

one, or tick at a different rate, in another group.

The difficulties and ambiguities revealed, more candidly by some authors than others, in attempts to infer distant phylogenetic relationships from protein sequences illustrate a common problem faced by paleontologists and molecular eutherian systematists. The radiations leading to the diverse array of extant mammals occurred over an interval of time that is short relative to that during which they have subsequently evolved. We need sequences that evolved rapidly enough for several substitutions to have occurred between speciation events in order to confidently delineate the branching order of the early mammalian orders over the period of radiation. Yet the rapid change characterizing such a sequence means that multiple (undetected) substitutions at the same site are likely to have occurred since the speciation events. With increased multiple substitutions, deducing the correct phylogeny becomes increasingly difficult, since many alternative phylogenies differ by only a small total number of substitutions. Compound these problems with the difficulties that the degeneracy of the genetic code presents for estimating extant, let alone ancestral, nucleotide sequences from amino acid sequences and there is little wonder so much controversy exists in this field.

Controversy also continues over the adequacy of various approaches for adjusting estimates of sequence divergence for undetected multiple substitutions that have occurred since the divergence of two homologous sequences. Two papers in this volume focus on portions of this controversy and discuss efforts to model the process of nucleotide and amino acid sequence evolution (Coates and Stone, Holmquist *et al.*). They discuss evidence for and the implications of significant nonrandomness in macromolecular evolution, including variable selective constraints on amino acid sequence and the nonuniformity of substitutional events. The extent to which natural selection exerts a driving relative to a restraining force in molecular evolution remains unresolved. However, the ability we now have to examine directly amino acid-changing versus silent nucleotide substitutions and those occurring in noncoding regions promises a rich source of potential clues.

Though simple and rapid DNA cloning and sequencing methods have technically replaced protein sequencing efforts, the protein is a phenotype that will never lose its significance. Rather than make

this realm of evolutionary biology obsolete, the results of direct analyses of nucleotide sequences (nicely reviewed in the final two chapters by Scott and Smith and by Hewett-Emsmett *et al.*) are bringing a new level of precision to our understanding of the dynamic structure of the genome and of the processes and events that have resulted in the present diversity of proteins and other macromolecules. It is clear from this volume that comparative molecular studies will play an increasingly significant role, not only in systematics but in molecular and evolutionary biology as a tool for understanding the selective value, if any, of different patterns of nucleotide sequence organization and for understanding mechanisms of change.

CHARLES F. AQUADRO

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## The Effectiveness of Threat

*Detering the Drinking Driver. Legal Policy and Social Control.* H. LAURENCE ROSS. Lexington (Heath), Lexington, Mass., 1982. xxviii, 132 pp. \$22.95.

In one form or another the idea that threatening or imposing punishment will inhibit illegal or otherwise undesirable behavior has been embraced by most people in most societies for a long time, and it has found particular expression in modern legal codes. But only within the past 15 or 20 years have serious and concerted efforts been made to test the idea of deterrence scientifically. As a result of these efforts a huge body of evidence involving a variety of threats and punishments, kinds of offenses, types of data, and diverse contexts has already accumulated. It is difficult to draw meaningful conclusions from this mass of work, partly because the research has highlighted methodological barriers preventing confident inference, and partly because of the increasingly recognized complexity of the problem. Most scholars now acknowledge that deterrence is probably a highly contingent phenomenon. Whether it operates or not depends on many variables, one of the more important of which is the kind of offense in question.

The prime virtue of Ross's work is that he focuses on one specific offense and attempts to assemble, synthesize, and interpret the evidence without trying to draw conclusions about deterrence gen-

erally. The focus is specifically upon the effect of legal threats designed to deter drunken driving. Since the overwhelming bulk of evidence concerning this issue derives from investigation of the impact of actual changes in drunk driving laws or in enforcement practices, most of the book describes and interprets interrupted-time-series studies of the effect of modifications of drunk driving laws or their enforcement around the world over the past 50 years. The interrupted-time-series method involves analysis of trends in a dependent variable tracked over a long period of time (so as to take into account seasonal variations) in comparison to the period immediately following the implementation of some discrete change in the independent variable.

Ross concludes that increases in the potency of legal threat, particularly enhancement of the perceived certainty of apprehension among the population, does produce a significant decline in drunk driving, but that such effects are temporary. He suggests that this evanescence is due to the erosion after a short time of perceived certainty of punishment, since efforts at enforcement can rarely achieve or maintain the level that is initially assumed or mandated.

In surveying the evidence, Ross nicely lays out the importance of studying drunk driving and efforts to control it. The offense not only produces monumental social costs, therefore being of wide practical import, but it lends itself especially well to investigation of the deterrence question. Drunken driving happens to be an offense that generally lacks moral prohibition, so that its control falls almost exclusively upon the threat of sanction; there are many instances of naturally occurring discrete changes in legislation or enforcement efforts that can be monitored for effect; it involves outcome measures that are precise, reasonably valid, independent of law enforcement efforts, and routinely collected and usually available over considerable periods of time (such as blood alcohol content of drivers involved in crashes and the relative rates of single-vehicle and multiple-vehicle crashes during various hours of the day and days of the week), and it concerns real behavior rather than that which might be generated in laboratory experiments or reported upon in surveys. Nevertheless Ross carefully points out the problems in drawing strong conclusions about drunk driving and deterrence, focusing systematically upon various possible methodologies and their weaknesses. Although he favors the interrupted-time-series design (which conveniently happens to be

# Deterring The Drinking Driver

**Rachel Sandford**



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