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Clarence Ray Jeffery

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# AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

CLARENCE RAY JEFFERY

Dr. Jeffery is, for the year 1958-59, a member of the University of Chicago faculty where he is a Senior Fellow in the Law and the Behavioral Sciences program. He is on leave from Arizona State University where he is an Assistant Professor of Sociology.

He is interested in law and the social sciences, and is currently engaged in a program of research in criminal law and criminology. Three articles of his have been published in earlier issues of this JOURNAL.—EDITOR.

## INTRODUCTION

Two major difficulties confront criminological theory at the present time. First, there is the problem of integrating the sociological approach to criminal behavior, as symbolized by Sutherland's theory of differential association, with the psychological approach, as symbolized by Freud's theory of neurosis. The second problem is that of integrating a legal theory of crime with a theory of criminal behavior. Crime is a three dimensional problem: legal, psychological, and sociological.

## SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL COHESION

Social relationships in modern society are characterized as impersonal, formal, contractual, segmental, heterogeneous, and anonymous. These relationships are the product of population growth, urbanization, and specialization of political and economic functions. In the political sphere the shift has been from the local, kinship-centered type of government to the centralized, bureaucratic government with headquarters in Washington, D. C. In the economic sphere the shift has been from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy. Education has been removed from the control of the family and placed in the hands of the State. Professional educators who operate within a bureaucratic, impersonal structure now administer our educational system. The family has changed from the kinship unit to the individualistic and atomistic family of today. Recreation is no longer participant-oriented; rather, we have come to be a nation of spectators. We depend upon the impersonal media of mass communication and on professional entertainers for our recreation. Such terms as "mass culture", "the organization man", and the "lonely crowd" are used to describe modern social organization. Mass conformity to a mass culture is seen in all aspects of social living.

Cooley expressed this change as a transition from the primary to the secondary group. Spencer viewed the movement as one from homogeneous to heterogeneous units. Durkheim viewed it as a change from mechanical to organic solidarity. Tonnies expressed the change as from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, from community to society. Park and Becker talk about sacred and secular societies. Redfield uses the terms "folk society" and "urban society." Maine discussed the transition in terms of status and contract. Weber viewed the change in social organization as being from traditional authority to legal-rational authority.

In his discussion of the human group George Homans traces the disintegration of the primary group in modern society. "At the level of the tribe, village, the small group, at the level of the social unit each of whose members can have first-hand knowledge of each other, human society . . . has been able to cohere."<sup>1</sup> According to Homans, civilization is characterized by a state of lessened social cohesion, social isolation, and social impersonalization.<sup>2</sup> "In a small society, a tribe for example, conformity is relatively easily achieved."<sup>3</sup> Because the group is less dependent upon single individuals, modern life is characterized by a cold impersonalization and a sense of futility. Social impersonalization in which close human relationships are lacking is a result.<sup>4</sup> Mass society leads to the "atomization of social groups into mentally isolated individuals."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> GEORGE C. HOMANS, *THE HUMAN GROUP*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1950, p. 454.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 454 ff.

<sup>3</sup> SAXON GRAHAM, *THE AMERICAN CULTURE*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957, p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> VERNE S. SWEEDLUM et al., *MAN IN SOCIETY*, New York: American Book Co., 1956, Vol. I, pp. 194-204.

<sup>5</sup> ARNOLD M. ROSE, *THEORY AND METHOD IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. 25-26. For a more complete discussion of social control in primary and secondary groups see PAUL H. LANDIS, *SOCIAL CONTROL*, New

As a result of these social and economic changes there is a widespread feeling of insecurity among individuals. Labor unions and social security benefits are attempts to gain security in a new industrial system. Business men create combinations and monopolies in an effort to replace the guild system. Insurance came into existence as a way of reducing risk and insecurity in the insecure economic world. We depend upon atomic bombs to protect us from our foreign enemies, and bigger and better prisons to protect us from our domestic enemies. We look for psychological security in material possessions. We dress our weak egos in mink coats and transport them about in Cadillacs in an attempt to compensate for our feelings of insecurity and loneliness. We pay hotel employees and headwaiters to make us feel important, or we patronize cocktail bars listening to songs of loneliness. We read the literary works of the "angry young men" of England in their rebellion against contemporary life without meaning. We talk about "the lost generation" or the "beat generation." There has occurred a psychological change in human behavior—from group-oriented behavior to psychopathic behavior. We judge people, not in terms of their psychological worth, but in terms of the cars they drive or the homes they occupy.

As a result of these social changes, the tribal system has been replaced by specialized economic, educational, political, familial, and legal institutions. There has been a decline in the influence of the primary or intimate group, and with it a decline in social cohesion.

#### CRIME AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

The concept of crime must exist before the concept of the criminal is possible. Anti-social behavior is not criminal behavior until the time in history when a system of criminal law emerged. All of the theories of crime now put forth in criminology are theories of criminal behavior. They attempt to explain the behavior of the criminal. Regardless of the adequacy of a theory of behavior, it does not explain why the behavior is regarded as criminal. Criminologists need a theory of crime, a theory which explains the origin and development of criminal law in terms of the institutional structure of society. Criminologists need also a theory of behavior which explains the behavior that is labeled criminal. A theory of behavior explains criminal and non-criminal behavior. The difference

between criminal and non-criminal behavior is not to be found in the behavior, but in the label applied to the behavior. Modern criminologists often attempt to separate criminology and criminal law. They do so on the basis of the assumption that an explanation of behavior is an explanation of crime. This confusion of crime and criminal behavior is characteristic of most American criminological thinking. A theory of crime as is here suggested is based on the assumption that criminology must include within its scope the study of criminal law. The study of sociological jurisprudence and the sociology of law would supplement the study of the criminal.

#### A LEGAL THEORY OF CRIME

##### PRIMITIVE LAW

The transition in society discussed above has been responsible for a shift in the legal institution from primitive law to State law. Whether or not primitive social systems are characterized by law is a debatable point and one that has occupied the attention of legal and anthropological scholars. The term "primitive law" often is used to refer to customs associated with the violations of primitive social norms. Primitive law is described in terms of the blood-feud, collective responsibility, and the use of compensation in lieu of the feud in select cases. Except for the use of force, this type of social control does not resemble our modern system of criminal law. The State has replaced the kinship unit as the prosecutor and punisher. The State has a monopoly on the use of force. The feud or the private settlement of a conflict is not permitted by the State. Individual responsibility has replaced collective responsibility. Punishment by the State has replaced compensation to the family of the injured.

E. A. Hoebel defines law as "a social norm the infraction of which is sanctioned in threat or in fact by the application of physical force by a party possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting."<sup>6</sup> Hoebel notes that primitive law is private law, an injury to a kinship unit. He makes the statement that the greater the degree of civilization, the greater the need for law. The tribe does not need law because "social relations in the tribe are face-to-face and intimate." Legal power shifts from the kinship group to the State as the complex-

York: J. P. Lippincott Co., revised edition, 1956, pp. 147-185.

<sup>6</sup> E. ADAMSON HOEBEL, *MAN IN THE PRIMITIVE WORLD*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 2nd ed., 1958, p. 471.

ity of culture grows. A complex society is characterized by criminal law, or *public law*.<sup>7</sup>

Franz Boas makes a similar distinction between primitive custom and State law.

In the study of government among primitive tribes, we encounter the same difficulties of terminology that we find in almost all questions of primitive law. This may be due to our persistent inclination to substitute our modern conceptions of law for legal conditions of an entirely different character.<sup>8</sup>

Mischa Titiev regards the emergence of law as a characteristic of an advanced society.

Responsibility for carrying out retribution seems to follow a definite trend when one compares various social systems. Where cultures are relatively simple the matter of inflicting punishment on offenders is likely to be left to the kinfolk of those who were injured, but in societies and cultures of greater development and complexity the administration of justice is left more and more to impersonal agencies and nonrelatives.<sup>9</sup>

#### LAW AND MODERN SOCIETY

If we shift our attention from primitive law to State law we find most sociologists agreeing that law is characteristic of complex, heterogeneous, urban societies.

Emile Durkheim traced the changes in the legal system from repressive law to restitutive law. The purpose of repressive law is to punish the offender and to restore social solidarity to the group. Repressive law is a reflection of the collective feelings of the group. The purpose of the law of restitution is to repair damages done to individual rights. The former is characteristic of mechanical solidarity, a situation in which social interaction is based upon common feeling and social solidarity; the latter is characteristic of organic solidarity, a situation in which social interaction is based upon a complex division of labor and a system of mutual interdependence. Organic solidarity is not based on the cohesiveness of the group or on shared feelings.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 483 ff.

<sup>8</sup> FRANZ BOAS, *GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY*, New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1938, p. 487.

<sup>9</sup> MISCHA TITIEV, *THE SCIENCE OF MAN*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1954, p. 391. See also discussion of this problem in J. S. SLOTKIN, *SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY*, New York, Macmillan Co., 1950, pp. 568-586.

<sup>10</sup> EMILE DURKHEIM, *DIVISION OF LABOR*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1950, p. 104 ff. WALTER A. LUNDEN, *Pioneers in Criminology*, XVI: *Emile Durkheim*, *JOUR. OF CRIM. L., CRIMINOL., AND POL. SCI.*, May-June, 1958, p. 5 ff.

Two difficulties are encountered in connection with Durkheim's analysis of law. The first is that he saw the shift in law as from criminal law to tort law. Actually both fields of law developed in England after the eleventh century. The shift was not from criminal law to tort law, but rather from tribal law to State law, or from custom to law. Much more reliance is placed on criminal law as a means of social control in an urban society than in a rural society.

