THE MANY FACES OF CRIVE AND DEVIANCE

Edited By S. Giora Shoham

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THE MANY FACES OF CRIME AND DEVIANCE

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Introduction

This volume of Israel Studies in Criminology is special because it presents the full range of the interdisciplinarity of the study of crime and deviance. It becomes more and more clear that all non-normative behavior of human beings is studied by various social sciences, and that their related concepts. all have a marked common denominator. Indeed, the only common denominator of all forms of crime, deviance and alienation are that they are modes of human behavior which are contrary to or conflicting with a given set of norms. Hence, whatever the contents of the behavior may be, if it relates to non-normativeness it can be included in the wider range of our discipline. This volume presents the study of deviance and alienation as a holistic interpretation of the behavior of the human being without fragmenting the various functions of Man. We are attempting to present human nonnormative behaviour as a synthetic whole and not as a fragmented eclectic conglomeration of different patches of behavior. We also hold (and this is reflected in the papers presented in this volume) that biology, psychology, sociology, anthropology as well as philosophy and the humanities can and should contribute to the understanding of human deviant behavior.

The volume begins with the essay by Moshe Addad who presents a study of violence from an integrative viewpoint in keeping with the interdisciplinary approach of the volume. The same spirit of a holistic review of the state of the art in both crime and madness is apparent in the paper by Simon Dinitz. We have long known that crime and madness do have some overlapping manifestations that can be studied as part of the wider phenomenon of deviant and alienated human behavior. Paul C. Friday highlights the sociopsychological points of vantage in our discipline of crime and deviance, with an essay on the feedback mechanisms within the area of patterns of role relationships and crime. A holistic sociological viewpoint is adopted by Felix Geyer who presents a novel approach to the methodology of the study of non-normative behavior within an innovating sociological systems analysis theory. The paper by Joseph Harrison demonstrates that popular criminological theories are of little value in explaining the phenomenon of high-level criminality. Harrison berates the absurd lack of attention by

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criminologists toward both empirical and circumstantial evidence indicating the massive problem of upperworld criminality.

The papers by Sarnoff A. Mednick and William F. Gabrielli, John Money and Robert Rubin dwell on the biogenic aspects of our frame of reference. The paper by Giora Rahav is a cross-sectional comparison of the old controversy of the deterent effect of the death penalty. The paper by Leonard Weller, Hanan Costeff, Bernard Cohen and Dalia Rahman shows a special case of non-normativeness and the ensuing family dynamics and parent-child relationship. Graeme R. Newman and Ben-Ami Sharfstein soar to the rarified heights of philosophy with papers which are still salient to our subject matter because norms and their promulgation have perenially been a prime target of ethics before they become structured into customs and morals, and ultimately coagulated into the letter of the law. Finally, Edward Sagarin ends the volume with a profound study of celebrated criminals portrayed in world literature, demonstrating once again that great writers are many times more profound students of human nature than any social or behavioral scientist can be.

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Violence from an Integrative Viewpoint Moshe Addad

Abstract

In the present article the author shows that aggressive behavior is caused by the interactive effects of environmental factors and integrative processes of specific brain regions. As such, it may be considered a biosocial phenomenon which is brought about by environmentally-affected biochemical imbalance. The specific patterns of brain functioning, especially in the limbic system, are affected by life experiences, such as success or failure. On the other hand, brain dysfunctioning may interfere with the shaping and execution of learned behavioral patterns; for example, incorrect decoding of sensory input might bring about aggressive reactions.

This integrative approach may contribute to the education and treatment of aggressive people, by offering a promising alternative to current aggression reduction procedures.

Violence has become, in our time, an integral part of everyday behavior. It is expressed in a constantly increasing measure in most areas of life: the family, work, various institutions including schools and public places. There are many aspects to violence. It assumes different forms and shades but its intrinsic nature remains the same. It may manifest itself as an active or as a passive reaction. Its negative tendency may be directed inwardly, towards the person himself, or outwardly, towards others, or a combination of both, a sort of self-destruction that extends to others as well. Also the causes of violence are many, the motivation for such behavior arising from sources that are emotional and/or cognitive.

