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## Book Reviews

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**BOOK REVIEWS**


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Edited by

C. R. Jeffery\*

**AGGRESSION: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS.**

By *Leonard Berkowitz*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962. Pp. xiv, 361. \$7.95

Professor Berkowitz, following the tradition established by Dollard, Miller, *et al.*, in *Frustration and Aggression*, has compiled an impressive statement concerning aggression. He has summarized salient theoretical statements on this subject and illustrates with clinical and laboratory data, both human and animal. A major strength of the work is the author's ability to utilize the available evidence.

The major weakness of the book is the author's use of subjective, mentalistic concepts in lieu of a more strictly behavioristic frame of reference. To explain aggressive responses, Berkowitz injects anger between stimulus and response. He talks about cognitive factors—thinking, feeling, perceiving—and he regards these as intervening cognitions. His example is a man running down the street with a gun in hand. Does an observer perceive this man to be a policeman, a criminal, or a lunatic? The observer's reaction to such a situation would depend on his past conditioning in respect to men with guns.

The difficulty with introspective data is that they are not subject to independent investigation. How do we know a man is afraid? Because he runs. Why does he run? Because he is afraid. Inferential cognitive terms that are used in psychology and sociology to explain behavior are inferred; they do not exist independently of the behavior. An independent variable (fear, anger, guilt feelings) is used to explain a dependent variable (aggressive behavior), whereas the independent variable is inferred from the dependent variable. For example, Berkowitz explains self aggression in terms of the individual perceiving himself as a source of frustration. The self concept, however, is known only through the manner in which an individual responds to a given situation.

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The second methodological issue involves the use of data from tests and interviews as explanations of behavior in other situations. A subject's responses to a questionnaire or a TAT card are under the control of the contingencies of a test or an interview. Such data are not indicative of his responses to his wife or to his boss, for example. Any assumption drawn from test data regarding a subject's behavior in another situation may therefore be considered inferential and questionable. In several instances the author points out that such data are correlational and that causal statements concerning behavior in these cases cannot be made. This reviewer wishes that this point had been given more emphasis, because many readers are likely to draw causal inferences from the data presented in this book that the author did not intend.

Berkowitz makes good use of sociological data concerning intergroup hostility and social status. His observation that punishment which removes a positive reinforcer, such as love and affection, is more effective than punishment that presents an aversive stimulus, such as corporal punishment, is one of the best statements yet made on punishment. He relates punitive practices to social class position. The material could have been reinforced by citing laboratory data from operant conditioning procedures, especially in the work on punishment by N. H. Azrin.

An excellent chapter is the one on mass media and delinquency. After reviewing the literature, the author concludes that juvenile aggressive behavior resulting from violence presented on television depends on the real-life situation within which the viewer operates. In other words, unless a response is reinforced in the real world of the television viewer, such behavior as is seen on the television screen is not very likely to occur or to persist in the real-life situation. Such a conclusion is so sensible as to be ignored in much of the current study of television and delinquency.

The chapter on homicide and suicide is also an excellent summary of the literature, with a word of caution about accepting either the psycho-

analytic view or the sociological view concerning these subjects.

The methodological errors of the research data presented in the book are those of psychology and sociology and not of the author, since to a great extent he is reporting the work of others. This reviewer is biased in favor of studying behavior as behavior, within an experimental framework, and this bias obviously is not shared by many competent professionals in the field of human behavior.

This book is an excellent summary of the problems involved in studying aggressive behavior, and it should be given careful consideration by anyone interested in the subject.

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PSYCHIATRIC STUDIES OF BORSTAL LADS. By *T. C. N. Gibbens*, with the assistance of *A. Marriage* and *A. Walker*. Institute of Psychiatry Maudsley Monographs No. 11. London: Oxford University Press, 1963. Pp. 230. 45s. net.

A high concern with the extent to which its conclusions rest on scientifically adequate evidence, makes this book almost unique among psychiatric writings on criminals.

Dr. Gibbens interviewed 200 youths, comprising every alternate Borstal commitment from the London area in 1953 and 1955. For all or part of this sample, his assistants administered psychological tests, abstracted file information, made home visits, and procured somatotype photographs. The results are summarized in 87 statistical tables, 22 case studies, and several figures.

