

or a relationship that keeps intensifying until it inexorably results in a murder. He freely admits that this process may be difficult or even impossible to trace in a courtroom. There are endless problems of courtroom procedure and admissible evidence and the like; but he suggests we try. Some judges are willing to help.

I hope this book will be read by attorneys and judges. They will find it an eye-opener, and maybe it just might revise the "tunnel vision" some parties bring to insanity hearings. We are all familiar with M'Naghten and Durham and A.L.I. rules, but, as always, when faced with a specific case, we are thrust back upon the psychiatric facts as we know them. We can only draw our own conclusions about that person's sanity within the framework of that knowledge. Unfortunately for the law at large, these facts and conclusions do not conform readily to rules. Most of us would prefer legal latitude to rigid rules. Dr. Abrahamsen's fascinating book might help encourage such latitude.

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DEVIANT REALITY: ALTERNATIVE WORLD VIEWS. By Robert W. Winslow and Virginia Winslow. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. Pp. 335. 1974. Price \$4.95 paperbound.

Traditional courses in the behavioral sciences supplement textbooks, monographs, and journal articles with the instructor's and students' knowledge of related theories and research. But in the upper levels of academe the recounting of personal experience and anecdote is taboo. Only in clinical medicine (and, consequently, in psychiatry) are individual case histories a dietary staple among men who would call themselves scientists. Despite the availability of single-case experimental designs,¹ the typical case history is little more than an illustrative and interesting story. Too often, the cases which are best recalled are those least representative of the universe of similar cases. And when the storyteller is an untrained observer, this sampling bias is compounded by the vagaries of interpersonal perception. The traditional taboo against first-person accounts reflects the belief that the classroom should not be a marketplace for the exchange of the unreflective opinions of ordinary people.

The Winslows have violated the taboo. Exactly one-half of their book consists of transcribed interviews with people who have engaged in various deviant activities. Into the classrooms of California State University at San Diego came juvenile delinquents, participants in organized crime, alcohol abusers, a heroin addict, a nudist, male and female homosexuals, transsexuals, a prostitute, an embezzler, an armed robber, a rapist, and a murderer. For the most part, they tell their stories openly and coherently, neither proselytizing nor overtly defending their behavior. And the stories they tell reveal a curious blend of reflective opinion, rationalization, and the internalized cosmology of post-Freudian man (the product of repeated encounters with mental health professionals and other authorities versed in the behavioral sciences).

A full chapter is devoted to each form of deviance represented by the "guest lecturers." Each chapter begins with a definition of a form of deviance and a summary of the major explanatory theories fashionable among sociologists; the transcribed interview is presented; and the theories are briefly reconsidered in light of the interview. The theory portions are succinct and dense with information, while the first person accounts range from the vapid and vacuous to the rousing and replete. The result is a variegated textbook which should be well accepted by its intended audience of advanced undergraduates.

The book's subsidiary aim, to provide an original contribution to the sociology of deviance through a "confluence of methodological techniques," is less well fulfilled. Methodologies which the Winslows claim to have used in preparing their book include depth interviewing, focused interviewing, participant observation, ethnomethodology, and analytic induction. It is true that their interviews lie somewhere between depth and focused interviews in form, though they bear little resemblance to conventional psychiatric² or sociological³ interviews. It is true that their participants observed and their observers participated, though they did not employ the devices which transform casual observation into systematic research.⁴ And it is true that they recorded the everyday meanings and explanations of the deviant actors themselves, though they do not provide the sophisticated interpretation of detail which marks the finest ethnomethodological work.⁵ And finally, it is true that they hold each theory up to the light of one to three

cases of the phenomenon to be explained (which is a central step in the analytic inductive method); they do so, however, with too few cases to comprise the "exhaustive examination of cases to prove universal causal generalizations" (which is part of Manning's definition of analytic induction).⁶

The Winslows' effort to describe the preparation of their book as a product of the above methodologies strikes me as serving two purposes. The first is to introduce the student reader to the techniques described. The second is to justify their approach to the academic community by casting it in the mold of recognized methods of qualitative research. But this gesture is unnecessary—their approach needs no justification. In providing firsthand accounts of thirteen varieties of deviance they have made available to a wide audience both unusually focused biographical material and thoughtful, pointed commentary.

