

BEYOND GUILT AND INNOCENCE:

Towards a Process Oriented Criminology

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ABSTRACT

BEYOND GUILT AND INNOCENCE: TOWARDS A PROCESS ORIENTED CRIMINOLOGY

This study explores both the sociological and psychological effects of western moral values about good and evil on individuals and groups categorized as evil, and the influence these morals have on perpetuating conflict and violence. This qualitative heuristic study includes case studies with prison inmates exploring the effects of moral judgment on rehabilitation and the influence of a process oriented approach on rehabilitation.

The construction of the relationship between good and evil is traced through the Judeo-Christian tradition as well as Jungian psychology, Taoism, social psychology, criminology, and Process Oriented Psychology. The Judeo-Christian tradition, which labels actions and individuals as either good or evil, is the foundation of current approaches to crime, including both the liberal and the conservative approaches to crime within its paradigm.

The study explores how the belief in good and evil inhibits awareness of experiences considered evil, and has a major influence on consciousness building in connection with criminal actions, rehabilitation, and society's policies towards crime. The study compares the Judeo-Christian based approach with the process oriented view, which sees the different parts of society such as the criminal offender, the law-abiding citizen and the law enforcement as roles in the social field. These roles are reflected in the individual's psyche. Their reciprocal relationship assures the representation of the total field. All roles reflect our institutionalized expectations, whether they go along with the expectations or oppose them and thus become disavowed. A process oriented approach does not see the roles in terms of value opposites but according to how the avowed and disavowed roles reciprocate each other.

The case studies represent four aspects of the judicial system: a career criminal, a young first-time offender, a prison guard, and a lawyer. The case studies show how the dichotomy of good and evil is an experience shared by and present in each of us. The dichotomy is reciprocated psychologically

The study recommends that future rehabilitation measures include role awareness along with awareness of individual psychology, and concludes that moral value judgments inhibit such awareness and are counter-productive to rehabilitation.

The study should be of interest to psychologists, social workers, criminologists, the law enforcement, the legal system, criminal offenders, as well as individuals interested in learning more about themselves.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the sociological and psychological effects that western moral values of good and evil have on individuals and groups categorized as evil, and the influence these morals have on perpetuating conflict and violence. Case studies with prison inmates explore the effects of moral values on rehabilitation and the influence of a process oriented approach in this area.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The western concept of good defines that which is morally right (Hornby 1974). The foundation of the western moral value is derived from the Judeo Christian tradition with its ten commandments and later moral teachings. An important role is played by the Protestant Reformers Luther, Calvin and Zwingli, who reformulated Judeo-Christian moral values for modern times. These values, especially through Calvin, were introduced into political and economic realms. Calvin believed that all civil powers needed to be limited in order to control human sinfulness and error. Through churches and fundamentalist movements these ethics spread throughout the western world and are now the foundation

for contemporary western moral values (Niebuhr 1955).

The concept of evil defines that which is morally wrong (Hornby 1974). Things considered evil are approached as something to be overcome, controlled or kept away. That which does not go along with the concept of what consensus reality defines as good is confined externally in society or internally in the individual.

Such a moral paradigm is in danger of unintentionally becoming a self-defeating system. Because of the judgment about evil, this perspective does not easily allow the experience of so-called evilness to be brought to consciousness in individuals, groups or society. In fact, such a system could be described as encouraging what it considers evil to stay hidden, and thus inaccessible to open discussion, since it is not possible for the individual or group to go deeper into the reasons and meaning of a given behavior.

On an individual level, these "evil" characteristics or tendencies are, for moral reasons, split off from consciousness. What is split-off lives autonomously and is only seen in and projected onto others (Jung 1960), thus turning others into the enemy (Keen 1986). The carriers of projections of evil come mainly from marginalized groups such as prisoners, people of color, homosexuals, religious minorities and those at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Brown 1986; Hogg, Abrams 1988).

On a social level "evil" actions, when they become criminal actions, are met with confinement and punitive measures. These measures are a symbol of condemnation. It is a model that goes along with the Old Testament image of the wrath and punishment of God. Justification for criminalizing, punishing

and stigmatizing behavior can be found in the Judeo-Christian, Calvinist and fundamentalist moral idea that describes human "evilness" as an isolated phenomenon that needs to be checked and limited (Niebuhr 1955). This is the idea that evil is an absolute and unchangeable human trait. This belief indicates a hopelessness about human nature that leaves no choice other than punishment and confinement. However, rather than rehabilitate the "evil"-doer, condemnation thus far has mainly resulted in escalation of violence and feelings of revenge.

This study attempts to put good and evil into a different perspective, one that deals with violence and destructiveness not only from a punitive viewpoint. Dealing with crime, especially violent crime, is currently an issue for many nations. Even liberal governments do not know how to deal with crime other than through increasing police forces and prison capacities and developing more punitive measures. The cover of Time Magazine, February 7, 1994, sums up this approach: Lock 'em up and throw away the key.

The United States of America has the highest percentage of people in prison worldwide, surpassing South Africa (CNN Report March 25th, 1994). It is unlikely that President Clinton's anticrime policy, in which three violent offenses result in a life-sentence with no parole, or "three strikes and you're out", as it is commonly called, will lower the crime rate. It is likely to have the opposite effect: the escalation of anger, hate and revenge on the receiving side.

The average life expectancy of young black males in many inner cities is around 21 years. Many agree that the bottom line reason for this is racism. Violent crime in this context has to be understood as an expression of

frustration about social conditions. Clinton's anticrime policy is not going to make this fury less. Dealing with crime and violence through punitive measures and labeling offenders as wrong and evil will not create sustainable solutions.

Martin and Sussman (1993) write about a new development with anger escalation in prisons. Many young people, imprisoned for drug offenses with tough sentences and slight possibility for parole, are becoming much more violent. Martin and Sussman explain that if the only potential gain is a reduction in sentence from 30 years to 28 years, prisoners might as well forfeit that. If in addition you are a person of color, you feel you have the best reasons in the world to feel angry and not comply with a white system which not only sentenced you for your crime, but sentenced your whole life even before you were born ¹.

Punitive measures come out of a deep seated belief in Judeo-Christian ethics. These ethics do not take into account the reality of today's social and political conditions but rather state "ideal" conditions that have to be reached by coercion. Dannie Martin, a prison inmate, sums this up:

Simply 'warehousing' criminals is not the answer. A lot of people have the attitude: 'The hell with those guys. Lock them up and throw away the key.' But say you take a few thousand guys and lock them all up for fifteen years in the most brutal, violent places. Pretty soon everyone-even the ones who don't deserve that kind of

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1 "Racism in USA", Seminar on racism in Oakland, CA, 1992, sponsored by the Global Process Work Institute.

punishment-turns into the kind of monsters it takes to survive in there. For fifteen years, the 'hardliners' are happy because the criminals are off the streets. But what happens when the fifteen years are up? (Martin and Sussman 1993: 56)

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to explore some of the psychological and sociological effects that moral judgments, based on the concept of good and evil, have on perpetuating conflict, violence, and crime.

I have used Process Oriented Psychology (also known as process work) as my method of exploration. The paradigm of process work attempts to go beyond the dichotomy of good and evil and views events from a phenomenological and teleological perspective.

In order to explore the influence of the western concept of good and evil and moral judgment on the process of rehabilitation, and to study the influence and applicability of a process oriented criminology paradigm in rehabilitation settings, I did case studies in prisons in different parts of the world. The result is a beginning attempt at a process oriented criminology.

Another aspect of this study focuses on gaining understanding of the construction of the relationship between good and evil in various disciplines, and how various disciplines or theorists have interpreted this relationship. The problem was traced through the areas of Taoism, the Judeo-Christian tradition, Jungian psychology, Process Oriented Psychology, Social Psychology, and Criminology.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Moral polarization into so-called good and evil has an inherent preprogramming effect that perpetuates the very ill it originally intended to cure. To stop this perpetuating and escalating cycle, it is necessary to find a method of intervention capable of breaking it. I propose that this is possible by moving from a judgment of "value opposites" to an understanding of how "natural opposites" can either coexist or be perpetuated. Such a method, of course, must be inclusive of the position of judgment and value opposites, as it otherwise recreates the cycle of value polarization. Process Oriented Psychology (see chapter IV) is such a paradigm.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The results of confinement and punitive measures have not been promising. The current progress against a high crime rate in many places seems disturbingly small given the massive attempts to control crime. The disparity between effort and results tells us that something is not succeeding in the way the problem of violent crime is approached.

While no consensus exists on how to better deal with crime, there is no lack of prescriptions ranging widely from the merely naive to the brutal. Most reflect a sense of social and intellectual desperation. The United States has the highest percentage of people incarcerated worldwide. (CNN Report March 25th 1994). Not much indicates that this fact is changing.

BASIC STATISTICS DEMONSTRATING SIZE OF PROBLEM

High crime rates have resisted extraordinary efforts to reduce them. From 1970-1984 the national incarceration rate more than doubled in America. In 1970 there were fewer than 200,000 inmates in state and federal prisons in the United States; by mid-1984 there were more than 450,000 (Currie 1985). The rate of imprisonment is rising much faster than the crime rate, because of the "get tough on crime" attitude which has not had much effect on the crime rate. The prison population today has tripled since 1980, and law enforcement expenditures have quadrupled. The most optimistic statistics show numbers that demonstrate that the crime rate in America over the last two decades at best has been stable and that it is the nature of crime that has changed, due to the prevalence of firearms (Donzieger 1996).

Building prisons is extraordinarily expensive. In 1985 the construction of a maximum security facility cost \$75,000 or more per cell. Annual operating costs per inmate were conservatively estimated at up to \$20,000 (Curie 1985).

Some have suggested that the death penalty could take care of these numbers. However, democratic societies also use extraordinary precautions to make sure an innocent person is not executed. This means it is much more expensive to sentence a person to death than to issue a life sentence. The New York State Defenders' Association concluded in 1982 that processing a capital case cost over \$1.8 million, while the cost of housing a prisoner over a 40 year period was estimated at \$602,000 (Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter 1993).

Crime rate comparisons to other western industrialized democratic countries

that have economies similar to that of the United States show alarming differences in numbers. These comparisons might not rest on fair ground, since European countries are known for their homogeneous populations, a fact which is slowly changing today ² . The United States has a high level of diversity, which brings to the fore an area of human development not yet mastered: racism, which along with poverty is considered a main factor behind crime (Currie 1985; Donziger 1996).

The rate of incarceration in the United States is 555 out of 100,000 citizens, and the homicide rate is 9 out of 100,000 citizens. In Canada, the incarceration rate is 116 per 100,000 citizens and the homicide rate is 2.2 per 100,000 citizens. In Australia the incarceration rate is 91 out of 100,000 citizens, and the homicide rate is 1.9 out of 100,000 citizens. These comparisons are reasonable because all three nations are multicultural. Many European countries have lower rates. America has about ten times the per capita murder rate of most European countries (Donzieger 1996). "About ten American men died by criminal violence for every Japanese, Austrian, West German, or Swedish man; about fifteen American men died for every Swiss or Englishman; and over twenty for every Dane" (Currie 1985).

BASIC TRENDS OF REHABILITATION AND STATISTICS

As the failure of incarceration to reduce the crime rate has grown, the justice system has responded by adding similar approaches. When incarceration did not have an effect on the crime rate, the conclusion was that there were

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2 Thanks to Dr.Schuepbach for pointing this out.

not enough prisons (Donziger 1996) and that the sentences were not long enough. In fact, if the "get tough" strategy did work, the results would have been apparent by now. But this is not happening. There is a high degree of recidivism. About a third of prison inmates go back to prison after release (Curie 1985). Alternatively, punishment outside of prisons for non-violent offenders is being tried, and there is a growth in approaches which include boot camps, intensive probation, house detention, community service, and restitution. These options are all still based on ways to control the problem.

SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES

Finances are limited, so there is a constant struggle between the liberal approach that suggests investing money in schools and educational programs as the way out of the crime problem, versus the conservative approach of increasing incarceration to secure the streets.

There are thousands of prevention programs working on solving the problems of crime in our society. Some are effective and have shown good results, such as "Project Head Start", which focuses on children's intellectual, emotional and social development along with providing health and nutritional services.

Some alternative ideas to incarceration focus on antiviolence programs, curtailing deadly firearms by law, treating drug addiction as a public health challenge rather than a criminal justice problem, improving drug treatment and education, and creating more jobs for ex-convicts, since a criminal record makes a person less employable.

There are two basic trends in criminology. One focuses on social inequity as

the cause of crime, the other focuses on individual pathology as the cause. Based on their different beliefs about the cause of crime, the former focuses on rehabilitation through improving our social justice system and the latter on increasing punishment and prison capacity. Although the two views seem far apart, they have more in common than first apparent. The views are two sides of the same system. The controversy is happening within the same paradigm of good and evil. Both approaches accept this dichotomy and view it through opposite causality: is the evil one the individual or society at large? Is "evil" due to the flaws of the individual or the flaws of society? As reciprocal reactions within the same symmetry the two views sustain and escalate each other.

Thus far research has viewed crime and the relationship between good and evil from a dualistic perspective, where the focus has been around who the evil one is: society or human nature. The originality of my research is found in its challenge to the dualistic epistemology. I want to demonstrate that what is considered evil is often an incomplete frozen state that due to moral judgment cannot be brought up and openly be discussed in order to be completed and understood (see chapter IV).

Applied causality in search for homeostasis keeps us within a dualistic paradigm with no way out and has not proven successful. A different paradigm is needed to unlock the system. Such a paradigm must, however, be able to explain as well as include both the above views and additionally be able to go beyond the dead-lock of causality.

PROCESS WORK WITH CRIME

Process work offers another paradigm that attempts to go beyond this causality, realizing that the use of value-opposites does not evoke the change hoped for, but rather perpetuates what was to be eliminated. Through its acausal and teleologic view process work offers another perspective, eliminating the pathological aspect of the problem on a societal as well as an individual level. It is a paradigm that suggests that beyond what appears as a problem of causality is a non-causal and highly organized "dream" structure.

Process work brings an alternative vision of working with areas of human existence that are considered problematic or painful by viewing these experiences as temporary states in the flow of life, states which can be processed and unfolded (see chapter IV). State-oriented thinking tends to freeze events into states or problems, and thus movement towards resolution becomes less accessible. Such a view sees the state of evil as an end result. Process-oriented thinking sees the state of evil as a snapshot in a process which, if unfolded, will reveal its own creativity and show the direction the rehabilitation could take.

Thus process work does not see the criminal act as a process that needs to be re-directed through behavioral coercion (good behavior = parole) or behavioral change (thinking error correction ³) as many correctional systems suggest, but as a process that additionally needs to be completed. Completion can bring

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³ Ross, Fabiano and Ross, 1990, "...effective programs view the offender's behavior as a consequence of a variety of social, economic, situational, cognitive, and behavioral factors which are known to be functionally related to anti-social behavior and recidivism. They focus on modifying well defined behaviors, changing anti-social attitudes, correcting faulty thinking or inappropriate social perception, and develop social competence".

understanding to the underlying and unconscious aspects and structures behind the process. This in turn makes integration possible, as a deeper understanding of the person is brought forth. Behavioral changes are not sustainable as long as they are superimposed on the personality without shedding light on the underlying process. Integration and awareness of the background structures can be brought into a dialogue with society, which can benefit the individual as well as the community ⁴ .

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Crime is a multifaceted phenomenon that needs to be questioned, addressed, and viewed from many perspectives. This study does not attempt to answer all questions in regard to crime, but to shed light on one particular aspect of the problem. It is meant as an additional piece in the jigsaw puzzle of crime.

Process work has existed for over twenty years and has gathered much evidence regarding the long-term effects of this paradigm in work with individuals, couples, small and large groups, as well as with various states of consciousness ranging from the average normal human being, over pathological diagnosed individuals, to people in comas and near death. Applications of process work with criminal offenders, however, have only been developed and tested over the last couple of years, and there are not yet long term studies regarding the effects of these methods. Thus this study should be regarded as

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⁴ Sanyika Shakur (1993) became a gang member in inner Los Angeles when he was 11 years old. When he found and completed the process behind his violence, he realized he was not a gangster but a revolutionary fighting for the rights of people of color.

a pilot study in the field.

Another limitation does not address the study, but the methods of application.

It takes several years to learn the process work techniques to a degree that makes it possible to apply the skills with the exactness that is required for the desired results to occur. The metaskills are, however, easily applicable for anyone attracted to the spirit of the work. Applied, these metaskills can instigate a new attitude towards the process of rehabilitation.

CHAPTER II

DUALISM

THE BACKGROUND OF CONTEMPORARY MORALS

In this chapter, I attempt to illustrate the historical and philosophical influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition on the development of contemporary western morals. To understand how we arrived at our moral values today, it is vital to look at Christianity, since the Judeo-Christian tradition is at the foundation of contemporary morals. The Christian belief system has presided over Western culture for most of its existence and may well be the paradigm that has had the strongest influence on the Western mind, in addition to serving as its central spiritual impulse.

The Judeo-Christian background has a profound influence on how Westerners think and feel today. It has provided the framework within which our laws are created and influenced the way we treat and think about people who break these laws. Despite the apparent secular disposition of the modern world, the Christian world view permeates the western cultural psyche.

To demonstrate the impact of institutionalized Christianity on western moral thinking, I will contrast it to philosophical Taoism, an approach from a different culture and paradigm range that does not view dual polarities as irreconcilable forces. Taoism's focus is on an awareness of the holy in all aspects of life (Chen 1989), while Christianity worships a supreme being

separate from the ordinary world. Viewing the holy as distinct from and transcending the physical world in comparison to experiencing life and the earth as the seat of the holy has a very different impact on how we deal with each other and the world. The impact of these paradigms and the attitudes that spring from them is at the core of my research.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN PARADIGM

The historical religions now pretty much blanket the earth, but chronologically they form only the tip of the religious iceberg; for they span less than four thousand years as compared with the three million years or so of the religions that preceded them. During that immense time span people lived their religion in an importantly different mode. (Smith 1991 p.365)

Researchers generally agree that religion originally emerged as an aid in the human struggle against the difficulties of the world. Bloom suggests that all the dialogue around "why have religion?" and "what's the essence of religion?" amounts to idealization that would vanish if we did not know that we must die (1992). James suggested that the religious impulse was directed toward the conservation of life (1961).

Early humans experienced the forces of nature as blessing or harming powers that eventually became their gods (Tylor 1958). Chen suggests that "...magic and religions are ways of forging alliances with those natural forces that can be channeled to assist in our survival or contribute to our prosperity" (1989: 25). For early humans the preservation of life was religion's basic aim. The tribe was embedded in nature so solidly that the line between the two was not easy to establish (Smith 1991).

As archaic religions gave way to the so-called "high" religions ¹ , the original function of religion did not change, but the importance of survival on this earth did. The separation and opposition between heaven and earth, soul and body, eternity and time, culture and nature, distinguish "high" religions from religions of an early age (Chen 1989). Judaism and Christianity are world negating religions that focus on the afterlife. God, identified with heaven, is a transcendent principle no longer confined to a locality. After the shift to a universal deity, the need to be allied with the powers of nature was substituted by the idea of security and happiness projected onto the afterlife. The concept of heaven offers hope and escape from earth's bondage. The primal experience of time as an eternal now is substituted with eternity projected onto the other world. God as the infinite, all powerful, and all knowing deity can no longer be identified with any worldly beings. As its source and creator, God transcends the natural world, which becomes devoid of spiritual value and is no longer fit to be the abode of the holy. At this point, the natural world has lost its reality and the human struggle against the difficulties in the world has lost its urgency. The ultimate triumph was offered: eternal life in heaven. Arendt writes that "the Christian 'glad tidings' of the immortality of individual human life had reversed the ancient relationship between man and world and promoted the most mortal thing, human life, to the position of immortality, which up to then the cosmos had held" (1958: 287).

* * * * *

1 The term is in quotation marks because I do not agree with what is implied in its usage: that these religions are better, more developed, or of higher rank than other religions. My reason for keeping the term in spite of the implication is it highlights the attitude behind the institutionalization of Christianity, which is what I am trying to describe.

Historically, it is more than probable that the victory of the Christian faith in the ancient world was largely due to the fact that it brought hope to those who knew that their world was doomed. Indeed, it brought a hope beyond hope, since the new message promised an immortality they never had dared hope for (Arendt 1958). Heaven became the goal, and the earth was only a temporary testing ground. Fear of the natural world became dissatisfaction with the world. The world was now more perishable than humans, and the needs of the body, which belong to the world, were spurned as obstacles to salvation. The war to win a foothold in nature in archaic religions had become the war against nature and the body. The main task was no longer survival on earth but attaining heaven. Morals became the vehicle to heaven as the battlefield had moved within.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VALUE OPPOSITES

The Judeo-Christian split between heaven and earth created a similar split within the individual. Certain conditions were included in the promise of Heaven, and these conditions became the foundation of the morals that developed along with them. The earlier struggle between humans and the natural world became an internal struggle for morality, which would allow one to enter heaven. The fight for survival in this world might be lost, but to lose it in the "other" world was to lose eternity. The potential for everlasting life could be lost through individual sin, and morals became the compass to steer away from sin. Pagels (1995) writes that to become a Jew or Christian is to see a polarized view of the universe and to moralize it.

In the following, I focus on the polarized nature of institutionalized

Christianity and its tendency to create alienation as opposed to its ideal of unity. To emphasize this element of the Judeo-Christian tradition does not mean that this is a complete perspective of Christianity. It is merely an attempt to clarify the effect that this religious force has played in forming the moral values of contemporary culture. The opening chapter of Genesis in the Hebrew Bible tells how God created Adam and the Eve, who were humans made in the image of God (Genesis 1,26). God then gave them instructions for life in the Garden of Eden: "And the Lord God commanded man, saying, 'Of every tree of the garden you may freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die'" (Genesis 2,15-17). The story ends with Adam and Eve's disobedience and expulsion from the garden.

This event is the background for what came to be known in Christianity as the fall of Adam, or the original sin. All humankind had to participate in Adam's sin which corrupted the whole of nature itself (Pagels 1988) and became the archetypal origin of human alienation and mortality (Tarnas 1991). Man's primal error was disobedience, which brought the knowledge of good and evil, the moral perils of freedom, and the experience of alienation and death. Because of Adam's fall, man had ruined the perfection of creation and divorced himself from divine unity and immortality. Man was separated from God, and the church inculcated a pronounced sense of sin and guilt (Tarnas 1991). Pagels (1988) writes that even those who think of Genesis only as literature, and those who are not Christian, live in a culture indelibly shaped by concepts

such as original sin ² .

The story of Genesis as the origin of the existence of good and evil has problematic political and philosophical, as well as religious, implications, including a strong influence on how we judge human behavior. The monotheistic doctrine of God as sole creator of the universe, absolute in goodness and power, becomes problematic when the question of the origin of evil is raised. Attributing its existence and reality to humans and/or Satan formulates it as a challenge to faith, logic, and intelligence. It has accordingly been formulated as a dilemma: If God is all powerful, then he must be able to prevent evil. If he is all good, he must want to prevent evil. But evil exists. Therefore, God is either not all-powerful or not all-good. If he has created some people for damnation, he is limited in goodness. And if an evil force existed along with him, he is limited in power.

To explain this contradiction, Christianity developed a theodicy (theos, god, and dike, justice) as an attempt to reconcile the unlimited goodness of an all-powerful God with the reality of evil. Evil is seen as originating with human beings to justify and explain why an infinitely powerful and good God permitted evil, pain, and suffering in the universe. Augustine's theodicy stated that everything God has created is good, and that evil occurs only when intrinsically good beings become corrupted: "God created man with no sin in him and set him in a world devoid of evil. But man willfully misused his God-given freedom and fell into sin. Some men will be redeemed by God's grace, and others will be condemned to eternal punishment. In all this, God's

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² St. Augustine formulated the concept of original sin for the Catholic Church based on the story of Genesis. See Eliade, 1991; Pagels, 1988.

goodness and justice alike are manifested" (Edwards 1967: 137). Augustine adds that as long as sin is exactly balanced by just punishment, it does not upset the moral harmony of the universe.

Attributing the origin of evil to the willful crime of a perfect being asserts the sheer contradiction that evil has created itself. The contradiction within the creation of good and evil in the world--even though the responsibility for half of its origin is disclaimed--is paralleled, throughout the Hebrew Bible, in God's behavior. God, portrayed as an absolute good and supreme being, could also act toward the disobedient human with the most relentless and unforgiving severity.

Much of the Old Testament is dominated by "a jealous God of stern justice and ruthless vengeance--arbitrarily punitive, obsessively self-referential, militantly nationalistic, patriarchal, moralistic . . . that God's cherished compassionate qualities were often difficult to discern" (Tarnas 1991: 198). Many testimonies have been given of this contradictory God, including the Book of Job. In "Answer to Job," Jung (1958) has written in detail about these two sides of God. In the Book of Job God is tempted by Satan to test Job's faithfulness. Although God is convinced "that there is none like him on the earth, a blameless and upright man, one who fears God and shuns evil" (Book of Job 1.8), he allows Satan to kill Job's children and take away all his possessions and health in order to prove that Job, even in a situation like this, will continue to be the obedient servant praising, not cursing, God.

Jung writes:

It is amazing to see how easily Yahweh, quite without reason, had let himself be influenced by one of his sons, by a doubting thought,

and made unsure of Job's faithfulness. With his touchiness and suspiciousness the mere possibility of doubt was enough to infuriate him and induce that peculiar double-faced behavior of which he had already given proof in the Garden of Eden, when he pointed out the tree to the First Parents and at the same time forbade them to eat of it. (1958: 375)

Jung points out God's lack of self-reflection: "If Yahweh, as we would expect of a sensible human being, were really conscious of himself, he would, in view of the true fact of the case, at least have put an end to the panegyrics of his justice. But he is too unconscious to be moral. Morality presupposes consciousness. (1958: 372). If God trusted Job perfectly, it would be logical to expect God to defend him, unmask the perpetrator, and make him pay for his defamation of God's faithful servant. But this doesn't happen even after Job's innocence is proven. There is no rebuke or disapproval of Satan (Jung 1958). Therefore, Jung concludes, one cannot doubt God's connivance. God's readiness, according to Jung, to deliver Job into Satan's hands, which, were he omniscient and omnipotent, he had no need to do, shows his lack of self reflection and his lack of awareness of his own "shadow" side ³. It also proves that he doubts Job precisely because he projects his own tendency to unfaithfulness upon Job as a scapegoat. Yahweh has become unsure of his own faithfulness. God does not seem to use his divine attributes of omnipotence and omniscience.

Self-reflection is becoming a necessity. Unless God remembers and consults his absolute knowledge, the opposition will continue to lie between God and

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³ I am painfully aware of the racist implications in the use of this word. It appears again and again in literature on good and evil, where "dark" is synonymous with "bad." This is a very painful notion if your skin is dark. Instead of exchanging the word, however, I decided to keep it and put it in quotation marks, as its use highlights the very problem I am trying to elucidate.

humans, and humans will thus constantly be identified with the so-called shadow side. Jung writes that if the opposition between God and humans continues, "You finally arrive, whether you like it or not . . . with the absurd result that the creature is placed in opposition to its creator and a positively cosmic or demonic grandeur in evil is imputed to man" (1958: 455). Jung concludes that change occurs through Yahweh's intention to become man, which resulted from his collision with Job, and is fulfilled in Christ's life and suffering. God needs to self-reflect and genuinely experience his disowned part: the sinful human, and experience "the suffering to which mortal flesh is heir" (Tarnas 1991: 123).

POLARITIES WITHIN CHRISTIANITY

The birth of Christianity created a shift and change from the Old Testament world. Humans were redeemed in Christ, and the individual soul and the world were transformed and liberated in the dawning light of God's revealed love. Christ's self-sacrifice initiated the fundamental reunion of humanity and the created world with God (Tarnas 1991). Tarnas writes:

Because God himself, in the person of Jesus Christ, had become fully human-experiencing within himself all the suffering to which mortal flesh is heir, taking on the universal burden of human guilt, and overcoming within himself the moral errancy to which the free human will is subject--God had thereby ransomed mankind from its state of alienation from the divine. (1991: 122)

Tarnas goes on to say that Jesus' life was meaningful not just because he brought new teachings and spiritual insight to the world, but because, through sacrificing his divine transcendence and becoming immersed in the agonies of

human existence he had forged a fundamentally new reality. He took the side of the disaowed. This optimistic outlook, however, did not manage to shake off its complement: the Old Testament, a sternly judgmental, restrictive viewpoint prone to dualistic pessimism. Both views are enunciated in the Bible and in the doctrinal syntheses of the church (Tarnas 1991). One side focused on God's immanence in man and the world, and the resulting joy and freedom of the Christian faithful who constituted the Church, the living body of Christ. The life, death, and resurrection of Christ had attained the miracle of the ages, and the resulting emotion was therefore one of ecstatic joy and gratitude. The other side of the Christian vision focused on the alienation of humans and the world from God, and on:

the need for strict inhibition of worldly activities, a doctrinal orthodoxy defined by the institutional Church, and a salvation narrowly limited to a small portion of mankind constituting the Church faithful. Underlying and consequent to these tenets was a pervasive negative judgment regarding the present status of the human soul and the created world, especially relative to the omnipotence and transcendent perfection of God. (Tarnas 1991: 120-121)

This second pole of the Christian vision made clear that Christ's redemptive action in an alienated world was perceived as part of a dramatic struggle between good and evil, the outcome of which was by no means assured. The emphasis was therefore on a demand for a taut watchfulness and heightened moral rectitude.

The Christian Church inculcated a pronounced sense of sin and guilt, the danger or even likelihood of damnation, and the need for strict observance of religious law, in order to offer a means to salvation. The ruthless Yahweh of the Old Testament appeared again in the form of Christ the judge, who not only redeemed the innocent but damned the disobedient. "The church itself here

understood more as a hierarchical institution than as a mystical community of the faithful took on that judicial role with considerable cultural authority" (Tarnas 1991: 124).

THE REFORMATION AND ITS IMPACT ON MODERN MORALS

Following the doctrinal pole of Christianity the Protestant reformation led by Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli played a major role in reformulating moral values for modern times. Luther's and Calvin's theology and ethics have deeply influenced the social ideas and institutions of Europe and America (Niebuhr 1955; Weber 1990). In economics the development of the Protestant idea of vocation and the so-called "intraworldly asceticism" ⁴ have been regarded as historically very important. An individual's work in the world, however humble or exalted, was regarded as a post assigned by God in the warfare against sin and death. In the political realm Calvin took account of the necessity of government because humans were wicked and needed restraint. The strong emphasis was on the duty of obedience to constituted authorities. Ideas such as "all civil powers needed to be limited, because human sinfulness and error were thus best checked" (Niebuhr 1955: 273) became the foundation of contemporary western moral values through the churches and the fundamentalist movements. And though "the various different dogmatic roots of ascetic morality did no doubt die out after terrible struggles. . . the original connection with those dogmas has left behind important traces in the later

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4 The doctrine of vocation is a combination of the austere demands of accepting hardship, restraining the love of ease and luxury, and living laboriously. This was called "intra-worldly asceticism" in distinction from the asceticism of the monastery.

undogmatic ethics; moreover, only the knowledge of the original body of ideas can help us to understand the connection of that morality with the idea of afterlife" (Weber 1930: 97).

DUALISM IN MODERN THINKING

We have seen thus far how the Judeo-Christian paradigm is constructed around the opposition between good and evil. Any polar paradigm not only creates but sustains oppositions, since one side in a duality can exist only in conjunction with the opposing side. A polar paradigm that excludes one of its opposites unintentionally becomes a self defeating system. Since one pole is the condition for the existence of the other, they are inseparable. Erasing one from the system is impossible. Either the "erased" pole must return to existence, or the system as a whole must cease to exist. Something or somebody will always have to carry the burden of what is disavowed within a dualistic paradigm. Denying one part of a duality is to deny the ambivalence of nature.

Thus in the Judeo-Christian tradition one side constantly burdened the other side with what was disavowed. The first split between God and humans created a parallel split between heaven and earth, which in turn created the split between humans and the world. The church reinforced this split and sustained its polarized position to humans. Inevitably a similar split had to appear between individuals as well as within the individual, just as it presented itself within God.

Watts speaks about the results of splitting off one pole of a duality. He suggests that there is a problem with the:

clear and drastic solutions to the problem of duality . . . proposed in popular Christian orthodoxy: that the final goal of existence is the everlasting reward and perpetuation of goodness to the total exclusion of evil, and the everlasting punishment or annihilation of its perpetrators. This solution arouses the same sort of intuitive disquiet as all other forms of metaphysical dualism in that it leaves us with a picture of the world which, because it contains an element which is not integrated, fails to make sense as a whole. (1963: 15)

Watts points out that good and evil are abstract categories, like up and down, and that categories don't perform their function unless they are kept distinct. The problem of duality arises when the abstract is confused with the concrete, such as when it is thought that there are clearly distinguishable entities in the natural universe. Categories can never be more than a strictly limited symbolism for what is happening in nature.

THE OPPOSITES IN JUNGIAN PSYCHOLOGY

Various psychological systems have studied the contradictory nature of dualism, its manifestations in the human psyche, and its consequences: the alienation of one part of the opposition. Jung wrote: " The psyche is a phenomenon not subject to our will; it is nature, and though nature can, by skill, knowledge, and patience, be modified at a few points, it cannot be changed into something artificial without profound injury to our humanity. Man can be transformed into a sick animal but not molded into an intellectual ideal" (1964: 440).

Jungian psychology takes account of both the conscious and the unconscious mind and refers to a biological relationship between unconscious processes and

the conscious mind. Jung (1964) describes this relationship as one of compensation, in so far as any deficiency in consciousness will be supplemented by an unconscious process.

Most of us are equipped with a pattern of behavior that helps us get along with the outer world and its cultural norms. Jungian psychology refers to this pattern as the "persona." Jung said that: "The persona is that which in reality one is not, but which oneself as well as others think one is" (1959: 221). The persona is one aspect of how repression and "othering" of parts of the individual come into being. Generally, repression is "a process that begins in early childhood under the moral influence of the environment and continues through life" (Jung 1953: 127). Repressed qualities, which are not admitted or accepted because they are incompatible with those qualities chosen as an identity, build up, in Jungian terms, the "shadow." The shadow, according to Jung, "is the shadow cast by the conscious mind and is as much a privation of light as the physical shadow that follows the body" (1959: 8).