The author continually interrelates his psychiatric judgment classifications with demographic, test, historical, medical, and other data. In addition, he compares his findings with those available from quasi-control groups, such as military recruits or students, and with findings of other criminological investigations. The book is filled with perceptive reviews of European and American literature, from many disciplines, and with valuable methodological analyses of psychiatric research.

Dr. Gibbens presents some interesting psychological typologies of theft, and of other aspects of delinquency. He is impressed by the extent to which, even in the giant metropolis of London, his delinquents knew each other personally or by reputation, regardless of their home neighborhood.

However, each gang delinquent's family usually restricted its residences to a single area of the city. Youth sub-culture supports for delinquency and for some deviant sexual practices are discerned, but it also is noted that individual experiences impel some youths to seek such supports more than others do.

Dr. Gibbens believes that "largely because of insufficient study of other deviant populations and sharp differences in basic training," his fellow psychiatrists "have underestimated the force of social and group factors" in delinquency (p. 103). However, he contends that "in the present state of knowledge," psychiatric concern with separating out "a mentally abnormal group . . . showing a recognizable psychopathology . . . has to be maintained in spite of the difficulty of describing satisfactory criteria. . . . The abnormal were not all mentally ill or susceptible to psychiatric treatment, but they all presented a sufficiently definite psychopathology to require psychiatric assessment, and usually psychiatric collaboration in their training." (p. 99)

Growth in knowledge on crime will come not from polemics of one discipline against another so much as from dispassionate discussion and objective assessment of evidence, with no disciplinary barriers. Dr. Gibbens has nurtured such growth. The sequel to this volume, which is to analyze post-release data on the cases reported in this book, is eagerly awaited.

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PERSISTENT CRIMINALS. By *W. H. Hammond* and *Edna Chayen*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963. Pp. ix, 237. 25s.

Under Great Britain's famous Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, habitual criminals could, in the interest of public safety, be sentenced to terms of "preventive detention" to be served after completion of their punitive imprisonment. The act was, however, very seldom invoked because of technical administrative difficulties and the feeling among judges that its application amounted to double punishment. This law was replaced in 1948 by the Criminal Justice Act, which provided that adults over 29 years of age who are convicted of a fourth felony preceded by at least two other imprisonments for felonies are eligible for a definite sentence to preventive detention of between 5

and 14 years, in lieu of a regular term of imprisonment. The number of offenders liable to preventive detention is estimated to be about 1,500 yearly, of whom about 200 actually receive such sentences. *Persistent Criminals*, one of a series of Home Office criminological researches, reports a comparative statistical study of 1956's crop of 1,384 "liables" on whom usable data were available from courts, prisons, and Scotland Yard. Of these, 178 were sentenced to detention.

Unless reined in by explicit hypotheses, studies of this kind tend to produce multitudes of "findings," and are often difficult to summarize in readable fashion. From the standpoint of American readers, moreover, the findings in *Persistent Criminals* are somewhat parochial since our habitual offender laws bear little resemblance to that of Britain. The major questions asked by the authors were, what kind of man is the liable offender? upon what bases do judges select for detention? what effect has this measure on post-release conduct? against what are the British people being protected by the use of prolonged detention?

Men liable to preventive detention, in contrast to other persisting offenders above the age of 29, tended to be property offenders of the breaking and entering kinds who were predominantly (59%) in their 30's. Those selected from this group as detainees had longer criminal records than the liable men; 48 per cent were burglars and 23 per cent thieves; sexual offenders and violent offenders amounted to only 7 per cent. The judges seemingly were moved to sentence to detention mainly on the basis of length of criminal record rather than on a direct assessment of dangerousness. Nevertheless, the authors show that detaining the 178 did, in all likelihood, prevent them from committing a proportionately greater number of offenses—but only slightly more serious offenses—than the remaining liable men freed after serving shorter terms. Hammond and Chayen are of the opinion, however, that the expense of detaining the men was considerably greater than the monetary losses which were prevented. Whether the victims of burglars and thieves would see things this way is another question.

Men sentenced to preventive detention since 1948 show a cumulative reconviction rate of 78 per cent up to six years after release; an ultimate failure rate of 80 per cent is anticipated. Working

within the rather narrow limits of available data, the authors found that the reconviction rates of liable men sentenced to ordinary imprisonment appear not to differ significantly from the detainees' rates. It is noted, however, that detainees receive pre-release training and go out under parole, whereas neither of these rehabilitative aids is obligatory for ordinary long-term prisoners. The fact that the detainees' failure rates are as high as those of prisoners released without this "extra" care supports the authors' contention that the preventive detainees represent the failures of all previous treatments and form the hard core of recalcitrant offenders.

