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Book Reviews
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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by
C. R. Jeffery*


A welcome change from the “collection of essays” type of text in social disorganization (social problems, deviant behavior, etc.) is Marshall B. Clinard’s new edition of Sociology of Deviant Behavior. Integration and continuity of the material are facilitated through presentation of the author’s basic assumptions and frames of reference. The volume is a three part study of the causes, patterns, and solutions of various manifestations of deviant behavior.

Part I, “Social Deviation,” begins with a discussion of the meanings of fundamental sociological terms, an excellent review for students in a social problems course, most of whom are relatively new to sociology. The reader is introduced to Clinard’s contention that all human behavior, deviant and non-deviant, is social. Emphasizing the reality of the social fact, Clinard insists that causes, patterns, and solutions of deviancy are most fruitfully studied as group phenomena. Thus, he refutes theories attributing behavior to biological weakness, individual strength or perversity, race, or moral weakness.

Also introduced are the rudiments of role theory and their application to social pathologies. Clinard states that social behavior is the result of the fusion of an individual’s responses to others and his anticipation of the responses of other people to him. Thus, role performance may be deviant or non-deviant.

The dominant theme of the book is urbanism and its influence on behavior. Clinard contends that we cannot relate city-living per se to deviant behavior, but, rather, the conditions that comprise a complex of social relations associated with it, viz., extensive conflicts of norms and values, rapid social change, increased population mobility, emphasis on material goods and individualism, and a decline in intimate communication. Economists and many sociologists have long considered economic factors as the bases of social deviation; Clinard, however, cogently argues that it is the urban way of life in which economic factors operate and the relation of these factors to social behavior that are of prime importance.

Clinard critically reviews three psychiatric and psychoanalytic theories advanced as explanations of deviant behavior—feeblemindedness, body type, and childhood experiences. In minimizing the usefulness of such theories, Clinard states that “until psychiatry and psychoanalysis are supported by extensive research using accepted scientific methods, they will continue to remain largely a body of intriguing speculation” (p. 140).

The continuity of the text is furthered by the author’s association of role theory and urbanism. He concludes that because of the diversity and lack of coordination of social roles in modern urban society, people evaluate the same social roles differently. Thus, responses to specific situations are not standardized, and the result is a failure to conform to what is expected by others; deviant behavior is evidenced. In this context, one’s tendency toward white collar crime depends, in part, on his orientation toward his role (p. 268); functional mental disorders derive from inappropriate role-

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playing (p. 373); and one's tendency to accept old age status is partly dependent on his preparation for and adjustment to the new roles that are assigned with increasing age and on the consistency of these roles (p. 464). This relationship not only renders Clinard's framework understandable, but logical.

Part II, entitled "Deviant Behavior," is largely a discussion of the nature of various forms of delinquency and crime, sources of delinquent and criminal attitudes, and types of delinquent and criminal offenders (five of the 14 chapters in this sub-division deal with criminology). Clinard makes a notable contribution through his classification of criminals in terms of distinctive social processes and behavior systems instead of types of crimes. He posits a continuum extending from the individual non-professional type criminal to the career criminal.

A prominent aspect of this section is Clinard's presentation of Sutherland's theory that associations have the greatest influence on one's learning of delinquent and criminal behavior. Clinard's unquestioned acceptance and extensive presentation of the theory of differential association does not compare favorably with his treatment of other materials, i.e., herein he fails to present, in sufficient detail, other alternate explanations for the same phenomena.

In addition to crime as deviant behavior, the author discusses the social pathologies of drug addiction, alcoholism, mental illness, suicide, old age role and status conflict, discrimination and prejudice, and the effect of war on deviant behavior.

Though Clinard deals with many of society's deviancies, he omits others. Perhaps it might have been preferable had he condensed some of the material on crime and devoted some attention to a few other problems. However, it is appreciated that one's frame of reference does circumscribe the substantive material with which one may deal.