These hidden or unconscious aspects of oneself, which the ego has either repressed or never recognized, can both be "good" and "bad" (Jung 1964). The shadow is not wholly bad. It contains qualities which could vitalize and embellish human existence, but which are usually forbidden by conventions (Jung 1958). Humans trying to repress the "inferior" sides in themselves do not usually realize that the repressed qualities are forced to become revolutionary. The general rule is that the more negative the conscious attitude is toward the unconscious, and the more it resists, devalues, and is afraid of it, the more repulsive, aggressive, and frightening is the face which the dissociated content assumes (Sharp 1936).

Jung calls the human tendency toward antisocial elements the "statistical criminal" in everyone (1958). These elements are repressed, meaning consciously and deliberately discarded. Repression, he says, is a sort of half-conscious and half-hearted letting go of things, a dropping of issues that are too troublesome for the persona, or a "looking the other way" in order not to become conscious of one's desires. Jung adds that repression amounts to a conscious moral choice and that repression is actually an immoral desire to get rid of disagreeable aspects of life. This is interesting insofar as conventional thinking holds the opposite to be true and moral. Jung concludes soberly that out of a moral choice we tend to hold back what conventionally is labeled immoral. Rather than getting to know more about ourselves, our positive and negative attributes, we repress what does not go along with conventions, which Jung concludes is immoral. Jung writes that there is no doubt about the fact that we are as a whole, less good than we imagine ourselves or want to be (1958). Everyone carries a shadow, and the less it is embodied in the individual's conscious life the more likely it is to burst forth in a moment of unawareness.

In order to become conscious of these sides of ourselves we must first recognize these aspects of the personality as present and real (Jung 1959). Otherwise, we are bound to experience the unacknowledged personal characteristics in others through the mechanisms of projection. Projection is an automatic unconscious process whereby contents of one's own unconscious are perceived to be in others. Jung writes: "Projection means the expulsion of a subjective content into an object; it is the opposite of introjection. Accordingly, it is a process of dissimulation, by which a subjective content

becomes alienated from the subject and is, so to speak, embodied in the object. The subject gets rid of painful, incompatible contents by projecting them" (1971: 783).

The general psychological reason for projection is always an activated unconscious that seeks expression. Although it is possible to assimilate the shadow into the conscious personality, this attempt is usually met with resistance. Jung writes:

These resistances are usually bound up with projections, which are not recognized as such, and their recognition is a moral achievement beyond the ordinary. While some traits peculiar to the shadow can be recognized without too much difficulty as one's personal qualities, in this case both insight and good will are availing because the cause of the emotion appears to lie, beyond all possibility of doubt, in the other person. No matter how obvious it may be to the neutral observer that it is a matter of projections, there is little hope that the subject will perceive this himself. He must be convinced that he throws a very long shadow before he is willing to withdraw his emotionally toned projections from the object. (1959: 9)

Through projection one creates a series of imaginary relationships that often have little or nothing to do with the outside world. Jung goes on:

it is not the conscious subject but the unconscious which does the projecting. Hence one meets with projections, one does not make them. The effect of projection is to isolate the subject from his environment, since instead of a real relation to it there is now only an illusory one. Projections change the world into a replica of one's own unknown face. (1959: 9)

The shadow exists not only within the individual, but collectively as well. A collective shadow is personified in religions through belief in the devil, as well as through racism, sexism, and homophobia. These elements of the shadow can be explained as something like a collective psychosis. The group shadow within a group does not disturb the group itself and is apparent only to

outsiders. If all share the same values, they become the norm and will be considered "reality." For example, the use of the word "dark" as a synonym for "bad" or "evil" is not disturbing to a group of people with white skin, because it does not apply to them as a group in a negative way. The term may easily be experienced as derogatory by a person of color.

Jung believed that the opposites could not remain separated forever: "Behind the opposites and in the opposites is true reality, which sees and comprehends the whole" (1964: 463). He observed the enantiodromia, which literally means "running counter to." According to Jung, "an enantiodromia occurs when "a one sided tendency dominates conscious life; in time an equally powerful counterposition is built up, which first inhibits the conscious performance and subsequently breaks through the conscious control" (1971, par. 709). Every psychological extreme secretly contains its own opposite or stands in some sort of intimate and essential relation to it. It is from this tension that it derives its dynamism. There is no hallowed custom that cannot on occasion turn into its opposite, and the more extreme a position is, the more easily we can expect an enantiodromia, or a conversion of something into its opposite. The best is the most threatened with some devilish perversion just because it has done the most to suppress evil (Jung: 1956).

THE NATURAL OPPOSITES

The yin-yang doctrine in classical Chinese philosophy also points to the phenomenon of enantiodromia. Symbolized by the small piece each half of the yin-yang symbol holds of the other half, it refers to the cosmic law that

anything taken to its full extreme will by law of energy swing into its opposite. While the western way of relating to polarities like dark and light or good and evil is to cultivate one and attempt to destroy the other, Chinese thinking offers a different approach. The foundation of Chinese thinking rests upon openness to the opposites of light and darkness. The ancient Chinese had a deep respect and understanding of nature's polarity, which does not simply mean that everything has its opposite-- rather that opposites are necessary and complementary to each other. Nature was seen to operate through the interplay of light and darkness or yin and yang. These were not understood as forces in absolute and permanent opposition to each other, but as definable phases in a ceaseless flow of change. This polar worldview did not, in its ancient, classical formulation, have anything to do with a struggle between basic principles of good and evil. Yin and yang were essential forces in the ceaseless dynamic of an impersonal universe (Thompson 1979). Thompson suggests that Taoism, as a principle, is "one of the most fruitful and useful ever devised by the mind of man for making sense out of the infinite multitude of diverse facts in the universe" (1979: 4).

In this view, there is no deity, only the workings of yin and yang which have their source in Tao, an untranslatable concept referring to the way, course, or direction. Blofeld said that Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism, says that "'Tao' (Way) is just a convenient term for what had best be called the Nameless. Nothing can be said of it that does not detract from its fullness. To say that it exists is to exclude what does not exist, although void is the very nature of the Tao" (1978: 3). Eliminating one side of a polarity and simultaneously cultivating the other was incomprehensible to the Chinese mind. Behind this passion of the western mind is a general wish for the creation of

a "perfect" world, a world where pleasure exists without pain, good without evil, health without sickness, and wealth without poverty. The Taoist mind finds this as unfathomable as an electric current without both positive and negative poles. Polarities are seen as different aspects of the same system-- the disappearance of either would mean the disappearance of the whole system. Watts noted:

If there is anything basic to Chinese culture, it is the attitude of respectful trust towards nature and human nature despite wars, revolutions, mass executions, starvation, floods, droughts, and all manner of horrors. There is nothing in their philosophy like the notion of original sin or the Theravada Buddhist feeling that existence itself is a disaster. Chinese philosophy, whether Taoist or Confucian ...takes it as a basic premise that if you cannot trust nature and other people, you cannot trust yourself. If you cannot trust yourself, you cannot even trust your mistrust of yourself--so that without this underlying trust in the whole system of nature you are simply paralyzed. (1975: 32).

The second chapter of Tao Te Ching addresses the problem of favoring only one of the opposites:

When all under heaven know beauty as beauty,
There is then ugliness;
When all know good [as] good,
There is then not good.
Therefore being and non being give rise to each other,
The difficult and easy complement each other,
The long and the short shape each other,
The high and low lean on each other...
The front and rear follow upon each other. (Chen 1989)

Chen writes that value distinctions cause the very ills they are supposed to cure. According to the Tao Te Ching, human awakening to moral and value consciousness, which marks the so-called advancement into culture, is in truth a decline from the harmony and oneness in nature. Value opposites war against each other, while natural opposites are inseparable. They arise together,

depend on each other while they exist, and perish together. Consciousness of the beautiful and the ugly, the good and the not good, splits the world into two without hope of reuniting them. Chen goes on to say:

The good and the not good are what we judge to be right or wrong, fitting or not fitting. They pertain to our conscience and our sense of justice. Both the beautiful and the ugly, the good and the non-good, have a psychological origin, being products of the human consciousness and valuation, but the very pursuit of beauty and goodness as values are accompanied by the consciousness and presence also of the ugly and not good as dis-values. Opposites, including moral and value opposites, issue from the same ground and always accompany each other . . . If the sage, in governing human society, imitates nature's way, converting moral opposites into natural opposites, peace and propriety will reign in human society as it reigns in nature. (1989: 54)

When opposites operate within a value system such as that of institutionalized Christianity, they create alienation of the two sides from each other. The spirit of the Tao Te Ching is quite different. It speaks of cyclic change between opposites-- grounded in a belief that in the last analysis the world is a system of homogeneous relationships- a cosmos, not a chaos. Natural opposites arise together and complement each other. In contrast, value or moral opposites break up the unity of nature and vitiate human life. Opposites which issue from the Tao become again identified when they return to the Tao (Chen 1989). In Taoism the ideal is to return to the original chaos before the emergence of distinctions and values marking the loss of original unity. The presence of the Tao in the world is seen as absence of power and coercion. Needham (1956) writes that the observation of nature, as opposed to the management of society, requires a receptive passivity in contrast to a commanding activity, and a freedom from all preconceived theories in contrast to an attachment to a set of social convictions. Shedding the values and moral

consciousness of humans, the sage personifies the creativity of nature that allows all to come to be and fulfill themselves (Chen 1989).

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have attempted to illustrate the dualistic, or polar, paradigm inherent in institutionalized Christianity, and suggest its effects on contemporary thought. While opposites are a fact of life, our attitude towards them is a choice. Chen distinguished between value opposites and natural opposites. Value opposites war against each other and cause the very ills they intend to cure. Any system which attempts to cultivate one side and erase the other will become self-defeating. Such a closed system will be unable to consider the value of the side which it attempts to suppress.

According to the first law of thermodynamics, the total amount of energy in any system stays the same. Jung concluded that psychic energy follows the same principle of conservation of energy (1960). Energy cannot be lost or destroyed. Repressed psychic energy goes into the unconscious and colors our perception and overall experience of life. If only one of the two opposites is allowed existence, the other will inevitably live in the unconscious, since the disappearance of one implies the disappearance of the whole system. What is disavowed in a system becomes the unconsciousness of the system. Natural opposites are seen as inseparable in a reciprocal relationship and therefore unified at the same time. They do not combat but complement each other; they arise together, depend on each other while they exist, and perish together.

In institutionalized Christianity the natural opposites were exchanged for

value opposites. Introduced through authority-- meaning through a power differential-- they give way to coercion, as one is connected to reward and one to punishment. Any rigid moral system inherently has and uses power and punishment to eliminate problems connected to the disavowed polarity. This approach will not allow the deeper root of a problem to surface. Instead, what is considered evil or bad is kept hidden and spreads to other levels of experience and interaction. What cannot be allowed within ourselves will either be hated within ourselves or experienced as something evil in others.

Unlike natural opposites, value opposites escalate and perpetuate the very "ills" they sought to cure. The underlying belief in value opposites which has come into modern thinking through the influence of the Judeo-Christian paradigm permeates our thinking about human nature and our reactions to qualities and behaviors which are commonly deemed unacceptable.

In the next chapter I focus, from a sociological viewpoint, on the influence of this paradigm within our social hierarchical structure. The social structure functions through the same system of value opposites that institutionalized Christianity is built on. The same means of power to coerce and reward is used to keep humanity in check, although the promise of heaven is substituted by the promise of worldly success and the threat of hell is substituted by prisons.

Despite these substitutions, the values of good and evil, or right and wrong, are the same as in institutionalized Christianity. Social conformity equals being "good", and in order to motivate conformity the process of conformity has inherent an unspoken promise of worldly success. The influence of protestant ethics on social ideas and institutions gives wordly success, on a

unconscious level, an additionally connotation of: "good" = conformity = wordly success = the blessing of God.

The promise of wordly success is supposedly addressed to everybody who conforms within society, but addresses, in effect, only a certain segment of our society. From this perspective, being born with the "wrong" skin-color, or belonging to the bottom of our social hierarchy not only very often equals becoming a societal scapegoat that carries the label and stereotype of "evil"; the members of these groups are additionally expected to behave as good citizens and if they had the same opportunities and potential to reap the supposed benefits of conformity. In the following chapter I will focus on some of the consequences of this social double bind.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this chapter is to explore how conformity, the value judgments along with the process of conforming, and the cultural promises inherent in the process of conforming make up a social structure that "exert[s] a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconforming rather than conforming conduct" (Merton 1957: 132). Research within the fields of social psychology and sociology sheds light on deviance, conformity, anomie, and societal rewards for conformity in order to motivate compliance. These theories explain deviant and criminal behavior through forces beyond the psychology of the individual, and illustrate how conformity, for people confronted with social injustice or oppression such as racism or classism, can seem an unattainable task. If we take this research into account, some forms of deviant behavior appear just as psychologically normal as conformist behavior does.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CONFORMITY

Cohen defined deviant behavior as "behavior which violates institutionalized expectations-- that is, expectations which are shared and recognized as legitimate within a social system" (1959: 462). Within the field of social psychology, deviant behavior is defined in terms of the relationship of an action to institutionalized expectations, not in terms of its relationship to personality structure. Cohen (1959) adds to this that a theory of deviant behavior must account not only for the occurrence of deviant behavior; it must also account for its failure to occur, or conformity. He suggests that any explanation of the occurrence of deviant behavior necessarily implies an explanation of conformity.

The theory of anomie, as reformulated by Merton (Merton 1957; Cohen 1959; Gibbons and Jones 1975; Pfohl 1985; Thomas 1995), examines the relationship between two aspects of social life: cultural goals and socially available means of goal attainment. Culturally defined goals, which are learned in families, schools, and through the media, are held out for all of society to strive for. American culture, for example, teaches people to achieve success through becoming rich and powerful. As a result of this cultural goal, American culture carries an assumption that every person can and should achieve a certain measure of wealth and success.

In addition to defining goals, the cultural structure defines, regulates, and controls the acceptable modes or channels for reaching these goals (Merton 1957; Pfohl 1985). Pfohl writes that problems begin when the "anybody-can-do-it aspirations" are confronted with the "not-everybody-has-an-equal-chance opportunity structure" of the same society.

He considers deviance the normal product of an unequal society (1985).

Social psychology defines conformity as "a change in a person's behavior or opinions as a result of real or imagined pressure from a person or a group of people" (Aronson 1972: 16). When a person, due to group pressure, goes along with group norms in order to receive social and material rewards or to avoid social and material punishment, the person is complying or conforming to social expectations (Brown, 1986; Saks and Krupat, 1988; Hogg and Abrams, 1988).

Social expectations do not require that a person really believe in what s/he conforms to, as long as she/he pretends to do so. Thus, influencing people via compliance has definite limitations. It works only as long as the power to reward or punish is present, and as long as the power to reward or punish is meaningful in the life of the individual.

According to Merton, a conformist is a person whose experiences in society have led to the acceptance of both culturally described goals and the socially legitimate means for reaching these goals. Generally, the conformist plays by the rules because they work for him/her, and thus the person experiences no need to deviate. The path of conformity is the most common way of relating to socially structured goals and means. If this was not so "the stability and continuity of society could not be maintained" (Merton 1957: 141).

Most of us conform most of the time because our ties to the institutional order are powerful enough to override deviant motivation. In other words, social systems are organized so that deviant behavior tends to produce greater tension than the tension produced by conformity (Cohen 1959). Behavior that

violates the expectations of the social system tends to bring about moral uncertainty, guilt, or ambivalence within a person, and signifies roles most of us avoid being identified with.

The sacrifices entailed by conformity to institutional norms are compensated by socialized rewards, but also regulated through punishment. Within social psychology, these two means to achieve conformity are described as reward power and coercive power (Krupat and Sacks 1988). Reward power is analogous to holding the carrot in front of the donkey to motivate him. Reward power works to motivate people to act in certain ways through promising that success, wealth, and power can be obtained through the institutionalized means of society. Coercive power uses punishment and threats as a means of deterrence to secure social equilibrium. Coercive power can be seen as a stick rather than a carrot. The combination of reward power and coercive power leads to compliance as described above. In such a system, human change occurs only on the surface, in behavior. Compliance in this system requires some surveillance and often leads to resentment and anger.

The cultural prototypes of success are central in disciplining people to maintain their unfulfilled aspirations. People are encouraged through societal goals and supported by the media to strive to become "living testimony that the social structure is such as to permit these aspirations to be achieved, if one is worthy" (Merton 1957: 137). In a system which assumes that everyone can achieve societal goals, failing to achieve these goals testifies only to one's shortcomings. According to this system, aggression provoked by failure should be directed inward and not outward, against oneself and not against a social structure, which theoretically provides free and equal access to opportunity.

DEVIANCE AND ANOMIE

Everyone is exposed to the goals of success, but Merton suggests that only a few are provided with the legitimate means needed to become successful. Thus, societal goals are not equally obtainable by all. When equal access to achieving goals is not present, competition and "winning the game" become more important than "winning under the rules of the game" (1957: 135).

In such a society, only successful outcomes provide gratification. According to Cohen, "The pressure of such a social order is upon outdoing one's competitors" (1959: 157). Wealth comes to be the basic symbol of social achievement, and cultural exaggeration of the goal of success leads individuals to withdraw emotional support from the rules. In such a society, only the fear of being punished regulates behavior.

In "Social Structure and Anomie" (1957), Merton focuses on the inherent inequalities in opportunities to conform. In this work, he extended Durkheim's theory of anomie into a formal theory of deviance. At the heart of the theory of anomie is the notion that deviance arises as a result of unfulfilled social aspirations (Pfohl 1985). Thus, it is not a definition of deviant behavior but a specification of two dimensions along which behavior may vary: conformity and deviance. This theory is unique in that it classifies actions rather than personalities.

Merton was born in the slums of South Philadelphia, where he joined the gang warfare between groups of boys (Pfohl 1985). Thus Merton's reformulation of this theory was probably influenced by his childhood. Intellectually gifted,

he was one of the lucky few who was awarded a scholarship to a university. According to Pfohl (1985), such opportunities are far more rare than implied by the American promise of prosperity for anyone who tries hard. Most of Merton's neighbors never made it out of their ghetto.

While conformity is the most common path of social adaptation, it is not the only one. One of the possible alternatives which Merton describes is "innovation", the path of those who accept the dominant cultural goal of success, but whose experience in a hierarchical society leads them to reject legitimate avenues of goal attainment because legitimate means have been unsuccessful (1957). Pfohl writes:

Think of the youngsters in ghetto or slum gangs . . . The door to success is not as open for these persons as it is for the "ivy league" sons of the wealthy. The call to success may, however, be just as strong. One has only to watch a half-hour of TV to be "turned on" to the get-ahead, be-successful, look-good, "drive-a-good-car" goals of American society. (1985: 212)

Along a similar line, Argyle says that: "the chance of getting your name in Who's Who is seventy-five times greater if your father did, and your chance of being the director of a bank is 200 times more if father was one" (1995, 177). Merton suggests that the absence of real opportunities for advancement creates a tendency toward deviant behavior. For persons systematically deprived of access to avenues of success, menial jobs cannot compete with the allure of rewards of deviant behavior. In Merton's words:

Several researchers have shown that specialized areas of vice and crime constitute a "normal" response to a situation where the cultural emphasis upon pecuniary success has been absorbed, but where there is little access to conventional and legitimate means for becoming successful. The occupational opportunities of people in these areas are largely confined to manual labor and the lesser

white-collar jobs. Given the American stigmatization of manual labor which has been found to hold rather uniformly in all social classes, and the absence of realistic opportunities for advancement beyond this level, the result is a marked tendency towards deviant behavior. The status of unskilled labor and the consequent low income cannot readily compete in terms of established standards of worth with the promises of high income from organized vice, rackets, and crime." (1957: 141)

For persons systematically denied access to other, more promising avenues of legitimate success, it is easy to understand how the prospect of years of washing dishes often pales in comparison to the easy money, quick power, and instant status promised by a life of crime. Deviance, in Merton's theory, can be seen as a normal outgrowth of having accepted cultural goals without having been provided the opportunity to legitimately achieve those goals.

Deviant behavior is generally motivated by the strain created by ambivalence toward institutionalized expectations. Such ambivalence occurs whenever conformity to institutionalized expectations is positively motivated and, at the same time, somehow frustrating and unacceptable. The strain or ambivalence arises out of the tension between cultural goals and institutionalized means. The specific direction of deviant behavior is accounted for, in part, by the relative strength of internalization of goals and means, and the socially structured availability of alternative means.

Institutionalized expectations place incompatible demands on those located in lower social realms. On the one hand, they are asked to orient their conduct towards the prospect of success and wealth; and on the other, they are largely denied effective opportunities to do so institutionally. This structural inconsistency leads to frustration. Whenever a system of cultural values extols above all else certain common success goals for the population at

large, while the social structure at the same time restricts access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, high rates of criminal behavior are the normal outcome.

Life in inner city slums is marked by a discrepancy, located in the social structure, between individual worth and social reward. Not recognizing this discrepancy as belonging to society at large leads to a feeling of worthlessness, while recognizing society as the source of the discrepancy leads to a feeling of alienation and meaninglessness in regard to society. One alternative to this is to continue to conform, despite continued frustration and the constantly deferred gratification, because the frustration is easier to bear than moral uncertainty or unfavorable role significance. In the face of such frustration, deviancy becomes an attempt to reduce the strain.

Cohen writes that deviance is not an abrupt change from a state of strain to a state of deviance, but a more gradual, step by step process in which people constantly define and redefine their situation in relation to the actions and responses of others (1955).

The feeling of alienation and general meaninglessness helps the individual consequently to break with reference group and acknowledge other reference groups, whose norms legitimize deviant solutions and attribute favorable role symbolism to them. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) view subcultures as collective social adjustment to the strains of blocked opportunity.

For Cohen, the irrational, malicious and unaccountable delinquent subculture offers lower-class boys a means of solving the status-frustration problem generated by the denial of access to the world of the middle-class. In Cohen's

words, "The delinquent subculture . . . is a way of adjustment [to] status problems: certain children are denied status in respectable society because they cannot meet the criteria of the respectable status system" (1955: 121). The socially structured blocks to lower-class youths' ability to realize culturally desired goals and their exaggerated sense of status frustration makes them particularly vulnerable to the solutions offered by delinquent subculture: a collective rejection of middle class aspirations that they were structurally unable to attain in the first place.

Shakur, a former gang-member, writes about the first instructions he received from the man who became his mentor in gang life: "Bangin' ain't no part-time thang, it's full time. . . It's bein' down when ain't nobody else down with you. It's getting caught and not tellin'. Killin' and not caring, and dyin' without fear. It's love for your set and hate for the enemy." (1993: 12).

The value judgment of good and evil becomes a dissatisfying concept because it does not leave room to address the deeper issues with which our collective struggles. Yet society, when dealing with crime, classifies events according to value opposites, and divides events into good and evil. When we identify people with their actions, we transform individuals into roles. We no longer see individuals as people committing good or evil acts, but identify them as good or evil people. On a social level we additionally tend to cement people into these roles, because rigid role definitions within a social structure, in opposition to role fluidity (see also chapter on process work), give a false sense of predictability and safety within a society. It becomes clear who the good guys are and who the bad guys are. This sense of safety is additionally sustained through the making of myths that strengthen the public opinion in

its misconceptions regarding roles and stereotypes. In the next chapter I focus on the myth making within crime, including typical myths forwarded by these views, as well as their connection to the notion of good and evil that sustains these myths within the public opinion.

CRIMINOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

I will in this sub-section of the chapter focus on the research done in regard to the two main views on crime. I will review this in reference to the typical myths forwarded by these views, as well as their connection to the notion of good and evil as sustainers of these myths within the public opinion.

MYTH, MEDIA, AND CRIME

THE FUNCTION OF MYTHS

Myths have a tendency to support and maintain established views. In the example of crime, criminals, and the criminal justice system, myths create our social reality of crime and justice. But the established conceptual framework may not always enable us to define and question issues accurately. The media present us daily with the pain and suffering of criminal behavior. The selection and presentation of crime problems in the media is related to news-

value and marketability (i.e. viewers and advertizing dollars) rather than to an actual attempt to address and understand the problems of and behind crime.

Kappeler, Blumberg, and Potter write that crime myths become the "convenient mortar to fill the gaps in knowledge and to provide answers to questions social science cannot answer or has failed to address" (1993: 4). They add that "crime myths allow for social action based on emotionalism while providing justification for established views of behavior, social practice, and institutional responses" (1993: 4).

TWO MEASURES OF CRIME

The National Criminal Justice Commission found a huge difference between public perceptions of crime and the actual reality of crime in the United States. The commission's report states that: "crime is a real threat, but at least some of the tremendous fear Americans have is the product of a variety of factors that have little or nothing to do with crime itself. These factors include media reporting on crime issues and the role of government and private industry in stoking citizen fear" (Donzieger 1996: 63).

The commission adds that fear of crime, rather than crime itself, drives policy making in America. There is a common agreement that socalled "crime waves" seem to occur in election years (Donzieger 1996), and that the "get tough" solutions are ineffective for anything except getting votes (In Context, 38, Spring 1994).

WHO INFLUENCES PUBLIC OPINION

The threat of crime exercises a powerful grip on human emotions. The Commission (Donzieger 1996) focused on five entities that exploit this fact: the popular media, the government, political campaigning, special-interest groups, and private industry (see also Currie 1985; Scheingold 1991; Claster 1992; Kappeler, Blumberg, and Potter 1993). The complexity regarding crime and feelings around crime is rarely translated into media coverage. When crime soars to the top of the nation's list of major problems, it is driven more by media treatment than by changes in crime rates. Coverage of crime on the three major network television news shows tripled from 571 stories in 1991 to 1,632 stories in 1993, despite the fact that crime declined slightly in that period. An analysis of 10 network and cable channels in 1992 showed 1,846 incidents of violence in one day. Many television programs have converted crime into entertainment. In 1980 there were no "real life" crime shows on the networks. In 1993 there were seven major programs devoted exclusively to presenting real-life crime cases.

The emphasis in television media on violent images does not present an accurate picture of crime in America, and Donzieger et al question what influence these inaccurate images have on public perceptions of crime. The vast majority of crime in America is non-violent and does not involve physical injury. As a result people continue to think of violence when responding to polling questions on crime. When politicians want to toughen sentences as part of anti-crime strategy, many people mistakenly believe it will be mostly violent offenders filling the cells - the same type of offenders most often portrayed on television. Thus crime is depicted on TV in a way that diminishes public support for rehabilitation. The average TV portrait of a criminal is a

greedy person who premeditated a violent crime. These plots tend to highlight the moral depravity of the offender rather than the difficult life conditions in which most crime actually occurs. The logical response to such portraits of crime is to expand law enforcement and toughen punishment. This type of portrait polarizes viewers and closes them to the reality behind most crime.

George Gerbner, a leading authority on TV violence, coined the term "mean world" syndrome. It describes the experience of heavy viewers of TV violence and how they gradually feel their own lives are threatened. As a result they tend to support more punitive anti-crime measures, to overestimate their chances of getting involved in something violent, to think their neighbors are unsafe people, and to believe that crime in general is rising. These people are more likely to buy anti-crime devices such as locks and guns ¹ .

TWO APPROACHES TO CRIMINALITY

Generally speaking there are two contrasting ways of explaining crime. The structural explanation, also known as the liberal view, and the volitional explanation, also known as the conservative view. Hunt and Allen (1976) formulate the discourse between the two sides into one question when they ask, "Are we attempting to punish those that have harmed us or rehabilitate those we have harmed" (1)?

The conservative view "associates street crime with individual pathologies--be they moral, emotional or genetic" (Scheingold 1991: 4). Wilson, a conservative

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¹ For the statistical sources of these numbers see Donziger 1996.

criminologist, writes about this "fundamental part of human nature" that a "sober" or "unflattering view of man" tells us that "wicked people exist" and that nothing "avails but to set them apart from innocent people" (1975: 235).

Former president Ronald Reagan, in his first address on crime, which he delivered before the International Association of Police Chiefs in New Orleans in 1981, said that "some men are prone to evil, and society has a right to be protected from them." He attacked the social thinkers of the 1950s and 1960s for discussing crime only in the context of disadvantaged childhoods and poverty-stricken neighborhoods and thinking that massive government spending could wipe away all social ills. He ended his speech by stressing the "deep moral values" that "can hold back the jungle and restrain the darker impulses of human nature" (Gross 1982). From the conservative view, crime is seen in terms of individual pathology and as volitional- a matter of personal choice (Scheingold 1991).

The liberal or structural view focuses on social disorganization rooted in hierarchy, deprivation, coercion, and alienation. Crime is determined by the material conditions of society. The attention is refocused from individual criminals to the criminogenic features of the prevailing social order, which are identified with extreme inequalities regarding class, race, and other categories. Currie (1985) links inequality in regard to class, race and unemployment to crime:

whether work can avert crime, in short, depends on whether it is part of a larger process through which the young are gradually integrated into a productive and valued role in a larger community. Similarly, whether unemployment leads to crime depends heavily on whether it is a temporary interruption of a longer and more hopeful trajectory into that kind of role, or represents a permanent condition of economic marginality that virtually assures a sense of purposelessness,

alienation, and deprivation. (117)

The conservative position views the problem differently. Wilson and Herrnstein say that:

Within a block or two, one can encounter people who value work and people who do not: thieves who steal regularly and systematically and thieves who steal occasionally and casually, even while employed. But for reasons having to do with some combination of cultural and objective conditions, it seems clear that a significant fraction of young men in many inner city areas assign a low, perhaps even negative value to success achieved through legitimate employment. (1985: 335)

Thus the discussion is about competing social visions and whether the "guilty one" is to be found within the flawed individual making the wrong choices or the flawed society failing to offer adequate alternatives to crime. The two views are dichotomous, and dominate the political and criminological discourse. However, there is in the political arena a marked tendency to privilege volitional explanations of crime.

Scheingold (1991) suggests that problem solving is not necessarily the primary objective of public policy. As Bennett says, "policies become means of affirming the larger images of the world on which they are based. In most policy areas it is more acceptable to suffer failure based on correct theories than it would be to achieve success at the price of sacrificing social values" (1980: 397). Scheingold (1991) adds that what is true of policy in general is likely to be particularly true of criminal control policies. He proposes that the philosophy of volitional criminology is anchored in Lockean and Hobbesian premises ², while structural criminology can be traced to Rousseau and Marx

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² Frost, 1962: Locke was in the ethical tradition of Hobbes, who made morality largely a matter of enlightened self interest: that is, one is good because (footnote continues next page)

3 --thus suggesting why volitional criminology tends to be privileged in American political discourse (1991).

From this viewpoint moral values come in as a handy ideology that makes it plausible to use volitional explanations. Understanding crime as a matter of individual pathology and adding moral values to this pathology allows our culture to provide easy, reassuring and "morally" satisfying responses through confinement and punitive measures. Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) write:

Crime is held best in check not only by the objective risk of punishment but by the subjective sense of wrongdoing . . . Punishment as moral education almost certainly reduces more crime than punishment as deterrence. An internalized prohibition against offending is like an additional cost of crime, possibly strong enough to prevent its occurrence even when there is no risk of being caught and punished by society. (495)

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(continued footnote)

being good pays the highest dividends in individual pleasure.

3 Edwards 1967: Rousseau believed that society alienates human beings from their original nature. This alienation furthers false values. Natural needs are replaced by superficial needs which increases corruption.

Quinney (1974: 54-55) sums up the Marxist idea: "It is according to the interest of the ruling class that American society is governed. Though pluralists may suggest that there are diverse and conflicting interests among groups in the upper class, what they ignore is that members of the ruling class work within a common general framework in the formation of public policy. Superficially, groups within the ruling class may differ on some issues, but in general they have common interests and can exclude members of the other classes from the political process entirely . . . The primary interest of the ruling class is to preserve the existing order, and in so doing, to protect its existential and material base . . . Ruling class interests are secured by preserving any challenge to the moral and economic structure".

This conservative rehabilitation model is today known as the "economic model" of crime (Wilson 1975). The idea is that crime should not pay, and can be reduced by increasing the "costs" or consequences. This approach is a mixture of moral values and a model that equates human behavior to a business deal. It basically addresses the calculating side of human behavior and appeals to calculating and cunning behavior.

Mathiesen (1993) holds that the most dangerous people in the world are not to be found behind bars, but amongst the groups that hold considerable power in society. Those incarcerated are relatively harmless compared to many groups in power, the misuse of power, and the effects this has had in the world. He argues that the majority of crime committed by those incarcerated is largely due to social injustice and the lack of social privilege and possibilities for certain social groups. The incarceration of those people, he says, mainly serves to calm the public opinion and as a cover up for those who really have the power to do harm in the world.

Mathiesen uses the term "symbol-function" to explain that we stigmatize criminals by labeling them evil, in order for the rest of us, who are obeying the governing morals, to have the experience of being "good" and harmless in the area of "evil-doing". This process of stigmatization, which happens when a person is incarcerated, gives everybody, including civilians, the police, judges, and prison guards the supposed "right" to treat the criminal as an "evil" person. Once the sentence is served, however, the criminal is not "de-stigmatized". The label sticks with him/her for the rest of his/her life.

Mathiesen sees it as an advantage for those in power to keep the "evil-doers" labeled "evil", so the rest of us can feel we are "good", and that it is

meaningful and worthwhile to continue to be "good". Reiwald (1949) points out that it is useful for the groups in power to keep a small group incarcerated as "evil ones", as it illustrates the excellence of those in power.

SOME OF THE MOST COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS OF CRIME

"CRIME IS ON THE RISE"

There is a widespread perception that crime rates are rising. In most categories, the crime rates over the last two decades have remained stable. But the nature of criminal violence has changed, related to the prevalence of firearms. The vast majority of crime in America is not violent. One in ten arrests is for violent crime, but every non-violent crime of course carries the lurking possibility of violent confrontation. Among young people crime is expected to increase further in the next few years. (Donzieger 1996).

"MOST VICTIMIZATIONS ARE BY STRANGERS"

There is a myth in America that all Americans have a "realistic" chance of being murdered by a stranger. In reality almost all Americans have an extremely remote chance of being killed or victimized by a stranger. Most violent crime is committed by friends or family. The most common homicide is not random but a person shooting someone she/he knows, often in the home (Currie 1985; Kappeler, Blumberg, Potter 1993; Donzieger 1996). Eight out of ten murder victims were killed by a family member or somebody they knew (U.S.

Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, March 1994). Women are far more likely to be assaulted by their husbands or boyfriends than by a stranger in an alley. Children are more likely to be molested by family or friends than by strangers.

A QUEST FOR EVIL

The Los Angeles Times (Katherine Dunn, April 10, 1994) published an investigation into crime scares that were reported by the media, widely believed by the public, but proven to be false or grossly exaggerated. Among the false crime scares were:

"THE EPIDEMIC CHILD ABDUCTION"

During the 1980s there supposedly was an epidemic of child abduction in America. The public was exposed to weekly photographs, stories, and debates on the issue of missing and abducted children. "Victim experts" speculated that strangers victimized anywhere from 800,000 to 1.2 million children each year. A subsequent investigation by the Denver Post revealed that 95 percent of those "missing children" were actually runaway teens, or were taken by parents in custody disputes. Current reports indicate that there are only about 50 to 150 actual abductions per year by strangers. These numbers have not changed since the late 1970s. The awful fact remains that most murdered children are killed by their parents (Kappeler, Blumberg, Potter 1993; Donzieger 1996).

"THE EPIDEMIC OF SERIAL KILLERS"

In the mid-1980s serial murder was the topic of numerous stories in magazines and newspapers, as well as television programs. The key concepts were that serial murder was epidemic in America, having grown exponentially since the 1970s, that its perpetrators drifted from state to state, and that it resulted in severe forms of mutilation. Serial killers accounted for perhaps 20 percent of American murder victims or some 4000 a year, according to the claim of the media and a Justice Department official. The claims were later disproved. It turned out that the numbers of serial murders reported by the federal government were fake. In effect, the government's interpretation made every one of the 4000 unsolved murders in the United States the work of a serial killer. There were in fact between 50 and 60 murders per year by serial killers. (Kappeler, Blumberg, Potter 1993; Donzieger 1996).

"STREET CRIME IS WORSE THAN CORPORATE CRIME"

Most of us think about interpersonal violence or property crimes when we think of crime. These are seen as acts committed against an innocent victim by an uncaring perpetrator. The emphasis on these images of crime, which the media and the law enforcement establishment also perpetuate, are fundamentally misleading.

According to Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter (1993) the truth about street crime-- the type of crime that energy and resources are concentrated on combating-- is that it is less of a burden to society than the crime committed by corporations or the so-called white collar crime. Kappeler, Blumberg and

Potter (1993) conclude:

The available evidence on white collar and corporate crime leads to several conclusions. (1) Criminality in the corporate world is widespread and pervasive; few corporate criminals are ever caught or prosecuted. (2) Corporate criminals are recidivists. They commit crime over and over again with great frequency. They are truly carrier criminals. (3) When apprehended, they are treated with kid gloves. They are warned, given small fines, or allowed to bargain out of prosecution altogether. In those rare cases where they are convicted of a crime and sentenced to prison, they are treated with far more consideration and leniency than traditional offenders (117).

(1) CRIMINALITY IN THE CORPORATE WORLD IS WIDESPREAD AND PERVASIVE

Mathiesen (1993) writes that people belonging to the most powerful groups in society are also the ones committing the most powerful crimes. Punishment, that is prison-punishment, is, however, mainly used against the comparatively less dangerous street criminals. The reason for this, Mathiesen writes, is first of all that legislation mainly punishes this kind of crime and secondly that street criminals are given less opportunity to stay outside the registering and sanctifying system. This, according to Mathiesen, makes prison punishment serve the function of diverting the attention from the truly dangerous actions committed by those who have the greatest access to power.

The function of diversion is further supported by the media, which portray the imprisoned as more dangerous than they are, and thus shape public opinion. A more sober picture of who actually is behind bars, according to Mathiesen, would demonstrate that it is not those who are most dangerous to society.

Donzieger, in the new report from the National Criminal Justice Commission, says:

Corporate crime . . . costs Americans far more than street crime. According to the Justice Department, all personal crimes and household crimes cost approximately \$19.1 billion in 1991. The comparable cost of white collar crime is between \$130 billion and

\$472 billion --seven to twenty-five times as much as street crime. Moreover, many more people die from pollution than from homicide. There are six times as many work-related deaths as homicides.
(1996: 66)

The number of deaths and injuries related to white collar crimes vastly exceeds those related to street crimes. Kramer (1984) gives the following numbers:

- * Every year approximately 14,000 workers in the United States are killed on the job.
- * Annually, 100,000 workers die from diseases contracted in the course of their occupations as a direct result of violations by corporations of health and safety codes.
- * It is estimated that 140,000 people die each year from air pollution alone, most of which is the result of a violation of governmental regulations by corporations.
- * Unsafe and defective merchandise produced by corporations and sold to consumers results in an additional 30,000 deaths and 20,000,000 serious injuries a year.
- * About 2,000,000 workers a year are injured on the job because of dangerous working conditions maintained by their employers in violation of prevailing safety standards.

This record of corporate carnage is compared to the approximately 20,000 murders and 850,000 assaults committed in the United States each year. White collar crimes are often falsely considered to differ from street crimes by not having a criminal intent. It is widely believed that white collar crime is the result of oversight or negligence and not the result of a conscious decision to do harm or inflict injury.

(2) CORPORATE CRIMINALS ARE RECIDIVISTS

Sutherland (in Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter 1993) found that major corporations engage in widespread violations and commit their crimes both frequently and on an annual basis. More than ninety-seven percent of the corporations in the study were recidivist. This should be seen in the light of the little effort that is put into discovering and prosecuting corporate violations. Thus these figures are expected to represent only a tiny portion of the actual crime committed.

Later studies (Clinard and Yeager 1980) have confirmed Sutherland's conclusions. Over a two year period Clinard and Yeager (1980) found that 582 large corporations were subjects of 1,553 federal cases initiated against them. In just two years 60 percent of the corporations had at least one action against them, 42 percent had 2 or more actions initiated against them, and the most frequent violators averaged 23.5 violations per corporation. In the face of these numbers it cannot be argued that corporate crime is random and isolated. Clinard and Yeager suggest that they had discovered only a very small percentage of the total violations.

(3) WHEN APPREHENDED, CORPORATE CRIME IS TREATED WITH LENIENCY

While the "law and order" advocates in politics argue that crime can be controlled by "sure, swift and severe punishment" the opposite is true when it comes to white collar crime. Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter write that the

consent decree, "one of the most bizarre remedial measures found in law" (1993: 115), is the most commonly used measure when it comes to white collar crime.

Under the terms of the consent decree a defendant corporation negotiates with the government over the violations the corporation has committed. It agrees to alter its pattern of conduct. In return the government agrees that the company will not have to admit guilt. The company does not have to admit its culpability with regard to a crime, but it does have to promise to stop committing the crime, thereby ending the prosecution. (1993: 115)

Clinard and Yeager (1980) found that the most common sanction in the corporate world was a warning (44 percent of the cases). Fines were assessed 23 percent of the time. In 80 percent of the cases these fines were \$5000 or less for corporations earning billions of dollars a year. The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee noted in 1983 (98th Congress, first session, August third) that over a 30 month period, 32,000 fines had gone uncollected by the government. The fines are minuscule in size, and the offenders get away with ignoring them all together (Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter 1993). In 1.5 percent of the cases the corporate offender was convicted of a crime, and only in 4 percent of those convictions did the offender go to jail. The average stay in jail was 37 days (Clinard and Yeager 1980). Corporate criminals are not sent to the same jails, but to more luxurious quarters, than street criminals.

SUMMARY

Crime is a tragic and terrifying aspect of our social interactions. Crime is real and violent. I do not intend to minimize the tragedies, the pain and the

suffering that comes from the violence of crime. Yet there is a very paradoxical aspect in the mixture of actual violence, imagined violence, and the market value of distorted imagery as entertainment.

The above demonstrated how a large part of our perception of crime has little to do with the actual criminal activity in our society. We "dream" that the actual crime rate is much worse than it is, and there is a great market value in the media portraying crime as bloodier, crueler and more frequently premeditated than reality shows. The booming entertainment industry's portrayal of the world as mean mirrors to us that we as a collective are excited about getting outraged and horrified.

Ancient indigenous cultures, like the Australian aboriginals, would probably explain this paradox from the viewpoint of "dreaming" ⁴ . From this view the western civilization might be experienced as a "spot" in evolution that "holds" and is particularly good for contacting "violent dreaming". As a collective, as a society, we are participating in this "dream of violence".

Process Oriented Psychology views this paradox from the viewpoint of dreaming as well, and suggests that there is a "violent perpetrator" present in our society that is disavowed in the collective field. Process work sees the "violent perpetrator" as a societal "ghost role" that we need to interact with but generally do not want to identify with--yet suffer from. We have

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⁴ An aboriginal person explained, in a discussion about the endangered red kangaroo, that even if the red kangaroo would disappear in physical form, there was special geographical areas in Australia that held the "red kangaroo-dreaming". These places "hold" the dreaming essence of the red kangaroo. It is possible to contact the red kangaroo-essence here and thus still experience the red kangaroo.

diverse views when it comes to determining who the "violent perpetrator" is, but we share a general feeling of wanting to see the ghost role locked up, and the key thrown away, rather than having to deal with the issue or realizing our part in it. Generally we would prefer to be undisturbed by it and enjoy the privilege of feeling safe. Overall, however, we do not seem to manage to feel safe, no matter how tough we get on crime. The dreaming aspect does not allow us to feel safe. Additionally we seem to love to be entertained by violent actions. The collective dreaming aspect wants to be addressed. Causal explanations no longer produce satisfying answers or make sense. Our complex modern reality needs to be viewed from more dimensions than those of causality.

In the next chapter I focus on this paradox of crime from the perspective of Process Oriented Psychology as one possible alternative paradigm that manages to address the dreaming reality of crime.

CHAPTER IV

PROCESS ORIENTED PSYCHOLOGY

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROCESS WORK PARADIGM

Process work is a broad spectrum approach to psychotherapy, body work, conflict resolution and large-group dynamics. In its approach, it creates a bridge between art, psychotherapy, spiritual disciplines and social activism. It rests on a foundation of simple but powerful theory and practice developed over the last 25 years by Dr. Arnold Mindell and associates. Its practitioners strive to follow the course of human experience with awareness and openness. It is a paradigm that offers a new vision of working with all areas of human existence, but especially those which are considered problematic or painful. These experiences--body symptoms, relationship conflicts, social tensions and political differences--are viewed as temporary states in a flow of life. These experiences can be brought to their full expression through the respect and enhancement brought by the variety of tools available in process work. What presents itself as a difficulty may thus turn out to be the seed of a new process that brings personal growth, expanded awareness and enriching experiences.

THE DREAMBODY

Central to process work is the "dreambody" concept (Mindell 1982, 1985, 1989, 1992, 1993) which describes the symmetry between dream and body phenomena. The dreambody concept demonstrates that not only do we dream at night, but our bodies are dreaming all the time. Thus the "dreambody stands for the total, multi-channeled personality. It expresses itself in any one or all of the possible channels" (Mindell 1985: 39). In light of this connection of experience, the process work model views disturbance, whether it appears as an inner conflict, a body symptom, a relationship conflict, a disturber in a group, or a world event, as highly meaningful and potentially wise if unfolded and explored. The solution to the problem is often found within the disturbance itself. Process wisdom means that processes or nature act wisely if we have access to all parts of the problem. Then we see that the situation, like nature, is not chaotic but organized by an intelligent dreaming structure.

A TELEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The fundamental principle of process work is that what is happening is right and should be supported. In Mindell's words, "I look for the absurd, the nonsensical thing in an individual or group, the thing which others ignore. I look for the spirit of the incomprehensible statement, gesture or error and then care for it and let it unfold" (1992: 19).

Process work can be seen as a modern alchemy that seeks to transform the prima materia into gold, realizing that "the gold lies in the messages which we do

not intend to send" (Mindell 1992: 19). Following and believing in the potential of disavowed experiences goes against collective beliefs. Process work sees life as a potential and assumes that implicit in nature is a drive towards wholeness. Experiences have a direction that, when supported and unfolded, can lead to new levels of awareness and, through revealing the essence of an experience, bring a sense of meaning to what originally appears as a disturbance.

PROCESS-ORIENTED VERSUS STATE-ORIENTED THINKING

Process work sees disturbances and problems as incomplete processes which need support and assistance to complete themselves. The solution of the problem is often present as a potential within the disturbance itself. Nature is not chaotic, but highly organized and self-regulating, while culture, as opposed to nature, has a tendency to repress that which does not go along with its beliefs. Such an attitude has a tendency to amplify the experience that something is a problem. Following nature also means following and unfolding the things that do not go along with the way we think things should be.

According to process work, a problem is a process frozen into a state where no further movement is possible. The experience becomes "a static picture, an unchanging description of a situation" (Mindell 1985: 11). Mindell uses the analogy of a train to describe the idea of process. A train travels from one city to another through various landscapes. It stops at first one place and then the next. The different cities can be compared to different states of experience. Our identification of experience is usually connected to the

different train-stations rather than to the landscape traveled between stops. Mindell (1985) calls one of these train stations "Headache City", meaning that the flow of experience is condensed into the state described as a "headache". Getting back on the train and riding it allows the experience to unfold. It is no longer a state, but has become a process. The "train ride" might reveal the headache as a hammering. Getting into the hammering, the person might start to dance to the rhythm of the hammering and remember last night's dream about an indigenous tribe dancing and drumming. At this point the headache is no longer a frozen state but an ongoing flow of experience.

THE EDGE

Some of the train stations are additionally disavowed, rejected and morally judged states; places we are not supposed to go, or places where the train should not stop. Moral value judgment, like the notions of right and wrong, good and evil, is one of the paradigms that tends to freeze processes into fixed states. When value judgments get internalized they become edges ¹, meaning that they divide the way we experience ourselves into two different identities: right and wrong. Experience gets frozen into a state that is either right or wrong. The flow of experience is blocked. Edges call the whole identity of a person into question. Confronted with the edge, we are actually

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¹ Edges are, of course, not only connected to moral beliefs or judgments. An edge might also be an experience of something the person is not capable of doing. It might separate a person from "physical feats which are physically impossible, like flying or walking on the ceiling" (Goodbread 1987: 30), or it can separate a person from an identity or ability which the person is developing or growing into and thus does not yet identify with or master.

confronted with an identity crisis. Edges remove us from part of our perceptions, and keep parts of the experience out of awareness. The process behind the state is no longer readily accessible to us.

In contrast to the state-oriented viewpoint which sees experiences as good or evil, a process-oriented view sees experiences as moments in a process that can or need to be unfolded. Once processes are frozen into states, they tend to develop into identities. In connection with a negative value judgment the person is either frozen in the identity, or becomes defensive and resists the identity. Both result in inhibited role-fluidity, blocked self-awareness and perception.

An example of this could be a woman, who was brought up to believe that a woman's true nature is gentle, caring, and yielding. This internalized belief makes it hard for her to bring forth strong opinions or identify with a more powerful side of herself. There is a value judgement connected to the two states, which freeze her in the yielding, gentle identity. Anytime she is "caught" expressing strong opinions, or is assertive, her belief system or edge structure puts her into an identity crisis, which, because of the inherent judgement, compels her to either defend herself as a good person or resist the identity. Her edge structure allows her no role-fluidity between the two states. She has no inner freedom to explore this other side of herself, and accordingly has no awareness of this side of herself.

Internalized moral values, beliefs and perceptions functions as a filter that separates experiences and identities into "me" and "not me"; marking "the limits of who we are and what we imagine ourselves capable of" (Mindell,

Mindell 1992:43). In other words, they define the boundaries of a person's identity. The edge organizes experience according to identity and dis-identity; who "I am" versus "other". Experiences that do not fit into the category of "me" are not allowed into awareness. These experiences are disavowed, and are mainly experienced in "others".

Process work identifies experiences that go along with "I am" as primary processes, and experiences that go along with "I am not" as secondary processes. The secondary process can be unfolded and integrated into a person's life. Usually such processes enrich the quality of life.

The woman described above probably feel internally imprisoned and unfree, whenever she is caught in a situation as described above, due to the internalized value judgement. Additionally she probably either admires or dislikes assertive and strong woman. However, once she becomes more assertive, which probably will make certain aspects of her life more conflictual and problematic, she will most likely additionally experience this new inner freedom as enriching and improving her relationships as well as her life in general.

While certain experiences are secondary or disavowed, it does not mean that we are not having these experiences. It just means that they are filtered out of awareness and re-arranged in a way that is acceptable to the primary process and the edge system. Most likely the woman, who has a primary process as a gentle, loving, and yielding person, also secondarily, and therefore unintentionally, shows traits of aggression and domination. The primary process and the edge structure keeps the woman from identifying with the more

aggressive side of herself, but the disavowed experiences will manifest in other modes or channels of experience that are less controlled by her primary process (Mindell 1986, 1987, 1992).

The experience of aggression might somatize via the proprioceptive channel as a body symptom that will carry the characteristics of the aggression. Every time the woman comes up to this particular edge in her life, but does not cross it, her body symptom will probably flare up. Thus her body "lives" the experience for her and attempts to cross the edge for her. Body symptoms "all occur in the battleground between identities. They are part of the edge phenomenon" (Mindell 1992: 46).

The process can also manifest secondarily in the relationship channel as a relationship conflict, where the woman might become very aggressive. Due to her edge, she is likely, however, to identify herself as the victim of her aggressive partner. If caught screaming in an affect, her primary process will attempt to re-organize the experience and explain the situation accordingly: she was provoked into screaming by her aggressive partner, and does therefore not identify the aggression as part of herself.

In her dreams wild animals or other aggressive characters might chase her, manifesting the process secondarily in the visual channel. She might lose control of her car and crash into somebody else's car. The process is secondarily manifesting in the world channel.

From our primary identity, the disavowed part, on the other side of the edge, looks chaotic and scary. But it is not. It is a highly organized dream structure.

METASKILLS

The term "metaskill" was coined by Dr. Amy Mindell and refers to the attitude in which skills are imbedded. The attitude with which processes are addressed and interventions applied is essential to the unfolding of a process due to the edges and surrounding moral beliefs, or edge figures ² involved.

Metaskills "signify the ongoing awareness and use of our attitudes in a more conscious way" (Amy Mindell 1995: 19). Metaskills are of special importance in addressing and unfolding processes that do not follow conventional moral beliefs and life-styles. Whether such processes can be entered at all, let alone unfolded, might solely rely on the attitude with which they are addressed.

A therapist's metaskills, in a sense, function as an invisible "second facilitator". The skills and interventions a therapist applies separate primary and secondary processes and address the edge in the unfolding of a process. Additionally metaskills can emotionally facilitate conflict resolution between the various parts, like the primary and secondary processes and the edge structure, via the atmosphere set by the therapist or facilitator. Metaskills can fertilize the "ground" interventions are applied to, so to speak.

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² Internalized figures, i.e. parental figures, that prevent us from identifying with the secondary material. These figures personify the ways in which we inhibit ourselves, the philosophies we live by, and imply things like: "Do not do this", "You should/should not..", "You cannot..".

The therapist's metaskill can emotionally relax the whole system of the stress created by the edge structure. This can be accomplished by imbedding the three structures (primary, secondary, and edge) in an atmosphere that allows continuous flow, so the process can be unfolded and its essence revealed. Thus metaskills can emotionally "prepare the ground" and support the application of skills and interventions.

Creating this sort of atmosphere might include signaling emotional support to the primary process that its reactions towards the secondary process are fully understandable and appreciated ³. Such a feeling atmosphere takes the emotional pressure off the pact between the primary process and the edge structure, which is endangered by the secondary process. The edge structure is momentarily "respected" and does not have to be activated.

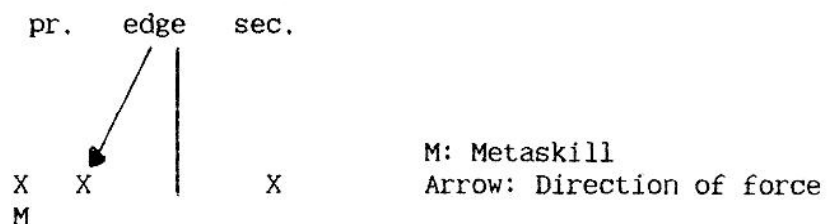


Diagram #1. Metaskills: Pact between edge structure and primary process.
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³ In case study four the client describes herself in the beginning of the session as the victim of a lot of serious symptoms and abuse. She says that there is a lot of fear stored in her body. Her body posture and movement, however, indicates a strong and powerful person. Her primary process is to be the victim. The secondary process is powerful and strong. The therapist addresses both processes when he answers: "It doesn't look...looks like there is a lot of power...but fear is ok" (p.187), thus creating an atmosphere that indicates the secondary process but simultaneously makes room for both the primary and secondary processes. Fear is ok, and power is equally good. He is preparing the primary process about what is coming thus creating a beginning emotional connection between the two, as the edge figure, due to her earlier experiences of abuse, is against anything that looks powerful.

In a subtle balance the attitude might simultaneously signal emotional detachment and "irreverence" to the primary process in regard to the secondary process, i.e.: "Don't get "hung up" about this; why not relax and "hang loose" momentarily". This attitude simultaneously emotionally pacifies the pact between the primary process and the edge structure, while trying emotionally to build a beginning pact between the primary and secondary processes. Such an approach helps reassure the person's primary process that everything is fine, even if the secondary process appears to be too outrageous ⁴ .

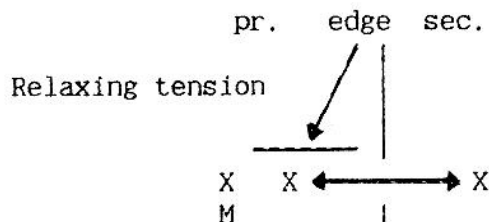


Diagram #2. Metaskills: Making beginning emotional connection

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⁴ Later in case study four we see another example of how the attitude of the therapist becomes a "second facilitator" in the conflict between the primary and secondary process. The client is getting into the experience of her secondary process: to be mean and powerful (p.191-192). The primary process, which is in a pact with the edge structure, is reacting strongly against this experience, and Patti makes faces of disgust. The therapist answers detached: "Yes, it's gross", humoring and pacifying the internalized judgement simultaneously. Patti continues to be mean, and the therapist comments in the same detached fashion: "You're really mean now"! She laughs and says at the same time: "It's SO bad"! The therapist answers: "I know. Be really bad for a couple of minutes, then we'll work on..". She finishes the sentence from the view of the primary process: "Transforming it; course I really don't want to be like my parents". Due to the therapist's attitude the process does not get blocked by the edge structure but is allowed to go back and forth so both sides can be explored. The metaskill builds a bridge between the two processes.

The secondary process needs to be emotionally met in its own realm. This is generally a realm of controversy for the primary process. The secondary process must be emotionally supported, interacted with and met by a matching energy. If the secondary element is love, the metaskill must carry love; if it is wildness the metaskill must carry wildness. This type of support for the secondary process helps it stay clear of the edge structure during the process of unfolding. It is an attempt to emotionally block the influence and the "spell" of the edge structure: "this is not ok".

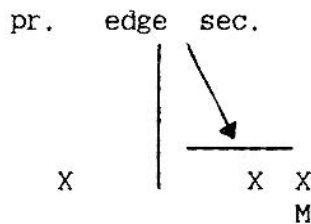


Diagram #3. Metaskills: Blocking the influence of the edge structure

The metaskill thus facilitates the edge structure as well by calming emotions that could activate or "trigger" the structure prematurely. In time, the belief system behind the edge, however, needs to be unfolded, processed, and interacted with for the person to free him/herself from this internalized belief that does not allow the existence of the secondary process (see case studies three p.181; and four p.201-202).

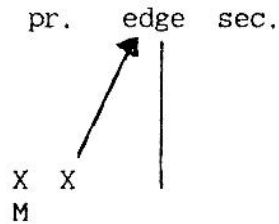


Diagram #4. Metaskills. Primary process interacting with edge figure.

The therapist's metaskill, in a sense, is an "elder" caring and nurturing all parts of the person in whatever way is momentarily needed for one state to freely flow into the next. The right interventions and skills are not sufficient on their own. The atmosphere that can nourish the whole is crucial for the process of unfolding. The right metaskill and the wrong interventions and skills will not lead to the results hoped for. But in this case, the person is emotionally present for another try, whereas the person met by poor metaskills might not be open to what is going on or might not return for another session (Schuepbach, Fall class 1996).

PROCESS WORK AND CRIMINOLOGY FROM A FIELD PERSPECTIVE

According to the process work paradigm, a field can be experienced as an atmosphere that influences our behavior. Certain norms and beliefs are omnipresent and influence the way we define ourselves. Mindell writes that "fields are natural phenomena that include everyone, are omnipresent, and exert forces upon things in their midst" (1992: 15).

Mindell continues that "fields organize people into groups" (15). Groups have particular patterns and agree on specific values, which create group identities. For example, our social structures, beliefs, and moral values create a certain field. Some people agree with these values, others disagree.

The field symmetry of society is thus created and polarized according to its ideologies, beliefs, laws, and morals, which make up the atmosphere and the feelings within the culture. The background field of society includes both dominant and marginalized opinions, conformity and deviant behavior, and can be viewed as the dreaming aspect of society.

A field is not a static or permanent phenomena, but ever evolving, ever changing, and transforming. In its development the field polarizes, divides into parts, and conflicts, but it also brings people together and creates unity and community among groups and individuals. Process work believes that fields are potentially wise. To access the wisdom, however, the field needs to be interacted with.

TIMESPIRITS

A field's structure can be described by its polarization and group roles, but Mindell (1992) suggests that these descriptions are too static and do not sufficiently emphasize the changes that occur on each side of the polarity as the poles interact. The opposing energies, polarizations and roles change, escalate, and diminish. Mindell calls these polarizations timespirits and suggests that any polarity or tension between roles and poles can be seen as tension between timespirits.

The term timespirit is related to the times we live in and our global issues. It describes and emphasizes the temporal and transitory nature of roles, and can be viewed as an attempt to remind us of the potential present for transforming the world around us.

ROLES

A society has a set of beliefs, morals, philosophies and behavior it promotes and another that it disapproves, prohibits, represses or actively resists. Thus a field always has its good guys as well as its bad guys, and draws these opposing roles in so that they can be interacted with.

The roles that people are drawn to play in a group are like the poles of a magnet. If there is one role, another always arises to balance it. A field always needs these polarities to create the tension and the atmosphere . . . Groups seem to have a tendency to create roles and to remain balanced as much as possible. The tension that arises is normal. It presses us towards knowing one another, towards division, unity and spiritual experience. (Mindell, Mindell 1992: 203).

Sociological theory has a similar concept of "person selection", referring to the process whereby a social structure selects the individuals it needs in order to continue to function. Thus society will produce the person it needs to fill a certain role in an attempt to balance and maintain itself.

According to Berger (1963) a role is a typified response to a typified situation, where society provides the script and the actors slip into their assigned roles. He writes, "Fierce warriors appear because there are armies to be sent out, pious men because there are churches to be built, scholars

because there are universities to be staffed, and murderers because there are killings to be done" (1963: 110).

According to Mindell it is not possible to get rid of "roles or parts of a group, whether we forbid them or kill the people in the roles" (1989: 87), because one role reciprocates another in order to balance the field. Fields by nature become polarized. Because a field accumulates and holds different reactions, it forms different parts, or roles, that conflict. Fields are generated through differences and polarizations. The oppositions are always interrelated and in a reciprocal relationship to each other. Together they express all aspects of the field, no matter how extreme the polarities. One extreme polarity generates another.

Thus it is important to differentiate people from their roles, and to listen to the messages the roles represent rather than destroying the person in the role. The message cannot be destroyed. We can forbid the message, try to remove anybody from the streets carrying the message, but the field will dream up another person to bring forth its message. The field needs all roles to be expressed, heard and interacted with for it to be whole ⁵.

A role on its own is meaningless. Each role has to be seen in relationship to its opposing role in the context of the field. Identifying with any one role

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⁵ Any repressed group, through the history of humanity, carries stories of individuals being killed or imprisoned in their attempt to bring forth the issue of repression of their group. The oppressor, however, never managed to kill the message along with the bearer of the message. The one-sidedness of the field will continue to bring forth others until the message is heard. A few examples can be mentioned, like for example the messages carried by Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela, or the Suffragettes at the beginning of the century and many more.

is important for us and our communities, but it is also one-sided. As individuals, we are far more complex than any one role. Each of us has the capacity of all roles. The roles we play belong far more to society than to us as individuals. We need to fill the roles, but also to step out, try other roles, and, as Mindell suggests, "finally just be ourselves" (1988: 90).

Communication difficulties and conflicts between people arise in the natural course of life. They escalate because groups and individuals identify with only one kind of behavior, or one part of themselves, and negate the existence of other parts. These parts are fenced in by edges that serve to limit the individual's or a group's identity. Edges can be experienced as the resistance to recognize, allow, or live certain disavowed parts of the group or community.

For the life of society, each role, be it the leader, the law abiding citizen, the disturber, or the criminal, needs to be filled. When all parts of a field are encouraged and supported to express themselves, a system or society is able to usefully resolve its own problems. When roles are filled and processed, they can transform. A role that appeared evil might transform into a compassionate one, or a fundamentalist moral role might transform into an evil or tyrannical figure. A victim of a perpetrator might become the perpetrator and wish to see the other suffering or electrocuted. Thus all parts of the field are within each and every one of us.

The term "deep democracy" (Mindell 1992) was coined to emphasize the importance of a collective awareness that all roles and segments are not only necessary within the field, but need to be heard and interacted with for the

potential wisdom of the field to unfold. This collective awareness includes the ability to notice when groups repress emotional issues or disturbers. Thus Mindell encourages us to address our social garbage, the "secret, evil, forbidden yet beautiful thoughts that we quickly discard" (1989: 93). He suggests that when we as a community abandon difficult issues, we are in fact choosing an unconscious method of bypassing the edges surrounding those issues, thus missing out on essential aspects of the group spirit. Group psychic economy means processing the garbage ⁶.

We tend to discard our psychological garbage because it opposes societal ideologies and morals. We do not like to focus on our garbage and prefer to throw it out. In so doing, we create troubled atmospheres that we do not know how to deal with. Processed garbage, however, has the ability to create greater connections and feelings of community between people. Despite this fact, most of us feel hopeless about ever bringing our garbage to light, and

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⁶ In one spiritual community, where I worked as part of a facilitation team, the community focus was on being of service to the spirit. Material wealth was substituted for spiritual wealth. Work was, rather than being paid for in monetary form, recognized by its value in regard to serving the greater purpose of the whole and seen as an indicator of spiritual rank. The individual was given room and board and a small amount of pocket-money for their work. No matter the amount or kind of work a person was doing, each received the same payment. Everybody was in this sense equal before the spirit. However, those who had been better off financially, before they joined the community, had money in the bank. Over time a hidden trade-off-system developed. Some of the people who were financially well-off, paid the financially worse-off to take over their duties. The economic hierarchy, that the community had attempted to leave behind, was covertly re-created inside the community and lead to a spirit of resentment. The problems and edges around the issue of monetary wealth could not be bypassed by ignoring the inherent systemic complexity, but needed to be recognized and processed. The need and desire for money was disavowed and the unprocessed edges around the issue allowed to create a "black" market that could fulfill the need. Money as the non-spiritual aspect of the community became the unprocessed garbage that blocked the intention and feeling of unity and community.

doubtful that something useful could come out of it. Instead we create rigid moral systems and laws that forbid that which we do not know how to get along with.

All over the world we find the same problem: majorities rejecting minorities. No matter what country, a majority group projects the same stereotypes onto the minority. These beliefs about other groups are universal. These polarities appear as human problems, created by people, but Mindell suggests that the minority-majority conflict is organized by the field (1992). It is the timespirit dividing people from one another. The clash of polarities is an attempt for the field to self-regulate. Mindell suggests that the deeper dynamics of a society can only be accessed through the field.

At the center of social life lie a multitude of turbulent, conflicting fields that are structured by tensions between minority and majority groups, between the rich and the homeless, black and white, police and drug dealers, and countless more. Severe tensions exist between majority and minority timespirits all over the world. We are constantly reading about struggles between races, ethnic groups, the sexes, religious groups, and classes. (1992: 23)

Certain conflicts seem to recur as if they were created not by people but by timespirits. Mindell (1992) suggests that from this perspective withdrawing projections is only part of the work. The field tension needs to be processed as if it belongs to a field trying to express itself. Thus we no longer simply address individuals within society, but see society as an undivided whole. This view approaches conflict in groups and communities as an attempt by timespirits to confront, conflict with, and get to know one another. In the course of it individual human beings may feel they are channeling or being

used by conflicting field spirits.

GHOST ROLES

We have reasons to fear timespirits because of their capacity to possess us in both collective and personal settings. They suck us into collective battles of racism, sexism, homophobia, classicism, and religious war, and we find ourselves upset and angry and one-sidedly fighting for our human rights. The less we know about ourselves and about the field, the easier it is for us to fall into states of rage and depression, ecstasy and paranoia (Mindell 1992).

In such situations, much of our anger and hopelessness is due to a feeling of battling invisible forces. Usually this feeling indicates that we are up against a ghost role that has not been addressed or identified in the field. Some roles are like ghosts, which makes them difficult to identify. They are like an implied background feeling that impacts the atmosphere, but the impact is disavowed. These ghost roles usually express feelings that we are socially inhibited to freely express. Our social edges do not let us easily identify with these roles. These roles might address our relationship to collective issues like jealousy, love, contempt, hate, or greed, and need to be identified in the field and encouraged to speak. Ignored social ghost roles will eventually disturb or destroy a society.

THE CITY SHADOW

Mindell created the term the "city shadow" to describe the people who on a

social level have taken over disavowed roles within a society. While working with psychiatric and social cases, Mindell realized that society uses certain individuals to channel "its repressed and unrealized psychology" (1988: 162).