The second half of the book presents a detailed analysis of detainees' social characteristics as they relate to decisions of the Preventive Detention Advisory Board in selecting prisoners for release after two-thirds rather than five-sixths of their sentences have been served (these are the only release periods permitted by the Act). The authors' cleverly demonstrated conclusions that actuarial rather than impressionistic prediction methods would enable the Board to make wiser selections will be of less immediate interest to American criminologists than their simple but ingenious procedure for scaling qualitative statements made about prisoners by prison officials. Among other things, this procedure allowed a most interesting quantitative comparison of officials' assessments of prisoners, which varied consistently with the roles of the officials within the prisons. Hammond and Chayen suggest that this may be due partly to the kinds of structured contacts different functionaries have with prisoners, and partly to more subtle factors arising from traits peculiar to certain categories of inmates.

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THE SHORT-TERM PRISONER. By R. G. Andry with a foreword by Hermann Mannheim. London: Stevens and Sons, 1963. Pp. 162. (Obtainable from Fred B. Bothman and Co., South Hackensack, N.J., \$4.50.)

For at least 90 years, since the First International Penal and Penitentiary Congress, held in London in 1872, the appropriate handling of

minor offenders has been a matter of debate. These offenders typically serve short prison terms (under six months) or very short terms (under one month). English prisons (in the United States, local jails) are crowded with them, and much time of institutional personnel is diverted to record keeping. At the same time, the conviction has been growing that the short terms do little to rehabilitate the prisoners. Many offenses are so petty that even six months seems to be inhumane. Other minor offenses seem to call for longer terms and new types of treatment to effect rehabilitation. Possible alternatives now in use are fines or probation, but opinions differ as to their appropriateness.

This book is the report of a carefully designed piece of research that attempts to classify short-term prisoners psychologically and to hypothesize suitable types of treatment to prevent recidivism. The subjects were 121 white males, over 21 years of age, who were inmates of a London prison in 1957-58. Most were first offenders. A rather simple hypothetical framework was used: "emotionally disturbed or 'immature' prisoners were thought to be more likely to exhibit post-release criminal behavior than others, and aggressive prisoners were thought to be more likely to exhibit such behavior than others." (p. 6) It was recognized that further refinement might be necessary. During the study the hypotheses were modified with four emerging at the end of the study, three of which were psychological in nature. The three psychological types associated with recidivism were emotionally disturbed (neurotic) prisoners, tough or extra-punitive prisoners in contrast to impunitive or intra-punitive, and emotionally immature prisoners. A fourth type, with juvenile record of crime, was also likely to recidivate.

The design of the research called for interviews with the prisoners while they were still in prison, with a second interview about six to eight months after release. The first interviews in prison were successfully completed, but after release only 12 of the men could be found or if found were willing to be re-interviewed. The responses of these 12 men give some insight into post-release difficulties of adjustment, but are too few in number for a valid statistical analysis. The major analysis therefore is limited to a comparison of released prisoners who were recommitted to prison with those not recommitted. This careful analysis led

to the modified hypotheses already stated. Combinations of the three psychological factors led to 12 broad groups, for example: immature, neurotic, extra-punitive men; immature, not neurotic, intra-punitive men; or mature, not neurotic, impunitive men. The fourth type, with juvenile criminal experience, is not further analyzed in detail.

It was further hypothesized that for each of the 12 groups a different type of treatment was needed. The author considers the probable effect on each type of imprisonment with treatment, fines, or probation. He recommends another approach, a Reconstruction Centre, which would combine punishment of a reforming nature, therapy, and an opportunity to change certain aspects of the personality through satisfying work. The author envisages the Centre as a possible alternative to short-term imprisonment; the offenders would retain their freedom in the community, but attend such a Centre in their leisure time. The author argues the advantages of a Centre for each type of offender, with the possible exception of the extra-punitive criminal, who may benefit more from a medium-length term of perhaps a year in prison than from the milder regime of the Centre.

