

1972

## Book Reviews

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seldom arouse the reactions of adults, this strengthens the identification process, supports the self-confidence of the youngster and helps him attain a stronger self-image.

#### CONCLUSION

Data were presented to help substantiate the notion that middle-class delinquency is not a happenstance affair and that selected delinquent acts are relatively institutionalized among middle-class boys. We have shown that adolescents define delinquent practices that violate traditional middle-class values as "Serious" but they define as less "Serious" those delinquent acts that are more in keeping with the glamorous, sociable, and non-academic spirit of the youth culture. This article explored one dimension of the institutionalization of delinquency by examining the loss of popularity among peers for failure to engage in selected

delinquent acts. A relatively high correlation exists between the loss of popularity for failure to engage in delinquent acts and the extent to which such acts are defined as "Serious". Moreover, there is a high correlation between the attitudes of younger and older boys towards delinquent practices. Similarly, there is considerable agreement between both age groups with regard to the application of sanctions for failure to participate in delinquent activities.

The results also reveal that the failure to engage in nine selected delinquent practices is more widely sanctioned among younger than older boys. However a reasonable interpretation based upon the age-graded social roles of adolescents in the youth culture suggests that younger boys tend to over-identify with their elder counterparts. Thus, their responses are an interpolation of behavior "as if" they occupied the roles of older adolescents.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by  
Bernard Cohen

SOCIETY AND THE CRIMINAL (SPOTECZENSTWO WOBEC PRZESTĘPCY). By *Mieczysław Szerer*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969. Pp. 282. zł. 32.

Five questions, which are very often discussed in modern criminology and penology are presented by Mieczysław Szerer. His reflections work around the following problems: who is the criminal; where does he come from; who judges him; how is he judged; and how is he treated in detention?

The author begins his reflections with the statement that there is a marked disproportion between the government's willingness to undertake serious penal reforms and the amount of attention given this subject by criminologists and penologists. And this is true. Theoretical works have multiplied dynamically in many countries, while the governments have a very conservative view in undertaking experiments to provide a reform to the traditional ways of combating crime.

The author is against simplifying explanations and monistic theories of crime and criminals. The problem is more complicated. The need to distinguish between the different types of criminal individuality has become more urgent since re-

socialization has become the main object of punishment. And it is true. Criminals do not form a homogeneous group. We can find among them persons who became criminals for nonpayment of certain debts, or fraudulent stock transactions; others have committed crimes of passion, and still others property crimes. Thus criminals represent different types of people who commit crime for different motives.

Szerer tries to answer the question: Do the societies with socialist structures also suffer from criminality? He does not agree with the well known simplified explanation that the socialist countries who are "no longer burdened with the products of economic exploitation" have no problems with criminality. In his opinion, the criminality in those countries is not diminishing as was expected. He tries to find out the causes and to suggest how to stop all development of criminality. He believes that better organization, tightened social controls and more prophylaxis are the right means to combat crime.

In Poland, the courts are composed of one professional judge and two "people's assessors" who are endowed with nearly the same power of de-

cision as professional judges. The author discusses the merits of this system and presents some conditions to better it. The reader of this part gets an impression, that the author presents only the positive sides of this system, without discussing the negative. The question, how to punish the prisoner, is a more complicated problem. It is clear that it is not enough for the judges to fix the time of detention. It is also clear that he has to ask how this time is to be spent with appropriate treatment. But the author gives no concrete answer "how."

There seems to be no doubt left for the author that the sentence ought to be modeled with regard to specialized rather than general prevention. It means that the judge should know why a person became a criminal. He has to know the very complicated factors and reasons which lead to crime.

It is a pity that the author did not use his vast experience as a judge to point out how his theoretical point of view differs from the everyday practice in Poland. It would be one more point of evidence that the governments are not seriously interested in penal reform and that the way of combating crime is very long, even in socialist countries.