The shadow is like the city's dream portraying its neglected gods, the hopelessness it will not admit, its withdrawal from superficial communication, its suicidal tendencies, mania, addiction, murderous rage and hypersensitivity. The shadow reminds us of the smoldering revolution we perceive only in the dark of night or in the impinging qualities of physical symptoms. (1988: 162)

These individuals have become the identified clients of the city, and give expression to states that are normally "antagonistic or unusual in a given community" (1988: 174). Mindell found that these people compensate the dominant social identity of a given community. According to Mindell's theory, the city shadow expresses a split off piece of society's wholeness. This piece belongs to society, and must be addressed and unfolded within this structure, relieving the individual as well as the field.

We need places where we can meet, debate, have it out, get into emotional states and use our awareness. We need a place to dream together, to get into what has been kept unknown. Dreaming means flowing with the unknown river of community . . . This new politics creates a place for the unknown, for anger, vengefulness, love and insight. Multicultural life means encouraging deep sub-group experiences as well as all-community experience. It means warming up frozen and rigid opinions and attitudes to the point at which they combine and recombine. (Mindell 1995: 235)

Thus process work integrates a sociological view that suggests that social structures cannot be understood without including the aspect of the city shadow. Likewise the criminal offender cannot be understood without looking at the momentary social structures. Together these two aspects provide a fuller understanding of the situation.

Part of our collective task is to become aware of the messages that the city shadow attempts to communicate to us, to hear and process these messages. When messages are unfolded, they lead to greater awareness for everybody. By looking at the incongruent aspects of our society, we enable society to negotiate between its dominant mind and the marginalized mind, even when doing so implies that we might have to change and allow other parts to exist.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

METHOD

My research methodology was qualitative in the context of a heuristic study. A qualitatively oriented heuristic study seeks to discover the nature and meaning of a phenomenon and to illuminate it from first-person accounts of individuals who have directly encountered the phenomenon in experience.

Moustakas (1990) gives 5 characteristics of the heuristic research question:

1. It seeks to reveal more fully the essence or meaning of a phenomenon of human experience.
2. It seeks to discover the qualitative aspects, rather than quantitative dimensions, of the phenomenon.
3. It engages one's total self and evokes a personal and passionate involvement and active participation in the process.
4. It does not seek to predict or to determine causal relationships.
5. It is illuminated through careful descriptions, illustrations, metaphors, poetry, dialogue, and other creative renderings rather than by measurements, ratings or scores.

Process work is congruent with qualitative research concepts and processes and provides an adequate basis for heuristic inquiry. Process work is itself a heuristic investigation into the nature and meaning of human experience. In

process work, as in heuristic inquiry, spontaneous creation of new methods and changing methods in midstream are not only allowed, but encouraged.

Patton (1990) observes in his paper on humanistic psychology and humanistic research that qualitative research inquiry attends to the uniqueness of each case, while in humanistic psychology each person is perceived as unique. Data collection in qualitative research is individualized--the therapeutic process is also individualized. Patton writes: "The qualitative researcher, in being open and inductive, works from a flexible design . . . The humanistic psychologist is flexible in responding to client needs and interests" (15). Process oriented approaches are qualitative in that they study emerging experiences of the client or the research participant.

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH APPROACHES

I used case studies for my qualitative exploration. Three of the four case studies were gathered from Dr. Schuepbach's work in various prisons around the world. These case studies demonstrate work with two prison inmates and a prison guard. The fourth case study was facilitated by Dr. Arnold Mindell. This case portrays a non-criminal, and took place in a seminar on body symptoms.

Process work was used as the method of exploration in the four case studies. The work with the individuals followed the process oriented paradigm of working with individuals, which is based on following sensory grounded information as it occurs. The analysis of the four cases was done according to

the guidelines of process oriented structural analysis. The analysis focuses on the flow of signals through various modes of experience which include verbal and nonverbal communication, intended as well as unintended signals, and the distance of signals from awareness. The analysis serves to uncover and unfold the deeper and unknown or unconscious structures of the process (see section on process work for additional information).

The first case study took place in an Australian maximum security prison. Present were the inmate, a guard, Dr. Schuepbach, and myself. I was allowed to audio-tape the interview, which was subsequently transcribed by an Australian professional transcriber due to a strong Australian working class accent. Only parts of the full interview were used, as many parts were irrelevant to this study.

The second and third case studies took place in a Japanese juvenile correctional institution. In the institution's gymnasium were approximately 60 prison guards and psychologists from the southern part of Japan. Five delinquent boys, who had committed crimes varying from shop-lifting to murder, were present.

Dr. Schuepbach facilitated the two pieces of work. The interviews took place in English and Japanese, with two interpreters, a Japanese woman and an American man, present. Dr. Schuepbach and I spoke English and the Japanese participants spoke Japanese. Dr. Schuepbach facilitated the process according to the nonverbal signals and the English translation. The sessions were video-taped. I transcribed both the interviews from these video-tapes. The full interviews are used, except for a few minimal summaries. This is

mentioned in the transcript, which is of the English translation of the interviews.

The fourth case study took place at the Oregon Coast in a seminar on body symptoms led by Dr. Mindell and Dr. Schuepbach. There were approximately a hundred people present. Dr. Mindell facilitated this process. The work was video-taped. I transcribed the work from the video-tape. The work is transcribed in whole apart from short summaries. Summaries are mentioned in the transcription.

TREATMENT OF DATA AND PROCEDURES

FIRST CASE STUDY. Because of the complexity and the many issues presented within the first interview I chose to present it in its full length prior to the section of analysis to give the best overview. In the section of analysis, which follows, I have repeated the sections of the interview that are addressed in the analysis and discussion.

SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH CASE STUDIES. I found that these three pieces of work were best presented by breaking the transcript into sections. Each section is followed by the analysis and discussion of the section.

FOCUS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis focused on how and when moral values impacted the individual working, as well as the style of intervention chosen by the therapist in regard to moral values.

CHAPTER VI

TOWARDS A PROCESS ORIENTED CRIMINOLOGY

THE TWO VIEWS ON CRIMINOLOGY

Structural explanations of crime, generally called the liberal view, focus on social inequity or social disorganization rooted in hierarchy, deprivation, coercion, and alienation. Crime is seen as determined by the material conditions of a society or the social structure. The alternative view, generally called the conservative view, associates crime with individual pathology, be it moral, emotional, or genetic and sees crime as volitional--a matter of personal choice. The controversy between the two is apparent in their opposing views regarding the causes of crime as well as their disagreements about the most effective responses to crime. At its core, the controversy comes down to competing visions of the good/bad society and the good/bad human nature and whether crime is rooted in social or individual pathologies.

THE LIMITATIONS OF BOTH VIEWS

THE CONSERVATIVE MODEL encourages more police in the streets, longer and harsher sentences, and consequently, the building of more prisons. Obviously a person locked up cannot commit a crime against a person on the outside. This

simplicity is deceptive. Prisons and jails have a dual effect: they protect society from criminals, which is needed, but they also contribute to crime by transferring their violent subculture to outside communities once inmates are released. It is a well-known fact that basic survival tactics are necessary to endure even a short stay in prison. Inmates learn to strike first and to seek protection and strength in gangs often comprised of dangerous offenders. Additionally, any criminal removed from the street scene is likely to be replaced by another. This is especially true in connection with drug dealing. (Donziger 1996). Overall, according to statistics, this approach has not proven successful except in the area of community police, where additional police have proven a success.

This is the functional aspect of the problem; the financial element provides even greater contradictions and failures. The projected rise in prison population as a result of "get tough" strategies was projected to cost \$70 billion (at 1985 rates) for construction of additional prisons alone (Currie 1985). Add to this \$14 billion a year in operating costs. The \$70 billion amount is far more than double the entire 1982 aggregate income deficit of poor families in America. It is twice what it would take to lift every poor family in America above the poverty line. The \$14 billion a year needed for operating costs of the penal system could put more than 3/4 of a million people to work at a wage sufficient to support a four-person urban family at a lower budget level, or at about 50% above the poverty line. Alternatively, it could provide a million youths with solid jobs at an entry level wage of \$7 an hour (Currie 1985).

THE LIBERAL MODEL considers it an established fact that racism and

distributive justice are the main causes of crime. However, the focus on social injustice as the main cause of crime led the liberal approach to fail in other areas, such as in the ability to recognize when individual pathology was part of the crime problem. This can be seen as denying the complexity and seriousness of crime.

The liberal model has often, in the past, responded with poorly conceived, ill equipped, and superficial programs (Currie 1985), which, in an attempt to prove social injustice, released individuals who should not at that time have been released. One example was a recommendation to a program for psychopaths which led to a prisoner's escape and consequently to the hanging of two teenage girls (Scheingold 1991). A consequence of not recognizing the complexity of crime was that many such programs were bound to fail. The liberal support for education and job training was not equally matched by a commitment to job creation. Much of the therapy offered lacked therapeutic integrity, that is, it failed to follow through on the theoretical assumptions about what the situation would actually require (Currie 1985). Programs like "Project Head Start", however, which focus on leveling the playing field for children of low-income families by focusing on the child's intellectual, emotional and social development have proven successful (Donziger 1996).

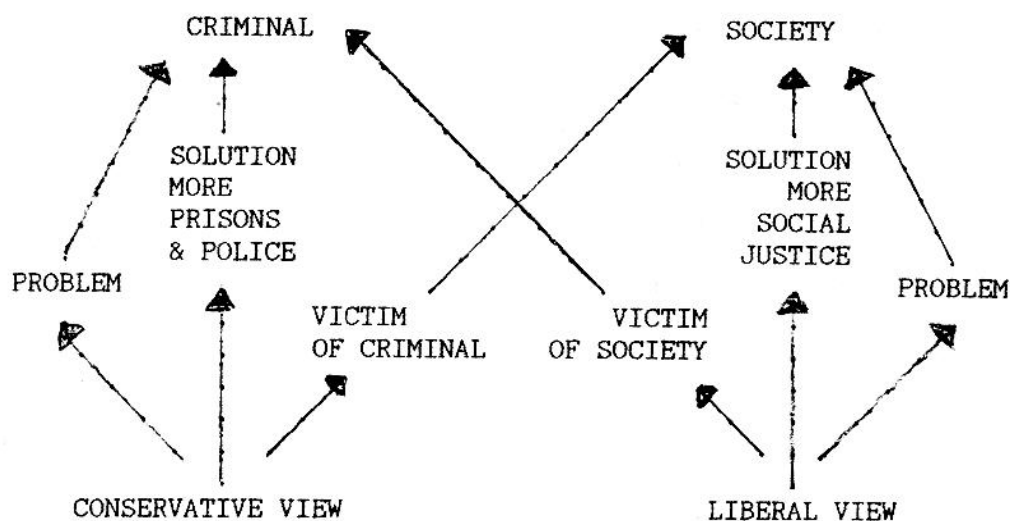
SAME SYSTEM

Although the two views seem completely opposed, they have much in common: they are two sides of the same system. The controversy is happening within the same paradigm - that is the paradigm of "good and evil" - although viewed

through opposite causality: is the evil one the individual or society at large? As reciprocal reactions within the same symmetry they sustain and escalate each other. Both are right and wrong at the same time¹.

Applied causality in search for homeostasis keeps us within a dualistic paradigm with no way out and has not proven successful. A different range of paradigm is needed to unlock the system--one that can explain and include both these views and additionally go beyond the deadlock of causality.

DIAGREM # 5. THE LIMITATIONS OF THE MODELS.



THE CONSERVATIVE view causally connects the pathology of the individual as the origin of criminality. Society is the victim of criminals, and society is considered to need healing through restitution, retribution and deterrence. From this view, the most effective response to crime is to increase the number of police and to increase prison capacity.

* * * * *

¹ Personal conversation with Dr. Schuepbach 1996

THE LIBERAL VIEW causally connects the pathology of society and the origin of criminality. The individual is seen as the victim of social injustice and as the part that needs healing through therapy and equal opportunities. From this view, the most effective response to crime is to change the social distribution system.

BOTH views address crime as something that can be eliminated.

PROCESS WORK does not share this view, but aims to process crime with the hope of minimizing its detrimental effects for the individual and society. Process work suggests that we all, in a sense, are victims of the zeitgeist or timespirit ². By processing the various experiences within the field, the roles, produced by the timespirit, can change. This approach requires an attitude of deep democracy that allows us to see all roles as necessary parts for the field's evolution.

According to field theory, there will always be disavowed parts in the field. The content of the ghost roles and city shadows changes over time as the timespirits change, but because disavowed parts serve a balancing function within the field, they are inevitable. Process work additionally suggests that disavowed roles reflect valuable information about society. They are a valuable resource that could fertilize the ground of society rather than being dumped as garbage.

* * * * *

² Personal conversation with Dr. Schuepbach 1996.

Theoretical and empirical evidence shows that conflicts polarize around unaddressed and disavowed parts of a field ³ . Whatever is not addressed in a field emerges in the next polarization. If all aspects of a field are brought forth and supported to interact, role identifications tend to be less rigid. Interacting roles change and simultaneously influence timespirits to change. This in turn effects change within a society.

From a process work perspective the conservative and liberal views are seen as roles in the field--brought forth or dreamt up by the symmetry of the field--in a group process about marginalization and centrality, hierarchy and rank. The content of the group process is good and evil, which through institutionalized laws and moral codes splits the field into that which goes along with dominant culture, and that which is repressed, aborted or disavowed according to these laws and morals ⁴ .

From this view criminality becomes an educational process that reflects society. Through processing all parts of the field new awareness of the whole can arise. This will influence some parts of mainstream culture to change, while others will remain the same. The pain and suffering can be greatly reduced, and the field can be relieved. The timespirit will gradually change and over time younger generations will take these changes further.

* * * * *

³ Worldwork seminars 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995.

⁴ Personal conversation with Dr. Schuepbach.

THE PROCESS WORK PERSPECTIVE ON CRIME

Criminality is seen as a polarized aspect to our constitutionalized agreement of social behavior. Criminality is a disavowed aspect of society, while society is a disavowed aspect of the criminal--both roles are polarized by the symmetry of the field. The social edges that rigidify role structure freeze the field. The criminal offender is seen as a ghost role or city shadow filling a disavowed vacuum in the social field. The city shadow is not only a personal aspect of the individual, but a social aspect that is addressing and needing the attention of mainstream for change to occur. Thus group or collective processing becomes an essential part of work with criminality.

The criminal offender is seen as one role in the social field. Reversing the perspective and viewing the field from the criminal role, Schuepbach⁵ suggests that one aspect of working with the offender must include addressing mainstream culture, the police, and the prison system as a disavowed aspect of the criminal offender. In a process oriented structural analysis the primary process of the criminal offender is one of being outside society's institutionalized agreements about social behavior. Schuepbach concludes that it is important that the work focus in part around the criminal offender's edge to join mainstream culture. This edge needs to be unfolded and processed, as well as the unfolded process needs to be integrated by the criminal offender before she/he can be assimilated back into society.

This requires establishing a relationship between the internal aspects of the "criminal" and the "police" in order to relieve society of this relationship.

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⁵ Personal conversation with Dr. Schuepbach 1996

Schuepbach views the overall secondary aspect of the criminal offender as the process of getting "caught" (see case study one: "Bill's disavowed aspect", p.133), meaning the criminal offender needs to identify with his/her criminal behavior and get to understand the deeper layers behind the behavior. It is a process of "imprisonment", in so far as the criminal process needs to be "caught" internally by the criminal offender, who additionally needs to learn to live the unfolded pattern through other channels or modes of experience⁶. Until the offender is able to take over this process of imprisonment and arrest his/her criminal process, it happens within the walls of a prison. The criminal needs to become the "prison" that can facilitate the "criminal" process, meaning she/he gains a metaposition to his/her criminal process. The therapist needs to be able to help unfold this process so it can be channeled through other modes of experience. The main focus of the therapeutic work on the personal level must center around the individual's edge to joining the mainstream and thus the ability to switch roles, so that the person does not simply remain in a polarized position relative to society.

A DIMENSIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Process work offers additional perspectives to the crime debate. The following describes the different ideologies in terms of levels of complexity to give an

* * * * *

⁶ Shakur (1993) spent approximately two decades in and out of prisons beginning when he became a gang member at age 11. His gangster name, Monster Cody, was a name that described his actions, and was well "earned". However, as he grew older he realized that the process behind his rage and fury was not to be a gangster, but to be a revolutionary fighting for the rights of people of color. The criminal was caught and unfolded, which allowed the process to be lived in another mode of experience. The unfolded criminal process was channeled into political action.

overview of the differences in the approaches as well as of the additional contributions process work has to offer to this field.

TWO DIMENSIONAL

A two dimensional view moves horizontally back and forth between two states: good and evil. The view is static, and the individual is viewed, described and understood within this dualistic paradigm of value opposites in which the goal is to eliminate one of the opposites. This state orientation does not allow background processes to emerge. This is the conservative view.

THREE DIMENSIONAL

A three dimensional view adds the vertical dimension of up and down, or rank and hierarchy. The individual is additionally viewed within a social context, with the focus on social equality versus inequality. This is also called the liberal view.

FOUR DIMENSIONAL

The fourth dimension adds time and change and moves from a static dualistic paradigm to one that sees individuals as processes rather than states or identities. Mindell describes the fourth dimension as the one where static experiences transform into processes (class fall 1995). Process work sees the time and change factor as an inherent potential aspect of the process itself, if unfolded.

Time is part of the conservative and liberal views as well. In those views, time is seen not as an inherent factor but as a causally applied force, inducing change from the outside through punishment or social action.

Process work thus views the polarization between good and evil very differently than do state oriented views. The conservative view addresses the frozen state of evil as one that needs to be eliminated, if necessary by force or punishment, for the state of good to occur. The process oriented view of time allows events and experiences to transform from states to processes in which one state flows into another. The move from state oriented thinking to process oriented thinking allows states to unfold so the inherent wisdom and direction within them can be brought to awareness. This perspective sees polarities as the basis of awareness instead of seeing polarities as an indication that one pole should be eliminated. Process work sees awareness as the basis of change.

Going back to the example of Shakur (1993) I mentioned earlier, a valid guess is that erasing "evilness" or fury through behavioral changes without recognizing the deeper process behind the crime might instead have somatized the process in his body as a lethal disease. Once the process was unfolded and understood the fury that started out looking "evil" turned into a process that held an equal amount of "good" and care as well.

FIVE DIMENSIONAL

Process work also considers a fifth dimension, which Mindell calls the dimension of dreaming (class fall 1995). This is the dimension of the unknown, which views experiences outside of causal connections. It brings in the aspect of the spirit. This is the direct experience of things beyond good and evil, right and wrong. It has no name associated with it.

These dimensional aspects are incorporated in the following attempt at a

process oriented criminology.

LEVELS OF INTERVENTION

Process oriented criminology views crime from a field perspective, and its interventions are designed accordingly. Crime is addressed on a personal as well as a social level in order to sufficiently bring forth the complexity of the field and the criminal phenomena.

Over the period of approximately two years that I assisted Dr. Schuepbach in his work with criminal offenders in various prisons around the world, we designed the following paradigm of interventions to work with criminal offenders.

The three levels of intervention:

1) THE DREAMING PROCESS BEHIND THE CRIMINAL ACT

The focus on this level is on re-accessing the criminal act in order to unfold the dreaming process or teleological aspect behind the crime.

2) THE INTERNAL ASPECT OF THE CRIMINAL OFFENDER

The focus on this level is on the criminal offender's edge to join the mainstream, and on developing the ability to establish an internal relationship between the "criminal" and the "police".

3) THE CRIMINAL OFFENDER AS A CITY SHADOW

On this level, if the criminal offender shows no interest in the dreaming aspects of the crime or in establishing a relationship to the disavowed

aspect of him/herself, it is left to society to pick up on the city shadow aspect of the field, and to see it as belonging to society.

THE DREAMING PROCESS BEHIND THE CRIMINAL ACT

If a new identity is to emerge, an individual first needs to be personally recognized for whom she/he is. Thus one aspect of a process oriented criminology includes unfolding the personal dreaming aspect behind the crime. Work on this level focuses on re-accessing the crime and unfolding the teleological aspect or the dreaming process behind the crime.

From this perspective the criminal act is seen not as an end result, but as a beginning or a doorway into a process that has its own meaning and creativity. When this aspect is unfolded, it can be used as a guideline to the direction rehabilitation should take. The process reveals a layer of the individual that points towards an inner direction, supported by an inner dream structure. From this perspective the individual's process is not seen as a problem that needs to be redirected through behavioral change (as many correctional systems suggest in theories such as thinking error correction), but as a process needing completion. Since a process is already trying to happen, completion brings understanding to the underlying and unconscious aspects behind the process, which makes integration and sustainability possible.

Awareness of the background dreaming structure can in turn be brought into dialogue with society. As shown in the second case study, the process often contains a message that is connected to disavowed aspects of the larger social

field. Not only does the life of the criminal gain a new level of meaning--because the individual does not feel pathologized but addressed in regard to unique and new aspects of his/her being--but society, as well, can be enriched. Because criminality opposes institutionalized society, a process oriented view sees criminality as a world channel process in which the individual gains understanding of his/her role as a part of the larger field. More often than not, this role carries valuable information for society.

Different roles have different centrality in the field. The marginalized role of the criminal usually lacks a sense of self worth and self respect. Thus unfolding the process on this level of intervention takes the person experientially outside of the focus of social centrality and marginalization, and helps the person access a deeper aspect of self, which tends to lead towards self appreciation.

Being able to transform the content of one's role into something that has a sense of purpose for the whole gives a person a sense of centrality in his/her own life, and the hostility towards society can decrease.

THE INTERNAL ASPECT OF THE CRIMINAL OFFENDER

A criminal offender is a polarized and disavowed role in the social field. While the disavowed aspect belongs to the collective level, the polarized aspect needs to be addressed on the personal level, because the polarized part of the person is the one who commits the crime.

A mainstream woman using the tools of process work in connection with her

breast cancer is likely to experience a secondary process of becoming less mainstream in certain areas of her life⁷. She is working on her edge to certain non-mainstream aspects of herself. Her growth and healing are related to how well she can reflect and live this aspect in her life. Her secondary process is pointing in the direction of less conventionality. (See also case study four).

The criminal offender is in the reversed position, with society as the disavowed aspect. More often than not the criminal offender experiences him/herself as the victim of society. Society is "other", or a secondary aspect, which the offender refuses to focus on because it does not fit the momentary identity. Thus the growth and development of the offender is related to how well she/he manages to establish a relationship to this disavowed aspect of her/himself. The edge to join mainstream culture needs to be unfolded and processed.

Part of this process is to "catch" the criminal internally by establishing a relationship between the inner aspects of the "police" and the "criminal". In people who commit criminal acts, thus far this relationship has been lived as an external relationship with law enforcement (see case study one).

Rehabilitation, from this aspect, means that society is relieved of this aspect of the relationship. It has to be internalized. Once the "criminal" is "caught" by the offender, it can be unfolded, which makes it possible for the person to live the process legitimately through other channels or modes of experience.

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⁷ Lava Rock Clinic seminars. A bi-annual seminar focusing on body symptoms facilitated by Dr. Mindell and Dr. Schuepbach.

Catching and unfolding the "criminal" involves work on various edges. These edges are most likely connected to issues of abuse, anomie and revenge. As long as these inner stories are incomplete, they tend to block awareness and prevent a metaposition to the criminal behavior. Morally judging the criminal only serves to escalate these feelings, and brings the offender further away from these edges and awareness.

ABUSE, ANOMIE, AND REVENGE

Most offenders have a background with personal and social abuse, which forwards a sense of anomie along with feelings of revenge. This part of the individual is generally the one committing the crime. The individual needs to gain awareness of the different aspects and edges connected to this part.

One of the strong points of the liberal view is that it addresses the criminal offender as a victim of social circumstances. This important point needs to be dealt with. It is, however, not enough to build an unconscious coalition with the part of the person that was victimized, as it allows the "criminal" aspect of the offender to escape from awareness once again. Issues of abuse, anomie, and revenge need to be unfolded, healed, and processed in the collective field, where it was induced. The wounds needs healing and the anger needs to be addressed. This is important for any human being, and especially important when working with criminal offenders because these issues tend to inhibit work on the central edge to mainstream living. This aspect also addresses the conservative point of the criminal offender needing to take personal

responsibility for the choices made in life.

As mentioned earlier, edges and state oriented thinking freeze the roles in the field. This is also true for the criminal role. The offender needs help regarding role fluidity and role switching. The edge towards occupying the criminal role is low, while the edge to occupying certain mainstream roles is high. In problematic situations with high stress and tension the individual tends to enter the role with the lowest edge. Thus the better the individual knows him/herself in regard to these edges, the freer and the better equipped she/he is to handle such situations. Rather than facilitating role change and fluidity, the current crime policy sustains role identity.

THE CRIMINAL OFFENDER AS A CITY SHADOW

How do we as a society get along with a person who has mainly turned against and does not care about the rest of society, or who does not agree with our social structure, because she/he feels the governing powers do not care about her/him? What do we as a society do with a criminal offender who demonstrates no interest in getting to know more about him/herself and his/her criminal actions, meaning the person is perpetuating the status quo by remaining in the criminal "role, while demonstrating no interest in change?

Arnold Mindell suggests that such people are part of society's "dreaming" (1988). Societal dreaming manifests itself through individual members of society who take on the role of the city shadow and channel society's repressed and unrealized psychology. The city shadow is stuck in "a state which is normally antagonistic or unusual in a given community" (1988: 174).

The city shadow is stuck because the role is disavowed by the rest of society.

According to the theory of the city shadow, such processes carry valuable information that is not only personal in nature, but addresses society in regard to neglected parts of its psychology. These processes therefore need to be attended to on a social level for change to occur.

Society's dreaming, apparent through the aspect of the city shadow, needs to be heard and unfolded on a collective level in order to create greater awareness for everybody. We have to listen to these people and their stories of discomfort, unhappiness, greed and rage. We have to unfold their stories publicly within the mainstream mind. This process of unfolding, dialoguing, and negotiating needs to happen between the mainstream mind and the marginalized mind (see case study one). We have to realize that we as a society express split off parts of our wholeness through our city shadows, and that an individual's development is coupled with the development of society and vice versa. As much as we need and want criminal offenders not to stay polarized to society, but to catch and relate to their criminal sides, it is equally important that we as a society pick up on our city shadow aspect and recognize it within ourselves as well as within society for resolution to happen.

THE CASE STUDIES

The next chapter introduces the first case study, the story of Bill, who has been a professional criminal for 30 years. He has a long term identity as a

criminal offender. I will address each of the above mentioned interventions in the analysis of this case. Bill gives negative feedback to unfolding the dreaming aspect of his crime at this point, thus the main focus of the analysis is on the aspect of the city shadow. The internal aspect of Bill's crime is addressed and discussed along with the influence of abuse, anomie, and issues of revenge.

The second, third and fourth case studies show different aspects of the criminal field as well as the unfolding of these processes. The interventions that are applied in the cases all follow the guidelines described above. The analysis of the cases follows the process oriented paradigm described in chapter IV and additionally refers to the interventions described above.

CHAPTER VII

CASE STUDY I: THE CITY SHADOW

HISTORY

Bill is awaiting his trial. He has been caught with a big transport of marijuana on the open sea off the Australian coast. Bill is a career criminal and has been living his life outside the mainstream since he was 11 years old. Prior to this he has been convicted for repeated serious crimes: larceny, aggravated assault, attempted murder, and drug trafficking.

SETTING

We are sitting in a small room in an Australian maximum security prison. Present are Bill, Max Schuepbach, a staff person, and myself. The interview lasted for approximately two hours.

THE INTERVIEW

We are 5-10 minutes into the interview by the time the tape recorder is allowed to be turned on. Bill is talking to us about the corrupt nature of the police by giving a description of his recent arrest.

B: . . . and I've got no doubt that we would have got away with it, if we had declared that we had just got \$150 million, and would have offered: "Here's a hundred, and we'll keep fifty". Then there would have been no blue

whatsoever.

Staff: He could fill in a tax form and say: "I earned this much money smuggling hash: \$150 million", and they would send him a demand for \$10 million in tax, and he could pay it and the tax department would not let the police know, because they keep all their records separate, the secrecy and things like that . . . sick, isn't it? I think it's just changing, but that's the way it's been.

M: Wow, so I didn't know that, but I think that's everywhere. In the US it's even worse. In the United States, especially after the O.J. Simpson trial . . . in America, now . . . the point is that the general public no longer if a case comes up . . . no longer knows who is lying.

B: It's the same anywhere, in any legal system . . . the best liar wins. That's why I was convicted the last time, because the police told better lies than I did.

Staff: If you realize that in this state at the moment there is a Royal Commission going on into the police force and there have been just the most amazing revelations of set ups, lies, corruption, institutionalized perjury, stolen money.

M: And I read that they are thinking of giving an amnesty to the police. Did you read that? Two days ago in the morning newspaper. There are so many corrupt officers in Australia and in New South Wales that they are thinking of declaring an amnesty just to get rid of them.

B: It's Australia wide. It's not just in New South Wales. It's just that this is going to be the biggest thing. A few years ago in Queensland, they had the Fitzgerald inquiry, and in that the Commissioner of Police up there went to jail. So that was just through taking bribes from prostitutes and things like that; but this is going right into institutionalized perjury where they say, "He told me he did this" and ridiculous things. Like, I've been a thief since I was an 11 year old kid. That was one of my first convictions.

M: You were a what?

B: I have been a thief since I was an 11 year old kid and I am 41. I was pinched in 1978 and the police said "I believe your . . . due and we want you for armed robbery, and I said: "Yes, I did it". I made four confessions, but I didn't sign any of them, and they just get up in court and say "Well why would this police officer risk his career. He has been a policeman for 15 years. Why would he risk his career to put this man in jail, when he doesn't know him?" But it's just right across the board.

M: And the answer to that is "He doesn't risk his career"?

B: No, he doesn't risk his career. There have been police who have been. . . . the Ananda Marga case; can you remember that? They tried to pinch them for the bulletin bomb and all that; but the policemen that was involved in that

. . . they got let out . . . exonerated completely, and another bloke he was charged with armed robbery . . . confession and that . . . he's just been promoted to the Deputy Commissioner and they know he's been in court perjuring himself. Billingham?? his name is.

M: Wow, heavy . . . you know.

B: Well, to me it's not, because I know the rules of the game, and the game is how it is in New South Wales. If you can give them some money, you can get through the breaks, but if not, well, they are going to tell as many lies to put you in jail.

M: How come you didn't do that when they caught you with . . . You could have said "Well we'll give you the money"?

B: I offered them money, but they said "No, you've been shooting." See, they tried to arrest me at one time and I was shooting at them.

M: They do not like when you try to shoot at them . . .

B: Well then they try and shoot me back. It's just part of the game.

M: Before that they take the money, but they get angry if you shoot them.

B: The thing is that if you are a shoplifter or a drug dealer, you get the money and you are not hurting anyone but if you start running around with a gun, there is the potential for you to kill someone, see, and that frightens them and so they say "Oh this bloke's got to go to jail. We are not doing business with him." You know, that's just their attitude. Like I went to a boys' home when I was 11 and I have been through the system all the way through. I knew, the first day I picked up a gun and said I'm going to start robbing people at gun point, I knew, that the only option for me was that either I get away, which was a very slight chance, because you have got to keep doing it, or I was going to get killed or go to jail.

M: You knew that, but you could do that?

B: Circumstances were that I did not have much option. I couldn't go out shoplifting any more.

M: Why not?

B: Because I was wanted for other matters, and I was trying to stay out of jail and you go out stealing every day, you are going to get caught, and I said, well I've got a gun, I'll go and rob someone, and then I have only got to go out and rob someone once a month instead of going out stealing, you know, four or five hundred dollars off the players for a third every day, you've only got to go out once a month and rob a bank.

M: But you knew you were going to get caught

sooner or later.

B: Oh it was only a matter of time, isn't it.

M: Is it?

B: Oh basically.

M: There must be some people who get away with it though?

B: Not many.

M: Wow, the police aren't that good are they?

B: Most people can't keep a secret to themselves. Then somebody rats. People, see, if I got out tomorrow, and I'm out two or three months and all of a sudden, I am driving around in a nice Merc with a Armani suit on or something like that, they say "Oh he's at it", and they talk in conversation "Oh I saw Bill the other day, and he's got a brand new Merc, he's got a nice Rolex on his hand, he must be at it again."

M: Jealousy?

B: Well I don't know whether it's jealousy or whether they talk . . . they can't help gossiping, and then it goes down and everything gets blown out of proportion going down. That's just the way it is.

M: I can follow that.

B: Actually, I am interested in changing the system, but by myself as one individual, I can't do it.

M: You need an organization at the back of you.

B: And you need plenty of political clout behind you.

M: It's a mixture of politics, and power struggles and massaging the right people in the right spots. So you would know what we have to go through to get in here?

B: That's life. It's the game.

II

M: So you said that where you grew up it was like if you want something, you had to steal something. Why? How? Was your father a thief?

B: No, he worked. My mother had two jobs; but I just looked at them and thought: they are getting nowhere, why should I . . . Like even when I left

school, they got me to be an apprentice plumber . . . \$14 a week wages. The first day they gave me \$11 and said "You are the nipper go and get the morning teas' . . . So there's a week wages in my hand and I went straight to the beach. Then when I got home my old man gave me a clip around the ears, because it was his mate that gave me the job. But you know, I always thought I was smarter than everyone else, and I'm too smart to do that, I'm too smart to do this, and then all of a sudden you are in boys' home or jail.

M: But where did you get the idea from?

B: Well, I come from the inner city, which was the slum. It's a trendy area now. But I come from the inner city, and it was working class.

M: Have you ever worked as a boxer?

B: No, I've fought a lot of people over the years, but I don't stick to the rules. That helps you know. I'm more inclined to go like that than down like that. Because my hands have all been broken over the years.

M: So you grew up in the inner city . . . and then?

B: And then that's just the way . . . kids running around stealing, running wild, it just never changed, and you know, I went to a boys' home when I was 11 and you know, you learned things in the boys' home . . . Because I stuck my hand in a bookie's bag one time to get money . . . cause where I lived, you know, the trotting track . . . I used to live just on the hill looking into the trotting track, and as a kid I used to go to the trots every Friday night.

M: The trots is like the races?

B: Yes, but like not the horse races, but with the gig behind it. We lived just near the trots. I used to go to the trots every Friday night, and the bookmaker was there with his bag, and then the temptation was too much, and I just went and went rip and got away with it two weeks in a row, and then too stupid, I went to the same bookmaker on the third week and got arrested. That was it. Straight to a boys' home, and then I went into stealing cars.

