University of Illinois College of Law

Law and Economics Working Papers

Year 2005 *Paper* 33

A Tempting State: The Political Economy of Entrapment

Richard H. McAdams*

*University of Illinois College of Law, rmcadams@uchicago.edu

This working paper is hosted by The Berkeley Electronic Press (bepress) and may not be commercially reproduced without the permission of the copyright holder.

http://law.bepress.com/uiuclwps/art33

Copyright © 2005 by the author.

A Tempting State: The Political Economy of Entrapment

Richard H. McAdams

Abstract

The entrapment defense is the primary regulation of undercover operations. Though courts and commentators say that the state should not punish an undercover defendant who does not offend outside such operations, no existing theory fully justifies this principle or the defense (without calling into question basic commitments of American criminal law): (1) Under retributive theory, the entrapped are blameworthy, given that a defendant who succumbs to the same temptation from a private party is blameworthy. (2) Fairness theories fail to justify the defense, given that existing law refuses to recognize unfairness in particular distributions of criminal temptations or in highly selective law enforcement. (3) Existing institutional theories fail to explain the precise political danger of entrusting officials with the power of undercover operations, given that targets can refuse criminal opportunities. (4) Among other problems, existing economic theories rest on a false dichotomy between true offenders who commit crimes outside of undercover operations and false offenders who don't. The paper reconstructs the latter two theories, overcoming existing weaknesses to fully justify the defense. The institutional theory rests on the high degree of fortuity to an individual's legal compliance, the state manipulation of which creates a serious risk of political abuse. The economic theory arises from the need to correct a principal-agent problem that motivates police to favor unproductive tactics yielding high numbers of low value arrests (even if the resulting offenders are not "false"). These theories reveal that the normative consensus is misguided; the defense should not be conceived as a way of protecting individual defendants who do not offend outside undercover operations. The two rationales point to the desirability of tailoring a specific entrapment defense to each crime, but the paper also describes the best unitary defense.

The entrapment defense is the primary regulation of undercover operations. Though courts and commentators say that the state should not punish an undercover defendant who does not offend outside such operations, no existing theory fully justifies this principle or the defense (without calling into question basic commitments of American criminal law): (1) Under retributive theory, the entrapped are blameworthy, given that a defendant who succumbs to the same temptation from a private party is blameworthy. (2) Fairness theories fail to justify the defense, given that existing law refuses to recognize unfairness in particular distributions of criminal temptations or in highly selective law enforcement. (3) Existing institutional theories fail to explain the precise political danger of entrusting officials with the power of undercover operations, given that targets can refuse criminal opportunities. (4) Among other problems, existing economic theories rest on a false dichotomy between true offenders who commit crimes outside of undercover operations and false offenders who don't.

The paper reconstructs the latter two theories, overcoming existing weaknesses to fully justify the defense. The institutional theory rests on the high degree of fortuity to an individual's legal compliance, the state manipulation of which creates a serious risk of political abuse. The economic theory arises from the need to correct a principal-agent problem that motivates police to favor unproductive tactics yielding high numbers of low value arrests (even if the resulting offenders are not "false"). These theories reveal that the normative consensus is misguided; the defense should not be conceived as a way of protecting individual defendants who do not offend outside undercover operations. The two rationales point to the desirability of tailoring a specific entrapment defense to each crime, but the paper also describes the best unitary defense.

A Tempting State: The Political Economy of Entrapment

Richard H. McAdams*

INTRODUCTION

By the time she was eighteen, Amy Lively was drinking heavily. At age twenty-one, after two detoxification programs and in the midst of a divorce, she was emotionally distraught and attempted suicide. Weeks later, while attending an Alcoholics Anonymous/Narcotics Anonymous (AA/NA) meeting, she met a man, Koby Desai. Lively found Desai "supportive and responsive to her emotional needs" and later moved into his apartment. Desai asked her to sell cocaine to a "friend" and, on two occasions, she did. Unbeknownst to Lively, Desai was a confidential police informant and the man to whom she sold cocaine was one of his supervising officers. Desai had not targeted Lively for this operation based on any prior suspicion of her — she had no criminal record — nor had he suspected anyone at the AA/NA meeting he attended. As a court would later describe it, he was there with police approval "trolling for targets." Though Desai at some point proposed marriage, the relationship soured when, as planned, police arrested Lively and he testified against her. Lively was convicted of cocaine delivery and sentenced to prison. The Washington Supreme Court upheld the jury's decision to reject her claim of entrapment.

The entrapment defense is the principal means by which state and federal courts regulate the government's use of undercover operations. Where it applies, the defense exempts from criminal liability individuals who were encouraged by an agent of the government to commit

^{*} Guy Raymond Jones Professor of Law, University of Illinois College of Law. The topic of entrapment is wonderfully perplexing and I have toiled on various drafts since 1998. I have learned much from the comments of Jack Balkin, Dhammika Dharmapala, Margareth Etienne, Stan Fisher, Tom Ginsburg, Dave Haddock, Rick Hasen, Louis Kaplow, Hal Krent, Andy Leipold, Dan Markovits, Steve Marks, Anna Marshall, Mike Meurer, Janice Nadler, Mark Ramseyer, Eric Rasmusen, Declan Roche, Jackie Ross, Ken Simons, Steve Shavell, Henry Smith, Bill Stuntz, Tom Ulen, the participants at faculty workshops at BU, Cornell, Illinois, Loyola (LA), Northwestern, Rutgers-Camden, Texas, and Vanderbilt; the Stanford and Yale Legal Theory workshops; economics workshops at Australian National University and Harvard; a Harvard conference on the Economics of Law Enforcement, and an annual meeting of the American Law & Economics Association. For research assistance, I thank Valerie Demaret, Jim Hartman, Jordan Jonis, Stephanie Reinhart, Miriam Seirig, and Shyni Vargese.

¹ State v. Lively, 921 P.2d 1035, 1038 (Wash. 1996).

² Id.

³ Id.

⁴ Id.

⁵ Id. at 1038-39. Lively said the relationship was sexual; Desai said it wasn't and that Lively stayed in a separate bedroom. Id. at 1039.

⁶ Although Desai testified that Lively first raised the possibility of selling cocaine, id. at 1039, nothing in the appellate decision suggests that he ever denied having requested that Lively to sell to his "friend."

⁷ Id. at 1046

⁸ Desai denied proposing marriage. Id. at 1039. Lively supported her contrary testimony with three witnesses who said she and Desai spoke of their plans to marry. Id. at 1038. For sentencing purposes the trial judge found that Desai had proposed marriage. Id. at 1043.

⁹ Id. at 1044.

what would otherwise be an offense. There are different formulations of the defense, but the most common "subjective" test inquires whether the defendant is "predisposed" to commit the charged offense. ¹⁰ Lively sought to disprove predisposition by testifying that Desai raised the subject of selling cocaine only after their relationship was serious and that he pestered her about it repeatedly every day for two weeks. ¹¹ The *Lively* Court sustained the jury's decision to reject the defense because there was contrary evidence showing predisposition: Desai testified that she first proposed the transaction and that he did not need to pester her about it. ¹² Thus, it was a jury question. ¹³

No doubt, some readers react to these facts with outrage, seeing a sting operation run amok, one presenting a strong case for judicial intervention. Many criminal law scholars would cite *Lively* as yet another reason to favor the so-called "objective" test of entrapment that a few jurisdictions use. ¹⁴ Because that formulation focuses only on the nature of the police tactic and not on the defendant's predisposition, Lively would probably have won such a defense. Yet, in this article, I hope to do more than compare the merits of one entrapment formulation to another. Until we know why we should regulate these operations *at all*, we cannot hope to know what doctrinal test is best.

Indeed, not everyone agrees that we should have any entrapment defense. Almost twenty-five years ago, in one of the most penetrating analyses of the doctrine, Michael Seidman declared that no judicial opinion or commentator had provided a satisfactory justification for the defense. Seidman contended that the doctrine lacks any normative basis and is, indeed, incoherent except as a class privilege for those affluent enough to avoid most criminal temptations. Illustrating the doctrine's apparent incoherence, Seidman noted that some commentators condemn the government for randomly selecting undercover targets while others

¹⁰ See discussion infra TAN.

¹¹ Id. at 1038. Unusually, Washington places on the defendant the burden of proving entrapment by a preponderance of the evidence. Id. at 1041-42.

¹² Id. at 1039. The trial judge did not believe Desai, finding for sentencing purposes that he is "a clever, deceitful person" because he had passed 30 bad checks. Id. at 1043. Desai also admitted at trial to lying repeatedly at a defense deposition, saying that he was maintaining his cover and did not think he was under oath. Id. at 1039.

¹³ For those who read footnotes, a reward: Notwithstanding her loss on entrapment, the Washington Supreme Court reversed her conviction on the ground that the undercover operation violated her Due Process rights. Id. at 1049. It would be erroneous, however, to view her victory as suggesting that courts rescue defendants whenever they disagree with a jury's rejection of the defense. Winning a Due Process challenge in this setting is about as likely as winning the lottery. The United States Supreme Court has never on that ground invalidated a conviction from an undercover operation. Id. at 1049 (Durham, C.J., dissenting). Most courts say that the operations can violate Due Process, but very few have ever seen an undercover operation that does. See PAUL MARCUS, THE ENTRAPMENT DEFENSE 277-326 (3d ed. 2002). Apparently, *Lively* was the first such case in the Washington appellate courts. 921 P.2d at 1050 (Durham, dissenting). Thus, despite Lively's federal constitutional victory, a state entrapment defense remains the dominant legal regulation of undercover operations, and her loss of that defense illustrates how minimal the regulation is.

¹⁴ See discussion infra TAN.

¹⁵ Louis Michael Seidman, *The Supreme Court, Entrapment, and Our Criminal Justice Dilemma*, SUP. Ct. Rev. 111, 146-55 (1981).

¹⁶ See id. at 155 ("As the sanctions become stiffer, their application must also be narrowed, because we are increasingly unwilling to risk imposition of such draconian measures against ourselves or people like us.").

condemn the government for just the opposite: the deliberate, non-random selection of targets.¹⁷ More recently, Paul Robinson and John Darley questioned the defense, finding in their empirical work that the public would prefer to use entrapment as a mitigation rather than a defense.¹⁸ In this article, I take these objections seriously. I seek to determine whether one can answer these critics by identifying an analytically sound rationale for regulating undercover operations.

The controversy over entrapment is more important today than ever. First, the United States exports the tactic of undercover operations and the idea that judges should regulate them. When Seidman wrote, he cast doubt on the doctrine by noting that "the rest of civilized world manages to survive quite well without an entrapment defense." True enough, but twenty-five years ago, most liberal democracies were so skeptical of undercover operations – particularly the idea that police may commit criminal acts as part of such operations – that there was not much need for a defense. Over time, however, the United States persuaded other nations to use the tactic more aggressively, usually as part of international drug enforcement. After accommodating American demands, several nations have embraced the need for judicially regulating undercover operations. These nations recognize not a criminal "defense" but the judicial power to stay prosecutions or exclude evidence as a remedy to unlawful operations. Whatever the regulatory form, the initial normative question is whether there is a rationale for any judicial regulation of these tactics. The globalization of undercover operations heightens the importance of identifying any such rationale.

¹⁷ See Louis Michael Seidman, *ABSCAM and the Constitution*, 83 MICH. L. REV. 1199 (1985)(review of ABSCAM ETHICS: MORAL ISSUES AND DECEPTION IN LAW ENFORCEMENT (Gerald M. Caplan, ed., 1983)). He contrasts Mark Moore's claim that efficient law enforcement requires having some suspicion of a person before targeting him for an undercover operation, with Lawrence Sherman's claim that equitable law enforcement would give everyone in a group an equal chance of being targeted. Id. at 1200.

¹⁸ See Paul H. Robinson & John M. Darley, Justice, Liability and Blame 152-155 (1995).

¹⁹ Seidman, supra note xx, at 112 n.4. See also ROBINSON & DARLEY, supra note xx, at 145 ("The entrapment defense is almost unique to the United States.").

²⁰ Some nations do not formally exempt police agents from criminal liability for committing criminal acts as part of undercover operations. For example, in Ridgeway v. The Queen, 184 CLR 19, 36-40 (1995), the High Court of Australia refused to adopt an entrapment defense, but excluded all evidence the undercover offense because the police had themselves committed the crime of importing heroin. See also Jacqueline E. Ross, *Impediments to Transnational Cooperation in Undercover Policing: A Comparative Study of the United States and Italy*, 52 Am. J. Comp. Law 569 (2004); Jacqueline E. Ross, *Dilemmas of Undercover Policing in Germany: The Troubled Quest for Legitimacy* (2005)(unpublished manuscript on file with author).

²¹ This point is a persistent theme in the contributions to UNDERCOVER: POLICE SURVEILLANCE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (Gary T. Marx and C. Fijnaut, eds., 1995), concerning the nations of France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Iceland, Sweden, and Canada.

²² See, e.g., Ridgeway v. The Queen, 184 CLR 19 (1995) (Australia)(exercising judicial power to exclude evidence); Regina v. Loosely, [2001] UKHL 53 (United Kingdom)(recognizing power to stay prosecution); *Regina v Mack* (1988) 44 CCC (3d) 513 (Canada)(recognizing power to stay proceedings); *Police v Lavalle* [1979] 1 NZLR 45 (New Zealand)(recognizing power to exclude evidence). Indeed, the European Court of Justice has held that Article 6 of the European Convention restricts the use of undercover agents. See Teixeira de Castro v. Portugal, Reports of Judgments and Decisions 1998-IV.

In addition, American law enforcement is now in the process of deploying its most aggressive undercover tactics to combat terrorism.²³ For example, one of the more zealous techniques uses the target as a "conduit" or "middleman" between two undercover agents, as where one agent supplies the target the drugs that he sells to another agent.²⁴ Recently, the federal government used this tactic to obtain its highly touted terrorism conviction of Hemant Lakhani.²⁵ After Lakhani failed for a year to acquire the weapons he agreed to sell to an undercover agent, the F.B.I. had Russian undercover operatives make the sale to him.²⁶ Thus, as the law enforcement war on terror gains momentum, there is every reason to expect it to fund a new round of aggressive undercover operations. It is then all the more important to understand the normative basis, if any, for regulating these operations.

Critics might claim that the best regulation is *to completely prohibit* the tactic. Despite conventional wisdom, the case for prohibition is not trivial. Sting operations involve government deceiving citizens for the purpose of encouraging them to commit crime. One may object in principle to the government's use of deception, its encouraging crime, or its use of deception for the purpose of encouraging crime. Even if certain circumstances justify permitting this governmental deception, recent scandals demonstrate in astonishing fashion how difficult it is to limit deception to those circumstances. In Boston, it recently came to light that F.B.I. agents protected a confidential informant by hiding his involvement in a murder and allowing innocent individuals to serve decades in prison for the crime.²⁷ In Tulia, Texas, a confidential informant

²³ See, e.g., Eric Lichtblau, *Trying to Thwart Possible Terrorists Quickly, F.B.I. Agents Are Often Playing Them*, N.Y. TIMES A10, May 30, 2005.

²⁴ See, e.g., United States v. Russell, 411 U.S. 423 (1973).

²⁵ President Bush stated the case is "a pretty good example of what we're doing in order to protect the American people." Petra Bartosiewicz, *I.O.U. One Terrorist*, HARPER'S MAG. Aug. 2005, p.48.

²⁶ Id. at 48-49. Lakhani, a 69-year old British businessman of Indian descent, agreed to sell missiles and a launcher to an agent posing as a terrorist interested in shooting down American passenger planes. Previously, Lakhani had mostly sold clothing, but was involved in one lawful arms sale of armored personnel carriers to Angola. In the sting, whenever the covert agent asked about a particular weapon, including a submarine, Lakhani claimed to be able to provide it. Yet there was no evidence that Lakhani had access to these weapons. See id., *Missile Seller Guilty of Aiding Terrorism*, N.J. RECORD, Apr. 28, 2005, A1. When asked if Lakhani would have ever been able to buy missiles on his own, U.S. Attorney Christopher J. Christie admitted he didn't know and commented: "There are good people and bad people. Bad people do bad things. Bad people have to be punished." *The Arms Trader*, This American Life, episode 292 (radio), July 8, 2005, available at http://www.thislife.org/.

²⁷ See J.M. Lawrence, *Mass. Pols Back Sweeping Probe of FBI-Mob Link*, BOSTON HERALD, April 6, 2001, p. 1; Limone v. United States, 336 F.Supp. 18 (2004). In 1968, four men received life sentences for the 1965 murder of Deegan. Two subsequently died in prison. In 2000, newly released FBI documents showed that two FBI agents had known of the threat to kill Deegan weeks in advance but never warned him, that these agents' confidential informants posed the threat and committed the crime, and that the agents helped to conceal the truth to protect the informants. In 2001, a court vacated the convictions of the surviving defendants. The District Attorney declined to retry them and later posthumously dropped charges against another defendant. Associated Press, *Dead Inmate Exonerated In a Murder*, NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 5, 2004, A-24. For a related scandal, see Shelley Murphy, *Former Mob Boss Tells of Access to FBI*, BOSTON GLOBE, Feb. 13, 2004, B-5.

fabricated undercover drug crimes that led to the arrest of 12% of the black population, with a substantial number sent to prison.²⁸

Aside from scandals, undercover operations impose significant costs. A partial list includes the undermining of trust in a society permeated by police spies, ²⁹ the corrupting influence that portraying criminals has on the police agents who carry it out, ³⁰ the potential for violence erupting out of efforts to foment crime, ³¹ the exploitative recruiting of vulnerable individuals to lead the dangerous life of a confidential informant, ³² and the public's loss of respect for state agents who engage in deception, betrayal, and the exploitation of human weakness. ³³ One might particularly doubt the benefit of undercover operations if one questions, rather than assumes, the value of the prohibitions these operations seek to enforce. Undercover operations are frequently used to enforce "victimless" criminal prohibitions – particularly drug offenses – that are themselves contestable.

Notwithstanding these concerns, in this article, I assume that we should not ban all "proactive" undercover operations. By proactive, I mean those operations that exceed mere infiltration and observation and involve government agents manipulating the appearance of criminal opportunities. Covert agents create attractive criminal opportunities either by pretending to be a criminal confederate who encourages a crime or by pretending to be a potential victim who offers an easy target. The former operations are often called "stings" and the latter

²⁸ See Jim Yardley, *The Heat is on a Texas Town After the Arrests of 40 Blacks*, NEW YORK TIMES, Oct. 7, 2000, A-1. Of the 43 defendants prosecuted as a result of the sting operation, 40 were black, though blacks constitute less than 10% of Tulia's population. Id. After jury convictions or guilty pleas, twenty-two were sent to prison and others received probation. Id. The informant Coleman had been trained by the Drug Enforcement agency, id., and was named Texas Lawman of the Year in 1999. Adam Liptak, \$5 Million Settlement Ends Case of Tainted Texas Sting, NEW YORK TIMES, Mar. 11, 2004, A-14. But Coleman was subsequently discredited and convicted of perjury for some of his testimony in these matters, prosecutors moved to overturn the convictions, the Texas Governor pardoned most of those convicted, and the defendants settled a civil suit for \$5 million. Id.

²⁹ See MARX, supra note xx, at 222-29; Sanford Levinson, *Under Cover: The Hidden Costs of Infiltration*, in ABSCAM Ethics: Moral Issues and Deception in Law Enforcement (Gerald M. Caplan ed. 1983).

³⁰ See MARX, supra note xx, at 159-72. Ross, supra note xx, calls this phenomenon – where undercover agents are themselves seduced into criminality – the "Donnie Brasco" problem, after the case memorialized in a 1997 film.

³¹ In 2000, Manhattan police undercover agents approached Patrick Dorismond and a friend and asked if they would sell marijuana. *See* William K. Rashbaum, *Accounts Diverge on What Led to Killing Outside Bar*, NEW YORK TIMES, Mar. 22, 2000; B-6. Though the facts are disputed, a scuffle broke out and the undercover agent's partner shot Dorismond to death, though he was unarmed. Id. There are also "friendly fire" cases. See, e.g., Clifford Krauss, *Subway Chaos: Officer Firing at Officer*, NEW YORK TIMES, Aug. 24, 1994, A-1 (police shot black undercover officer four times); Robert D. McFadden, *Darkness and Disorder in Subway: Questions Swirl in Police Shooting*, NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 20, 1992, A-1 (police shot black undercover officer in the throat).

³² See, e.g., Lee Sinclair & David L. Herbert, *The Use of Minors in Law Enforcement Undercover Operations*, 24 OHIO N.U. L. REV. 31 (1998); *Dateline NBC: In Over His Head; Mother of Murdered Teen-age Drug Informant Faults Police for Putting Her Son in Danger* (NBC television broadcast, Oct. 12, 1998).