Kahn (1966) has noted that it is the environment that encourages or discourages any trend towards aggressive behavior. Western society claims to be based on equality, and strives towards heightened and unattainable ambition on the part of its members. The gap, however, between aspiration and attainment is constantly widening. The result is that the individual is left with a feeling of stress and frustration, a feeling of impotence in the face of a

threatening reality.

At times, an individual is required to react violently as the only way of demonstrating power and ability. Part of society's framework encourages the individual to overstep the bounds. Modern society constantly advocates, in effect, the removal of restrictions on the individual and creates the illusion that freedom is synonymous with license. The individual is hard put to differentiate between what is permitted and what is prohibited. The breaking of some of the laws has become a sort of social norm. Although there is a law-making authority, when a situation arises such that society has become conditioned to regard the legislature as the creator of the law and not its proclaimer, it follows that every law, no matter how natural or universal it may be, is subject to disobedience. Because law has ceased to aspire to raise norms and remains on the level of the human legislator, it no longer constitutes an absolute restriction upon individuals. Furthermore, the multiplicity of laws in industrial society makes it impossible for the executive authorities to execute them with regularity and effectiveness.

Individuals who seek security seek it by means of material attainments. The rights of others and various other limitations constitute roadblocks that are meant only to be circumvented. Society with its framework provides the media for achieving this. Violence is a "respected" means that has proved itself effective and has penetrated the very fabric of our lives.

In this paper we shall review some of the research dealing with the sources of violent behavior, and we shall offer the conclusion that violence is an acquired characteristic. In our opinion, violence is the product of the adjustment mechanism interacting with environmental influences. Like all other behavior it is produced by special regions of the brain, which functions in an integrative manner, with the aim of serving the organism as a whole.

Violence is a biosocial phenomenon. An individual's violent behavior is the natural result of the defective state of the organism whose biochemical balance has been disturbed by certain conditions. The individual's reactions to what is transpiring inside him, or to outside stimuli, is the product of his total inheritance combined with all the prior and later influences on his emotional life conditioned by his biosocial environment. Thus, the individual's reaction to a given situation in a certain set of stimuli is the product of an inherited directive combined with a pattern of biochemical reactions taking place in the body, the entire complex being influenced by a multiplicity of outside factors.

The nervous system, which is called bio-electrical, serves as a medium for receiving stimuli and discharging the individual's reactions. Environmental changes produce defensive reactions in the nervous centers. These defensive

reactions are, in the main, patterns that have been acquired in the course of one's life. Human behavior is not the result of genetic patterns only, but the result of an interaction between genetic and environmental factors.

In the human brain, which weighs 1200-1400 grams, there are ten billion nerve cells, each of which makes contact with tens, hundreds, and even thousands of other nerve cells. The contact points between these cells, called synapses, are legion. They are estimated to be one thousand billion in number. This nervous system continues to develop until six months after birth. Consequently, environmental conditions exert an important influence on the proper development of the nervous system, including the neurons and synapses.

As a result of improved conditions provided to groups of mice of the same genetic background, the weight of the brain tissue was raised and so was the quantity of acetyl-cholin-estrez, the quantity of which serves as an indicator of brain activity (Bennett 1964; Rosenzweig 1971). In other studies (Guggenheim 1970; Vinick 1969) in which mammals were undernourished during the first 21 days of their lives, an irreparable reduction in the weight of the brain was found; changes appeared in the cells of the nervous system (attempts to rehabilitate them failed), and the normal increase in nerve cells, which takes place usually in the first months of life, was checked. In addition to this damage, it is reasonable to assume that the microscopic structure and the chemical composition of the brain cells were likewise impaired (Addad 1973; Vinick 1979). Young mice which were insufficiently breast-fed in the first week of life were found to possess 13 percent less brain tissue (in weight) than the control group; and the quantity of DNA (deoxribonucleic acid) went down by 8 percent (attempts at correction failed).