M: And then you got out? Say something about the boys' home though.

B: I just told them I don't think it is a good idea for an 11 year old kid to be taken away from their parents and just stuck in the middle of nowhere with 30 other kids and getting hit around the head by adults who you don't even know.

M: And then you got out and you stole cars?

B: Stole cars, break and entry . . . just graduated.

M: One more question. Are you ready for that? So far, so good. At what point did you decide to use a gun?

B: 1974.

M: Why, what happened in 1974?

B: Well, I was running around shoplifting with some people and I was in Melbourne, and there was a war going on . . . the painters and dockers war and all that . . . one of the people.

M: What's that, two gangs?

B: No, it was a union . . . the painters and dockers union, and I was involved with one of the people that was involved in that. We were shoplifting, and he had a gun, and I said, well, if they come and kill you, I am with you, and they are going to kill me. So I got a gun, and then we were running around with guns in the car, shoplifting; and I said, this is fucking ridiculous. We've got guns here, and we are going out stealing \$500 worth of groceries out of that shop, why don't we just run into a bank with the gun? And it just went from there.

M: That's called logical thinking.

B: Well, it wasn't real logical, now I look back on it, and it got me a lot longer [time in prison] than I would have got if I was shoplifting.

M: Would you have preferred to stay shoplifting?

B: Oh well, the amount of time, you only get three or four months for shoplifting.

M: You look like you have come to terms with it being part of your lifestyle.

B: Well it is. If you are a professional criminal, part of is going to jail . . . It's like if you are a bricklayer, you end up with a sore back? It's an occupational hazard.

M: What I hear you saying is that using the gun is like, let's say, you are a lawyer, and you were defending . . . part of your job was defending prostitutes, and they pay you a couple of hundred dollars for each time, and then one time you think to yourself: well, I might as well defend OJ Simpson and make a million.

B: Well, that's basically the way it is.

M: Like an upgrading of the career.

B: And then I got out of jail and went from armed robbery to drug smuggling, which was even more money in that. And . . .

M: Then how come was there shooting people in there?

B: Well, it was either that or get arrested. In order to avoid getting arrested you had to at least . . .

M: Was it hard on you?

B: Not really, because they had done something very bad to me, or that I thought at the time was very bad and I punished them for doing that.

M: Survival so to speak. You were living where you can't really call up the cops and say: "Listen!"

B: Well you can't. "Listen, I've got this guy who's doing . . . why don't you go and arrest him. I'm going to take him to court". It doesn't work like that. Unless someone puts a gun to your head, and you go like that and they blow your finger off. As soon as you get out of hospital, you go and get a gun and shoot at them. It's that simple. It wasn't real good for him or his family, now looking back on it. But at the time it was the right thing to do.

IV

M: Do you remember any dreams that you had as a child?

B: Not really.

M: Do you remember anything outstanding that happened when you were a kid?

B: The thing I remember mainly, when I was a kid, you know, like, I think, it could be my earliest memory. I can remember, I was with someone, and we were going on this house . . . They were building a house, and I fell. I was walking along, and I lost my footing, and I fell. I fell, it was about four feet, and I remembered that, and I asked me mother about it about five years ago, and she said, "Oh yeah, you were with so and so, and he was a friend of the family, and he was building his house, and you were there . . . and you fell off, and you ended up in the hospital and all that.

M: A friend of yours was building a house?

B: A friend of my parent's. I was only about four or five or something like that . . .

M: And you . . .

(Phone call interrupts. The staff member is talking on the phone at the same time as the interview goes on. Makes it impossible to hear recording of interview. Tape stops).

B: . . . that's all they were doing. Even if you are not a crook, you have got to play the game. You have got to go to work and all that. It's all a game this, you know, people go on different things.

M: You were saying about the house . . .

B: Yes, it was a friend of my parents, and I was only a kid. My parents probably went to work or something, and he said, "I'll mind him, while I'm doing this." But I can remember falling and being in hospital and that over it, you know, and . . . years later, I thought, "Geeze, how far back can I remember"? But I can remember that, and I asked my mother . . .

M: Something heavy must have happened?

B: Yeah, I broke my leg.

M: Oh, is that what happened, and you came into the hospital?

B: And I was in the hospital and that's the earliest memory I can remember. I can't remember things that happened two years ago.

M: That's really far back.

B: I can remember the boys' home. I can remember the night I stuck my hand in the bookie's bag . . . my father said to me. . . before I even went to the trots, he said to me, "Don't you go to the trots, you'll end up pinched" and I said, "No I'm going to . . ."

M: Pinched?

B: Arrested.

M: Because you weren't allowed to go?

B: Well I had done it three weeks in a row. It was in the papers the week before, and I went out, and I had three hundred pound, and I said to my father, "Look what I found," and he said, "I know what you've been doing, give me that. I'm giving it back and . . ."

M: He gave it back?

B: No he bought a car with it. But at the time I didn't realize, but looking back on it, he bought a car with it.

M: You're smiling at that. How many kids are buying their father a car when they are 11?

B: It ended up getting 12 months stolen (notice the word he uses) off me when I was a kid. Now, that's the only thing, I regret, going to a boys' home.

V

B: Now I'm married. Last time I was in jail, it was a lot easier than this. Yeah well, I didn't have a wife or kids then.

M: And now you are married and you have kids, how many?

B: Two. Especially with the youngest one, because I used to take him with me, because he was too young to go to school, I used to take him on planes and come down here. I live in xxx, and if I had to come down here to meet people about business, I would come down here and book into the Hilton or somewhere like that, and he used to love the room service and everything.

M: How old is he?

B: He's five in February. But when my wife comes down here now, she stays at her mother's place, and he doesn't want to. He wants to go to the hotel. He's used to good quality? You know, like my kids never ate sausages . . . they might now . . . I had filet steak for them, you know, Reebok running shoes. Now my wife's living on the pension.

M: Their standard of living is down?

B: But so is mine, so what can you say. You've got to take the sour with the sweets.

VI

M: Do you remember any dreams?

B: Of the ones I've had probably in the last five years, the only ones, I remember is basically ones about crime and getting chased by police, and if I have a dream, I usually scream out and wake myself up.

M: Did you ever actually dream you were being chased by the police?

B: Oh countless times. They're weird because they chop and change, you know, like one minute you are in a car driving, and the next minute you're running over roofs like in completely different circumstances, and there's different people, like they are not the same people that were in the car and things like that, you know, it's weird. You dream that, and then the scene changes,

and the cops are after you? Yeah, basically that's the theme that has been in it. When I first come here, I was dreaming a lot about me brother in law getting chased by the police, because he's wanted on this . . . I think your dreams are what you are thinking about before you go to sleep, and it's just a carry on, and you forget bits and pieces at the time. I started on those nicotine patches to try to give up smoking. When I first started on that, I was having a lot of weird dreams. But other than that, I don't remember them. I wake up and say "Oh shit that was mad, I'm going back to sleep to see what happened." But in the morning you don't remember.

M: That's too bad.

B: Oh I don't know if it's too bad. It's like . . . pain, you forget about it as soon as possible.

VII

M: Are you off smoking now?

B: Well I've started again and now I'm on the smallest patch. It went good for a two months.

M: You didn't smoke?

B: Oh, I was probably having a packet a week, instead of a packet a day . . . now I'm having three packets a week.

M: Oh, would you like to stop? Do you want some help with that?

B: Well nicotine patches is about the only help you can get.

M: I know an additional one.

B: Oh yeah, what?

M: A particular exercise. You want to try it?

B: Yeah?

M: Remember the last time you smoked?

B: Yeah it wouldn't be a half an hour ago.

M: Okay, show me what you do when you smoke. Do you remember the experience when you pulled in the smoke?

B: Not really.

M: Well try to remember.

B: Well I remember how to do it but . . .

M: Do you remember how it felt?

B: Well actually, it felt not real good because it wasn't the brand I usually smoke and it tasted putrid and I only smoked half of it.

M: What's your favorite brand?

B: Benson and Hedges--marijuana is me favorite.

M: What is it that you like about smoking . . . Is it the taste?

B: With me it's just the habit with me hands. If I sit down and have a cup of coffee, bang straight away I light a cigarette. If I'm free in the gardens, I will go three or four hours without one.

M: Because you are bored.

B: I know that's all it is . . .

M: Do you know why you are bored--because you are an adventurer. You think you are a thief but you are really an adventurer.

B: An adventurer. Will you mention that in court--do you reckon it will work for me?

VIII

(Bill is talking about the drug bust when he was arrested)

B: I was very adventurous I'm telling you. I'd never been on anything bigger than the Manly ferry and all of a sudden we are in 40 knot winds, 4 meter swells just crashing over the wheel house and landing on the back deck, and I can't remember ever being that scared before.

M: Don't you feel that's true for you, that you are an adventurer?

B: I play any game. That's just another way of looking at it. It's another category you can put yourself in.

M: It's a category of what?

B: But you know I don't put myself in any of those categories. I'm me, and I'm not a thief, an adventurer, a car driver or a bank clerk. I am me, and what I am today is me and I'm robbing a bank today . . . I'm still me. If today I'm robbing a bank, if tomorrow I'm smuggling drugs, I'm still me, but I am smuggling drugs.

M: Yes, but what is the you about? What you were saying in the beginning is you said . . . when you started to talk about yourself, you said "I was a thief since I was 11."

B: Well that's my trade. That doesn't mean that's me.

M: But maybe that's not really your trade. Maybe your real trade is an adventurer.

B: Well, to be honest with you, I tried to give it away, but, you know, I'm like this: if I hadn't got caught on this, I would never have committed another crime. No, I wouldn't have, I don't think. But who knows?

M: Why not?

B: Well, I would have had that much money. I wouldn't have needed to commit another crime.

M: Or if that would have gone down, you would have committed another crime?

B: I don't think so. But then I may have because you can get drunk in a pub and someone annoys you and you punch them in the face. That's a crime isn't it. Whether you've got money or not that can happen. But if I hadn't got arrested on this I don't think I would have premeditated to commit another crime. But maybe I would have. Maybe I would have said "oh well, that was fun, let's go again." Yeah . . . I know what I'm like.

M: What are you like?

B: I can't help myself. And you can't realistically look at it and say if you want to live this life and do what I do, you can't expect not to go to jail.

M: That's free spirited . . .

B: I'm in jail, but I'm not really in jail.

M: I feel that about you.

B: Well, I can walk around a jail and hold my head up high. There's no one in this jail that can get on top of me. There's a million people who can beat me in a fight, but no one will ever be able to stand over me or anything like that, even when I'm sixty or seventy, they won't be.

M: You are in jail but you are freer than a lot of people outside.

B: Oh, of course, you know, I'm not caught in the rat race. You know while

I'm in here, I am running around doing the gardening . . . if the jail stays here, keep it going, it's going to stay here, and twenty years down the track that was something I did. I've left me mark . . . with it such a shitty little mark as it is, I've left me mark on society.

IX

At the end of the tape Bill brings up the topic of prison guards.

B: Well, on the prison guards, I think in general they are different breeds from years and years ago. There's not the lock them up and just smash them and all that caper. Now there are some of them that are genuinely . . . they come into the system thinking that they can help change it . . . originally . . . but the system swallows them up. But at the moment, I only see the prison officers around this jail . . . they seem in general, if you don't give them a hard time, they don't go out of their way to cause you problems. Which is good in a lot of ways but it's bad in other ways too because the intermingling . . . I like it better us and them.

M: You do?

B: Yeah well, you know where you stand then. But that's just my own personal opinion. They have case management and all that sort of stuff now. I liked it better when they used to slam you, because it gives you someone to hate, you know, well, it did. I don't know if it was right or wrong, but it doesn't really matter. And that's the bottom line, it doesn't really matter whether I'm right or wrong. In general, I think, the prison officers now are a lot more approachable than they were 15 years ago.

M: But before it was in a way more . . . confrontations?

B: You had to fight for everything you got, you know, you would always have something, like I wanna do this, I wanna do that . . . and you had to manipulate around it . . . and they would say "Oh yeah, you haven't been cheeky this week . . .

X

Later:

M: . . . and then let's say you still want to have that fighting spirit . . . you like to fight for . . . what would you have fought for?

B: Well with this Royal Commission going on in the force, I would have thrown

a couple of hundred thousand in towards it . . . get these coppers . . . get them.

M: How come?

B: Cause they kicked me mother's door in, when I was a young thing, saying "We're going to kill him, where is he?" She had a heart attack. I'm bitter about that. They arrested me, they verballed me, they fitted me up and got me fifteen years. Where as in reality with the sentences that were going . . . comparative sentences around, blokes were getting six and seven . . . for four or five hold-ups. I was convicted on one and I got fifteen . . . simply because of what the police did and said, and I'm bitter on them. Not all police, just the ones that played the game with me, and they're the ones that are going to come up in this Royal Commission but I always feed a lot of money in because there's a lot of people in here that, you know you commit the crime, when you commit the crime you say "Look I'll get caught for four" you don't expect them to fabricate the evidence and all that to convict you. I thought the game was you've got your rules, we've got our rules, you can't cross that line, well they do, and when they do, it sort of shatters your image of the game, you know, the police's half of the game. Revenge would have been tasty.

XI

Before we leave Bill tells us:

B: I believe in karma. I believe if you do good, you will have that much good coming back. For every shitty action you do, you are going to get that much shit back on you and that's part of this, like this is part of the shit that I've done, you know?

ANALYSIS

In the numerous discussions I had with Dr. Max Schuepbach about this very complex interview, which weaves many different processes together, he helped me clarify the strands. Different avenues and possibilities in regard to Bill became clear through these discussions. The different avenues are discussed as they came up in the interview.

THE INTERVENTION STYLE

Max Schuepbach sets a supportive atmosphere by the way he interacts with Bill. He is trying to avoid a court-room atmosphere, which would inhibit the emergence of controversial or marginalized aspects of the process. Max signals that he is not there to judge or moralize Bill, which is likely to make Bill feel defensive and develop a resistance to the interview. The moment a person becomes defensive, the secondary aspect slips into the background again and can no longer be unfolded. Max additionally signals, through his interaction, that he is aware of the rank differences in their respective marginalized and centralized positions relative to the situation.

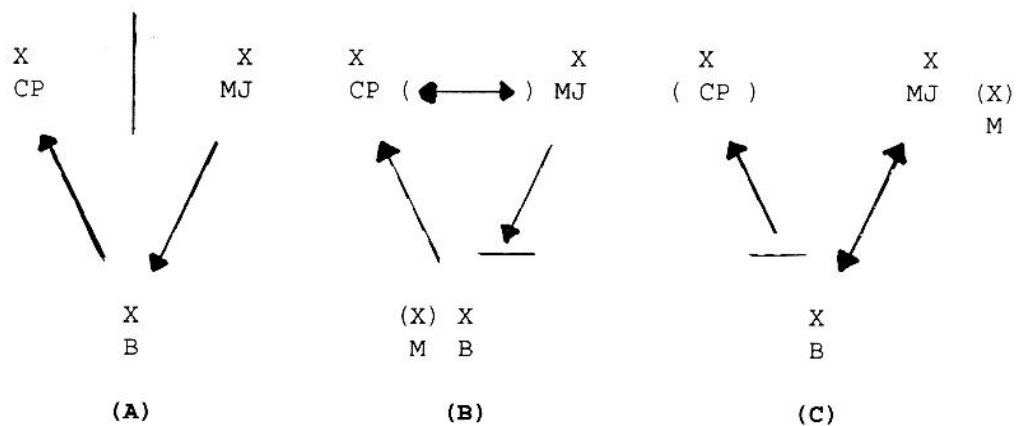
Bill gives good feedback to Max's style and the atmosphere by talking very openly about his life and criminal activity. In contrast, he gives negative feedback to unfolding the personal aspect of his crime by constantly switching topics. When Max suggests a direction, Bill blocks the flow of the communication by giving ambiguous answers such as, "Not really . . ." or "Well, I do . . ., but . . ." or "Well, actually (yes) . . ., but (no)" and

moves to another topic. His answers are neither yes or no, but they generally avoid going deeper into the various topics. This is interpreted as negative feedback to get into and focus on the personal aspect of his criminal activity for the moment.

The interview starts out with Bill defending himself by focusing on the corruption and criminal acts of the police, who supposedly are the good guys. Since the good guys are committing criminal acts, Bill, who supposedly is the bad guy, cannot be all that bad.

Bill is defending himself because there is a moral judge "present." This moral judge is partly an aspect of society, and of the prison setting, but it is also a disavowed internalized aspect of Bill. It is telling him that he is "no good"--a bad and evil person. Max interacts from the assumption that to unfold the criminal aspect, he will need to go onto Bill's side, which will momentarily incapacitate the moral figure that blocks Bill from looking at himself. By taking Bill's side against the corrupt activity of the police, Max is hoping to unravel the story behind the crime, and eventually to defrost the blocked dialogue between the moral judge, the disavowed aspect of the police and Bill. Schuepbach explains that he is interacting from the following viewpoint: There are 4 roles in the field: the corrupt police (CP), the criminal: Bill (B), Max (M), and there is a moral judge (MJ).

Diagram #6. Internal and External Roles



Example A:

There is a disavowed internal moral judge that constantly tells Bill that he is no good, that he is bad and evil. Bill blocks this out by focusing on the corruption of the police, and thus defends what he is doing. There is no access or relationship to the part of him that has a reaction to himself and what he is doing. Bill externalizes the judgment of the judge by focusing on police corruption. The relationship between the (internal) "corrupt part" and the judge is blocked.

Example B:

Max takes Bill's side in order to block the judge, hoping that the story between the corrupt police and Bill's personal history can be unfolded and completed. A result of this interaction could be that the blocked communication between the "corrupt part" (which is seen externally in the police, and which needs to be addressed internally in Bill) and the judge would flow and this aspect could be unfolded as well.

Bill, however, does not give good feedback to this intervention. One reason for this could be that he simply is not interested in this aspect of himself,

and prefers to stay a city shadow. However, his dreams indicate a secondary process of the police chasing the criminal. So we must at this point believe that there is a split off interest in eventually developing a relationship to this part.

Example C

Schuepbach suggests an additional possibility, which may be partly responsible for the negative feedback. It might no longer be right for Bill's secondary process to be unfolded through coalition building (Max siding with Bill against the corrupt police). Bill might need to be supported as well as challenged in a direct confrontation with the "moral judge." Bill might unconsciously at this point in his life want to leave his projections onto the police out all together.

Because there are incomplete abuse issues from Bill's past, such a confrontation would need a metaskill that simultaneously supports and challenges. Max could set up a role play between the moral judge and Bill, and simultaneously facilitate both sides. Thus while unfolding the process he could simultaneously challenge and support Bill through the interaction. Without such a metaskill the moral judge is likely to be projected or constellated externally in the interaction between Max and Bill, which is likely to make Bill defensive and resistant to the whole process, preventing the process from unfolding (see also Bill's transpersonal aspect, p.140). Additionally we must look at Bill as a city shadow. Due to Bill's overall negative feedback in regard to Max's attempts to unfold the personal aspect of his criminal acts, we must for the time being regard Bill as a city shadow, which means that we view Bill as a ghost role in society. His actions express

tendencies within society that are not identified among society's dominant group, but carried by or projected onto society's marginalized members. According to this concept, Bill's actions should make sense within a social context, meaning they can be unfolded in relation to society. The "meaning" of Bill thus, for the time being, belongs within society at large. Bill, from this view, is a message of change that needs to happen within our social structure.

For successful rehabilitation to take place, Bill would have to get to know the unfolded disavowed aspect of the ghost role. Additionally, he would have to develop a relationship between his inner polarity: the police and the criminal. At this point he has no relationship to his inner "police". Society, as well, has to develop a relationship to its disavowed aspect in its social structure. For the time being Bill is living this disavowed relationship externally through the police, courts, and prisons, and society is living its disavowed relationship outside its own structure through its city shadows.

I have categorized these different aspects of the interview into the following sections for the analysis:

- Bill's personal history from a sociological aspect.
- A transpersonal aspect of Bill's life.
- Society's disavowed role as an aspect of Bill's crime.

I have followed these various threads as they came up in the interview, and will now discuss these various aspects in detail.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECT OF BILL'S CRIME

THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN PERSONAL WORTH AND SOCIAL REWARD

Bill's socialization process as a criminal offender started when he was 11 years old and was caught stealing. Bill was introduced to society's punishment response through the boys' home.

"I don't think it is a good idea for an 11 year old kid to be taken away from their parents and just stuck in the middle of nowhere with 30 other kids and getting hit around the head by adults who you don't even know".

Case study II indicates that intervention A above most likely would have been a beneficial way of interacting with Bill at this point in his life (See also case study II). Bill says the only thing he regrets is the boys' home. It is likely that, at this point, things could still have turned around for Bill. Instead of thinking "this is a kid stealing, this kid needs help," the punishment-response thinks, "this is a little thief--this is a bad guy--he needs punishment." This thinking helps to cement the criminal identity. The punishment approach does not address the social problem in the background. From a sociopolitical perspective, the economic conditions of the inner city slums, where Bill grew up, play a crucial role in regard to early deviant behavior and crime.

Bill compared the conditions people lived and worked under in the slums to the better conditions and standards of other social groups, and had a reaction to his conditions. He felt he was smarter and deserved more than the life the slum could offer. His criminal actions can be seen as an unconscious way of

fighting back. We can see this in his remark:

"[My father] worked. My mother had two jobs, but I just looked at and said, "they are getting nowhere, why should I . . . " like even when I left school, they got me to be an apprentice plumber . . . \$14 a week wages. The first day, they gave me \$11 and said, "You are the nipper, go and get the morning teas." So there's a week wages in my hand, and I went straight to the beach. Then when I got home, my old man gave me a clip around the ear, because it was his mate that gave me the job. But, you know, I always thought, I was smarter than everyone else, and I'm too smart to do that, and I'm too smart to do this, and then all of a sudden, you are in the boys' home or jail."

Bill was a smart kid, able to differentiate and conceptualize the social structure that surrounded him, and would most likely have benefited greatly from social programs like "Action Head Start" had they existed at that time.

The above also indicates, from a sociological perspective, that if you do not get the chance or challenge in life that you are looking for, you are likely to develop an identity and strategy that will allow you to fulfill this need anyhow. He says:

"Well, I come from the inner city, which was the slum. It's a trendy area now. But I come from the inner city, and it was working class. And then that's just the way . . . kids running around stealing, running wild, it just never changed, and you know, I went to a boys' home, when I was 11 and, you know, you learned things in the boys' home . . ."

Shakur (1993), who, approximately 20 years later, also entered his criminal career at age 11 by joining an inner-city gang in LA, answered the interviewer from "60 Minutes" in a similar fashion, when asked why an 11 year old would carry a gun and kill:

"It was necessary. Either you've got the power, or you are the victim. It was normality. We had no measure stick for normality, where we lived . . . It didn't matter, I was 11 years old. I could

have been 9. It was equivalent to growing up in Michigan and going to college. Everybody did it."

Pfohl (1985) writes:

Think of the youngsters in the ghetto or of the slum gangs . . . The door of success is not as open for these persons as it is for the "Ivy league" sons of the wealthy. The call to success may, however, be just as strong. One has only to watch a half-hour of television to be "turned on" to the get ahead, be-successful, look-good, "drive-a-good-car" goals . . . What happens when people accept goals but later discover that they are unreachable by the lawful rules of the society's game? Put simply, washing dishes provides little access to major channels of wealth, power, and prestige. (212)

The "honest" job of dishwashing cannot compete with the easy money obtained through dishonest behavior. Pfohl (1985) adds: "For people systematically denied access to other, more promising avenues of legitimate success, it is not hard to understand why the prospect of years of washing dishes often pales in comparison to the easy money, quick power, and instant status promised by a life of crime". Bill turned to the "creative" use of illegitimate means to obtain the goals:

"[My father] worked. My mother had two jobs, but I just looked at them and said, "They are getting nowhere, why should I . . ."

"Well, it wasn't me, simply because I saw how hard they worked for so little in return, when I could go and pinch something off the back of a truck and get as much as they were earning both with their three jobs, I could get back in ten minutes pinching something off a truck - four or five cases of Scotch."

THE THREE AVENUES OF THE SLUM TO ACCESS THE SOCIETAL GOALS

The inner city slums mainly offered Bill three avenues to approach societal goals. One is the avenue of hard work, following the rules, and seemingly getting nowhere. Another, though less dependable avenue, was the one of chance:

"I used to live just on the hill looking into the trotting track, and as a kid I used to go to the trots every Friday night."

Along with the hard life of labor there was the life of fortune and chance that Bill took part in every Friday night. Most people left the Trots poorer, a few richer, but the hope and the magic promise were there: life can be altered from poor to rich within a moment.

Life in inner city slums today, as when Bill grew up, is marked by a discrepancy between individual worth and social reward. The source of this discrepancy is located in the social structure. When this connection is not recognized, there is a tendency to attribute difficulties to more mystical and less sociological sources.

Merton (1957) quotes Gilbert Murray:

The best seed-ground for superstition is a society in which the fortunes of men seem to bear practically no relation to their merits and efforts...In [a society suffering from anomie]..., the ordinary virtues of diligence, honesty, and kindness seem to be of little avail. (147)

Merton (1957), who grew up in the slums of Philadelphia, adds: "And in such a society people tend to put stress on mysticism: the workings of fortune, chance, luck" (148).

The recognition of the social structure as the source of this discrepancy generally leads to feeling alienated from society. In turn this tends to either bring about the rejection of social goals along with the institutionalized means of reaching them, or leads to the third avenue offered by the slum: keeping the social goals while rejecting the legitimate means of getting there.

The hard work of the "honest" job equaled "getting nowhere". Waiting for luck to strike at the trots could be a life-long wait. Bill decided to take charge rather than being the victim of the social situation, get ahead, and go for what he wanted.

"We lived just near the trots. I used to go to the trots every Friday night, and the bookmaker was there with his bag, and then the temptation was too much, and I just went and went rip and got away with it two weeks in a row, and then too stupid, I went to the same bookmaker on the third week and got arrested. That was it. Straight to a boys' home."

DEVELOPING A CRIMINAL IDENTITY

Bill has identified himself as a thief over the past 30 years. For Bill, this identification describes his trade. It has become the norm for him. When Bill talks about his life, he explains a socialization process of a career criminal. He says: "I have been a thief since I was 11. I am now 41". He has a long-term criminal identity. This is very different from the boy we meet in the next interview. Like Bill was in the beginning of his career, he is 11 and has just been convicted for his first crime. The boy says in the beginning of the interview: "I've done something criminal", and then he smiles shyly. He is "young" in the debate around criminality. He does not yet have a criminal

identity. He does not say: "I'm a thief". He says: "I stole something". He still catches himself and has a reaction to what he is doing. His identity is rather: "I'm still a "good" person, and I did something bad". He has been caught at doing something bad, and there is still an opening in the identity that allows the experience to be processed ¹ .

Deviant behavior is not an abrupt change of state, or a leap from a state of strain or anomie to a state of deviance. Cohen (1955) views the entrance into the mode of deviant adaptation as a gradual, step-by-step process: a process in which people constantly define and redefine their situations in relation to the actions and responses of others. Thus when Bill says: "I am a thief" or "I am bad", it is not an identity he took on overnight.

Moral judgment splits a person's identity into the good/evil polarity. The relationship between the two parts cease to exist. Usually people disavow and disidentify with behavior that is judged "evil" because of the social consequences. Such behavior gets blocked out of awareness. It becomes a disavowed aspect to which the person has no relationship. There is no identity connected to the actions, which happen secondarily and unintended. (See case studies 3 and 4).

As the criminal identity develops, that is, as a person starts to identify with the aspect of the "bad guy", the "moral" aspect of the person gets disavowed. Moral values become a meaningless concept. Sociological studies

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¹ Thus if the identity is: "I'm still a good person, but I did something criminal", and society reacts: This is a little thief, needing punishment" versus "This is a boy that stole and needs help" - society is pushing the boy deeper into the criminal identity.

shows that, in cases like Bill's, the criminal offender feels judged or made wrong early on through the discrepancy between personal worth and social rewards. The person feels alienated from society, and the criminal act can be viewed as a rebellion against this discrepancy and social injustice.

When caught for a crime and met by moral judgment, the socially produced experience of being "social trash", of being "not worthy", of anyhow not "deserving" to begin with - is likely to be re-inforced. Thus moral judgment re-inforces the rebellion against the social structure, which the crime was aimed at from its inception. Since the moral values are on the side of the dominant culture, they are likely to be experienced as an extension of the system that did not give the person an equal opportunity to begin with. Thus the moral judgment of the dominant culture becomes a symbol of the dominant culture, adding yet another level to rebel against.

Both Bill and Shakur addressed the experience of normlessness when they grew up. Imagine growing up with the structures, rules and regulations of society, and when it comes to harvesting the benefits of these structures and rules, you realize you or your neighborhood are not included in the rules. You decide to take a share anyhow, and suddenly the rules are in effect again. Once again the rules tell you that you are the outlaw. You have transgressed the rules, you are immoral, bad and evil, and you are going to be punished according to the rules. The frustration is that the double standards of the rules are addressed by society as if they were a single equal standard. Such rules have to become meaningless to you. You have to experience a sense of normlessness, and this is the experience of anomie.

It is easy to accept social goals and play by the rules as long as the rules work for you. When the rules make sense in your life, it is likely the morals will to some degree as well. Thus breaking the rules is likely to be connected to some sense of guilt. When the rules and morals do no longer make sense to you because of anomie, the moral experience of right and wrong according to these rules disappears as well. There is no longer a relationship to reactions or feelings that go against the criminal identity or behavior. The reaction has become secondary.

The criminal identity has become a state, and that which does not fit the identity of the state becomes "other". Bill's upset reaction regarding crime and corruption only comes out when he experiences it in the police. The state-oriented identity, brought about by moral judgment, blocks awareness, and the process that actually happens within a person cannot be unfolded.

Because of the identification process rehabilitation has to start out by addressing people not as criminals, not through moral judgment, but by realizing that people are people who have committed criminal acts. This is the first step to move out of state-oriented thinking, in order to retrieve a larger part of the process happening within the person. Bill addresses this aspect when he talks about himself in regard to social roles. He says that there is an aspect to him beyond his socialization process, beyond the criminal offender.

B: But you know I don't put myself in any of those categories. I'm me, and I'm not a thief, an adventurer, a car driver, or a bank clerk. I am me, and what I am today is me, and I'm robbing a bank today. . . I'm still me. If today I'm robbing a bank, if tomorrow I'm smuggling drugs, I'm still me, but I am smuggling drugs.

M: Yes, but what is the you about? What you were saying in the

beginning is you said when you started to talk about yourself, you said "I was a thief since I was 11."

B: Well that's my trade. That doesn't mean that's me.

Moral values and judgments freeze the "crime" as a process with a direction that can be unfolded into a state that becomes a criminal identity. The punishment-response pushes the person deeper into the criminal identity. From there it becomes a linear causal process.

The criminal identity are frozen into a role. The role is condemned by society, and the person is viewed as identical to the role. Once the criminal identity is assumed, the criminal acts develop into a criminal career. Society is equally as responsible for freezing a person into the criminal identity as the criminal is responsible for not being a law-abiding citizen.

BILL'S CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Once Bill had assumed the identity of a thief, decisions in regard to criminal behavior developed into career decisions. Bill started out shoplifting, and went on to steal cars. After a while guns entered the scene, and banks followed. The top of his career was reached through drug smuggling.

B: Like I went to a boys' home, when I was 11, and I have been through the system all the way through. I knew, the first day I picked up a gun and said, I'm going to start robbing people at gun point, I knew, that the only option for me was that either I get away, which was a very slight chance, because you have got to keep doing it, or I was going to get killed or go to jail.

M: You knew that, but you could do that?

B: Circumstances were that I did not have much option. I couldn't go out shoplifting any more.

M: Why not?

B: Because I was wanted for other matters, and I was trying to stay out of jail and you go out stealing every day, you are going to get caught, and I said, well I've got a gun, I'll go and rob someone, and then I have only got to go out and rob someone once a month. Instead of going out stealing, you know, four or five hundred dollars off the players for a third every day, you've only got to go out once a month and rob a bank.

After leaving the boys' home:

M: And then you got out and you stole cars?

B: Stole cars, break and entry ... just graduated.

M: At what point did you decide to use a gun?

B: 1974.

M: Why, what happened in 1974?

B: Well, I was running around shoplifting with some people and, I was in Melbourne, and there was a war going on . . . the painter's and the docker's war and all that . . . one of the people . . .

M: What's that, two gangs?

B: No, it was a union . . . the painters and dockers union, and I was involved with one of the people that was involved in that. We were shoplifting, and he had a gun, and I said, well, if they come and kill you, I am with you, and they are going to kill me. So I got a gun, and then we were running around with guns in the car, shoplifting; and I said, this is fucking ridiculous. We've got guns here, and we are going out stealing \$500 worth of groceries out of that shop, why don't we just run into a bank with the gun? And it just went from there.

M: That's called logical thinking . . .

B: Well, it wasn't real logical, now I look back on it, and it got me a lot longer [time in prison], than I would have got if I was shoplifting.

M: Would you have preferred to stay shoplifting?

B: Oh well, the amount of time, you only get three or four months for shoplifting.

M: You look like you have come to terms with it being part of your life-style.

B: Well it is. If you are a professional criminal, part of it is going to jail . . . It's like if you are a bricklayer, you end up with a sore back? It's an occupational hazard.

M: What I hear you saying is that using the gun is like, let's say, you are a lawyer, and you were defending . . . part of your job was defending prostitutes, and they pay you a couple of hundred dollars for each time, and then one time you think to yourself: well, I might as well defend OJ Simpson and make a million.

B: Well, that's basically the way it is.

M: Like an upgrading of the career.

B: And then I got out of jail and went from armed robbery to drug smuggling, which was even more money in that. And . . .

M: Then how come was there shooting people in there?

B: Well, it was either that or get arrested. In order to avoid getting arrested you had to . . .

BILL'S DISAVOWED ASPECT

There is, however, a secondary "moral" reaction and debate going on in Bill in regard to his criminal acts. Bill is constantly discussing the corruption of the police and defending himself as being no worse than them. Why is he having this discussion? Who is he defending himself against? There is an inner disavowed figure, a "judge" who has a reaction to what Bill is doing. Bill is trying to convince the judge that he is no worse than the "good guys". Bill is bitter about the corruption and crime of the system and the police.