In this connection, it is desirable to distinguish between "social deviancy" and "social problems"—the former being, according to Clinard, "individual . . . behavior . . . in a disapproved direction (in terms of social norms), and of sufficient degree to exceed the tolerance limit of the community." Leslie and Horton, in The Sociology of Social Problems (1960), define a social problem as "a condition affecting a significant number of people in ways considered undesirable, about which it is felt something can be done through collective social action" (p. 4). The two terms are not synonymous, hence they dictate, in some cases, subsuming different areas under each. Since the text purports to be suitable for courses in both social problems and social pathologies, it should include substantive material relevant to each—though overlapping is evidenced in some instances. Clinard's text, for the most part, does not, since he fails clearly to distinguish between the two concepts.

Re-emphasizing the social nature of behavior, in Part III, "Deviant Behavior and Social Control," Clinard maintains that since deviant behavior is developed through group association, group methods of reintegrating the individual are the most effective in meeting the social pathologies discussed in Part II. Such methods mentioned include group therapy, counseling and discussion sessions, psychodrama and sociodrama, clubs, and therapeutic communities in hospitals and other institutions. In introducing this section, Clinard states that "various types of proposed solutions are dealt with at one time rather than after the analysis of each form of deviant behavior, so that the similarity of various approaches may be seen." By attempting to cover too large a range of topics, however, he only arrives at over-generalizations. He presents approaches to the control of deviant behavior, but does not give concrete evidence of their worth in application. Much of this section is a compilation of theories and findings of other sociologists and a discussion of reform programs.

Clinard's intent to integrate his substantive material according to the unifying theme of urbanism is commendable, but he fails to follow through adequately with this selected theme. If one posits a generally pervasive factor as being associated with a high incidence of deviant behavior, and one discusses the problems themselves in detail, it is then desirable to direct one's suggested remedies toward the pervasive factor, not just toward the specific problems. Each of Clinard's chapters summarizes, to a greater or lesser extent, the programs now in operation for treating the particular deviancy. But Clinard fails to return to his basic theme when discussing measures of social control and change. Perhaps a final chapter integrating the previous material in keeping with urbanism might have been useful as a way of drawing together all the diverse facts presented.

Although the inclusion of some illustrative ma-
terial in a textbook is desirable, such an overabundance of illustration as contained in Sociology of Deviant Behavior detracts from the core notions Clinard states in his introduction, "in this revision I have placed more emphasis on process in the analysis of deviant behavior and less on mere description" (p. vii). Although he has eliminated the "pictorial review" that appeared in the first edition and reduced somewhat the amount of descriptive material, there still remains too much illustration, especially in Part II.

The above criticisms notwithstanding, Sociology of Deviant Behavior is a worthwhile text. Especially helpful are the author's reliance upon extensive footnoting, readable charts and graphs, and chapter summaries and bibliographies. Clinard should be particularly praised for presenting throughout theories which contradict his own. The three individual parts are well organized and integrated, contributing, with the aforementioned, to the book's clarity and academic worth.

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When confronted with a social problem as complex as that of narcotic addiction, a democratic society endeavors to arrive at its solution through a process of public discussion. Ideally a public emerges which accepts the norm of rational discussion. If the problem is a chronic one, however, there is always the danger that interests will become entrenched, positions will harden, and the give and take of opinion will atrophy. Historically, such has tended to be the fate of the drug addiction problem in this country. Fortunately, there is evidence that this situation is now changing. New interest groups are emerging, and older ones are being reinvigorated; alternatives are being formulated and discussed; and the whole situation is once more in a viable state. This salutary and indispensable dialectic will be considerably stimulated by the appearance of Maurer's and Vogel's and Schur's volumes.

The breadth of Maurer's and Vogel's technical knowledge makes theirs a very useful and informative book. As stated in their introduction, their objective is twofold: first, to describe the various drugs of addiction and their effects on the physiology and psychology of those addicted, and, second, to discuss the social implications of narcotic addiction. Under the latter heading fall the authors' chapters dealing with legal controls for drugs of addiction, narcotic addiction and crime, drug addiction and youth, and the argot of narcotic addicts. Schur presents the most detailed description and analysis of opiate addiction in Great Britain which has yet appeared and also makes a systematic comparison of the extent and nature of the problem both there and in the United States.

The value of considering these works jointly is to be found in contrasting the perspective which each brings to bear upon the narcotics problem in the United States. From the standpoint of the status quo, Maurer's and Vogel's position might be designated as the "conservative" and Schur's as the "liberal" position. Maurer and Vogel present the argument for existing public policy, that which has come into being through the interpretation and enforcement of the Harrison Narcotic Act. Such a statement is not meant to imply that they are content with the current status of the narcotics problem in this country, nor that they advance no criticism of it, but merely that the target of such criticism is not the narcotics laws nor their mode of administration. In contrast to Maurer and Vogel, Schur argues for a basic revision of current narcotics policy.

Maurer's and Vogel's judgment of the results obtained through the implementation of the Harrison Narcotic Law is on the whole a favorable one. That law is credited with having accomplished the marked reduction in the population of addicts that occurred during the interval between the two World Wars. The reversal of this long-term trend during the aftermath of the Second World War is regarded as a temporary and minor aberration. However, the authors do not believe that the present policy can by itself achieve a further significant reduction in the extent of the problem. The forces contributing to its persistence are viewed as relatively intractable. In the view of the authors, as long as our society continues to generate types of
personality vulnerable to addiction, and as long as pervasive attitudes deeply rooted in our culture continue to condone the profiteering and corruption among public officials, just so long will the narcotics problem persist. Education is the means they propose to eliminate such conditions—education of a kind that will forestall the development of addiction prone personalities and education to raise the ethical level of the standards of performance required of public officials. From such a perspective, current public policy is viewed as the best existing conditions allow; indeed, given such conditions, the authors tend to believe that there are no practicable alternatives.

The liberal position as advanced by Schur, on the contrary, deemphasizes the role played by personality and cultural factors as determinants of the problem, and attributes priority to institutional factors, more particularly to the societal reaction as expressed in public policy. In America, narcotic addiction tends to be concentrated among young adult males of various minority groups in the inner city areas of some of the largest cities. Here the use of narcotics reveals many of the features of a differentiated subculture, with an argot, distinctively patterned relationships, an ideology, and patterns of recruitment which are predominantly non-medical. In Great Britain, in contrast, aside from some concentration in the medical professions, drug addicts tend to be distributed more or less at random throughout the social structure, manifesting considerable scatter through the categories of age, sex, and social class. Consistently, they tend to be isolated from one another and for the most part have little knowledge of the argot. Drug addiction appears to have its origin largely in medical or psychological factors, and the number of drug addicts to be at a rock-bottom minimum.

Schur argues that the explanation of these differences between the two countries in the nature and extent of their narcotics problem is primarily to be sought in the differences between their public policies. As he describes it, the differences are not so much reflected in the formal statement of their narcotics laws as in the mode in which these laws have been interpreted and administered. In Great Britain, control of the problem resides in the hands of the medical profession. In the words of one official the British addict is “perfectly free to go to a doctor and put his cards on the table.” There is little standardization of professional procedure in the treatment of the addict from this point on. Considerable flexibility is in evidence, and a “cure” is not compulsory; at the same time, that the doctor’s professional objectives effectively prohibit him from becoming merely a legalized “connection” is evidenced by the existence of pervasive underlying tensions in the doctor-addict relationship. In the United States, in contrast, the central tool for dealing with the problem is the criminal law, and the medical profession is involved only in a minimal or auxiliary fashion.

In various respects these authors qualify their arguments somewhat more than can be indicated here. Maurer and Vogel admit that a policy which separates addicts from legal access to drugs gives rise to a black market and inflates the price of drugs, forcing addicts into criminality. In view of their parallel view that a large proportion of drug addiction is psychogenic in origin, and addiction analogous to a chronic disease, one would expect them to feel that a policy which inexorably forces addicts into crime is patently brutal and unjust. This is the price, however, which they seem to believe must be paid. Schur recognizes that, in addition to differential societal reactions, cultural differences between Britain and the United States may also be operative as a determinant in the differential level of drug addiction, even though he discounts its importance. In fact, he does not succeed in demonstrating that all features of the drug use problem in both countries, e.g., size of the addict population, can be explained in terms of the societal reaction. His argument is most plausible, however, where it is most important, that is, in its application to the relationship between narcotics use and criminality.

Both positions which have been sketched of course have implications for each of the stubborn issues of drug addiction, for example, the point of view adopted towards the illicit traffic in drugs, the relationship between addiction and criminality, and the underlying image of the drug addict. In the conservative position, the continuation of the illicit traffic and the relationship between addiction and criminality are viewed rather fatalistically. Certain types of mental disorder will inevitably continue to generate drug addicts, and the latter, through their insatiable demand for drugs, will as inevitably generate the illicit traffic with its concomitant corruption of officials. If intervention is possible at all, it is possible only in terms of long-range goals. Ultimately, the conservative position is based upon the assumption of the irrationality
of human conduct and the difficulty of changing human nature. The liberal view is more sanguine, because it views conduct and human nature as being molded by social institutions as well as molding them and therefore as subject to change in the shorter run.

Associated with each of these views is a distinctive image of the addict. In the liberal view he is regarded as one who can be trusted, with such trust being exemplified in the acceptance of the possibility of self-administration of drugs and voluntary control of dosage. In the conservative view he is regarded as completely untrustworthy; the possibility of self-administration of drugs and voluntary control of dosage is categorically denied.

It is the merit of these two books that they bring out into the open some of the presuppositions and assumptions which underlie the clash of opinion in the discussion of the problem of drug addiction. Such confrontation contributes to an understanding of the resistances which have to be taken into account if current narcotics policy is to be modified. It also suggests that for discussion to be fruitful the liberal as well as the conservative perspectives must receive full representation.

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THE HIRED KILLERS. By Peter Wyden. New York:

The Hired Killers is a most readable and highly fascinating journalistic account of several crimes in which one person hired another to murder somebody. The stage is set in the first chapter by indicating that hired killers are far more common than generally thought, that the hired homicide is reasonably easy to get away with, and that the "makings" of the hired killer are in all of us. The employer-instigator, the employee-triggerman, and the victim are generally not alone in the plot; there are many other people who know about it, but do nothing to stop it. What persons may become vulnerable to a murder-for-pay offer at certain times and under certain circumstances is entirely unpredictable. The celebrated 1959 love triangle involving Dr. R. Bernard Finch and Miss Carole Tregoff began with an attempt at hired killing. Murder, Inc.; the gangland killing of Roger Touhy; the Mississippi murder of Deputy Sheriff William Kelly; the killing of Abe "Kid Twist" Reles; the killing of Mississippi's Marion County Sheriff J. V. Polk; the attempt to murder gambler John Costello; and lesser events are briefly summarized. There are some aggravated business crises which racketeers cannot leave to their attorneys and personnel directors and must deal with directly. Such crises are (1) failure to deliver on a deal, (2) competition with rival racketeers, and (3) enforcement of discipline and frightening of potential informers.

The hiring of Luis Moya and Gus Baldonado by Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan to kill her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Olga Duncan, in Santa Barbara, California, in November, 1958, occupies chapters two through six. Accountant Joseph Selby of Houston, Texas, hiring a group of colored people to kill his nagging wife in 1959 is the substance of chapter seven. The famous Florida case in which West Palm Beach Municipal Judge Joseph Peel hired Floyd Holzapfel to kill Circuit Judge Curtis Chillingworth occupies chapters eight through 11. Chapter 12 is devoted to the attempts of the narcotic syndicates in Kansas City, Missouri, and Omaha to kill former Kenneth Scheetz by triggermen Felix Ferina and Tiger Cardarella. The last chapter comprises an attempt at interpretation of psychiatric and medical findings about hired killers and concludes that they are a part of our culture.

The volume, in a journalistic style, is readable. A fascinating introduction by Dr. Karl Menninger, who deals with the question of capital punishment and other legal murder, whether by the state or by the individual, and another excellent introduction from the legal standpoint by the late Senator Estes Kefauver are featured in the volume. While the behavioral scientist and the criminologist may be a little disappointed at its lack of depth in the attempted diagnoses, Peter Wyden's The Hired Killer presents an interesting coverage of a phase of organized crime and amateur killing that has never before been covered.

One of the author's interpretations is that the sociopathic (or psychopathic) personality tends to appear most frequently in the psychiatric diagnoses of the hired killers. The hired killer very seldom works alone, but needs the moral support and reinforcement of an assistant or accomplice. The key to murder in hired killings is apparently in the secondary crime of conspiracy between the employer-planner and the employee-executioner, and this conspiracy can be cracked by nothing but confession.
Mr. Wyden is a senior editor of *McCall's*, a contributing editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*, and Washington correspondent for *Newsweek*. In his experience as a writer, he has covered "almost every conceivable subject from aviation to politics to toy designing" (from the jacket). His strength is in writing in a fascinating manner that holds the reader's interest. While not a novel and not fiction, the book is written almost in the pattern of the Greek tragedy. For an informative and fascinating journalistic review of one of the neglected areas in crime in our culture, this reviewer would highly recommend Peter Wyden's *The Hired Killers*.

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Group psychotherapy is now established as a normal technique for almost any student of the behavioral sciences. The time is appropriate, then, for this textbook, in which the author has attempted "to organize systematically the outcome of fifty years of experimentation and observation with various types of groups in and out of clinical settings, thirty years of which were spent in the latter."

Mr. Slavson is known for his method (it could be said that group psychotherapy is the method of Mr. Slavson, as he has championed, expounded, and inaugurated group psychotherapy all over the country and, as the translations of his works into foreign languages show, the world), his many books (at times averaging a book a year), his many articles, his role as founder of the American Group Psychotherapy Association, and his service as editor of the Association's journal for the first decade.

The author started his professional work with the Jewish Board of Guardians, with which he remained for 25 years. He also worked on numerous projects apart from the Board. One of his books, an outgrowth of a pilot project, is *Re-Educating the Delinquent* (1954), probably known to many readers of this *Journal*, as are many articles setting forth his social and psychological theories of the "delinquent personality." In fact, it was Slavson who stated—and states again in the present book (p. 13)—that "an effort should be made to explore the possibilities of employing the group as a developmental and corrective tool" (my italics).

This volume can be seen as Slavson's swan song, both because of the author's age and the fact that he labored over the book for many years. There seems to be a similarity between Slavson's latest book (I hope it is not his last book) and the last opus of Freud, with whom Slavson continuously identifies: in it he rephrases, reshapes, and refines his ideas, offering new definitions and adding new dimensions. Just one, rather important, illustration: Slavson has always held that schizophrenics were not amenable to group psychotherapy, an opinion long ago discarded by even the most ardent of his disciples. The sixteenth chapter of this book is devoted to schizophrenia and treats it more thoroughly than any other text I have seen. It may be questioned why the author devoted only one chapter to this disease, since schizophrenia is more prevalent (or more diagnosed as such) today than it was 50 years ago.

For the criminologist, there are interspersed sections about homosexuals (pp. 190–91, 215–16, 381–82); he will mark, for instance, the author's statement that the presence of a homosexual patient in a group of non-homosexuals greatly intensifies anxiety in the latter, a clinical observation in which most criminologists, particularly those working in correctional institutions, will concur. Other sections of interest to the criminologist deal with the effects of aggression on groups (p. 481), as well as the nature and treatment of withdrawal, so common among passive-dependent law offenders (p. 482–83). Such topics as the "disciplining of children" bear close attention. Slavson states: "'Discipline,' when properly applied, strengthens the ego so that one can deal adequately with inherent aggressive, pleasure-seeking and narcissistic tendencies. It can prevent the child from becoming a victim of anarchic impulses and self-indulgence; it can serve to overcome false feelings of omnipotence and prevent development of deleterious object relations."

Only six pages are devoted to the training of group psychotherapists, something lacking in the curriculum of most training institutes of psychiatry, psychology, or social work. Slavson rightly points out that opportunities for training in group psychotherapy "are still nonexistent." (p. 5) This is the more a pity since, often for reasons of expediency, group psychotherapy is the most
"popular" tool in prisons, mental hospitals, clinics, private practice, and elsewhere.

This is the first time in any book of Slavson's that I notice an appended bibliography, which, while meager (and mostly consisting of his writings) and not all pertaining to group psychotherapy, nevertheless seems to indicate some indebtedness to writers others than Freud. There is an ample index of subjects and authors.

All told, no clinician (criminologists included) can afford to overlook a book that summarizes observations and experiences of 50 years and condenses several hundred books and articles into one. It is worth the price, and every word of it is worth reading.

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The annual appearance of the "Study" has come to be a tradition; it is looked forward to as a necessity by many students of the behavioral sciences and by students of psychoanalysis in particular. The format of the book remains the same, but the contents seem to reflect the changes which our time, our culture, our knowledge, and ourselves (as students of child psychology) undergo. The present volume is no exception.

Volume 18 contains three main sections, "Contributions to Psychoanalytic Theory" (the 200 pages of which alone are worth a review of several thousand pages), "Aspects of Normal and Psychological Development" (partly theoretical and partly clinical), and "Clinical Contributions" (encompassing about half the book).

In the last section, perhaps three contributions may be singled out as of special interest to the readers of this Journal. Lislottte Frankl writes on "Self-Preservation and the Development of Accident Proneness in Children and Adolescents," a topic which has come more and more to the fore among sociologists and criminologists. Her definition of an accident (derived from psychoanalytic concepts) is "a symptom which, like many other symptoms expressing childhood disturbances, is not specific for any one underlying conflict, but may represent a compromise solution of a variety of conflicts or the final outcome of a series of conflicts in the past and the present." For the most part, the paper describes the work of other analysts and their case histories, such as Anna Freud, Heinz Hartmann, and Ernst Loewenstein. From the literature which the author abstracts, she concludes that it is important that treatment be undertaken as soon as accident proneness has been spotted and before maturity has been reached and feels that "treatment of accident proneness at an early stage of the illness might also lessen the incidence of fate neurosis in adults."

Dr. Edith Ludowyk Gjomroi describes the "Analysis of a Young Concentration Camp Victim." Children "reared" in prison camps usually develop some trauma. The question (and in analytical circles, a hotly debated one) is whether a neurosis was due to external pressures and traumata, such as are experienced by most prison inmates and lead to emotional character defects, or was already in the making prior to incarceration. It is the contention of Dr. Gjomroi as well as other analysts (among a few others, Dr. Klaus Hoppe has successfully treated and described patient histories in his publications) that a successful analysis can be undertaken. The present case description is a case in point and is very fascinatingly written. It is also, to me, quite convincing. The author states in conclusion that she has tried "to describe the very atypical evolution of transference and the way [the patient] used her analysis to remodel her ego, which was distorted by a normal attempt at adaptation to an abnormal environment [the concentration camp] and thwarted by the severe blocking of her libidinal development."

However, I have doubts that a few successful analyses prove that analysis can be applied in a majority of cases, for reasons discussed by sociologists who have written extensively about the camp "environment." It is my impression that the author does not wish to leave the impression that analysis is a "cure-all."

One other paper may be singled out, "A Severe Neurosis in an Adolescent Boy," by Dr. Bernard Rosenblatt. While the case history of this patient prior to treatment does not reveal any sociopathy or delinquent behavior, nevertheless this nearly 14 year old, pre-adolescent boy seems to show many of the symptoms which delinquents reveal, such as withdrawal from his friends, sibling rivalry, and a great deal of acting out of his aggres-
sion. The author also includes in his paper such factors as cultural and religious conflicts (the family came from an orthodox religious background, but attended no religious ceremonies and kept no religious observances). Finally, factors regarding body involvement leading to hypochondriacal attitudes were observed. The author has come to feel—that after his successful analysis of his patient—that "we might more carefully consider our assessment of adolescent patients with the idea that once a regressed state is clearly established by the young patient in an unsuccessful struggle and he is openly and consciously aware of his regression, he is much more likely to welcome the therapist or analyst as an ally." I may add that this sentence applies particularly to many adolescent delinquents who lack the "ally" of whom Dr. Rosenblatt was speaking.

All told, this volume, like all its predecessors, is a rich cake, the nibbling of which will likely lead to more nibbling.

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