³³ Among other issues, the public is sometimes shocked by the extent to which covert agents preserve their cover by refusing to stop crimes. See, e.g., Gary T. Marx, *Some Reflections on Undercover: Recent Developments and Enduring Issues*, 18 CRIME, LAW & SOC. CHANGE 193, 201 (1992) (reporting example where agent stood by while infiltrated group members committed rape).

"decoys." I assume that we should not ban all such operations because their benefits sometimes justify their costs.³⁴

One reason I assume the general desirability of proactive undercover operations is that I believe it is true. Particularly for crimes of bribery and terrorism, where the stakes are high and conventional methods appear least effective, it seems that the benefits of this investigative tool justify some use of it.³⁵ But I readily admit that I do not have a decisive argument to convince the skeptics, even for these crimes. Another reason is relevance. Covert operations will undoubtedly persist regardless of academic criticism, so an important issue is why and how to regulate them.

Thus, this article asks whether there a theory that justifies regulating undercover operations that is consistent with the decision to permit them. This framing is important. Having discussed undercover operations with many people over the years, I believe it is cognitively difficult to separate the decision to permit any such operations from the narrower question of how to regulate the operations once we've decided to permit them. Thus, it may be a residual doubt about the deception and exploitation inherent in all proactive operations that explains sentiment for a broad entrapment defense, rather than a consistent theory for both permitting and regulating the operations. In this article, I seek such a theory. I reject many arguments for limiting the tactic, though I ultimately articulate a basis for significant regulation.

By narrowing the focus to one police tactic and excluding the option of prohibition,³⁶ I ask whether there is a convincing rationale for regulating undercover operations and, if so, what is the best regulatory form. This article answers these questions by surveying a variety of perspectives, particularly social science. Part I describes the entrapment defense. Part II critiques three possible justifications for the defense. The first two claim that punishing the entrapped does not serve the purposes of punishment, either retributive or utilitarian. The third proposes that the general need for institutional "side constraints" on governmental power includes the specific need for restrictions on undercover operations. Like Seidman, I find the stated rationales inadequate.

Part III offers two new rationales for the defense. I do not claim that there is some clever and wholly new theory. Instead, I reconstruct the institutional and utilitarian analyses and find that they explain the need for substantial regulation of undercover operations. I identify precisely

³⁴ Implicit is an additional preliminary assumption: that the benefits of passive infiltration and observation exceed the costs – the chilling of trust and intimacy that are essential to economic and personal relationships.

³⁵ Part of my reasoning is that if we prohibited undercover operations, we would undoubtedly encourage greater use of other tactics – covert surveillance, deceptive interrogation, and coercion – that impose their own costs.

³⁶ My narrow focus avoids certain topics. First, I do not seek to identify the optimal set of police tactics for investigating crime, i.e., the best combination of surveillance, interrogation, coercion, and undercover work. In discussing covert operations, I take the constraints on other tactics as given. Second, though my theory has broader implications, I focus on the *state's* use of undercover operations in *criminal prosecutions*. Government also uses the operations to seize property under forfeiture statutes, e.g., Zwak v. U.S. 848 F.2d 1179 (11th Cir. 1988), and private citizens sting other private citizens, e.g., Rodgers v. Peoples Gas, Light & Coke, 315 Ill. App.3d 340 (2000)(employee sting). Except for commenting on the "private entrapment defense" infra TAN, I ignore these interesting issues.

why the power to conduct undercover operations is so politically threatening and why, absent regulation, police will use undercover operations wastefully, diverting resources from better uses. The two rationales allow us to answer Seidman's challenge – to explain why it is troubling *both* when government selects undercover targets randomly and deliberately. Part IV explores the right practical approach, asking what regulation best achieves the ends the theory identifies. Here, I discuss the virtues of an entrapment defense tailored to each crime, and alternatively describe how to improve the conventional one-size-fits-all entrapment defense.

I. THE ENTRAPMENT DEFENSE: AN OVERVIEW

In the United States, police at all levels of government make wide use of proactive undercover operations as part of their efforts to control crime.³⁷ Although the Department of Justice regulates F.B.I. undercover operations by administrative guidelines,³⁸ most jurisdictions leave regulation entirely to the judiciary. A few other doctrines marginally affect undercover operations, but entrapment is the main event.³⁹ American courts started to recognize the need for such a defense in the late nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Even though most criminal enforcement occurs at the state level, the United States Supreme Court's rulings are instructive because federal officials took the lead in using undercover operations. When the Court took its first undercover cases, involving postal officials, it upheld the convictions.⁴¹ In 1932, the Court first recognized the defense in *Sorrells v. United States*.⁴² During prohibition, a police agent posing as a tourist gained Sorrells' trust by claiming to have served in the same military unit as Sorrells did in the First World War. The agent then repeatedly asked Sorrells to sell him liquor. Though he refused at first, Sorrells eventually left and returned with liquor, which he sold to the agent. The Court

³⁷ See MARX, supra note xx, at 1-15; Marx, supra note xx, at 193-98.

³⁸ See *The Attorney General's Guidelines on Federal Bureau of Investigation Undercover Operations* (May 30, 2002); MARX, supra note xx, at 180-88.

The main alternative is Due Process, but while many courts say that outrageous undercover operations can violate Due Process, few reverse convictions on that basis. See MARCUS, supra note xx, at 277-326 (3d ed. 2002). There is a Due Process doctrine sometimes called "entrapment by estoppel," but it does not regulate undercover operations; it bars conviction for an act after overt government officials inform the defendant that the act does not constitute an offense. See, e.g., Cox v. Louisiana, 379 U.S. 559 (1965).

Also, once the state initiates "formal adversary proceedings," the Sixth Amendment restricts the ability of government officials to "deliberately elicit" incriminating statements from the individual. See Massiah v. United States, 377 U.S. 201 (1964). The doctrine requires a waiver of the defendant's right to counsel, but covert agents cannot ask for a waiver without blowing their cover. Nonetheless, passive listening short of deliberate elicitation does not require a waiver, Kuhlmann v. Wilson, 477 U.S. 436 (1986), and the Sixth Amendment is "offense specific," so it excludes deliberately elicited statements in a trial of the defendant only for the *same offense* for which formal proceedings had commenced when the statement was made. See Texas v. Cobb, 532 U.S. 162 (2001).

⁴⁰ Possibly the first case is Woo Wai v. United States, 223 F. 412 (9th Cir. 1915)(immigration law). See Rebecca Roiphe, *The Serpent Beguiled Me: A History of the Entrapment Defense*, 33 SETON HALL L. REV. 257 (2003).

⁴¹ See Grimm v. United States, 156 U.S. 604 (1895)(mailing obscene materials); Goode v. United States, 159 U.S. 663 (1895)(theft of mail).

⁴² 287 U.S. 435 (1932). The majority based the defense on statutory construction, reasoning that Congress could not have intended its criminal prohibitions to reach the behavior of entrapped defendants. Id. at 446.

held that, on these facts, it was error not to submit the issue of an entrapment defense to the jury.⁴³

With the Supreme Court's lead, state courts and legislatures embraced the entrapment defense. It is difficult to summarize the complex law across American jurisdictions, but I offer a quick overview. Following federal precedent, most jurisdictions recognize a *subjective* entrapment test, which exculpates a defendant whose crime was (a) encouraged or "induced" by the government, if (b) the defendant was *not* "predisposed" to commit such crimes. Inducement and "predisposition" are murky concepts. Inducement requires "something more" than creating a mere opportunity for the defendant to commit the crime. An 'inducement' consists of an 'opportunity' *plus* something else – typically, excessive pressure by the government upon the defendant or the government's taking advantage of an alternative, non-criminal type of motive. The requirement of inducement clearly forecloses the defense when the government agent infiltrates a group and merely observes crime. But it also leaves open the possibility that some manipulation of opportunities will fall short entrapment because the government's pressure was less than "excessive."

Because undercover agents frequently encourage crime, cases routinely turn on predisposition. Courts often define predisposition to mean the defendant was not reluctant to commit the crime. A typical jury instruction describes predisposition as being "ready and willing to violate the law at the first opportunity." The Supreme Court's second entrapment case, *Sherman v. United States*, illustrates. An undercover agent posing as an addict first approached Sherman in a clinic treating addiction and later begged him for help in obtaining drugs while feigning symptoms of withdrawal. Sherman eventually relented, but the Court found insufficient evidence of predisposition because Sherman was reluctant to sell the drugs, gave in only because of concern for the agent's pain of withdrawal (rather than profit; he sold at cost), and the police found no narcotics in their subsequent search of his apartment. So The Court reached a similar conclusion in *Jacobson v. United States*, tis last word on entrapment. Undercover agents spent two years corresponding with Jacobson about sex, sending him many letters advocating sexual liberty with minors and the right to child pornography. When solicited, Jacobson promptly ordered such pornography, but when police searched his home, they found

⁴³ Id. at 452

⁴⁴ The defense is now codified in twenty-six states. The statutes are collected in MARCUS, supra note xx, at 705-15. In the remaining states, the defense is a judicial creation, as it is in federal law.

⁴⁵ See id. at 51-63.

 $^{^{46}}$ United States v. Gendron, 18 F.3d 955, 961 (1stCir.1994), quoted with approval in United States v. Poehlman, 217 F.3d 692, 701 (9^{th} Cir. 2000).

⁴⁷ See, e.g., U.S. v. Ulloa, 882 F.2d 41, 44 (2nd Cir.1989).

⁴⁸ United States v. Kelley, 748 F.2d 691, 697 (D.C. Cir. 1984).

⁴⁹ 356 U.S. 369 (1958).

⁵⁰ Id. at 375.

⁵¹ 503 U.S. 540 (1992). See Gabriel J. Chin, *The Story of* Jacobson v. United States: *Catching Criminals or Creating Crime?* forthcoming in CRIMINAL LAW STORIES (Robert Weisberg, ed.).

only the material they had sent him.⁵² The Court found, as a matter of law, insufficient evidence of predisposition prior to the government's communications.⁵³

By contrast, some American jurisdictions embrace an *objective* test for entrapment, that dispenses with the issue of predisposition.⁵⁴ Several adopt the language of Model Penal Code § 2.13, which provides a defense to a crime whenever the government's "methods of persuasion or inducement . . . create a substantial risk that such an offense will be committed by persons other than those who are ready to commit it." Other formulations refer to inducements that would persuade "an average"⁵⁵ or "normally law-abiding"⁵⁶ person to commit the crime. This standard aims to exculpate defendants who were subject to certain unreasonable police practices, without regard to their individual characteristics; that the inducement could tempt a generally law-abiding citizen condemns the practice even if the defendant is not law-abiding. Conversely, the subjective test aims to exculpate only "non-predisposed" actors whom the government induced to commit crime; predisposed actors do not gain the defense regardless of the strength of the government inducement.⁵⁷

Commentators note that the objective and subjective tests are more alike in practice than they first appear.⁵⁸ In practice, the more important differences may be procedural. The jury decides application of the subjective test, but frequently the judge resolves claims under the objective test.⁵⁹ Also, to prove predisposition, prosecutors may introduce otherwise inadmissible evidence that the defendant possesses knowledge or abilities useful only for committing the offense, has committed similar offenses or acts in the past, or has a reputation for committing such offenses.⁶⁰ Substantively, the two tests can generate different outcomes. The most obvious difference is that, when the inducement is strong but there is evidence of predisposition, as is in *Lively*,⁶¹ a defendant might win an entrapment defense under the objective test but lose under a subjective test.

The opposite case – losing the objective test but winning the subjective test – is more difficult, but possible. At least in the subjective test jurisdictions that frame the ultimate question as whether the defendant would have offended if the government had left him alone, it is possible a jury would find entrapment even though the government offer would not have tempted

⁵² *Jacobson*, 503 U.S. at 1540.

⁵³ Id. at 554

⁵⁴ The test was first suggested in minority opinions in *Sorrells* and *Sherman*. See Sorrells v. United States, 287 U.S. 435, 453 (1932)(Roberts, Brandeis, Stone, J., dissenting in part) and Sherman v. United States, 356 U.S. 369, 378 (1958)(Frankfurter, Douglas, Harlan, Brennan, concurring in the result).

⁵⁵ See, e.g., Alaska Statutes § 11.81.450.

⁵⁶ See, e.g., Arkansas Statutes § 5-2-209.

⁵⁷ A few jurisdictions use some kind of "hybrid" test combining subjective and objective elements in different ways. See, e.g., State v. Rockhold, 476 A.2d 1236, 1239 (N.J. 1984)(conjunctive test); Bacca v. State, 742 P.2d 1043 (N.M. 1987)(disjunctive test).

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Seidman, supra note xx.

⁵⁹ See WAYNE R. LAFAVE, CRIMINAL LAW 515-16 (4th ed. 2003).

⁶⁰ Id. at 513-15

⁶¹ State v. Lively, 921 P.2d 1035 (Wash. 1996).

an average citizen. In these jurisdictions, courts hold that predisposition means not only willingness – the absence of reluctance – but also "readiness" – being positioned to commit the offense. The primary example is the money laundering case of *United States v. Hollingsworth*. ⁶² Though the defendants never exhibited reluctance to launder money, the court found it unlikely that a genuine criminal would ever have proposed such a transaction to the defendants, given their manifest inability to launder money. ⁶³ Some courts reject this approach, ⁶⁴ but where readiness is required and the temptation is modest, an "unready" defendant could win the subjective version of the defense but lose an objective version.

II. JUSTIFYING THE ENTRAPMENT DEFENSE: A CRITIQUE OF EXISTING THEORY

Criminal law theorists disagree about what rationale, if any, justifies the entrapment defense. Part of the reason for confusion may be that judicial opinions and scholarly articles are frequently distracted by issues other than the fundamental justification for the defense, such as the concern for whether courts should create such a defense without legislative authorization and the choice between competing doctrinal formulations. But these issues are subordinate to the question of whether the defense or other regulation is ultimately justified; moreover, it should be easier to resolve subordinate issues if we have an appealing normative foundation for the defense. In this Part, I consider and critique the literature that seeks to justify the defense based on retributive theory, utilitarian theory, and political/institutional concerns. In each case, I do not claim that there is no possible way to use these approaches to justify the defense, only that no one has yet successfully articulated such a theory.

Let me begin, however, by noting a consensus that exists about how to describe the problem of entrapment. This consensus is only superficial, but it is useful for framing the issue. Despite different normative starting points, a variety of courts and commentators make this common claim: *The state should not be allowed to punish an individual for committing a criminal act in an undercover operation that she does not commit outside of undercover operations*. In other words, the government should not cause otherwise law-abiding citizens to commit crime and then punish them for it. I call this point the "external offense principle" because it focuses on whether the defendant commits the relevant sort of offense outside the undercover operation.

Statements of the principle are found in most writing on entrapment. In *Sorrells*, the Supreme Court stated that Congress did not intend that its statutes would permit government

⁶² 27 F.3d 1196 (7th Cir. 1994)(en banc).

⁶³ Id. at 1202 ("Whatever it takes to become an international money launderer, they did not have it."). Chief Judge Posner states that federal courts were in the process of reaching a consensus that predisposed meant merely willingness (in contrast to reluctance) when the Supreme Court decided *Jacobson*, supra note xx, which he interprets as adding a "positional" element. See also *Poehlman*, supra note xx (requiring readiness).

⁶⁴ See, e.g., United States v. Thickstun, 110 F.3d 1349 (1997)(rejecting *Hollingsworth*'s interpretation of *Jacobson*).

⁶⁵ I do not discuss the question of whether courts should construct a entrapment defense in the absence of a specific statute creating one. I do discuss the best formulation of an entrapment defense, infra TAN.

officials to "instigat[e]... an act on the part of persons *otherwise innocent* in order to lure them to its commission and to punish them." The "otherwise innocent" language might be read in other ways, ⁶⁷ but I agree with Jonathan Carlson that *Sorrells* here refers to the "core idea" "that it is improper to impose criminal sanctions upon a person who would not have engaged in criminal conduct absent an effort by the government to induce such conduct." In *Jacobson*, the Court stated: "When the Government's quest for convictions leads to the apprehension of an otherwise law-abiding citizen who, if left to his own devices, likely would never have run afoul of the law, the courts should intervene."

The external offense principle pervades scholarly commentary as well. Many express the point in terms of causation, that the government should be allowed to alter the timing of crimes so it can more easily detect them, but not to *cause* additional crimes. Gerald Dworkin explains: The central moral concern with pro-active law enforcement techniques is that they manufacture or create crime in order that offenders be prosecuted and punished. The Carlson agrees that it is offensive for the government to encourage, in order to prosecute, otherwise law-abiding persons. Posner says that undercover operations are not productive if the police offer [an actor] such inducements as would persuade him to commit crimes that he would never commit in his ordinary environment. Steve Shavell concurs: If parties would not ordinarily commit criminal acts, there is no behavior that needs to be deterred.

In sum, theorists approaching entrapment from divergent perspectives articulate a similar goal for the defense: to prevent government from using undercover operations to convict an individual who does not otherwise offend. *But why not?* Here the consensus dissolves. Those who think the principle is justified disagree about whether the rationale is retributive, utilitarian, or institutional. In this Part, I find the existing articulation of all three rationales inadequate,

^{66 287} U.S. 435, 448 (1932).

⁶⁷ The alternative is actual innocence in the sense of lacking the required mental state or more broadly lacking blameworthiness. Both interpretations lead to confusion. First, I explain at infra TAN xx-yy why entrapped individual are blameworthy. Second, if the mental state were absent, that would be the grounds for defense, not entrapment.

⁶⁸ Jonathan C. Carlson, *The Act Requirement and the Foundations of the Entrapment Defense*, 73 Va. L. Rev. 1011, 1051 (1987).

^{69 503} U.S. at 553-54.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., J. Gregory Deis, Economics, Causation, and the Entrapment Defense, 2001 ILL. L. REV. 1207.

⁷¹ Gerald Dworkin, *The Serpent Beguiled Me and I Did Eat: Entrapment and the Creation of Crime*, 4 Law & Phil. 17, 24. See also id. at 27: "[T]here is the danger that one may not merely shift the scene of criminal activity but create crime that otherwise would not have occurred."

⁷² See Carlson, supra note xx, at 1051-52.

⁷³ RICHARD A. POSNER, ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF LAW 255 (5th ed. 1998) ("Police inducements that merely affect the timing and not the level of criminal activity are socially productive; those that induce a higher level of such activity are not."). Posner also makes this point in judicial opinions. See United States v. Manzella, 791 F.2d 1263 (7th Cir. 1986) ("[I]f the inducement was so great that it tempted the person to commit a crime that he would not otherwise have committed, punishing him will not reduce the crime rate"); United States v. Evans, 924 F.2d 714, 717 (7th Cir. 1991) (the key is whether "the government's really having *caused*, in some rich sense, the criminal activity to occur, as distinct from merely providing a convenient occasion for it to occur.").

⁷⁴ Steven Shavell, *Criminal Law and the Optimal Use of Nonmonetary Sanctions as a Deterrent*, 85 Colum. L. Rev. 1232, 1256 (1985).

except perhaps for justifying a "minimalist" defense no one advocates. Ultimately, though I argue for a broad entrapment defense in the next Part, I reject the validity of the external offense principle.

A. Retributive Theory: No Support for the Defense

Under our current blaming practices, retributive theory gives no support to the entrapment defense. The entrapped individual is blameworthy because she voluntarily commits a wrongful act with the requisite mental state. Viewing the entrapped as innocent implies that the government's encouragement of crime excuses the undercover offender from blame. Several commentators have pointed out the logical flaw in this reasoning. To We often blame and punish individuals for giving in to temptations. In virtually any case of entrapment, we would blame the defendant for giving in to exactly the same encouragement were it provided by a sincere private individual (*i.e.*, one not acting on behalf of government).

To illustrate, imagine two defendants each accept a bribe with the same degree of initial reluctance and the same belief that they are selling their official service to a sincere private buyer who has repeatedly offered an attractive price. Suppose that the only difference in the two cases is that, while the first bribe offeror is who he purports to be (a private citizen acting for his own behalf), the second is an undercover government agent (a police officer or informant working for the police). It is not clear how one can distinguish the two cases on grounds of blameworthiness. The defendants (1) do the same act with the same mental state, (2) in response to the same temptation or encouragement. The only difference is the source of the bribe – insincere government agent vs. sincere private individual. But there is no reason why this difference matters to blameworthiness. From the entrapped defendant's perspective, there was no difference in circumstance because she believed the source was genuinely private, that is, identical to the source for the other defendant.

