BOOK REVIEWS


There are very few books that I as a criminologist would suggest should be required reading for all who are interested in crime and the criminal justice system. I believe that such works as Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice; Struggle for Justice; Thinking About Crime and The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Poorer are books that laypersons, students and practitioners will find provocative and informative and should be on any list of required reading for those who are interested in or work in the criminal justice system. Mental Health and Black Offenders should also be added to this list. The book is not filled with technical jargon and thus can be read by laypersons and undergraduates. Yet, the summary and critique of prior literature and the new insights provided will be appreciated by those who are familiar with some of the literature in this area.

Owens' book would be useful as a supplemental text for any Introduction to the Criminal Justice System or Introduction to Corrections course since it supplies a perspective (that of the black offender) that is largely ignored in most texts. Obviously, it would be ideal as the primary text in any course on Minorities and the Criminal Justice System. Those who work in the criminal justice system are often criticized for a lack of sensitivity to the black perspective and to the unique problems of the black offender and yet there has been no prior book that I could point to as a good source for that perspective. This work, by a black professor at the University of Alabama, is an excellent overview and critique of the literature on problems of the black offender in the criminal justice system.

The scope of the book is much broader than the title indicates as it provides the black perspective in such areas as the disproportionality by race in the rates for crime, the cause(s) of crime, disparity of sentencing, the classification process, effectiveness of treatment, crime prevention, and the role of mental health professionals in changing the system. It might be more appropriately entitled, "The Black Perspective on the Criminal Justice System" or "Problems in Viewing Black Offenders from a White Perspective." Owens does not always view the black per-
perspective as achieving consensus and thus he often presents an issue from several black perspectives. Neither is the author oblivious to the white perspective(s). His critique of the literature points out the bias/perspective of various viewpoints and the impact that those views have on the mental-health professional and the black offender. Overall, his work is comprehensive and fair. There is little rhetoric and much documentation (an extensive bibliography is provided).

The book has nine chapters. Chapter One is an overview of the black experience in the criminal justice system both historically and presently. This chapter is probably the weakest in the book but it does review the literature dealing with discrimination at various decision-points in the system. A brief overview is also given of the etiology of black criminal behavior from the black perspective. Finally, the author discusses the role of mental-health professionals in attempting to apply the psychological principles of mental health in the coercive and punitive setting of the criminal justice system.

Chapter Two points out that blacks have been characterized historically as both more criminal and more psychologically deviant than whites. This stereotype has been reinforced by the disproportionate representation of blacks in prisons and mental hospitals, and yet the literature available suggests that there is less mental illness among black inmates than white inmates. Owens maintains that this literature is useless since black behavior is evaluated by white standards. He suggests that any divergence of blacks from the (white) norm is considered as a sign of pathology. "Although the differences were quantitative, they were interpreted qualitatively" (at 30). This chapter also focuses on the importance of a positive racial self-identity in developing mental health and non-criminal behavior. He points to the Muslims as an example of a group that developed mental health in its converts by teaching them positive racial coping skills and suggests that mental-health professionals can utilize the same techniques without the religious trappings of the Muslims.

The Third Chapter discusses the black experience behind bars and attempts to sensitize the reader to the effect of the prison environment on the psychological functioning of black offenders. Owens attempts to explain manipulative behavior as well as violence and homosexuality as efforts toward survival in an unnatural environment. He squarely faces the prevalence of black-on-white rape in prison and suggests reasons for this behavior. The varying reactions of whites and blacks to the prison environment are discussed.

The chapter on classification and assessment (Chapter Four) is one of the highlights of the book. The author first describes classifications systems utilized in prison systems both historically and at the present
time and suggests that such efforts have resulted in discrimination against blacks due to the racial bias in the construction of the tests that are used and the use and interpretation of the test results (e.g., denying blacks access to opportunities based on test scores). He also discusses the problems of prediction which are inherent in the classification process and the impact of racism in labeling a disproportionate number of blacks as dangerous.

Therapeutic intervention (written by Michael Lindsey) is the subject of Chapter Five. The black perspective suggests that traditional therapy does not work well with blacks since most therapists are white and the treater has been unfamiliar with black culture and lifestyles. He gives examples of how the black perspective is helpful in making treatment decisions. Lindsey rejects the “nothing works” philosophy and suggests that past failures with black offenders have been the result of treatment from the white perspective. He argues that the issue of race and racism must be faced squarely in the therapeutic process with black offenders. Though the author points out that some blacks use the issue of racial discrimination as an evasive gesture he contends that this effort can be deflected if the therapist is properly trained. He believes that individuals must accept responsibility for their behavior even though that behavior may largely be a response to an unjust society. The reader may see the recommendation here as similar to the precepts of Reality Therapy.

Chapter Six focuses on the prevention of black crime and reviews the literature on the role that parents, community and school play in preventing black crime. Recommendations for future research are made (e.g., Owens recommends a study of the methods currently being used by black parents to discourage their children from criminal behavior when that behavior is detected before it comes to the attention of the police). He castigates the black community for focusing on external factors (racism and injustice) as the cause of crime while failing to take responsibility for black-on-black crime and failing to take steps that would reduce such crime. He also suggests that there should be a sequential course of study from grades one through twelve that would teach children about the causes of crime and equip them “to resist (peer pressure and drugs); to understand or control (emotional or pathological states); and explore alternatives (economic deficiencies and lifestyles)” (at 107).