Although the study failed in its primary purpose of interviewing prisoners both before and after release, it provides an example of a closely hypothesized, precisely executed study. The analysis is given in detail, and interpretation and recommendations are both soundly based and imaginative. The foreword by Hermann Mannheim is of independent value.

The restriction of the study to psychological factors makes for a limited though concise analysis. However, as an American sociologist, accustomed to the analysis of crime as a product of cultural factors and social interaction, the reviewer wishes that a parallel study might have been made based on socio-cultural hypotheses, and the results of the twin studies coordinated. Although the questionnaire used included questions on parental family, marriage, and girl friends, they referred chiefly to anxieties. Other social relationships (such as peer groups) are not covered. The correlation of recidivism with juvenile crime was 0.49, higher than with neuroticism or extra-punitiveness. Nevertheless, this factor is not thoroughly analyzed. It might easily have led into an analysis of group or gang delinquency, which, according to

various studies, is a common type in England. The study falls short of complete analysis of types by its limitation to psychological factors. In the United States many studies err in the opposite direction. Group but not psychological factors are heavily emphasized. A coordinated psychological and sociological approach should yield more than either alone.

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KRIMINALBIOLOGISCHE GEGENWARTSFRAGEN. Vol. 5. Edited by *Thomas Wuertenberger* and *Johannes Hirschmann*. Stuttgart, Germany: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1963. Pp. vi, 208. DM 29.80.

As in the case of the previous volumes in this series, (some of which were reviewed in this *Journal*), current problems in criminology were the business of the annual meeting of the Society for Criminology in Vienna in the fall of 1961, and the proceedings are now presented in this book. The theme of the last meeting was the cooperation between courts and experts in giving psychiatric examinations, a topic apropos in this country, too. In examining the "criminal" personality, many disciplines have participated, such as psychology, anthropology, biology, and sociology, in addition to medicine and psychiatry. The scientific lines of endeavor at this meeting were greatly broadened with regard to methods, experience, and knowledge in the examination of the offender. New vistas were opened by drawing into the discussion theories of the neuroses (in German-speaking countries, because of Freud's origin in Vienna, still an unfamiliar topic), depth psychology, testing, new dimensions in psychiatry, and developmental psychology and biology.

These Proceedings contain 16 papers, some of their authors being well-known in this country, such as Professor Hoff and his assistant, H. Schinko, who discuss the detention of the criminally insane; H. Leferenz who talked on judges and experts, and the late E. Stransky, who spoke about the psychiatric expert during a court-trial and his tasks, aims, and limitations. Other papers deal with the expert in cases of sex perversion and other forms of immorality, the expert in the juvenile court, and the juvenile court judge as a "co-educator" of juvenile delinquents, the typology of the habitual criminal or recidivist, and the

expert's testimony and its effect on the public during a trial.

Some of the papers have copious footnotes, a few have selected and short bibliographies, many are without footnotes or bibliographies. While all the papers are timely and thought-provoking for every country wishing to promote progressive criminal legislation and criminal court-procedure, some papers are difficult to read, particularly when a psychiatrist attempts to employ legal language, and the lawyer uses psychiatric terminology. Some psychiatrists (e.g., Hoff and Schinko) become legal experts, and the reader may get the impression that a legal treatise is being offered, psychiatric (let alone psychodynamic) aspects having been temporarily forgotten. One of the excellent papers is Rudolf Hartmann's on cooperation between courts and experts during a trial with particular respect to probation. Here a prominent jurist asks for guidance by the "experts" in order to make disposition of cases where the judge cannot possibly be expected to know whether a defendant will become a recidivist, will do well on probation, should be incarcerated, or should be treated psychiatrically. It is interesting that Hartmann speaks of the court which has had the benefit of expert testimony, as arriving at a "judicial prognosis" (*richterliche Prognose*).

The only paper, and one of the finest, which extensively quotes Freud and Freud's students (Glover, Reik, Aichhorn, Alexander, Anna Freud, K. Friedlander, et al.) is by a district attorney in Zurich, Hans Walder; the subject is "Genetic Conscious and Unconscious in Criminal Behavior." It seems ironical that the majority of the 16 papers, though written by psychiatrists, neither mention Freud nor deal with psychodynamics in the diagnoses or therapies of the offenders. The jurist, Dr. Walder, on the other hand, lets fresh air into the Proceedings and introduces depth and breadth into this important book by presenting case histories and using psychodynamic terminology (such as repression, regression, introjection, projection, or misplacement) as though he were a practising analyst and not a district attorney! However, he does not advocate a soft line in the prosecution of offenders. On the contrary! He feels that those who commit crimes "knowingly and intentionally" should be punished. However, he also believes that the representatives of the people (e.g., the judge and the district attorney) should be motivated, in cooperation with psychi-

atric experts, to search for those "unconscious incidents," which will bring forth a correct understanding of the criminal act and of its perpetrator (*Tat und Taeter*).