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THE MILITARY PRISON: THEORY, RESEARCH, AND PRACTICE. Edited by *Stanley E. Brodsky* and *Norman E. Eggleston*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1970. Pp. xii, 205. \$7.50.

This collection of articles assumes a very broad perspective in reviewing the status of military corrections. The questions of pre-military criminality and the post-correctional placement are examined as well as all that goes between in military corrections. But even though this is the only collection of such studies available, it is not a very happy beginning. Brodsky and Eggleston indicate in the second article that the 3320th Retraining Group at Lowry Air Force Base, Colorado is a "small, intensive, very progressive retraining facility," but Broder in the sixth article reveals that its principal rehabilitative innovation consists of treatment teams to which the retrainee is assigned randomly after arrival at the base. This

team approach to rehabilitation is followed by at least twenty or thirty other correctional facilities throughout the United States and can hardly be termed at this point progressive if we mean by that term in the forefront of change. Moreover, Gray presents data in the ninth article which shows that the long-term success rate of the 3320th Retraining Group (66.8 percent) is surpassed by that of the Army's correctional system (71 percent) as well as by civilian parolees from the Federal Probation System (73 percent). It would seem that this jewel in the crown of the Air Force rehabilitative program is not as brilliant as it is depicted.

Furthermore, several of the remaining articles are entirely superficial (*viz.*, Henshel's "Military Correctional Objectives: Social Theory, Official Policy, and Practice," Brodsky's "Employer Attitudes Toward Hiring Dishonorably Discharged Servicemen," or Mooney's "Characteristics of Restorees"). It is obvious from the uneven quality of these studies that they were called into existence primarily to fill-out the volume. There is little reason otherwise for their having been written.

There are, however, several bright spots in this rather dismal collection of articles. The two introductory essays by Brodsky and Eggleston provide a succinct and yet informative survey of military corrections; Eggleston reports some interesting findings in "Role Perceptions in the Military Prison;" and Bushard and Dahlgren make several intelligent suggestions in "A Technic for Delinquency Management." Nevertheless, these few islands of imagination and insight are not sufficiently valuable in themselves to warrant the publication of the rest. It would have been better, I fear, if the editors had simply allowed each author to find his own publication outlet.

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A CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM AND THE INDIGENT by *Dallin H. Oaks* and *Warren Lehman*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968. Pp. ix, 203. \$7.50.

Among the adages that clutter the heads of would-be reviewers, one of the oldest and perhaps the soundest is the maxim: "never judge a book by its cover." Yet, at least symbolically, many of the things this reviewer finds praiseworthy about this volume, and some things he would criticise

about it, are suggested by its cover: a photograph of the University of Chicago Press, the book's publisher.

First, the cover suggests geography and scope. This book is about Chicago's, and more generally Cook County's and Illinois' police and court system. The reader is the beneficiary of a close look at an understudied aspect of the criminal justice system: municipal and state courts. At the same time, the specificity of the study will force the reader through an examination of the details of the Illinois system which is occasionally wearisome and sometimes irrelevant to broader inquiry. The authors have not sharply defined their audience and therefore have not screened their content. Generalizations of the utmost interest to the academic reader are mixed with exhortations to the Illinois legislature to modify Code §113(b) to make it consistent with Code §4 of the Illinois Public Defender Act.

Second, the photograph of the University of Chicago Press is particularly appropriate because we are here treated to a book in the Chicago tradition (though Lehman is now at Wisconsin). The authors are not content to add to the literature about how an ideal system of criminal justice would work. Nor do they assess current practice primarily from statutes and cases. Instead, in the Chicago tradition, by using statistical and interview materials they try to build an accurate model of how the present system actually works. Thus this is a book about detention without arrest, about plea bargains and sentencing, about the relative success rates of different types of lawyers for the indigent (public defenders, assigned members of the local bar, etc.), about—in general—the host of problems that are really of central concern to most of those caught up in the system, whether they be DAs, defendants, or defenders.