The last three chapters deal with the role that mental health professionals can play as change agents in the criminal justice system. In the past the mental-health profession has not seen its role as an agent for societal change, but has instead maintained the status quo by searching for the cause of black criminality in the psyche of the black offender.
Thus, change efforts have been directed at the individual rather than the environment. Owens urges mental-health professionals to become system challengers and provides a number of goals that should be sought by those who desire to change the system.

The role of the black mental-health professionals is especially problematic in that they must face the possibility of rejection by the predominantly white staff and the predominantly black inmates. He discusses the difficulty of remaining objective and neutral in a combative and "us versus them" environment. Black staff can help to bridge the communication and culture gap between white staff and black inmates. In short, the black mental-health professionals must attempt to infuse the black perspective into the operation of the criminal justice system without being co-opted by the system or the clients of the system.

In this work, Owens attempts to bridge the literature of criminology and penology with that of psychology and social work. Criminologists may find the review of the criminological literature to be weak at points but at the same time I believe they will find Mental Health and Black Offenders to be a valuable contribution to the literature. Practitioners and students will find the book to be an excellent source for describing the black perspective on the criminal justice system which they have not found elsewhere. Whites may find much of what Owens says to be "new" in that it presents insights from a perspective that is new to them. Blacks may find much of what the author says to be an articulation of what they have believed (but could not document or articulate) for a long time.

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Bowker has provided the criminological community with a long needed summary of past research which has been undertaken in an attempt to understand the nature and extent of violent behavior occurring behind prison walls. Upon reading his first chapter, which focuses upon prison rape, the reader is immediately aware that this is not going to be one of those books that relies upon frequency distributions, histograms, and statistical measures to describe prison violence and victimization. In fact, there are literally no tables, graphs, or charts used throughout
the entire text. Instead, Bowker takes what might be termed a descriptive, phenomenological approach to the study and relies quite heavily upon vignettes drawn from varied sources to describe the nature of prison violence. Many of these descriptive accounts of victimization are so shocking that the author apologizes for exposing the reader to such upsetting material. The descriptions are indeed shocking. What is even more upsetting, however, is the realization that the prison setting today is so heavily instilled with a climate of fear that inmates, staff members, and administrators seem to have accepted the jungle-like atmosphere that prevails.

Although it is not clear from its title, this book is more about prison violence than prison victimization in general. There are chapters discussing rape, assault, psychological intimidation, economic coercion, and racism. Each of these chapters reveals an overriding theme which permeates the book: the prison is one place in society where violence is the rule rather than the exception. Clearly, physical violence in the forms of rape, assault, and homicide does not account for the majority of prison victimizations discussed by Bowker. The psychological intimidation, economic predation, and racial hostility revealed as being so widespread in today's prisons are, however, less violent only by qualitative standards. Physical violence is qualitatively distinguishable from psychological violence, but it is not necessarily less damaging or harmful to the victim.

This book goes well beyond a simple description of violence in today's adult male institutions by offering discussions, limited only by the availability of research, of victimization patterns in juvenile institutions as well as in women's prisons. Also, victimization and violence among staff members (as both victim and perpetrator) are discussed in two chapters. While a few cross-cultural studies are cited, there is no distinct attempt made to compare prison victimization trends over time or across geopolitical boundaries. Most of the material discussed relates to the American prison setting in the post-1960 era.

The major shortcomings of this book involve omissions which might have been deliberate and necessary in order for the text to be useful to a wide audience. Specifically, there is no detailed discussion of prison violence in its collective forms. Brief and passing comments are made regarding gang behavior and prison riots, but these topics are not given the attention they deserve.

A second problem in Bowker's work is that there is no clear theoretical framework offered. While Bowker does attempt to employ a multi-theoretical examination of the causes of prison victimization in his last chapter, he fails to go beyond a simple listing of factors which might be causally related to the high rates of violence in the prison environment
(e.g., racism, age of inmates, subculture of violence, prison architecture, prison staffing patterns).

While the absence of a clear theoretical basis may be viewed by some readers as a shortcoming, it may, for others, be noted as one of the most desirable qualities of the book. Given that Bowker is intending his work to be of use to the prison administrators and staff as well as to the academic community, he probably made a conscious decision not to become overly theoretical. The recommendations he offers to help ease the extent of victimization in prisons are well thought out and include solutions ranging from those "capable of being immediately implemented with minimal-to-moderate expense," to "radical solutions." Keeping in mind the varied audience which he is addressing, Bowker has performed a commendable feat.

In addition to his ability to write successfully for a wide audience, Bowker's decision to rely upon a wide variety of sources on prison victimization is also commendable. He incorporates both published materials such as journal articles and scholarly books and other sources (papers presented at professional meetings, in-house prison reports, personal experience, and doctoral dissertations). These non-traditional sources provide considerable more insight into the phenomenon of prison violence than one would glean from the traditional journal articles and books. In fact, in an appendix, Bowker offers methodological suggestions which will be invaluable to other researchers.