It is to be hoped that the Society for Criminology will continue its annual meetings, and the publisher will be encouraged to continue to publish the Society's proceedings. Enlightenment in criminal proceedings is still in its infancy on both sides of the Atlantic; so the dim light of knowledge should be given a chance to become brighter.

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PSYCHIATRIE DER GEGENWART. Berlin: Springer Verlag. Edited by G. Bally, et al. Vol. I: GRUNDLAGEN DER KLINISCHEN PSYCHIATRIE. 1963. Pp. 1056. DM 110.—. Vol. II: KLINISCHE PSYCHIATRIE. 1962. Pp. 1229. DM 120.—. Vol. III: SOZIALE UND ANGEWANDTE PSYCHIATRIE. 1961. Pp. 880. DM 98.—. Berlin: Springer Verlag.

These three gargantuan volumes, published at intervals of about one year apart, can be considered as counterparts to the German *Handbuch der Neurosenlehre und Psychotherapie* or to the U. S. *American Handbook of Psychiatry*. While most anthologies of the behavioral sciences seem to suffer from being either too comprehensive or not comprehensive enough, nevertheless they seem to fill a need for many practitioners: to have the most diversified material of the practitioner's daily work under one roof. Some psychiatrists do not employ shock therapy. But if called to consider this special treatment, they can easily obtain information on shock therapy as it relates to the practice of psychiatry. And so on with other methods, diagnostic questions, and psychological schools of thought.

One of the many mental disorders with which many psychiatrists are not familiar (or which, better still, they wish to avoid treating) are the illnesses diagnosed as "sociopathy," sex perversions and the criminal law as it relates to psychiatry. (This reviewer does not wish to engage here in a discussion of the reasons why many psychiatrists seem to be reluctant to treat the offender against the law.) Volume III is, in large part, devoted to forensic psychiatry, to "social and practical psychiatry," and to psychiatry in war-time. Whether E. K. Cruickshank

discusses (in English) "Neuro-psychiatric Disorders in Prisoners-of-War" or Goesta Rylander discusses (again in English) "Forensic Psychiatry in Relation to Legislation to Different Psychiatry" or whether Werner Villinger writes on "Forensic and Administrative Psychiatry" and Jakob Wyrsch discusses "The Sexual Perversions" (these two in German), the psychiatrist, the criminologist, and any social scientist of either hemisphere will have a fairly up-to-date presentation of the topic each author is discussing, in addition to bibliographies, which each contributor lists and which often number hundreds of multi-lingual titles!

Many things can be said in favor of these volumes. One virtue is the multi-lingual aspect, since the editors chose the contributors with respect to authority in the field rather than to the authors' nationality. The editors did not make the error, in choosing non-German authors, of translating their contributions into German. All the contributions are original. Thus there are such "stars" as Margaret Mead ("Psychiatry and Ethnology"), Paul H. Hoch ("Social Psychiatry"), and Johannes C. Brengelman ("Psychological Method and Psychiatry"), to name just a few. On the other hand, many of the authors' names are as good as unknown in this country; to enumerate all of them with all their merits and demerits would probably bore the reader. All told, however, these volumes are written by persons who know their business and who seem to have a mature attitude toward theory and practice. It should also be stressed that the interest in psychotherapy has increased a little in the German-speaking parts of Europe; one can say that in this direction the influence of United States psychiatry and criminology has been unmistakable. On the other hand, psychoanalysis does not, and never did, play in Europe the role it did and still does play in this country. On the whole, one gets the impression from these papers that the possibility of mutual understanding between the two sides of the Atlantic is higher than ever before. The only real disadvantage of these books that I can think of is the rather stiff price, which will discourage some readers from acquiring them. But, then, everything has its price, and these books, in my opinion, are worth the price for every social scientist, the criminologist definitively included.

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