B: It's the same anywhere, in any legal system . . . the best liar wins. That's why I was convicted the last time, because the police told better lies than I did.

Or:

B: Well, to me it's not; because I know the rules of the game, and the game is how it is in New South Wales. If you can give them some money, you can get through the breaks, but if not, well. They are

going to tell as many lies to put you to jail.

Bill's focus on the unjust behavior of the police, who do not stick to the rules, is a double standard, as he does not apply it to himself. It is the "others", who upsets him by not keeping the law. This indicates that the "police" are a secondary disavowed aspect of Bill. If this was not the case Bill would probably have no reaction and just see both parties as equally corrupt.

B: You know, you commit the crime. When you commit the crime, you say "look I'll get caught for four". You don't expect them to fabricate the evidence and all that to convict you. I thought, the game was, you've got your rules, we've got our rules, you can't cross that line. Well, they do, and when they do, it sort of shatters your image of the game, you know. The police's half of the game.

Bill thinks what the police do is wrong. He has a moral reaction to the police, but the moral reaction is disavowed. This moral aspect of Bill is disavowed like the immoral aspect is disavowed in case studies 3 and 4, where there is a secondary criminal. The moral reaction is a secondary process to which Bill does not have much relationship. His dreams shows the same tendency. In his dreams he is chased by the police.

B: Of [the dreams] I've had, probably in the last five years, the only ones I remember is basically ones about crime and getting chased by police, and if I have a dream, I usually scream out and wake myself up.

M: Did you ever actually dream you were being chased by the police?

B: Oh countless times. They're weird because they chop and change, you know, like one minute you are in a car driving, and the next minute you're running over roofs like in completely different circumstances, and there's different people, like they are not the same people that were in the car and things like that, you know, it's weird. You dream that, and then the scene changes, and the cops are after you? Yeah, basically that's the theme that has been

in it. When I first come here, I was dreaming a lot about me brother in law getting chased by the police, because he's wanted on this...

In the dreams the police chase the criminal, which makes the police Bill's secondary process. There is an aspect of him, symbolized in the dreams by the police, that is chasing the criminal. The criminal process is escaping his awareness in the day time, and is projected onto the corrupt police. His unconscious activity is not in agreement, and is trying to catch the criminal. Bill does not catch the criminal in himself. He cannot imprison or police himself and has no relationship to that aspect. The relationship between these two parts of Bill is happening externally due to the lack of relationship between the two parts internally. The police force Bill into a relationship with the disavowed part through court and prison. But the relationship needs to happen internally before change can happen in Bill.

There are many places in the interview where the "criminal" gets away. When Max tries to unfold the criminal aspect, Bill changes the subject and the criminal slips away. It also happens in a more subtle way when Max tries to unfold Bill's smoking addiction. Bill escapes each question with ambiguous answers and the addict is never caught. It is a repetition of the same pattern.

M: Oh, would you like to stop? Do you want some help with that?

B: Well, nicotine patches is about the only help you can get.

M: I know an additional one.

B: Oh yeah, what?

M: A particular exercise. You want to try it?

B: Yeah?

M: Remember the last time you smoked?

B: Yeah it wouldn't be a half an hour ago.

M: Okay, show me what you do when you smoke. Do you remember the experience when you pulled in the smoke?

B: Not really.

M: Well try to remember.

B: Well, I remember how to do it, but . . .

M: Do you remember how it felt?

B: Well, actually, it felt not real good because it wasn't the brand I usually smoke and it tasted putrid and I only smoked half of it.

M: What's your favorite brand?

B: Benson and Hedges - marijuana is me favorite.

M: What is it that you like about smoking . . . Is it the taste?

B: With me it's just the habit with my hands. If I sit down and have a cup of coffee, bang straight away I light a cigarette. If I'm free in the gardens, I will go three or four hours without one.

M: Because you are bored.

B: I know that's all it is . . .

The "criminal" also escapes when Bill talks about the identity and social roles. Neither can be unfolded, since the agent of the identities always escapes.

B: I play any game. That's just another way of looking at it. It's another category you can put yourself in.

M: It's a category of what?

B: But you know I don't put myself in any of those categories. I'm me, and I'm not a thief, an adventurer, a car driver, or a bank clerk. I am me, and what I am today is me and I'm robbing a bank today . . . I'm still me. If today I'm robbing a bank, if tomorrow I'm smuggling drugs, I'm still me, but I am smuggling drugs.

M: Yes, but what is the you about? What you were saying in the beginning is you said . . . when you started to talk about yourself,

you said "I was a thief since I was 11."

B: Well, that's my trade. That doesn't mean that's me.

M: But maybe that's not really your trade. Maybe your real trade is an adventurer.

B: Well, to be honest with you, I tried to give it away, but, you know, I'm like this: if I hadn't got caught on this, I would never have committed another crime. No, I wouldn't have, I don't think. But who knows?

M: Why not?

B: Well, I would have had that much money. I wouldn't have needed to commit another crime.

M: Or if that would have gone down, you would have committed another crime?

B: I don't think so. But then I may have because you can get drunk in a pub and someone annoys you and you punch them in the face. That's a crime, isn't it? Whether you've got money or not that can happen. But if I hadn't got arrested on this I don't think I would have premeditated to commit another crime. But maybe I would have. Maybe I would have said "Oh well, that was fun. Let's go again" Yeah . . . I know what I'm like.

M: What are you like?

B: I can't help myself and you can't really realistically look at it and say if you want to live this life and do what you do, you can't expect not to go to jail.

In a different section of the interview there is another parallel to his dreams that shows Bill actually prefers the rules to be strict. He prefers having to do something in return for what he gets. He prefers it to be clear who the criminal is and who the police are. He does not like the intermingling of the two roles, which might mirror an internal lack of clarity in regard to catching the criminal aspect of himself.

B: Well, on the prison guards, I think in general, they are different breeds from years and years ago. There's not the lock them up and just smash them and all that caper. Now there are some of them that are genuinely . . . they come into the system thinking

that they can help change it . . . originally . . . but the system swallows them up. But at the moment, I only see the prison officers around this jail . . . they seem in general, if you don't give them a hard time, they don't go out of their way to cause you problems. Which is good in a lot of ways, but it's bad in other ways too because the intermingling . . . I like it better us and them.

M: You do?

B: Yeah well, you know where you stand then. But that's just my own personal opinion. They have case management and all that sort of stuff now. I liked it better when they used to slam you, because it gives you someone to hate, you know, well, it did. I don't know if it was right or wrong, but it doesn't really matter. And that's the bottom line, it doesn't really matter whether I'm right or wrong. In general, I think, the prison officers now are a lot more approachable than they were 15 years ago.

M: But before it was in a way more . . . confrontations?

B: You had to fight for everything you got, you know, you would always have something, like I wanna do this, I wanna do that . . . and you had to manipulate around it . . . and they would say, "Oh yeah, you haven't been cheeky this week . . ."

From the above description, it becomes clear that approaching Bill as a victim of circumstances does not work. The "understanding prison guards", he explains, think that they can help change the system, but the system swallows them up. Any hope of change occurring in Bill through understanding why he ended up as a professional criminal will be swallowed up by Bill's inner system and let the "criminal" escape again. This could be a hint also to the conclusion Schuepbach is making about Bill not giving good feedback to intervention (B), where Max took Bill's side against the corrupt police.

Bill indicates that he wants to be confronted directly on his crime. He needs inner clarity in regard to who the police are and who the criminal is. The two roles are too intermingled within Bill. He needs to know where he stands internally, to catch and identify the criminal. Bill is a long-term chronic offender, and in his case, taking his background into consideration in regard

to his crimes is not useful at this point. He wants to be confronted in regard to his criminal life.

We can also guess from the interview that something started to change in Bill five years ago. He was asking his mother about his childhood then, his dreams about being chased by the police started five years ago, and his youngest son was born five years ago. Bill's secondary process would like to see the "corrupt police" be caught and get what they deserve, because "they" caused too much pain.

M: So okay, ... let's say you still want to have that fighting spirit . . . you like to fight for . . . what would you have fought for?

B: Well with this Royal Commission going on in the force, I would have thrown a couple of hundred thousand in towards it . . . get these coppers . . . get them.

M: How come?

B: Cause they kicked my mother's door in, when I was a young thing, saying, "We're going to kill him, where is he?" She had a heart attack. I'm bitter about that. They arrested me, they verballled me, they fitted me up and got me fifteen years. Where as in reality with the sentences that were going . . . comparative sentences around, blokes were getting six and seven . . . for four or five hold-ups. I was convicted on one and I got fifteen . . . simply because of what the police did and said, and I'm bitter on them. Not all police, just the ones that played the game with me, and they're the ones that are going to come up in this Royal Commission but, I always feed a lot of money in because there's a lot of people in here that, you know you commit the crime. When you commit the crime you say, "Look I'll get caught for four," you don't expect them to fabricate the evidence and all that to convict you. I thought the game was you've got your rules, we've got our rules, you can't cross that line, well, they do, and when they do, it sort of shatters your image of the game, you know, the police's half of the game. Revenge would have been tasty.

In the end Bill adds that there is one system of justice that you cannot escape: karma. He believes in a final judgment that will sort out the total

sum of actions, and he eventually will have to account as well. "Someone" will catch him in the end.

B: I believe in karma. I believe if you do good, you will have that much good coming back. For every shitty action you do, you are going to get that much shit back on you and that's part of this, like this is part of the shit that I've done, you know?

From a dreaming point Bill is not yet picking up the process of the police. He is not yet able to imprison the criminal side of himself, or to police himself internally. Thus the dreaming process takes place externally through prison.

THE TRANSPERSONAL ASPECT OF BILL'S CRIME

Process work views early childhood dreams and memories as enfolded dreaming processes. The early childhood dream or memory carries a pattern which runs through a person's life like a personal myth. It can be seen as a transpersonal aspect of the person.

Bill has mentioned the memories of the trots and of falling down from the wall. Both memories have this mythical aspect and they recur throughout his life. The fall from the wall and the experience at the trots have a very similar pattern and quality.

(Case study 2 demonstrates how such a pattern can be unfolded).

THE FALL FROM THE WALL

Bill "dreams" when he is four or five years old that somebody is building "his" house. His personality is being built. He is walking up on the wall,

loses his footing, falls, and ends up in a hospital to get healed.

M: Do you remember any dreams that you had as a child?

B: Not really.

M: Do you remember anything outstanding that happened when you were a kid?

B: The thing I remember mainly, when I was a kid, you know, like, I think, it could be my earliest memory, I can remember. I was with someone, and we were going on this house . . . They were building a house, and I fell. I was walking along, and I lost my footing, and I fell. I felt, it was about four feet, and I remembered that, and I asked me mother about it about five years ago, and she said, "Oh yeah, you were with so and so, and he was a friend of the family, and he was building his house, and you were there . . . and you fell off, and you ended up in the hospital and all that.

M: A friend of yours was building a house?

B: A friend of my parent's. I was only about four or five or something like that . . .

M: And you . . .

(Telephone)

M: You were saying about the house . . .

B: Yes, it was a friend of my parents, and I was only a kid. My parents probably went to work or something, and he said, "I'll mind him, while I'm doing this". But I can remember falling and being in hospital and that over it, you know, and . . . years later, I thought, "Gees, how far back can I remember"? But I can remember that, and I asked my mother . . .

M: Something heavy must have happened?

B: Yeah, I broke my leg.

M: Oh, is that what happened, and you came into the hospital?

B: And I was in the hospital and that's the earliest memory I can remember. I can't remember things that happened two years ago.

This recurring pattern runs throughout Bill's life. He is "up on the wall" when he i.e takes chances and tries to outsmart the system. Bill then "loses

his footing, falls and goes to the hospital to heal". In his life the hospital was often substituted by the prison. Bill is, however, still dreaming it is a hospital and that healing will take place.

The pattern can be found throughout the interview. Bill says:

"Like even when I left school, they got me to be an apprentice plumber . . . \$14 a week wages. The first day they gave me \$11 and said "You are the nipper. Go and get the morning teas" . . . So there's a week wages in my hand and, I went straight to the beach. Then when I got home my old man gave me a clip around the ears, because it was his mate that gave me the job. But you know, I always thought, I was smarter then everyone else, and I'm too smart to do that, I'm too smart to do this, and then all of a sudden you're in the boys' home or jail".

"We lived just near the trots. I used to go to the trots every Friday night, and the bookmaker was there with his bag, and then the temptation was too much, and I just went and went rip and got away with it two weeks in a row, and then too stupid, I went to the same bookmaker on the third week and got arrested. That was it. Straight to a boys' home."

"I can remember the boys' home. I can remember the night I stuck my hand in the bookie's bag . . . my father said to me . . . before I even went to the trots he said to me, "don't you go to the trots, you'll end up pinched" and I said, "no I'm going to . . ."

"[My father] worked. My mother had two jobs; but I just looked at them and thought: they are getting nowhere, why should I . . ."

"Well, it wasn't me, simply because I saw, how hard they worked for so little in return, when I could go and pinch something off the back of a truck and get as much as they were earning both with their three jobs, I could get back in ten minutes pinching something off a truck four or five cases of Scotch."

The same pattern appears in his family life:

B: Now I'm married. Last time I was in jail, it was a lot easier than this. Yeah well, I didn't have a wife or kids then.

M: And now you are married and you have kids, how many?

B: Two. Especially with the youngest one, because I used to take him with me, because he was too young to go to school, I used to take him on planes and come down here. I live in xxx, and if I had

to come down here to meet people about business, I would come down here and book into the Hilton or somewhere like that, and he used to love the room service and everything.

M: How old is he?

B: He's five in February. But when my wife comes down here now, she stays at her mother's place, and he doesn't want to. He wants to go to the hotel.

M: He's used to good quality.

B: You know, like my kids never ate sausages they might now
I had filet steak for them, you know, Reebok running shoes.
Now my wife's living on the pension.

M: Their standard of living is down?

B: But so is mine, so what can you say. You've got to take the sours with the sweets.

Being up on the wall shines through as well, when Bill says:

B: Well, I can walk around a jail and hold my head up high. There's no one in this jail that can get on top of me. There's a million people who can beat me in a fight, but no one will ever be able to stand over me or anything like that, even when I'm sixty or seventy, they won't be.

Bill is "dreaming" that the institution he ends up in is a hospital, not a prison. He is "dreaming" of healing, rather than moral punishment. Part of the healing is a sense of self-respect.

Bill would need long term therapy and a therapist who could pick up on as well as differentiate his various signals. Bill is open to therapy. When the staff was looking for volunteers for this study, Bill volunteered for the interview. His "dreaming" is looking for healing. Because of this aspect a guess is that therapy probably would work well with Bill. The metaskill mentioned in connection with intervention (C), which was a mixture of challenge and support, might be crucial in regard to the "hospital process" and the

"dreaming" of healing.

THE CITY SHADOW ASPECT OF BILL'S CRIME

Bill brings out two aspects of the city shadow:

- The thief who takes what he wants and does not care about anyone.
- The person who congruently lives his moral beliefs.

According to the theory of the city shadow, society needs to pick up on the aspect of the city shadow and develop a relationship to that part of itself. The theory says that as long as society does not have a relationship to that side of itself, the field structure will dream somebody up to live that side in relation to the social structure. The field is generated by people's differences and polarizations.

The tendencies that do not go along with the primary process of society are called "problems." They are something that does not belong to the order; something we need to get rid of. We do not see that these "problems" are disavowed parts of our idealized and skewed picture of a society that only allows half of our mutual existence to be expressed. We do not want to realize that our "problems" are the disavowed part of society. The so-called problems are in response to our societal primary identity, which we hold to be the whole picture.

We must process field tensions for all roles and tendencies within the field to be heard, as if the field itself were trying to express this. Only then will we know the entirety of who we are as a society.

When working with an individual, the various parts of the individual are invited to join in the overall unfolding process. When all the avowed and disavowed aspects of the individual are participating, a person becomes congruent. This is the direction for Bill personally.

When working on a social level, we try to establish congruence within a community by getting the various voices to speak and to know each other so well that they realize that they are in fact one voice speaking--that the relationship between avowed and disavowed voices is reciprocal. One cannot exist without the other; they arise simultaneously. Society needs to look at where and how it is a thief-- and where and how it needs to come forward as a congruent moral society.

THE THIEF

Socially we would have liked to see Bill endure and retain society's goals through the appropriate institutionalized means even if this seemed to be an apparently unrealizable task with forever deferred gratification. As a society we would like to believe it would have been possible for Bill to go against all odds and become a living testimony that our social structure is such that it permits these aspirations to be achieved. Socially we insist that succeeding is a causal process and that social mobility is attainable by everyone.

As a society we have very clear guide lines, laws, and regulations about what is legal and not legal, what is moral and immoral. The problem is not that society does not give a clear line. The problem is that we as a society do not

manage to live this line. Society needs to become conscious about its own double standards.

Bill as the city shadow is living the tendencies in society that none of us want to identify with or stand for. Many of us would have to admit to having committed a crime punishable by a jail sentence sometime in our lives. These crimes include failing to report income, filing a false expense report, drunk driving, illegal drug use, stealing, and spousal assault (Wall Street Journal, March 12, 1993).

How often do we to some degree break or bend the rules so they become more beneficial for us? Or how often do we go along with rules in the foreground, but calculate a way around them in the background?

Many of us can recognize the following tendencies within ourselves to various degrees. The problem is that most of us do not see these tendencies as a common disavowed social attitude that carries a strong message about our social structure. Rather these tendencies are seen as common qualities that can't really be classified as criminal, because then we all to some degree would be criminal.

In our personal lives Bill, the city shadow, is the part of us that:

- to some degree disregards social agreements in order to make a situation more beneficial to ourselves.
- sees the social structure as a game with the following rule: as long as you are not caught, everything is fine.

Examples of common "criminal behavior" are when we:

- cheat on a tax return;

-hide details in connection with selling our car, house or even lesser things to somebody else;

-write our resumes to sound a little better than we actually are;

-lie about ourselves or others in order to be able to compete and succeed;

-are emotionally willing to "walk over dead bodies" to reach our goals.

In other words, Bill is the part of us that:

-is into the game of getting what we want for as little as possible;

-does not care about who is on the other side;

-does not care who it is taken from, as long as we get our share.

Examples could be when we:

-put the picture of our best room in a hotel brochure, even though we know that the customer never gets that room;

-promise everything when we advertise our products, even though we know the products only fulfill a minimum of the description;

-make contracts or sell insurance policies that look very promising, and then disclaim most of our promises in minute or ambiguous writing.

On a social level Bill is the part of us that as the dominant group constantly uses our power to steal centrality from marginalized groups. We take from marginalized groups by various means, one of which is:

Exploitation.

Exploitation happens on all levels of experience. It happens when third world countries are exploited by first world countries or multinational companies.

It happens when we cut down the rain forests for more profit. It is present in

the discrepancy where some people's worth is measured in a few dollars for hard physical labor, while others, such as for example movie stars or supermodels, who fit the momentary "zeitgeist" as a "type" and draw large crowds via the media, becomes big business and are paid millions for a relatively short period of work. The payment is not relative to the actual work or skill. The payment is relative to the momentary exploitation value of the person.

Exploitation also happens in the way the centrality of material wealth is advertised in the media. The message is that real happiness and success are only attainable if you can afford to own a certain car, certain furniture, a certain house, a certain espresso machine, without which you might consider yourself a loser.

Social Mobility.

Additionally we make believe that the boundaries between different social groups and classes are permeable to a degree that makes it possible to move from one social group or class to another by dint of hard work and reach the top. This is the myth of individual freedom which was investigated earlier. It is a myth because it is not as easy to accomplish as promised. In fact it is extremely difficult to successfully "pass" from a marginalized group to the dominant group.

White Versus Blue Collar Crime.

According to the Department of Justice, street crimes costs approximately \$19.1 billion yearly, but the complete yearly cost of white collar crime is between \$130 and \$472 billion. Moreover, many more people die from pollution

than from homicide. There are six times as many work-related deaths as homicides. The most common sanctions given to corporate criminals are warnings, followed by negligible fines, which in most cases go uncollected.

At the other extreme we find a Hispanic man, temporarily out of work. His mother's social security check failed to arrive, and he shoplifted a package of meat valued at \$5.62 from a grocery store in Los Angeles. There was one piece of meat for his mother, one piece for his retarded brother, and one piece for himself. He is facing 25 years to life in prison for this offense under California's "three strikes" legislation. His other "strikes" involved small sums of money and no physical injury. The crimes were related to a heroin addiction that he could not control (Donziger 1996; Kappeler, Blumberg, Potter 1993).

The Corrupt Police.

Bill introduced us to widespread corruption within law enforcement. When the police are caught for bribery, set ups, stealing money, or institutionalized perjury, they are given amnesty.

B: I've got no doubt that if . . . got away with it and declared that we had just got \$150 million, and here's a hundred and we'll keep fifty, then there would have been no blue whatsoever.

B: It's the same anywhere, in any legal system . . . the best liar wins. That's why I was convicted the last time, because the police told better lies than I did.

Staff: If you realize that in this state at the moment there is a Royal Commission going on into the police force, and there have been just the most amazing revelations of set ups, lies, corruption, institutionalized perjury, stolen money.

M: And I read that they are thinking of giving an amnesty to the

police. Did you read that? Two days ago in the morning newspaper. There are so many corrupt officers in Australia and in NSW that they are thinking of declaring an amnesty just to get rid of them.

B: It's Australia wide. It's not just in New South Wales. It's just that this is going to be the biggest thing. A few years ago in Queensland, they had the Fitzgerald inquiry, and in that the Commissioner of Police up there went to jail. So that was just through taking bribes from prostitutes and things like that; but this is going right into institutionalized perjury where they say "he told me he did this" and ridiculous things.

B: There have been police who have been . . . the Ananda Marga case; can you remember that? They tried to pinch them for the bulletin bomb and all that; but the policemen that was involved in that . . . they got let out . . . exonerated completely, and another bloke was charged with armed robbery . . . confession and that . . . He's just been promoted to the Deputy Commissioner, and they know he's been in court perjuring himself.

B: Well, to me it's not, because I know the rules of the game, and the game is how it is in New South Wales. If you can give them some money, you can get through the breaks, but if not, well, they are going to tell as many lies to put you in jail.

Politics

In the 1996 campaign to elect a president of the United States we were informed that the Republicans were receiving huge amounts of financial support from the tobacco industry. Presidential candidate Dole in return campaigned that he was not convinced that tobacco was addictive. In response to this statement the democratic vice-president Al Gore stood forth and talked very morally about how he had stopped smoking himself since his sister, who smoked, had died of lung cancer, and how immoral it was to receive funding through the tobacco industry. The Republicans fought back by revealing that Gore's father had made a fortune by growing and selling tobacco plants to the tobacco industry, and even when the sister was diagnosed and died from lung cancer, Gore's family continued with the tobacco plants.

Here the roles of the "police" and the "criminal" are as intermingled as in Bill's case. Both parties are very alert in regard to policing the other, but neither is addressing its own "criminal" tendencies. Both hide behind double standards, and both parties are running for office on the highest level in the country.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO ROLES

Because of the moral values involved, both sides are unoccupied as congruent roles in the field. The "good guys", such as the police, cannot say, "We took bribes. We killed. We did this, we did that. It was wrong and now we should go to prison." Instead, the police said, "We got caught; provide us amnesty." The "bad guy", Bill, does not think, "I am in conflict around this. I dream that the police are chasing me, because I have another side that has a reaction to what I am doing." 2

The processes are frozen into states. It is no longer possible to look at oneself and realize that what I did here was partly good, and what I did there was partly evil, because of the moral values involved. The deeper problem is state oriented thinking, which freezes people into these states and roles that block awareness. The hypnosis of these morally judged states is: once evil, always, and only, evil.

Awareness, which is a process in ever-changing flux, would allow us to see that these states are only snapshots of a constantly flowing river. Process

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2 Personal conversation with Dr.Schuepbach.

work focuses on how a person relates to a given experience in a given moment. If we cannot allow ourselves to relate to an experience within ourselves, it does not mean that we are not having that experience. It just means we have split the experience off from our awareness. Instead we might project the experience to the outside world, or somatize it as a body symptom (see case study 4). We still have the experience, but are morally blocked from identifying with it. Thus if we cannot relate to an evil thought we have, we will have the relationship to that side of ourselves in the outside world, and we react to it there.

If we are free to have an internal relationship between both sides, we will be able to debate and process the conflict internally. The intermingling of the sides, saying I am this, you are that, makes it impossible to process the deeper issues, and it allows Bill to repress the whole experience and live it as a ghost role in the field.

CHAPTER VIII

CULTURAL CUSTOMS OF JAPAN

JAPANESE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Case studies two and three took place in a juvenile correctional institution in Japan. Japanese correctional institutions operate with military discipline because criminality is seen as related to lack of discipline. Thus interventions with criminal offenders are of a disciplinary nature.

DISCIPLINE

In contrast to process oriented movement work, which seeks to complete incomplete movements as one way of unfolding the unconscious, the warden of the correctional institution explained that their style of movement work addresses movement as a therapeutic tool through which the body can be disciplined and controlled. This is in turn seen as a means to learn to control the mind. An example of this kind of movement work is demonstrated through the way the boys sit straight up in their chairs with their tight fists on their thighs. The bodies are held very still, and the faces show no expression. This style of movement discipline can be observed when the boys walk around the institution. They walk in militaristic columns an arm's distance from each other. This distance is measured by stretching one arm out to touch the back of the boy in front before they start or stop walking.

In regard to guilt or innocence about their crimes, the Japanese inmates immediately admitted their guilt and crime, whereas most prison inmates we have met from the western world (America and Australia) present themselves as innocent victims of circumstances.

SOCIAL INTERACTION

While Japanese inmates are much more direct regarding their guilt and crime and the interactions within the prison setting are very militaristic and commanding, the Japanese interaction style, in general, is far more indirect than western interaction and communication. The Japanese demonstrate a tremendous respect for the individual's "personal space". Interaction is guided by thoughtful focus on and guesses into the wishes or needs of other people. A neutral facial expression becomes part of the interaction style, counteracting the guessing-into-a-person's-needs, by making sure one's facial expression does not give away clues that others could feel obliged to fulfill (Relationship seminar Oregon Coast, September, 1996. Presentation by three Japanese students).

WORK AND MARRIAGE

A lifelong commitment to the same company is common tradition in Japan. A man's promotion happens in accordance with his seniority. A woman's status within society traditionally rises according to the promotion of her husband. For this reason a large percentage of marriages, even today, are arranged by the boss of the company. After the wedding the wife's job is traditionally to

take care of the home and raise the children.

This is changing in Japan, and the changes introduce new problems within modern society. Promotion officially still happens according to seniority, but if a man's seniority is in the way of a better, younger choice, the person with seniority might be transferred to another branch of the company, and thus passed over for promotion. This leads to trouble within arranged marriages, since the wife is "cheated" of the status she was promised indirectly through the marriage.

Many tragic stories are emerging due to this development. It is a socially shaming experience not to be promoted in due time. Commonly the "head" of the family spends most of his time working for the company. This in turn leads to the mother being the one with strong bonds to the children and the father being the absent provider. When the mother is in danger of losing her status, she bonds even more strongly with the children and makes a coalition with them against the father. Some of these men stop going to work, which they keep hidden from the family. One day, they do not return to the family and become street people (JAL magazine, November 1994).

Another interesting development in Japan today is the celebration of weddings as romantic events, a booming industry in Japan. Tremendous amounts are spent on huge romantic "western style" weddings.

These are some aspects of the field of modern Japan that are of interest and relate to the ghost roles of the following two cases.

CASE STUDY II: THE YOUNG FIRST-TIME OFFENDER

HISTORY

The Japanese boy is twelve years old. His father went deeply into debt to build a house. Houses are very expensive in Japan, and it is not a common thing in Japan to own your own house. The father worked overtime to keep up with his debts. He isolated himself from the family emotionally and physically by building a wall of cardboard boxes in one end of the house and spending the time that he was in the house behind that wall. He either did not speak to anybody or fought with the mother. The mother beat up the boy and his brother. The boy's very short black hair was marked by white scars where the mother had hit him with an iron frying pan. The boy finally dropped out of school and left home. He broke into an empty house and lived there. He was caught shoplifting a Walkman and a tape.

THE SETTING

The interview is in Japanese with a translator. Max Schuepbach has been giving a presentation on our work in prisons to a group of approximately 50-60 staff members and prison psychologists from a southern part of Japan. This piece of work is part of the presentation.

We are sitting in the gymnasium of a juvenile correctional center. Five delinquent boys, who have committed crimes varying from shop lifting to murder, are present. The atmosphere in the room has a strong sense of

discipline. Personally I felt nervous and inhibited to begin with, whereas Max Schuepbach appeared undisturbed by the atmosphere. He joked around with the group in a respectful yet relaxed manner, attempting to loosen up the group atmosphere before the boys came into the middle of the group to be interviewed.

Max Schuepbach had also invited a staff member into the middle of the group to work on a work-related problem prior to the work with the delinquent boys, hoping to demonstrate the relativity of the field structure and how all roles make up a symmetry within the field (see case study 3).

THE INTERVIEW

The boy and Max sit in front of the group. The boy sits straight in his chair and looks serious and nervous. Knowing that the setting, with the criminal offender in front of 60 guards and psychologists, amplifies the marginalized position of the offender, Max fools around with the boy to help him relax. By doing so Max is taking a first step towards raising the awareness of the social reality that is dominating the room. In a sense, he is joining and befriending the boy as another disavowed aspect of the field.

After a while he asks the boy if he knows any of the other boys. The boy shakes his head. Max then asks him if he knows any of the adults in the room and the boy points at the guard and the warden who pulled him into the middle of the group.

M: You are very brave to come in here in the middle.

B: (smiles shyly and a little proud)

M: Do you want anybody to sit with you?

B: (Shakes his head and smiles)

M: We have about 20 minutes or so, and can use them for anything. Do you want to ask me any questions?

B: (The boy shakes his head)

M: OK, I'll ask you a question, and then you'll have to ask me one. How long have you been here?

B: 22 days.

M: Wow, 22 days, that's nearly 3 weeks. Where were you before this?

B: In . . . Juvenile School.

M: For how long?

B: 32 days.

M: And before that?

B: Before that I was doing something criminal. (Smiles shyly)

M: Oh, you were doing something criminal. What did you do?

B: I left home and then I stole something.

M: Oh, before you committed a crime you left home?

B: Yes.

M: We should ask how many people in here left home as a kid. (Besides Max and the translator no one raises a hand)

M: I remember I ran away for two reasons (the boy is studying Max intensely), because the small town I lived in was very boring, and my father was never around, and my mother neither, and I decided to go and check out the world on my own. How about you?

B: (Looks serious) It wasn't because my house was dull or something like that.

M: It was not because it was boring? (The boy smiles shyly)

B: No.

M: No?

B: No, I don't exactly know why.

To get the boy to talk about his crime without shaming him, Max addresses the boy with a particular metaskill. The metaskill Max is using is one of steering free of values like good and evil, which for the dreaming process are like land-mines. The moment the person becomes defensive, the secondary process is destroyed. This metaskill is apparent when he praises the boy for coming into the middle of the group, addressing through words what many of us feel: criminal or not, it is a hero's deed at this point to step forward and openly talk about deviant behavior in the middle of the group. This metaskill helps give the boy a sense of achievement rather than one of entering a situation of judgment and inquisition. It also raises the group's awareness of the difficulty of the situation.

This metaskill is also evident when Max asks the boy if he wants anybody to sit with him, letting the boy know that he is aware of the difference in rank and power between them and of the boy's vulnerable position in the situation. This is in contrast to what often happens in such a situation: the person with more power uses the power difference to promote guilt, remorse and repentance.

Max also attempts to equip the boy with a sense of control of the situation by asking questions the boy can answer with yes or no, instead of the typical procedure of questions that seek to "corner the criminal" in order to prove guilt or innocence.

He says, "We have 20 minutes," indicating that this interview is not focused toward a goal or a special outcome. In other words, he is not here to better

or punish the boy, which usually tends to be the underlying goal. Max asks the boy to ask him questions, again signaling that he is aware of the rank difference and is trying to level this, in comparison to the more typical attempt of reinforcing the power difference to "break down the criminal." Similarly when Max asks the boy what he was doing prior to the correctional institution, he "opens a door" to no-man's-land in the sense of moral judgment. Letting the boy bring up the uncomfortable topic of the crime is an attempt to avoid the boy becoming defensive and developing a resistance to the interaction.

It is a big thing in Japan to run away from the family. This is demonstrated in the fact that nobody, except Max and the translator, raises a hand to Max's question about who left home a kid. The boy feels that he is a "bad" person for running away, and includes it as part of his crime, when actually he was running away from further abuse. The father was the first one to "run away" by hiding behind the boxes and disconnecting with the family. The mother "ran away" from the boys emotionally by taking her frustration out on them.

Max crosses this edge of guilt with him by talking about how he himself ran away. He "stays home" with the boy in his experience, and indicates that "good" people also run away from home. Running away is seen as a role in the field, as an experience shared by others.

M: Smart--then you left home and then what did you do?

B: I stole and I broke in and stayed in an empty house.

M: What did you steal?

B: A Walkman.

M: For tape or CD?

B: Cassette tape.

M: You like that better?

B: I like CDs too.

M: Didn't they have those or why did you steal a tape? (Boy giggles).

B: CDs are more difficult to steal if you want to steal CDs.

M: How? They are better secured or what?

B: More difficult to steal, bigger.

When Max focuses on the stealing, he neutrally asks the boy a series of detailed and technical questions for the same reason as described above: he is breaking the socially consented reality that judges experience according to values of right and wrong. With this intervention technique Max prepares the ground and builds up an atmosphere that is open and curious towards experience, thus supportive of and helpful in the unfolding of the dreaming process behind the crime ¹. Without this metaskill the facilitator might be experienced as a police officer conveying a sense of judgment or accusation. This gives the "judged" or "accused" a feeling of having to become "good", which often leads to cunning behavior or resistance.

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¹ In a discussion with Max Schuepbach about this intervention style, he pointed out the importance of this being done in a matter-of-fact way. Otherwise, if you, as the facilitator, do not know your own criminal tendencies well enough, unconscious signals of excitement like tone of voice or smiles can be experienced as support of the crime (see case study 3).