The second difficulty encountered in Durkheim's Division of Labor is the belief that organic solidarity forms the basis for social interaction in an urban society. Talcott Parsons has pointed out that Durkheim never did locate the source of solidarity in an urban society.<sup>11</sup> The division of labor which furnishes the basis for organic solidarity in such a society is a form of economic interdependence, but in such a society there is lacking a feeling of identification of the various members of the group with one another. In his later work on suicide Durkheim posits the idea of *anomie* or normlessness. He notes that the decline in intimate, personal relationships in an urban society produces this state of *anomie*. Charles H. Cooley also challenged Durkheim's notion of organic solidarity. Cooley suggested that the socialization process occurred in the primary group and not in the larger institutional structure of society. The primary group is the source of social solidarity.

Max Weber traced the principal forms of legitimacy from the traditional to the charismatic to the legal-rational. Within the traditional system authority is held by a patriarch by virtue of the traditions surrounding his status position. The charismatic leader is a leader by virtue of his personal qualities of leadership. The authority vested in a judge is based on the impersonal bond to the duties of the office, and the rights of the office are limited by rationally established norms of conduct. The legal norms are formal and impersonal. The military saying that we salute the office and not the officer exemplifies Weber's legal type of authority.

Sir Henry Maine traced the transition of law from status to contract. By status Maine meant the position one occupies as a result of his membership in a tribe or kinship group; by contract he meant the voluntary agreement of individuals to certain mutual obligations.

<sup>11</sup> TALCOTT PARSONS, *STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL ACTION*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1949, 2nd ed., p. 323 ff.

Roscoe Pound states that "in the modern world, law has become the paramount agency of social control. Our main reliance in the society of today is upon force of politically organized societies."<sup>12</sup> Pound traces the development of laws from the tribal period through the medieval period, when the Church acted as the agent of social control, to the modern period when the State assumed a monopoly over the use of force and physical coercion.<sup>13</sup>

Blaine Mercer writes, "American society has become increasingly secular, that is, cohesion is increasingly based on contractual relations. Traditions and customs become weaker, and controls tend to become more formal, institutionalized, and rational. Law takes the place of myth."<sup>14</sup> Francis Merrill states, "The massive shift from primary (family) to secondary (governmental) control is part of a fundamental change in the structure of society."<sup>15</sup>

#### SUMMARY

A summary of the anthropological and sociological literature pertaining to society and law indicates that law came into existence at a time when the tribal system was disintegrating, and social cohesion was no longer available as a means of social control. Primitive law is custom enforced by the kinship group and based on the cohesiveness of the group. It is private and personal in nature and in operation.

Law is a product of impersonalization and the decline in social cohesion. It is a product of urbanization. Law emerges in a society whenever intimate, personal relationships no longer exist to such an extent as to control human interaction. Custom is a powerful form of social control in a society where intimate relationships exist; custom is not adequate as a means of social control in a society dominated by impersonal and anonymous social relationships. Law replaces custom in such a society.

#### A THEORY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

The criminologist has sought the answer to criminal behavior in physical type, mental defectiveness, poor heredity, psychopathology, broken

<sup>12</sup> ROSCOE POUND, *SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH LAW*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20 ff.

<sup>14</sup> BLAINE MERCER, *THE STUDY OF SOCIETY*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1957, p. 588.

<sup>15</sup> FRANCIS E. MERRILL, *SOCIETY AND CULTURE*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957, p. 396.

homes, poverty, and differential association. The two schools most often discussed today are the psychological, symbolized by Freud, and the sociological, symbolized by Sutherland. A fundamental assumption of this paper is that an integration of psychological and sociological concepts will have to be made if an adequate theory of criminal behavior is to be formulated.

#### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

The psychological school is based on the proposition that criminals differ from non-criminals in terms of personality traits which are expressed in some form of anti-social behavior. Criminal behavior is caused by emotional or mental conflict. There is no agreement as to what personality traits lead to criminality. Estimates as to the number of criminals who are neurotic or psychotic varies from 5 to 98 percent.<sup>16</sup> The psychological theory does not explain the differential crime rate for different age and sex groups, for urban areas, and for minority groups. Crime is concentrated among young adult males who are members of minority groups and who live in the interstitial areas of the city.

The most damaging criticism raised against the psychological school is the observation that few neurotics and psychotics are criminals, and most criminals are neither neurotic nor psychotic. A study of 10,000 prisoners at Sing Sing Prison revealed that 31 percent were dyssocial personalities or cultural deviates, 35 percent were anti-social personalities, 20 percent were neurotics, 13 percent were mental defectives, and 1 percent were psychotics.<sup>17</sup> Raymond Corsini, a psychologist in the California penal system, states that 50 to 75 percent of the inmates fall into the so-called psychopathic or sociopathic group. The neurotic individual is relatively rare in prison.<sup>18</sup> According to Sheldon Glueck, the neurotic is less criminalistic than the non-neurotic. This observation has led Marshall Clinard to conclude that the Glueck

<sup>16</sup> EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND, *PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY*, New York: J. P. Lippincott Co., 5th ed., revised by DONALD R. CRESSEY, p. 125. See also MARSHALL CLINARD, *Research Frontiers in Criminology*, BRITISH JOUR. OF DELIN., October, 1956, pp. 110-122; MICHAEL HAKEEM, *A Critique of the Psychiatric Approach to the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Winter, 1958, pp. 194-205.

<sup>17</sup> JAMES C. COLEMAN, *ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY AND MODERN LIFE*, New York: Scott Foresman and Co., 2nd ed., 1956, p. 349.

<sup>18</sup> *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CRIMINOLOGY*, ed. by VERNON C. BRANHAM AND SAMUEL B. KUTASH, New York: Philosophical Library, 1949, p. 407.

study refutes rather than supports the thesis that criminals are mentally disturbed individuals.<sup>19</sup> One of the major characteristics of neurotic behavior is overconformity and overcontrol of the ego by the super ego. The neurotic feels too keenly the demands of society upon him. He wants to please those about him in order to gain love and affection. Coleman states that neurotic behavior is rarely dangerous or injurious to society.<sup>20</sup>

The psychotic is defined as one who has lost contact with reality, who suffers from emotional distortions, hallucinations, and delusions. From his study of schizophrenia and crime H. Warren Dunham concludes that few schizophrenics commit crimes, and when they do they are usually crimes against the person.<sup>21</sup> Since 95 percent of the crimes reported in the Uniform Crime Reports are crimes against property, and since only 1 percent of the Sing Sing population was classified as psychotic, we cannot take too seriously the notion that psychotics commit more than a negligible number of crimes. The psychotic suffers from a disturbance of reality relationships and his concepts of time, place, and persons are disorganized; thus, from the legal point of view he is insane when judged by the McNaghten rule. We can conclude that psychotic or neurotic symptoms more often than not do not lead to criminality. It might even be argued that serious psychotic or neurotic symptoms make anti-social behavior less rather than more likely.

This leaves us with the category now referred to in abnormal psychology textbooks as character disorders. The essential characteristic of this group of behavior disturbances is the fact that the individual is acting out his anxiety and hostility. The acting-out disorders will be discussed under the general title of sociopathic personalities.

#### THE THEORY OF DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION

Sutherland's theory of differential association is essentially a theory of learning. It states that criminal behavior is learned from contact with those who maintain criminal attitudes and practices. "The process of learning criminal behavior is by association with criminal and anti-criminal

patterns."<sup>22</sup> "Systematic criminal behavior is determined by the process of associating with those who commit crimes . . ."<sup>23</sup> Sutherland's theory is an outgrowth of the work of G. H. Mead and Charles H. Cooley in social psychology, and the work of Robert Park and E. W. Burgess in human ecology. The Park and Burgess theory of city growth was developed by Shaw and McKay in their studies of the ecological distribution of delinquency in Chicago.

The following criticisms can be made of the theory of differential association: 1. The theory does not explain the origin of criminality, since criminality has to exist before it can be learned by someone else. Why the first criminal act?<sup>24</sup> 2. The theory does not explain crimes of passion or accident. 3. The theory does not explain crimes by those with no prior contact with criminals or criminal attitudes. 4. It does not explain the case of the non-criminal living in a criminal environment. 5. The theory does not differentiate between criminal and non-criminal behavior, since both types of behavior can be learned. A person can become a dentist or a Catholic as a result of differential association. 6. It does not take into account the psychological factor referred to as motivation or "differential response pattern." Clinard and others have emphasized the differential response pattern of different individuals to similar situations.<sup>25</sup> 7. The theory does not account for the differential rate of crime associated with age, sex, urban areas, and minority groups. Why do males commit more crimes than females, or why do Negroes commit more crimes than non-Negroes? Why are criminal patterns concentrated in certain groups and not in others? It is no answer to say that these groups are criminalistic because they associate with criminal patterns, since what we are trying to explain in the first place is the existence of criminal patterns in these groups. What is there about being a male, or a member of a minority group, or living in a slum area that produces a high crime rate? Sutherland's theory does not explain the origin of crime rates; rather it explains how a person comes into contact with criminality

<sup>22</sup> SUTHERLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> ROBERT G. CALDWELL, *CRIMINOLOGY*, New York: Ronald Press Co., 1956, p. 181.

<sup>24</sup> See a discussion of this problem in JAMES A. QUINN, *HUMAN ECOLOGY*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, p. 511.

<sup>25</sup> MARSHALL B. CLINARD, *CRIMINOLOGY AS A FIELD IN AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY*, reprinted in *CRIMINOLOGY: A BOOK OF READINGS*, ed. by CLYDE B. VEDDER et al., *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> HERBERT A. BLOCH AND FRANK T. FLYNN, *DELINQUENCY*, New York: Random House, 1956, p. 156.

<sup>20</sup> COLEMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

<sup>21</sup> H. WARREN DUNHAM, *THE SCHIZOPHRENE AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR*, reprinted in *CRIMINOLOGY: A BOOK OF READINGS*, ed. by CLYDE B. VEDDER et al., New York: Dryden Press, 1953, p. 201 ff.

if and when criminality is a part of his cultural system.

