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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO GUN CONTROL. *Franklin E. Zimring and Gordon Hawkins*. New York: Macmillan, 1987. Pp. 201. \$17.95.

In this short book the authors attempt the difficult task of bridging the gap between the results of scientific studies of firearms and violence on the one hand, and public awareness on the other. By sharing their interpretation of the available data with the public, the authors hope to enlighten the debate over gun control policy. Much of the book is a non-technical review of the scholarly literature.

Although better, more recent data is available, Zimring and Hawkins rely heavily upon studies from the 1960's and in limited areas such as Chicago and Detroit. Too much of the material is a review of Newton and Zimring's 1969 commission staff report.¹ While the authors offer many insightful criticisms of the methodology and conclusions of other recent works, they fail to note the same problems in the research on which they rely.

Although the authors fault those with whom they disagree for not providing proof or explanations, Zimring and Hawkins are themselves no better. They write, for instance, that the "available evidence suggests that probably more than 10 percent of all handguns are used in crime or serious violence, usually within a decade of first sale." (p. 96). Unfortunately, the authors never cite to the available evidence or inform the reader of how they reached this conclusion. While the casual reader may find the complete lack of footnotes and frequent lack of explanations of little consequence, the serious reader will be troubled and unsatisfied. The short set of references at the end of each chapter and occasional reference to sources in the text is not a satisfactory substitute for those wishing to pursue the topic in depth.

Zimring and Hawkins rightly criticize others who drew conclusions from very limited data. Nonetheless, they are equally guilty, concluding, for example, that "[d]espite the dearth of hard evi-

¹ G. NEWTON AND F. ZIMRING, FIREARMS AND VIOLENCE IN AMERICAN LIFE (1969).

dence, there is no reason to believe that such marginal deterrence is possible." (p. 113).

At times the authors ignore recent valuable scholarship or mention it only briefly. The chapter on the second amendment, for instance, ignores two important recent works,² and Wright and Rossi's valuable and relevant survey of felons and their firearms³ is not adequately covered.

Some readers may also become impatient with the authors' use of the book to defend some of Zimring's prior work and to attack, sometimes in an *ad hominem* fashion, some of Zimring's critics.

There are also occasional inaccuracies. For example, they write that it "is unlawful in Texas for anyone to carry on or about his person, saddle, or in his saddlebags, or in his portfolio or purse any pistol . . ." (p. 123). The Texas legislature repealed this provision over a decade ago⁴ and replaced it with a statute which does not mention saddles, saddlebags, purses or portfolios.⁵

Unlike some other works sympathetic to greater control of firearms, the book contains no overtly hostile attacks on the National Rifle Association or the "gun lobby." In fact, the authors seem capable of some sympathy for gun owners, suggesting that a

system with very high unit costs that imposed the entire burden of the cost of reducing the number of guns in civilian hands on gun owners would clearly be unfair and unacceptable. (pp. 153-54).

In addition, unlike some other advocates of handgun control, Zimring and Hawkins do concede that "handguns are used in a variety of legitimate sport and recreational ways," and that "legitimate handgun owners would be adversely affected" by restrictive policies. (p. 154).

Many of the flaws discussed above can be excused because the book was written for the public rather than for scholars. Furthermore, the authors are not guilty of anything that the anti-control forces have not also perpetrated.

The overall tone of the book is only mildly polemical, and the authors do, at times, admit that insufficient information is available about certain topics to make intelligent policy decisions. They leave little doubt, however, that they strongly favor policies which would limit access to handguns.

The chapters on ideology, victimless crime and the future of

² S. HALBROOK, *THAT EVERY MAN BE ARMED* (1984), E. KRUSCHKE, *THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS* (1985).

³ J. WRIGHT AND P. ROSSI, *ARMED AND CONSIDERED DANGEROUS* (1986).

⁴ ACTS OF 1973, Ch. 399, § 3a, 1973 TEX. GEN. LAWS 992.

⁵ TEX. PENAL CODE ANN. § 46.02 (Vernon 1974).

gun control are insightful, interesting and fairly evenhanded. These chapters alone justify the cost of the book. Finally, the authors must be commended for attempting to write for the public, a task that many highly qualified scholars rarely undertake.

RAYMOND G. KESSLER
DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
SUL ROSS STATE UNIVERSITY

EVALUATING COMPETENCIES: FORENSIC ASSESSMENTS AND INSTRUMENTS. By *Thomas Grisso*. New York: Plenum Press, 1986. Pp. 404. \$42.50.

Forensic assessment issues constitute important considerations for the judicial component of the American criminal justice system. This is not so much because of the number of criminal and civil court cases involved, but rather because forensic assessment issues, especially the insanity plea in recent years, have played a critical role in determining popular attitudes about the criminal justice system.

In this regard, Grisso's book is a provocative and compelling work. He treats the major issues related to the more common forms of forensic assessment in a highly systematic and sophisticated fashion. In addition, Grisso remains consistently sensitive to an empirical foundation which necessarily underscores any forensic assessment endeavor. Throughout the book, he pays considerable attention to such psychometric issues as standardization, validity, and reliability. Grisso also includes extensive referencing from both legal and social science sources.

The early chapters provide an overview of current forensic assessment practice, as well as the development of a new model for the performance of such assessments. It goes without saying that the relationship between the judiciary and social science, primarily psychiatry and psychology, has always been somewhat tenuous. The author addresses many of the legal practitioner's discontents currently held about competency experts. These criticisms are organized into three general categories: the social science expert witnesses demonstrating ignorance and/or irrelevance in the court room, the expert witnesses overstepping the boundaries of their expertise via intrusion into exclusively legal matters, and the insufficiency/incredibility of the data they provide.

In any forensic assessment it is critical to clearly distinguish the

clinical evaluations and conclusions from the "ultimate legal question" such as the defendant's competency to waive Miranda, stand trial, or function effectively as a parent. As a general rule, forensic assessments should never attempt to answer, or even offer an opinion on, the ultimate legal question; this is a moral question only to be answered by the trier(s) of fact. The function of the forensic expert is to assist either the judge or jury in making a well informed decision. In this way psychiatry and clinical psychology are incorporated into forensic assessment endeavors and serve an important supplemental function. This critical distinction seems necessary and reasonable because clinical psychology and psychiatry rely heavily on more traditional assessment methods which are primarily designed to measure pathology, personality and general intelligence. Certainly, such information is often quite relevant to the legal question involved; but providing the information is all the forensic expert should do. As Grisso suggests: "[l]et the data speak for themselves. That which they cannot say probably should not be said." (pg. 29).

The development and presentation of the model is straightforward and parsimonious. It is a two-tiered model divided between conceptual and operational definitions. The upper conceptual level involves both the legal competency construct, gleaned from relevant statutes and subsequent case law, and psychological constructs, such as intelligence, memory, and personality. Both types of constructs feed into legally relevant functional abilities which are at the core of the model. Grisso defines functional abilities as what an individual is able to do or accomplish, in addition to any sort of specific knowledge, understanding or beliefs which may be a prerequisite for what one might be able to accomplish. Furthermore, the legal competency constructs focus directly on functional abilities, while the psychological/psychiatric constructs used in diagnoses, assessments, and, ultimately, conclusions are related to, but distinct from, functional abilities. The lower, operational level of the model is divided into forensic assessment and clinical (psychiatric/psychological) instruments. Forensic assessment instruments provide direct input regarding legally relevant functional abilities. Clinical instruments provide collateral, yet important, information pertaining to functional abilities.