_Prison Victimization_ is one of those books which offers something worthwhile to all students of the prison, whether they be undergraduates taking their first class in penology, or hardened, frustrated prison administrators trying to come to grips with the jungle under their charge. Perhaps more important, it will be helpful to those who find themselves most directly affected by the victimization cycle described by Bowker: the inmates themselves.

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This collection of nine original articles presents empirical evidence on the legitimacy, acceptability and desirability of plea bargaining. Three of the chapters present results of the three-year national study of
plea bargaining in the state courts, conducted by the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure at Georgetown University. The book also presents the results of three major experiments in plea bargaining. These experiments include the Texas and Alaska efforts to eliminate plea bargaining, and the Florida experiment aimed at restructuring plea bargaining. Finally, there are articles based on the Promis database from the District of Columbia, a study of sentence bargaining in Federal District Courts, and an account of plea bargaining in England.

Although all the articles focus on plea bargaining, the authors approach the subject from different perspectives. Several of the articles start out with reference to the problems of the propriety of plea bargaining in a system concerned with the quality of justice. Evidence is presented that supports the notion that plea bargaining can be eliminated from the criminal justice process. The same articles, however, question whether this change actually improves the quality of justice. When the reader asks this question, it is apparent that the empirical research presented here supports both the positive and negative aspects of bargaining. In England, the practice of plea bargaining encouraged police to bargain prior to charging a defendant with a crime. Alaska adopted a policy to eliminate sentence bargaining and drastically reduce charge bargaining. After two years, an evaluation of the project indicated the goals were achieved, but in the process, more severe sentences were handed down to defendants convicted of less serious crimes. Was justice served here? In contrast, Hagen and Bernstein's innovative approach to analyzing 10 U.S. attorneys' offices demonstrated that these offices can be classified along a continuum from "proactive" to "reactive" with respect to composition and size of caseload. Proactive U.S. attorneys were found to be more creative and in turn more coercive and more likely to engage in sentence bargaining than were "reactive" attorneys. When asking the question here about the impact on justice of this practice, the results are mixed.

The selections certainly present a broad spectrum of the recent research in the area of plea bargaining. The articles also, however, point to the futility of asking whether plea bargaining is "good" or "bad." What is missing from this volume is a discussion of the functions of plea bargaining both for the system and for the individual actors within the system—defendants, attorneys, judges and victims. An argument traditionally made about plea bargaining is that it is simply a response to increased case pressure. Therefore, attempts to eliminate plea bargaining expect to find increased delays. However, the Alaska attempt to eliminate bargaining did not reveal any evidence to indicate that plea bargaining either helped or hindered delay. The Florida experiment establishing plea bargaining conferences actually reduced delay in case
disposition. In contrast, the Texas experiment caused great case backlogs. It appears, however, that this article should be treated as anecdotal at best. The particular locale and seemingly ad hoc decision of two judges to eliminate plea bargaining can only be viewed as a particularistic solution to a situation of conflict rather than one operating on the basis of consensus. Finally, the articles support the idea that there is no correlation between elimination of plea bargaining and the number of trials. No matter what alterations are made to the system, the same proportion of cases are resolved by guilty pleas.

One chapter focuses on the "Patterns and Determinants of Plea Bargaining Decisions." Here, we see that bargaining decisions are most likely to be influenced by the strength of the evidence in a particular case. There is no support for the idea that bargains are granted due to prejudicial factors. In the article on the federal courts, prosecutors reveal that defendants who first agree to cooperate with the U.S. attorneys' office are granted the best deals, and that this policy operates to insure consistency in securing witnesses for the prosecution.

The book never addresses the question of who is qualified to make disposition decisions. Are judges more qualified than prosecutors or probation officers? Does the notion of group decision-making seem to be a more useful concept than the adversary process if we want to improve the quality of justice? What do the results of these nine studies tell us about the larger process of dispute resolution within legal systems? An attempt to systematically answer some of these questions would have greatly enhanced the value of the book for both practitioners and academicians.

For twenty years we have been referring to the fact that approximately 95% of all criminal cases are disposed by use of the guilty plea. However, we still insist on treating plea bargaining as a form of deviant behavior. In reality, trials are the deviant case simply because so few defendants ever exercise their right to trial. For the most part, plea bargaining appears to operate in an ethical context, not characterized by unfounded prosecutorial bluffing or judicial coercion resulting from a participating environment. The articles in the present volume add support to this notion. Unfortunately, the editors never tie the articles together to form a broader picture of the system.

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Mr. Gorecki’s book is both interesting and provocative. It is written in crisp prose and employs technical terminology sparingly and effectively. One of the book’s real strengths is the author’s knowledge of comparative jurisprudence, which he utilizes well in discussing problems with the criminal justice system in the United States and potential alternatives for their solution.