It is not, however, the scope of the study that is of particular interest. By 1970, four years after the bulk of the book was written, little that Oaks and Lehman tell us about the issues they discuss seems strikingly original or informative. It is arguable that even in 1966 this could have been said to be the case. Assessed as a contribution to the literature on indigency, we would consider this volume to be of no more than marginal importance.

The real value of this effort lies not in its scope or in its substantive discussion, but rather in its method. The authors set out to write a book based on available court and police data. They have wound up producing a valuable work about that

data—its deficiencies, the ways it can be imaginatively used despite its faults, and the ways in which it can be improved. Anyone who seeks to work with court and police statistics will quickly recognize that he needs to understand what Oaks and Lehman have tried to do. Anyone who would study aspects of the criminal justice system without using its statistical output as a source of information even more badly needs this book. It will open a world of possibilities.

Any courts' statistics are a mess. On their face they tell us very little about much that we would like to know: the volume and extent of plea bargaining, the rate of indigency among defendants, the impact of evidentiary rulings on cases not brought to trial, etc. Comparison between two or more courts' records is exceedingly difficult. Crimes are defined differently in different jurisdictions; similarly named categories encompass different sub-sets of defendants and crimes. Correlation between different parts of the criminal justice system is agonizing. The police may record arrests, the district attorney prosecutions, the courts indictments, the prisons, prisoners. How many arrests culminate in prosecutions? How many defendants are represented by twenty indictments? Oaks and Lehman sensitively and imaginatively show how some statistics can be used to cast light on others, and how all can cast light on the total system.

Third, the use of a photograph of the publishing house is also suggestive of one of the book's failings. Just as in selecting their cover, in selecting the tools which they will use for their investigation the authors seem unduly confined to whatever happens to be on hand. Of course, in some respects this is a virtue. By limiting themselves to available statistics, Oaks and Lehman show us all what we can do with statistics available to us. But surely the next important step—one that the authors could have taken with more energy and a greater commitment of time—would be to do some empirical work which would generate more reliable and useful data. Done on a small scale this could then be correlated with existing statistics, and the results projected across the range of data.

Fourth, the photograph is further symbolic because it "covers" a schizophrenia which flaws this book and leaves it, in fact, without a single unifying theme which could be graphically presented. The first half of the work is about court and police data. The second half is about indigency. Rarely do the two halves meet (despite protesta-

tions to the contrary). They can hardly be said to reinforce one another.

In summation, this book should be read if you are interested in courts and police and how they work together.

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UNDERSTANDING AND PREVENTING SUICIDE. By *Calista V. Leonard*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1967. Pp. xii, 351. \$11.50.

"To be or not to be" is apparently a question that is often times decided in favor of the latter alternative. Government statistics indicate that over 20,000 suicides occur each year. And while this figure may seem quite high, there are indications that the actual figure is substantially higher. For example, Dublin ("Suicide: An Overview of a Health and Social Problem," 1967 *Bulletin of Suicidology* at 25) points out that many suicides are often disguised as fatal accidents or are recorded other than the true cause of death. This under-reporting deflates the actual rate of suicide which may be about 25,000 per year. Our society is therefore confronted with a "major source of life wastage and of family disruption which literally cries out for remedial attention." (*Id.* at 25-26) *Understanding and Preventing Suicide* is intended as a guide for those who seek to provide such attention.

Professor Leonard's objective is to provide a convenient reference work for those who are faced with the problem of dealing with potential suicides. To this end, she has attempted to provide "maximum information quickly and efficiently to those who do not have the time or interest to go into the subject intensively, yet at the same time present the subject as fully as possible for those who are looking for detailed material."