Both criminal and civil legal competencies are examined. One chapter is devoted to each of the following competency issues: competency for a criminal defendant to provide a legal Miranda waiver; competency for a criminal defendant to stand trial, which examines the defendant's ability to meaningfully contribute to his or her own

defense; the insanity plea; competency for parenting capacity; competency to decide need for guardianship and conservatorship; and competency to consent to treatment. Most of the forensic assessment instruments reviewed are fairly new, yet were developed by reputable sources such as Harvard's Laboratory for Community Psychiatry.

Each of the six review chapters is organized into three major areas. The "competency question" section comments on relevant statutes and case law and entails a discussion of making the transition from the prescribed legal standard to actual forensic assessments. The second section is a review of forensic instruments pertaining to the competency question dealt with in that particular chapter. The final section focuses on the current status of the field; research directions are proposed and clinical applications examined.

At the outset, the author highlights three purposes which the text is intended to achieve: first, to increase the legal relevance of forensic assessments, second, to promote the empirical integrity of such undertakings, and finally, to provide practicing attorneys with a basis for using and challenging forensic assessments.

The first two objectives go hand-in-hand and Grisso seems to have achieved them reasonably well. The final objective, regarding the potential utility for lawyers, may be somewhat problematic. On the one hand, it is clear that this book should be required reading for any clinician involved in either the development or the utilization of forensic assessment instruments because it reads like a blueprint for properly and effectively engaging in such activities. The forensic assessment practitioner will encounter little difficulty in reading this text. On the other hand, the practicing attorney and perhaps the law student may encounter significant difficulty with much of the book. This is due to the fact that this work necessarily entails a fairly sophisticated treatment of concepts and issues indigenous to social science research methodology. Most practicing lawyers probably do not know the difference between a false negative and construct validity. Without a solid foundation in social science research methodology and statistics, most readers will fail to appreciate much of Grisso's effort.

One other problem with the book is that the author seems to assume, or envision, an idyllic judicial system, where much care and attention is given to each and every case coming before the bar. This may be an unrealistic assumption. In reality, the vast majority of criminal cases, especially in large urban areas, result in plea bargaining. In this context, any kind of meaningful attention paid to a forensic assessment may be a luxury seldom afforded.

In sum, Grisso provides an important contribution to an area sorely in need of evaluation, clarification and development. The book is current, scholarly and comprehensive. The author identifies many dilemmas inherent in the field of forensic assessment, but is articulate enough to also provide various alternate solutions to the dilemmas posed. Potential research directions are consistently identified. Grisso's work certainly appears to reflect the state of the art of forensic assessments.

WILLIAM MICHALEK, PH.D.
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
COCHISE COLLEGE

CRIME AND CULTURE IN AMERICA: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE. By Parviz Saney. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986. Pp 1-213. \$35.00.

In many respects, criminology is a scavenger science. Unshackled by monogamous ties to any one discipline or theoretical approach, criminology often simultaneously embraces disparate views and perspectives on crime. For some time now, social-psychological theories of crime causation have dominated, but it is questionable how far our understanding has progressed. Given the renewed interest in biological criminology, one wonders whether criminology is entering a period of regression or perhaps only digression. The problem is that continuous theoretical disappointment has scared many away from complex issues of crime causation in favor of practical strategies of crime control.

In *Crime and Culture in America*, Saney argues that the current theoretical impasse results from a type of criminological myopia that can be only resolved by examining in proper perspective the major historical and cultural values underlying American society. Saney develops a comparative cultural framework by drawing from literature spanning historical, geographical and disciplinary boundaries. The result is an effective, thought-provoking treatment of the American crime problem. Saney's work is a useful reintroduction of classical sociological theory and macro-level analysis to present day criminology.

The book is divided into three sections: the first on the seriousness of the U.S. crime problem and the last on the criminal justice apparatus. However, it is in the second section on the nature of

American society that Saney's analysis distinguishes itself. His position may be summarized as follows: (1) cultural systems dominate social and psychological systems; thus, cultural values shape human relations and human behavior; (2) the principal values of American culture, which include hedonism, individualism, materialism, permissiveness, high expectations and relative indifference to the problems of others, define the national character of typical Americans; and (3) American values inherently induce deviance and are directly responsible for the serious crime problem in the U.S. According to Saney (p. 192):

It is time we realized that the curse of crime, drug addiction, impersonal relationships, prostitution, separated families, child abuse, various venereal (sic) disease epidemics, as well as the many superlative achievements of the American society, are explainable not as individual aberrations or malfunctions of certain social institutions, but in terms of the overall American value system . . .

Saney also suggests on page 192 that

[a]s long as we think of crime and other social problems as consequences of individual or isolated social causes, our vision is, by necessity, limited and distorted. We cannot blame heredity, family upbringing, poverty, urban living, and so on as the ultimate or exclusive cause of criminality.

But we cannot dismiss them either. Immediate determinants of human behavior always have antecedents, and antecedents have antecedents. As Saney would have it, America causes crime—an explanation that is really no explanation because, by logical extension, America must also cause conformity.

Saney's cultural analysis is not exclusively cultural. Recognizing the need for some macro-micro link between fundamental American cultural values on the one hand and their translation to human behavior on the other, Saney introduces "psychological frustration" as the conduit. American society, far more than traditional societies, stimulates unlimited material desires and endless social needs. This cultural condition generates intense frustration among persons who are not able to achieve the social happiness or material possessions "rightfully" due to them. The framework bears obvious resemblance to Merton's anomie theory, yet is more encompassing in its scope. In crude path analytic form, the theoretical model runs from American culture to frustration to crime.

It is at this macro-micro juncture that the analysis becomes slightly anemic. The exclusive reliance on frustration as the master link between American values and American criminality seems risqué:

[T]he individual must somehow justify or rationalize for himself the offense he is committing. For the average individual who is brought up with the moral and legal values of his society, there must be a reason, an excuse, or a pretext to commit an act that may lead to punishment. I believe the underlying cause for such an excuse or justification is a sense of frustration. (p. 95).

Absent from the discussion is any reference to Sykes and Matza's seminal essay on psychological mechanisms of minimizing the moral bind of social rules. Their techniques of neutralization eliminate the need for frustration by articulating an alternative set of reasons or excuses justifying the commission of criminal behavior. Also conspicuous in its absence is any reference to Hirschi's control theory. Given the nature of the American creature according to Saney, hedonistic, materialistic and opportunistic, which echoes the control theory assumption on the nature of human beings, the need for frustration in the framework is questionable—"why" persons commit crimes seems less the issue than "why they don't". The point is that once the author "steps-down" from his cultural stronghold to the micro-level, his analysis suffers. As others have discovered, the macro-micro link is a pesky problem.

Without doubt, *Crime and Culture in America* is a substantial contribution to criminological literature. The cultural framework is well-developed and well-argued and is especially timely given the elevated status of comparative studies in criminology today. Saney's work should receive the serious attention of both criminologists and sociologists.

RANDY L. LAGRANGE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT WILMINGTON

JUDGING THE JURY. By *Valerie P. Hans and Neil Vidmar*. New York: Plenum Press, 1986. Pp 285. \$17.95.

Of all our legal institutions, the jury has seldom been forced to endure public indifference. Some observers consider it "the stupidity of one brain multiplied by twelve"¹, and contend that it "puts a ban upon intelligence and honesty, and a premium upon ignorance, stupidity and perjury."² Others argue that "trial by jury is more

¹ Elbert Hubbard, *quoted in* DICTIONARY OF QUOTABLE DEFINITIONS 305 (E. Brussell, ed. 1970).

