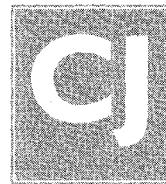


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David Garland

The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society
 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. 324 pp. including index. £19.99
 (hbk); ISBN 0-19-829937-0 (hbk)

- Reviewed by Franklin E. Zimring, University of California, USA

This is a very good book and a very important one as well. David Garland addresses what he calls the culture of crime control that has developed in the USA and Great Britain over the past generation. His major focus is the developing political and cultural conditions of crime control, the software rather than the hardware of criminal justice and societal response. Professor Garland's road map through the culture of crime control in late modernity is multipart and complex, but *The Culture of Control* has many rewards for the careful reader.

The study begins with Garland's description of the ideology of the penal-welfare state, a portrait he developed in his 1985 study, *Punishment and Welfare*. He then outlines several of the academic critiques to this orthodoxy that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in a chapter on 'The Crisis of Penal Modernism'. The upheavals described in this chapter have no obvious reference to trends in crime or other social conditions.

Chapter 4 shifts from criminological disputes to the broad social, technological and economic changes of the post-Second World War decades. For both Britain and the USA, Garland divides this half-century into the stress-free and expansionist 'Golden Years of 1950-1973' and 'Crisis Decades' in the later 1970s and 1980s.

The crisis Garland sees in the later years is the arrival of conditions of 'late modernity' that have visited other developed nations as well. As Garland argues in his fifth chapter, governments were embarrassed by the fact that high crime rates had become a normal social fact by the mid-1970s in both Britain and the USA. This 'policy predicament' leads Garland to a highly original analysis of the culture of high-crime societies in Chapters 6 and 7. Here the author describes a series of physical and cultural adaptations in England and America that leaves him far from happy with the neo-liberal, anti-communal and repressive elements he sees in the culture of control that spans the Anglo-American present.

Even as crime rates are falling, Garland worries about a ‘new iron cage’ in which a punitive culture of control might persist long after the crime problems and fears that created it have passed from the scene. This spectre functions much like the Ghost of Christmas Yet to Come in Charles Dickens’s *A Christmas Carol*, as a plausible and frightening future that Scotland’s answer to the Ghost of Jacob Marley tells us is not yet inevitable.

In the spirit of Michel Foucault, Professor Garland’s book is vastly ambitious, wonderfully insightful, and willing to take interpretative risks not always on the safe side of the empirical evidence. The author treats empirical matters much more carefully than his Gallic forebear, and engages in a full disclosure of his study’s limits in Chapter 1 that is a model of academic modesty.

But the study seems often to underestimate the huge differences between Britain and the USA through the study period. Garland tells us at p. 168, ‘There has thus been a shift — more pronounced in the USA than in the UK but present in both countries — toward a much greater and more intensive use of custody.’ Yet Garland’s only two charts on incarceration show imprisonment rates up about 55 percent in the generation after 1971 in England and Wales, compared to a 350 percent increase during the same period in the USA. There is five times as much difference between US growth and English growth as there is between English growth and zero change! During this same post-1965 period, the British abolished capital punishment and have resisted the maxi-maxi prison, while the USA has marched in the opposite direction at high speed.

Garland’s inattention to the war on drugs in the USA may also be a product of his assumption of English-US continuity, but this lapse is hard to forgive since the rate of drug incarceration in the USA now exceeds the rate of total incarceration in Great Britain.

One reason Professor Garland may underestimate Anglo-American differences is his focus on crime-control rhetoric and not some of the collateral value trends that tempered crime policy in Britain, but not in the USA. The abolition of the hangman was a human rights matter in England, certainly by the time of the free vote in 1984, but the death penalty is just another part of the culture of control in the USA.

The study is also hampered by inattention to other developed countries in ‘late modernity’. Are crime rates up everywhere? Crime incidence, or prevalence, or both? How widespread is the culture of control? Do the French stuff their prisons these days? The Germans?

Two further problems deserve mention. The first is the enormous importance the author gives to academic criminologists in his map of the modern world. And, the study’s numbers and commentary on both crime and crime control are much thinner than we need.

But all this complaint simply outlines the doctoral dissertations that David Garland’s book will certainly provoke. He has taken the theoretical high ground in probing for the relationship between social and cultural change and the shifts in attitudes and action about crime. This new book will stand as one

of the basic documents in our effort to understand social change as a force in determining modern responses to crime and criminality.

Reference

Garland, D. (1985) *Punishment and Welfare: A History of Penal Strategies*. Aldershot: Gower.

Peter Neyroud and Alan Beckley

Policing, Ethics and Human Rights

Cullompton: Willan, 2001. 240 pp. £40.00 (hbk), £17.99 (pbk); ISBN 1-903240-16-6 (hbk), 1-903240-15-8 (pbk)

- Reviewed by Rod Morgan, Bristol University, UK

This is an important contribution to the discussion of a vital topic — the conservation, or rebuilding (depending on the extent to which one thinks there has been a serious decline), of the legitimacy of the police. As such, it is a notable coup for a new publisher trying to establish a serious criminal justice series.

The authors' aim is to build a conceptual model which will enable the exercise of individual police discretion, operational decision making, force priority setting and budgeting and other police organizations' decisions to be informed by ethics and human rights. The attempt is fascinating because the authors are respectively a deputy chief constable with a distinguished record of involvement in a succession of wide-ranging police policy fora, and his civilian colleague with responsibility for force management development training. It follows that, for the former, the topic is not abstract but operationally imperative, and the latter presumably has need of teaching frameworks which work, that is, are perceived by middle- and senior-ranking officers to be operationally relevant. Not surprisingly, therefore, the book makes abundant use of case-study examples and diagrammatic exposition.

The authors' occupational responsibilities are readily apparent. They find 'unhelpful', for example, sociological analyses of policing culture which emphasize the dominance of values and characteristics (suspicion, cynicism, social isolation, machismo, and so on) antithetical to those values (duty, care, virtue, and justice) to which their ethical approach gives priority. They prefer those police studies which find there to be positives balancing the negatives (comradeship and striving for professionalism, for example) and which conceive of police culture as less immutable, monolithic and isolated from external influence; they need a platform on which to build. By the same token, they are incisively critical of current trends for police performance management (Home Office-imposed KPIs, force league tables, and so on), which they insist are not