The organization of the text is especially well suited for this purpose. Quadruple sectioned chapters are utilized for the three major suicidal types: the Dependent-Dissatisfied, the Satisfied Symbiotic and the Unaccepting. The first sections describe the types, provide guidelines for detecting the syndrome and discuss the circumstances which might possibly trigger the suicide. This is followed by a description of the actual occurrence of suicide by the particular type under consideration. The second sections deal with temporary measures designed to lessen the possibility of suicide until such time as the patient can receive intensive

treatment. To effect such crisis intervention, Leonard discusses the functions that can be performed by supportive others, such as general practitioners, nurses, counsellors, friends and relatives. The third sections provide a developmental explanation of "how they got that way," with emphasis placed on the child's early socialization experiences with his family. Finally, the fourth sections in each chapter provide suggestions for intensive treatment and are intended mainly for those professionals who will direct the patient's therapy.

Leonard's theoretical formulations for the three suicidal types are based on the premise that the potential for suicide is a function of the kind of experiences to which the child is subjected during the process of differentiation from the mother which occurs during the second and third year of the child's life. Based upon the psychoanalytic approach, the author believes that an inadequate resolution of this process has three primary effects which leave the individual vulnerable to self destruction when confronted by certain adverse socio-environmental conditions.

First, there results a lack of differentiation of the self from the environment. This fusion of identity with early parental figures is believed to be the outcome of a process where the child was "too early or too severely socialized—that is, made to live only through and for others." When such a fusion of identities occurs, the probability for suicide is heightened because self destruction becomes equivalent to destruction of the troublesome external source.

Secondly, because the child lacks a sense of separate identity, his impulse control is inadequate which forces a heavy dependence on external controls. Professor Leonard suggests that this unusual dependence on external controls is suggestive of the "potential for impulsive or angry discharge of tensions upon the self when there is a breakdown in necessary external controls."

A third consequence of this faulty resolution of the differentiation process is a pattern of inflexible behavior. Unlike the non-suicidal person, the suicide lacks the capacity to adapt to a constantly changing environment. According to Leonard, this rigidity is suggested by the fact that the act of suicide represents a course of action taken by someone who can see no other alternative.

The major portion of the text deals with this description and analysis of the three suicidal types, and in terms of what the author set out to ac-

comply, I find the book quite successful. However, the reader should bear in mind that the usefulness of Leonard's approach rests largely on the validity of the clinical interpretations of the sample of suicide cases. As Professor Wheeler ("Sex Offenses: A Sociological Critique" in J. Gagnon & W. Simon, *Sexual Deviance* (1967) at 98) has noted, these "interpretations stand logically not as fact, but as hypotheses requiring test."

In addition to its thorough coverage of the three suicidal types, the book also has a chapter which deals with a number of factors generally related to the problem of suicide. It includes such topics as the right to commit suicide, suicide and the law, statistics on suicide, suicide prevention, cultural influences on suicide, suicide among children and the elderly, the relationship of suicide to mental illness and deviant behaviors and a sampling of some current theories of suicide.

In contrast to the core sections of this text, I find that the sketchy presentation of these topics reduces their usefulness for the reader who wishes to further explore the suicide problem. However, interesting and important as these topics may be, they are not germane to the author's purpose, and the reader may still avail himself of the many references cited throughout the chapter.

A further limitation is that while the author mentions the relationship of suicide to various social factors, these remain largely unexplored, much to the chagrin of the sociologically minded reader. As a basis for studying the nature of the relationship between psychological and sociological factors in the act of suicide, the problem could perhaps be approached from a dual perspective, utilizing Leonard's developmental approach combined with Lofland's formulation of the facilitative sequences that lead to defensive deviant acts such as suicide (J. Lofland, *Deviance and Identity* (1969)).

In summary, Professor Leonard's book merits attention in its own right. It is a highly informative work that advances the clinical knowledge of suicide and should prove a useful guide for those practitioners who are confronted with the problem.

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CRIME AND INFORMATION THEORY. By M. A. P. Willmer. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970. Pp. 124. \$7.95.