M: Do you know why you stole the Walkman and cassette? Did you want to listen to the music or why did you want to steal it?

B: I just wanted to listen to the song.

M: Oh, which song? What is your favorite?

B: Tubes is my favorite band. (Smiles)

M: (to group) How many know the Tubes? (some people raise their hands) What kind of music is it? (to boy) Look at those guys, they know Tubes. You know Tubes?

Somebody in the group answers: "I know the name."

Another: "I've heard it."

B: Their new song is called "Memory", and one is called "Endless Summer". It's pop-music.

M: "Memory" is your favorite song?

B: "Love Song" is my favorite. (Smiles shyly)

M: Can you sing it?

B (Giggles and shakes his head).

M: (points at the warden of the correctional center) I've heard him sing, he's a great singer-- (to the boy) did you know? Can you sing too?

B: No. I've never sung it. (Still smiling, half exited, half shy)

M: (to the group) How many know the song? (Nobody raises a hand).

T: Nobody knows it.

T: They're shy that if they say they do, they'll have to sing it. (Everybody giggles and laughs. The boy is intensely following the interactions and everybody's reaction.)

M: (to group) Just hum it?

T: (to group) Just hum it?

Warden: I'm too old to know it.

T: (Asks boy to sing.)

B: I'll be embarrassed to sing. (smiles) (His eyes sparkles, he giggles and shakes his head.)

M: (to boy) Can you hum it in your head? You don't have to do it out loud.

B: (does this)

M: (Looks at him). . . Yes, there it is!

As Max encourages him he starts to sing out loud. (There is a quality of innocence in his singing. People are touched. The boy smiles shyly afterwards)

M: Good work! (everybody claps)

"Love Song" is the boy's favorite song. His crime is about this song. He is alone and has nobody. He has left a home where love songs were not part of the interactions between the family members. The song takes care of him. It is a story about who he is, uncovering an aspect, so to speak, of the boy's personal life myth. It addresses what is central in his life. It is a song about feelings. He is this song and these feelings. Therefore, it is important to find the song within the boy, as well as support him to experience it in his life with others, meaning, in this situation, with the group.

The music becomes the "door" to the boy's dreaming process. Simultaneously Max works on the group atmosphere by checking out possible group edges, such as when he includes the group by asking if they know the song.

When the boy is asked to sing the song, he is shy but interested, and gives good feedback to the direction the work is taking. But because it is clearly also a group edge, it is still quite a task to break the atmosphere and sing out loud at this point. The unfolding of the work has come to a group edge as well, which additionally strengthens the boy's edge.

Max works with the boy's edge by asking him to hum the song inside, and with a

little further support the boy starts to sing the song, because he is very close to his secondary process.

M: What does it mean?

B: (sings words again) The old guitar was weeping
because it looks
like things are going
to be very depressed.

M: What is the rest of the song about?

B: In the beginning it's sort of monotonous (smiling), then it gets energetic in the end.

M: How does it get energetic in the end?

T: He also says it gets a little sad towards the end. It gets up and then it comes down.

M: OK, now comes your big task. OK? Now you have to teach everybody the beginning of the song. All right? (to the group) Are all you guys ready? You sing it one more time and then we listen and then we sing it together.

The boy looks serious, thrilled and like he almost can't believe what is happening. He sings again. After the song he smiles shyly and looks proud. The faces in the group are now smiling and have an expression of something like parental pride. People are touched. The boy's face is beaming with shy pride. He then leads everybody to sing the song. People clap the rhythm, but are still shy.

M: Not bad guys, but you can do better than that.

Everybody sings louder while clapping the rhythm for the boy, who's leading

and singing louder. Even the most skeptical face in the group looks touched and is by now smiling.

M: Beautiful song. Do you think the group can sing it without you? (To the group) Try! (to boy) You just have to listen. The boy is intensely following the interaction. People sing, but are shy, stop, laugh and then go on singing. Everybody smiles and giggles.

M: (gets people to get up and move while they are singing, and says to boy) You have to lead us, because you are a very talented dancer. I saw how you moved while you were singing.

The boy is beaming. There are big smiles and laughter in the group. The boy starts to sing out loud. Everybody starts to clap, move and sing along.

M: It's great to lead songs and dances, isn't it? (The boy giggles and laughs. He is proud.)

M: You are a great singer and dancer (boy looks shy), but also a great leader.

B: I don't understand?

M: Let me explain yourself to you. You can sing louder than everybody else in here. You are a very courageous man. You are able to lead a whole group into an experience of song and dance. Very powerful man. Very glad I am meeting you.

B: (smiles, reaches out his hand towards Max, bows for him, and says in English) Thank you very much.

The whole group cheers, because he is speaking English, which most people in Japan are very shy about. The boy looks very happy and goes back to his seat in the group.

The comforting guitar is the boy's secondary process. The sadness and depression are part of a more primary identity for the boy, which, however, if the secondary aspect is not recognized might be strengthened in the prison

setting and lead him deeper into an anomic reaction. To help him over the edge to the energetic experience, Max suggests a channel change that will bring the interaction back into the group by getting him to lead the whole group into singing and dancing.

Another reason for directing the work back into the group is related to the city shadow aspect of the work. Had he been working on a body symptom, the unfolding of the message would mainly be focused on the individual and personal level. The city shadow aspect, or the message behind the crime, needs to be broadcast to the field as a possible message about disavowed aspects of society and a message of social change. The boy broke the disciplined atmosphere with his song, and it should be added, a very complex atmosphere and setting. He became the comforting guitar in the field that brought the group together through a feeling experience. For a while we are not together in a correctional institution, but in a feeling of community.

By asking the group to sing for the boy and telling the boy to listen Max is trying to give the boy an experience similar to the artist who has created a painting and steps back to experience and realize what he has created.

The boy feels empowered by the experience, and he crosses a big Japanese edge when he publicly expresses himself in English. This could additionally be seen as a possible attempt to further integrate the one who creates community, which is strongly represented by Max, and a big part of the boy's work.

Japanese psychologist: Is there anything changed in you from the beginning when you got into the middle and how you are feeling now?

B: I was very nervous in the beginning. I feel very good now--very released.

Psych: Please explain what that feels like to be released?

B: I feel more relaxed, better.

Psych: Any other time where you felt similar to how you feel now?

B: No, I never felt like this before. This is the first time I've ever felt like this.

The boy says that he has never before experienced feeling like this. A guess could be that he has not experienced what it is like to be deliberately supported in and helped in the unfolding of a secondary process--thus the experience feels like a "release" of the identity within that he so far has seen mainly in the song rather than in himself.

SUMMARY

This case demonstrates an example of the unfolding of a criminal process, or the unfolding of the message behind the criminal act. In this case, what is behind the crime are love and romance as a disavowed aspect of Japanese society. The dreaming is entered through the experience of the music. Part of being a teenager and part of growing up includes a search for thoughts, ideas, feelings and questions about life. It is a search for a model, a generational timespirit and a curiosity to try life beyond the parental consensus reality or dominant culture.

Generations of teenagers have expressed their own timespirit through their music culture. The music culture makes it possible for the teenagers to

interact with the timespirit of the dominant culture, its ghost roles and edges. This expression describes collectively the odds teenagers are up against and gives the teenager an identity and a feeling of being recognized and understood. Likewise the boy finds a new identity when he leaves his parent's home, and he experiences a sense of home through "Love Song". The love song is the ally that guides him through the experience of loneliness.

This young boy was caught for his first offense at the same age as the 41 year old criminal offender in the previous case study. The study demonstrates the importance of catching the process behind the crime early on as a guide to the direction rehabilitation should take.

Contrary to the previous study the boy tells about his crime right away, which is positive feedback to the experience of focusing on this in front of the group. Additionally the boy uses the phrase "I did something criminal". He could have said "before I was arrested..", thus avoiding identifying with the criminal act. The "criminal", in this case, is psychologically caught within the first minutes of the interaction, which speaks about the boy's readiness to focus on "the criminal" and work on the process behind it. This aspect of the study is very different from the previous case study.

This case study also demonstrates that by "steering free" of moral value judgment it is possible to uncover a part of the person that otherwise gets lost in the search for the "good guys" and the "bad guys".

In a setting such as this one, the good guy/bad guy dichotomy is easily constellated and will block any further attempt to unfold the dreaming process. Such a dichotomy will freeze the experience behind the crime into a

state labeled in regard to the judgment. The person will block in a state of guilt and/or defense that will not allow any new insight to enter in regard to the criminal act.

Such a blocked situation generally leaves the following options: 1) defending oneself against the judgment, insisting on being innocent due to circumstances; 2) feeling guilty about being a bad person and blocking further understanding of the situation; 3) developing a state of anomie where moral judgment becomes meaningless.

Thus from this point of view what looks like casual chatting in the work is an organized strategy which deliberately tries to avoid activating any internal or external "policing", as this will inhibit the process from moving beyond the notion of good and evil.

This case study is also interesting from the viewpoint of anomie. From a causal viewpoint the boy developed an anomic reaction to the parental abuse. From a process work view this state of meaninglessness and not caring must be opposing another state of meaningfulness and caring. Through the dreaming process of the "Love Song" this part is unfolded. The stealing of the Walkman and the tape is an attempt towards healing and wholeness. The love song is the direction towards rehabilitation, while the prison is a direction that could lead deeper into the anomic state.

The study also demonstrates how a state of anomie, like a body-symptom caught early on, can be reversed much more easily in the early stages than once it has become chronic.

REPORT FROM THE BOY

The boys had to write a report about their experience afterwards. The boy wrote:

"My teacher told me to change into physical training clothes. So I changed my clothes and went into the gymnasium. I felt nervous since I am often given cautions (scolded) during physical training by my teacher and there were many people in the gym which was a rare situation. I entered the place with anxiety and when I sat on a chair and looked around I saw the Head of XXX reformatory, other teachers, and foreign guests. My heart was filled with anxiety and my body became like a robot.

Then the foreign teacher said anybody can work in the center. I thought everybody looked nervous at that point. My teacher Mr. XXX told me to go (to the center) and the Head of the reformatory also told me to go. In the center I talked with the foreigner and I was asked why I was in reform school, what I shoplifted and what my favorite music was. I said I liked the band Tube. Then he tried to sing my most favorite music. I thought it would be difficult for a foreigner to understand a Japanese song but he was trying his best to understand by looking into my eyes. In the past I had bad friends and committed unlawful acts. I did not have good relationships. But in the short time of the work that day, I began to relearn about "heart" by relating with the foreigner. I also learned the importance to have eye to eye contact while talking. No matter what you talk about, to look into your partner's eyes connects two hearts into one. That day I myself learned to relate to people.

Getting back to my work, I was a little nervous to sing a song surrounded by dozens of people and sitting right before a foreigner in the gym. I am (usually) shy and I don't think I am a good singer. (But) I am proud that I was able to do it and even if I am not a good singer. It was fun to sing in front of people. The foreigner asked them if they could sing without me. I thought they could not. But I think they did very well. I was happy. Hearing them sing my favorite song made me forget about time and the physical training that I hate.

When Mr. XXX, my teacher, asked me to go in the center, I did not want to. But I could not ignore what he said, so I was half unwilling to go. When I first went to the center, I was asked what I did and I said that i had run away from home and shoplifted. Then the foreigner asked how many of the other people had run away from home in their childhood. There was not so many, but the foreigner said he did. He said the reason he ran away was because his family was so poor. I thought my family was not so poor and wondered if I was causing troubles only to my family. My work was only about twenty minutes, but it included talking, hearing, singing and so on. Among the fun things I did, there were also things that made me think and learn.

So I did not just hear and forget. (Usually) I am not smart at all and cannot remember things I learn in physical training class and my teacher scolds me by asking almost every day if I have thoroughly read the class assignments. (Because of this) I cause trouble to the people around me and my teacher works hard for me. It is amazing for such a forgetful person like me to remember things from the work so well in my mind. Actually such things can be

remembered only in our hearts, not minds. I am often very forgetful, but I do like to listen to good stories and remember them. I can think about things from various perspectives.

It was very educational to attend the workshop. I felt the foreigner was very eager (because) he asked many questions and was very serious in listening to me. I also remember in my heart how I was complimented by him after my song. Although I was nervous at first, when I finished I was glad I did the work. Just one question I have. Why was I chosen among other boys? It was such a fun experience. Thank you".

CHAPTER IX

CASE STUDY III: THE PRISON GUARD

THE SETTING

The woman in this case study works at the correctional facility where the previous case study took place. She interviews the delinquent boys regarding their family situations and their criminal experience. She complains that she has a hard time being as tough with the boys as she would like to be. A translator is used.

We have just entered the gymnasium and the boys have been brought into the room. The ice of the disciplined atmosphere, described in the previous case study, is not yet broken, but additionally underlined by the set-up of the room, the way people are sitting, and an inexpressive and passive manner.

The prison psychologists observing, along with the large number of staff members in uniforms amplify the power difference between those "outside" the prison, who are free and accordingly assumed innocent, and the boys "inside" the prison setting, the guilty "bad guys". From a marginalized position the setting is likely to be experienced as oppressive, threatening and stifling. The edges of the boys who are going to be interviewed in front of the group are likely to be amplified in this situation, as explained in the previous case study. Therefore, in an attempt to level the differences in rank and power, Max has just asked the staff if anybody has any workrelated problems

they would like to focus on in the middle of the group. By asking the staff to show that they have problems too, Max is trying to break the atmosphere of the good versus the bad guys, and to give the boys the experience that they are like everybody. There is not much enthusiasm among the staff regarding this idea. After a while a woman courageously volunteers a problem.

THE INTERVIEW

W: (Very polite and smiling shyly) I do not know how to support or discipline the boys in a skillful way. I see the boys smoking in court, or drawing pictures on the wall or stealing something. For example, when a boy has shoplifted, I would like to know how I can really tap his heart--scold him in a skillful way. Scold him in such a way that it gets really clear. I have to interview the boys for family court, asking them for family background etc.; but instead of interviewing them, I feel this way a lot of times, when I have to have a direct interaction with a boy including scolding him.

M: You mean somebody has been shoplifting and they come to family court and you have to scold them? Like "don't do it" --is that what you mean?

W: I interview them and ask for family background. I also have to scold them.

M: Thank you for asking the question. Thank you for breaking the ice.

Max suggests that she come into the middle of the group and focus on the problem. They go into the middle and bow to each other.

M: (acts as if he does not know the "rules" for bowing) How many times?

W: No rules.

M: No rules?

To study and understand W's non-verbal signals better in the interaction with the boys, Max suggests a role-play.

M: So we need a "boy" (He looks around and points at the prison psychologist from the institution, whom we already know). You would be good. (Everybody giggles. The psychologist smiles and goes to the middle.)

M: (points at the psychologist and says to W) Let's pretend he's a shoplifter. (to psychologist) Have you ever thought of shoplifting?

P: Yes.

M: Oh, really? What?

P: Windsurfing equipment. (everybody giggles, as they know he is an enthusiastic windsurfer and windsurfing equipment is very expensive in Japan)

Max suggests a role play to uncover W's nonverbal signals and edges in her interactions with the boys. For this he needs somebody to play-act the boys. Max asks a prison psychologist to play-act somebody shoplifting. This intervention addresses the field by suggesting a role switch, where the "good guy" is playing the "bad guy". Making the role of the shoplifter relative in this way momentarily breaks the consensus hypnosis and atmosphere of "good guys" and "bad guys". By asking the psychologist if he ever thought of shoplifting, Max is signaling to the boys that they are part of all of us-part of the field we make up together. The shoplifter is a role in the field that needs to be processed. The psychologist is a courageous man, who surprisingly and willingly admits that he can relate and understand the temptation to shoplift.

Max is using a metaskill that addresses the field perspective. He elicits the interconnectedness of the field, showing how we all are part of what is happening, rather than reinforcing an experience of guilt, isolation and criminality in the boys by letting them know that they are the "bad guys", which most likely will reinforce a state of anomic reaction.

M: (To W) Now show us what you usually do.

W: There is a table between us and . . .

M: OK, we need some chairs. Chairs are brought in to the middle of the group

and they start to interact.

P: (play-acting): I really want it. I just want it.

W: When you want the equipment, do you think a little bit about it, or do you just go and get it?

M: I know it's artificial, because it's a role play and we're demonstrating this, but I'd like to anyhow ask you a question. I'm very impressed by the way you smile at him, and you have a very friendly expression in your eyes, and you seem to have a little bit of laughter in your eyes . . . Some of that you must also have when you interview the boys?

M: (After this has been translated to her) By the way do you speak English?

W: (eagerly shakes her head, but smiles shyly at the same time) NO!! Almost not.

M: No kidding. You could have fooled me! I think we caught a criminal. (Max laughs. W's body signals when Max addresses her shows she understands what he says before it is translated. There is laughter in the room). . . never mind. Some of that you must also have when you work with the boys . . . the feeling of friendliness?

W: (Nods) Yes.

M: Yes? You love the boys in a way?

W: (She nods and smiles): Yes.

M: I feel that from you. So why not use that feeling of love and friendliness and be direct with the boys? Because you have so much feeling for the boys that you can say just about anything to the boys.

W: (She nods) I do not know how to change my feeling to a strict expression, when it's needed . . . (She smiles).

M: Don't . . .

W: When there's such cases.

M: Do you feel strict at times?

W: Yes, sometimes I feel strict.

M: What does the boy have to do before you feel strict?

W: When I feel the resistance to the crime is low, and he doesn't feel any remorse about the crime . . .

M (To P): Can you play act that?

P: Yes

M: OK, try.

P: (Makes up story). Look, I'm 51. I built a house. I took out a big loan, and when I started out windsurfing I couldn't buy equipment. It was so expensive. Some parts are 300,000 Yen. When they are used, I can get them for 100,000 Yen. But I have no extra money each month. So when the shopkeeper wasn't looking, I took one part, just one part.

W: How did you feel when you took it?

P: First I felt nervous, but when I got back to my car, I thought: YES! I did it!

W: (smiles faintly)

M: I saw your smile when he said "I did it".

W: (Nods, grins) I can understand his feelings.

M: Why?

W: I know it's bad; but I can understand the feeling. It's the feeling of having got what you wanted.

M: Oh, so that's who you are? You think you should become strict but you don't seem to be a very strict person.

W: (She thinks about it). I am very strict with myself, and I don't know how well I can express this to other people.

M: Now, we should work on that (She laughs). How are you strict with yourself?

W: (She thinks). Sometimes I work too hard, and then I don't want to cook. I'm too tired. But for my husband and kids I over-extend myself.

The smile on her lips as well as in her eyes becomes the door through which they enter the dreaming process. Max addresses the smile in a way that conveys that it is valuable and right. He does this because she is criticizing herself for her friendliness and thinks she should be less friendly and more strict with the boys. Thus there is already an inner evaluation of right and wrong in regard to what is happening. This evaluation keeps her from following what

would be right for her. The dreaming is taking the course of the smile, and Max is keeping this course open by neutralizing the critical element that tries to close the door.

W is disturbed by her friendliness because it inhibits her in being strict with the boys when she feels it is needed. She is, however, very good at being strict with herself and telling herself how to behave. She is good at setting up the boundaries for herself, but has a hard time doing so with the boys. When the psychologist says, with victory in his voice: "YES! I did it!"--she smiles. Something in her admires when somebody does something in spite of right and wrong, and is not stopped by a moral judgment. She can sympathize with the joy of getting what you want, because she never allows herself that experience. The edge that keeps her from getting what she wants is grounded in a moral judgment. She describes it: "I know it's bad".

Whenever the feeling of wanting something that is not allowed comes up in her, she becomes very strict with herself and stops the process. This process, however, comes up in her smile when someone else crosses this edge. Her inner strictness tells her to follow through on her duties no matter how tired she is. She is a "good" mother and wife who over-extends herself to keep up with societal norms, values and expectations. The part of her that does not want to cook and take care of the family is the "criminal" or city shadow that she constantly is catching, scolding and imprisoning. This part needs support to break out of the prison.

M: Now let's make a new role play. There are two parts: one part that doesn't

want to cook, is tired, doesn't want to deal with husband and kids (She laughs). Another part is the one dealing with the family court, who says you're tired but you have to do all these things anyway (She nods). Which part do you want to play?

W: (She thinks) The one that doesn't want to cook (Smiles).

M: OK, and I'll be the one with the family court.

As they sit down opposite each other, Max points at her chair and says it's the chair for the criminal. She grins and says OK.

M: I know you are tired, but you have to cook. What will happen to this society if you start not cooking?

W: It doesn't really matter what the reaction of society is. I'm tired and I don't want to cook.

M: This is wrong. You MUST cook. You must care for your family no matter how tired you are (She looks depressed and down) otherwise we will put you in a training school for bad wives (She laughs).

W: It's not just always for wives to . . . My husband is not tired, he can cook too.

M: It's an old tradition that wives cook. We don't want to start to change old values that have been around for thousands of years for very good reasons.

W: (Beaming over the interaction) I can't understand that tradition anyway and the times and society are changing too.

M: But you see the reason why so many young people have problems and become criminals are because of wives like you. (She bursts out laughing) This is the beginning of the end of family values. If you don't cook and look after your family, even though you are tired, you are forwarding crime. (She looks serious).

W: (then smiling) I think it's unfair if the husband doesn't cook and he criticizes me. (giggles while it is being translated)

M: Well, I think that's just.

W: (Serious, thinking, blinking eyes rapidly and then saying quietly) I think that what you are saying is that men can just take it easy and women do all the work and then you are blaming the problems of society on women and I think that's unfair.

M: Is it?

W: That's right.

M: We just had a role switch, you have become the accuser now. You're saying

I'm not fair. (She nods)

W chooses to play out the role of the "criminal", and Max plays out her inner moral beliefs in the role play. W normally adjusts to these internalized values without thinking about them. When she starts to have "low resistance" to breaking these values, she adjusts herself by becoming strict with herself. Thus whenever she experiences somebody crossing this edge, the disavowed process in her gets excited and comes out in a supportive smile, even though the disciplined part in her tells her that it is time to set up boundaries and be strict.

By doing a role play she can consciously interact with these internalized values and get to know and understand the part of herself that unconsciously is in a coalition with the delinquent boys. When she crosses the edge and becomes the accuser who defines what is right and wrong for her beyond the internalized social values and moral beliefs, she becomes able to support this process within herself, and gains at the same time the internal freedom to become stricter with the delinquent boys when she needs to.

M: What are you thinking?

W: (Thinking and smiling) I need my laziness to be well appreciated. (Holding breath)

M: Yes, you MUST become more lazy. You must cook less (she's nodding) because if you don't you'll develop a secret sympathy with everybody who breaks the law, which then doesn't allow you to be strict when you want to.

W: Can you explain that one more time?

M: Yes, you see if you are tired and you come home and you think "No" to the family; legally not, but sociologically speaking you are committing a crime, because you go against your own socialization process. (She nods) You are breaking a social value. I don't think it's against the law not to cook in Japan, (She laughs) but it's against a value.

W: Yes.

M: So part of your personal development is to support that part in yourself that is "criminal", because that allows you to feel better; to be more empathetic with the person you work with and paradoxically at the same time it allows you to be stricter when you need to be.

W: OK.

M: You understand, now you are strict with yourself, not the other. If you can be both strict and not strict with yourself, you can also do that with others. So you must tell your husband and family that sometimes you won't cook when you are tired. Say you are doing it for your work. (She laughs).

A psychologist: Please sum up the process.

M: W is working on a problem of why she can't be more strict. In the role play we found that her intent is to be strict, but her body language and non-verbal communication is less strict. When the man said he stole the equipment and he was proud, you would expect her to be strict, since this is what she says she wants to do. Let me show you.

Max play acts a situation in which W instead is saying, "This is wrong! You took a piece of equipment that is not yours. This shopkeeper has a family to take care of as well."

M: You would expect that. Instead W smiles. Her non verbal language is supporting the criminal. This speaks a lot for her in the sense that she can really feel for another person. It also means she has a secret admiration for crime, like I bet you just about everybody in here also has. Now to help her to become more conscious about that, she has to admire the part of herself that can break social values. She is too strict with herself. By loosening up her own values that whole process will be taken away from the person she works with. It's very interesting. You see how the processes of the one who commits the crime and the therapist are very closely connected to each other, and how simply learning a behavior doesn't work. If you told W to become stricter, it would not work because her nonverbal language would be the same. You cannot control non-verbal language, and people receive a lot from body signals. Even if you don't know it, you feel it. This process deals with her psychological edge around strictness.

SUMMARY

This case study demonstrates another aspect of the symmetry and reciprocal relationship among the various roles within the "criminal" field. It shows how criminal processes can be found within all of us in one aspect or another, because we all, to some degree, are victims of the good/evil dichotomy. We might not be stealing or hurting anybody in any obvious way. But without actually recognizing how, we all participate in perpetuating crime by not learning about what is within ourselves beyond the labels of good and evil. Our criminal tendencies might appear subtle in comparison with the street crimes that make headlines. But this case study demonstrates how moral judgment, by inhibiting and cutting off a process in mid-stream, freezes an experience into a morally rejected state. Such a state, as we have seen, will seek compensation or try to emerge in other ways. (See also case study four).

Because of moral judgment we all repress various experiences within ourselves. We know from the theory of projection how something disavowed within ourselves makes us judge what we perceive as flaws in others to a much greater extent than we would if we were able to be open and curious towards this aspect within ourselves.

In this case, however, we see how the moral judgment of certain behavior within ourselves makes us unconsciously admire, flirt with and/or support what we cannot support in ourselves because it is morally disavowed.

By being morally closed to criminal inclinations within ourselves and wanting to fit into the label "good", we are participating in perpetuating a structure that is morally closed to deviance altogether. This structure represses rather

than reveals, stays ignorant rather than learns, prefers homogeneity to diversity. While we are busy keeping everything under control this way, we are simultaneously pre-programming somebody else to do the dirty work for us--to break our moral values altogether, to become the city shadow that we do not want to know because we cannot face that side of ourselves.

CHAPTER X

CASE STUDY IV: THE EVIL ONE IN THE BODY SYMPTOM

THE SETTING

This piece of work takes place at the Lava Rock Clinic, a biannual seminar on body symptoms. Patti is working on her symptoms in the middle of a group of approximately 100 people. Arnold Mindell is facilitating this piece of work. We are a few minutes into the work. The interview is summarized in various places.

INTERVIEW

A: What makes you think you're sick?

P: Well, I have always had a major illness and then I have a period of 1-2 years with none, then I'll get another one. I've had encephalitis, been in a coma for 4 months . . .

A: How old were you?

P: Six and a half years. . . I've had a real dangerous blood disease, then a real severe asthma; once I got that under control I developed a coagulation disorder. My blood just spontaneously clots, pulmonary embolism . . . you know, big nasty stuff. The diseases just seem to get more serious, and now the doctors don't really know what's wrong with me, but they think my red blood cells have been invaded by a parasite. I had a biopsy, but I don't have cancer, but my lymph nodes are kind of swollen; I have fevers and all that kind of stuff. So that's kind of where I am right now . . . and zapped my energy to the point where I can't work . . . which is kind of good in a way. I like that. (Breaks out in raunchy/loud laughter and rubs hands against each other) . . . to hell with that work, it's horrible.

A: Can you live a little bit without working?

P: Yes, I can collect disability for a while.

A: That's good.

P: It is good.

A: A little bit.

P: Yes, I'd like to feel better and not work.

A: What did you say, a parasite . . .

P: A parasite invaded the red blood cells, that's what they say.

A: Always a parasite in there . . .

P: Yes, and one thing I didn't know is that if your immune system is strong enough, it can get rid of parasites--not just bacteria and viruses and stuff, but parasites. But mine isn't, because it's burdened down by all this personal history.

A: Really?

P: Yeah! The other thing is that I had a very traumatic and abusive childhood--OK? At six and a half months I was a battered infant. I was a battered child and a battered teenager. So there's a lot that's been held in my body . . . (She points at her body, and then her arms go into a position of something like a strong wrestler or body builder) . . . a lot of fear . . .

A: It doesn't look . . . looks like a lot of power . . . but fear is OK.

P: Well, I have that too.

A: Yeah.

P: . . . a fear about being myself. When I'm being myself, I get a fractured skull or . . . (she "hits" Arny's head in the air) or a concussion from my father. So there's a lot of deep fear about being myself. I'm afraid somebody is going to smack me down--is going to kill me . . .

A: Your father liked alcohol?

P: (Sarcastic) How did you know? He was liking it very much.

A: Alcohol and . . . your mother? Where was she when it happened?

P: My mother, she was an abuser too. She was pretty crazy and pretty frustrated. She had 5 babies in 6 1/2 years. And I was the oldest, so . . . So I'm ready to drop a lot of that. I want to drop it. It's killing me to hold on to it.

A: So there's so much information you have given me. I'm thinking about

starting either with your momentary symptom, but since you have introduced them as a lethal scene . . .

P: Yes, there's a progression.

A: Accidents?

P: Oh, yes, lots of them.

A: They are in there somehow. . .

P: Broken bones, ribs . . .

A: This whole . . . it's like a picture really, not with specific names in there . . . but some massive power, that is like near you. Accidents are in there too. What sort of things did you say?

P: Broken ribs; dislocated knees; broken ankles, toes, wrists, concussions.

A: Whoa . . . that's a full type person.

P: (Laughs) Yes, a full type person.

A: What do you do when you are not dealing with your fractures?

P: For a living? I'm a trial lawyer.

A: So you are up there in front of the court protecting people?

P: Yes, but the other side of that is that I'm a Buddhist. So I try to practice law from a perspective of right livelihood, and I created a group of Buddhist lawyers that support each other. But that is a very very big struggle in my life and I almost feel I can't do it anymore.

A: Very beautiful, I'm glad . . . good to hear lawyers are doing that.

P: Yeah, people think that just because you are a lawyer, you have power and you're in the system. And the system grinds us up, if you are a feeling caring person, the way it grinds up everybody else.

Patti has been through an awful lot of abuse, and her identity is of the one who has suffered through this. At one point she says that there's a lot held in the body, meaning the body has stored a lot of pain-filled memories, while her body, simultaneously, goes into a position of a body-builder or wrestler,

and she adds: "a lot of fear".

Patti's description of her experience is divided between the victim and the perpetrator. She has been the victim of abuse, and the power and the perpetrator are described and identified in the abusive father and in the many lethal symptoms she fears.

Army answers her by addressing both sides of the edge when he says: "It doesn't look . . . looks like a lot of power . . . but fear is OK." He is signaling his awareness of a value judgment that separates the two sides.

Patti describes herself as the victim of a dangerous blood disease and severe asthma, which she now has under control. She developed a coagulation disorder and describes her symptoms as big nasty stuff. She is invaded by parasites and her energy is zapped. A strong immune system, however, can get rid of the parasites. She describes herself as burdened down by personal history. She is a battered infant, child, and teenager. She is afraid she will get a fractured skull by her abusive father if she becomes herself. There are accidents with lots of broken bones and dislocated knees. She is a Buddhist practicing right livelihood and tries to deal with her abuse, the judicial system and the world from this perspective, though she admits she can "hardly do it anymore". The power of being a lawyer is disavowed and only recognized by "people".

By looking at the information from the perspective of identified and disavowed roles, the two sides of the edge look like this:

"Patti"	"other"
<u>Primary process</u>	<u>Secondary process</u>
burdened down	massive power
personal history	dangerous blood disease
	coagulation disorder
Buddhist	big nasty stuff
right livelihood	invading parasites
	something zapping energy
	strong immune system
	that gets rid of parasites
battered as infant,	abusive father
child, and teenager	"it" is killing...
fear of..	becoming herself

Patti's body language and her symptoms carry a lot of information about power, danger and killing. For Patti these experiences are disavowed, have become "other", not her; but the direction the process will take is clear.

Army asks Patti to scan her body. After going back and forth for a while Army asks:

A: What part of your body is going to speak to us?

P: (Points to her buttocks).

A: That's clear. What is it like in there?

P: It is like an ice-pick. Starts here (points at the part).

Army helps her deeper into feeling the icepick and then asks her:

A: Can you describe the feeling?

P: It's like a white hot ice-pick.

A: A white hot ice-pick. Follow your body it will tell you what to do with it.

P: (She moves) Oh, God!

A: You're still feeling it?

P: I'm still feeling it. But I'm releasing it. It's too intense.

A: How are you releasing it?

P: By letting go of some of the clutching and clenching.

A: OK, let's go back just for a second. What is it like in there?

P: Hell.

A: Walk a couple of steps and express in movement what you feel. Don't just feel it-- express it in movement.

P: (She moans and groans and falls to the floor and rolls around in pain). I feel sick to my stomach.

A: (Bends down) It's an expression of what part of the experience?

P: It's the chaos that comes with it and the darkness.

A: The ice-pick? What about the ice-pick? I see, you're expressing yourself as the victim of it.

P: Yes.

A: And the ice-pick . . . the intensity itself?

P: Oh, you want that? (She takes his arm) I'll Take your most vulnerable part of your wrist and take the pick and stick it into the fire, so it gets hot (she play-acts sticking the sizzling hot ice-pick through his wrist).

A: Whoa, that's amazing!

P: Uh, I feel like I'm going to throw up. That's good. It's the edge.

A: You said your wrist has been broken also.

P: Yes.

A: So you take the most vulnerable part and you pierce it and burn it.

P: (She nods and does it again in the air).

A: Yes, do that, and while you do it meditate on why you're doing it.

P: (She acts it out and simultaneously makes faces of disgust).

A: Yes, it's gross.

P: (continues)

A: You're really mean now!

P: (She laughs and looks very evil). It's SO bad.

A: I know. Be really bad for a couple of minutes, then we'll work on . . .

P: ..transforming it; of course I really don't want to be my parents. (She play-acts kicking, hitting, torturing A. while looking mean).

A: Walk around like that.

P: (Walks). Now I'm coming back to give you another dose. (She play-acts it again).

A: (Takes a pillow she can hit). Be really careful with your wrists. Or can you envision yourself doing it?

P: No, I can't see myself. I have to do it.

A: Be really careful with your wrists. There's a lot of anger stored away for what happened to you. I have to find a safe way to bring it out that won't hurt your body.

P: It's not that I haven't worked with this for 15 years. It's like: when is it going to be over with? You know what I mean? I mean, I have done A LOT of work on it, the anger.