Sheldon Glueck argues that Sutherland places the cart before the horse when he assumes that a delinquent is not a delinquent until he has associated with other delinquents. Glueck notes that there are many examples of anti-social behavior where no history of delinquent associations exists. Delinquent associations are often formed after a delinquent pattern has been established in order to gain acceptance for the already-existing pattern of anti-social behavior.<sup>26</sup>

The problem of the non-delinquent living in the delinquent environment has caused the sociologist more concern than some of the other criticisms made of the differential association theory. Solomon Korbin points out that the delinquent is subjected to both delinquent and non-delinquent values. "... high rates of delinquents are characterized by a duality of conduct norms, rather than by the dominance of either a conventional or a criminal culture."<sup>27</sup> The problem is why an individual identifies with a particular cultural system when several systems exist as a part of his cultural experience.

One of the most ambitious attempts at an empirical verification of the theory of differential association has been made by James Short. Short concluded that the major difficulty in such an attempt is the fact that many delinquents have no prior history of association with delinquent friends or patterns.<sup>28</sup>

Walter Reckless and his associates have been working on a research project designed to get at the factors which insulate the good boy who lives in a highly delinquent area. The results of this research will be discussed below.

These various criticisms of Sutherland's theory are a result of the way in which the theory is formulated. The error in the theory of differential association is in regarding social interaction with criminals or with criminal patterns as essential to criminality. Sutherland was right in emphasizing the importance of social interactional processes in criminality; however, social interaction can lead to criminality whether it is with criminals or non-

criminals. The importance of social interaction in the process of personality development is well recognized. We behave the way we do because of the way in which we interact with others. The important element in criminal behavior is not whether the social interaction is with criminals or non-criminals, as Sutherland's theory states, but whether the social interaction is intimate and of the type that brings the individual into a primary group, or whether it is impersonal and non-integrative in effect. A man may commit murder because his wife has committed adultery. The social interaction of husband and wife is crucial in understanding his act, much more important than whether or not the husband had a prior history of associations with criminal attitudes. The element of criminality does not enter into the situation until after he has killed his wife, not before he killed her. The social relationships one has with non-criminals, such as husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, and so forth, may be far more important in determining one's behavior than the association one has with criminals. A man kills his wife after years of marital strife and tension. The murder is due to the type of social interaction that has occurred between husband and wife, and yet until the time the murder takes place the interaction is not criminalistic in any sense of the word.<sup>29</sup>

#### THEORY OF SOCIAL ALIENATION

A person cannot become a criminal without associating with other human beings; he can become a criminal without associating with other criminals. An alternative theory of criminal behavior, a theory which attempts to integrate the psychological and sociological concepts of criminality, states that crime rates are high in groups where social interaction is characterized by isolation, anonymity, impersonalization, and *anomie*. Such areas are interstitial areas or areas of transition, marked by a minimum of personal, intimate social interaction. From the point of view of the individual offender the theory states that the criminal is one who lacks interpersonal relationships. He suffers from interpersonal failure. The typical criminal has failed to achieve satisfactory interpersonal relations with others; he is lonely, isolated emotionally, lacks membership in lawful primary groups, is insecure, hostile, aggressive, feels he is not loved or wanted, and has an inade-

<sup>26</sup> SHELDON GLUECK, *Theory and Fact in Criminology*, BRIT. JOUR. OF DELIN., October, 1956, p. 95 ff.

<sup>27</sup> SOLOMON KORBIN, *The Conflict of Values in Delinquency Areas*, AMER. SOCIOLOG. REV., October, 1951, p. 661.

<sup>28</sup> JAMES F. SHORT, JR., *Differential Association with Delinquent Friends and Delinquent Behavior*, THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOG. REV., Spring, 1958, pp. 20-25.

<sup>29</sup> See the case reported in MARSHALL B. CLINARD, *SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR*, New York: Rinehart and Co., 1957, pp. 211-212.

quate sense of belonging. He is the product of social impersonalization.

This theory is in agreement with Sutherland's theory in that both emphasize the importance of social interaction that occurs in the primary group. It differs from the theory of differential association in that it emphasizes the impersonality of social interaction rather than the criminality of social interaction which an individual experiences in group living. Criminal behavior is an attempt to establish interpersonal relationships that have not been established in a socially acceptable way. To be a member of a group means to conform to the expectations of the group. A person will conform to group demands only if he identifies with the group and feels he is accepted by the group. The criminal has been alienated from society.

This theory of social alienation is in essential agreement with the current trend in psychological thinking which places emphasis on such concepts as feelings of rejection, emotional starvation, psychological isolation from others, feelings of insecurity and hostility, and so forth. The theory is in opposition to any theory of criminal behavior which states that criminality is due to physical build, glands, poor heredity, or some other biological concept of personality development. However, it should be noted that physical build, glands, heredity, and so forth do influence the pattern of social interaction which a person maintains with those about him. A feeble-minded child cannot interact with his environment in the same way that a normal child can. This does not mean that feeble-mindedness causes delinquency; it does mean that feeble-mindedness is a factor in social interaction.

The theory of social alienation differs from the theory of differential association in the following respects: 1. It explains sudden crimes of passion. Aggression against one's self or others is a result of a breakdown in a person's system of interpersonal security. A man who depends upon his wife for love and affection finds this security destroyed by an act of unfaithfulness. 2. It explains why an individual can live in a delinquent sub-culture and yet isolate himself from delinquent patterns. If he has adequate interpersonal interaction he will not feel the need to join a gang or to commit anti-social acts. 3. It explains why a person with no history of association with criminals will commit criminal acts. A person who has not established satisfactory interpersonal relationships will adjust to his feelings of loneliness and insecurity. One form of ad-

justment is aggression and hostility. It is in this sense that Glueck's observation that the emotional pattern necessary for delinquent acts may exist prior to and independent of associations with criminals is correct. 4. It explains the origin of criminal behavior in the first place. High crime rates exist in areas characterized by anonymous, impersonal relationships. The association of criminality with age, sex, urbanization, and minority groups will be discussed in detail below. 5. The theory of social alienation integrates the sociological and psychological schools. It retains emphasis on social interaction, while emphasizing the emotional content of human interaction.

Sutherland was an outspoken critic of the psychological school, and though he offered some valuable criticisms of its obvious shortcomings, he failed to integrate the psychological material in his work. The same thing can be said of the psychologist who criticizes Sutherland's theory. At present a criminologist is either an advocate of the sociological position or the psychological position. Obviously what criminology needs is not either one or the other, but both. Psychological theory as it is now stated is inadequate because not all emotionally disturbed individuals are criminals, and not all criminals are emotionally disturbed. The sociological theory is inadequate because not all criminals associate with criminals, and not all who associate with criminals are criminals. Objection to the theory of social alienation on the grounds that not all social isolates are criminals is not valid. Sociologists often argue that if neurosis or feeble-mindedness were a cause of criminality, then all neurotics or mental defectives would be criminals. This is defective logic. To say that all men are animals is not the same as saying that all animals are men. To say that all criminals are social isolates is not the same as saying that all social isolates are criminals. The class "criminal" is a class of objects included within a larger class "social isolates." Social isolation may lead to neurosis, schizophrenia, suicide, alcoholism, drug addiction, and many other reaction patterns. Criminality is one of several ways in which a person can adjust to social impersonalization.

The theory of social alienation is based on and supported by psychological theories of personality development, the interpersonal school of psychiatry, the theory of *anomie*, the concept of sociopathic personalities, recent studies in group dynamics, and the relation of criminality to age, sex, race, social class, and urbanization.



## SOCIAL ISOLATION AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

The basic thesis of social psychology is that group membership is vital to the development of human nature. G. H. Mead and C. H. Cooley emphasized the importance of the primary group as the agent of socialization. Intimate social relationships are essential to personality development "The isolated individual is sick. He is sick in mind, he will exhibit disorders of behavior, emotion, and thought . . . To escape isolation a person must be able to become a member of a group."<sup>30</sup> Psychiatry has shown that membership in a group sustains a man and helps him to meet the shocks of life.<sup>31</sup>

Children without love and affection become aggressive, hostile, and hateful. Infants without love develop marasmus, a withering away of the human organism. Rene Spitz, in a study of the effects of hospitalization on children, made the same observations. The studies of isolated or semi-isolated children are used to illustrate the importance of human contact for personality development.<sup>32</sup>

Franz Alexander tells the story of a neurotic pig that lost its neurotic symptoms when it saw an attendant towards whom it had positive transference. Alexander concludes, "Trust and confidence instead of fear are the basic therapeutic factors."<sup>33</sup> A five-year old girl recently came to the attention of authorities because of her anti-social aggressive acts. The only object which had ever shown her any love and towards which she could show love was a dog. Karl Menninger states that social belonging is an essential factor in good mental health. The fear of not belonging is a basic factor in emotional problems of any types. The psychiatrist has emphasized the role of love in mental health, and the role of hate in emotional conflict.<sup>34</sup> Studies of military neurosis reveal that the less cohesive the combat group, the greater the rate of neurosis. The neurotic soldier is the "frightened, lonely, helpless person whose interpersonal relationships have been disrupted."<sup>35</sup>

Anthropological studies reveal that the rate of

<sup>30</sup> HOMANS, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-314.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 457.

<sup>32</sup> ASHLEY MONTAGUE, *DIRECTION OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1955, p. 180 ff.

<sup>33</sup> SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, July 6, 1957, p. 18.

<sup>34</sup> KARL MENNINGER, *LOVE AGAINST HATE*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1942, p. 267 ff.