² S. CLEMENS, *ROUGHING IT* 48 (1872).

than an instrument of justice and more than one wheel of the Constitution: it is the lamp that shows that freedom lives."³

However carefully considered or eloquently expressed, opinions about the jury are, in a sense, a dime a dozen. In much shorter supply are books that provide the raw materials on which informed opinions can be formulated and defended. Hans and Vidmar's *Judging the Jury* is one such book. The book strives to achieve two goals: to convey the essence of the contemporary jury and to provide new insights about its role and operation. Each goal is achieved handily, and as a result, this book has many commendable features that distinguish it from other works.⁴

First and foremost, Hans and Vidmar successfully identify and discuss most, if not all, of the major issues confronting the use of juries in civil and criminal litigation. Always cognizant of the complexity of the jury's role, the authors clearly demonstrate that each issue encompasses a multiplicity of concerns and controversies. In considering the selection of jurors, Hans and Vidmar identify the guiding principles and underscore the difficulty of impaneling a jury composed of one's peers that is both representative and impartial. When considering the decision-making of jurors, Hans and Vidmar examine whether juries are competent to judge evidence, particularly in complex civil cases; whether jurors are able to leave "Mr. Prejudice" and "Ms. Sympathy" at the courtroom door; and whether they obey or wage war against the law. The final section of the book contextualizes these issues, and considers juror competence in assessing the insanity defense, the ability of jurors to impartially evaluate evidence in rape cases, and the jury's representativeness and extent of bias when imposing the death penalty.

Judging the Jury is notable, then, for its timeliness and timelessness. Enduring concerns such as the jury's power to nullify the law, public and juror reactions to the insanity defense, and voir dire procedures occupy a prominent place, as do contemporary debates about the use of "scientific" selection methods, the appropriate size of juries, the requirement that decisions be unanimous, and the use of psychiatric witnesses during the penalty phase of death penalty cases.

While admirable for covering a broad range of issues, *Judging the Jury* never sacrifices depth for breadth. The authors' command of detail is impressive. Even more striking is their ability to guide

³ P. DEVLIN, *TRIAL BY JURY* 164 (1966).

⁴ R. SIMON, *THE JURY: ITS ROLE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY* (1980).

the reader through thickets of detail into an open expanse of conclusion and insight. Intent always upon illustrating a general point, Hans and Vidmar marshall the details of over a dozen well-known and lesser-known trials. The trial of William Penn in 1670 epitomizes both the courage of juries in the face of judicial pressure to conform and the way in which the role of the jury has changed over time. The prison rebellion trial of the Attica Brothers in the early 1970's sheds light on the representativeness of juries, while the Joan Little case of 1974 underscores the importance of the change of venue to ensure impartiality. The use of systematic selection techniques was exemplified in the Berrigan Brothers conspiracy trial in 1972, while jury deliberations were literally brought to life in their treatment of the Jean Harris murder trial. Hans and Vidmar use two recent cases, the Hinkley trial of 1982 and the Big Dan Rape trial of 1984, to highlight the specific difficulties that juries encounter when evaluating evidence of insanity and rape.

To achieve the delicate balance of breadth and depth, Hans and Vidmar rely heavily on, and creatively integrate, four major sources of information. The first are historical archives, which reminds the reader that the jury is a continually evolving institution. This fact may console those who are alarmed with the current attempts to alter the jury's composition and role. As a creature of its context, it is the jury's fate to be tampered with at every turn. Hans and Vidmar's selective reliance on archives also introduces the reader to the role of compurgators as pre-Norman precursors of the jury. More recent archival material documents the distinctive evolution of the American jury as an institution for protecting individual liberty.

Court opinions and documents comprise the second source of information. The authors briefly compare British, Canadian and American use of juries, and trace the development of principles governing jury selection and composition, as well as the law on jury size and the development of the insanity defense. The third source of data originates with the jurors themselves: those interviewed after trial, those who wrote books about their experience, and those who participated in simulated jury research. Reliance on these sources humanizes the jury, and the reader sees how decisions are reached, often after much anguished soul-searching.

The final and most extensive source of data is social science research, which Hans and Vidmar use in a variety of ways. Perhaps most arrestingly, they invoke research on actual and simulated jurors to correct the unexamined assumptions and preconceptions that the public, attorneys, and judges hold about juries and how they act. For example, there is little empirical support for prosecu-

tor and defense beliefs that the "right" kind of juror can be identified on the basis of sociodemographic factors. Research also fails to support judicial opinions that the unanimity requirement has no effect on the quality and reliability of jury deliberations. Finally, empirical research indicates that public conceptions about the success of the insanity defense and the freedom granted acquitted defendants are often quite misguided.

Hans and Vidmar also summarize empirical research that addresses recurring questions about the jury. This research shows that jurors are competent for the most part, although the real and still unresolved issue is whether jurors are as competent as judges. Although there are exceptions, jurors, for the most part, understand the evidence and rely upon it when making their determinations. Jurors are also willing and able to follow judicial instructions, especially if the instructions are comprehensible. In any event, the war against the law appears to be a modest one. Finally, jurors leave their prejudices outside the courtroom most of the time, or at least more often than their detractors think.

Hans and Vidmar ably demonstrate the key role social science research plays in resolving current debates. Although research cannot answer the ethical question of whether the jury should be informed of its power to nullify the law, research can provide information about the consequences of such knowledge for jury decision-making. While the appropriate size of juries remains a political judgment, research can experimentally vary the size of juries and determine the difference it makes during deliberations.

Hans and Vidmar also make abundantly clear the practical significance of much social science research. At the same time, they harbor no illusions about the limits of research knowledge and techniques. Scientific jury selection, for example, is hardly infallible, and in certain cases may be more unreliable than a well-trained attorney. Furthermore, research findings are like numbers; they do not speak for themselves, but rather require interpretation, which itself is a problematic enterprise. The reader learns, for example, that when setting constitutionally acceptable limits on jury size, appellate court judges interpreted research on jury size in diametrically opposed ways. Hans and Vidmar thus remind the reader that the use of scientific knowledge and techniques is a double-edged sword. It has the power both to redress imbalances, such as ensuring a representative jury, and to exacerbate inequities, such as civil cases in which the party with greater resources can hire experts to shape the composition of the jury.

Though clearly protagonists of the jury system, Hans and Vid-

mar must be commended for the balance with which they consider competing points of view—whether the issue is juror competence, the use of the insanity defense, or the appropriateness of the death penalty. Finally, *Judging the Jury* is a joy to read. No sociological, psychological, or legal jargon clutters its pages, and its logic and organization are impeccable. Thoughtful laypersons and professionals alike will find the book accessible and stimulating.

MARTHA A. MYERS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

REHABILITATING JUVENILE JUSTICE. By *Charles H. Shireman and Frederic G. Reamer*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. Pp. 188. \$25.00.

The preface of Charles H. Shireman and Frederic G. Reamer's book, *Rehabilitating Juvenile Justice*, begins as follows: "One might wonder, with considerable justification, what yet another essay on juvenile justice has to offer beyond the others that have been penned over the decades." (p. vii). After examining Shireman and Reamer's book, the reader may well remain wondering. With due respect to the authors, who both have impressive academic and practical experience, their book presents an anachronistic, and frequently undocumented, account of the problems and prospects of the juvenile justice system which have been discussed repeatedly over the past decade. Regrettably, the authors also do not share the wealth of their own knowledge, but instead over-rely on past researchers.