The book's title is a cue to those in the know that the authors align themselves with what has been called the "NeoChicagoan school of sociology."⁷ The hallmarks of the NeoChicagoan school are an acceptance of the deviant actors' perspectives as potentially valid indicators of the norms and values which structure their social life, coupled with an emphasis on the extent to which "straight" society creates and maintains deviant behavior among individuals who have been differentiated as outsiders.⁸ Although this approach is clearly the Winslows' favorite, they judiciously explore competing psychological and sociological theories.

I was particularly impressed by the extent to which the "deviant realities" presented in the transcripts correspond to the world views of one or another theorist. If this correspondence were simply a demonstration of the theorists' insight, we would have cause for optimism, reassured that theory can mesh with life in "the real world." But the corresponding seems to me neither coincidence nor simple verification of theory. On the contrary, the transcripts offer evidence that deviance theories (particularly psychoanalytic formulations) produce deviant realities, and not the reverse. The embezzler, for example, when asked how he got caught, replied: "Basically, I think I was caught because I subconsciously wanted to get caught." (P. 269.) A male transsexual who was asked to tell the class something about his family said:

In my childhood [my father] was remotely distant to me, there was never any father-son relationship, and I was overly dependent on my mother. My identity more or less became fixed on my mother. (P. 233.)

And a man who had murdered his three children described his crime with the imagery of a psychological novel:

While I was attacking my wife, the children came screaming out of their bedroom, and my violence was transferred from her to them. It was all over in a few seconds. The explosion into violence, the manner and means of it, what I did to myself afterwards . . . these were not the actions of a sane man. Emotional upheaval had transported me beyond a focus of awareness that included rational decision. (P. 321.)

These are the words of men who have undergone psychiatric examinations and treatment, who have read books about abnormal psychology, and who have incorporated psychological explanations of their behavior into their own belief systems. Whether such acquired beliefs result from insight, learning, or indoctrination, we should expect that they exert an important influence on behavior. And just as social psychologists seek naïve subjects for laboratory experiments, psychiatrists should seek "naïve patients" for etiological investigations. To do so in an age in which the mass media are filled with the language and propositions of the behavioral sciences will be no simple task. The penalty for failing to control for patient sophistication, however, might be the confounding of etiological research by the unintended study of the diffusion of psychiatric theory.

The sociology of deviance (also known as socio-criminology) is a rapidly growing field which I hope will become a basic science for forensic psychiatry.⁹ Although I do not recommend their book as the best introduction to the field for those who are already experts on psychological approaches to abnormal behavior, the Winslows have provided a welcome addition to the didactic literature on deviance.

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Notes

1. See Barlow DH, Hersen M: Single-case experimental designs: uses in applied clinical research. *Arch Gen Psychiatry* 29:319-325, 1973
2. See Stevenson I: The psychiatric interview, in: Silvano Arieti (Ed) *American Handbook of Psychiatry*. Edited by Arieti S. 2nd ed, vol 1. New York, Basic Books, 1974, pp 1138-1156
3. See Selltitz C, Jahooda M, et al: *Research Methods in Social Relations*, rev ed. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959
4. For an excellent compendium see McCall GJ, Simmons JL, eds: *Issues in Participant Observation: A Text and Reader*. Reading, Mass, Addison-Wesley, 1969
5. Ethnomethodology is a poorly defined but much discussed approach to the study of social behavior. The classic work in this area is the barely comprehensible Garfinkel H: *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1967. Readers of this review will find an outstanding and enlightening example of ethnomethodological research in Goffman E: *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1961
6. Manning PK: A Critical Evaluation of the Present Status of Analytic Induction. Presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Denver, Aug 30-Sept 2, 1971
7. The term was introduced by David Matza in his intellectual history of twentieth century sociological theories of deviance and criminology. Matza D: *Becoming Deviant*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1969
8. Of special interest to psychiatrists are applications of this approach to mental illness and the mentally ill, classic examples of which are: Lemert EM: *Social Pathology: A Systematic Approach to the Theory of Sociopathic Behavior*, Chapter 11. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951; Goffman, *Asylums* (see Note 5); and Scheff TJ: *Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory*. Chicago, Aldine, 1966. Edited collections of related work include: Spitzer SP, Denzin NK, eds: *The Mental Patient: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1968; and Price RH, Denner B, eds: *The Making of a Mental Patient*. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973
9. An example of the desired interchange is the liaison developing at the University of Pennsylvania between the Center for Studies in Social-Legal Psychiatry and the Department of Sociology. Sadoff RL: Comprehensive training in forensic psychiatry. *Am J Psychiatry* 131:223-225, 1974