<sup>35</sup> S. KIRSON WEINBERG, *SOCIETY AND PERSONALITY DISORDERS*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952, p. 132.

mental illness is very low in those societies that are homogeneous and highly integrated, where security is provided to nearly all persons. The rate of mental illness is high in those societies where contact with European societies has occurred, and where the system is more heterogeneous and less integrated.<sup>36</sup> O'Kelly states, "the more complex and loosely integrated the culture, the more difficult is adequate personality adjustment."<sup>37</sup>

LeShan, reporting on a study of hostility, concludes that a child who is psychologically isolated from his parents will show signs of hostility in an effort to gain affection. Punishment is a means of establishing social contact. Hostility often binds a group together because of a common enemy. The application of this observation to delinquent gangs is obvious. "Interpersonal hostility can thus serve an individual who is psychologically isolated and perceives no personally acceptable way of achieving non-hostile relationships. He can reduce the self-destructive forces operating within himself by establishing and maintaining hostile relationships to others. On the other hand, non-destructive individuals are characterized by very warm and meaningful interpersonal relationships."<sup>38</sup>

Experiments by Hebb and his associates, in which subjects are placed in a stimulus-free environment and isolated from stimuli as far as is possible, reveal that without external stimulation the human organism reacts with acute personality disturbances, apathy, hallucinations, visual disturbances, and other disorders. Hebb concludes that social isolation, loneliness, and a lack of interpersonal interaction are symptoms of mental illness.<sup>39</sup>

The social isolation thesis was developed by Faris and Dunham in their study of the ecological distribution of mental illness in Chicago. Since that time many studies have been made supporting the thesis that schizophrenia is a product of social and psychological isolation. Kohn and Clausen modified the Faris-Dunham thesis. They found that schizophrenic patients were not isolated from parents or peer groups. They concluded that social isolation was a result of interpersonal diffi-

<sup>36</sup> CLINARD, *SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR*, *op. cit.*, p. 330 ff; WEINBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 228 ff.

<sup>37</sup> LAWRENCE I. O'KELLY, *INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOPATHOLOGY*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949, p. 629.

<sup>38</sup> LAWRENCE LESHAN, *A Study of Hostility*, *AMER. PSYCHOLOGIST*, March, 1958, p. 118 ff.

<sup>39</sup> D. O. HEBB, *The Motivating Effects of Exteroceptive Stimulation*, *AMER. PSYCHOLOGIST*, March, 1958, pp. 109-113.

culties so great that the individual was no longer capable of functioning in the situation. Interpersonal failure leads to a withdrawal reaction, and thus to social isolation. Interpersonal failure can also lead to compulsive social interaction in an attempt to gain acceptance in a group.<sup>40</sup>

From his study, Jaco notes that schizophrenics have the following characteristics: great anonymity, few personal friends, a higher rate of renting than owning homes, few memberships in lodges, greater unemployment, few visits to the business district, and few friends in remote areas.<sup>41</sup>

Hollingshead and Redlich report that lower class individuals have nine times the incidence of schizophrenia than do members of the upper class, whereas upper class patients are more likely to be neurotic.<sup>42</sup> The isolation of the lower class from community activities and voluntary group membership is a factor in this differential reaction pattern. The implications of this study for criminology are interesting and worthy of further consideration, since the lower class also has the high rate of delinquency and crime. The upper class has the high rate of neurosis with a low rate of crime. Criminal behavior and neuroses appear to be negatively correlated.

One textbook in abnormal psychology states that psychological adjustment depends upon a sense of identity—clarification in adolescence of who one is and what one's role is; and a sense of intimacy—ability to establish close personal relationships with members of both sexes. A hazard to such adjustment is found in the failure of society to provide clearly defined roles and standards; in the formation of cliques which provide clear but not always desirable roles and standards; and in cultural and personal factors which lead to psychological isolation or to formal rather than intimate, personal relations.<sup>43</sup>

According to Ernest R. Hilgard, a major threat to mental health is "isolation from one's fellows, with feelings of loneliness and rejection."<sup>44</sup> "Man is a social animal, and he suffers when isolated from his fellows. The circumstances of modern life tend to produce loneliness for many people . . .

Modern apartment dwellers often do not know those who live across the hall."<sup>45</sup>

#### INTERPERSONAL THEORY OF PSYCHIATRY

There has emerged in the writings of Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, and Harry S. Sullivan a school of psychiatry known as the interpersonal school, so called because of the emphasis placed upon interpersonal relations in emotional disturbances.

In his "Escape from Freedom" Fromm argues that during the medieval period man felt he had a place in society. Due to the decline of feudalism and the emergence of capitalism, the individual gained freedom but lost his security. He gained freedom only to be isolated in a hostile world. "To feel completely alone and isolated leads to mental disintegration just as physical starvation leads to death . . . He may live among people and yet be overcome with an utter feeling of isolation, an outcome of which is a state of insanity which schizophrenic disturbances represent. This lack of relatedness to values, symbols, patterns, we may call moral aloneness."<sup>46</sup>

Along with industrialization and urbanization Protestantism destroyed man's sense of belonging and left him insecure and anxious. Luther and Calvin left man on his own to gain his salvation in a hostile world. Man submitted to God in an effort to gain security. Fromm refers to this as a surrender in return for love and security, which is basic to the development of modern totalitarianism.<sup>47</sup>

Max Weber made the same observation concerning Protestantism. "In its extreme inhumanity this doctrine must above all have had the one magnificent consistency. That was the feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual." Protestantism left the individual with no priest, no Church, no sacraments, and no God, since Christ had died only for the elect.<sup>48</sup>

Fromm discusses the mechanisms of escape from loneliness and anxiety: authoritarianism, destruction, and automatic or complete conformity to group demands.

<sup>43</sup> COLEMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>44</sup> ERNEST R. HILGARD, *INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOLOGY*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 2nd ed., 1957, p. 213.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>46</sup> ERICH FROMM, *ESCAPE FROM FREEDOM*, New York: Rinehart and Co., 1941, p. 19.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63 ff.

<sup>48</sup> MAX WEBER, *THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM*, New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 5th ed., 1956, p. 104.

<sup>40</sup> MELVIN L. KOHN AND JONH A. CLAUSEN, *Social Isolation and Schizophrenia*, *AMER. SOCIOLOGICAL REV.*, June, 1955, pp. 265-273.

<sup>41</sup> E. GARTLY JACO, *The Social Isolation Hypothesis and Schizophrenia*, *AMER. SOCIOLOGICAL REV.*, October, 1954, pp. 567-577.

<sup>42</sup> AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD AND FREDERICK C. REDLICH, *SOCIAL CLASS AND MENTAL ILLNESS*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958, p. 230.

Karen Horney regards basic neurotic anxiety as "the feeling a child has of being isolated and helpless in a hostile world." From such insecurity the individual develops various techniques in an effort to gain security. The compulsive need for love, the need to be dependent and independent at the same time, the need for power over others, and the need to exploit others are neurotic adjustment mechanisms. Horney classifies these mechanisms as (a) moving toward people or dependency, (b) moving away from people or withdrawal, and (c) moving against people or hostility.<sup>49</sup>

Harry Stack Sullivan also regards anxiety as a result of a threat to one's security in a system of disturbed interpersonal relationships. The individual's need for intimacy, when not satisfied, leads to apathy, isolation, amnesia, and other mental disturbances.<sup>50</sup>

#### ANOMIE

The original statement concerning social isolation was Durkheim's thesis concerning *anomie*. By *anomie* he meant a lack of social norms or values which led to a sense of isolation and anonymity. In his study of suicide Durkheim found that people who lacked intimate group ties committed suicide more frequently than those with group affiliations. Durkheim concluded that suicide varies "inversely with the degree of integration of the social groups of which the individuals form a part."<sup>51</sup> Walter Lunden writes that Durkheim was *l'avant garde* for the "age of loneliness," "cutoffness," and "rootlessness."<sup>52</sup>

Leo Srole regards *anomie* as a measure of self-to-other alienation. Using the concept as a measure of interpersonal alienation Srole devised a scale for measuring *anomie*. He discovered a positive correlation between *anomie*, authoritarianism, and race prejudice.<sup>53</sup> His study supports the thesis that authoritarianism is a product of social isolation and insecurity.

Harold Lasswell writes: "Modern man appears to be suffering from psychic isolation. He feels alone, cut off, unwanted, unloved, unvalued . . .

<sup>49</sup> CALVIN S. HALL AND GARDNER LINDZEY, *THEORIES OF PERSONALITY*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957, p. 130 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134 ff.

<sup>51</sup> LEWIS A. COSNER AND BERNARD ROSENBERG, *SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1957, p. 177.

<sup>52</sup> LUNDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>53</sup> LEO SROLE, *Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study*, *AMER. SOCIOL. REV.*, Vol. 21, December, 1956, p. 709 ff.

When other persons are conceived as means rather than ends in themselves an act of withdrawal has occurred. The thinking and feeling ego transforms other human beings into manipulable dummies who are to be sold a bill of goods or a candidate or some other line. Hence the ego ends by depriving the surrounding world of its humanity, and, as a result, suffers from the dehumanizing effects of splendid isolation."<sup>54</sup>

Robert MacIver defines *anomie* as "a state of mind in which the individual's sense of social cohesion is broken or fatally weakened. In this detachment of the atomic person from social obligation his whole personality is injured."<sup>55</sup> MacIver regards *anomie* as the disease of urban society.

#### SOCIOPATHIC PERSONALITIES

The concept of the sociopath or psychopath is one of the most controversial in the literature of criminology and psychology. Since the basic reaction pattern of the sociopath is anti-social behavior, the concept bears a closer relationship to criminality than do neuroses and psychoses. However, it would be an error to equate sociopathy and criminality. ". . . criminality is not a psychological concept; criminality is action contrary to the penal code. Acts of this kind may be committed by every conceivable psychological type, normal as well as pathological."<sup>56</sup> McCord states that the psychologist often confuses deviant behavior and sociopathic behavior.<sup>57</sup> The formula often used is "sociopathic behavior is deviant behavior; criminal behavior is deviant behavior; therefore, criminal behavior must be sociopathic behavior." This is defective logic. Some sociopathic behavior is criminalistic, but not all sociopathic behavior is so.