The book contains seven chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 discuss the history of the child saving movement, the creation of the juvenile justice system, and the criticisms and consequences of the rehabilitative ideal. Chapters 3 and 4 overview the possible role of the juvenile justice system in light of the major philosophies of punishment, the literature on the prediction of dangerousness, and the "nothing works doctrine" which characterizes the research and general perspective of rehabilitation programs. Chapters 5 and 6 describe proposed changes for the juvenile justice system relating to the dispositional process and the status offender, in addition to recommendations for the "remaining role of the juvenile correctional institution." Chapter 7 concludes with a general perspective on the

role of the juvenile justice system in light of the social, economic, and political factors which relate to juvenile delinquency.

The frequent use of undocumented and sweeping assertions in creating arguments or conclusions is a major difficulty with *Rehabilitating Juvenile Justice*. For example, the authors claim that "[t]o discuss any aspect of race and crime is automatically to give offense and to arouse anger. Thus, the subject has been almost taboo. . . ." (p. 29). The authors accompanied this blanket statement with no confirmatory evidence and contradicted, for example, the efforts of many criminology textbooks to devote substantial space to the issues of race, crime, and delinquency. Moreover, the basis for the authors' assumptions concerning the differing capacities of juveniles and adults is derived from a page of four "beliefs" which the authors state are "widely shared," but for which they offer no support. Thus, for example, the authors state that "[t]he greater the adolescent's inner fear of immaturity, the more aggressive his protest of self-sufficiency is likely to be." (pg. 55) In a later chapter, they state that the behavior of juveniles "may be a blind lashing-out against a rejecting world or a cry for help born of desperation." (p. 110).

The book contains several undocumented, overly generalized, and oftentimes dramatic statements which reflect its unprofessional tenor. In arguing against incapacitation, the authors claim, without support, that "[a]n annual, per-bed operating cost of \$20,000 to \$40,000 is not at all unusual. New construction may be expected to cost \$40,000 to \$80,000 per single-bed unit." (p. 68). Likewise, the authors state, without support, that "[i]n recent years there has been a noteworthy attempt in many jurisdictions to increase the number of services provided youthful offenders by the private sector . . ." and "[i]n many communities, juvenile courts or departments of corrections contract with private social service agencies. . . ." (p. 143).

In arguing against juvenile institutions, the authors state that "tales of predatory acts among inmates abound;" and "[t]hough large numbers of inmates are able to skirt institutional violence . . . none are able to escape the omnipotent odor of fear that hangs in the air and is sensed almost immediately by anyone . . ." (p. 100). In arguing for restitution, the authors state, again without evidence, that "[t]hus far, it appears that restitution programs have the potential for attaching a realistic consequence to offense behavior. . . ." and "restitution programs may also foster a sense of responsibility in juveniles . . ." (p. 121). Such arguments make sense, but so have other rehabilitation efforts and, as the authors acknowledge, these programs have not been successful in reducing crime. In arguing against widening the net of juveniles incorporated in the juvenile

justice system, the authors compare such efforts to the "horror" in such fictionalized movies, as *1984*, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, and *Clockwork Orange*.

There are a number of other comparable statements throughout the book which are of questionable accuracy. The aim in pinpointing such examples, of course, is to illustrate the difficulty in accepting the authors' conclusions without evidence or factual support. Moreover, most of the authors' recommendations for changes in the juvenile justice system are merely affirmations of proposed changes which have already been offered by special task forces or other professional groups. Thus, as the authors acknowledge, their recommendations for the juvenile dispositional process rely heavily on the work of the Juvenile Justice Standards Project of the American Bar Association's Institute of Judicial Administration (ABA Project) and the Twentieth Century Fund's Task Force on Sentencing Policy Toward Young Offenders (1978).

Rehabilitating Juvenile Justice is most valuable and informative when Shireman and Reamer are criticizing—not quoting—the literature or a special task force. For example, the authors disagreed with the ABA Project's recommendation against handling status offenders by contending, without supporting literature, that status offenders do not appear to differ significantly from delinquent offenders. (p. 125). Likewise, the authors offer a series of propositions and recommendations concerning a proper and effective role for the juvenile correctional institution. (pp. 150-61). These views contribute additional, not recycled, perspectives to the juvenile justice problem.

Rehabilitating Juvenile Justice would have been enhanced considerably if the authors had made specific recommendations based on their expertise, in conjunction with the broader recommendations previously offered by task forces and other researchers. However, the talents of both authors remain obscured in another book on the juvenile justice system which, once again, fails to stand fully apart from the rest.

DEBORAH W. DENNO
SELLIN CENTER FOR STUDIES IN
CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL LAW
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

REAL RAPE. By *Susan Estrich*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987. Pp. 160. \$15.95.

Estrich begins *Real Rape* by discussing her own experience as a rape victim. Unlike her rape experience, which she describes as an aggravated rape, the book focuses on "simple" rapes, or rapes in which a single assailant knew the victim and neither threatened nor beat the victim with a weapon. Estrich discusses the prevalence of simple rapes, the fact that these crimes are often unreported to the police, the response of victims and the criminal justice system's response to simple rapes. The book largely concerns the "attitudes of the law" in simple rape cases and how many of these attitudes have failed to substantially change despite the rape reform laws which were part of the feminist agenda throughout the 1970's.

Real Rape is not a traditional piece of social science research. It does not seek to present new empirical evidence concerning the frequency of simple rapes or the responses of victims. Rather, this short section of the book summarizes some, but not most, of the existing empirical evidence on these topics. Again, the main focus of the book is the responses of the criminal justice system in cases of simple rape. On this topic, Estrich, a Harvard law professor, offers her legal opinion and interpretation of the sentencing in numerous simple and aggravated rape cases. Estrich argues that simple rapes are real rapes and that assailants should consequently be prosecuted as criminals.

As Estrich points out, the problem which arises in simple rape cases is that it is very difficult to clearly establish that sex has been coerced. Often the victim waits to report the offense, and frequently medical evidence and/or witnesses are not available. Under such circumstances, it is understandably difficult to establish the culpability of the offender. Furthermore, our society stresses the innocence of the accused until guilt can be proven. However, even when it is evident that sex was nonconsensual, the courts have been very inconsistent in their treatment of simple rape cases. It is the illumination of these treatment inconsistencies which is the primary contribution of this book.

By citing nearly two hundred rape cases, Estrich shows that even when sex was clearly nonconsensual, the decision to prosecute and the conviction often rest on such factors as the victim's age, race, dress, extent of physical resistance, prior sexual history or former intimacy with the assailant. Moreover, the importance of these "other factors" in obtaining convictions has been very inconsistent. The book advocates legal and social reform, and particularly, that

the determination of criminality should ultimately depend on whether or not sex was coerced and not the extent of victim resistance, age, race or other such factors.

The book is generally well written; however, all references appear as footnotes at the end of the text. The page numbers of the text are listed at the top of each page of footnotes. To find a reference, the reader must turn to the page in the footnotes which corresponds to the appropriate page in the text and then the actual footnote number. This is time consuming, tedious and disappointing when, as is sometimes the case, the reference source is *The Joy of Sex*, *Mademoiselle* magazine or a newspaper article.

Although the author states that the intended audience for this book is broader than the legal profession, this is precisely where the book will have its greatest impact. By illuminating the inconsistencies in the treatment of acquaintance rape victims and the sexual prejudices which commonly affect the judicial treatment of simple rape victims, this book can sensitize the legal profession to the importance of treating simple rapes as criminal offenses.