The book’s title is somewhat pretentious. The book does not provide a full-blown theory of criminal justice. Rather, it attempts to construct a scientific rationale for punishment as the primary instrument for crime control. The basic principles of behavioristic learning theory provide the theoretical foundation for Gorecki’s proposals for changing the criminal justice system.

For Gorecki, like Emile Durkheim, the primary function of criminal law should be moral education. Criminal law should instruct people regarding appropriate behavior. He asserts that criminal law can serve as an implement of moral learning only if it is enforced through just and certain punishments. He states that certainty cannot be accomplished unless intermittent reinforcement of criminal activities can be eliminated. To accomplish certainty of punishment, Gorecki proposes the elimination of plea bargaining and indeterminate sentencing. In addition, he proposes that the constitutional constraints imposed by Miranda (and Escobedo) be reconsidered because of the evidentiary advantages that confessions have for conviction of the guilty. To promote greater justice, he proposes that “[c]rimes the punishment for which runs against the actual or clearly emerging moral sentiment of society should be removed from the criminal codes” (at 95). Included are such vice crimes as homosexuality and drug addiction.

For Gorecki, the foundation of criminal law is a moral consensus in society. He assumes that criminal law is the codification of widely shared norms and values and basic moral precepts. It is this normative consensus that makes criminal law a legitimate instrument of moral education.

The author eschews sociological and psychoanalytical approaches to crime as overly deterministic. He asserts that they are metaphysical rather than truly scientific. He states that the sociological emphasis on criminogenic social structures has promoted attempts at social reform rather than certain and just punishments for criminal behavior. Likewise, the concern of non-behavioristic psychologists with criminogenic motivations has done a disservice to justice. It has promoted treatment as a goal of the criminal justice system rather than moral education.
Gorecki claims that both approaches have failed. Social reform has proved to be too impractical and treatment just doesn’t work. In addition, he asserts that these approaches have provided ideological support for poor law enforcement because judges (and other participants in the criminal justice system) have found it convenient to engage in plea bargaining and in other activities that contribute to intermittent enforcement of the law. He states that “it is much easier to improve the system of criminal punishments than to eliminate such determinants of crime as lack of parental love . . . social inequality [and] faulty Superego development . . .” (at 73-74).

Gorecki’s arguments have a seductive quality because of their simplicity and common-sense appeal. They are, however, facile and are often poorly supported by scientific research.

The author’s proposals are not new. He has borrowed the basic tenets of the classical school and cloaked them in the terminology of behavioristic learning theory. He has not addressed the classical school’s problem of formulating a calculus of just punishments, however.

A major problem with the book is that what Gorecki treats as axioms of social and behavioral science are often highly controversial and inadequately researched hypotheses. For example, he states: “The moral views of any society tend to adjust intuitively to its needs. People tend to appraise behavior useful for the group as intrinsically good and socially harmful behavior as intrinsically wrong” (at 119). This is not a scientifically grounded proposition. It is unverified functionalism in its most extreme form.

Additionally, much of the research that Gorecki cites to support his “theory” is methodologically questionable and/or dated. For example, his assertion that “delinquency has been found to be correlated with capricious parental discipline, and intermittent punishments . . .” (at 15) is supported by controversial and dated research. In sections of the book, Gorecki also used inappropriate references to support his conclusions. He dismisses, for example, labeling theory as unsupported by recent research evidence and asserts that “stigmatizing criminals by courts and by society at large . . . prevents criminal behavior” (at 131). Here his major reference is Durkheim’s Moral Education, which was written more than fifty years ago. Thin documentation and dated references are minor problems compared with Gorecki’s assertion that “criminal law” and “justice” are based on a moral consensus and his dismissal of sociological and much of psychological research as irrelevant.

In his discussion of the problems associated with plea bargaining

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1 S. & E. GLUECK, UNRAVELING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY (1950).
2 E. DURKHEIM, MORAL EDUCATION (1925).
and indeterminate sentencing, the author makes a convincing case for the role of interests and conflict in criminal justice decision-making. He views the negotiation of justice as an arena of conflicting interests where the naive suspect and society are often the losers. In what appears to be a logical contradiction, however, he views criminal law as embodying a moral consensus. Somehow, he views the legislative process as more consensus-oriented than the adjudicatory and dispositional processes. Gorecki treats criminal law as a given rather than "law in action" and treats justice more in the abstract than as a social process involving conflict and negotiation as well as consensus. In doing so, Gorecki has replaced what he calls the "metaphysics" of sociology and non-behavioristic psychology with the metaphysics of "consensus" and "justice."

If some kind of moral consensus is to be ascertained and if justice is to be operationalized so that it can have substantive meaning for the day-to-day operations of the kind of criminal justice system Gorecki envisions, then the social structural contexts and the psychological predispositions associated with criminal behavior will have to be incorporated into a "theory of criminal justice." Only then will a theory of criminal justice have practical applications for a just crime control policy.

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The most surprising result of the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) and an immense infusion of money into the study of crime has been the development of a concept called the "criminal justice system" and its marriage to the powerful analytical techniques of systems analysis and decisionmaking theory. Whether the introduction of computer technology into the social sciences created this union or whether the concept of a system was produced by the empirical reality of the system itself, is not of major concern here. The fact is that the concept of the operations of criminal justice as a system has been almost universally accepted and the techniques and theory of defining
this system in terms of its decisions are currently gaining even more rec-
ognition by both practitioners and researchers.