Under the title "sociopathic personality" James Coleman discusses the anti-social reaction, the dyssocial reaction, the sexual deviate, alcoholism, and drug addiction.<sup>58</sup> The term "sociopath" is blurred when it is used to refer to the dyssocial reaction, or what the sociologist would call the cultural deviate. The dyssocial person identifies with the sub-culture to which he belongs, which

<sup>54</sup> *CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES*, ROBERT MACIVER, editor, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952, p. 132 ff.

<sup>55</sup> ROBERT M. MACIVER, *THE RAMPARTS WE GUARD*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1950, p. 85.

<sup>56</sup> OTTO FENICHEL, *PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY OF NEUROSIS*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1945, p. 505.

<sup>57</sup> WILLIAM AND JOAN MCCORD, *PSYCHOPATHY AND DELINQUENCY*, New York: Grune and Stratton, 1956, p. 7.

<sup>58</sup> COLEMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 337 ff.

has norms and values in conflict with the norms of the larger society. The dyssocial person is at the opposite end of the continuum from the sociopath, although both Weinberg and Coleman use the same general classification for both.<sup>59</sup> In the language of the psychiatrist, the sociopath is one who has no superego; the dyssocial person has a superego but his identification is with the "wrong objects."<sup>60</sup>

Otto Fenichel distinguishes between "autoplastic" and "alloplastic" reaction patterns. The autoplastic reaction is one in which anxiety and hostility are turned inward against one's self; the alloplastic reaction is one in which anxiety and hostility are turned outward against others.<sup>61</sup> The typical neurotic is autoplastic in his response pattern, however, the "acting-out neurotic" exhibits sociopathic behavior but with guilt feelings and neurotic anxiety.<sup>62</sup> The alloplastic disorders include the true sociopath and the acting-out neurotic. The dyssocial person or cultural deviate is viewed by the sociologist in terms of differential association, social disorganization, or cultural conflict. Since the dyssocial reaction is not psychologically abnormal, it does not belong in the category of character disorders. The cultural deviate is not a sociopath. This paper considers the dyssocial reaction within the context of Sutherland's theory of differential association.

Interest in the sociopath began with Pritchard's labeling of certain cases as moral insanity. The term "moral insanity" was used because these individuals exhibited none of the characteristics of abnormality, except that they lacked a sense of social conscience and social awareness. Koch used the term "constitutional psychopathic inferior," implying thereby a physical basis for the condition. The constitutional explanation has been refuted by many who have dealt with the term.<sup>63</sup>

August Aichhorn in his "Wayward Youth" describes his pioneering work with anti-social children, children who suffer from "cutoffness" and "rootlessness." He made no attempt to differentiate between the delinquent child, the anti-social child, and the problem child.<sup>64</sup> The outstand-

ing works of Fritz Redl and Bruno Bettelheim have added to the literature on children who hate.<sup>65</sup>

A sociopathic person is characterized by impulsive behavior, irresponsibility, shallowness of emotional development, and the inability to take the role of the other fellow. His lack of a conscience or a concern for social regulations has led to the term "sociopath." He is often a very charming person with a great deal of role playing ability. He feels no sense of guilt. MacIver, in describing the effects of *anomie* on personality development, describes these individuals as sadistic, domineering, ruthless, vain, inherently destructive, and self centered, who profess values if it is to their advantage to do so.<sup>66</sup> This list of traits is identical with the list used to describe the sociopath. Perhaps this is a clue as to the etiology of sociopathy. The sociopath appears to be a product of *anomie*, social alienation in modern society.

Studies of the sociopath support the thesis that sociopathy is related to social alienation. Weinberg writes that "the psychopath develops within the matrix of distant and impersonal parent-child relationships."<sup>67</sup> McCord's study indicates that the psychopath is emotionally starved, a person who has been rejected or unwanted as a child.<sup>68</sup> Harrison Gough explains sociopathy in terms of a defect in the role-taking ability of the individual. His theory is based on the Mead-Cooley system of social psychology which places great emphasis upon interpersonal interaction in the primary group.<sup>69</sup> Bettelheim notes that sociopathic reactions in children are related to the difficulties involved in rearing children in urban areas where there are ill-defined values and mores.<sup>70</sup> He relates these disorders to disturbed interpersonal relations between parents and children. Bettelheim states that "personal relations are the essence of our work."<sup>71</sup> These children have experienced no satisfying human relationships and they do not know how to relate themselves to others.<sup>72</sup>

The late Robert Lindner devoted a great deal of

<sup>65</sup> FRITZ REDL AND DAVID WINEMAN, *CHILDREN WHO HATE*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1951; BRUNO BETTELHEIM, *LOVE IS NOT ENOUGH*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1950.

<sup>66</sup> MACIVER, *THE RAMPARTS WE GUARD*, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>67</sup> WEINBERG, op. cit., p. 279.

<sup>68</sup> MCCORD AND MCCORD, op. cit., p. 59 ff.

<sup>69</sup> HARRISON G. GOUGH, *A Sociological Theory of Psychopathy*, AMER. JOUR. OF SOCIOLOGY, March, 1948, pp. 359-366.

<sup>70</sup> BETTELHEIM, op. cit., pp. 3-5.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346; WEINBERG, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>60</sup> FENICHEL, op. cit., p. 505.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>62</sup> WEINBERG, op. cit., p. 281.

<sup>63</sup> MCCORD AND MCCORD, op. cit., p. 48 ff.

<sup>64</sup> AUGUST AICHHORN, *WAYWARD YOUTH*, New York: Viking Press, 1935. See also KURT EISSLER, *SEARCHLIGHTS ON DELINQUENCY*, New York: International Universities Press, 1949.

attention to the sociopath, or what he called the "rebel without a cause." The modern rebel differs from the rebel of the past in that he has no goal or cause. He turns his anxiety and suffering outward against society rather than inward against himself. In his "Rebel Without a Cause" Lindner regards the cause of sociopathy as residing in the unresolved Oedipus complex. Harold has witnessed the primal scene as a child.<sup>73</sup> In his later writings Lindner is less Freudian and more sociological in his interpretation. He relates the development of sociopathic personalities to the development of mass society and the pressure for conformity. An impersonal society produces personalities characterized by hatred, aggression, lack of love, and a lack of identification with others. Lindner regards Fascism and Nazism as problems in sociopathy.<sup>74</sup> In this respect his work parallels that of Fromm's since Fromm also emphasized mass conformity and the need for power as characteristics of the lonely, modern man.

Though not directly concerned with the sociopath, David Riesman develops the idea that, as society changes from integrated to segregated, personality types change from tradition-directed to inner-directed to other-directed.<sup>75</sup> The other-directed person has no value system of his own; he must conform to the wishes of the crowd. He lacks inner direction or a conscience. Approval and acceptance in mass society comes from doing what one is expected to do. Riesman's other-directed person bears a striking resemblance to the conformist described by Fromm, Lindner, and Horney. The fact that Riesman entitled his book "The Lonely Crowd" suggests the impersonality and anonymity of modern group living.

This discussion of the sociopath is not to be regarded as a clinician's attempt to categorize patients, but rather as an attempt by a sociologist to characterize a personality type produced by an urban society. The reason the term "sociopath" is regarded by many as a wastebasket term is because it is not amenable to psychiatric classification and explanation. Certainly the unresolved Oedipus complex explanation is weak. The sociopath is a product of social alienation and social impersonalization. He is the product of disturbed interpersonal relations. Taken together, the sociopath and

the cultural deviate constitute around 85 percent of the prison population.

#### SMALL GROUP DYNAMICS

Recent studies of small groups or primary groups reveal that the more cohesive the group, the greater the control the group has over the behavior of its members. An individual who is not integrated into the group will not conform to the demands of the group. "The greater the cohesiveness of the group, the greater the ability of the group to influence its members."<sup>76</sup> The intimate group provides the cohesive element in society. With the decline of the influence of the primary group, there has been a decline in the influence of the group on individual behavior. The behavior of the individual is no longer controlled by the group. Studies of small groups support the thesis here being considered; namely, nonconformity is a product of social alienation due to the decline of the intimate, small group.

Festinger writes that compliance to group norms which is created by force and coercion rather than conviction does not create group feeling.<sup>77</sup> The essential element in law is force and coercion, which is obeyed because of the threat of coercion rather than conviction.

In the field of industrial relations, Mayo discovered that a feeling of belonging, of being important, is crucial in the productivity and satisfaction of workers. The display of an airplane used in combat to a group of workers who had helped produce the plane resulted in an immediate increase in motivation and a decrease in absenteeism. The workers now felt that they were a part of the war effort.<sup>78</sup> Robert Angell, from his study of the effect of the depression on families, concluded that families which were integrated by means of intimate, personal ties suffered little or no social disorganization, whereas families not characterized by intimate social interaction did exhibit symptoms of disorganization.<sup>79</sup>

Bettelheim notes that the more cohesive the group, the more secure the individual feels in the

<sup>76</sup> LEONARD BROOM AND PHILIP SELZNICK, *SOCIOLOGY*, Evanston: Row, Peterson and Co., 1955, p. 532. See also *HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*, ed. by GARDNER LINDZEY, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954, Vol. II, p. 817.

<sup>77</sup> *GROUP RELATIONS AT THE CROSSROADS*, ed. by MUZAFER SHERIF AND M. C. WILSON, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953, p. 233 ff.

<sup>78</sup> ARNOLD M. ROSE, *SOCIOLOGY*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, p. 288 ff.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.

<sup>73</sup> ROBERT M. LINDNER, *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE*, New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944.

<sup>74</sup> ROBERT M. LINDNER, *MUST YOU CONFORM*, New York: Rinehart and Co., 1956, p. 89 ff.