There are several factors which will limit the usefulness of this book to a more general audience. First, the legal terms used are confusing. Second, and more important, the legal cases forwarded to support the author's propositions sometimes seem anecdotal. Admittedly, injustices and inconsistencies exist in the treatment of simple rape cases, but the pervasiveness of these problems has not been sufficiently established.

MAUREEN A. PIROG-GOOD

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

COPS, KILLERS AND STAYING ALIVE: THE MURDER OF POLICE OFFICERS IN AMERICA. By *Samuel G. Chapman*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1986. Pp. xii, 141. \$22.75.

Cops, Killers and Staying Alive is a descriptive analysis of the homicides of police officers. Using data on 54 police homicides in Oklahoma from 1950 to 1984, and national data on police officers killed or assaulted between 1960 and 1984, Chapman examines the incidents, actors and outcomes of these cases, and provides policy recommendations to lessen assaults against the police.

The book is intended for a diverse audience and presents a wide range of topics. Written in a style that employs individual incidents as proxy for aggregate descriptions, Chapman often intertwines the layman's conception of murder with the legal dictum of criminal homicide.

Except for a brief discussion of some recent studies on violence directed against the police, there is no attempt to contrast homicides against the police with other homicides. The book neither tests nor offers a theory of assaults and the murder of police officers. Furthermore, it fails to discuss such topics as the characteristics of offenders in police and other homicides, or police use of force, which might shed greater light on the topic.

One unresolved concern in the book has to do with the number of police homicides. The rise and fall in police homicides should also be examined in relation to the fluctuation in the incidence of crime and victimization, particularly violent crimes, and to the number of contacts that the police have with the citizenry. Such analysis remains unaccomplished. Consequently, as a limited accounting of these assaults, the book points to the need for further research of violence against the police.

The first half of the book examines incidents in which police officers were killed. The first three chapters examine the incidents preceding the homicides, the actors, and the cases as they are processed through the criminal justice system.

While national level data is introduced throughout the first two chapters, the text focuses more on the Oklahoma incidents. The author uses vignettes selected from 52 Oklahoma cases to underscore conclusions. The analysis is often strained, given the differences between Oklahoma and the national data.

Chapter 1 examines the intervals between the time that the police officer was killed and the apprehension of a suspect, as well as the intervals between police killings. This information is subject to great interpretation, for as Chapman comments on Oklahoma's clearance rate for police homicides,

The state's perfect clearance rate in these 52 police-killing incidents over the 35-year span is a tribute to the skill, investigative tenacity, and ability of the state's lawmen and agencies to work well with each other. (p. 6)

This assessment is not evaluated in light of generalized problems with clearance rates, more specific problems of police resources expended on police killings as opposed to other homicides, and relative case closure rates for homicides not involving police officers. Time intervals between police killings do not tell the reader much,

unless the reader expects some pattern between such events. This is analogous to using the crime clock to describe the frequency of criminal events.

Chapter 1 presents data on police activities immediately preceding the homicides, as well as the type of weapon used in these assaults. Police killings are further examined according to temporal and spatial distributions. The most common time periods for police killings are Friday and Saturday nights between 10 p.m. and midnight during the warmer months. Such findings, however, should be integrated in light of police workload analyses.

Police officers are most often assaulted by handguns at very close range. Domestic disputes and traffic pursuits were identified most frequently as incidents that preceded police killings in Oklahoma. The national data showed a higher percentage of police killings during in-progress robberies, suggesting some variance in national versus local patterns. The chapter ends with a brief and inconclusive consideration of whether officers are killed more frequently when they are patrolling alone or in pairs.

Chapter 2 examines the police officers and their assailants. Most of the demographic data presented are not related to incidents. Moreover, there are no control variables introduced into the descriptions of police or their killers. Consequently, the author includes the age, sex, race, education, and occupation of assailants, without any indication of how these characteristics vary according to the type of incident. This data are not particularly assessed considering what is known about other offending systems.

The discussion of police officer demographics is often over-interpreted. For example, Chapman finds that Oklahoma officers who were killed had an average of 6.8 years of police experience. He suggests that "what may be concluded from these figures is that an officer reaches peak exposure to criminal activity during his fifth or sixth year of service" (p. 30). Certainly, this interpretation is unwarranted; it ignores such basic concerns as assignment, police employment cohorts that cross more or less assaultive time periods, and the differences in jurisdiction among police agencies.

The author presents the most interesting findings with respect to the past criminal histories of police assailants. The data indicate that about three-quarters of all offenders had a prior arrest record, one-third had records for assault, and less than five percent had a prior arrest for murder. Nearly forty percent of those arrested for killing a police officer on the national level had a prior arrest for a drug or weapons law violation.

Chapter 3 pursues the issue of police killings through an analysis of Oklahoma case processing and outcomes. The discussion centers on the time it takes to bring the defendant to trial and the length of the trial proceedings. Interspersed throughout the chapter is a consideration of the charging process, bail, the frequency of case dismissals and manslaughter convictions, and sentencing.

The second half of the book is devoted to outlining the policy implications of the research. Chapters 4 through 7 consider prevention from within the police agency, equipment and technological innovations, special problems in risk posed by jailing and undercover roles, and legislative remedies.

The recommendations in the second half of the book are expansive. They include improving police firearm simulation, jailor and awareness training, supervision, job rotation, written operational procedures in several tactical areas, expansion of the technological and communications capacity of police agencies, the development of better policies governing undercover work, the passage of handgun legislation, and the restoration of capital punishment for those convicted of killing a police officer. In short, the policy concerns suggest the reformation of police policy making and technological development, as well as the institution of major changes in the criminal justice system itself—which are expected to either deter those from assaulting police officers or better protect officers once such assaults occur.

Much of the policy analysis glosses over some rather significant issues and extant research. For example, the police hotline 911 is exalted as a technological boon to increasing police response time to incidents where violence may erupt. These assertions are made in contradiction to extant research that suggests that 911 has not had the impact that was anticipated.

Chapman suggests that legislatures improve the state statutes regarding capital punishment, not because capital punishment will deter crime, but rather because capital punishment may boost police morale.

Capital punishment also seems to serve police as a morale booster. . . . It needs to be recognized, regardless of how little proof is available for retention of capital punishment, that law enforcement personnel favor it highly. . . . It follows that as long as police are fired upon and officers continue to be murdered in the line of duty, these two factors [deterrence and police morale] should be acknowledged as substantial rationale as legislators reach their decision. (pp. 118-19)

The book concludes with a brief assessment of other literature and research on police homicides. Most of the discussion centers on

the Oklahoma data and a few other research projects. The author concludes the book with a one page summary recanting an interesting Scottish ballad that conjures up images of police as slain warriors.

Cops, Killers and Staying Alive is not a stellar research presentation. The book does provide information on police murders on the national level, particularly in Oklahoma. It contributes to a general description of an important law enforcement problem. In the preface, Chapman suggests, "Its a book which calls for breaking the myopic view that casualty reduction is only a matter of street tactics." (p. x). The policy recommendations offered in the book are certainly well beyond this "myopic view," although they do not necessarily stem from prior incident or individual analysis.

JACK R. GREENE
DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

THE IMPRISONMENT OF WOMEN. By *Russel P. Dobash, R. Emerson Dobash, and Sue Gutteridge*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986. Pp. 255. \$45.00/\$14.95.

Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge carry the study of prisons a step forward in *The Imprisonment of Women*. The authors examine the beginning of imprisonment as a response to crime, and the development of its present form in state prisons for women in Great Britain. They integrate historical information and contemporary data in a critical analysis of prisons in general, and prisons for women in particular.