Practitioners are particularly supportive of such an approach to op-
erations since examining decisions enables them to measure the amount
of equity, uniformity and consistency that operates with respect to their
policy and its implementation. Researchers also favor such an approach
because in addition to its ability to measure the amount of order and
rationality inherent in either the entire system or its parts, it is flexible
enough to let the researchers move from one local criminal justice envi-
ronment to another.

It is a pleasure to see emerging from the somewhat frantic and frag-
mented past the Gottfredsons' *Decisionmaking in Criminal Justice*. It not
only attempts to assess the state of the art of studies focusing on decision
points in the criminal justice system, but also repeatedly cautions the
reader to be aware of the implications and effects of policies and goals,
be they treatment, deterrence, rehabilitation, or just deserts.

The Gottfredsons bring to this work a long history of involvement
in applying decisionmaking theory to explaining the workings of operat-
ing systems. Don Gottfredson's early, and now classic, work in scaling
subjective values (via the Base Expectancy scores) and his contributions
to parole and sentencing guidelines rank him high in the field of impor-
tant criminal justice researchers. His son Michael appears to be adding
new dimensions to his father's work by introducing the concepts of pol-
icy and goals as necessary explanatory variables in evaluating criminal
justice operations and responses. The fact that both men are grounded
in decisionmaking theory makes this book a logical product of their in-
terests and experiences.

If there are weaknesses here, they can be traced to two factors.
First, it is rare to find either researchers or practitioners with a uni-
formly consistent knowledge about all parts of the criminal justice sys-
tem. This is due, in part, to the fragmentation fostered by federal grants
that forced priority attention and specialization in selected areas, and, in
part, by the fact that the system concept itself was gradual in its devel-
opment and adoption. Thus, it is not surprising to find a certain un-
evenness in the presentation of materials. The most notable is weakness
in the authors' discussion of the adjudication process, particularly the
section dealing with prosecution. The shining portions of the book con-
cern postconviction decision activity where the authors are most
knowledgeable.

Second, translating theory into practice is always difficult, and
some weaknesses are apparent when the discussions about the effects of
goals are not supported by discussions about techniques for implement-
ing these goals. If, indeed, goals and policy must be considered as an integral part of the decisionmaking process, then the power of organization and management structures to constrain or support proper decisionmaking patterns should not be ignored. There is a notable absence of such discussions which tends to leave the reader feeling uncertain as how to best implement these goals. Admittedly, not much attention has been focused on this subject, so perhaps it is the limitations of the studies themselves that manifest this weakness.

Despite these criticisms, the authors manage to pull together the best (and sometimes the worst) of the studies concerning some of the major decisions in criminal justice. Their work is needed and long overdue. As reference material, as critiques and as aids to future researchers or evaluators, the book is a valuable resource.

Even more important than these rather utilitarian values, however, are the assessments offered by the authors at the conclusion. It is easy to see that after all the work, the writing, the citation and the onerous detail, there was a reward. It was that they could reflect on the question, "What does it all mean?" Their conclusions are thought-provoking, interesting and even controversial. Of primary importance is their conclusion that the criminal justice system is rational and orderly in its decisionmaking pattern; that it relies on legitimate factors such as the seriousness of the offense, the criminality of the defendant and the relationship between the victim and the defendant, in making decisions about case dispositions and individual treatment or sanctions. For too long, observers and commentators have been more willing to assign the descriptors of arbitrary, capricious, discretionary and discriminatory to the system than to examine it for the extent of its universality and rationality. Granted, there have been and will continue to be documented incidents of the negative attributes in the system. However, to let what Wilkins calls "the dramatic incident" characterize an entire decisionmaking system is the worst sin of research.

Once the idea of rationality and order is accepted, then the system can be examined for its ability to be improved or changed. Thus, the Gottfredsons' discussion of the future not only assumes a natural ordering of different routes to dispositions, but it also gives optimism to those who would like to make improvements by providing an approach based on events that are observable and even measurable. Decisionmaking theory offers a practical and reasonable means for the study and evalua-
tion of criminal justice operations. This book goes a long way in supporting its adoption as a legitimate analytical tool.

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Reading Lawrence W. Sherman’s Scandal and Reform is an experience which is similar to viewing the MacNeil/Lehrer Report on television. The MacNeil/Lehrer Report has been characterized by Andrew Kopkind as a paradigm of excellence and a briefing for society’s “new managers.” Scandal and Reform fits into this same mold.

Clearly, Sherman’s book offers a paradigm or model for criminal justice researchers. Focusing on deviant organizations (in this case corrupt police departments), Sherman tackles the problem of controlling corruption in a systematic manner which is exemplary of the best scholarship to date in the field of criminal justice. Equally important is the fact that Sherman’s inclusion of a temporal dimension in his research may alleviate some of the historical impoverishment in criminal justice.