<sup>75</sup> DAVID RIESMAN, *LONELY CROWD*, New York: Doubleday Anchor Book, 1953.

group. Cohesive groups are able to allow the individual self-expression, and thus the weak ego finds support from the group. The ego is allowed to develop and to discover itself in such a group. At the same time, the group controls aggressive and hostile acts of the child, since a cohesive group is not threatened by an attack of aggression in the same way that the non-cohesive group is. The less cohesive the group, the greater violence the group will show in reacting to aggression. A strong, cohesive group acts as an incentive to the individual to change his behavior if he wants to live with the group. He will give up his hallucinations and delusions once he has group support and feels secure, since the delusion is only needed so long as the individual feels insecure.<sup>80</sup> These principles are basic to group therapy. It is often argued that the sociopath is not amenable to treatment. Some success in treatment has been made through the medium of group psychotherapy.<sup>81</sup>

From studies in other areas of sociology we know that the disintegration of the primary group leads to an increase in mental illness, suicide, family disorganization, labor-management troubles, and military neurosis. Crime appears to be the result of similar disintegration.

#### CRIMINALITY AND SOCIAL ALIENATION

If the theory of social alienation is valid, we can expect to find a high crime rate in those areas marked by social isolation, impersonalization, and anonymity. Criminal statistics indicate that crime rates are high for young adult males who live in urban slum areas, who are from lower socioeconomic groups, and who are members of minority groups.

#### URBAN-RURAL CRIME RATES

The higher crime rate for urban than for rural areas supports the theory of social alienation. Urban areas are characterized by anonymous, imper-

sonal relationships.<sup>82</sup> Marshall Clinard has pointed out the importance of urbanization as a factor in criminality. He also notes that as the rural community assumes the characteristics of the urban community, the rural crime increases in the direction of the urban rate.<sup>83</sup>

It has also been noted by Shaw, McKay, and others that the high crime rate areas of a city are the interstitial areas, areas characterized by a state of *anomie*. Shaw found that the high delinquency areas were (a) areas of little or no home ownership, (b) areas of poor educational and recreational facilities, (c) areas inhabited by the most recent immigrants, (d) areas that were socially and often geographically isolated from the larger community, and (e) areas that were in a state of transition from a residential to an industrial use. They were interstitial areas. The term "interstitial" is taken from biology, where it is used to refer to the coming together of two different types of tissues. These interstitial areas are often more susceptible to infections than other tissue areas.<sup>84</sup>

A committee for the Chicago Area Project reported that the neighborhoods from which delinquents came are marked by a lack of intimacy, an attitude of indifference, and personal isolationism. The committee concluded that the delinquent was socially but not emotionally maladjusted. The delinquent needs to develop a feeling of belongingness.<sup>85</sup>

Bernard Lander, in a study of delinquency in Baltimore, found that delinquency and crime are not related to poverty, racial background, or slum conditions. Rather, the high crime rate areas are the areas of *anomie*. Where the Negro population was over 50 percent of the general population of an area, the crime rate was much lower than where the Negro population was less than 50 per cent of the population.<sup>86</sup> The cohesiveness of groups in a predominately Negro neighborhood is greater than in the interstitial area.

<sup>82</sup> E. GORDON ERICKSEN, *URBAN BEHAVIOR*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1954, p. 290 ff.

<sup>83</sup> CLINARD, *SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR*, *op. cit.*, p. 54 ff.

<sup>84</sup> CLIFFORD R. SHAW AND HENRY D. MCKAY, *DELINQUENT AREAS*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

<sup>85</sup> HELEN L. WITMER AND EDITH TUFTS, *The Effectiveness of Delinquency Prevention Programs*, Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1954, pp. 14-15.

<sup>86</sup> BERNARD LANDNER, *TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1954.

<sup>80</sup> BETTELHEIM, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff; p. 262 ff.

<sup>81</sup> See Bettelheim, *op. cit.*; REDL, *op. cit.*; LLOYD W. McCORKLE, ALBERT ELIAS, AND F. LOVELL BIXBY, *THE HIGHFIELD'S STORY*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958; LLOYD McCORKLE AND RICHARD KORN, *Resocialization Within Walls*, *ANNALS*, 1954, Vol. 293, pp. 288-298; SEYMOUR PARKER, *Role Theory and Treatment of Anti-Social Acting Out Disorders*, *BRIT. JOUR. OF DELIN.*, Vol. 7, 1957, pp. 285-300. THE BIENNIAL REPORT FOR THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS, 1955-56, states that group psychotherapy is "the most effective type of therapy known today." (p. 18.)

## AGE AND SEX

Adolescents suffer from group alienation more than other age groups. This is also a transitional period, a period when the adolescent is moving from the family group to the adult community. The adolescent has no well-defined role or status in our society. A great deal of delinquency is an adolescent protest against parental control and an attempt to find a place in the adult community. The high crime rate of the young adult is due to the lessening of the influence of the family group while at the same time the individual does not gain membership in other status groups.

Why males commit more crimes than do females is more difficult to explain. Both are obviously lonely and isolated. Bromberg takes the position that the female is more protected by the law, is economically dependent on the male, and has an emotional outlet in sexual misconduct rather than aggressive behavior.<sup>87</sup> Females use sex as a way of gaining status and approval, as a substitute for other types of interpersonal relations. The female is allowed to be dependent in our society, whereas the male is not. It is not unusual in our society to hear a mother tell a four or five year old male child, "Why don't you behave like a man?" The male is expected to protect the female. Due to different sex roles the female reaction to isolation and insecurity differs from that of the male.

## SOCIAL CLASS

The high crime rate of the lower socio-economic group is due to (a) their isolation from the general community, and (b) the differential treatment accorded them by the police and the courts. Hollingshead states that "class V persons are almost totally isolated from organized community activities."<sup>88</sup> "In conclusion we shall point out that the withdrawer from school is trying to mature and take his or her place in adult society. He is doing it as an individual, largely without help or guidance of adults, even without his own family. His approach to the problem is along the road of withdrawal from all types of institutional guidance, such as that which the school or the church might have given him."<sup>89</sup> The class V person is lower-class according to Hollingshead's classification system.

<sup>87</sup> WALTER BROMBERG, *CRIME AND THE MIND*, Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Co., 1948, p. 167 ff.

<sup>88</sup> A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD, *ELMTOWN'S YOUTH*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949, p. 119.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412.

Robert Merton describes a type of *anomie* that operates within the lower class. The lower class adolescent has no legal means of gaining the goals of his society. His lower class and educational position prevents him from adjusting to these goals in the same manner in which the middle class adolescent does.<sup>90</sup> A. K. Cohen presents a similar thesis when he notes that the lower class boy is unable to identify with middle class values. He thus engages in delinquent behavior as a reaction to middle class values which he cannot obtain. He seeks status and approval in other than legal ways.<sup>91</sup>

## MIGRATION AND CRIME

The crime rate of migrants tends to increase as cultural contact with native-born groups occurs. The second generation immigrant has a higher crime rate than the foreign-born if contact with the American culture is involved.<sup>92</sup> Cultural groups that maintain their cultural identity, such as the Japanese or Chinese, have a very low crime rate. Pauline Young's study of the Molokans in Los Angeles indicated that the first generation group had a low crime rate, whereas the second generation group had a very high crime rate. In the heart of the Japanese colony in Honolulu few delinquents were found, whereas in the mixed ethnic areas the Japanese had a high delinquency rate.<sup>93</sup> Very few children from Jewish families are handled in court. Very few children from Latter Day Saint families are handled in court, since the church maintains its own welfare program and handles such cases when they do occur. These studies support the Lander study quoted above concerning the crime rate in Baltimore.

Spindler found that the use of peyote among an American Indian tribe had its greatest attraction for a transitional group who seemed unable to identify with either the old tribalways or with the white man's society. The drug addict seems to be an inadequate personality.<sup>94</sup>

These studies support the thesis of social aliena-

<sup>90</sup> *THE FAMILY: ITS FUNCTION AND DESTINY*, ed. by RUTH N. ANSHEN, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949, p. 226 ff.

<sup>91</sup> ALBERT K. COHEN, *DELINQUENT BOYS*, Glencoe; Free Press, 1955.

<sup>92</sup> MARTIN H. NEUMEYER, *JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN MODERN SOCIETY*, New York: VanNostrand Co., 1955, p. 251 ff.

<sup>93</sup> EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND, *PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY*, New York: J. P. Lippincott Co., 4th ed., 1947, p. 143.

<sup>94</sup> COLEMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 420; CLINARD, *SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR, op. cit.*, p. 269.

tion. The high crime rate is not in the heart of the slum or cultural area, but in the transitional and interstitial areas. Social cohesion and integration are at a minimum in such areas. In these traditional areas old group ties have been broken and new group ties have not been formed.

#### PERSONALITY TRAITS AND CRIMINALITY

Gough and Peterson found that delinquents scored high in such characteristics as being affected, sensitive, anxious, defensive, dissatisfied, emotional, headstrong, rebellious, and tense.<sup>95</sup>

Reckless and his associates have been working on the problem of what isolates the good boy in a delinquent area. They found that the good boy has a sense of social responsibility, a sense of morality, is sensitive to the wishes of others, and has a stable family relationship with parental love and interest being shown and felt. The non-delinquent boy thinks of himself as a good boy. "There exists a great deal of solidarity and cohesiveness in the family situation of insulated boys." These boys had experienced intimate, personal relationships. They were not isolated or lonely.<sup>96</sup> This study confirms what we stated earlier when it was noted that the factor which probably isolates the non-delinquent in a delinquent area is the feeling of belonging and the presence of satisfying interpersonal relationships.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck conclude that the cohesiveness of the family of the delinquent is much lower than that of the non-delinquent. The delinquent has fewer intimate family ties. Delinquent boys were deprived of affection. As a group the delinquents resolved their problems by acting them out rather than turning them inward. Delinquents and non-delinquents resemble each other in matters of feeling anxiety, insecurity, and feeling unloved. Delinquents are less dependent than non-delinquents, less conforming, less conventional, and more confident of their ability to handle their problems.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> HARRISON G. GOUGH AND DONALD R. PETERSON, *The Identification and Measurement of Predispositional Factors in Crime and Delinquency*, *JOUR. OF CONSULTING PSYCHOL.*, Vol. 16, 1952, pp. 207-212.