The historical analysis makes an interesting and significant contribution to the study. Its purpose is twofold: to present evidence where little or none has been widely available before, and to provide a background for understanding the development of the imprisonment of women today. The study begins with the pre-industrial society of the 17th century, and moves forward to the present, focusing upon intensified capitalist exploitation, the undermining of traditional rights, and the inevitable class conflict between the propertied rulers and the majority of people. An important period in the development of prisons culminated in the Prison Reform Laws of England and Scotland in 1839. The opening of separate prisons for

women in both countries in 1842 gave the reforms material manifestations and laboratories for real life experimentation.

The only prison for women in Scotland, Cornton Vale, which houses approximately 120 women, was the focus for the analysis of present-day imprisonment. Eight months of participant observation research and extensive interviews with roughly half of the women from all segments of the inmate population, constitute the body of data about prison conditions for women today.

According to the authors, three factors must be considered in a balanced analysis: material, social and ideological. Each of the three has been considered separately, but they are interrelated and intertwined in the reality faced by women prisoners. Material factors include the obvious need for women's prisons to provide for pregnancy and the nurturing of small children. According to the authors, children's need for their mothers and the pain suffered by mothers separated from their children has been significantly omitted from policy considerations. They have discovered an ambivalence at the core of the prison regime. There are conflicts inherent in a system developed from the principles of the penitentiary, especially solitary confinement. The conflict arises from the inmates' need for interpersonal relationships and the systematic use of isolation as the basic factor in control.

It is less obvious, but still a significant material factor, that women criminals have been thought to have unique sexual and biological characteristics at the root of their criminality. The authors discovered that economic, social and political reasons behind women's crimes are often overlooked or are transformed into phobias, complexes and neuroses.

In a critical analysis, one of the most significant social factors is the social arrangement of labor, or the world of work. In this examination, the authors point out two main purposes for the work of inmates: socially necessary labor which supports and maintains the institution, and commodity production in lend-lease arrangements or prison industries. Inmate labor is a service to the system, rather than the rehabilitation of offenders. Over time, there seems to have been little change in what women actually do in prisons in Scotland, or in the United States.

Nor has there been a change in the relative level of poverty and lack of earning skills found in the population of women inmates today. Those who have written about incarcerated women have consistently reported that women prisoners held poorly paid jobs, requiring few skills, and have been the main breadwinners for them-

selves and their children prior to their detention. The authors add historical analysis to explain that women's crime is related to economic marginality rather than female emancipation.

The third ideological factor addressed in this study of prisons for women concerns the ideology of therapy. The therapeutic model was the cornerstone for the philosophy of separate prisons for women. Therapeutic ideals provide discipline and punishment using the rhetoric of rehabilitation, group therapy and counselling. Art therapy and a proliferation of professional helpers have done little to alter the structure of prisons.

For the most part, the authors' analysis is a story of crimes that do not warrant punishment. *The Imprisonment of Women* describes female offenders transformed in the eye of the public, over time, from evil to mad. The authors examine responses to female offenders which involve closer forms of control, and confinement, reaching beyond bodies and into minds and emotions.

Throughout the book, the authors analyze the ideology and rhetoric which accompanies the therapeutic model. Yet their position within a feminist perspective has led them to a rhetorical approach of a different sort. Their assumptions about the differences between men's and women's prisons remain open to further question. For example, the authors make a strong argument that women in prison are more closely observed and controlled, more often punished and punished for more trivial offenses than men. They assume that the therapeutic model plays only a minor role in most men's prisons. By committing crimes, men are not labelled as mad or mentally defective as women are, and the scrutiny of their behavior under confinement is less all-embracing than the high levels of scrutiny experienced by women. The authors further assume that the work of imprisoned women, compared to that of men, is disproportionately concerned with the domestic upkeep of the prison. Yet, all of these problems: lack of control, stigmatization, loss of privacy, and meaningless work are the same problems male prisoners have complained about in most studies of prison deprivation.

The authors close their analysis of imprisonment with a description of women's prisons as "experiments that have never been tried." They raise the question as to whether "therapy" and "counselling" failed because they were in themselves mostly ineffective strategies, or whether they failed because they have been inappropriately applied and poorly carried out.

Yet prisons are, according to the authors, the perfect laboratories for manipulating human subjects for long periods of time with

few restrictions on experimentation. If the therapeutic experiment is still unapplied or has not been carried out after more than 100 years of imprisoning women in separate prisons, it is safe to say that it has failed.

SUE MAHAN
UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA
AT DAYTONA BEACH

THE NEW BLUE LINE: POLICE INNOVATION IN SIX AMERICAN CITIES.
By Jerome H. Skolnick and David H. Bayley. New York: The Free Press, 1986. \$18.95.

From the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, police departments across the country experimented with a variety of methods to become more community oriented. These community oriented, or community policing programs varied from assisting citizens in organizing crime prevention block clubs and neighborhood watch associations to team policing and foot patrol programs. While the programs themselves may have differed, the underlying principal of all was the same: the police were to be more proactive rather than reactive in their relationships with the community they served. In *The New Blue Line*, Skolnick and Bayley describe community policing strategies developed by six American police departments to reduce crime, reduce fear of crime, and increase community involvement.

The text consists of eight chapters with one devoted to each of the six police departments. In addition, the authors present an introductory chapter entitled "Coping with the Urban Crime Problem," and a concluding chapter in which the authors present their recommendations. The six chapters describe the innovative community policing strategies adopted in the respective cities, and also provides a synopsis of each city's relationship with its police department. The authors provide background political and socio-economic information as well.

The selection of the six localities constituted purposive sampling. The authors caution the reader early in the book that the six cities, Santa Ana, Detroit, Houston, Denver, Oakland and Newark, were not scientifically selected. They were chosen for three reasons: the authors believed these cities represented innovative police strategies; the police departments agreed to a visit by the authors; and the police departments had experienced organizational reform.

Consequently, the book is essentially a report of the authors' on-site visits, or "mini-ethnographic studies" as they refer to them. During each visit, the authors conducted field observations in which they rode and walked with officers, spoke with officers of all ranks and talked with civic leaders and citizens.

The authors describe the various strategies and programs adopted in each of the six cities to combat crime problems. Community Oriented Policing (COP) was instituted in Santa Ana. This strategy permitted Chief Davis to implement a number of practices, including civilianization, community mobilization, introduction of a Hispanic Affairs officer to assist and educate the Hispanic community, and the development of four police substations to serve crime control needs. The civilianization of the department was unique because it relied on civilian Police Service Officers (PSO), rather than sworn police officers, to conduct many of the service-oriented functions. While the PSOs did wear uniforms, they did not carry guns or nightsticks.

In Detroit, a Crime Prevention Section (CPS) was developed by Chief Hart to coordinate city-wide crime prevention activities, particularly in designated high crime target areas. In addition, officers were assigned to 52 mini-stations established throughout the city to assist community mobilization. These officers focused entirely on community crime prevention and did not answer radio calls or patrol beats.

Chief Brown of the Houston Police Department implemented several programs intended to deal with crime and to garner active community support. The most significant change was the Directed Area Responsibility Team (DART) modeled on the team policing concept. Community Police Stations, or storefronts, were implemented to deal with any concerns that residents might have.

Denver's Chief Coogin emphasized control as his primary strategy. Precinct patrol operations, a Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Unit and the Special Crime Attack Team (SCAT) were all elements of Coogin's strategy. The department also instituted a specialized unit, ESCORT (Eliminate Street Crime on Residential Thoroughfares), comprised of volunteers who patrolled a high crime area on small motorcycles.