Patti finds a white hot ice-pick in her symptom, but the experience is too intense for her and she wants to release it. Her primary process wants to release what is uncomfortable, which is very understandable from the viewpoint of her past experiences of hurt and abuse. Having gone through such traumatic experiences makes the desire for detachment, release and letting go make a lot

of sense. Her Buddhist belief has helped her to gain distance and healing from these past experiences.

Her body, however, is not in agreement with her idea of detachment, and even though Patti disidentifies with the ice pick and the burning sensation, her body is full of these disavowed expressions that Patti tries to detach from.

Only when Army asks her to express the intensity itself does she start to interact from the disavowed role of the evil nasty one, and the dreaming process starts to unfold. Simultaneously she comes up against her internal moral beliefs and Army supports her in wrestling with them. He uses her liking of detachment as a metaskill when he interacts around the controversial issue of being nasty. He thus partly addresses and enlists her primary identity and simultaneously counteracts her inner value judgment about what she is doing. He is trying to avoid having the unfolding of the secondary process sabotaged by value judgments.

When she sticks the sizzling hot ice-pick through his wrists, he answers: "Whoa, that's amazing". He does this with a toned-down, almost neutral, "excitement" that has enough encouragement to excite the secondary process and too little excitement to disturb the primary process. He thus supports and encourages what is against her belief system without upsetting the belief system.

When she makes faces of disgust about what she is expressing, Army says in a detached tone: "Yes, it's gross." When she continues playing the nasty one, he supports her by very dryly and without value saying: "You're really mean now." He coaches the primary process through the disavowed experience by

acknowledging the experience of the primary process while his detachment simultaneously adds: "Nothing to get worried about."

Though Patti is playing out the experience, she has not yet **become** the experience. Her primary process wants to transform it so she won't have to become bad. Process work suggests that since her body is carrying this violent process, she must need it in her life. But her moral values do not allow her this role fluidity which, for her body, is a matter of life and death in regard to her symptoms.

A: OK. (He puts down the pillow) OK, why don't you just walk, as if you were furious. Go ahead and walk with that mean part of yourself. Every time you feel your sciatica get meaner in your face.

P: (She starts walking. She stops in front of Arny and gives him a mean look).

A: Think mean thoughts. See if you can let them out. Think bitchy thoughts.

P: Fuck you! Fucking asshole! (Looks at the group) You too! You! You! You! You! You can all go to Hell!

A: Because?

P: (Laughs) I don't know.

A: You've worked on your anger, but not the roots of it.

P: Because you won't let me be, that's why! I want to be me!

A: (Adds to what she is starting) . . . I get pissed if somebody stands in my way . . .

P: I get really pissed, and I'm afraid if I show it, I'll get killed for it. But I'm ready to do some killing . . . Yeah, that's right, and anyone is going to get their butt kicked! I just remembered something. My father used to kick me with his hard business shoes. And this is where he hit (Points at her buttock) and I would literally fly through the air and hit the wall. I had forgotten that. But my body hasn't.

A: Anybody standing in my way, I'll kick their ass!

P: That's right. And I don't care if you don't like me. And I don't care if I'm completely alone in the world . . . it's more important that I don't go on killing myself!

A: Let's complete it. One shot: I want to know what stands in your way. That mean part . . . just start: If you stand in my way . . .

P: I know what it is. I'm afraid of being killed, really killed . . .

A: You're afraid. What is standing in your way?

P: Fear.

A: You went back a little too quickly. I believe you, but can you just get into that mean part again . . .

P: (Meanly) Don't stand in my way! You're not the boss of me anymore. I'll kick your ass in.

A: Who's the boss?

P: My parents, I guess. The boss is like the world. (Makes big circular movement with her arms) . . . I just want to wilt in front of that (her body starts to go down).

A: You do. But not your symptom. It wants to kick his ass.

P: OK, I'm coming back. I'm gonna kick your ass God damn it!

A: Yes, you see, that was your edge. Where you start to wilt, that's where you get your symptoms. You've got so much power. You wilt in front of this world-boss. What is this world-boss? I've got to know more about him.

P: Well, it's about being a woman in a man's world of litigation and constantly feeling I don't matter, I don't count. It doesn't matter what I do. I've got to be ten times better than you are--and it's a fucking drag! And I feel hopeless. It's better to just kind of fall in and you know . . . hang out with your friends and die.

A: If you fall in, then in a way, you see, you go comatose and die.

P: No, I don't want that to happen.

Army works on her edge proprioceptively and kinesthetically. He asks her to start walking with the mean part, and every time she feels the pain she

has to make a meaner face. By switching channels and connecting these two experiences, he is taking the process beyond the internalized belief of right and wrong that keeps her away from the disavowed part. He is, so to speak, "digging a tunnel" under the value judgment of the experience in order to get past it without disturbing it. Having guided her beyond her edge and moral beliefs, he asks her to take the experience into the auditory channel and to express the pain of the sciatic nerve verbally.

But when Arny asks Patti why people should go to hell, she does not know. Arny concludes that she might have worked a lot on the anger, but she has not yet gotten to the root of the problem. At this point Patti gives an interesting answer: "Because you won't let me be me"! She is no longer interacting with Arny, but with the edge figure: the internalized belief of right and wrong that tells Patti she cannot be who she is.

After a while we meet the "world-boss" in front of whom Patti wilts. When Patti wilts, she has given up her sense of power. The power somatizes in her body, and her symptoms flare up because they want to "kick ass". The symptoms present an ultimatum rather than a compromise: either you pick up the "killer" energy, or you get killed by us.

The process has moved to the world channel, and sexism has become the theme. Patti describes herself as the victim of sexism, which makes her want to just wilt and die.

A: So this man's world sort of thing; you being this lawyer--and these men . . and now you're not working anymore, so you're relieved from that scene momentarily. The scene comes up now, so I'd like to set up that scene. . . the

law world.

P: OK.

A: So you can confront that world.

P: Let's do it.

A: What's your imagination of how you'd like that done?

P: The kind of law world I have trouble with is the world of. . . where people. . . they are sophisticated in their sexism. They know all the right things to say. All the right attitudes they are supposed to have. But underneath it all, you're still a piece of ass, or a bimbo, or, you know, a woman!

A: What's a bimbo?

P: You know, an air-head, a decoration, not something you take seriously. You're a nice piece of window dressing.

A: What would be the worst kind of context. Pick the most ugly disgusting context.

P: That's when there's a lot of these people together in a room with you and you're the only woman.

A: People, you mean men?

P: Men, yes.

A: So how about 3-4 men?

P: Yeah, that'd be good, or 5-6? (6 men come up)

P: (In front of the men) I'm feeling good but I won't show it. So I'm armored.

A: Where is your armor physically?

P: I've stopped breathing. I'm starting to clench my ass. I go numb. And now I'm ready to conduct business.

A: You go numb? Clench your ass?

P: Breathe high and shallow.

A: You've got one hand clenched. That's a nice thing too.

P: (She raises her fist towards the men) Take me seriously, God damn it. Take me seriously. Do you have any idea of what it feels like to be a woman? And to be invisible? You don't! Think about if in every room you walked into were women and you were the only man! Course that's my scene a lot of the time.

One of the men (calmly): I think that would be great!

P: (She goes over to him and screams into his face) Dirty pig! ARRGH! (She goes back) That's exactly how it is.

A: I like what you did, though. You just brought a pig down.

P: (She laughs).

A: How about trying that again? He thinks it would be great to be the only person of one color or one gender in a scene with everybody else.

P: (She walks up to him again) You pig, die! (She looks down, rubs her hands on her thighs and buttocks) . . . but that's no good either.

A: Well, let's see what happens. Stay right there.

P: (She looks at the man she was screaming at) OK we're just roles (rubs his chest) You are a role too. This is in all of us. . .

A: Pretend it wasn't, though. Just for a moment.

One of the men: Don't mind me. I am also getting the support of all my male colleagues.

P: (She goes up and grabs his neck with both hands, as if strangling him and screams at the same time).

A: Yes, his neck. Where she has the bulges (swollen lymph nodes). Good work! That's what I'm looking for!

P: I went for his neck.

A: Yes, you went for his neck.

P: I could have killed him. I want to kill him.

A: How about really pretending that these are all your colleagues and that you said, "I'd really like to kill you." If you say it, mean it. How about trying that? (Looks towards the man) You would like to be the only person of your type in a group where everybody is a different color or gender or race or whatever. Well, I'd like to kill you.

P: (Walks up to the man again) You fucking hypocrite. I'd like to kill you. And I could too. I could kill you with one hand (Throws her fist up in front of his face) just like that! Got that!?

One of the men: Well, you'll have to deal with all of us.

P: One . . . with all of you. I'll take all of you on, if you won't respect me. . . if you won't let me be who I am! And if you will, we can be allies.

And if you won't, you can get your fucking butt kicked! And it's not going to be fun! Now, what is it gonna be?

A: It's OK to be a Buddhist and it's OK to do this. (Laughter)

P: I don't believe it's OK to be a Buddhist and do this.

A: It's OK because Buddhism is open to all different Gods. And one of them is "Fuck off"--it's one of the pantheon of Gods. The god of "Fuck off". This group (points at the men) is the world-boss, the thing you have a tendency to wilt at. But this, that's in you, wants to move that world.

Patti is not working because of her illness. Momentarily this relieves Patti, as her edges is less constellated. Her symptoms, however, are not get relieved because "they" want to "kick ass". Patti has an edge to break consensus reality and get nasty as long as people keep within the boundaries of political correctness, even when she feels the hurt and sexism behind it. She tends to be "good" and go along with the presented primary process of the situation. But she gets hurt and her body does not like this. Her body carries the affect that she should express. The body has no moral conflict or edge to be nasty and mean in interactions when needed.

After Patti has crossed the edge with the men, she stops the interaction and moves back. She explains that this is no good either. She is back in the good/bad dichotomy and apologizes to the men and explains that she does not really mean to be mean. Arny gets her back into the role of the "perpetrator" and she crosses the edge. However, when Arny brings up the Buddhist philosophy, she is back in her moral dilemma of right and wrong. Thus the process changes channels again from the world channel to the intrapsychic level.

P: (Hesitating) I can get in touch with that kind of colleague kind of energy, but I'm just. . . I can do it when I'm really . . . I mean, nobody ultimately takes advantage of me in a courtroom or in deposition, or whatever. No! Because I just kind of like bring out. . . you know. . . but. . . so it's like. . . So the problem goes beyond this.

A: I know where it goes.

P: You do?

A: It's internalized. All of this is internalized. So it's important to do the external work. But we got to do the internal work too. There's something inside you that says: No! You can't do that to your colleagues. This is the internalized problem. The male bullshit provoked inside you. Do you want to do the men for a moment to see what it's like to be on their side? To see the internalized sexism?

A: So here I am - the only woman in a group of six men.

P: So what the hell do you want? You want some kind of special deal just because you are a woman?

A: You bet. You bet I do!

P: Well, isn't that just like a woman!

A: You're sexist.

P: Yes, if you want to be treated special. You can't just get in there and be one of the guys.

A: I'm not one of the guys.

P: I know. That's the problem.

A: I'm smarter than you guys.

P: (Shakes her head).

A: Yes.

P: I'm afraid you're smarter.

A: I want you to be afraid.

P: I know you do ball-buster..

A: I don't like . . .

P: . . . castrating bitch.

A: How big do think you can get before I . . . your balloon?

P: I am losing the role . . .

The process cannot be completed externally because the internal aspect is not completed. The edge figure makes her feel guilty when she crosses her edge in the external world ("I don't believe it is OK to be a Buddhist and do this"). Arny gets her to play the "men", meaning the internalized part that makes her wilt and stops her from using her "mean" power. By unfolding the internalized sexism, it becomes possible to interact directly with this part and discover what Patti is up against and can't defend herself against. Since Arny has no edge to act out her secondary process, he can take this role to its completion, which frees her to go all the way with the "men" role. Thus the pattern of the internalized perpetrator can be exhausted.

Arny crosses her edges with the edge figure and Patti can no longer stay in the role. The pattern of the edge figure is exhausted in its capacity for interaction and an automatic role switch occurs (enantiodromia).

A: Good. . . (they switch roles)

A: You are a typical woman, just wanting something special.

P: You've got no idea what a typical woman is! Because you don't have eyes, and you don't see. And you are completely in the Where did you get that JD anyway?

A: You are out of your mind, woman. Don't get so close to me and you have a lawsuit that will. . .

P: Let me tell you something. I've got a . . . too. And I'll come up with a lawsuit too that'll give you pain in the butt. (she pokes a finger in his face)

A: I like the ice-pick. (shows her what her finger is doing)

P: (Jumps up and screams) One finger is OK!

A: One finger right where it counts. It's the ice-pick phenomena. Take it out of yours and put it there.

P: OK, call me a ball-buster. It's the kind of thing that just makes me wilt and die.

A: You're a typical ballbuster, a bitch, a woman that has gotten too strong. Why don't you go back to the way women ought to be?

P: I don't know what that is, course I was born a strong woman.

A: Don't get too strong. You are a castrator. Are you going to cut my dick off or what?

P: You know, I think I'll just cut your balls off and place them here (touches his ears) as earrings! (Patti has a reaction to herself, starts laughing and screaming at the same time, while jumping, half ecstatic, half embarrassed) A No, I'm the kind of person who needs earrings like that. All of this is internalized sexism. You need to be gross. To be ladylike is when the ice-pick gets put away and appears in your butt.

Patti is interacting directly with her internal perpetrator and is using the "meanness" of her symptoms. She has become familiar with the internal as well as external aspects of the process and can now congruently "conduct business" by crossing the edge with all her "mean" power. She has managed a total role switch. The highlight occurs when Patti's communication, body language, and unfolded body symptom are synthesized, when she with her pointed "ice-pick" finger threatens the "internal part": "I'll give you pain in the butt". She has become the "pain in the butt". By completing the role switch she has become her symptom, thus relieving the body from carrying this process alone.

SUMMARY

As a counterbalance to the view that sees criminal offenders as victims of circumstance, it has often been stated that many people have been victims of abuse and socially excruciating circumstances without becoming criminal offenders. This is very true, and this case is such an example. Patti is an amazing example of somebody who went through a terrible story of abuse, yet completed an academic degree and became a lawyer in order to fight for justice and right livelihood in the world.

The case additionally demonstrates how moral values, once they are internalized, create edges that inhibit certain behaviors and prevent role flexibility. Moral values alone, however, do not eliminate disavowed behavior. They merely represses it. Anything that is repressed and incomplete will, sooner or later, re-emerge in a substitute formation through unconscious activity. In this case the disavowed "evil" part re-emerged in life-threatening body symptoms, making it a matter of life and death for Patti to pick up on the disavowed part and become more aggressive and fight back.

In a sense the whole criminal drama is played out within Patti. On one side we find the "violent offender" that has been caught and arrested by her moral values, imprisoned and sentenced as "evil". This is what Patti describes as the "massive power", the dangerous blood-disease, the invading parasites, the zapping, killing energy. On the other side we find a police force, catching what appears as mean and nasty, anger and aggression; a lawyer and a Buddhist sentencing and declaring it not right livelihood; a prison guard making sure it stays behind bars.

EVIL		GOOD
/ / / / /		
/ Criminal: /	Police	Prison guard
/Massive power/		Buddhist
/ Killer/ Anger /	Lawyer	Victim
/ / Parasites / /		
Big nasty stuff	Bystander	
/ / / / /		

Patti is occupying all the roles on the "good" side. She is a victim of early abuse and of lifethreatening diseases. She caught her "violent offender", put her "anger" in prison and became a lawyer fighting for justice and a Buddhist practicing right livelihood. Her edges and moral beliefs additionally make her a passive bystander, insofar as she is not able to fight back against the abuse and sexism she receives.

Patti feels she does not have the freedom to be who she is, meaning she does not have the freedom to be fluid between the two parts. She has not yet interacted enough with the inner value system that is setting the standards for right and wrong. Thus she wilts in the outer world when a situation calls for her "nasty power". She thinks she is wilting because of the "sexist men", but she is really wilting in front of the inner moral beliefs that inhibit her and keep her from interacting in a more aggressive and powerful way. The edge keeps the power somatized in her body as terminal symptoms.

Our moral judgment of the notion of evil makes it impossible to open up to experience in and of itself. We expect murder, abuse, and evil results to be

the outcome if we allow these disavowed aspects of ourselves to emerge. Once we get into these experiences, we find, however, that there is a story within the context, that when unfolded, more often than not, disarms what looked like evil in the beginning.

By repressing tendencies to become mean, instead of unfolding them and getting to know them, we damn up feelings and reactions that are there for a reason. Moral evaluations keep us from ever getting to know what actually is going on inside ourselves. We do this in the name of "peace", "rightness", and "goodness", not realizing that we actually are programming much more "evil", hurtful and abusive behavior this way. Repression and avoiding doing things out of moral reasoning, without knowing the deeper meaning of these experiences, are gauranteed ways of pre-programming the next occasion to loose our temper or develop a life-threatening body-symptom.

CHAPTER XI

THE COMMON THREAD: CONCLUSION

"Look carefully at the face of the enemy.
The lips are curled downward.
The eyes are fanatical and far away.
The flesh contorted and molded
into the shape of monster or beast.
Nothing suggests this man ever laughs,
is torn by doubts,
or shaken by tears.
He feels no tenderness or pain.
Clearly he is unlike us.
We need have no sympathy, no guilt,
when we destroy him...
If we can only kill him,
we will be rid of all
within and without ourselves
that is evil". (Keen 1986, 16).

The Judeo-Christian tradition exchanged natural opposites for value opposites, which have the quality of sustaining opposition, by condemning and seeking to eliminate one of the two. The point is emphasized through vivid imagery that pictures the polarity of good and evil as eternal unchangeable states. One, the eternal state of bliss, or Heaven, is the reward for morally right behavior. The other, the eternal state of damnation and suffering, or Hell, is the punishment for morally wrong behavior. It is a paradigm that expresses hopelessness in regard to nature and especially human nature. The underlying assumption is that nature left on its own turns evil and immoral. Such a

morality needs surveillance and uses coercive powers of reward and punishment to secure the outcome.

The paradigm, however, becomes a self defeating system perpetuating the very ills it hoped to eliminate. Since one pole is the condition for the existence of the other, the two are inseparable. Eliminating one from the system is impossible. The eliminated part must return in one way or another, or the whole system must cease to exist.

Jung stated that what is psychologically repressed is forced to become revolutionary. On a social level repression sooner or later leads to some kind of revolt as well. The discrepancy, experienced by many marginalized groups, in the social structure between individual worth and social reward coupled with negative projections and the role assignments most of us avoid to be identified with leads to feelings of worthlessness and feelings of alienation and meaninglessness in regard to society. Society becomes the disavowed part.

The anomic reaction, brought about by the social double bind ¹ many marginalized individuals and groups find themselves in, can thus be seen as an attempt to break out of such a system through the elimination of the whole system. The choices for many marginalized groups or individuals comes down to the choice of, on a social scale, either carrying the disavowed identities of society as a whole, or eliminating the whole system through an anomic reaction where the judgement or projection no longer has meaning.

Social psychology has demonstrated that a structure that accounts for the
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¹ See chapter III

occurrence of deviant behavior also accounts for its failure to occur, or conformity. Any explanation of the occurrence of deviant behavior necessarily implies an explanation of conformity. The social field at large is inflicted by the influence of such a paradigm. Thus trying to explain "bad" and "evil" behavior as isolated phenomena is not going to yield as much information as viewing these as part of the field. One role only makes sense in regard to other roles within a field. A field, in order to balance itself, needs all roles "filled out" according to the given symmetry of a situation. As we have seen, when a value system or value opposites are used as the balancing equation, the field will polarize and self-perpetuate, recreating the very ill it was intending to cure.

The social field defines and structures the edge surrounding any role within the field, thus sustaining and perpetuating the role. The role identity is, so to speak, fenced in by its edge structure, and additionally rigidified through the field structure. The stronger a person either identifies with a role, or is being identified with a role, the more rigid the edge surrounding the role becomes, and vice versa, thus securing the behavior required by the role. For example an incarcerated criminal's identity (the one of being criminal) will be strengthened through the "socialization process" in prison, which additionally will be sustained on a societal level once the criminal is out of prison again ². The social edge structure can be defined as keeping the identification of being "good" separated from the identity of being criminal in the same way that the edge structure surrounding the identity of a

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² The process of stigmatization. See chapter III

law-abiding person keeps this identity separated from one of being "evil" .

The field structure keeps the roles clearly separated. Thus from a field perspective one of the roles, within the field structure, is the role of the criminal. Once identified in this role, the rigid role structure tends to push the individual deeper into the role, supporting the individual in developing a criminal identity.

The four cases in this study represent four different roles in the field bound by the same symmetry of good and evil. They also demonstrate how the good/evil dichotomy influences the individual's edge structure. As holographic pieces of the field each carries the total field within. All four cases demonstrate an experience of marginalization, and how these experiences reciprocate each other. The two cases with the criminal offenders show that behind the criminal actions are a disavowed moral aspect, whereas there are secondary "criminals" behind the two non-offenders. The cases demonstrate how the notion of good and evil inhibits self-reflection and role fluidity by reinforcing social and personal edges. The individual becomes incapacitated to readily deal with the situation at hand as well as the reactions and frustration it brought about.

Inhibiting a process through moral values is analogue to stopping the flow of a stream by building a dam and not taking into consideration how to deal with the pressure of the dammed up water. Moral value judgments not only freeze these moments into states, with which people are defined, but additionally lock experience within the two dimensions of good and evil, where no insights or awareness of the deeper process can be gained. Thus this study does not

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Personal conversation with Dr.Schuepbach.

address whether evil is evil, but attempts to demonstrate how freezing experience into polarized states re-produces more of the same and keeps awareness out from the system.

A process oriented view sees role-fluidity and awareness as the Alpha and Omega of the rehabilitation process of criminal offenders as well as society. It allows us to view disavowed experiences, such as the dichotomy of good and evil, as moments in a process, where one state of experience flows into the next and get completed with awareness instead of staying repressed and unconscious.

To bring about such change it becomes essential to focus on the dam that blocks the process, rather than labeling the nature of the blocked water or state. What is considered evil, cannot just be seen as an end result by itself, but must be viewed as part of a process if change is to occur. Instead of repressing and hiding the emerging "evil" experience through value judgments, the experience needs to be brought forth to awareness where it can unfold. Once unfolded, it is possible to interact around the situation and gain awareness about the various aspects of the situation. Such an approach seems to lead to happier, more sustainable, and less hurtful solutions.

Frozen states, left on their own - autonomous, unconscious, dammed up, and frustrated - tends to defrost in unexpected moments and ways, which cause much more pain and suffering for all involved. The arrested water is dammed up, the pressure and power increased, and will eventually crush the dam. The awareness needed to facilitate such inner struggles is non-existent and non-accessible, as the process so far was repressed in the attempt to stay

"good". Moral judgements reinforced and kept the so called "evil" part hidden from awareness.

The criminal offender resolves the tension and frustration around these edges either by an anomic response, the state of meaninglessness, or by using "dynamite" in the form of vengeance to clear the way. Either of the two responses can relieve the individual from the pressure and the frustration of the dilemma. Both acts, partly unconscious, are part of the equally unconscious social field.

The dichotomy within the unconscious social/moral field is reflected similarly in the law-abiding citizen. Case studies three and four demonstrate examples where the dilemma and frustration, created by moral/social edges, are resolved through unconscious activity. Disavowed experience can somatize in the body or be lived through other people.

The process oriented perspective and the interventions designed to work with criminal offenders as well as society at large are created in an attempt to relieve the social/moral dilemma, the hurt and the suffering on both sides through tools of awareness. It is necessary to process these issues both on a personal as well as social level in order to go beyond the social dead-lock where society is living its disavowed social roles through its city shadows, such as criminal offenders, and the criminal offenders are living their disavowed relationship to society through police, prison and the court system. The system as a whole needs to reflect on itself and gain awareness about how both sides reciprocate the other. The following section includes suggestions of systemic self-reflection.

DURABILITY AND SUSTAINABILITY OF PROCESS ORIENTED INTERVENTIONS

The case studies demonstrate the ability of this approach to bring about both surprising and immediate results. Such results lead to questions like: What is the durability and the long-term effect of such results? Is such effect a situationally oriented result or is the outcome sustainable? What i.e. happens when the Japanese boy remains in his facility, or returns to his home?

Experience from process oriented symptom work demonstrates that after the process behind a symptom is unfolded, the person more often than not needs support to live and integrate the newly found identity in their everyday life. Such change in a person's life is not always welcomed into a person's life by the environment. Very often it will disturb the status quo of relationships, and the immediate family or friends might not find these new sides of the person enjoyable. This is one of the reasons why organizations like the Lava Rock Clinic ⁴ helps the person, who is trying to integrate the newly found identity behind the symptom into his/her life, to establish a support network before he/she leaves the clinic. Very often the support system consists of ongoing therapy and a network of other participants from the clinic and friends. Patti, whom we met in case study four, will most likely need some form of support in order to live and integrate her new identity into every day life. The social consensus reality and Patti's edges will not easily

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⁴ Biannual seminar lead by Drs. Arnold Mindell and Max Schuepbach at the Oregon coast.

allow her to live this identity. When Patti's symptoms flair up, it becomes additionally hard not to identify as the victim of her symptoms. In order not to fall back in the "old" identity, as the victim of her symptoms, she will need a support system that check in with her and support her in her new identity.

The guard from case study three will need support and supervision in order to integrate her new identity, to feel free to live this side of herself in the relationship with her husband, family and the juvenile delinquents, as well as to deal with the possible relationship conflicts that might result from this change.

Similarly a criminal offender will need support to live and integrate the new identity behind the crime. Thus the processes that emerge behind the criminal acts are, as explained earlier, showing the direction the rehabilitation should take, and need ongoing support from the surrounding system just as Patti's process needs support. Once the person is back in his/her environment in a crisis situation, he/she will face the same difficulties as Patti, when she comes to an edge and her symptoms flair up.

Thus it becomes clear that the problem at hand during the rehabilitation process has to be viewed as a systemic problem. The durability of the effects of this approach, due to the social nature of the problem, is not only related to the success of the integration process of the individual offender, but very closely connected to the overall system's ability to change as well.

Everybody, including the perpetrator, the victim, the law enforcement, the innocent bystander, need help and support to develop this kind of systemic

awareness.

When we, as facilitators, leave the prison facility, after we have worked with the young first-time offender, the surrounding social system, the prison system, the family system have not automatically changed as well. Thus it is, to begin with, up to the prison facility to sustain the effects of the work we did and strengthen the boy's emerging identity in everyday life within the prison. The boy cannot change alone, and though we might have initiated a process of change in the boy, he is up against the system he lives in. The situation for many criminal offenders is that they were up against this system since they were born, as we have seen. Although we can judge from the boy's response that a seed is sown, and so far in fertile ground, the fact is that whether this seed will continue to sprout, grow, bloom, and finally reach fruition, is closely connected to how the surrounding environment responds as well. Thus the sustainability of this approach is connected to three components:

The personal level:

The criminal offender needs ongoing help and support during the time of change for integration of the new identity to take place. As the situation is now within the prison system, the inherent and potential new identity is not discovered. The criminal offender more often than not does not manage to catch, or get to know the inner aspect of the "criminal". Thus most relationships between parole officers and ex-convicts are depending on the parole officer doing the job as the one catching, checking on, and keeping the "criminal" imprisoned, meaning pointing out the "bad" guy" rather than supporting a new identity, thus perpetuating the dualistic cycle of good and

evil as well as the consequences of this approach. As the prison system is now, this phase of the rehabilitation-process does not quite happen within the criminal him/herself.

Intervention:

Ongoing weekly therapy sessions according to the earlier described guidelines for a period of at least two years along with being connected to parole officers and a support system that knows and is capable of supporting the identity beyond the criminal offender.

The social level:

A process oriented criminology views people as roles. Such a view implies that the sustainability of any criminal offender's rehabilitation process depends as much on society's willingness and ability to change and awaken to its own problems. This calls for two levels of action:

Intervention I:

City shadow:

The city shadow needs to participate in group therapy in mixed groups (offenders, non-offenders, victims, friends and family of victims and offenders) in order to develop a deep understanding of role-occupation as well as role-fluidity and the individual's responsibility.

Intervention II:

Crime prevention:

Society needs to understand that crime is a systemic social problem, and not something that happens to others and is executed by others. It is a community

issue and the responsibility of all of us.

Similar to jury-duty, it is necessary to instigate another citizen duty: "group-process-duty", where each individual is obliged to participate once a year in a group process in a mixed group consisting of offenders, non-offenders, and victims to process the issues of crime and injustice within the community. The individual needs to wake up to the inter-connectedness between the roles we all play within the social field. Such an approach simultaneously educates the individual as a potential juror as well.

FUTURE STUDIES

I have outlined the beginning of a process oriented criminology. This pilot study leaves many questions unanswered for future studies. One example would be the ability of this method to predict the potential degree of rehabilitation of the individual criminal offender in regard to detectable verbal and non-verbal signals, dreams, childhood dreams and the unfolded processes emerging behind the committed crime. This would be a study of great value to the implementation of such an approach.

THE COMMON THREAD

What is rehabilitation? One source defines rehabilitation as: "1) Restore to good condition. 2) Restore to former rank, position, or reputation" (Hornby 1974: 723). Does this good condition, rank or position mean the right to an equal position within society, or does it just mean restoring the person to

comply with the law? And how do we restore the ex-convict's reputation within society once she/he has served the sentence measured out in regard to the crime committed? Once we have understood field theory we can no longer evade such questions. Furthermore the case studies additionally verify the usefulness of the field theory and forces us, in my opinion, to look at new ways of rehabilitation.

The four cases demonstrate the symmetry and reciprocal relationship between the various roles within the field of good and evil. They show how the criminal process can be found and is present within all of us in one way or another, because we all, to some degree, are victims of the good/evil dichotomy. We might not be hurting anybody in any obvious way. We might not be stealing in any obvious way. But without actually recognizing how, we all do participate in perpetuating crime by not knowing what is within ourselves beyond the labels of good and evil. Thus these four studies demonstrate how processes inhibited and cut off in mid-stream by moral judgment turn into morally rejected states that go "underground" where they live an autonomous existence.

Jung's theory of projection taught us how something disavowed within ourselves makes us judgmental and unforgiving towards the same flaws in others or brings about a secret unconscious admiration for what we are unable to support in ourselves. But by being closed to "criminal" inclinations within ourselves and wanting to fit the label of being "good", we become part of perpetuating a structure that is morally closed and intolerant of deviance altogether. Such a structure represses rather than reveals, stays ignorant rather than learns, prefers homogeneity rather than diversity. Such a structure simultaneously

pre-programs roles within the field to live and express all our disavowed parts, challenge our moral values, and become the city-shadow that we do not want to know of, because we cannot face that side of ourselves. Or our bodies finally force us into meeting with our disavowed self through reckless symptoms.

Thus the field perspective makes it clear that there is no "THEM" and "US". We are inevitably interconnected through the field structure. If one side looses, the whole system looses, because of the field's reciprocal nature. Clinton's plan of putting another 150.000 policemen onto the streets will not catch our projections in the "enemy". Eventually we will have to look so deep into our conviction about the "enemy's" evil intent that we finally see our own mirror-image. We will have to gain awareness of which "enemies" we manufacture out of our need for a scapegoat and which represent real threats and must be resisted.

A couple of years ago a film version of the drama around Apollo 13 was made. It showed how the technical crew behind Apollo 13 managed the impossible: to get the space shuttle down from outer space under unbelievable and impossible conditions. The film made me realize, more than ever, how much we collectively are capable of. Collectively, we have the brain power as well as the know how to solve any problem on this planet we as a society would set our minds to. The next question inevitably becomes the disturbing question of whether we

have the heart and the will to do so⁵ ?

Vaclav Havel spoke to the United States Congress in 1990. He said: "Without a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness, a more human society will not emerge".

In a sense we are caught in the same dichotomous struggle as was fought out between the two opposing poles in the early Christian community around the birth of Christianity.

One pole believed that because "God himself, in the person of Jesus Christ, had become fully man--experiencing within himself all the suffering to which mortal flesh is heir. . .thereby ransomed mankind from its state of alienation" (Tarnas 1991: 122). Christ's self-sacrifice initiated the fundamental reunion of humanity. God genuinely took on his disavowed aspect and thus relieved the field.

The second pole, which later became the institutionalized church, made it clear that Christ's redemptive action in an alienated world was by no means assured. This pole put the emphasis on moral rectitude, and a pronounced sense of sin and guilt.

The field theory tells us that we only become fully human when we get to know and experience within ourselves the reality of all the different roles within the field. By knowing these roles we get to know the joy as well as the

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⁵ It is important to mention here the need for a study focusing on the economic factors that are interested in perpetuating the contemporary moral climate around crime. One example that could be mentioned in this connection is the creation of large prison complexes as private enterprise, which are expected to be a booming industry.

suffering connected to them all. Such knowing allows a deep-felt sense of compassion with all the positions within the field that we all make up, realizing that one-sidedness perpetuates an equally strong balancing counter-pole. It is a compassion that develops out of a sense of "eldership" that comes "in part from having experienced the issues yourself, having known yourself as both victim and oppressor. What remains when the fire of your own revenge has burned low is a sort of soothing cool that relieves everyone. . . Elders themselves have made the leap from one-sidedness to compassion" (Mindell, 1995: 51). True compassion is not patronizing, but comes from knowing your own repressed sides, your own demons. Then the "enemy" is no longer "other", but also "me". Eldership can challenge and confront as well, but the affect, the hurt, the judgment, the self-righteousness has left.

Knowing ourselves and knowing the field makes it possible to become elders who can "sit in the fire" and hold the tension of all the different parts, as they get to know themselves and realize that all the voices speaking are one and the same voice. We are in this sense all one. The "self-sacrifice" of realizing that each of us are part of everybody and everybody is part of us--that the demons in our collective field are our mutual heritage--can ransom us from our sense of alienation and initiate that fundamental reunion of humanity.

I would like to conclude this dissertation with the words of one of my great teachers, Arnold Mindell:

"My experiences with thousands of people demonstrate that all our conflicts, differences and issues, oppressions and prejudices, unconsciousness and power struggles--the very themes that separate us--if suffered through to an awakening, draw us together" (1995: 240).

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