If we cannot distinguish the two cases, then we must either blame both defendants or neither. Our standard practice rules out the latter. It is no defense that one committed a crime that some private individual encouraged or made seem particularly appealing.⁷⁶ Indeed, we can see

⁷⁵ See Anthony M. Dillof, *Unraveling Unlawful Entrapment*, 94 J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOL. 827, 829-30, 845-46 (2004); Andrew Altman & Steven Lee, *Legal Entrapment*, 12 PHIL. & PUB. AFFAIRS 51, 59 (1982)("the rationale for the entrapment defense cannot be the concern to distinguish between the culpable and the nonculpable"); Carlson, supra note xx, at 1037-44; Christopher D. Moore, *The Elusive Foundation of the Entrapment Defense*, 89 Nw. U. L. Rev. 1151 (1995)(arguing that the entrapment defense does not satisfy the requirements of an excuse); Paul H. Robinson, *Criminal Law Defenses: A Systematic Analysis*, 82 COLUM. L. REV. 199, 237-39 (1982); Seidman, supra note xx, at 129-36. Many judicial opinions make the same point. See, e.g., United States v. Russell, 411 U.S. 423, 442 (1973)(Stewart, J., dissenting); Sherman v. United States, 356 U.S. 369, 380 (1958)(Frankfurter, J., concurring); Grossman v. State, 457 P.2d 226, 229 (Alas. 1969).

⁷⁶ The point I am making is that there is no defense to succumbing to a sincere private request to commit a crime, no matter how tempting, nor to the presence of a genuinely tempting victim. Though less relevant, it is *also* the case that there is no defense to succumbing to an *insincere* private individual proposing a crime for the purpose of exposing the recipient to criminal liability. This point is expressed by stating that "[t]here is no defense of private entrapment." United States v. Hollingsworth, 27 F.3d 1196, 1203 (7th Cir. 1994)(en banc). See also Holloway v. United

how unconventional this notion is by considering the closest available defense – duress. Duress requires that the defendant succumb to a certain kind of *threat*. The requirement of a threat rules out the defense for succumbing to attractive *offers*. Because we routinely blame individuals for failing to refuse even the strongest non-threatening temptations to crime, there is then no reason not to blame individuals who gave into such temptations merely because they were, unknowingly, created by undercover agents.

It is, of course, possible that the "standard practice" is wrong. I do not explore this possibility in detail. My goal is to determine whether the entrapment defense makes sense given our other criminal law practices and commitments; one settled practice is to blame those who succumb to tempting opportunities. Nonetheless, I should consider an argument by Carlson, who contends that the acts committed in an undercover operation may fail to be *wrongful*. On many retributivist accounts, we can only blame an individual for wrongful conduct and conduct is wrongful only when it harms or risks harming the socially recognized interests of others. Yet, Carlson claims, in many undercover operations, "the actual crime that the government seeks to punish . . . is so completely under the control of the government that there is neither any actual invasion of a protected legal interest, nor any genuine threat to the interests that the law in question protects."

Even granting his premises, Carlson's contention is unpersuasive. Note initially that we cannot perform the analysis he requires without first selecting a level of generality from which to judge whether the defendant's conduct poses a risk of harm. Carlson selects the narrowest possible conceptual level: the specific circumstances of the defendant's behavior. But one might adopt a broader level of generality: that the defendant's conduct is wrongful if it *ordinarily* risks harming the recognized interests of others (or, alternatively, that the conduct would cause or risk harm given the defendant's subjective perspective⁸⁰). Under this view, government observation and control might be seen as a mere fortuity, which does not affect the risk ordinarily posed by the conduct. If so, then undercover conduct is wrongful if the same conduct is wrongful outside undercover operations.

Which level of generality is appropriate? Again, I only note that the implications of Carlson's narrow view are inconsistent with existing practice. His argument entails that there can be no wrongful conduct when the government, or some other party intent on preventing crime, is in firm control of the behavioral environment, thus eliminating the risk of harm. For example,

States, 432 F.2d 775, 776 (10th Cir. 1970); Carbajal-Portillo v. United States, 396 F.2d 944, 948 (9th Cir. 1968); Grossman v. State, 457 P.2d 226, 229 (Alas. 1969). Some scholars have argued for a private entrapment defense. See Leo Katz, Bad Acts and Guilty Minds 159 (1987); Ronald J. Allen, Melissa Luttrell and Anne Kreeger, *Clarifying Entrapment*, 89 Journal of Crim. Law & Criminology 407, 420-21 (1999). I argue to the contrary at infra TAN.

⁷⁷ See Seidman, supra note xx, at 13-34. On the conventional view, offers work to expand the offeree's choices; threats contract choices. Dillof, supra note xx, at 849-52, considers and rejects a rationale for the entrapment defense based on an analogy to duress.

⁷⁸ Carlson, supra note xx, at 1059-67.

⁷⁹ Id. at 1061.

⁸⁰ Dillof, supra note xx, at 843-44, criticizes Carlson for ignoring this form of "subjective retributivism."

government agents sometimes "stake out" and entirely control an environment even when there is no undercover operation. Similarly, potential victims may be aware of a criminal attempt and take actions to render its completion impossible. ⁸¹ In either case, the logic of Carlson's position is that the acts committed in these situations cannot be wrongful (or blameworthy) because, narrowly viewed, the actors pose no real threat. ⁸² To the contrary, our normal practice is to ask about the *ordinary* dangers posed by the type of conduct at issue, judged a higher level of generality than the facts of the particular case. Judged accordingly, otherwise criminal acts in undercover operations are wrongful, and therefore deserve blame. ⁸³

Finally, I should consider a possibility raised by Roger Park. ⁸⁴ Park claims that our practice of punishing those who give in to private encouragements to crime does not prove that such individuals are always blameworthy. Instead, he says that we do not give a defense to non-blameworthy individuals who give in to private temptation because of the danger of "contrived defenses." With a private temptation defense, one member of a conspiracy could falsely but persuasively claim to have unduly tempted the others, relieving them of liability and dramatically lowering the expected punishment for group crimes. ⁸⁵ But, Park says, there is a far smaller danger when government itself is the tempter because, by controlling the situation, government can guarantee the acquisition of evidence that proves whether or not the temptation was too great.

Again, I believe our existing commitments contradict Park's claim. Poverty, peer pressure, and personal weakness are common reasons that individuals fail to resist criminal temptations; the exploitation of personal relationships is a routine part of conspiracies. To say that these circumstances render individuals blameless suggests that we convict masses of "innocent" individuals every day. Yet retributive theory requires blame to justify punishment. To foreclose the private temptation defense altogether for evidentiary reasons (rather than, say,

⁸¹ Thus, Carlson's claim that acts encouraged in undercover operations are not "wrongful" undermines the basis for attempt liability whenever the effort at crime is doomed to fail. In a later section, Carlson draws his own parallel between undercover acts and attempt, claiming "punishing encouraged conduct should be treated as a form of inchoate liability that the entrapment rule seeks to restrict within sensible boundaries." *Id.* at 1075. Carlson's theory is that the entrapment defense tries to determine whether the defendant is dangerous much like modern attempt doctrine. Id. at 1075-82. That approach seems to concede the need for a utilitarian justification. In any event, modern attempt law aims to base liability on acts that *ordinarily* demonstrate dangerousness, not on proof beyond a reasonable doubt that the particular defendant is dangerous.

⁸² More generally, there are many crimes that prohibit behavior that does not in every case cause or risk harm even outside of a controlled environment. To the crimes of operating a motor vehicle without a license, it is no defense to the safest driver on the road.

⁸³ There is another problem. Police sometimes do not control the environment of an operation sufficiently to prevent all risk. One example is a sting where a covert agent poses as a "fence" who buys stolen goods. Because the operations lasts for months and some theft victims are never identified, it may encourage thefts that cause real harm. See Kenneth Weiner, Kenneth Chelst & William Hart, *Stinging the Detroit Criminal*, in IV POLICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT 283, 290 (1987). Carlson's argument implies that the acts in *these* undercover operations are wrongful because they risk harming the interests of others. It seems odd (and to create odd incentives) that an individual is blameworthy when caught in risky or disorganized undercover operations but not in safe and well-managed ones.

⁸⁴ Roger Park, *The Entrapment Controversy*, 60 Minn. L. Rev. 163, 241-42 (1976).

⁸⁵ See Park, *supra*, at 241-42.

shifting the burden of proof) makes no more retributive sense than to eliminate insanity or self-defense because they can occasionally be faked. In particular, members of a conspiracy could fake a duress defense by claiming that one member threatened the rest, but we deal with that problem with various limitations, not by eliminating the defense entirely. The better explanation for the absence of the temptation defense is that we actually do blame competent adults who give in to such temptations. ⁸⁶ Similarly, we should blame the entrapped. ⁸⁷

In conclusion, let me repeat that it is possible that our current blaming practices are, at some deep level, wrong. But if so, the problem requires rethinking far more than the entrapment defense.⁸⁸ The question I address is whether we can give a normative account of the defense that is mostly consistent with existing commitments. Given our ordinary practices of blame, those who commit otherwise criminal acts in undercover operations are blameworthy for doing so.⁸⁹

B. Utilitarian Analysis: A Need to Avoid Pointless Punishment

There are many costs and benefits to undercover operations, but it is difficult to imagine any simple tabulation of these costs and benefits as justifying an entrapment defense, rather than a simple prohibition. The defense seems more useful as a means of encouraging police to avoid particular tactics, so the justification needs to be tied to the undesirability of certain tactics. There is such an approach, an economic distinction between desirable and undesirable undercover tactics. Initially, however, let me introduce terminology I use in the rest of this article. The external offense principle poses the question: would this defendant commit this sort of offense outside of undercover operations? If we answer this question affirmatively, then let us call the defendant a true offender. If she does not commit this sort of offense except in undercover operations, let us call her a *false offender*. If this dichotomy seems suspect, let me say now that I eventually question it. But the terminology merely tracks the frequently expressed idea that I labeled the external offense principle. That idea claims that the state is justified in punishing those who would otherwise offend – "true offenders" – but not those who would not otherwise offend - "false offenders." The economic justification for the defense is a claim that, though the punishment of true offenders produces desirable consequences, the punishment of false offenders does not.

⁸⁶ See Robinson & Darley, supra note xx, at 154 (finding that most survey respondents would find entrapped individuals guilty but consider the facts of entrapment to mitigate the offense and justify a lower punishment); Altman & Lee, supra note xx, at 58-59 (1982)(most individuals would blame public official for accepting a bribe even if very large and offered repeatedly).

Dillof, supra note xx, at 853-56, also considers and rejects a "limited resources" rationale for excusing individuals for failing to develop the character necessary to resist significant criminal temptations.

⁸⁸ See Seidman, supra note xx, at 132.

⁸⁹ Even though retributive theory does not require a defense, on some version it permits one. Those retributivists who see blame only as necessary to justify punishment would permit a defense. Those who see a moral obligation to punish the blameworthy would rule out the defense.

Richard Posner, Steve Shavell, and Bruce Hay have each made this claim. They each begin with the utilitarian premise that, absent a social benefit from punishment, punishment is a needless, indefensible act. If the offender would not otherwise commit the crime, then there is no benefit to having the state first induce that crime in an undercover operation and then punish her for it. Posner makes the point by turning the question around and asking about the purpose of undercover operations. Why is it ever desirable for government to encourage a crime? Posner answers that undercover operations are sometimes the cheapest means of detecting *ongoing* criminal activity. When police find it difficult to prove criminal charges using conventional investigative tactics, they will often find it cheaper to induce the individual to commit a crime in the presence of police. The purpose of undercover operations, therefore, is to apprehend existing offenders. That purpose is not served when the apprehended individual is a non-offender, who, for some reason, commits the criminal act only in an undercover operation. Thus, the entrapment defense ensures that police use undercover operations in a way that is consistent with their purpose, by ensuring that the individual otherwise offends. The defense prevents the state from needlessly punishing (what I call) false offenders.

By contrast, some commentators claim that utilitarianism is not consistent with the defense, though these commentators are usually not utilitarians. Here, I first defend the theory against these criticisms and then provide my own critique.

1. Entrapment and Economics: A Reply to Existing Criticism

The objections to the economic theory are that there are crime prevention benefits from punishing anyone who offends in an undercover operation, even the "entrapped," and that there is no reason for courts, rather than police, to decide how best to structure undercover operations. I consider and reject each criticism in turn.

Crime Prevention Benefits. Punishing false offenders obviously does not produce individual crime prevention. That is, if the individual will not offend when "left to [her] own devices," then there is no need to specifically deter, incapacitate, nor rehabilitate her. Creating and then punishing a false offender cannot decrease the amount of the crime she will commit because, by definition, she will commit none.

The less obvious argument concerns general deterrence. Some claim that punishing the entrapped will increase the perceived probability of detection. Seidman says: "[E]ven if the entrapped defendant is not dangerous, his incarceration may nonetheless reduce crime by

⁹⁰ See POSNER, supra note xx, at 255; Richard A. Posner, *An Economic Theory of the Criminal Law*, 85 COLUM. L. REV. 1193, 1220 (1985); Shavell, supra note yy, at 1256-57; Bruce Hay, Sting Operations, Undercover Agents, and Entrapment 15-16 (2003) (unpublished manuscript on file with author).

⁹¹ Posner, supra note xx, at 1220.

⁹² *Jacobson*, supra at 553-54.

deterring others."⁹³ Dillof agrees: "Any convictions, even those of the nondisposed, advance the cause of general deterrence."⁹⁴ If so, then it is not necessarily wasteful to punish the entrapped.

I take this criticism to claim that there is a deterrence benefit to punishing false offenders. With one exception, the critics' view is erroneous. The exception is that, when law enforcement directs undercover operations against a particular criminal population *for the first time* – e.g., the first terrorist sting – convicting even a false offender could publicize the new tactic and enhance deterrence. Even if the convicted offender is false, unapprehended true offenders will now realize the government has shifted into such tactics, thus raising their perceived probability of detection. But that advantage is small and fleeting. Apprehending true offenders *also* publicizes a new operation and, in any event, once the tactic is familiar, there is no publicity benefit from apprehending false offenders. In the long run, individuals care only about the probability of their own detection, which they judge from the probability of detecting the class of individuals like themselves. Ongoing "true" offenders care about the probability of detecting ongoing offenders. That probability is not affected by the punishment of false offenders, which therefore does not improve deterrence.

To illustrate, consider a stylized example. Suppose there is an equilibrium, created with conventional law enforcement and no undercover operations, in which 100 individuals commit one particular crime per year, ten of whom are apprehended and incarcerated, while an additional ten offenders are added each year to replace them (coming from a new cohort of young adults or prior offenders released from prison). The probability of detection is 10%. 99 Now suppose we introduce undercover operations that each year catch an additional six individuals per year, three

⁹³ Seidman, supra note xx, at 141. See id. ("Potential criminals who know that police are utilizing an entrapment policy will realize that there is a greater risk that they will be apprehended and so will be less tempted to commit crime.").

⁹⁴ See Dillof, supra note xx, at 862 (emphasis added). See also id. ("[I]t is hard to doubt that punishing more will deter more); 858-59. Carlson, supra note xx, at 1069, agrees: "The courts' blanket endorsement of encouragement [of crime] would enhance the law's deterrent force"

⁹⁵ In my own critique, infra TAN, I reject the distinction between true and false offenders. I introduce a middle category – probabilistic offenders – and claim that their punishment does enhance deterrence. It is possible one could then partially reconcile my view with that of Seidman, Dillof, and Carlson, if most "entrapped" offenders are probabilistic rather than false. Nonetheless, it is important to see why punishing false offenders is utterly wasteful.

⁹⁶ It is similar to the erroneous idea that punishing the innocent will generally promote deterrence. See Louis Kaplow & Steven Shavell, *Fairness versus Welfare*, 114 HARV. L. REV. 961,1269 n.745 (2001).

⁹⁷ Thus, the publicity advantage cannot apply to the vast run of undercover operations in the world today – for drugs crimes, money laundering, bribery, etc. – because it is already well-known that federal and state governments use undercover tactics to detect these crimes.

⁹⁸ More precisely, for a person contemplating a criminal act, the relevant probability of detection is one informed by all variables that influence her detection. For example, if the probability of detecting burglary consistently varies with whether it occurs in the day or night, it would make sense for professional burglars to care only about the probability of detection for the type of burglary they commit.

⁹⁹ One need not suppose that criminals consciously calculate or precisely know the probability in order to imagine that its magnitude influences their behavior, as considerable evidence demonstrates. See, e.g., Steven D. Levitt & Thomas J. Miles, *Empirical Study of Criminal Punishment*, in HANDBOOK OF LAW & ECONOMICS (A. Mitchell Polinsky & Steven Shavell, eds., forthcoming 2005).

of whom are ongoing, true offenders and three of whom are false offenders who do not commit the offense outside an undercover operation. From the perspective of the ongoing offenders, there is no difference in punishing all six individuals (as would occur with no entrapment defense) and punishing only the three who were previously committing the offense (as would occur with an ideal entrapment defense). In either case, the actual probability that a true offender will be apprehended is now 13%. ¹⁰⁰

The key is that, as long as the undercover tactic consistently apprehends some false offenders, the true offender discounts the future threat of such tactics by the proportion of false offenders they apprehend. If we alter the hypothetical so that *all six* individuals newly apprehended by undercover tactics are false, then these tactics exert no influence on the true offender's perceived probability. The detection rate remains at 10%. Conversely, if all six are true offenders, then the probability of detecting true offenders is now 16/100 or 16%. The probability is higher because the results are now undiluted by the apprehension of false offenders. Punishing false offenders – non-offenders outside of undercover operations – does not aid deterrence.

The contrary idea – that society enhances deterrence by convicting false offenders – arises only by assuming that true offenders will continuously make a particular mistake: they will perceive false offenders as true. In the original hypothetical (with three false offenders), true offenders might now imagine that all sixteen apprehended offenders are "true" and that the probability of detection is now 16/100 or 16%. Mistakes of this sort are possible, but so are other mistakes this analysis ignores. For instance, *true offenders might conversely perceive that true offenders caught in undercover operations are false*. In the present hypothetical, the observers might believe all six apprehended individuals are false offenders. If so, then true offenders continue to perceive a 10% probability of detection even though the actual probability is 13%. Thus, assuming one kind of mistake, we gain deterrence from punishing false offenders, but assuming another kind of mistake we gain *no* deterrence from punishing *true* offenders. Seidman and Carlson offer no evidence or argument for their assumption that the former mistakes will occur instead of the latter.

When one considers all possible mistakes, the conventional economic assumption is that they will balance each other out. Some offenders *over*estimate the percentage of apprehended individuals who are true offenders, others *under*estimate the percentage, and the *average* offender's estimate is correct. Alternatively, behavioral economists identify biases that cause errors to be systematically skewed rather than evenly distributed around the true value. In the

¹⁰⁰ Punishing false offenders does affect the deterrence of those *not* currently offending. But because these offenders already have a negative expected value for offending – they are already deterred – this added deterrence is valueless.

 $^{^{101}}$ Or they might believe that the number of offenses has increased to 103 per year, and that the detection rate is 16/103 or 15.5%.

behavioral literature, the relevant bias appears to be overconfidence, ¹⁰² which would cause existing offenders to believe that their ability to elude apprehension is greater than it really is. In the context of sting operations, overconfidence means that the *average* offender systematically underestimates the percentage of apprehended individuals who are true offenders. ¹⁰³ Equivalently, true offenders are likely to err by believing some true offenders are false, while correctly identifying false offenders as false. If so, punishing false offenders will, as before, generate no deterrent benefits.

Institutional Competence. Another objection to the economic theory is that we should trust police rather than courts to make complex policy judgments concerning undercover operations. Police have better information than courts about the effect of various tactics. As Seidman states: "The efficiency argument explains why a sensible police department might want to forgo an entrapment strategy in some cases, but not why we should have a formal, judicially enforced doctrine incorporating that judgment." Even if conviction of false offenders is undesirable, perhaps judicial oversight of police is unnecessary or not worth the costs.

The reason not to defer to police is that they are imperfectly motivated agents. The principal/agent problem, much discussed in private law, is of even greater importance in criminal law because the agents – such as police and prosecutors – are public employees free from the discipline of market pressure. Though police are subject to some political pressure, these place only minimal constraints on the actions of police detectives who run undercover operations. As long as an officer avoids certain clear and publicized wrongdoings, she will escape the public gaze and therefore avoid accountability. In the vast run of cases, therefore, the public influences police detectives only weakly, by influencing how the police bureaucracy rewards its members. As a result, police will not use their superior information to maximize public interest by minimizing crime. It is naive to think otherwise.

The agency cost point is not merely that the public fails to motivate police to allocate crime-fighting resources in an optimal way. Of course that is true, but still we defer many policy issues to the police because judicial oversight is thought to be worse. Instead, the problem is that the public has created incentives for police to go *too far* in using undercover operations, absent an entrapment defense or some other regulation. Police bureaucracies respond to intense political

¹⁰² See, e.g., Christine M. Jolls, *On Law Enforcement with Boundedly Rational Agents*, in The Law and Economics of Irrational Behavior (Francesco Parisi & Vernon Smith eds., 2004); Russell B. Korobkin & Thomas S. Ulen, *Law and Behavioral Science: Removing the Rationality Assumption from Law and Economics*, 88 Cal. L. Rev. 1051, 1091-95 (2000).

More concretely, undercover operations require that the police succeed in deceiving the target. A professional/recidivist criminal might overestimate the ability of other such true offenders to "sniff out" an undercover operation, thus overestimating the number of false offenders.

¹⁰⁴ Id. at 143. See also id. at 144 ("[O]ne would expect the police themselves to be motivated to use scarce resources in a manner that maximizes the number of criminals apprehended."); KATZ, supra note xx, at 158 ("It is unlikely that the police would pursue entrapment activities beyond the point at which, on the margin, the [costs and benefits] balance each other out.").

¹⁰⁵ Cf. William J. Stuntz, *The Pathological Politics of Criminal Law*, 100 MICH. L. Rev. 505, 549-50 (2001); Frank H. Easterbrook, *Criminal Procedure as a Market System*, 12 J. LEGAL STUD. 289, 300-01 (1983).

pressure for crime control by trying to motivate individual officers to control crime. An incentive requires some measure of job performance and, for the detective, a common criterion is her "clearance rate," the rate at which she solves a case by making an arrest of the suspected perpetrator. In short, the public manages to give individual officers an incentive to make arrests.¹⁰⁶

A pessimist might claim that the police bureaucracies motivate officers to maximize arrests without regard to the evidence of guilt. But it is implausible to think that the typical detective acts this way. Clearance rates are sometimes defined by whether a prosecutor charges the person arrested. Even where police "clear" a case merely by arrest, detectives must care whether the person arrested was the perpetrator, or they would just arrest anyone and all "clearance rates" would be 100%. Surely, most detectives maximize some conception of a *good* arrest. The police conception undoubtedly differs from the technical requirements of law, but it is hard to believe that the police understanding of a validity is entirely immune to legal requirements. If prosecutors always refuse to bring certain kinds of cases, it is unlikely that the police would forever ignore this reality and continue to believe this type of arrest was a "good" one. 108

Here, then, is the problem. Without an entrapment defense, the arrest of a false offender *is* a "good" arrest; it will even produce a conviction. Absent the defense, police seeking to maximize "good" arrests will structure undercover operations so as to maximize the number of individuals who accept the created opportunity, even if that includes many false offenders. In deciding how tempting to make the criminal opportunity, police will almost always favor "more" to "less." The only reasons not to offer the maximal temptation are the possibility of costs bourne by police (e.g., the time to create a romantic relationship with the target) and the possibility that the target will recognize an excessively tempting offer as a sting operation. Frequently, however, it is no more costly to make a criminal opportunity more attractive, as by naming a better exchange price. Though the risk that a savvy criminal will recognize an offer is "too good to be true" may exert some discipline on police, it may also lead to a worst case scenario, where police make unrealistically attractive offers because many naive false offenders – but *only* false offenders – will accept them. One wonders, for example, if Lively would have

¹⁰⁶ To sharpen the point, contrast it with two alternatives. First, society might ideally motivate police to maximize the public interest in crime control. That is the point I have just argued against in the text. Second, pessimistically, society might fail to motivate them at all, so that they fail to put forth any effort whatsoever. This is obviously false. The truth certainly lies between these extreme possibilities.

¹⁰⁷ This is how federal statistics define clearance of a case. See Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, online at http://www.albany.edu/sourcebook/pdf/t419.pdf, at Table 4.19 note.

This point does not contradict the claim that the suppression of evidence obtained in violation of fourth amendment rights may not deter such violations. See, e.g., Christopher Slobogin, *Why Liberals Should Chuck the Exclusionary Rule*, 1999 U. ILL. L. REV. 363, 368-71. First, violating the fourth amendment frequently does not prevent a conviction. Evidence obtained by a violation is often admitted because of standing requirements and good faith and inevitable discovery exceptions. Even with suppression, other evidence may secure a conviction. Second, police have many motives for searches and seizures other than conviction (e.g., disrupting attempts, destroying contraband, harassment), but the primary motive for undercover operations is to produce an arrest.

been more wary of Desai had she actually been in the business of selling cocaine.¹⁰⁹ Finally, in complex stings, even if police restrain themselves initially, when a first effort to tempt the target fails, they will often expect faster returns from increasing the temptation to the same target than from moving on to a new target.

An entrapment defense or other regulation may improve matters. First, because the defense will probably influence what the police count as a "good" arrest, they will respond to it by structuring operations to minimize the likelihood defendants will succeed in raising the defense. Second, even if the defense has no effect on the police, it prevents the conviction of false offenders whose punishment serves no utilitarian ends. In sum, the case for strong deference to police is weak. Courts may serve a useful monitoring function in this context, just as they do in other police contexts (*e.g.*, search and seizure) and for other bureaucracies (*e.g.*, administrative agencies).

2. A New Critique of the Economic Rationale

The economic rationale seems to allow one to view entrapment, especially the subjective test, as structurally similar to other defenses, despite the absence of a retributive rationale. If punishing false offenders generates no utilitarian benefit while punishing true offenders does, and if the entrapment defense focuses on facts that distinguish true from false offenders, then entrapment doctrine determines whether there is a utilitarian justification for punishing the defendant. If so, then we can understand why, despite the defendant's apparent blameworthiness, the false offender who will not otherwise offend is, in a sense, "innocent."

As natural or attractive as this view may be, I believe it is wrong. The entrapment defense is not coherent when viewed as an effort to determine whether particular defendants are, in any sense, "innocent," nor even to determine whether a particular defendant's punishment will generate utilitarian benefits. Here, I critique the standard economic rationale with two arguments: there is an severe difficulty in distinguishing true from false offenders in a particular case without incurring the costs undercover operations are supposed to avoid; and the dichotomy between true and false offenders is illusory.

a. The Challenge of Proving the External Offense: A Bayesian Analysis

The standard economic rationale – there is no benefit from punishing someone who would not offend outside an undercover operation – has an odd evidentiary implication. To view the entrapment defense as a means of separating true from false offenders implies that we are actually punishing the defendant for an act that she does outside the undercover operation and using the undercover act merely as *evidence* of that offense. To make this point clear, call the individual's criminal conduct *in* an undercover operation the "internal act" and the individual's

¹⁰⁹ See TAN 1-9.

criminal conduct *outside* of undercover operations the "external act." Assume that the culpable mental state exists in either case. On the one hand, proving the external act by itself justifies punishment. On the other hand, the economic rationale says that the internal act justifies punishment *only* if we also believe the defendant otherwise commits the external act, *not* if the defendant is externally law-abiding. Thus, the external act is necessary and sufficient to justify punishment, but the internal act is neither necessary nor sufficient. The relevance of the internal act is only that it provides evidence of the external act, which is always the basis for criminal punishment.

This implication requires defending. In most jurisdictions, the government bears the ultimate burden of disproving entrapment *beyond a reasonable doubt*. Yet the jury is never told that the government must prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant committed an external criminal act. Even in jurisdictions that place the burden of proof on the defendant, it is odd that the prosecution is relieved of proving the external act beyond a reasonable doubt, when she would have that burden in any case not involving an undercover operation. In any event, the point is not merely about the burden of proof. In undercover cases, we never frame the *ultimate* issue for the fact-finder as whether the defendant has committed the crime outside the undercover operation. And if we did, we would have severe difficulty in most cases allowing the jury to reach this conclusion because the matter would remain so speculative (just when and where did the external act occur?).

One might respond that government can always introduce *additional evidence*, along with the defendant's undercover acts, to demonstrate that the defendant has committed an external offense at a particular time and place. Yet here we also meet serious objection. The need for additional evidence to prove the external offense may easily defeat the entire purpose of the undercover operation. Undercover operations are initially justified by a *lack* of information – about whether the defendant is currently offending. If we could already prove which individuals were current offenders, we would not need the undercover operation. *Yet this fact is apparently the very thing we need to know to avoid convicting false offenders*. We need additional information to distinguish true from false offenders, but requiring too much information defeats the purpose of undercover operations, which is to detect criminality more cheaply than conventional methods.

This observation does not prove the problem is intractable. Perhaps one can combine the evidence of the defendant's internal offense with relatively cheap additional evidence of the

¹¹⁰ For ease of exposition, I assume here that an external offense is one a true offender *has* committed outside the undercover operation, though in the next section I consider how the analysis applies to those who have not but *will* commit the offense outside the undercover operation. The argument in this section – the difficulty of proving an external offense – would only be stronger if external offense includes *future* offenses of the same type.

As a concrete example, if we convict a person of felony "distribution of narcotics" based on her act of selling cocaine to an undercover police agent at 5:12 p.m. on June 1, this evidentiary view says that we can justify punishing this individual only if we *therefore believe* that she sold narcotics at some point other than at 5:12 p.m. on June 1, to someone not an undercover agent (for which she has not already been convicted).

¹¹² LaFave, supra note xx, at 517.

defendant's external offense. Together, the evidence might prove an external offense beyond a reasonable doubt more cheaply than would conventional investigative techniques.

Combining evidence in this manner is less promising than it first appears. The appropriate statistical construct is Bayesian probability. Bayesian analysis contrasts one's *prior* subjective beliefs about the probability of an event with an *updated* belief that incorporates new information. Here the question is the probability that the defendant has committed an external offense. One begins with a prior belief. If there is no reason to suspect a given individual at the outset – the police selected her by chance – then one's prior estimate of the probability is equal to the proportion of the general population (from which the police selected the defendant) that commits the offense, the *base rate* of crime in this population. We can then view the undercover operation as an experiment that provides new information: that the individual targeted by the operation accepts the undercover inducement makes it more likely that she is a true offender. The fact-finder thus updates her beliefs to decide the probability that the individual offends externally, given that she offended internally.

The strength of belief-updating will depend on the base rate of crime in the population targeted by the undercover operation as well as the "false positive" and "false negative" rates. In this context, the false positive rate is the conditional probability that one will accept the undercover inducement, given that one does *not* otherwise commit the offense. The false negative rate is the conditional probability that one will reject the undercover inducement, given that one *does* otherwise commit the offense. Obviously, I borrowed from this terminology when I introduced the terms "false offender" and "true offender," which correspond, respectively, to false positive and true positive. ¹¹⁴

Unfortunately, Bayesian reasoning paints a fairly pessimistic picture, given our normal commitment to proof beyond a reasonable doubt in criminal cases. Of particular relevance is the result some label the "false positive paradox." Suppose that the false positive rate is 5%, which seems acceptably low. If the police selected the target by chance, then our prior belief is the base rate – the percentage of the population who commit the crime in question. Suppose the base rate for the crime is low: one in a 1000 or 0.1%. For simplicity, suppose that the false negative rate (the probability of an ongoing offender not accepting the undercover offer) is zero. The expected result of 1000 operations is as follows: the one true offender in the group accepts the police inducement; the police also offer the inducement to 999 non-offenders, 5% of whom – or 50 – accept. Thus, of those accepting the undercover inducement, only 1 of 51 – less than 2% – are true positives; 98% of the positives are false positives. One might think the police are using a

¹¹³ I thank Andrew Bloch for first drawing my attention to the relevance of Bayesian updating to undercover operations at a 1998 Harvard Law and Economics workshop. Bruce Hay, supra note xx, also uses a Bayesian framework, though he does not address how this analysis appears to disregard our ordinary commitment to proving guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

¹¹⁴ The other two possible outcomes are a "false non-offender" – one who fails to commit a criminal act in the undercover operation but otherwise does offend and a "true non-offender" – one who fails to commit a criminal act in the undercover operation and otherwise does not offend.

¹¹⁵ LARRY GONICK & WOOLLCOTT SMITH, THE CARTOON GUIDE TO STATISTICS 49 (1993).

successful undercover tactic if there is only a 5% chance that an otherwise law-abiding citizen will accept the government's inducement. But if the base rate of criminality is low, as will be true if police select targets randomly, then most of the targets in the undercover operations are otherwise law-abiding. As a result, *almost everyone* who does accept the inducement is a false offender.¹¹⁶

The problem is severe as long as the prior probability is low. Suppose the false positive rate is *fifty times lower* than the previous example – 1 in a 1000 or 0.1% – and all else is the same. The results of 1000 undercover operations are still bleak: on average, the one true positive accepts the inducement and so does one false positive. Thus, with an extremely low false positive rate, 50% of those accepting the undercover inducement are false positives. Unless the false positive rate is zero or perhaps trivially above zero, a low base rate means that the acceptance of the undercover inducement is not, by itself, sufficient evidence to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the individual is a true offender.

The analysis here depends entirely on the base rate being low. Police could raise the base rate by targeting only those they already suspected of a crime. While I explore that approach below, ¹¹⁷ neither the objective nor subjective test require that the police have prior suspicion. If prior suspicion is vital, then the economic rationale does not remotely fit the existing defense.

Indeed, despite this analysis, the objective test for entrapment would clearly allow conviction. Given how low the false positive rate is, the police inducement obviously does not tempt the average citizen. At this point, one might see the subjective test's predisposition element as coming to the rescue. Proving predisposition requires additional evidence that is combined with the fact of the undercover offense. The good news is that it is cheap to prove predisposition – one need only point to the defendant's absence of reluctance or prior conviction for the same offense. Because it is cheap, undercover operations may remain cheaper than alternative investigative tactics. The bad news is predisposition is very weak evidence of external offending. No one really thinks that the absence of reluctance, for example, does much to prove an actual external offense. Indeed, the U.S. Attorney who convicted Lakhani for selling missiles to terrorists in a sting operation conceded that he did not know whether Lakhani could have ever acquired missiles to sell on his own, without the help of undercover agents. If the prosecutor cannot even say it is probable that the defendant would have ever committed a similar offense, then obviously, he would not claim to have proved an external offense beyond a reasonable doubt.

To return to the main point: though we never really know the false positive rate, the entrapment defense seems necessary to many people because they think it is more than utterly

¹¹⁶ There is no actual paradox. When the base rate is low, it means that most of the population consists of negatives. As a result, the number of positives who can test positive is necessarily low, but the false positive rate is multiplied by a large number of negatives.

¹¹⁷ See infra TAN.

¹¹⁸ See This American Life, supra note xx.

trivial. If so, then with randomly targeted operations, we could not conclude beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant is a true offender unless the government had *substantial* additional evidence of her guilt, much more than predisposition requires. We could still interpret the economic theory as justifying an entrapment defense, but one that requires far more evidence of external offending. *Yet the more the additional evidence we require, the less likely it is that an undercover operation will prove a cheaper means of apprehending offenders.* I do not claim to have proved, in any deductive sense, that the problem is insolvable. But there is reason to be pessimistic. In sum, the oddity of the evidentiary view – that we are actually prosecuting the defendant for crimes committed outside the undercover operation – is matched by the likelihood that it renders undercover operations impractical.

b. The Problem of Scarce Opportunities and "Probabilistic" Offenders

There is a second problem. The Posner/Shavell rationale distinguishes between true and false offenders – my terms for their conceptual categories of those who do and do not commit offenses outside undercover operations. On close inspection, this dichotomy is illusory. There is a middle category of "probabilistic offenders" who will in the future commit the offense outside an undercover operation with a probability less than one. We benefit – gaining individual prevention and general deterrence – from punishing probabilistic offenders. Not only must the theory account for this more realistic view of offenders, it is possible that, for some crimes, there are no false offenders – because everyone who offends in the undercover operation will offend externally with some positive probability.

The dichotomy between true and false offenders begins to dissolve when we ask precisely *when* a true offender would otherwise offend. One possibility is that the true offender is someone who has *already committed* the same kind of offense (and not been apprehended and punished for it) at the time of the undercover operation. A second possibility is that a true offender is someone who *either* has already committed the same kind of offense *or* will do so in the future. Which definition is appropriate given the economic logic? I believe it is clear that the economic rationale implicitly assumes the broader understanding of the true offender, one that includes individual who merely might offend in the future.

To illustrate, suppose there is some positive probability less than one that *A* will commit a particular offense in the future. Is there any benefit from punishing such a *probabilistic* offender? Yes. Most obviously, there are individual prevention benefits from incapacitating someone who just might commit an offense. For example, preventing ten individuals from committing a crime when each was only 50% likely to commit it will prevent an expected five crimes.¹¹⁹

sufficient basis for believing either that the individual has already committed an external offense *or will in the future*. See infra TAN xx-yy, where I critique an institutional rationale for the defense based on the act requirement.

Moreover, we enhance deterrence by punishing *A*. To explain, consider why an individual may be a probabilistic rather than a true offender. The simplest reason is that a person might commit an offense only if she encounters an unusually attractive opportunity. Plausibly, Sorrells would not illegally sell alcohol except when repeatedly pestered to do so by a former comrade in arms. Some people might never seek to enter the unlawful business of laundering money or counterfeiting but would exploit a "golden opportunity" that presented itself to make a quick fortune from the crime. It is these settings, the probability of one's offending depends on the probability of encountering the scarce opportunity.

If an undercover operation causes *A* to offend only by supplying her an unusually attractive opportunity, will punishing *A* aid general deterrence? The answer is clearly yes. Consider the contrary effect of granting an entrapment defense whenever the police offer a scarce opportunity. The publicity of the rule would eventually mean that anyone who received the unusually attractive criminal offer would know that they could not be punished if the offer came from an undercover agent. Knowing this, they can safely treat any such offer as genuine. The rule's effect on marginal deterrence is therefore negative. By punishing *A*, despite our knowledge that she has never committed the crime in the past, and *might* never commit it in the future (because she might never encounter the special opportunity), we uniquely maintain some marginal deterrence for individuals who actually wind up in those positions. Functionally, *A* is not a false offender.

Thus, as matters turn out, punishment is entirely pointless only if directed to individuals who have not and will not, with any probability, commit the offense. The point is damaging to the economic rationale because it is possible that everyone who offends in an undercover operation is either a true or a probabilistic offender. At least for some crimes (*e.g.*, employee pilfering, insurance fraud, ¹²³ medicinal marijuana sales), it is possible that almost anyone would commit the crime under scarce but possible conditions. If nearly everyone in society is a probabilistic offender for some crimes, there are no false offenders to protect. Put differently, think now of what it means to be a false offender. It means that the probability of one's committing a certain offense in the future, absent an undercover operation, is *zero*. Across all possible contingencies that can arise for this individual other than undercover operations, even contingencies that radically curtail her non-criminal opportunities and radically expand her criminal opportunities, this person will not commit this offense. If so, we may now wonder if an entrapment defense is actually necessary to protect false offenders.

Nonetheless, if we want to ensure that government cannot convict even a single false offender, then we would still need an entrapment defense. But the economic rationale now

¹²⁰ Below, at TAN, I offer a more detailed and formal discussion of this point.

¹²¹ See Sorrells v. United States, 287 U.S. 435 (1932).

¹²² See, e.g., United States v. Hollingsworth, 27 F.3d 1196 (7th Cir. 1994)(en banc) regarding money-laundering and the hypothetical it posed regarding counterfeiting. Id. at 1199.

¹²³ See Thomas Gabor, Everybody Does It! 73-97 (1994).

justifies only the narrowest defense. If the only economic objection is to the punishment of people who do not and will not ever otherwise offend – that is, if it makes sense to permit the punishment of probabilistic (as well as true) offenders – then it should be sufficient merely to forbid the police from manipulating opportunities in ways that *cannot* occur in the "real" world. Thus, economic theory may justify what I will term *the minimalist entrapment defense*, one that limits the government to offering temptations that occur outside undercover operations, forbidding the creation of opportunities that have zero probability of occurring externally. That is virtually no entrapment defense at all; it is far narrower than the ones in existence in American jurisdictions.¹²⁴

In sum, the economic rationale faces alternative objections. First, if there is a real danger of apprehending false offenders in undercover operations, it is not clear how one can distinguish true from false offenders without incurring costs that render the undercover operation impractical. Second, because there are benefits to punishing probabilistic offenders, there may be no real risk of apprehending in undercover operations those whose punishments would generate no benefit. Even if there is, all that appears necessary is a minimalist entrapment defense – forbidding the offer of inducements more attractive than would *ever* exists outside undercover operations.

C. Institutional Concerns: A Political Need for Side Constraints on Law Enforcement

In criminal law scholarship, the conflict between retributive and utilitarian theory sometimes obscures the importance of a different set of concerns: how to design institutions that will best accomplish whatever ends punishment appropriately serves.¹²⁵ The institutional concern includes both the concern for procedural fairness and the need to design institutions with checks and balances that prevent private misappropriation of government power. For both concerns, the familiar starting point is to recognize that the strongest power the government wields against its citizens is the power to arrest, take property without compensation, incarcerate, and execute, that is, the power of criminal law enforcement. Many constitutional rights and common law doctrines aim to cabin this power¹²⁶; a standard concern in liberal theory is how to prevent government officials from abusing discretionary power to enforce criminal law.

¹²⁴ For example, the criminal offers in each of the Supreme Court cases on entrapment, including the ones where the Court found entrapment as a matter of law, all surely exist outside of undercover operations.

¹²⁵ Although utilitarians believe that one should consider all consequences of punishment, modern economic utilitarians focus their criminal law analysis almost exclusively on the purposes of punishment, that is, on evaluating rules by whether they enhance or degrade criminal deterrence and incapacitation. Similarly, though many retributivists agree that society can legitimately consider other factors in deciding whether to punish the blameworthy (blame being necessary but not sufficient), most retributivists nonetheless seek to tie criminal law doctrine tightly to a theory of blame, with only occasional thought to the other factors that legitimately matter.

Examples include the clauses prohibiting Bills of Attainder and Ex Post Factor laws; the interpretation of the Due Process Clause proscribing excessively vague criminal statutes, judicial interpretations that unforeseeably enlarge their scope, and vindictive prosecution; the principal of legality (requiring legislative definition of crime) and the act requirement. All plausibly serve to confine official discretion to tolerable levels, even though they sometimes forbid punishment of the blameworthy or dangerous. See John Calvin Jeffries, Jr., *Legality, Vagueness, and the Construction of Penal Statutes*, 71 VA. L. REV. 189 (1985).

Institutional interests therefore offer a third possible means of justifying the entrapment defense, by focusing on the propriety of governmental action rather than the purposes of punishment. Unfortunately, there is often an unilluminating circularity in the condemnation of "improper" tactics, a tendency to say that the entrapment defense exists to prevent misconduct and then to declare that the undercover operation in a particular case was misconduct for the reason that it "entrapped" the defendant. ¹²⁷ To understand the difficulty, we should return to a point made about the retributive theory. In the case of private encouragement of crime, not only do we *blame* the individual who succumbs to the encouragements, we also treat as *legitimate* the use of government power to punish the individual who succumbs. We are willing to give government the power to punish individuals who give in to temptation, even great temptation, as long as the temptation is not offered by government.

The question is whether it matters that government itself is the source of the temptation. The difference might matter for at least two reasons. First, one might say that the individuals who the government persuades to commit crime are being treated *unfairly*. Second, one might say that society should not entrust officials with the unregulated *power* to encourage and then punish crime, given the risk that officials will target political enemies or unpopular scapegoats. The first institutional concern is deontological; the latter is utilitarian. Each claim, however, faces serious obstacles. As with a retributive theory, I do not claim that it would be impossible to construct an institutional justification for the entrapment defense (as, indeed, I attempt to do in Part III), but only that existing analyses fail.

1. A Critique of the Fairness Theory

One means of grounding the entrapment defense in fairness is to say, as some cases do, that the government "overbears the will" of the defendant. If the defendant's will is "overborne" by the government, then punishment for the resulting act is arguably unfair. The problem with this argument is obvious. We would punish the individual for giving in to the exact same criminal temptation were it offered by a genuinely private individual. If an individual retains free will in the latter case, there is no reason to think otherwise when government offers the temptation.

Alternatively, some claim that it is unfair for government to provide a criminal temptation to an individual who would never otherwise encounter one. As Leo Katz puts it, everyone "is entitled to his turn at the wheel of fortune. If he is lucky, he will never be faced with a situation in which his criminal disposition surfaces. Entrapment is a way of rigging the

¹²⁷ See Carlson, supra note xx, at 1019 ("The argument that the defense is necessary to deter police misconduct . . . seems to be based upon little more than a tautological claim that encouragement is bad because it 'falls below standards, to which common feelings respond, for the proper use of governmental power.")(citing Sherman v. United States, 356 U.S. 369, 382 (1958)(Frankfurter, J., concurring)); id. at 1046 ("Objectivists argue that police conduct may be 'seriously objectionable' even if the defendant 'entertained a purpose to commit crime prior to any inducement by officials,' but they rarely explain why such conduct is objectionable.").

¹²⁸ See, e.g., U.S. v. Ambrose, 483 F.2d 742, 746 (6th Cir. 1973).

wheel." This point is rhetorically appealing, but merely reformulates the external offense principle. Just as that principle is not self-justifying, it is not transparent why it is unfair for government to intentionally change the criminal temptations one faces. To the contrary, the claim that government manipulation of temptation is unfair seems to imply that the status quo distribution of temptation is fair. Yet exposure to criminal temptations is frequently arbitrary, a matter of *luck*. Many people avoid committing crime only because they fortuitously never face the temptation to do so, without any exercise of virtue or intent. Children of the affluent may never be asked to join a criminal organization that steals cars or sells cocaine, while those born into poverty face constant encouragement in those directions. Some individuals never encounter a "golden" opportunity to become rich stealing from their employer, insurance company, or bank, while others do. If the current distribution of criminal temptation is arbitrary, why should we recognize any right to complain about government changing it?

Some defendants might argue on behalf of the current distribution by saying they *intentionally* distanced themselves from criminal temptation, as by the careful selection of a neighborhood, job, or recreational venue. This is the best case I can imagine for giving weight to the status quo distribution. But, even here, the claim fails. Criminal law stills punishes an individual who, by bad luck, is exposed to temptation despite her efforts to avoid it. If a drug addict enters a drug rehabilitation program and cuts her ties to friends who still use drugs, she has no defense if another "rehab" patient (not an undercover agent) proposes a drug venture and she succumbs. ¹³⁰

If we did care about achieving a fair distribution of criminal temptations, the commitment would not produce anything like the current entrapment defense. Fairness would plausibly require that government ameliorate the arbitrariness of criminal temptations by *equalizing* them. If some teenagers avoid temptation only because they were born into affluence, perhaps fairness obligates the government either to remove the temptation from the poor or to create it for the affluent. The only defense this theory permits is one that prevents government from distributing temptation in the wrong direction, further away from the equality ideal. That the defendant would not otherwise offend would be irrelevant if the only reason is that the defendant would fortuitously avoid a temptation others encounter. I doubt this fairness argument as well, but it shows the difficulty of justifying the defense.

¹²⁹ KATZ, supra note xx, at 160-61. I consider Katz's main argument – concerning the act requirement – infra at TAN xx. See also Gerald Dworkin, *The Serpent Beguiled Me and I Did Eat: Entrapment and the Creation of Crime*, 4 Law & Phil. 17 (1985). Dworkin says that our scheme of punishment is a "choosing system" in which we allow individuals to "self-select[] themselves" for punishment by choosing not to comply with the law. Id. at 30-31. He contends that it is not only "unfair to the citizen to be invited to do that which the law forbids him to do," but that "it is conceptually incoherent." Id. at 32. As to fairness, he neglects to consider that even when government encourages crime, just as when genuinely private citizens encourage crime short of duress, we can still consider the person so encouraged to "self-select" for punishment by choosing to commit the encouraged act. As for coherence, because government may legitimately seek the *end* of decreasing criminal acts, and if – as Dworkin concedes – undercover operations are a *means* toward that end, then they are surely coherent in any important sense.

¹³⁰ One might try to distinguish the above analysis on the grounds that the government manipulation of criminal opportunities is intentional. Yet there is no "private" entrapment defense when private individuals intentionally lure another individual into crime in order to expose her to prosecution. See sources cited supra note xx.

Anthony Dillof, however, proposes a different theory, based on the distributive justice norm that "to the extent possible, the cost of an activity should be shared among all its beneficiaries." The problem is that entrapment places on an individual "a disproportionate share of the cost of general crime prevention," much as if the government paid for police activities by taxing only a handful of citizens. The state should instead choose either to target everyone in undercover operations or to target only some fair subset, such as ongoing offenders or the predisposed. Having forgone the former strategy, fairness requires the latter. 133

By contrast, I view criminal law as being wholly indifferent to this fairness concern. A fundamental element of our existing commitments is the unfettered discretion that police and prosecutors have to decline enforcement and the parallel refusal to recognize a defense of failing to prosecute other offenders. ¹³⁴ Dillof concedes that police and prosecutors routinely enforce criminal statutes by selecting from a pool of violators (e.g., speeders and those caught in tax audits) and by targeting high profile offenders. I would add that unequal burdening infects even the way legislatures define crimes. For example, the ban on marijuana, as applied to its medical uses, burdens some grievously and others not at all. Failing to register for the draft and desertion are crimes that burden the few to benefit the many. The rich and the poor are equally prohibited from trespassing under bridges, but only the poor suffer the burden. Perhaps it is normatively desirable, but embracing Dillof's theory would seem to demand a radical transformation of criminal justice.

Dillof's responses are unpersuasive. First, he says that conventional police tactics involve less selectivity than undercover operations. He notes that police apprehend about twenty percent of external offenders, but only a tiny percent of the nondisposed are entrapped. Note that the twenty percent rate is the average for eight index crimes. Clearance rates vary by crime and can be particularly low for non-index crimes, like drug offenses, that go mostly unreported (precisely when undercover operations are most useful). However low the rate, the key is that criminal law gives the offender no defense. Indeed, the Supreme Court once upheld the validity of prosecuting seventeen of an estimated 674,000 criminal non-registrants for the draft, a prosecution rate of .002%.

Dillof also claims that undercover operations that entrap the nondisposed are "unfair by design" whereas conventional police techniques under-enforce the law due to resource

¹³¹ Dillof, supra note xx, at 831.

¹³² Id. at 831, 876.

¹³³ Id. at 878.

¹³⁴ See Oyler v. Boles, 368 U.S. 448, 456 (1962)("[T]he conscious exercise of some selectivity in enforcement is not in itself a federal constitutional violation.").

¹³⁵ Id. at 884.

 $^{^{136}}$ See Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 2001, 220 (2002).

¹³⁷ United States v. Wayte, 470 U.S. 598, 604 & nn. 3, 4 (1985).

constraints.¹³⁸ His argument is that police would apprehend all external offenders "if they could" but, even without resource constraints, would have no interest in entrapping all undisposed offenders. Yet police do not necessarily intend to apprehend *any* nondisposed individuals in undercover operations; it is merely an "unavoidable side effect" of the tactic.¹³⁹ Moreover, William Stuntz argues persuasively that "the pathological politics of criminal law" drive legislatures to enact over-broad and overlapping criminal statutes with the intent that police and prosecutors will drastically under-enforce them.¹⁴⁰ For such offenses, the fact that we burden only the few is also "by design."¹⁴¹

In the end, criminal doctrine fails to reflect the fairness concerns Dillof advocates. Existing commitments seem to exclude fairness as a rationale for regulating undercover operations.

2. A Critique of the Power Allocation Objection

Now turn to the power allocation argument. As with the economic theory, this source of the problem here is the principal/agent problem, but the risk is not just wasted resources, but the loss of liberty that results when government officials wield the power to punish political enemies and scapegoats. We need to know, however, why the manipulation of criminal opportunities represents a uniquely dangerous power. Carlson offers perhaps the best account, though I contend that he still falls short of the mark.

Carlson begins with the criminal law "act requirement." We require a voluntary act as a predicate for criminal liability, barring punishment for mere thoughts and propensities, and for involuntary acts, though that is defined quite narrowly to mean mostly bodily movements not produced by mental effort. One reason for the act requirement is the political danger of giving government officials the power to punish individuals for thoughts or propensities. Limiting crimes to acts provides a clearer line of where government power ends. As Herbert Packer put it, the act requirement provides a *locus poenitentiae*, "a point of no return beyond which [] external constraints may be imposed but before which the individual is 'free' from those constraints." 143

¹³⁸ Id. at 885-86.

¹³⁹ Id. at 886 & n.201.

¹⁴⁰ This is the broad thesis of Stuntz, supra note xx. Examples include the crimes of negligent assault, negligent endangerment, and the "intangible rights" theory of fraud. Id. at 516-19. Dillof says that if the government ever chose to entrap all nondisposed offenders, it would be forced to lower the penalties for the offense. Similarly, if the police ever enforced these broad crimes literally, the legislatures would be forced to narrow them.

Finally, Dillof contends that conventional law enforcement is *necessary* to prevent crime, whereas undercover operations, though "cost-effective," are not. Id. at 884-85. But for most crimes, *no single tactic*, in isolation, is strictly "necessary." For drug enforcement or bribery, it would be hard to say, for example, that police patrols, electronic surveillance, or interrogations were individually necessary. If any one tactic is necessary to combat these crimes, it is as likely to be undercover operations as anything else.

¹⁴² See John Jeffries & Paul Stephan, *Defenses, Presumptions, and Burden of Proof in the Criminal Law*, 88 YALE L.J. 1325, 1371(1979).

¹⁴³ HERBERT PACKER, THE LIMITS OF THE CRIMINAL SANCTION 72 (1968).

Carlson contends that the police encouragement of crime undermines the act requirement. He says that the act requirement "guarantees a reasonable chance to avoid criminal penalties." By contrast, he claims, undercover operations fail to give "an individual full freedom to comply with the law, and thereby [fail to] respect[] the individual's autonomy and ability to avoid crime." He concludes that the act requirement implies a very expansive entrapment defense, one that would ordinarily not permit the government to punish an individual for encouraged conduct unless she "initiated" the criminal act. 145

Carlson's analysis may justify an entrapment defense, but one far narrower than he imagines. Let's begin with the same comparison as before. Exactly why does it not "undermine" the act requirement to allow the government to punish the person who was privately encouraged into crime by a "sincere" criminal? For example, when *B* encourages *A* to exploit some once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to steal from her employer, we do not think it is a dangerous power or a denial of individual autonomy to let the government punish *B* for succumbing to this temptation. Why? Here is the ordinary way to explain the legitimacy of this liability: *A* acted voluntarily and without duress, and therefore *chose* to cross over the line defined by the act requirement. Put differently, we treat *A* as having had the power to say "no" to the criminal opportunity. Thus, the act requirement still provides a zone of freedom by requiring an act which the defendant chooses to perform.

Let me repeat that I realize that the fundamental assumptions of criminal liability – like the defendant's ability to choose differently – are contestable. My point is not that they are right, but to ask if they permit an entrapment defense. Given current conceptions of individual responsibility, then, the problem with Carlson's argument is that *A has exactly the same power to say "no" to a given criminal opportunity when it is offered by an undercover agent.* The act requirement is fully functional (as much as it ever is) as long as the government offers only those temptations that already exist in the world and for which we already punish the individuals who succumb. We still do not punish individuals for mere thoughts or propensities. We have redistributed criminal opportunities, but we have not even moved the conduct line, much less abandoned the requirement of conduct.

Carlson's argument might still justify a very limited entrapment defense, one that forbids a government agent from creating temptations to crime *beyond anything that exists in the "real" world*. Allowing the government to exceed the best market offer does not literally undermine the voluntary act requirement, because voluntariness is defined so narrowly. But one might claim that this standard definition of voluntariness "works" if the only temptations that individuals

¹⁴⁴ Carlson, supra note xx, at 1086. Similarly, KATZ, supra note xx, at 155-64, states: "If I happen to know that you, generally a very law-abiding citizen, will under some very special concatenation of circumstances commit a criminal act, and I delude you into thinking that those circumstances have come about, am I not punishing you for your disposition?" I would say not. Whenever you commit a crime, it is because circumstances have arisen in which it is your disposition is to offend. However the circumstances arise, we punish you for *acting* in accordance with your dispositions, not merely for having them.

¹⁴⁵ Carlson, supra note xx, at 1096.

have to resist are equivalent to actual ones, not anything that a government agent can dream up. Allowing the government to encourage crime more strongly than any private actor does really might render the act requirement insufficiently protective of individual freedom. Thus, a concern for the proper allocation of power may, just like economic theory, justify *the minimalist entrapment defense*, one that limits the government to offering the kind of temptation that otherwise exist in the world.

Thus, I conclude that existing rationales fail to justify any but the most minimal of defenses. Perhaps, as Michael Seidman suggested almost a quarter century ago, the entrapment defense is nothing more than an example of class privilege.

III. RECONSTRUCTING A THEORY OF ENTRAPMENT: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RATIONALES FOR REGULATING UNDERCOVER OPERATIONS

In this Part, I seek to reconstruct the political/institutional and economic rationales for regulating undercover operations. I do not view the entrapment defense as a means of evaluating the individual defendant or undercover tactic. Instead, I claim that any defense makes sense only as a broad regulation that seeks to minimize the political risk from granting government the power to encourage crime and to maximize the crime prevention benefits of this investment in law enforcement. Section A considers a new institutional/political rationale and Section B revisits the economic rationale. Finally, Section C discusses some implications of the two rationales.

A. Re-Examining the Institutional Logic of the Defense: A New Understanding of the Political Dangers of Undercover Operations

In Part II, I claimed that existing institutional analyses justify at most the minimalist entrapment defense. In this Part, I claim that a concern for the proper allocation of power does justify a strong defense that does more than forbid government from offering temptations greater that ever otherwise exist. What I seek to provide is an exact explanation of the political danger of the undercover tactic, the ways that the power to tempt others may be misappropriated by governmental actors. The political threat has always been appreciated but never, I contend, adequately explained.

I begin by describing in greater detail the existence of probabilistic offenders, who arise because of the scarcity of criminal opportunities and fluctuating preferences. I then explain the danger to giving government the power to control the number and timing of otherwise scarce opportunities. It is this: given scarcity, government can manipulate opportunities to make it *highly likely* that individuals will commit undercover offenses despite the fact that they are otherwise *highly unlikely* to offend. For some crimes, this power means that government officials could cause a substantial part of the population to offend, so that these officials would have the unregulated power to impose serious criminal sanctions on most members of society.

1. Scarce Opportunities and Fluctuating Preferences:

The Fortuity of Legal Compliance

If an individual's preferences and opportunities were fixed, then she would routinely make the same decision about crime – to offend or not. She would, in other words, be either a true or false offender. Probabilistic offenders exist because preferences and opportunities fluctuate. An individual who does not currently offend may do so when her lawful opportunities contract and/or her criminal opportunities expand, the latter occurring when she encounters a scarce but attractive criminal opportunity. In addition, individual preferences may change over time. Thus, there is great fortuity to an individual's legal compliance.

To explain, I offer a slightly more complex model for the decision to offend. An individual commits a crime when the expected benefits (b) exceed the expected costs, which (assuming risk neutrality) are equal to the product of the probability of detection (p) times the formal and informal sanctions if detected (s), plus the other expected costs of crime (c), that is, when b > ps + c. Let us focus on the common context for undercover operations, which are black market crimes. When the crime is one of selling (e.g., drugs, arson services, official favors), the individual's benefit from crime is the exchange price. Thus, she must receive a price at least as large as her perceived costs of crime, which constitute her reservation price for committing the offense. An individual offends when the illegal market's equilibrium price rises above her reservation price. 147

Now consider the source of probabilistic offenders. The primary cause is a change in an individual's opportunities. Of greatest importance for assessing undercover operations, criminal opportunities can be scarce in several ways. First, the opportunity itself may be scarce. For example, given the risks of punishment for bribing public officials, there might be few bribe offers made in a given time period, even to those willing to accept such offers. If so, those willing to accept bribes are probabilistic offenders; the probability of their offending is equal to the probability of their receiving one of these scarce offers.

Second, even if the criminal offer is not scarce, there might be very few such offers made under circumstances where the risk of detection is, or appears to be, low. Generally effective detection mechanisms may on rare occasion fail. For example, suppose workers are usually deterred from hacking into their employer's bank accounts and transferring funds to themselves but are willing to commit the crime in the highly unusual case where they or a trusted co-worker stumble upon the access codes. These are probabilistic offenders.

¹⁴⁶ A more complex model would account for many additional factors. For example, one might want to account for risk aversion, behavioral biases, and the discounting of future costs and benefits.

 $^{^{147}}$ Conversely, for crimes of buying, the exchange price (*EP*) is part of the other costs of crime. The reservation price is an amount no more than the difference in the benefit and all *other* costs of crime, so an individual offends only when EP < b - ps - c (where c here excludes EP). The individual's reservation price is the maximum exchange price she will tolerate and still commit the offense. An individual commits a crime of buying when the illegal market's equilibrium price falls below the individual's reservation price.

Third, the price offered may be scarce. In markets with high search costs, we observe a distribution of prices in equilibrium, rather than a single price at which all trades occur. Because search costs are high in illegal markets, where price advertising is restrained by legal sanctions, the most common equilibrium is probably a distribution of prices. Most exchanges occur at or near the mean price; the farther one moves above or below the mean, the fewer exchanges that occur at that price. Under these circumstances, the highest prices at which exchange occurs are, for sellers, scarce. Those willing to accept *only* an above-mean prices are probabilistic; the probability of their offending is equal to the probability of their being offered the above-mean price.

Fourth, there may be scarce benefits from crime, such as the opportunity to preserve or enhance a personal, romantic, or sexual relationship. A person might turn down criminal offers of any monetary price that occur in the market, but accept them in the highly unusual case where one is asked to offend by a person whose relationship one greatly values. An example might be Lively, who plausibly would not have sold cocaine for any reason other than the preservation of a romantic relationship.¹⁴⁸ (Lively is not the only such example.¹⁴⁹)

Finally, there may be scarce opportunities to commit crime in circumstances where informal sanctions – guilt or shame – don't apply. A person might turn down criminal offers of any price that occurs in the market, but accept them in the unusual case where there is a plausible and scarce moral rationalization for it. In *Sherman*, ¹⁵⁰ for example, the defendant might have refused to acquire and supply heroin in any circumstance except when asked by a person who seems to be suffering painful withdrawal symptoms. In the ABSCAM cases, it is possible that two politicians accepted bribes only because the undercover operative promised that their refusal would block construction plans that would benefit the politicians' constituents. ¹⁵¹ If so, these were probabilistic offenders.

In addition to scarce criminal opportunities, a person's willingness to offend will change with fluctuations in her lawful opportunities. For example, the value a person places on the proceeds from selling contraband will vary with changes in the individual's lawful opportunities for generating income. An individual unwilling to take a criminal offer at time one may be willing to take the same offer at time two because in the interim the individual loses her job.

Finally, holding opportunities constant, an individual might be a probabilistic offender because her preferences change. From a psychological standpoint, short-term changes in mood

¹⁴⁸ See supra TAN 1-9.

¹⁴⁹ See, e.g., United States v. Poehlman, 217 F.3d 692 (9th Cir. 2000); Labensky v. County of Nassau, 6 F.Supp.2d 161 (E.D.N.Y. 1998). See generally Susan S. Kuo, *Official Indiscretions: Considering Sex Bargains With Government Informants*, 38 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 1643 (2005).

¹⁵⁰ 356 U.S. 369 (1958).

¹⁵¹ See MARX, supra note xx, at 131-32.

and emotion can affect moral reasoning,¹⁵² which can influence the decision to commit a crime. From an economic standpoint, an individual's decision to offend depends on her willingness to take risks (exchanging a high probability of a criminal gain for a low probability of sanctions) and the degree to which she values the future (when sanctions may be imposed) compared to the present (when she reaps the benefits of crime). Emotion and mood may affect both risk-taking and future-orientation.¹⁵³ As another example, many crimes require trust between multiple parties and one's willingness to trust others may depend on mood or emotion.¹⁵⁴ In all cases, one's probability of offending is equal to the probability that one obtains a criminal opportunity, scarce in any dimension, during a time in which her mood favors accepting the opportunity.

With this deeper understanding of probabilistic offenders, we can now better understand the extent of the power government officials wield when they control undercover operations.

2. The Power of Undercover Operations: Manipulating the Fortuity of Legal Compliance

I previously discounted other commentators' concerns about the political or institutional dangers of undercover operations. As I said then, an individual can refuse an offer to commit a crime. If this ability to refuse a criminal offer is sufficient to justify punishment when the offer comes from a sincere private party, why it isn't sufficient when the offer comes from an undercover police agent? Now we are in a position to see the answer.

Undercover operations give the police the power to control the fortuity of legal compliance – the power to make scarce criminal opportunities plentiful, the power to control the timing of criminal opportunities, and the power to repeatedly offer opportunities so as to maximize the probability of finding the target at the time when she is most willing to offend. An example of all three manipulations is *Lively*: the opportunity was scarce because it appeared that selling cocaine was important to maintaining a romantic relationship; the timing was during Lively's divorce and soon after her suicide attempt; some evidence suggested that the informant Desai made repeated efforts to persuade Lively to do it. All of three circumstances occur in the real world. Yet without limiting the police power to manipulate the fortuities of offending,

¹⁵² See, e.g., Jeremy A. Blumenthal, *Does Mood Influence Moral Judgment? An Empirical Test with Legal and Policy Implications*, 29 Law & Psych. Rev. 1 (2005); Fataneh Zarinpoush et al., The Effects of Happiness and Sadness on Moral Reasoning, 29 J. Moral Educ. 397 (2000).

Robert Cooter offers a formal model in which mood changes cause an individual's preferences for risk and futurity to fluctuate over time, so that an individual who usually resists criminal temptations will on occasion "lapse" into crime. *See* Robert D. Cooter, *Lapses, Conflict, and Akrasia in Torts and Crimes: Towards an Economic Theory of the Will*, 11 INT'L REV. L. & ECON. 149 (1991).

¹⁵⁴ See, e.g., Michael Kosfeld et al, Oxytocin Increases Trust in Humans, 435 NATURE 673 (2005).

¹⁵⁵ See supra TAN 1-yy.

undercover operations represent a politically dangerous amount of power. Government officials could easily use this power to target their political enemies and convenient scapegoats. ¹⁵⁶

To be specific, a key danger is the power of repetition. The probability that the police induce an individual to offend depends not only on the scarcity of the opportunity they create, but *on the number of times they supply it*. Offering more opportunities create a greater probability of "catching" the person at a time when her reservation price (as a seller) is low enough to accept the undercover offer. If police may repeatedly offer to the same probabilistic offender a high inducement that occurs only infrequently, they can make it *highly likely* that individuals will commit undercover offenses despite the fact that they are otherwise *highly unlikely* to offend. The police can create circumstances in which a nearly harmless individual will almost certainly offend in an undercover operation, even if they limit their offers to the highest levels that exist in the actual markets.

To illustrate, suppose that (1) the probability that *A* will receive a very high bribe in a year is 0.1%; (2) that the conditional probability *A* will accept the very high bribe when offered is 20% (because of variation in lawful opportunities or mood); and (3) that the probability *A* will accept anything lower than the very high bribe is 0%. As a result, the probability that *A* will accept a bribe during a year is .02% and A's expected number of offenses during 50 years (before and after which the probability is, say, zero) is only .01. *Nonetheless, the police can cause A to take one bribe, on average*, by offering her the very high bribe on five separate occasions. Perhaps the more relevant fact is that the probability of *A*'s offending during any of the five undercover operations is now 67%. By offering the best market opportunity repeatedly, the police can make it substantially likely that an individual we would ordinarily call law-abiding will offend.

Offering the opportunity five more times, for a total of ten, increases the probability of A's offending to 89%. Thus, if the government made the ten offers in a single year, it could increase the risk of A's offending that year from a probability of 0.0002 to a probability of 0.89! Bear in mind that these numbers assume the government has no information from which it could predict *when* A would be most likely to offend. But if the A's reservation price fluctuates with observable external factors -e.g., financial distress¹⁵⁹ - or internal factors -e.g., addiction or

¹⁵⁶ By "scapegoats" I refer to the possibility that officials may gain politically by targeting unpopular members of the community, such as racial minorities. The scandal over the operation in Tulia, Texas, supra TAN, raises the possibility of racial targeting, as does an operation in Georgia that netted many Indian immigrants. See Kate Zernike, *Cultural and Language Differences Are Complicating Drug Sting in Georgia*, NEW YORK TIMES (Aug. 4, 2005).

¹⁵⁷ Each high price offer produces .2 expected offenses so that five offers produces one expected offense.

Each time she is offered the high inducement, her chance of rejecting it is .8. Her chance of rejecting it five consecutive times is $(.8 \times .8 \times .8 \times .8 \times .8) = .33$. Thus, her chance of not rejecting it all five times is .67.

¹⁵⁹ For example, the FBI targeted John DeLorean for a drug sting when he was on the verge of a bankruptcy in which he would lose his car company. See MARX, supra note xx, at 10.

intoxication 160 – then the government would not need as many tries to generate the same extremely high probability that A will offend.

A primary purpose of institutional restraints on government is to prevent this kind of power. Outside of undercover operations, where government does not control the criminal opportunity, its power is limited to punishing the few individuals who happen to receive scarce offers, repeated or not, and then succumb. ¹⁶¹ Giving the government the power to control the criminal opportunity will for some crimes allow it to select a potentially large part of the population that it can then induce into crime. The formal ability to refuse criminal opportunities is no longer sufficient to prevent arbitrary government action. In effect, if undercover operations are unregulated, government officials to have the ability to impose serious criminal sanctions on almost anyone they want.

Seidman objects to this kind of argument by claiming that the government officials already possesses the power to arbitrarily select and punish individuals at will. This is a serious point. Most obviously, when it comes to many minor crimes, especially traffic offenses, enforcement is a matter of selecting a few individuals to punish for what virtually everyone does. Over the decades since Seidman wrote, the tendency of legislatures to enact over-broad offenses have given prosecutors increasing discretion for more serious crimes as well. 163

Nonetheless, we have not quite reached the point where prosecutors and police possess so much discretion that it is no longer worth worrying about giving them more. For serious offenses, there is less enforcement discretion both because it is more difficult to prove that a random American has committed a serious crime and more difficult to resist the political pressure to prosecute everyone who has committed a serious offense. Thus, if government officials with limited resources decide to "target" an unpopular individual, they can easily convict him of traffic offenses and other minor crimes, but not of crimes equivalent to accepting a bribe or selling cocaine. By contrast, the power to manipulate criminal opportunities in undercover operations may induce the commission of the very kind of serious offenses that carry a real threat of significant incarceration.

¹⁶⁰ See, e.g., U.S. v. Harris, 997 F.2d 812 (10th Cir. 1993)(upholding conviction for arranging a cocaine sale where undercover agents paid the defendant – an addict – with cocaine instead of cash).

This distinction answers Dillof, supra note xx, at 867, who says"[t]here is no reason to distinguish selective prosecution doctrine on the one hand and selective investigation/entrapment on the other." To the contrary, as shown above, the dangers of arbitrary and discriminatory law enforcement are distinctly greater when the government need not wait for the defendant to offend. Of course, one could try to address the problem through a reformulated selective prosecution doctrine for this context, but I reject that solution at infra TAN.

¹⁶² See Seidman, supra note xx, at yy.

¹⁶³ See Stuntz, supra note xx.

In any event, limiting discretion remains a basic institutional commitment, motivating various other doctrines.¹⁶⁴ If police already possess so much discretion that it would not matter if we gave them more, then we must rethink much more than the entrapment defense.

B. Re-Examining the Economic Logic of the Defense: The "Proxy" Crime Idea and a More Complex Balancing

In Part II, I objected to the economic theory of entrapment for two reasons. I first accepted the premises of the argument – that the purpose of the defense is to exculpate false offenders – and observed that it is extremely difficult to determine whether the undercover offender is false unless the government incurs investigative costs the undercover operation is supposed to avoid. Second, I challenged the argument's premise by identifying a large category of probabilistic offenders, whose punishment creates some positive benefit.

This section answers each objection, though in reverse order. First, I defend the premise of the economic rationale: that we need to regulate undercover operations to avoid an acute waste of law enforcement resources. The benefit of apprehending and punishing probabilistic offenders varies widely, but police have insufficient incentives to account for these differences. Second, I recast the purpose of undercover operations. I conclude that we should not try to determine whether the defendant is an "otherwise law-abiding citizen who, if left to his own devices, likely would never have run afoul of the law." We will never know in any precise way whether the defendant is such a person beyond a reasonable doubt, and it is not worth the cost of trying to find out in each case. We should instead ask whether a particular tactic will, in the aggregate, yield many nearly harmless, low-risk offenders, in which case the entrapment defense should bar convictions based on such operations.

1. Reconstructing the Economic Rationale: A Collective Cost/Benefit Analysis

The existence of probabilistic offenders does not eliminate the likelihood that police will waste resources on unproductive operations. Even though there is *some* benefit to punishing probabilistic offenders, society has a greater need to apprehend and punish true offenders than probabilistic offenders, and within the latter category, a stronger need to punish those whose probability of offense is close to one ("high risk probabilistic offenders") than to punish those whose probability of offense is close to zero ("low risk probabilistic offenders"). Like the punishment of false offenders, punishing probabilistic offenders who are extremely unlikely to offend – whose reservation price for crime is *almost* always higher than any offer they receive – is extraordinarily wasteful. The analysis becomes messier but there are two reasons to believe that the costs will very frequently outweigh the benefits.

 $^{^{164}}$ I refer to the principle of legality, act requirement, and vagueness doctrine, which serve this purpose. See PACKER, supra note xx; Jeffries, supra note xx.

¹⁶⁵ *Jacobson*, supra at 553-54.

First, when we talk of probabilistic offenders, we include individuals whose probability of offense is so low that the mere costs of their apprehension and punishment exceed any benefit. Suppose the probability that *A* will commit crime *X* this year is one in a hundred thousand (because the odds of *A* receiving an extremely scarce offer at the time she would accept it are so low). There are *some* individual prevention benefits from her punishment, if it would drive the probability of her offending down from .00001 to 0. Her punishment may also uniquely raise the level of general deterrence for those in her situation. Although such people commit very few crimes (100,000 such individuals commit, on average, one crime per year), their deterrence is not *entirely* valueless. But we can easily imagine that the deterrence and incapacitation benefits just described are far smaller than the cost of running the undercover operation that apprehends her and the costs of her incarceration, to herself as well as the state.¹⁶⁶

Second, law enforcement resources being scarce, resources used to apprehend low-threat probabilistic offenders are wastefully diverted from apprehending high-threat probabilistic offenders and true offenders. Punishing the former buys far less deterrence or incapacitation than punishing the latter. For both reasons, and because police incentives are skewed, it makes sense to bar conviction of those who take an undercover inducement they would be extraordinarily unlikely to receive in the real world, even if there is some small positive probability that they would.

To illustrate, assume that police choose between an undercover operation that offers extremely attractive inducements that rarely occur and yields twenty arrests per day and an operation that offers ordinary inducements that frequently occur and yields one arrest per day. The police will choose the former operation, which apprehends many low-risk probabilistic offenders, while the latter would yield one true or high-risk offender. Call that person *A*.

When given the twenty offenders, the prosecutor can choose not to prosecute, which means the police resources were wasted. Or she could choose to prosecute all twenty, which means she diverts resources from other prosecutions, and for nineteen of the cases, the diversion is almost certainly wasteful. The same is true of punishment resources if incarceration is involved. Sending all twenty offenders to prison may require either that we do not incarcerate more dangerous offenders for that time, or that we incarcerate each of the twenty for 1/20th of the time we could incarcerate *A* if *A* were the only offender. Either choice diverts punishment resources away from their best use.¹⁶⁷

In sum, the mere fact that there are benefits to punishing a probabilistic offender does not mean that those benefits exceed the costs. Instead, we have reason to worry that police will focus

¹⁶⁶ Economists tend to count the costs of punishment to the criminal in their analyses, though there are some dissenters from this practice. In the entrapment case, it certainly seems appropriate to demand that the total benefits to punishment exceed the total costs.

¹⁶⁷ An ideally motivated prosecutor might want to select among the twenty cases, prosecuting only the one true offender. But she may be unable to tell which one of the twenty is worth prosecuting. Even when she can, the police resources rounding up nineteen are wasted.

more on making the largest number of legally valid undercover arrests rather than the highest quality undercover arrests. An entrapment defense or other regulation may offset the agency problems that cause police to waste scarce resources "stinging" false or low risk probabilistic offenders.

2. "Proxy" Offenses and Undercover Operations

To address my other criticism – about the difficulty of proving the defendant is a true (or a high risk probabilistic) offender beyond a reasonable doubt – we must further revise the economic theory. Here I introduce the idea of a "proxy" crime to argue that we should focus on the general strength of the correlation between internal and external acts, not the harm caused or danger posed by a particular defendant.

a. The Theory of the Proxy Crime

Economic theory views criminal law as serving to prevent behavior that causes net social harm. The theory applies most readily when the prohibited behavior is defined as including the social harm to be prevented. The crime of homicide, for example, requires the element "death of another." Most crimes, however, define behaviors that only risk harm. Common law larceny need not cause harm — the taken property may be returned without being missed or damaged — but given the mental state required — intent to permanently deprive another of her property — it usually does.

By contrast, some crimes prohibit behavior that neither causes nor inherently risks harm. For example, in a large minority of states, the crime of electronic eavesdropping is defined as the recording of oral communications without the consent of all parties to them, ¹⁶⁸ as where one party to a conversation records it without the consent of other participants. But one does not inevitably risk harm by recording a conversation without consent. The recording itself does not violate the privacy of another when the recorder already knows what she said. And because the statute does not require an intent to use the recording in any particular way, one can't say the recording inherently risks harm. Even if the recorder later decides to disclose the recording, if the content is banal, it still risks no harm. Finally, when the non-consensual recording contains damaging information, the state could reach the risky behavior by banning only the disclosure, the intent to disclose, or the threat to disclose the recording. The crime reaches this behavior, but it is also criminalizes the recording itself with no such intent – a combination of act and mental state that does not itself risk harm.

¹⁶⁸ See, e.g., 720 III. Code 5/14-2.

Many crimes have this feature.¹⁶⁹ I call them "proxy" crimes because the behavior prohibited, while not inherently risking harm, stands in for behavior that does risk harm. Indeed, frequently the origin of a proxy crime is a modification of a pre-existing offense where the defined conduct did inherently risk harm. The legislature decides, however, that it is difficult for a prosecutor to prove all the elements of the standard crime, so they remove certain hard-to-prove elements, including the ones that produced a necessary risk of harm.¹⁷⁰ The result is a prophylactic crime, that bars conduct that neither causes nor risks harm but is correlated with other conduct that is harmful or risky.

We can understand better the utilitarian logic of the proxy offense in the context of another example. Many states prohibit the driving a motor vehicle while there is an open or unsealed container of alcohol in the passenger area.¹⁷¹ The driver is guilty even if she is completely sober, has not consumed any of the "possessed" alcohol, and lacks the intent to consume any alcohol. The driver is guilty even though a passenger holds the can of beer and intends to consume it entirely. Given that mere access to alcohol does not inherently risk harm, why punish it?

Retributivists would probably not punish this behavior, but utilitarian balancing may justify doing so. The prohibition will decrease the presence of open alcohol containers in cars. *Some* of the alcohol in those containers would have been consumed by the drivers. *Some* of those drivers would have become intoxicated. Thus, the statute decreases drunk driving and ultimately the harm of accidents. The precise benefit of the open container ban is the ability to generate this risk reduction more cheaply (or to generate incrementally more reduction for the same cost) than occurs when the legislature relies only on more vigorous enforcement of the drunk driving ban. *The key is that an open container does not itself prove the drunk driving offense beyond a reasonable doubt.* If it did, there would be no advantage to the new law because, whenever the police found an open container, they could convict for drunk driving (which would also deter open container possession). The advantage of the proxy approach is precisely that, while there is a correlation between the harmful act (drunk driving) and the proxy (driving with open container), it is *not* so strong as to be beyond a reasonable doubt. The cost of the law is the

¹⁶⁹ Consider two federal examples. First, the law compels certain individuals to report transactions involving more than \$10,000 in cash and authorizes prison for knowing violations. See 18 U.S.C. § 1960. Though the report may prompt government to discover an underlying crime – e.g., drug dealing or tax fraud – the failure to report does not inevitably risk harm to law enforcement. Sometimes individuals use cash for innocent reasons and sometimes the government is already tracking an individual's money. Yet one commits the crime by failing to report even in those situations. Second, the law prohibits felons from possessing firearms. See 18 U.S.C. § 922(g). Putting aside the unlikely possibility that Congress believed ex-felons were more likely to have firearm accidents, the apparent aim of this offense is to prevent felons from committing crimes with guns, but it is no defense to possess a gun without the intent to offend.

170 See Stuntz. supra note xx.

¹⁷¹ The SOURCEBOOK OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS 104-05 (2002) lists forty-two states with open container laws. *See*, *e.g.*, Iowa Code Annotated §321.284 ("A driver of a motor vehicle upon a public street or highway shall not possess in the passenger area of the motor vehicle an open or unsealed bottle, can, jar, or other receptacle containing an alcoholic beverage."); Maine Revised Statutes Annotated § 2112-A(2) ("The operator of a vehicle on a public way is in violation of this section if the operator or a passenger in the passenger area of the vehicle: A. Consumes alcohol; or B. Possess an open alcoholic beverage container").

forgone value that individuals place on carrying open containers.¹⁷² Quite possibly, the benefits exceed the costs.

The proxy approach shows that there is no connection between burdens of proof and the probability of the harm the law is meant to prevent. The criminal elements the legislature defines must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, but the legislature's judgment that the criminal conduct is correlated with harm or risk need not be proved by any such standard. The prosecutor need *not* prove beyond a reasonable doubt or by any other standard that by virtue of the open container the driver risked a traffic accident, would have become intoxicated while driving, or would have consumed any alcohol. The prosecutor need only prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the driver was operating a motor vehicle when (or knowing that) there was an open alcohol container in the passenger area. The open container is only dangerous when combined with other driver intent or conduct – to consume alcohol and keep driving – but the legislature defines the crime to omit those additional elements.

One might ask: for a proxy crime, why isn't there a defense of being one of the individuals to whom the correlation does not apply? Why not allow a *harmlessness* defense to the open container law, whereby a defendant driver claims that he was not in danger of becoming legally intoxicated? The answer is that this requires the government undertake the expense of proving the very fact the proxy offense is supposed to obviate. One might think the solution is to put the burden of proof on the defendant (assuming that is constitutionally permissible). But even there, the state will have to incur the expense of investigating and refuting the defendant's evidence. The defendant may easily raise the defense by testifying that she was not consuming alcohol from the open container, or was consuming it but was in no danger of becoming intoxicated, or was perhaps nearly intoxicated but was just about to arrive at her destination. The whole point of a proxy crime is to avoid having to rebut these sort of claims.

Again, I am not trying to prove this sort of prohibition is ultimately justified, but only to note that this proxy structure is common to criminal statutes and to point out a possible utilitarian justification. To deter certain harmful conduct, the legislature defines as criminal some broad set of conduct that is easily proved but not inherently risky because the benefits of deterring the subset of behavior that *is* risky outweighs the costs of deterring the subset that is not.

b. Using the Proxy Concept to Explain Entrapment

The proxy analysis helps to explain both the logic of undercover operations and of an entrapment defense. First, the reason for the tactic: we punish individuals for undercover offenses because doing so contributes in a general way to crime prevention – deterring external offenses and incapacitating external offenders – *not* because we believe a particular undercover offender has externally offended beyond a reasonable doubt. Recall that there would be no need

 $^{^{172}}$ E.g., the cost of deferring consumption and/or abandoning poured drinks when one decides to ride in a car.

for a proxy crime if the act defining the crime (e.g., access to an open container) proved a more serious crime (e.g., drunk driving) beyond a reasonable doubt. Similarly, there is no need for the undercover act, by itself or with other evidence, to prove an external offense beyond a reasonable doubt. If it did, there would be no need to punish an internal offense because we could punish for the external one. Instead, there is a net benefit from many undercover operations merely because *some* apprehended individuals are true or high risk offenders and the operation facilitates their deterrence and incapacitation.

Second, we nonetheless require some regulation of undercover operations, such as the entrapment defense. Just as the value of a proxy offense depends on the strength of the overall correlation between the proxy act and an act that inherently causes or risks harm, the value of a particular undercover operation depends on the strength of the overall correlation between the internal and external offense. Because of a principal-agent problem, police will frequently prefer undercover tactics with a weak correlation that yield many arrests (because the manufactured temptation is great) to tactics with a strong correlation that yield few arrests (because the manufactured temptation is realistic). Thus, the entrapment defense is a means of re-motivating police towards more productive undercover tactics, avoiding the waste of less productive tactics.

To understand both points, consider a thought experiment. Suppose that the legislature initially proclaims that its criminal prohibitions do *not* apply to acts committed in undercover operations and forbids the police from engaging in such operations.¹⁷³ Thus, if unauthorized undercover operations occur, the defendant's internal acts are not crimes. Against this noundercover baseline, suppose the legislature later decides to make exceptions, authorizing specific undercover operations for specific crimes where conventional law enforcement is failing. Because current criminal statutes do not apply to acts in undercover operations, the legislature enacts parallel provisions prohibiting individuals from committing certain acts in the authorized undercover operations (and authorizing punishment which may or may not be the same as for the external offense). For example, the legislature enacts a law authorizing police, *under specified parameters*, to offer bribes to public officials and making it a crime to accept a bribe in those authorized operations.

In this setting, consider our two normative questions. First, what justifies the legislative decision to expand criminal liability to include acts committed in authorized undercover operations? As stated above, the answer is *not* the claim that the undercover offender externally offends beyond a reasonable doubt. Instead, the legislature concludes that, in the parameters it specifies, there is a net benefit from running undercover operations and punishing internal offenders. Ideally, the legislature weighs the benefit of apprehending and punishing those individuals who will offend in the authorized operations. The size of that benefit – a contribution to crime prevention via deterrence and incapacitation – depends on how many of the undercover

¹⁷³ As soon as the police first attempt an undercover operation, suppose the legislature enacts a statute that says something like the following: "Unless otherwise stated, all provisions defining crimes require the acts to be committed without the encouragement or participation of agents acting for the government in an undercover operation."

offenders are true, high risk, low risk, or false. The legislature enacts the new provisions because it believes the benefits exceed the costs.

The second question is whether we should recognize any exceptions to the new criminal liability for offenses in authorized undercover operations. Should we, for example, create a defense that exculpates a defendant who would not have accepted a bribe outside of an undercover operation? As matters are stated in the thought experiment, the answer is no. If the legislature has authorized only specific undercover operations, has correctly defined the operational parameters so as to account for the problem of false and low risk offenders, and the police have stayed within these parameters, then it will not make sense to litigate in each case whether the defendant would otherwise offend. If the legislature decides to punish the act of accepting a bribe "of ordinary size offered no more than twice by a stranger in exchange for influencing a significant official decision," and the prosecution proves beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant accepted a bribe under these circumstances, that is the end of the matter.

Posner and Shavell are correct to say that we do not generate any useful deterrence or incapacitation when we punish a false offender. But that is just like saying that we do not generate crime prevention benefits when the individual with an open alcohol container in her car would not have become legally intoxicated while driving. The proxy strategy directs us away from such case-by-case judgments. As long as the legislature made the appropriate utilitarian calculation in allowing the undercover operations the police actually used, then there is no need for case-by-case reconsideration.¹⁷⁴ There need be no "harmlessness" defense. This is definitely the sharp edge of utilitarian thinking about criminal law – sacrificing the few for the good of the many¹⁷⁵ – but, again, my point is that the objections to it are not unique to undercover operations.

We can now understand better, however, our present need for an entrapment defense or other regulation. Contrary to the thought experiment, legislatures have not defined specific circumstances in which police may use the undercover tactic, nor defined crimes specific to the circumstances of undercover offending. Legislatures have failed to set specific limits on undercover tactics, much less to specify what tactics are permitted for what offenses. As a result, the only way we have to test the utilitarian benefits of an undercover operation is through a general, ex post regulation – the entrapment defense. At a minimum, we need the entrapment defense to ensure, not that each defendant is a true or high risk offender, but that the internal acts

¹⁷⁴ To make the analogy to proxy offenses complete, legislatures that punish a driver's access to open containers of alcohol in the passenger area also specify exemptions to which the legislature believes the proxy analysis is no longer persuasive. For example, Maine allows open containers of alcohol in the passenger area if it is possessed and consumed by a passenger "in the living quarters of a motor home" or a limousine. *See, e.g.*, Maine Revised Statutes Annotated § 2112-A(3). Outside of such specified exceptions, the legislature intends the prohibition to apply without regard to the actual risk of harm the defendant posed.

¹⁷⁵ Interestingly, however, this utilitarian balancing does not necessarily offend retributivism. For reasons stated above, those who offend in undercover operations are blameworthy. For retributivists who view blame as necessary to but not requiring punishment, we may choose not to punish for consequential reasons, and the entrapment defense merely screens out those defendants whose punishment is least likely to produce a desirable result.

are, in general, sufficiently correlated with external acts that the benefits of punishing internal acts exceed the costs. 176

In sum, once we reformulate the economic rationale, we have, along with the political rationale, a second justification for the entrapment defense. The economic function is to correct a principal-agent problem that would otherwise waste resources on unproductive operations likely to apprehend and punish false and low-risk probabilistic offenders.

C. The Explanatory Strength of the Two Rationales

As a final test of these theories, we should examine how they stand up to the critique of existing literature I provided in Part II. The reconstructed rationales for the entrapment defense, political and economic, answer my earlier critique and explain much about the broad parameters of the defense. Initially, the economic and political theories avoid the main objection to a retributive or institutional fairness theory of entrapment. Recall that the latter theories are unable to explain why we have a defense for yielding to criminal temptations created by police undercover agents but not those created by sincere private criminals. The economic and political rationales justify the distinction. It is only in the undercover operation that police and other government officials can abuse political power and waste public resources. Moreover, the law already supplies a strong disincentive to private citizens who sincerely propose criminal transactions – punishment for solicitation and conspiracy, as well as complicity in the encouraged offense. But, as explained above, the law otherwise gives insufficient incentive to government agents to limit undercover encouragement of crime; the entrapment defense improves matters by removing the law enforcement gain from overzealous or wasteful sting operations. 1777

The economic and political rationales also explain some overlooked but fundamental parameters of the entrapment defense. Note that, in addition to the two categories of criminal offers just discussed – those proposed by (1) sincere private citizens and (2) insincere government agents – there are two other possibilities: (3) a government official acting on his own behalf makes a sincere criminal offer and (4) an insincere private citizen makes a criminal offer to an individual she seeks to entrap and expose to criminal liability. For a fairness theory that turns on the public/private distinction – identifying unfairness whenever *public* officials greatly alter one's criminal temptations – the implication is the need to extend the entrapment defense to *any* governmental offer, even sincere ones. For a fairness theory that turns on the insincerity of the criminal temptor – identifying unfairness whenever the unusually attractive criminal offer is *intended* to bring criminal sanctions against the target – the implication is the need to extend the defense to *any* insincere offer, even private ones. Yet, as a matter of positive law, there is no defense in either case. Private citizens who conspire with government officials

¹⁷⁶ Given legislative silence, courts must engage in regulation ex post. It is possible that the optimal ex post regulation involves exonerating false or low risk offenders on a case by case basis. I reject that possibility infra at TAN.

¹⁷⁷ In addition, unlike the fairness theories I critiqued, the political and economic rationales do not imply that the status quo distribution of criminal temptations is fair. See supra TAN.

actually engaged in crime have no special "blame the government" defense. And there is no "private entrapment defense" for a defendant encouraged into crime by a private citizen intending to expose her to criminal liability. 178

The political and economic theories justify these results.¹⁷⁹ The economic rationale is not implicated except when government officials expend public resources on sting operations. These resources are not employed if government officials are committing actual crimes nor if private parties run their own sting operations. The political rationale is implicated only when government actors who wield other great power also wield the power to tempt their enemies without themselves facing criminal sanctions. Government actors proposing actual crimes do face criminal sanctions.¹⁸⁰ Private actors running sting operations do not pose the same political dangers as public officials. In addition, to the extent we want to deter private sting operations, we usually do so by imposing criminal liability on private parties who encourage crimes (via solicitation, conspiracy, and complicity).

Finally, although there is a scholarly elegance to theories that explain a legal doctrine with a single function, there is at least one virtue in explaining entrapment doctrine with two. Together, the political and economic rationales answer one of Seidman's criticisms of entrapment doctrine. He observes that different critics inconsistently complain both about the government's random targeting of individuals and its deliberate selection of targets. Rather than being evidence of the doctrine's incoherence, however, these opposing criticisms are evidence of entrapment's dual justifications. Deliberate targeting presents the danger of political abuse, that government officials are motivated to destroy the life of the individual targeted. Random targeting presents the risk of wasted resources, given the false positive paradox discussed above. ¹⁸¹ Neither outcome is inevitable: deliberate targeting is politically safe when officials act for good reason and use modest inducements; random targeting is productive when officials use modest inducements and/or prosecute only when they find enough additional evidence of external offenses. Thus, an entrapment defense (or other regulation) should leave room for both random and deliberate targeting. But each form of targeting does raise *one* of the two concerns that motivate the defense, so there is nothing incoherent in worrying about both.

¹⁷⁸ See sources cited at supra note xx.

¹⁷⁹ Thus, I disagree with Allen, Luttrell and Kreeger, supra note xx at 420-21, who argue for creating a private entrapment defense. They claim that there is no benefit to punishing someone who accepts a "extra-market" inducement. But if a private individual offers an above-average inducement, it is, *by definition*, part of the market. See id. at 421 (recognizing but dismissing this point). As explained supra TAN, in black markets, scarce opportunities arise at particularly attractive prices. Failing to punish these crimes would undermine deterrence.

¹⁸⁰ An entrapment defense would undermine this deterrent by making it easier for government criminals to find private accomplices who would enjoy the defense. Moreover, the private actors government officials usually conspire with are their friends and we do not worry about officials abusing political power to harm their friends.

¹⁸¹ See supra TAN xx-yy. The problem is that, even if the false positive rate is quite low, the false positive paradox shows that many or most of those apprehended may be false offenders. Of course, this concern is lessened by the proxy analysis. That reasoning suggests why we may want to convict the individual of the internal offense even though we do not believe beyond a reasonable doubt that they have committed an external offense. Nonetheless, there remains reason to worry that police will apprehend too many low risk offenders and too few high risk offenders, a problem made particularly acute with random targeting.

In sum, we need the entrapment defense or some equivalent regulation. The next Part recommends particular doctrinal formulations derived from the above analysis.

IV. HOW TO REGULATE TEMPTATION OPERATIONS: NEW CONCEPTS OF ENTRAPMENT

Given the economic and political theories, what is the best way to regulate undercover operations? This Part explains how courts can identify unproductive or politically threatening operations. I assume courts then block any prosecutions founded on such operations by granting an entrapment defense or, as is done elsewhere, by enjoining prosecution or excluding evidence of the undercover offense. ¹⁸² I do not comment on the choice among these mechanisms, ¹⁸³ but address only the central question of how to distinguish good from bad undercover operations. For ease of exposition, I refer to the means of blocking a prosecution as a "defense," though that should always be understood to include the alternatives of enjoining prosecution or excluding evidence.

I offer two answers. Section A sketches a stark departure from the existing approach: that we define the entrapment defense on a crime-by-crime basis. This regulatory form would tie the legal doctrine most closely to the economic and political rationales, but I discuss it only briefly because it is complex and, as a practical matter, less likely to influence policy. In Section B, I return to the conventional if "second best" approach, a one-size-fits-all-crimes entrapment defense.

A. Brief Notes on a Radical Alternative: Crime-Specific Entrapment Defenses

Academic discussion of entrapment assumes that the best doctrinal formulation is uniform across crimes. It is obvious that the proper *application* of an ideal doctrine may vary by crime, but almost no one advocates that the *definition* of entrapment should depend on the crime. Yet the first thing to note about the economic and political rationales is that they raise different concerns for different crimes. These rationales point us away from a monolithic definition of entrapment.

Consider first the political rationale – the need to deny government officials the power to induce political enemies and unpopular individuals to offend. Not every crime presents this danger. Almost everyone would resist all offers involving sex with young children, so that this crime is not useful for "setting up" particular individuals (barring the successful fabrication of evidence). The political threat arises most clearly for crimes that a large majority of the

¹⁸² See supra notes xx-yy.

¹⁸³ An important issue is whether the judge or jury applies the doctrine I describe below. If the jury should do so, then the choice of mechanism matters because the jury could decide only the issue of a criminal defense. However, because the economic and political concerns transcend the individual case, it seems to me that judges are the more appropriate decision-maker, in which case any of the three mechanisms works.

population would commit if repeatedly offered an especially attractive inducement. Identifying such crimes is an intensely empirical issue, but I speculate that they include employee pilferage, insurance fraud, failure to return lost property, copyright violations, knowingly passing counterfeit bills, knowingly selling legal goods in exchange for drug proceeds, and the illegal distribution of prescription painkillers or medicinal marijuana. If my judgment appears misanthropic, consider that an "especially attractive inducement" includes creating situations where the crime appears necessary to preserve a romantic relationship (e.g., *Lively*¹⁸⁴) or to prevent the suffering of others (e.g., *Sherman*¹⁸⁵), as well as cases where the apparent victim seems highly unsympathetic (e.g., a heartless insurance company).

There may also be a political danger to undercover operations involving crimes that only a small minority would ever commit, if there are many such crimes and the police can identify which crimes are tempting to which individuals. The concern here is that "everybody has their weakness." If government officials can readily ascertain an individual's "weakness" and match it to a particular offense, they may be able to induce nearly any individual into crime even without using crimes that most individuals would commit. When states enforced a large set of sex crimes – against fornication, adultery, prostitution, statutory rape, sodomy, obscenity and contraception – this was a plausible scenario. I am less certain whether it remains plausible today, though it might. For example, with the proliferation of regulatory offenses, police may be able to induce most members of a given industry or occupation to commit crimes concerning that industry or occupation. ¹⁸⁶

In any event, I seek only to show that the strength of the political rationale for regulating undercover operations varies by crime. The same is true of the economic rationale. Initially, to turn the point around, the economic justification for undercover operations varies by crime. There is a greater law enforcement need to use sting operations or any effective tactic for serious crimes – e.g., terrorism – than for less serious crimes – e.g., pick-pocketing. Holding severity of crime constant, there is also a greater need for the undercover tactic to investigate crimes that tend not to generate complaints from victims and witnesses – e.g., bribery and drug sales – than for crimes that tend to generate complaints – e.g., burglary and robbery.

Finally, the efficiency of undercover operations will differ by crime depending on what proportion of offenses are committed by true or high risk probabilistic offenders. Some crimes – e.g., arson for hire, counterfeiting, money laundering – are probably committed almost entirely by recidivist professionals, that is, true offenders. Others – e.g., accepting an unsolicited bribe, stealing from one's employer, statutory rape – might be opportunistic, that is, committed mostly by probabilistic offenders who encounter scarce criminal opportunities. If recidivists commit most of the crimes, then there is a sharp drop-off in the social returns of punishment as one

¹⁸⁴ 921 P.2d at 1035.

¹⁸⁵ 356 U.S. at 369.

¹⁸⁶ In particular, there are many criminal statutes regulating the "occupation" of politicians. There may be some political danger that officials could target politicians they oppose with undercover operations involving technical violations of campaign finance and gift regulations.

moves from a true offender to a probabilistic offender, and therefore a greater benefit from a doctrine that minimizes the punishment of anyone but true offenders. By contrast, if most crimes of a certain sort are committed by probabilistic offenders, then there is a stronger need to punish probabilistic offenders and there is only a gradual drop-off in the social returns of punishment as one more from higher-risk to lower-risk probabilistic offenders. There is less benefit to a defense that makes only fine grained distinctions between the risks posed by different individuals.

I previously proposed a thought experiment in which undercover operations are forbidden except where the legislature explicitly authorizes them. To ensure that the undercover operations it authorizes are appropriate and productive, the legislature would *either* state the narrow conditions under which it granted undercover authority to police *or* grant them general undercover authority while defining the conditions of an exception in which prosecution is barred. If, counter-factually, the legislature granted authorization only under specified conditions, the present point is that those conditions should vary crime-by-crime. If, closer to reality, the legislature grants general undercover authority subject to exceptions, those exceptions should vary crime-by-crime. Given the American approach, the entrapment defense should be defined for each crime for which police are authorized to use undercover operations.

Implementing this "first best" solution is complex and intensely empirical. Given space limitations, I leave to later research the detailed elaboration of this approach. Here I only briefly illustrate the kind of analysis that is required. The illustration also gives some insight into why intuitions about entrapment swing wildly across different crimes.

The key question is whether the criminal setting of an undercover operation implicates one, both, or neither regulatory rationale. Assume that an undercover operation targets a serious crime for which we do not expect cooperative witnesses (the first two economic factors favoring the use of undercover operations). Figure 1 then provides an analytic summary of the remaining issues. The political theory recommends categorizing undercover opportunities by whether they are, under some real world circumstances, tempting to a large majority of the public. When tempting, undercover operations present serious political risk. Given the stated assumptions, the economic theory suggests categorizing criminal activity by whether it is committed mostly by recidivists or "opportunists." When recidivists, undercover operations present a serious risk of waste. The resulting table identifies four categories of undercover operations: when both rationales clearly apply, when either the political or economic rationale apply, and when neither rationale clearly applies. The basic normative recommendation is to have the most stringent regulation when both rationales apply and no regulation when neither rationale clearly applies.

NATURE OF THE CRIMINAL OPPORTUNITY

		Tempting	Not Tempting
WHO	Mostly		
COMMITS THE OFFENSE	recidivists	Both rationales	Economic rationale
EXTERNALLY	Mostly		
	opportunists	Political rationale	Neither rationale

Figure 1: Intersection of Regulatory Rationales

To illustrate, crimes that are highly tempting to everyone in the right circumstances but are usually committed by recidivists probably include certain types of theft (e.g., pick-pocketing), the sale of medicinal marijuana, and even the sale of cocaine (if necessary to preserve a romantic relationship as in *Lively*). Undercover operations creating such opportunities implicate both rationales. Tempting crimes committed mostly by opportunists, which implicate only the political rationale, may include other types of theft (e.g., failure to return lost or misdirected property), certain bribes (unsolicited, for a minor favor), and the knowingly sale of legal goods in exchange for drug proceeds. Non-tempting crimes committed mostly by recidivists, which present only the economic rationale, probably include arson for hire, the sale of child pornography, and terrorism. Non-tempting crimes committed mostly by opportunists (presumably, not many such crimes are committed), might include accepting unsolicited bribes to "fix" criminal cases involving repulsive behavior (e.g. child molestation) or knowingly selling otherwise legal, fungible goods (e.g., gasoline, rope) to terrorists.

The second step is to tailor a regulation to each of the four categories of criminal activity. Again, I leave this analysis to later research. Merely to illustrate, one might bar prosecution when the undercover activity threatens both rationales, inquire as to the motives of the police and prosecutor in a case threatening the political rationale only, require additional evidence of external offending – "predisposition" – in a case threatening the economic rationale only, and permit no defense in a case threatening neither rationale. Alternatively, one might bar prosecution whenever the political rationale is threatened; whenever the economic rationale alone is present, one might bar all scarce offers, but permit ordinary ones. Whatever the choice, it differs greatly from the conventional approach.

B. Reformulating the Conventional Approach: An Improved Unitary Entrapment Defense

What is the best formulation of the conventional, unitary entrapment defense (or other regulation)? The best unitary formulation is necessarily "second best"; absent tailoring, a defense will be alternatively too broad and too narrow. Thus, the recommendation that follows is not

¹⁸⁷ See 18 U.S.C.A. § 1956, at issue in U.S. v. Jensen, 69 F.3d 906 (8th Cir. 1995), where undercover agents bought a car with cash they told the dealer came from drug sales.

perfectly tied to the normative analysis above. Moreover, due to space constraints, my answer will again be brief. I seek merely to identify the rough approach the two rationales recommend.

Initially, recall that the above analysis applies only to pro-active undercover operations, by which I mean those where government manipulates criminal opportunities to make them appear more favorable. When the government does not manipulate opportunities, but only infiltrates and passively observes, no defense is needed. Recall also that I assumed that the pre-existing literature justified a minimalist defense that prohibited the government from creating criminal opportunities better than any that exist in the real world. The question is what more to require. I proceed by providing a separate answer for each rationale, and then propose the best defense given both.

1. An Entrapment Defense to Prevent Political Abuse

Given a proactive operation, how should we formulate a unitary doctrine to serve the *political* rationale? We might solve the problem of political misuse of undercover operations by inquiring into the motives of the officials who directed the operation or the resulting prosecution. Once we ruled out improper motivation – no official targeted an enemy or scapegoat – there would be no political rationale for a defense. Because intent is easily concealed, however, the doctrines of selective and vindictive prosecution are notoriously ineffective. It appears more promising to base a test on objective facts, identifying situations where discretion is most easily abused rather than proof that it was abused in the particular case. That approach is consistent with other institutional side-constraints on criminal law enforcement (e.g., principal of legality and vagueness doctrine).

The objective factors that make undercover operations politically dangerous are the (1) scarcity of criminal opportunities and (2) the repetition and/or calculated timing of offers. Most obviously, there is a risk of political abuse when the opportunities offered are so scarce that they would tempt a large majority of people. Existing formulations of the objective test address this factor reasonably well by asking whether the undercover inducement would be likely to tempt an "average" or "normally law-abiding" person. ¹⁹⁰ Of course, to answer this question adequately, one must consider all the dimensions by which the offer may be scarce, as discussed above. ¹⁹¹

Less obvious is the danger posed by the repetition of offers or the timing of offers during a moment of predictable but temporary weakness - e.g., intoxication, bankruptcy, or emotional distress. Repetition and timing intensify the problem of scarce opportunities. If the criminal opportunity is abundant - as it is in some places for the crimes of soliciting prostitution or

¹⁸⁸ As explained supra TAN, covert agents manipulate opportunities either by posing as a confederate to the crime – a "sting" – or by posing as a potential victim – a "decoy."

¹⁸⁹ See, e.g., Richard H. McAdams, *Race and Selective Prosecution: Discovering the Pitfalls of Armstrong*, 73 CHI-KENT L. REV. 605 (1998).

¹⁹⁰ See supra TAN.

¹⁹¹ See supra TAN.

buying cocaine – then police repetition and timing don't matter much (because citizens are always tempted anyway). But, as explained above, a somewhat scarce offer is far more likely to induce criminality when it is repeated or deliberately timed. Existing formulations of the subjective test address the repetition factor indirectly by asking whether the individual was immediately willing to offend on the first occasion. Jurisdictions employing the subjective test may do a better job of attending to these facts than those employing the objective test. But the ultimate issue properly framed is not subjective; it is whether the government engaged in repeated or timed targeting of scarce offers in a way that would make them tempting to most individuals.

Thus, the political rationale points to a defense that limits the criminal opportunities police can create to those that would *not*, even when repeated or timed as the police did in the particular case, induce most citizens to offend.

2. An Entrapment Defense to Avoid Unproductive Law Enforcement

How should we formulate a unitary doctrine to serve the *economic* rationale? To begin, note that the economic function also points to the importance of objective factors.

Because judicial regulation is ex post – after the undercover operation occurs – it is possible to consider facts about a particular defendant. Perhaps Posner and Shavell are therefore correct to see the entrapment defense as existing to identify on a case by case basis who is a false or low risk offender. Even though we are no longer seeking to decide beyond a reasonable doubt whether a particular undercover offender also offends externally, we still might want to decide by a lower standard of proof whether the undercover offender is a true or high risk probabilistic offenders.

In practice, however, the best ex post regulation will replicate, as far as possible, ex ante regulation and resist the impulse to decide whether each defendant poses the risk the undercover tactic seeks to deter or incapacitate. This is true for three reasons. The first is that case-by-case regulation requires incurring costs the categorical regulation avoids. If we allow undercover operations that yield large numbers of arrests on the theory that we can later identify and release the false or low risk offenders, we have wasted the costs the police incur in apprehending these individuals as well as the costs the individuals incur in being arrested.

There remains a tension between using an undercover operation to apprehend true or high risk offenders more cheaply than convention investigations and the offsetting need to expend resources to judge, after the operation, whether the individuals apprehended are true or high risk. If we maintain the focus on the individual, we run a great risk of either collecting too much information, so that the undercover tactic loses its comparative advantage, or too little, so that our judgments are unreliable. To retain the cost advantages of undercover operations, we are better off minimizing ex post testing, which means we should identify the general parameters of productive and unproductive operations.

The final reason to avoid defendant-by-defendant decision-making is the "fundamental attribution error," a cognitive bias once described as "the most robust and repeatable finding in social psychology." The bias arises when judging the causes of another's behavior. People tend to attribute the behavior of another to her preferences or attitudes to a greater degree than is logically warranted, and conversely, to under-attribute another's behavior to her situational constraints. "When people observe behavior, they often conclude that the person who performed the behavior was *predisposed* to do so – that the person's behavior corresponds to the person's unique dispositions – and they draw such conclusions even when a logical analysis suggests they should not." If so, then we should not expect fact-finders (judges or juries) to be good at deciding ex post whether a particular individual committed an undercover offense because of predisposition or because of situational constraints the police created. Once the individual commits the undercover act, there is a significant bias towards finding her to be a true or high risk offender. We avoid this bias only by forgoing the judgment about particular defendants, which occurs by granting a defense for *all* defendants caught in an unproductive undercover operations.

For these reasons, courts should use categorical or objective rules against unproductive operations. To return to the bribery illustration, if we believe that undercover agents will yield many false or low risk offenders by having a friend of the target repeatedly offer large bribes for small favors, then courts should prevent convictions without bothering to ask the costly counterfactual question whether the individual defendant is someone who would have offended in more ordinary circumstances. Conversely, if we believe that the undercover operation – a stranger offering a bribe of ordinary size no more than twice in exchange for significant favor – will overwhelmingly yield true or high risk offenders, then we need not ask whether the defendant is one.

Thus I reject the external offense principle. Those who embrace it advocate what I termed a harmlessness defense where a defendant says: "Even though the circumstances *abc* exist," and therefore there is a strong correlation between the internal and external acts, "I am still one of the rare false or low risk offenders caught by this operation." Such a claim is possible; unless the correlation is 100%, the operation will necessarily apprehend some low risk or false offenders. But on the proxy analysis, we don't care about this defense; the whole point is to relieve the government of the burden of rebutting this kind of claim.

What categorical rule best avoids wasteful operations that wastefully tempt low-risk or false offenders?¹⁹⁴ The right starting point is the proposal by Ron Allen, Melissa Luttrell, and

¹⁹² E. E. JONES, INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTION 138 (1990). See also Miller, D. T. and D. A. Prentice *The Construction of Social Norms and Standards*, in SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: HANDBOOK OF BASIC PRINCIPLES (E. T. Higgins and A. W. Kruglanski, eds.) 799, 803 (1996) (emphasizing the "enormous support" the finding has received in varied settings over three decades of research).

¹⁹³ D.T. Gilbert and P. S. Malone, *The Correspondence Bias*, 117 PSYCH. BULL. 21 (1995)(emphasis added). ¹⁹⁴ It is particularly wasteful when the operation entraps low risk offenders when the crime involved is externally committed mostly by recidivists, but there is no way for a unitary doctrine to be sensitive to this fact.

Anne Kreeger ("ALK") to grant an entrapment defense if "the inducements exceeded real world market rates." Though they offer this idea as a gloss on "predisposition," it is more naturally described as an objective test that limits the nature of the police inducement. There is much to be said for the ALK proposal, but it is ambiguous on the crucial question of whether the government is permitted to offer *any* real world market rates or only *ordinary* or *average* market rates. The former possibility – permitting the police to offer even the rarest real world criminal opportunities – is the same as the "minimal" entrapment defense I argued against.

The alternative interpretation – to permit the police to offer only ordinary and average criminal opportunities – seems better given the economic and institutional rationales. I propose it as part of the best unitary defense. But the normative analysis suggests the need for two modifications, giving greater clarity to what is meant by ordinary or average. First, I use the term "ordinary" in addition to "average" because we need to consider not only how a criminal offer's magnitude compares to the magnitude of other such real world offers, but how frequently such offers occur. If there is one bribe offered per year and its size is \$50,000, then \$50,000 is average but it is scarce rather than ordinary. The economic rationale raises greater concerns when the government is offering scarce rather than standard, readily-available opportunities. The more scarce the opportunity, the greater the chance that government is wasting law enforcement resources. The police should be permitted the "safe harbor" of creating *ordinary and average* criminal opportunities. The fact-finder's determination whether the offer was ordinary should focus on all relevant dimensions: the material gain from the crime, the non-material gain (*e.g.*, maintaining personal or romantic relationships), the probability of detection, the apparent moral rationalization for offending, etc.

There is a second important nuance to determining ordinary opportunities. For many markets, the quality of the illegal good or service varies and criminal buyers will therefore *not* offer the same price to every seller. If one wishes to avoid waste, the police must offer to an individual no more than the price *she* can obtain in the market, given the quality of good or service she can provide. An example is arson-for-hire. When a building owner wants to burn his building in order to collect insurance, he seeks a professional arsonist who will make the fire look accidental. He will not offer the price the professional charges, nor possibly any price, to an amateur who lacks the necessary knowledge, skills, and reputation. The price that is "average and ordinary" for an arsonist is not "average and ordinary" for anyone else. If police offer a random homeless person \$1,000 to burn a building, that is entrapment even if the average arsonist charges \$1,000. The police should offer no more than what the defendant could obtain in the criminal market *given her skill and reputation*. ¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Allen, Luttrell, & Kreeger, supra note xx, at 415.

¹⁹⁶ One can read *Hollingsworth*, 27 F.3d at 1196, to introduce exactly this consideration within the subjective test, defining predisposed to mean, not merely willingness, but the willingness plus readiness – meaning the skill or reputation needed to attract the offered price. Money laundering is a service where quality matters and the court essentially found that the defendants were offered the "going rate" for a service they lacked the skill to provide.

Ironically, to decide this issue, the fact-finder must consider evidence currently relevant only under the subjective test concerning the defendant's knowledge, skill, and reputation for committing the crime in question. The evidence is being used differently here – the focus is whether the opportunity the police created is ordinary, not whether the defendant is predisposed. To some degree, however, this concern undermines the categorical approach by requiring some costly defendant-by-defendant analysis. Nonetheless, asking about the defendant's specialized knowledge and skills, or reputation, are far less speculative and difficult than asking whether the defendant offends externally. Moreover, by asking a factual question about what the defendant knows or what others think he does, one avoids the fundamental attribution error which infects only decisions about *why* a person acted as they did (i.e., because of predisposition or external constraints?). ¹⁹⁷

Although "average and ordinary" inducements should be a "safe harbor" for law enforcement, the normative analysis does not rule out offering anything more. Indeed, offering only ordinary opportunities will generate many false negatives, as some individuals will turn down the undercover offer of an ordinary opportunity even though they are at high risk to accept extraordinary opportunities that come their way. One wants to permit the state to offer extraordinary opportunities, but somehow to minimize the number of false or low risk offenders who are apprehended.

A solution is to return to the idea of *combining* the evidence of undercover offending with other evidence of external offending. Given the proxy analysis, we are no longer aiming to prove the external offense beyond a reasonable doubt, but we do want to maintain a substantial correlation between internal and external offending. The Bayesian analysis then reveals the productivity of targeting only those individuals whom the police already reasonably suspect of offending. In the prior discussion, I gave pessimistic examples that assumed random targeting where the "base rate" of offending was one in 1000. Suppose, however, that police target a population where the base rate is one in three. For example, narcotics officers target a population of individuals they otherwise suspect of selling drugs based on conventional investigation that identifies adults with no lawful employment who own a new car and receive hundreds of phone calls daily. If in this specialized population, the base rate (the proportion of drug offenders) is thirty-three percent, and we assume that extra-ordinary opportunities carry a false positive rate of ten percent and a false negative rate of zero percent – then the results are much better. If police conduct 1000 operations, the 333 true offenders accept the undercover inducements and, on average, a hundred law-abiding citizens do. Thus, over seventy-five percent of those who accept the undercover inducement are true offenders. Prior suspicion greatly increases the productivity

¹⁹⁷ In any event, this entire inquiry is not necessary in many undercover operations. In a "thick" black market for drugs or firearms, every seller may command the standard price. Similarly, for bribery, the only special "skill" the prosecutor needs to prove is that the defendant is a public official who can bestow official favors.

of undercover operations even when the opportunity better than ordinary. The familiar standard to use here is the reasonable suspicion test from fourth amendment jurisprudence. 198

What about evidence acquired after the operation? Suppose police create extra-ordinary opportunities for randomly selected targets, some of whom internally offend, and later acquire evidence that these targets offend externally. Perhaps they acquire the same evidence that would support reasonable suspicion prior to the operation. Should that suffice to defeat the entrapment defense? No. First, it is important to remember that the state is always free to charge the defendant with *external* offenses. If the inducement is merely extra-ordinary (not tempting to most people), undercover offending will generally create probable cause to believe the individual offends externally, which would justify searches for evidence of external crimes. ¹⁹⁹ Often, the target who agrees to sell illegal drugs or weapons in an undercover operation has a car trunk or basement full of contraband. Or a target willing to buy child pornography already possess some on a computer. With this evidence, the state can prove external crimes and has no great need to punish for internal ones. So the question is what to do when there was no reason to suspect the target before the undercover operation, the police create extra-ordinary opportunities for random targets, and the evidence acquired after the operations fails to prove an external offense beyond a reasonable doubt.

The answer is supplied by the arguments above favoring, wherever possible, categorical entrapment rules over rules that require separately assessing each defendant after the fact. The latter is costly, especially because the fundamental attribution error will cause fact-finders to underestimate the role that external factors – a scarce opportunity – played in causing the target to offend. Thus, the economic rationale suggests creating a defense that the government can avoid either by proving that the opportunities it created were ordinary or that it offered extraordinary opportunities to someone it had already reasonably believed was offending.

3. A Proposed Entrapment Test Given Both Rationales

When we combine the above analysis to create a defense that serves both the political and economic functions, the result is the following test. First, the threshold that triggers the defense is a proactive operation in which government manipulated the apparent criminal opportunities (not mere passive observation). Second, an actor who offends in a proactive undercover operation is entitled to a defense (or to have the conviction enjoined or evidence excluded) if the undercover opportunity, by virtue of its scarcity, repetition, and/or timing, is

¹⁹⁸ The standard is elaborated in the progeny of Terry v. Ohio, 392 U.S. 1 (1968). Others have recommended that "reasonable suspicion" be required for all undercover operations, whether or not the inducement is ordinary. See, e.g., Maura Whelan, *Lead Us Not Into (Unwarranted) Temptation: A Proposal to Replace the Entrapment Defense With a Reasonable Suspicion Requirement*, 133 U. PA. L. REV. 1193 (1985) and the panel opinion in United States v. Jacobson, 893 F.2d 999, 1000 (8th Cir. 1990)("the government must have reasonable suspicion based on articulable facts before initiating an undercover operation"), vacated 916 F.2d 467 (en banc)(1990).

¹⁹⁹ See Labensky v. County of Nassau, 6 F.Supp.2d 161 (E.D.N.Y. 1998). Even though the prosecutor ultimately dismissed the indictment because of the strength of the entrapment defense, the court found probable cause for arrest and dismissed claims for false arrest and false imprisonment. Id. at 177.

more than otherwise ever exists externally (the minimalist test) or would tempt a majority of individuals (the political concern). Third, an actor is also entitled to a defense, even though the opportunity exists externally and would not tempt most individuals, if (a) the opportunity was *not* ordinary and average and (b) prior to the operation, government officials did *not* have reasonable suspicion to believe the defendant had committed or was committing the same sort of offense. In the margin, I offer statutory language that could implement this three-part test.²⁰⁰

Note that I am intentionally hedging on the all-important question of the burden of proof. There is nothing in the theory that gives a definite answer to whom should bear the burden of proving some or all of the elements of the defense. This is exactly the sort of issue that cries out for crime-by-crime analysis, if only to consider the severity of the crime. One might be more inclined, for example, to put the burden on the defendant in a terrorism case than in a prostitution case. In any event, I leave this matter unresolved and focus on what the elements are rather than who must prove them.

We can now also see what is wrong with other approaches. First, the subjective test does not sufficiently protect against the political threat or economic waste. If the defendant accepts the offer on the first opportunity, she will likely lose the defense even if its scarcity would tempt most of the population. If the offer is not tempting to most but still extra-ordinary, she will lose the defense by failing to resist the offer sufficiently, even if the police wasted resources by randomly targeting with no pre-existing suspicion. Second, for the same reason, the existing objective test does not sufficient protect against economic waste: the police are allowed to offer an extraordinary opportunities randomly, as long as they would not tempt most law abiding citizens. Finally, some commentators and courts have proposed requiring reasonable suspicion for all undercover operations. But where the government offers merely "ordinary" opportunities, there is no reason to require prior suspicion. The ordinary should remain a safe harbor.

Consider briefly how the test would apply to two cases. The defense would bar criminal liability in *Lively*. There is a reasonable argument that the government created circumstances and timed the opportunities in such a way that a majority of citizens would commit this crime – selling small quantities of cocaine to a friend of a lover for no profit in order to preserve the

²⁰⁰ "Entrapment is an affirmative defense. A public law enforcement official or an agent acting in cooperation with such an official perpetrates an entrapment if, in an undercover operation for the purpose of obtaining evidence of the commission of an offense, he creates apparent criminal opportunities that an actor accepts, if:

⁽¹⁾ the apparent criminal opportunities were greater than any that occur outside of undercover operations; or

⁽²⁾ when considering the number of times the opportunity was made apparent to the actor, the apparent criminal opportunities would tempt most ordinarily law-abiding citizens into offending; or

⁽³⁾ the criminal opportunities were made apparent during a foreseeable, infrequent, and temporary interval in which the actor lacked the substantial capacity to conform his conduct to the requirements of law; or

⁽⁴⁾ the apparent criminal opportunities were in some dimension greater than ordinary and average given the actor's knowledge, skill, and reputation, and were made apparent to the actor before the official had reasonable suspicion that the actor had committed similar offenses."

²⁰¹ See, e.g., Whelan, supra note xx.

²⁰² See TAN supra notes 1-yy.

romantic relationship. But putting aside that arguable point, the opportunity was clearly extraordinary – given the relationship the government agent created – while the police had no prior suspicion of Lively to justify their actions. In the terrorism case of Lakhani,²⁰³ it is clear that most people would not, under any circumstances short of considerable duress, agree to sell missiles to a terrorist intent on shooting down civilian planes. It is also clear, however, that the government created an extra-ordinary opportunity both by offering a large profit for the sale, waiting patiently for a year during which Lakhani failed to acquire the weapon, and then arranging for another government to supply Lakhani the armaments he could not acquire. The issue would then turn on whether the government reasonably suspected Lakhani to begin with, a point over which there was conflicting evidence.

²⁰³ See supra notes xx and yy.

CONCLUSION

This article offers new perspectives on the justifications for the entrapment defense. The central idea is that the defense regulates proactive undercover operations by which police manipulate the appearance of criminal opportunities. To date, no one has offered a persuasive rationale for the defense based on retributive theory or an institutional concern for fairness. I am doubtful such a theory is workable. By contrast, though I criticize the existing political and economic theories, I reconstruct them to justify the defense. The political rationale arises from the ability of undercover operations to manipulate the fortuity of legal compliance. As a result there is an institutional need to limit the power of government officials who control undercover operations, to prevent them from being able to target political enemies or unpopular scapegoats. The economic rationale arises from the need to correct the principal-agent problem that drives police to prefer undercover tactics that yield high numbers of low value arrests to tactics that yield low numbers of high value arrests. We avoid the waste of scarce law enforcement resources by a defense that re-orients police motivation, ensuring that internal offending remains sufficiently correlated with external offending. These rationales point to the desirability of tailoring a specific entrapment defense to each crime, but I also describe a unitary entrapment defense that will best serve the functions of the defense.