In Oakland, the "Beat Health" concept emphasized that officers develop strategies to improve the neighborhoods they served. Because Oakland had experienced a long history of race relations problems, the Chief was instrumental in the establishment of an affirmative action program to hire more minority officers. In addition,

a Civilian Complaint Board investigated incidents of use of excessive force by the police.

Newark's police department used a storefront operation as well as requesting patrol officers to periodically inspect buses and subways to combat crime. The Department implemented two programs designed to make people feel safer on the streets. A Truancy Task Force (TTF) comprised of police and teachers was organized to target truant youth who were shoplifting and purse snatching. During school hours, TTF members rode buses and picked up children who could not prove they were over sixteen. Other strategies included sweeps and roadblocks to rid the streets of "undesirables," or those believed to be thieves, robbers and dope dealers, and drunken drivers.

Although the authors did not evaluate the six programs, their descriptions reveal similarities in the six police departments they visited. Police innovation clearly takes place from the top down. If the chief is serious and able to motivate the officers, change is likely to follow. Although the effects of community policing strategies on reducing crime and fear of crime are difficult to measure, community oriented policing does get the police involved with the community, and, as a result, makes the department more visible and accessible to the people it serves.

From their observations, Skolnick and Bayley conclude that there has been "a shift away from a distant, technically oriented professionalism of the early 1960s toward a more community-oriented, crime-prevention-oriented policing" (viii). The authors perceived four elements of innovation in their visits to these six cities which led them to conclude that community-oriented policing is the wave of the future. These elements included police-community reciprocity as shown by Santa Ana and Detroit; Houston, Detroit and Santa Ana's areal decentralization of command; Denver's reorientation of patrol; and Santa Ana's civilianization of the police department.

However, the authors emphasize that change is not easy to accomplish because: police organizations traditionally have been resistant to change; police unions tend to interfere; segments of the public do not want change; and, change is costly. The authors describe successful innovation resulting from a chief with an abiding and energetic commitment to the values and implications of a crime prevention-oriented police department. In addition, the chief must be able to motivate and even manipulate departmental personnel to support these values. Once the strategy is established, the chief must defend the integrity of the innovation. Finally, innovation is unlikely to occur without public support. (pp. 220-225).

Skolnick and Bayley stress that their work is not an evaluation of the programs in these six cities. They recommend outside assistance for police departments to evaluate their programs not only for objectivity, but particularly because police departments lack both financial and human resources to undertake rigorous evaluations of strategic plans (pg. 227). Finally, when evaluating the success of a program, the authors believe that broader measures other than crime and arrest rates must be used. They suggest that public cooperation, the changing composition of calls for police service, and how effectively non-crime requests are handled are all to be considered. (p. 227).

The New Blue Line gives the reader a bird's eye view of what is occurring in several cities that experienced change in law enforcement philosophy and practices over the past twenty-five years. The book is interesting, informative and readable. The inclusion of a chart that lists each city, chief, program, goals and objectives and results of the program, as well as maps of the cities showing the geographic boundaries and location of programs, would have synthesized much of the material for the reader's review. Although these suggestions may appear to be simplistic, they are important for reader familiarity and focus. This book is useful as a supplemental text for both undergraduate and graduate courses in policing, as well as police departments contemplating community-oriented policing strategies.

DONNA C. HALE
SHIPPENSBURG UNIVERSITY

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CRIME: READINGS FOR A CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY. By *Brian MacClean*. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1986. Pp. 383. \$19.95.

Criminologist Brian MacClean has assembled twenty-three chapters by prominent critical theorists on the subject of criminology. What makes this anthology remarkable is its cohesiveness. MacClean's interdisciplinary and cross cultural emphasis provides informative, provocative and quite readable material on the nature of law, crime, ideology and control. Chapters range from theoretical investigations to case studies to empirical investigations.

In the introductory chapter, the author provides a critical theoretical approach to criminology. The differences between "tradi-

tional" and critical criminology are explained, and key concepts and categories of critical analysis are summarized clearly. The chapter serves as a concise, yet comprehensive summary of the conceptual tools used by critical criminologists.

Thereafter, the book is divided into three parts. Part One, entitled "Accumulation, Law and the State," includes essays on the relationship between capital accumulation and the state and social control. The focus of the essays is multi-dimensional. Themes running through the works include contradiction, crises and class conflict in a political economy. Noted authorities, including R.S. Ratner and Bob Fine, discuss the nature of the state and law in capitalist society, while others apply critical criminological analysis to particular problematic areas. Dawn Currie presents views on juvenile justice in Canada; Sidney Harring provides an analysis of policing in the 1980s; and R.S. Ratner, Mark Colvin and Terry Wotherspoon provide separate essays on the penal question. MacClean also includes an analysis of crime in Scandinavia, Kenya, Canada, and the United States. Part One weaves theoretical works and concrete historical examinations together in a comprehensive and informative manner. MacClean's introductory essay to each section of the book describes what is to follow.

Part Two, entitled "Criminals, Victims and Ideological Bias," includes articles by such noted authors as Charles Reasons and Julia and Herman Schwendinger. The emphasis in Part Two is on the contrast between crimes of the powerful and crimes of the powerless. For the latter category, women, children and minority groups are emphasized as victims. Essays focus on the criminalization of the worker; organizational crimes against consumers; the public and employees, which are further divided into economic, human rights and violent crimes; female criminality; the relationship between adolescents and illegal markets; delinquency in England; the profitability of crime; and discrimination against native peoples of Canada. As with Part One, the theme of this section is very clear and the essays provide a provocative analysis of contemporary issues in criminology. For example, Dawn Currie examining female criminality, applies a Marxist analysis and concludes that the liberation movement unintentionally and ironically provides some of the groundwork for counter forces reconceptualizing female crime as individual pathology, a development quite at odds with progressive female liberation movements. Currie calls for a more holistic analysis, situating sexism in structural relationships such as the relationship between private property and laws. She concludes by stating

that the study of the struggles of women can be situated on terrain common to that of other oppressed peoples and their struggles.

Part Three, entitled "Theory and Praxis," provides essays that present vistas for alternatives. Articles by such noted theorists as Richard Quinney, Jock Young and John Lea appear in this section. The opening article by Jeanne Gregory examines the timely issue of a feminist criminology. Richard Quinney discusses the issue of the struggle for social justice. Claire Culhane investigates prison movements in Canada. Lea and Young develop the thesis of a "realistic" criminology. Finally, MacLean's concluding essay focuses on reification, alienation and the political economy of crime. The last section of the book is a welcomed addition to theorizing in criminology. All too often readers in criminology are provided descriptive and interpretive essays that leave them in despair when they reach the end of the work. Readers are left with the question of "What is to be done?" The essays included in the last section of this book, however, leave the reader with hope. One gets the sense that there is much to be done, and that, in fact, things can change for the better. However, attempts at change must recognize often unintended consequences. Praxis, combining theory with practice, must be directed at different levels and must be sensitive to the possibilities of cooptation and paradoxical results. By taking a "realistic" approach to law and order, as Lea and Young point out, fuel can be unintentionally provided for reactionary forces in society. The call for a new realism with its emphasis on rebuilding community, crime prevention, demarginalization, prisons only as a last resort, and the acknowledgement of choice and responsibility within contexts, will certainly spur many progressive scholars to develop alternatives to those provided by scholars of the right who have monopolized crime prevention strategies and who have unified under the banner of the "war against crime." Criminologists need a new liberating and humane "law and order" discourse. The challenge is substantial. The new dialogue engendered by the realists will certainly usher in new and more humane visions as alternatives in criminology and criminal justice.