The book commences with several historical vignettes on scandal and reform in four city police departments for different time periods: New York City (1970-1975); a pseudonymous place called Central City (1963-1975); Oakland, California (1952-1960); and Newburgh, New York (1970-1975). These accounts of police corruption and efforts to deal with it provide an abbreviated, yet potentially useful, source of information for other investigators interested in developing case histories of any of the four departments. The main function of the vignettes, however, is to describe the setting for a sociological inquiry into the sources of police corruption, the mobilization of various forms of corruption control, and the consequences of control for police organization.

A variety of approaches and methods were employed by Sherman in collecting information pertaining to these research questions. In addition to interviews and an analysis of police records, the book features a natural history approach. Sherman used the natural history approach in order to glean data to support the thesis that there were specific stages

in the development of scandals over police corruption in the cities that were under study. Many of the pitfalls of the natural history approach were avoided since Sherman limned the unique and time-bound patterns of the ebb and flow of scandal in each city.

The remainder of the book is given over to a wide-ranging study of scandal as a means of social control, the implementation of preventive and punitive corruption controls, the measurement of corruption, the effects of scandal as well as managerial control policies on corruption, and the future of police reform. In general, the treatment of these subjects is rich with both qualitative and quantitative data about what worked and what did not work in the efforts to reform four corrupt police departments.

Taken as a whole, Scandal and Reform has yet another significance for those interested in the development of the police institution. It suggests an instrumentalist way to approach contemporary criminal justice issues, using history as a social scientific tool. Undergirding this approach is the assumption that mayors, police administrators, and other experts should manage the police corruption problem. This position is maintained throughout the book even though Sherman conceded in the conclusion that there are "costs" associated with manager-sponsored reform. As he pointed out, one of the undesirable consequences of reforming corrupt police departments through the imposition of control strategies is that the freedom of line police officers may be constricted and even denied.

A more balanced approach to corruption would have given more emphasis to the role of police line workers in organizational change. The book's administrative bias could have been tempered by the inclusion of an examination of the corruption-producing nature of hierarchical police organizations. In this regard, anti-corruption policies which feature an appreciation of the concepts of worker participation and worker control could have been explored in the last section of the book which contains futuristic musings about police reform. Instead, the author gave short shrift to the possibility of such police worker solidarity policies, asserting that "the internal control required for reforming corrupt police departments may become impossible to achieve, given the continuing erosion of the police executive and the increasing power of police unions."

Perhaps the "bottom line" as far as Scandal and Reform is concerned is that as a piece of scholarship, the book can be utilized as a source of theoretical ideas and secondary materials on police corruption; as a piece of research with policy implications it serves the interests of man-
agers and technicians. What it fails to do is to even accommodate the perspective of police corruption from the "underside" of social reality.

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In *Deviant Street Networks*, Bernard Cohen portrays thirteen locations that support female streetwalkers in lower Manhattan. Both the individual locations and the inter-connections between these settings are examined through quantitative and qualitative data gathered during field observation and selective participant observation. Describing the physical surroundings in detail, Cohen proposes explanations for why certain ecological and physical structures support or reject such activity; for how different deviant groups are stratified within a larger area; for the social stratification and order that evolves from within each setting; and for how the larger community reacts to deviant members. Finally, the author develops a model for the life-cycle of deviant street locations which includes emergence, expansion, equilibrium, and dissolution.

Cohen uses standardized field counts to provide information specific to the streetwalkers in his study. In order to obtain these data, Cohen had to differentiate between women who were streetwalkers and women who were not streetwalkers. (The latter category is unfortunately misnamed "ordinary women.") A group of indicators were used to determine the category in which a woman belongs: the location of the woman; the time of day/night she appears; her style of dress; the gestures she makes; the manner in which she walks; and her reaction to police. The subjective nature of each of these indicators makes it difficult to determine how many of or to what degree these criteria were present before a woman was categorized as a prostitute. Furthermore, as Cohen himself admits, many streetwalkers are becoming more adept at blending in with the remaining street people. While he is undoubtedly an expert at using these indicators, researchers who seek a usable definition or observable indicators, will be disappointed at the lack of precision on this crucial point.

Cohen counts the numbers of streetwalkers at each of his deviant street locations and provides information on the personal characteristics of these women. Race, age, and physical attractiveness varied according to the geographical location, time of day, and the socioeconomic condi-
tions of the surrounding setting. Further, as may be expected, the physical setting and the socioeconomic conditions of the area affect the business of prostitution. For instance, the cost of a prostitute is greater in middle or upper class neighborhoods. The method of operation varies according to the availability of hotels, parking lots, alleys, etc. Cohen suggests that prostitutes do not move from one type of area to another; rather, they maintain their position on the same streets. Thus, we can speculate that there is little upward mobility within the realms of the streetwalkers. From his data, it would appear that the streetwalker's position is related to race, age, and physical attractiveness. Cohen, however, does not attempt to analyze or develop the complexity of the interrelationships between socioeconomic position and personal characteristics.