<sup>96</sup> WALTER C. RECKLESS, SIMON DINITZ, AND ELLEN MURRAY, *Self Concept as Insulator Against Delinquency*, *AMER. JOUR. OF SOCIOLOGY*, Vol. 21, 1956, pp. 744-746; WALTER C. RECKLESS, SIMON DINITZ, AND ELLEN MURRAY, *The Good Boy in a High Delinquency Area*, *JOUR. OF CRIM. L., CRIMINOLOGY, AND POL. SCI.*, May-June, 1957, pp. 18-25.

<sup>97</sup> SHELDON AND ELEANOR GLUECK, *DELINQUENTS IN THE MAKING*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.

The Glueck's study supports the theory of social alienation in respect to their findings concerning family cohesiveness, feelings of isolation, and feelings of being unloved. However, it must be noted that both groups felt unloved and isolated. The differential response pattern of the delinquent and non-delinquent to these emotional problems remains a basic problem in this connection. Why do some people act out their hostilities rather than internalizing them? Horney, Fromm, and others have pointed out that a person can meet feelings of insecurity by becoming dependent, withdrawing, or by becoming aggressive. The pattern of the response must be partially culturally determined since middle class individuals are more prone to become neurotic while lower class individuals are more prone to act out their aggression.

Many theories of criminality are based on assumptions which either minimize or exclude the importance of social interaction in crime causation. Theories that explain criminality in terms of body build, glands, or feeble-mindedness are of this type. Ernest Hooton states that the Nordic type is a leader in forgery and fraud, while last in crimes against the person, whereas the Alpine type is a leader in robbery but last in forgery and fraud.<sup>98</sup> The Nordic type is from Northern Europe and as such he was the earliest settler in the United States. His descendants are now in the middle and upper social classes, in positions of trust where one would expect to find fraud and forgery. On the other hand, the Alpine type migrated to the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century from Southern and Eastern Europe. Isolated from the Northern European by physical, cultural, linguistic, and religious differences, they became members of the lower class, living in the slum areas. Not being in positions of trust, they cannot commit crimes of forgery and fraud. Hooton's material does not need to be explained in terms of physical type. The Alpine group is the same group studied by Sutherland, Shaw and others as the inhabitants of the high crime rate areas in Chicago.

William Sheldon observes that the typical delinquent is the mesomorphic type with a somatonic temperament.<sup>99</sup> The Gluecks have related these constitutional types to such factors as discipline by father, supervision by mother, affection of mother, and family cohesiveness.<sup>100</sup> Such factors

<sup>98</sup> HERBERT A. BLOCH AND FRANK T. FLYNN, *DELINQUENCY*, New York: Random House, 1956, p. 131.

<sup>99</sup> COLEMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>100</sup> ELEANOR T. GLUECK, *Body Build in the Predic-*



represent measures of interpersonal alienation. Body build is a factor in criminality only if it is a factor in social interaction. Similarly, intelligence is a factor in criminality as it enters into social interaction. Physical and mental traits do not cause crime, but they may act as barriers to social interaction and thus help to foster social alienation. These comments on the physical traits of criminals have been introduced only to illustrate the fact that an alternative interpretation of the material is possible.

Healy and Bronner write that in evaluating the psychological factors in delinquency we must consider the desire of the individual for feeling secure in family and other social relationships, for feeling accepted by some person or group, for recognition as having some standing as a personality, and for feeling adequate somehow or somewhere.<sup>101</sup> They conclude that the non-delinquent has more satisfactory human relationships than the delinquent. The delinquent joins the gang in order to gain acceptance and recognition which he otherwise lacks. "The importance of building up standards through personal relationships can hardly be overstated."<sup>102</sup> "The deeper, essential causes are to be found in the special relationships of the delinquent with those in his immediate environment."<sup>103</sup>

Banay states that "aloneness, depression, and resentment over the fact of having been unloved and abused in childhood, is of course common among prisoners."<sup>104</sup> The criminal is unable to identify with his victim, shows no pity or signs of sympathy.<sup>105</sup> Banay notes that there is little evidence of any sense of relationship between the inmate and his family, or the inmate and society in general.<sup>106</sup>

The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study report indicates that the boys with whom the counselors worked unsuccessfully were not neurotic but those who shunned close relations with adults, had parents who disliked them or were indifferent to them, and boys who never established close relationships with their counselors.<sup>107</sup>

Fredric Wertham, in his "Circle of Guilt,"

*tion of Delinquency*, JOUR. OF CRIM. L., CRIMINOL., AND POL. SCI., March-April, 1958, pp. 577-579.

<sup>101</sup> WILLIAM HEALY AND AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, *NEW LIGHT ON DELINQUENCY*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936, pp. 6-7.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>104</sup> RALPH S. BANAY, *WE CALL THEM CRIMINALS*, New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, Inc., 1957, p. 7.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>107</sup> WITMER AND TUFTS, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

combines a psychiatric report with a sociological study of the background of a Puerto Rican. He concludes that this boy "... acted in isolation. Aloofness was his way of getting along in life."<sup>108</sup> Santana thought of himself as a member of a group that was unwanted, unloved, weak and inferior. "Essentially he is not a rebel, but a conformist—a confused conformist."<sup>109</sup> "He belongs to a category which I call the unplaced."<sup>110</sup> The social alienation of the young minority member is seen in dramatic form in Wertham's account of the case. The point Wertham makes—that Santana is attempting to conform—is excellent, since all human behavior is in one way or another an attempt to conform to the demands of those about us. In some cases rebellion and hostility represent the only ways the person knows to meet the demands of society. Every criminologist who believes in the psychiatric interpretation of criminality would profit from reading this book, since sociology and psychiatry join hands here without conflict. However, Wertham interprets the material without mentioning such concepts as the Oedipus complex or the id.

George Gardner states that 90 percent of the delinquent cases represent overt acts of hostility and aggression. The delinquent lives in an aggressive and hostile world, and he adjusts in the same manner. Delinquents lack experiences of being genuinely wanted and loved.<sup>111</sup> This bears out the comment above concerning the observation that all people want to conform, but some must conform to society's demands in a hostile manner.

From these studies we can conclude that the criminal or delinquent is lonely, isolated, lacking in interpersonal relations, and trying desperately to conform in the only way he knows to the demands of the society which has no place for him.

#### THE FAMILY

The broken home, the criminal home, the deviant home, and the disorganized home are regarded as important factors in delinquency and crime.<sup>112</sup> Both the sociologist and the Freudian psychologist place emphasis on the family as an agent of socialization. Any disruption in the intimate, personal relationships in the family group is going to be an important factor in later interpersonal adjustment. It is not surprising to find that many criminals

<sup>108</sup> FREDERIC WERTHAM, *CIRCLE OF GUILT*, New York: Rinehart and Co., 1956, p. 54.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

<sup>111</sup> BLOCH AND FLYNN, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181 ff.

have a social history of disturbed family relationships. The Gluecks found that 97 percent of the delinquent families were non-cohesive. The New York City Board report describes the delinquent as presenting "behavior one would expect to find when the family as a competent, strong cohesive unit does not exist, where the provision of food, clothing, and a roof over the head are a daily gamble, and where the influence of the church and religion are negligible."<sup>113</sup> The need for stable family relationships is illustrated by the fact that a delinquent group will often form its own artificial family, calling one another by such familial names as father, mother, son, brother, sister, and so forth.<sup>114</sup>

The first experience a child has in interpersonal interaction is in the family. Social alienation often starts in the family. If intimate, personal relationships are lacking there, they are often not found by the individual in other groups either.

#### DELINQUENT GANGS

Shaw discovered that 81 percent of those brought into court had one or more companions; however, only 5.9 percent had more than four companions. Healy and Bronner reported that 70 percent of the delinquents with whom they dealt had delinquent companions. The Gluecks reported that 98 percent of their sample had delinquent companions, whereas 7.3 belonged to gangs.<sup>115</sup> From these figures we can conclude that though delinquent companions are common, gang membership is not.

Thrasher, Shaw, and others have observed that gangs usually exist in the interstitial area of a city.<sup>116</sup> W. F. Whyte, in his study of street corner society, emphasized that there is organization in the slum area. There is a code of conduct. However, the relationship within the group does not extend to those outside the group. "Within the in-group personal relations are of the intimate *Gemeinschaft* type. Relations of an individual with an outgroup are of the impersonal *Gesellschaft* type."<sup>117</sup> This helps to clarify a troublesome point. The social alienation suffered by the gang is not from within but from without. The gang is or-

ganized because the individuals who are in the gang have been rejected by other elements of the society.

The crucial issue is why delinquents associate with one another. Delinquents often associate with other delinquents because these are the only interpersonal relations available to them. Sherif writes, "Whenever individuals cannot consistently relate themselves to a scale of values of the group within which they move and function, there is a tendency for these individuals to gravitate towards one another and to form informal reference groups from which they derive their major portion of self-identity, aspirations, and values."<sup>118</sup> Delinquent associations serve as a substitute for other types of interpersonal relations.

#### PATTERNS OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Crimes against the person are usually committed against those with whom we have interacted personally. In a study of murder Sutherland discovered that 60 percent of the murdered females were murdered by friends or relatives.<sup>119</sup> A New Jersey study revealed that 67 percent of the victims of murder were murdered by friends or relatives during an altercation, and 11 percent were premeditated murders by friends or relatives.<sup>120</sup> Murder is essentially a reaction to a threat to one's personal security such as occurs during a fight, when adultery is committed, or when jealousy is involved.

Short and Henry hypothesize that homicide rates vary positively with the strength of the external restraint over behavior.<sup>121</sup> External restraint is related negatively to status and positively to the strength of the interpersonal relational system of the individual involved; in other words, lower class people have less status than upper class people and therefore have more restraints placed against them. Likewise, persons involved in social interaction with others have more restraints placed on them than do those who are not so involved.