This book will appeal to two major audiences. First, it can be used in undergraduate and graduate classes as a supplement to a traditional or critical text in criminology. The essay questions included after each chapter are particularly useful. The second audience will be scholars who are involved, or are beginning to get involved, in the debates presented. The book can be used as a reference text covering the key problems in contemporary debates in criminology. Readers will find that the essays build upon one an-

other. All too often in anthologies there is no flow, and no continuity throughout the book. This is not the case with *The Political Economy of Crime*. This is an excellent book not only for classroom adoption, but as a reference book.

DRAGAN MILOVANOVIC
DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

WHY DID THEY DO IT: STORIES OF EIGHT CONVICTED CHILD MOLESTERS. By *Shirley O'Brien*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1986. Pp. xix., 183. \$24.00.

THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN: A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO ASSESSMENT, INVESTIGATION, AND INTERVENTION. By *Seth L. Goldstein*. New York: Elsevier, 1987. Pp. xix, 433. \$35.50 (cloth).

Adult indulgence in children for sexual gratification has remote historical precedents. Yet no other crime of moral turpitude evokes more moral repugnance, public outrage, and condemnation than the sexual victimization of children. Although research and clinical findings show that only twenty percent of clinically-identified victims ever report their abuse experience,¹ sexual abuse reports rose 650 percent² between 1976 and 1982. The epidemic magnitude of this social cancer is further evidenced in the finding that, regardless of gender, 20 out of 100 children will suffer sexual victimization before their eighteenth birthday.³ Society is confronted with a two-faced dilemma that has serious theoretical and juridico-legal ramifications. Why do they do it? How should the justice system respond to the challenge of child sexual victimization?

Why They Did It

Shirley O'Brien's *Why They Did It* addresses the twin issues of cause and prevention. It "attempts . . . to find an answer to the

¹ R. D'Agostino, A. Burgess, A. Belanger, M. Guio, R. Gould, & C. Montan, *Investigation of Sex Crimes Against Children: A Survey of Ten States*, 51 POLICE CHIEF (Feb. 1984).

² Note, *The Testimony of Child Victims in Sex Abuse Prosecutions: Two Legislative Innovations*, 98 HARV. L. REV. 806 (1985).

³ NATIONAL CENTER ON CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT, STUDY FINDINGS: NATIONAL STUDY OF THE INCIDENCE AND SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT (U.S. Dep't of Health & Hum. Services 1981).

omnipresent question" (p. x) concerning "why some adults sexually abuse children" (p. xvi). O'Brien acknowledges that the present theoretical sterility and poverty of knowledge on the causes of child sexual abuse pose serious impediments to the development of effective prevention. The key to building knowledge and prevention lies in an understanding of how the actor, or the offender perceives or defines the situation.

It is the search for the insiders' perspective that inspires O'Brien's preference for phenomenologically based field research through the direct interviewing of offenders. Her analytical dimensions include: the offenders' background, especially molestation experience; the offenders' acts of molestation and their pattern; the offenders' perception of why they molest; and the offenders' suggestions for prevention. As a theoretical reference point, O'Brien invokes Groth's vampire syndrome theory, a variant of the social learning theme. According to this theory, not only does molestation beget molestation, but among molesters there is a fixation for molesting victims of the same gender as the molesters' prior attackers. There is also a preference for victims of identical age at which molesters were themselves molested.

O'Brien's presentation of recommended prevention measures is a salutary restatement of the cardinal principles of current prevention philosophy. Her litany of unanswered questions, however, shows her impotence in developing a compelling explanation of the causes of sexual molestation. A combination of conceptual, theoretical, and methodological flaws compromise the theoretical value of her efforts. O'Brien fails to account for her shift from the social learning thesis to the assertion that sexual molestation results from a combination of "poor impulse control, lack of social conscience, and a low value system with anger and revenge" (p. xvii). No clear conceptual framework is provided for these constructs. It is unclear how they combine to produce sexual molestation.

O'Brien also fails to account for the serendipitous findings. Despite her attempt to empirically corroborate the "cyclical effect" thesis, she provides no convincing evidence that all molesters were molested. William, a respondent, clearly cautions against the assumption of a monotonic relationship between prior experience of victimization and future child molestation (p. 64). O'Brien does not account for the fact that four out of her eight respondents have no known sexual victimization history. Why do respondents with molestation history molest predominantly male victims, and those with no molestation experience prefer females? Why do some molesters victimize their own children while others do not?

There are also questionable methodological procedures whose impact on the weak findings cannot be ignored. The sample size of eight was too small to permit any compelling answers to her initial questions or to identify compelling typologies or patterns. Self-reporting techniques are fraught particularly with recall problems, telescoping of events, and deliberate distortions. The author made no effort to verify the credibility of the respondents' statements, whether through prison records, psychological profiles, or from prison personnel. The size of the prison's population of molesters is not indicated. How representative was her group? Why did these inmates volunteer to be interviewed?

O'Brien's efforts need to be commended given the various research constraints. Clearly, however, the questions she proposed to answer were beyond the scope of her research.

The Sexual Exploitation of Children

A seasoned investigator of child sexual victimization, Seth Goldstein, develops a handbook which provides "the police investigator with a base of knowledge from which to build the best case possible" (p. 14). Less concerned with statistical and theoretical esotericisms, Goldstein pungently bares his and other law enforcers' experiences with the new and more frightening faces of child sexual exploitation. A detailed profile of both victim and offender is provided, and the circumstances of victim vulnerability as well as the most effective procedures for building criminal cases for a successful prosecution are described.

The Sexual Exploitation of Children skillfully debunks the myth of the offender as a solo sex fiend and a poor, depraved, scar-faced stranger who waits in the bushes for young prey. He alerts us to the fact that the home, school, child-care centers, streets, and recreational facilities are no longer safer havens for children than are the bushes. Similarly, it is indicated that this crime exists partly because of the sophisticated underground network of pedophile groups and sex entrepreneurs that sustain it and partly because of society's inertia. The increasing violence evidenced in ritualistic and nonritualistic killings of victims are, in his view, the replication in the pedophile underground of "what is going on in the streets of this country" (p. 41).

Despite the lack of academic thrust, Goldstein's book addresses not only the investigators' world but that of the child protection professional, clinical worker, and academician researcher, or expert witness. The timeliness of Goldstein's book for the investigator can-

not be overstated, given that the prosecution of offenders is increasingly contingent upon establishing the child's competence as a witness and corroborating the credibility of his or her statements. Of crucial importance is Goldstein's humanistic approach to investigation. He urges the need for compelling evidence to be combined with respect and sensitivity towards the participants in this drama. The investigator is alerted to the contaminating effects of his or her prejudices, preconceptions, and other frailties.

The academic weaknesses in Goldstein's book create unanswered theoretical and research questions. The types of molesters and their various permutations require research-based fine-tuning. The new dimensions of perversion and violence call for a more academically-oriented analysis of Goldstein's statement about society as the generating milieu for its cancers.

Goldstein concludes *The Sexual Exploitation of Children* by identifying law enforcement flaws, such as the lack of interjurisdictional and inter-department communication, coordination, information sharing, and cooperation within and across national boundaries, as well as inter-agency obstacles that must be removed to curb the rise in this crime. Nonetheless, the need for cooperation between practitioners and academicians is not addressed. This is needed to enhance efforts against this crime.

ROSY A. EKPENYONG
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY