

The story of this bill is all bills in microcosm. Never boring in its inexorable step-by-step development, you deal personally with every twist and turn of the legislative highway. There is a need for supporting sponsors of the bill. The attitudes of various members of H.E.W. are incredible. Almost untenable is the Surgeon General's position in re the administration's overall plans. The role of many relatively minor staff members of all sides is vital. One follows the movement of the bill through committee and the nature of mandatory hearings on behalf of a bill. The parallel movements are also needed in the other legislative body, in this case, the House. The sensitivities and quirks of any and all personalities are observed as well as the use and abuse of lobbying power. The tricks of press releases are laid bare. The pressure of voting and time deadlines; the maneuvering endlessly with rational talk, with true social need, with personal points and subtle trade-offs, with national policy, with multiple group interest . . . all weave a fascinating story.

When, finally, the breathless conclusion arrives, you pause and marvel. So this is how our country works! It is both frightening and exhilarating. Democracy, American style, is truly remarkable. And in these Watergate days, you get a much more vivid introspective view of how Congress functions, and tend to better understand the complexities of actually getting something done, at least, as far as the legislative branch is concerned.

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INDECENT EXPOSURE. By John M. Macdonald. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas. Pp. 180. 1973. Price \$7.95 cloth.

This slender volume provides an up-to-date review of the literature on indecent exposure, an act comprising one-third of all sex offenses reported to the police. Most of the book is devoted to exhibitionism, those acts of indecent exposure in which the offense is perpetrated "for the purpose of sexual gratification without any intention of further sexual contact." A minority of cases of indecent exposure do not constitute exhibitionism. This may occur, for example, when the exposure is secondary to schizophrenia, organic brain syndrome, temporal lobe seizure activity, or when a person is detected urinating in public.

One of the most interesting sections of the book describes the explanations exhibitionists sometimes offer to the police when apprehended, including drunkenness with amnesia, drug intoxication, zipper trouble, split pants, and the claim that they were urinating or masturbating, but not exposing. The claim that the exposure was an attempt to pick up a woman is particularly striking in view of the repeated failures experienced by men trying this technique.

Also striking is the frequent lack of care taken to prevent identification and arrest. Exposure from one's home, frequent repetition at the same locale, and the use of one's automobile with intact license plates are all quite common. Some men, when arrested, deny having exposed, but volunteer the information that they have previously been arrested for this offense. One man, for example, denied the accusation that he had exposed himself to a young woman in a laundromat, but said that he was arrested for this offense in every city he goes to. Although such "wanting to get caught" behavior is consistent with a number of interpretations, some mention of the concept of "erotic risk-taking" as advanced by Stoller¹ would have been appropriate. Stoller claims that when the female plays along with the exhibitionist, or teases him, he typically flees. But when she exhibits alarm and calls the police, he becomes excited, hates to leave, and is caught.

Between two-fifths and two-thirds of men convicted of indecent exposure admit to having committed previous sexual offenses (although only half as many have prior convictions). Moreover, between one- and two-fifths of offenders have a subsequent conviction within four years.

In addition to the high rates of occurrence and recidivism, Macdonald argues that indecent exposure is important because of "the alarm it arouses in some victims, particularly in children," and because "a few" offenders "also commit forcible rape

and criminal homicide." While it is certainly true that "some" victims are alarmed and that "a few" offenders also commit more serious crimes, it is important to find out how frequently these things occur. Macdonald does not make an overly great issue of these relatively infrequent events in the text of the book, but the dustjacket reads: "Contrary to general belief that the man who exposes himself is not dangerous, this study shows that some offenders also commit rape, aggravated robbery and criminal homicide." True enough. But one case of each would be sufficient evidence to support that claim. Evidence is not, in fact, presented to show that exhibitionists are any more dangerous than, for example, homosexuals, shoplifters, or construction workers. "That the minor sex offender, if unchecked, progresses to more serious types of sex crime" is among the "myths about sex offenders" cited by Tappan,² and is one that should be put to rest with hard data.

Interwoven with material from other studies are Macdonald's own data and case histories based on "200 consecutive indecent exposures in Denver." Unfortunately we are not told whether these are consecutive arrests, convictions, or court referrals, nor are we told how many of these offenders received psychiatric evaluation or treatment. Failure to include even such basic information considerably reduces the value of the data. There is a good reason for using the conventional format for research monographs (Purpose, Methods, Results, Discussion, Conclusion): it forces one to look at one's data as a whole, and in trying to explain it, to see what support or refutation can be found in the literature. The textbook-type organization employed by Macdonald has merits of its own, but it both buries his original data and fosters an uncritical cataloging of previous research.

The book is well researched and well written, but suffers from lack of depth. Again and again, cases or studies are reported without the commentary, interpretation, or careful analysis one looks for in a scholarly work. I find it difficult to believe that a man of Macdonald's professional stature can accept at face-value the opinions of such controversial authorities on sexual behavior as Krafft-Ebing, Ellis, and Stekel. I, for one, would like to know *his* opinion, for he has presumably devoted considerable time to studying the subject.

It is difficult to relate the essence of the book, for few themes run for more than a few paragraphs and no integrated theory or perspective is offered. (An exception is the chapter on "The Mothers of Exhibitionists" reprinted from N. K. Rickles' 1950 book *Exhibitionism*. It provides a psychoanalytic interpretation of etiology, and might better have been entitled "Blaming the Female.")

On balance, *Indecent Exposure* is best viewed as a compendium of writings and descriptive research, including previously unpublished data from Denver. It is likely to be of more use to attorneys, social workers, probation officers, and policemen than to the experienced forensic psychiatrist.

This is the fifth of Macdonald's books to find its way to my shelves, and once again I am disappointed—not by the man and his work, but by the lack of progress in forensic psychiatry. There appear to me to be two rays of hope in the way in which society deals with its nonviolent sex offenders, and each deserves more space, or at least emphasis, than it receives in this book. The first involves the basic mode of dealing with offenders: At what stage should police or the courts refer sex offenders to psychiatrists? Opinions vary between professionals even more than procedures vary between jurisdictions, but the secular trend seems to be towards earlier referral and increased availability of psychiatric services. And even if no effective treatment were available, this trend would be promising insofar as it provides an alternative to anti-therapeutic incarceration. Moreover, increased contact between psychiatrists and sex offenders at least offers increased opportunities for developing and testing improved therapies.

The second ray of hope lies in two recent approaches which thus far appear to offer considerable promise in the treatment of exhibitionists and certain other sex offenders. Macdonald cites examples of striking improvement using the behavioral techniques of systematic desensitization, aversion therapy, and shame aversion therapy. A further possibility, which Macdonald does not mention, is the use of androgen-depleting hormones, which provide a time-limited and reversible hormonal castration effect, eliminating or

greatly reducing the frequency of erection. Both Money³ and Laschet⁴ have used such drugs with success in a variety of conditions, including exhibitionism.

But we still need solid data regarding the subsequent behavior of offenders subjected to different treatment conditions. The experimental design is obvious—random assignment of offenders to treatment groups representing the therapies we wish to test, multiple indicators of improvement (masturbation fantasies, frequency of desired and actual exposure, and so on), and follow-up for several years. Until such data are available the conflicting findings from different jurisdictions will continue to obscure the advantages and disadvantages of various approaches, thereby preventing rational policy-making.

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SKYJACKER. By David Hubbard. New York: Collier Books. Pp. 262. 1973. Price \$6.95, \$1.95 (paper).

Dr. David G. Hubbard has written a significant book. Until I had read the book, I had begun to believe the propaganda that psychoanalysis had not developed any new and significant investigatory theories over the last thirty-plus years. The presentation of the book and the energy of Dr. Hubbard in seeking out a specific area of pathology—an individual who skyjacks an airplane—allowed for the development of a theory which spins itself in understandably large proportions throughout the book.

A quick view of Dr. Hubbard's findings are that, in their family backgrounds, the skyjackers were born into a legitimate union in which the parents were in no way emotionally close. Characteristically, the parents fit a virtue-versus-force stereotype, the fathers being usually extremely violent men who were chronic alcoholics, while the mothers were typically religious zealots whose preoccupation with God stood in sharp contrast to the evil images presented by the fathers. By adolescence, most of the fathers of skyjackers were no longer present in the family scene.

As children, the skyjackers walked late. Their earliest dreams were frequently nightmares which woke them. During preadolescence there was a fairly masculine identity; the dreams at this time would be of flight. During adolescence and beyond they became persistent failures and, leading to the act of skyjacking were consistent regressions to earlier stages of life.

To highlight the steps of regression, Dr. Hubbard speaks of the preverbal level in which the now mature skyjacker stands up, almost as if he were walking, finally making a further step backward perhaps into omnipotence or perhaps into defying gravity itself. The final act within the plane is a final regressive move toward death (suicide, murder, or rape).

Hubbard felt that these regressions were without reasonable explanation in the present literature of psychiatry. His own explanation led to his development of seeing gravity as a psychiatric construct and later developing a concept around the cryptovestibular system of the inner ear which he felt was disturbed in the individual who became a skyjacker.

Dr. Hubbard spends time in this book discussing his battle against the establishment