Since Shannon's original treatise on the mathe-

matical theory of communication, numerous attempts have been made to apply information theory to disciplines apart from the traditional communication sciences. Unfortunately, many of the applications which evolved in music, psychology, linguistics, genetics, pattern recognition, etc., were either of little utility or absolutely bizarre in their attempts to force models into the information theory mold. In Dr. Willmer's work, *Crime and Information Theory*, we find one of the illuminating and generally promising applications of entropic measures of information outside of engineering technology. With crime being one of the key social issues of our day, we are additionally rewarded by the thrust of Willmer's presentation. His experience with the Police Research and Planning Board of England's Home Office enriches the discourse and spares us the frequent disappointments of disembodied methodology.

*Crime and Information Theory* cannot be regarded as a completed research piece, nor does it contain any defensible, statistically supported conclusions or policy recommendations. It is, rather, an introductory approach to crime analysis which addresses the question of "how" criminals, victims, and police interact, while largely ignoring the question of "why" criminal events happen. As such, the book aims at obtaining fresh insights into many important facets of crime by structuring the problem and analysis in a fashion fundamentally different from the customary criminological treatment.

The author draws heavily on well known information and game theory results to analyze a number of interesting and often realistic crime scenarios. As the book's title suggests, the recurrent theme is the role of information in the preparation and execution of crimes by criminals on the one hand, and in the prevention, detection, apprehension and gathering of evidential material by police on the other. The concept of noise in an information channel, of noise produced by the criminal, and of noise generated by the police are discussed. The view of the criminal as an information source or "emitter of signals" is expounded (an idea which is not novel, incidentally, but which was introduced by A. M. Serang, "Integrated Security Systems," in *1 Law Enforcement Science and Technology* (1967) at 814). Each idea is developed in the context of usually realistic crime situations. For the mathematically trained, brief mathematical descriptions are provided which sharpen, amplify and sometimes generalize the

qualitative arguments. In the less realistic scenarios the author states the pertinent critical assumptions and cites weaknesses in the problem formulation.

An unfortunate aspect of Willmer's presentation is that although he conveys some appreciation of what information theory methodology involves, none of the underpinnings are considered. Particularly glaring is the omission of any discussion of statistical regularity—of ergodicity or stationarity—on which the successful application of information theory rests. There is no consideration of the practical matter of assessing the a priori probabilities for the events or signal sequences which underlie Shannon's entropic measure of physical information. Instead, the author repeatedly invokes the uniform or equal likelihood assumption and proceeds to crank out the consequent informational uncertainty levels. This tack is somewhat justified, of course, by the preliminary nature of the analysis, by the author's desire to impart the essence of the new approach, by convenience and mathematical tractability, and by the possibly useful bounds which the uniform distribution assumption sometimes affords. The risk is advanced, however, that the reader inappropriately employs the methodology or unintelligently interprets the results.

The first half of the book develops the notion of the criminal as an "emitter" and the police as a "receiver of signals." It is shown that the "value" of information can be expressed as the difference in entropy levels (uncertainties) before and after receipt of information regarding the crime. The point is made that the residual level of uncertainty depends partly on decisions made by the criminal before, during and after the crime and on the intensity of police investigation when there is no on-site arrest. Though obvious, the argument is presented in terms of intriguing, plausible crime situations.

The author makes excellent use of decision trees as a device for graphically delineating the criminal options, decisions and chance events which influence the course of a crime. For each sequence of branches in the tree, the author derives a corresponding expected signal level which represents the value of information emitted by the criminal during the course of the crime. Likewise, for each sequence there is an expected payoff from committing the crime according to that particular strategy. From this follows the intuitively attractive, quantitative view of the criminal as one operating in an

expected payoff/signal space, making rational tradeoffs in the choice and structuring of his criminal acts. Likewise, the police organization is conceived of as operating in some region of "cost/effectiveness" space, obtaining different degrees of expected effectiveness (residual uncertainty) for varying levels of resource commitment.

The second half of Willmer's monograph deals with the application of game theory and stems quite naturally from the notion of criminals and police vying over information. In order to utilize the theory of zero and non-zero sum games and to develop tenable models, Willmer begins by assuming that criminals and police perform "rationally." Accordingly, it is presumed that criminals, individually or in concert, conduct their crimes so as to minimize the level of signals which they emit (*i.e.*, to maximize the police's uncertainty), while the police strive to minimize uncertainty about who perpetrated the crime. Unqualified, this assumption makes no practical sense, however, for it implies that rational criminals always optimize by committing no crime. The model becomes meaningful when the qualification of a payoff or cost constraint is imposed, yet Willmer does not introduce this important qualification until a later chapter and then, somewhat casually. He does point out the triviality of the illustrative conflict situation by noting that there are a large number of strategies available to both police and criminals. Willmer also underscores the fact that solutions to the gaming model rest on the assumption that the adversaries believe each other to be rational and possess perfect knowledge on the outcomes of each strategy mix.

An excellent discussion of police and criminal strategy switching is presented to illustrate how police or criminal effectiveness can be enhanced. Willmer indicates that although frequent changes in basic police equipment, technique and organization are clearly unfeasible, there may well be opportunities at lower levels of organization, etc., where some flexibility can be easily introduced. Since it is reasonable to suppose that the benefits of strategy switching would depend on criminals' perceptiveness and rate of learning, no assessment of the increase in deterrence by such techniques is presently possible because data regarding criminal learning and adaptation are not available. As Willmer points out, fruitful analysis and application in this area would also be limited unless learning data were disaggregated by criminal group as well as by learning process. In estimating deterrent effective-

ness, it would certainly be important to know the effects on the individual of not breaking the law and seeing the law either enforced or not, and of breaking the law and being caught or not. Data on this latter category are not hopeful, however.

Willmer follows his discussions of information and gaming with a brief discourse on operational statistics. His critique of present reporting practices and of performance criteria (e.g., clearance rate) brings no new insights to the criminologist, statistician or systems analyst. Like his introductory chapter, this final chapter provides the uninitiated with a good synopsis of data deficiencies confronting the researcher (*et al.*) in criminal justice problems and lends perspective to the information and game theory portions of Willmer's presentation. Though these final and introductory chapters help make the overall work self-contained and understandable to anyone interested in crime analysis, the same can hardly be said of the numerous mathematical notes (contrary to Willmer's claim), despite the fact that superficially they entail little more than algebraic manipulation.

In the six chapters of *Crime and Information Theory*, Willmer achieves his aim to provide fresh insights on some significant aspects of crime. Though the degree of novelty in his approach may be questionable, there is no doubt that Willmer has appreciably extended earlier writings and discussions that the reviewer is aware of along the information/game theory lines. Certainly, Willmer must be credited with a stimulating work—one which poses many challenging areas for further research and points the way, hopefully, for many productive applications to crime control.

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THE SOCIAL REALITY OF CRIME. By *Richard Quinney*. Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1970. Pp. v, 339. \$7.95.

It should be said at once that this is an important book. The author's aim is "to provide a reorientation to the study of crime . . . by developing a theoretical perspective by means of which research and writing in criminology can be reinterpreted." It may come to be seen as the first major interactionist textbook, and as such it is wholly to be welcomed. It is, furthermore, written with impressive clarity and force of expression, which succeeds in its task of re-integrating criminology and the sociology of the criminal law. In some respects,

however, it can be severely criticised, and the forceful expression occasionally leads Quinney into untenable positions and diverts attention from the thinness of the evidence on certain points.

The book begins by discussing the theoretical perspective entailed in studying crime, the role of the criminal law in society and the extent to which its formulation embodies various political, economic and moral interests. The next main section concerns the enforcement of criminal law and the administration of criminal justice, penal and correctional institutions. This is followed by a section on the development of behavior patterns among those who are defined as criminal; the last section is concerned with public conceptions of crime and how these interact with political processes and consequently influence governmental action (or inaction) to deal with the problem of crime.

This eminently reasonable structure has the effect of relegating most of conventional criminology and penology to a relatively minor role, concentrated in three out of the book's ten chapters. This is probably salutary although it means that some important questions are scarcely asked, let alone answered. These concern why particular individuals commit, or alternatively do not commit, crimes.

