famous (.002).

Hypothesis 2: A white-collar criminal receiving a longer prison sentence in year will make the defense lawyer more famous (.029).

Hypothesis 3: A defense lawyer handling more white-collar crime cases will be more famous (.000).

Hypothesis 4: A white-collar defense lawyer making more money will be more famous (.000).

All four research hypotheses were confirmed in this research. Together, four predictor variables are able to explain as much as ninety-one percent of the variation in lawyer fame.

Discussion

When white-collar criminals appear before their sentencing judges, they can correctly claim to be first-time offenders. They are wealthy, highly educated, and socially connected. They are elite individuals, according to the description and attitudes of white-collar criminals as suggested by Sutherland.

Therefore, very few white-collar criminals seem to be put on trial, and even fewer higher class criminals are sentenced to imprisonment, and if they are, they go to a type of prison that is said to be a 'country club' type. This is in contrast to most other financial crime sentences, where the financial criminals who appear in the justice system and are typically not wealthy, highly educated, or socially connected. White-collar criminals are not entrenched in traditional criminal lifestyles as are common street criminals. Some of them belong to the elite in society, and are typically individuals owning, employed by or in legitimate organizations.

What Podgor (2007) found to be the most interesting aspect of Sutherland's work is that a scholar needed to proclaim that crimes of the "upper socioeconomic class" were, in fact, crimes that should be prosecuted. It is apparent that prior to the coining of the term white-collar crime, wealth and power allowed some persons to escape criminal liability. These individuals were characterized by high status, enjoying high levels of trust, and their criminal acts were made possible by their legitimate employment, special knowledge, or corporate ownership.

Why would white-collar crime lawyers be different from other specialist lawyers? Those who can afford will always hire the best lawyers to defend or argue their case. The rich and powerful will always have better access to justice because they can pay for the services of lawyers who have expertise on the case at issue and are being paid for the hours they render versus a public defense attorney who does not have the time to study rigidly or devote his or her time to the case. Examples are divorce cases in the US, the UK or Italy, where parties hire the best divorce lawyers. It could also be that lawyers employed in the public sector are often not as brilliant as their counterparts. Top law firms often hire top law graduates, and those who cannot make it in the profession, may end up outside the firms.

Conclusion

White-collar crime lawyers are different from other specialist lawyers because of the knowledge gap, the resource gap and the uncertainty whether or not it is a crime. Corporate financial crime cases have a tendency to be associated with great uncertainty in terms of know-what, know-how and know-why. This uncertainty makes judges – who are not necessarily familiar with international business operations – uncertain whether or not it is a crime. A situation is then created in court, where it is very much up to defense lawyers to present the case in such a manner that it seems to be outside punishable conditions. Defense lawyers can presents causes and links in the case as business evidence for pleading not guilty, where judges have a hard time following the business lines, business actors and consequences in relation to Norwegian law.

Based on exploratory research, this paper revealed some interesting insights into potential links between lawyers and their clients. From a statistical point of view, a larger amount of money in the crime is positively related to lawyer fame. Furthermore, clients convicted to

longer jail sentences make the attorney more famous. Also, the lawyer becomes more famous if he or she handles more white-collar crime cases.

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