Perhaps Cohen's best effort at analyzing his data occurs in the chapter on police. Observing both officers in patrol cars and officers on foot, he describes the various avoidance techniques that streetwalkers employ, as well as their means of becoming non-salient street people. Police presence and police arrests are viewed primarily as dispersing prostitutes to surrounding neighborhoods rather than eliminating prostitution altogether.

The most interesting aspect of the police-prostitute interaction is revealed in a comparison of field observation counts of the numbers of minorities and whites at each site with the official arrest data for prostitution at the corresponding site. According to Cohen, a disproportionately higher percentage of minorities are represented in the official arrest statistics, which he suggests reflects a racial bias on the part of police officers.

While police arrest patterns of streetwalkers may be related to direct discriminatory treatment, as Cohen implies, a combination of factors or structural discrimination might also explain the differences between observational and official data sources. For instance, if customer complaints (e.g., concerning a theft) are the basis for police action, the customers may be more likely to report black prostitutes than white prostitutes, thereby resulting in more official action taken against blacks. Further, the customer's motivation could be related to discriminatory attitudes or due to the perceived notion that his story is more believable when it involves a black prostitute. In any event, Cohen's data do not present us with sufficient evidence for supporting or rejecting any of these hypotheses.

While the stated aims of the book include understanding visible deviant street conditions, the book focuses almost exclusively on female streetwalkers. In part, this is due to his definition of deviant street conditions which he regards as "visible presence of deviants openly transact-
ing illegal business on the street, such as prostitutes soliciting customers, derelicts accosting passersby, and drug pushers selling drugs" (at 9). Given the stated aims and the subsequent comparison between various streetwalker locations, however, it is unclear why Cohen did not provide us with more detailed data on these other forms of visible street deviance. In particular, the lack of information about addict-prostitutes is disturbing in light of the recent research on the differences between addict-prostitutes and non-addict-prostitutes. A brief description of other deviant actors (i.e., pimps, johns, transvestite prostitutes, hangersons), related in some manner to the streetwalkers is given; however, this descriptive material does not provide the depth nor the comparative information necessary for a comprehensive look at several related deviant street conditions.

Cohen's study is innovative and intriguing in the overall design. The use of an entire area, containing separate sites of deviance, offers many exciting possibilities. Such techniques develop our understanding of the similarities and differences between various deviant sites which contain the same basic type of illegal activity. More important, such a methodology provides an opportunity for us to conceptualize the environmental context of deviance. This conceptualization is particularly relevant for developing policy and implementing planning which accomplishes something more than mere dispersal of a problem.

Deviant Street Networks should appeal to researchers interested in observational methods and will offer some valuable ideas in conceptualizing research within larger geographical areas. For those interested in the study of prostitution, the book reveals a substantially different perspective, concentrating on the physical and geographical settings, as opposed to the lifestyle or personal dimensions of prostitution.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY. By A. Daniel Yarmey.

A recent and welcome trend in both experimental and social psychology has been the application of theory and research to social concerns. Criminal justice is an area which has received a great deal of attention, much of which has been focused on the courtroom. One of

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1 See, e.g., James, Ethnography and Social Problems, in STREET ETHNOGRAPHY (R.S. Weppner ed. 1977).
the most developed areas of research is the psychology of eyewitness identification and testimony.

In *The Psychology of Eyewitness Testimony*, A. Daniel Yarmey presents a comprehensive review of the literature from divergent disciplines in psychology which apply to eyewitness testimony. His book is a scholarly presentation of applicable experimental and social psychological research.

Yarmey begins the book with a brief historic view of the relationship between psychology and the law. He enumerates some of the basic assumptions made by the courts concerning eyewitness testimony and indicates how these assumptions agree or conflict with psychological research. He then gives a short overview of the criminal justice system's method of collecting evidence and determining its veracity. In the process, he highlights the difficulties inherent in communication between the two disciplines of psychology and the law. The remainder of the book is an attempt to communicate psychological research to persons in the legal field.

Yarmey gives a summary of relevant research in the experimental areas of perception and memory. He then reviews the literature on perception and memory as it applies to humans, giving examples of courtroom applications. Next, he provides a summary of the research dealing with personal characteristics that are related to a good memory for faces. The author concludes the summary with a delineation of the areas in perception and memory which are still lacking in empirical research.

The next section of the book focuses on the identification of criminals through verbal and visual descriptions. The author describes in depth the methods of constructing images of criminals from the descriptions of eyewitnesses by discussing the relevant research and indicating the strengths and weaknesses of artists' sketches, facial composites, and lineups.

The author then reviews the literature on truth and credibility. He discusses the means currently available for determining the truthfulness of a witness and indicates the limitations of this science. Yarmey also includes research on the relationship of sex and age to memory and credibility.

Yarmey concludes his book with a plea for more integration of psychology with the law, stating:

It is my view that the future of scientific psychology depends to a large extent upon what it can contribute to the individual and to our society and culture as a whole. It is the responsibility of experimental and social psychologists to develop models, theories, and programs of research that can
test the fundamental assumptions of human behavior that affect the legal process (at 228).