Quinney's explanation is in terms of a sophisticated form of differential association based on what he calls "segments" of society. This term is defined as "types of social groupings" and tends to be used in ways which imply shared norms, if not group consciousness. For many types of criminals this is reasonable, e.g., professional pickpockets, safe-breakers, politically motivated "criminals" and so on. It is, however, less convincing as a term to apply to, say, child molesters, rapists, middle-aged women shoplifters, embezzlers or drunken drivers. Furthermore, a significant proportion of offenders (in England probably over 50 per cent) commit offenses on their own and their connection with any criminal "segment" which has meaning as a social grouping is likely to be tenuous.

A further difficulty with the segmental approach is that of explaining why criminals stop committing crimes. This is particularly so if one believes, as Professor Quinney and I do, that the beneficial effects of imprisonment are, in most cases, negligible. It may well be that the theory can be refined to take account of this, but at the moment we are weak on empirical evidence as to exactly what happens.

Quinney's approach is based very largely on his belief in a conflict as opposed to consensual model of society, and this in turn leads him to assert that "Criminal definitions describe behaviors that conflict with the interests of the segments of society that have the power to shape public policy." No one who looks at the modern world can doubt that laws can be oppressive in the service (overt or covert) of political interests, but at the same time one must not underestimate the degree of consensus that exists about much of the behavior condemned by the criminal law. The great bulk of crime reported in criminal statistics (leaving aside motor-ing offenses) involves activities such as burglary, theft, fraud and, sometimes, violence against the person. No convincing evidence has yet been produced to suggest there is a significant body of opinion in favor of legitimizing any of these activities, indeed the work on neutralization theories itself implies a high degree of consensus which offenders have to overcome in some way in order to justify their behavior.

It is, perhaps, an unfortunate by-product of Quinney's forceful argument and quite legitimate concern for the political aspects of his argument that he tends to make extreme statements with both the force and the over-simplification of epigrams. For example: "The law giveth, and the law taketh away. Because of the criminal law and its administration, persons are defined as criminal." Well said, and true, but not the whole truth. Similarly, "The greater the number of criminal definitions formulated and applied, the greater the amount of crime." Surely in these formulations Quinney is confusing the potential and the actual. To define a behavior as crime does not imply anything about the frequency of that behavior. Quinney's assertion can only be justified on the assumption that there is an almost constant amount of behavior of various kinds that will continue irrespective of the operation of the law, so that changes in the law merely affect the statistics of reported crime and those individuals now defined as "criminals." Although this assumption may be justified in relation to some forms of behavior such as homosexuality, there is also evidence the other way, e.g., changes in the law relating to drunken driving in Britain and the subsequent decline in road accidents at night. At best the assumption can only be regarded as not yet seriously tested.

The last major comment is simply to wonder

where this general approach is likely to lead. One may concede that the criminal justice system is at times unfair, and quite often ineffective in its influence on those defined as criminals; Quinney is right on target here, but what is the alternative? A belief in a conflict model of society is unlikely to imply that "de-criminalization" can be carried very far, so that it is not entirely clear what Professor Quinney's long term solution would be.

None of the questions raised in this review, though they point to weakness in the argument, should be regarded as threatening the argument as a whole. It is almost in the nature of major works that they are thinner in some parts than others, but as an integrative attempt *The Social Reality of Crime* is most impressive. It may perhaps be read more critically by European than American readers, if only because our social conflicts are more muted and because Quinney's eye is so much on the scene in his own country. In the last resort one can only applaud such a trenchant reaffirmation that criminology should be concerned with the social context of crime in its widest sense and not with the popular view of the criminal as scapegoat.

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THE POLITICS OF CORRUPTION: ORGANIZED CRIME  
IN AN AMERICAN CITY. By *John A. Gardiner*.  
New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970.  
Pp. 129, \$5.95.