Statistics on murder show that the Negro has a higher homicide rate than the white, the rural rate is higher than the urban rate, the male commits

<sup>113</sup> WITMER AND TUFTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.  
<sup>114</sup> This observation was made by MRS. MARY JANE URMSTON, a case worker in the San Diego, California, Department of Probation.

<sup>115</sup> CLINARD, *SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR*, *op. cit.*, p. 180 ff.

<sup>116</sup> NEUMEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 200 ff.

<sup>117</sup> RONALD FREEMAN et al., *PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952, p. 552.

<sup>118</sup> MUZAFAER AND CAROLYN SHERIF, *OUTLINE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 2nd ed., 1956, p. 643. See also a comment in ROSE, *THEORY AND METHOD IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES*, *op. cit.*, p. 21, in which he discusses the emergence of delinquent gangs in areas of *anomie*.

<sup>119</sup> CLINARD, *SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR*, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

<sup>121</sup> ANDREW F. HENRY AND JAMES F. SHORT, *SUICIDE AND HOMICIDE*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1954, p. 16.

more homicides than the female, the young adult commits more homicides than the older adult, married people commit more homicides than single people, and that the homicide rate is higher in the slum area of a city than in other sections of the city. As Short and Henry point out, it is a contradiction to their hypothesis to find more males committing homicide than females, more young adults committing suicide than older adults, and more homicides in slum areas than in the better residential areas. According to the hypothesis the homicide rate should be high in low status groups, however the male has higher status than the female, and the young adult has higher status than the older person. Likewise, the relational system is weak in the urban slum areas, therefore the homicide rate should be lower rather than higher there.

A re-evaluation of the Short-Henry hypothesis is possible. A person in a low status position does not have more restraints placed on him than does the higher status person. His behavior is evaluated by a high status person, but at the same time, his low status position exempts him from many restraints to which the upper status person is subjected. The Negro who commits assault or murder against another Negro is given a lighter sentence than is the white defendant where a white victim is involved.<sup>122</sup> A lower class girl who is pregnant out of wedlock is free of the social ostracism to which the upper class girl is subjected. Theodore Dreiser wrote about "An American Tragedy" in this connection. Premarital and extramarital sexual relationships, fighting, drunkenness, and gambling are accepted as a part of the behavior pattern of the lower class person. We use such phrases as "middle class morality and respectability." The person with the reputation to preserve in the community has more external restraint on him than does the person with no reputation to protect.

In the second place, it is not true that young adults have a higher degree of personal involvement, as Short and Henry state. As was noted above when we discussed the age and sex factors in social alienation, the young adult is alienated from his society in many respects.

The exceptions found by Short and Henry for homicide can be explained if we revise their interesting hypothesis. Homicide is committed by those with a minimum amount of status and personal involvement, in other words, by those suffering

from social alienation. The Negro is alienated because of race. The male is alienated because of his sex role. The young adult is alienated because of age. The lower class person is alienated because of his lack of social status. The homicide rate is high in the slum area because of the degree of anonymity and impersonality in such an area. In all respects homicide follows the pattern of social alienation. The greater the degree of alienation, the greater the rate of homicide. The observation that married people commit more homicides than single persons is explained by the fact noted above that homicide usually involves a friend or relative. A married woman is more likely to be murdered than a single woman because of the involvement in interpersonal tension with her husband which the single woman does not experience. The higher homicide rate for rural areas in the South is probably due to the fact that the Negro has a higher homicide rate than the white.

Crimes against property are usually committed against those with whom we have no personal relationships. Sutherland reported that such crimes are usually committed some distance from the residence of the criminal.<sup>123</sup> In a study of attitudes towards stealing, Erwin Smigel found that his subjects preferred to steal from big business, government, and small business in that order. Anonymity, impersonality, and bureaucratic inefficiency are cited as reasons for preferring to steal from big business. When a person stated that he preferred to steal from small business, it was because he felt his personal relationship with the victim would protect him from prosecution.<sup>124</sup> The attitude of the delinquent is that it is not right to steal from one's friends.<sup>125</sup> A person who would not steal from his friend's house would not hesitate to cheat on his income tax. The point was recently made by a college instructor that as class enrollments increased, so did the cheating. He observed "The student is no longer loyal to his class—only to his fraternity and friends."

#### TYPES OF ALIENATION

Three types of social alienation can be distinguished. First, there is individual alienation. The individual is alienated and isolated from inter-

<sup>123</sup> SUTHERLAND, *PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY*, 4th ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26; p. 44.

<sup>124</sup> ERWIN O. SMIGEL, *Public Attitudes Toward Stealing*, *AMER. SOCIOL. REV.*, June, 1956, pp. 320-327.

<sup>125</sup> GRESHAM M. SIKES AND DAVID MATZA, *Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency*, *AMER. SOCIOL. REV.*, December, 1957, p. 665.

<sup>122</sup> *CRIMINOLOGY, A BOOK OF READINGS*, ed. by VEDDER et al., *op. cit.*, p. 256 ff.

personal relations. This person is often characterized as a sociopath. He does not accept the values of the society.

The second type is group alienation. The group to which the person belongs is alienated and isolated from the larger community. The individual who identifies with such a group is often characterized as a cultural deviate or a dyssocial person. Minority groups which are segregated from other aspects of the culture and which lose their own cohesiveness experience high crime rates. The Negro or Puerto Rican is an example. The second generation immigrant during the 1920's and 1930's was also in this category. The lower class person living in a slum area suffers from social alienation, as Shaw and others have noted. A lack of integration of the various segments of society produces alienation of the segments.

The isolation of the upper class from other segments of society is also involved. White-collar crime is of this type. The businessman who sells contaminated meat or falsely advertizes his product has no feeling of identification with his customers. In an impersonal society the buyer and seller interact on a formal basis, and the law of contract replaces the feeling of obligation which dominates business matters in a more intimate situation. "The public be damned" and "caveat emptor" express the impersonality of the market place. Embezzlement represents a breakdown in the feeling of trust which is based on intimate interaction.

The growth of syndicate crime in the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century was related to the social situation which faced the immigrant who came here from Southern Europe. The immigrant needed protection in an urban society, and the syndicate and the political machine offered him this protection. The growth of corrupt political machines and ward bosses at this period in American cultural and political development was a part of the process of urbanizing and Americanizing the immigrant. Political corruption involves the substitution of personal relationships for impersonal ones in a situation which has been defined as impersonal. "One of the more corrupting influences in government is that of personal friendships and primary group contacts."<sup>126</sup>

The third type of alienation is legal. The differential treatment of Negroes and whites, and of

lower class and upper class individuals, in courts of law, illustrate the fact that different social groups have differential access to justice. The treatment of white-collar criminals in a preferential manner is illustrative of this point. Many of our laws reflect the ethical and political values of the property-holding class. Legislation is often influenced by pressure groups who represent the economic interests of a very small segment of our population.

In a small, homogenous group it is possible to have democracy in the sense that every citizen participates directly in the affairs of government, as is symbolized by the New England town meeting or the Swiss canton. In a large, complex society, government by representation replaces government by direct citizen participation. The function and processes of government are removed from the people and placed in the hands of a corps of professional politicians and lobbyists. The average citizen is ignorant of political issues and generally too apathetic to vote. Important governmental functions have been transferred from the local and state levels to the federal level. The Supreme Court decision concerning segregation in the public school system, or the issue of federal aid to public education, are examples of policy decisions at the federal level which conflict with local interests and values. There is complete confusion on the issue of what social values we wish to express in our legal processes. A type of alienation exists between legal values and the values expressed in other institutional structures of our society.

#### CRIME AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

There are at least two reasons why social alienation does not lead to crime in every case. In the first place, social alienation can lead to neurosis, psychosis, alcoholism, drug addiction, and so forth. The individual response pattern is still a crucial issue.

In the second place, alienation leads to anti-social behavior, not criminal behavior. Crime must be defined within the limits of the criminal law. A distinction between criminal behavior and anti-social behavior must be maintained. Social alienation leads to the rejection of group norms. As a community develops it creates and sustains many different types of norms and regulations. If the norms which are violated are non-legal in nature, then the individual involved is a norm violator but not a criminal. Only a segment of the social norms

<sup>126</sup> ROBERT E. PARK AND ERNEST W. BURGESS, *INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. 330-331.

are legal norms which can lead to arrest, prosecution, conviction, and punishment. The category of "norm violators" is larger than the category "law violators." Many norm violators are not criminals. Both types of violations have a common basis in social alienation, and the behavior which violates the norm and the law which defines the behavior are both a result of social alienation.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This paper has attempted to integrate the concepts of "crime" and "criminal." Both are a product of social alienation. As society changed from rural to urban, law replaced custom as a major means of social control. Law is formal and impersonal in nature and in operation.

Social cohesion, based on personal interaction, has diminished. Personality development is dependent upon the type of social interaction which occurs within the primary group. Social isolation and social alienation produce a variety of disturbances in personality formation, disturbances which are reflected in such social problems as divorce, alcoholism, crime, poverty, drug addiction, and mental illness. Recent studies concerning the sociopathic personality and the dynamics of small group interaction support the thesis that meaning-

ful interpersonal relationships are necessary for conformity to group norms.

High crime rates are found in areas exhibiting a high degree of social alienation. The criminal has a disturbed pattern of interpersonal relationships. In current criminological literature it is customary to regard as separate processes the psychological process leading to criminality and the sociological process leading to criminality. This has been a major obstacle to the development of a theory of criminal behavior, since any separation of the individual from society is false.

Different types of disturbed interpersonal relations are found in crimes against persons, crimes against property, white-collar crime, and syndicate crime. Alienation may be viewed as individual, group, or legal. Whether the behavior resulting from social alienation is criminal or not depends upon (a) the individual's reaction to the alienation, and (b) the reaction of society to the behavior in terms of legal control of such behavior. Social alienation is common to both the development of criminal law and the development of deviant behavior.

Modern urban society is characterized by a decrease in social cohesion. Crime is a product of any social force which decreases the cohesiveness of a group.