Yarmey’s book will undoubtedly be compared with Elizabeth Loftus’ Eyewitness Testimony, which was published at about the same time. Both of these works draw on the same research and there is some overlap in the studies reported. While both books are directed toward the intelligent lay reader, Yarmey’s gives a more academic presentation, and thus Loftus’ book is, perhaps, more readable. Yarmey integrates much more psychological research which applies to eyewitness testimony, although at times he describes theories or research which are dated and relevant only from an historical perspective. His meticulous attention to every aspect of experimental research makes the reading somewhat slow at points. Since, however, he incorporates a great deal of information into this work, he should be forgiven for occasionally lapsing into a textbook style of presentation. The book is clearly written and, with a few minor exceptions, is presented in an interesting style.

Generally, Yarmey has succeeded in completing a thorough and in-depth review of psychological research in many areas which apply to eyewitness testimony. His book offers a good integration of disciplines for psychologists and a comprehensive and clear review for people in the criminal justice fields. While this book would be a valuable addition to the library of a psychologist who is interested in the law, I think its greatest value will be to people in the criminal justice field who are interested in eyewitness testimony.

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Mr. Bequai has previously given us Computer Crime, White Collar Crime, and Organized Crime, all dealing with the extent of criminal activity in our modern technological and business environments. Now, he provides us with The Cashless Society: EFTS at the Crossroads, an in-depth look at the problems that are presented by the infusion into our monetary system of Electronic Funds Transfer Systems (EFTS).

EFTS—already extant in embryonic form in a number of areas of
our society—foreshadow a totally “cashless society.” The author explains how computers are increasingly replacing our present paper-based payment system with “electronic blips” that represent money. Such simple cashless systems as automated teller machines, point-of-sale systems, and telephone bill-paying services today provide the business and professional industries with a quick and efficient means of transferring funds from one place to another. Bequai traces the development of EFTS; the advantages they offer, and the challenges they pose. To his credit, the author manages to do this in simple and concise language; one that the layperson can easily understand.

Bequai details for us what EFTS are; the forces that have given rise to them, and the arguments for and against the cashless society. EFTS will rid us of traditional criminal offenses; robberies, forgeries, counterfeiting and theft may become obsolete. In addition, the financial sector can save many billions of dollars by not having to process the more than 20 million checks and other paper currencies that flood today’s market. EFTS could not exist, however, without the computer, and the author presents a clear, concise and interesting section on the evolution of computer technology, and the rise of the super computers. This section is followed, logically, by an examination of the possible regional and national EFTS that could emerge, and the developments now being observed in the financial, banking, and computer industries.

Although EFTS are potentially beneficial, they pose difficulties; for example, the financial information stored in EFTS also contains sensitive personal history data. This information could be misappropriated, along with the actual funds in the account, by an unauthorized entry into the system via something as simple as a telephone or terminal. The solvency of an individual or corporation is private, but such misappropriated information could be used for such illicit purposes as fraud or blackmail. Other major concerns detailed in the book include bank branching, antitrust implications, state sharing laws, and security.

The author’s broad knowledge of electronic crimes enables him to present a gripping depiction of the effect that EFTS crimes could have on our lives. The investigative and legal morass that would result from EFTS offenses, and the application of traditional sanctions to them could most certainly leave the criminal justice system powerless to detect, deter or convict the sophisticated EFTS felons. The author also observes that there are a host of penal issues that must be adequately addressed. For example, the EFTS felon, as a rule, is non-violent and well-educated and the penal system is not well-equipped to handle this class of criminals.

Not to be overlooked in the changes brought about by EFTS are the issues in consumer law litigation and computer-liability problems.
The consumer credit protection laws are a complement to the privacy statutes, and Mr. Bequai proceeds to inform us as to the extent of change and actual jeopardy to information systems that EFTS could cause. The courts and legislatures are currently grappling monumentally with the complex issues and problems related to computer software, and the civil liabilities arising from disclosure or dissemination of computerized information. The author also notes that our entire economy—currently a mixture of cash, precious stones and metals, and commercial papers—would undergo a radical change to a cashless economy with the onset of an extensive EFTS. Serious changes in banking, monetary policy, and credit and consumer affairs would result. The federal government would also need to revise its monetary and regulatory policies. Government-owned and operated entities could undergo significant changes.

In the international environment, the author tells us that EFTS has already taken form in Europe and Canada. Third World nations have also shown an interest, and the author provides us with a glimpse of international monetary transactions, assisted by EFTS. The book also contains a broad compilation of appendices on such diverse topics as: computer crime legislation; security checklists for EFTS systems; sample computer security questionaires; and an array of other valuable data that makes this book indispensable. It concludes with an extensive bibliography that is invaluable in its own right.

*The Cashless Society* is a straightforward and thorough presentation of a complex issue that could have a profound impact on our economic, political, and social systems. The opportunity to steal millions of dollars via a telephone makes EFTS a most vulnerable tool; yet, it was developed, and is being fostered, because of the significant benefits it can provide to society. Bequai’s book represents an effective and timely examination of an innovation whose sides are myriad, and whose advantages must overcome its disadvantages before our society will fully accept it. The book poses questions and attempts to provide answers to the many complex issues involved in the EFTS.

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