This book presents a thoughtful, scholarly study of an eastern industrial city of about 100,000 inhabitants that has been controlled by a crime syndicate for most of the past fifty years. The name of the city, Wincanton, as well as the names of the individuals mentioned in the book are fictitious. Since the town called Wincanton has been the subject of official investigations and the facts have been completely documented, it is this reviewer's opinion that the book would have more impact had the true name of the city and individuals been used.

Typical of many cities, Wincanton has a weak, fragmented governmental structure. Principal officials are a city council of five members and a mayor elected by the voters for a four-year term. By statute, the mayor has control over the police department with authority to promote and demote officers including the chief. No mayor has ever

succeeded himself and following every election, there has been a wholesale reorganization of the police department.

A dominant force in the politics of Wincanton was Irving Stern, a Jewish racketeer who was born in Russia in 1898 and has been living in Wincanton since 1904. During the Prohibition era, he engaged in bootlegging for Heinz Glickman who controlled beer distribution throughout a three-state region. Once Stern was ambushed and shot and later Glickman was murdered in gang warfare. Stern then became the kingpin of organized crime in Wincanton. The evidence indicates that he controlled the organized crime and was not an agent for outsiders.

The financial backbone for the Stern syndicate was the numbers game. However, Stern received substantial sums of money for protecting the prostitution racket. Several horse betting rooms paid him \$600 a week and representatives of the gambling-type pinball machine industry paid over \$2,000 a week to Stern's nephew as a "public relations consultant." Stern also shared in the profits of two out-of-state syndicates in the operation of a large dice game and a distillery, described as the largest found by the Treasury Department since the repeal of Prohibition.

During political campaigns, Stern made contributions that would place men cooperative to him in office and assure the continuous operation of his illicit activities with absolute immunity. Stern was able to name the chief of police. He paid bribes to all who occupied strategic law enforcement positions and he implicated city officials in various forms of corruption so completely that they were unable to turn against him. Control over city officials, the police, judges and prosecutors was usually sufficient to guarantee that the Stern organization could operate without interference.

Historically, the picture of organized crime in Wincanton, as revealed by the study, is the picture of organized crime everywhere in America. To disregard or minimize the political implications of organized crime, as some observers have done, is to ignore one of its basic components. Even Joseph Valachi, in his revelations before a Senate Subcommittee, was strangely silent on the political implications of organized crime in New York City. Yet, the political ties, and power, of some of the

bosses he mentioned have been completely established through official investigation.

The study in Wincanton revealed that reform occurred only when outside law enforcement agencies, particularly at the Federal level, conducted official investigations which resulted in publicizing the Stern syndicate's dealings with city officials. On three occasions, candidates for mayor defeated highly favored opponents identified with the syndicate and upon election used the police force to eliminate organized gambling and prostitution. A survey showed that although as many people disagreed with anti-gambling legislation as approved it, citizen support for law enforcement tended to override desires to gamble or participate in other illegal activities when the conflict between the two was clearly stated.

The pattern of corruption found in Wincanton is similar to that which prevails in other cities where organized crime has become entrenched on a significant scale. City contracts and licenses were awarded to those willing to pay the highest bribes. Municipal jobs went to those willing to kick back part of their salaries. The long history of corruption dissuaded competent and energetic men from running for office or working for the city. Because of wide-open conditions, new industry was discouraged from moving into the city. And it was found that the most enduring and damaging consequence of political corruption has been its weakening of public support for local government.

Of the various proposals by the author to minimize widespread corruption, the most novel, perhaps, is the suggestion that Federal grants be used to reward local officials who reduce corruption.

The study of organized crime and corruption in Wincanton was naturally limited to one city. More significant, perhaps, would be a study of two cities in the same area of comparable size and makeup—one with a long history of organized crime and corruption and the other in which such conditions are almost totally absent. Sometimes two cities with divergent histories of this nature actually adjoin one another. Comparative studies of corrupt and non-corrupt municipalities might be more revealing as to effective reform measures than one limited to a single venal city or town.

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