Although it is difficult and even dangerous to draw conclusions from experiments on animals and apply them to the complex functioning system in humans, nevertheless, it was found in this instance (cited underneath) that undernourishment in humans is destructive. In India a study was made of infants who had been hospitalized for malnutrition. An opposing group was chosen to serve as a control. Background factors of age, sex, religion, social class, sect, parents' education, size of family etc., were taken into account. The results indicated a marked decrease in the intelligence level of the children who suffered from undernourishment, and a significant decrease in their power of abstraction and organizational ability (Skodak and Skeels 1949).

In Chile a sample of 500 children who suffered from undernourishment was studied and here too, the above mentioned results were confirmed. It was found that other chemical changes also took place, the most important

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being a deficiency resulting in an impairment in the formation of Myelin (a fatty substance which envelopes the nerve, the absence of which prevents a proper functioning of the nerve).

Although the basic pattern of the nervous system is dictated mainly by heredity, the individual connections of the nervous system are formed as a result of interaction with the environment. In the course of every person's development there are "sensitive periods" when there must exist in one's surroundings certain stimuli in order that the nervous system can develop properly. It was found that cats that grew up with one eye covered from infancy, evidenced an impairment of their ability to see three-dimensionally. Likewise, cats that grew up in an environment deficient in certain visual stimuli were unable to respond in a normal manner to those stimuli after they had grown up. A cat that grew up in a box whose sides were painted with black vertical lines was unable, when grown up, to catch a mouse that ran in front of him on a horizontal table. It seems that the absence of proper stimuli during the period of growing up impairs the proper development of the nervous system and its ability to respond normally to the environment. The mature brain is not inflexible, but is able only within certain limits to change its characteristics (Yaden 1979). The reactions of an individual are acquired. Whether they are of an aggressive or a passive pattern, they are always the result of an emotional development involving chemical changes. In the brain there are specific regions which serve the various reactions. These special areas arrange themselves, thanks to their potential ability (genetic in origin) in accord with the complex of experience which determined their patterns.

Situations of isolation, or its opposite, living in the midst of a noisy and turbulent crowd, can lead a person, according to his past experience and acquired influences, to reactions of seclusion or violence resulting from emotional disturbance and/or a disturbance of his biochemical equilibrium. The aggressive reaction of a human being differs from that of an animal in that the human lacks the instinctive mechanism which reduces aggressiveness and directs the animal to spheres of vital activity. The absence of such "brakes" in humans produces a more cruel and almost unrestrained aggressiveness, unless he can develop within himself the sort of emotional system which will constitute a barrier.

Violent reaction is a means of achieving an external or an internal goal which is important to the individual. If the individual succeeds in attaining his goal in an aggressive manner, this behavior is reinforced and is liable to turn into a dominant pattern which will characterize his future behavior. The more numerous and frequent these reinforcements are, so will he

increasingly tend to choose to react aggressively. Such an intance will prevent him from developing a restraining mechanism which would help him to overcome and choose alternatives to aggressive behavior.

In the studies cited by Mednick and Christiansen (1977) it is clear (from the work of Leicon 1977; Har 1970; and Tressler 1972) that the restraining mechanism develops while learning. The thought of engaging in violent behavior may lead the child to carry it out in fact. On the other hand, it may frighten him as a result of negative reinforcements received in the past, and motivate him to develop a restraining mechanism. The child's success in restraining aggressive behavior lessens his fear, which in itself constitutes for him a positive reinforcement. The repetition of such experiences leads the child to develop restraining mechanisms which prevent the expression of aggressive impulses. Consequently, the criticism a child receives at home and at school, the accompanying fear, plus the anticipated fear prior to committing an improper act, all these are positive means of helping to create a restraining mechanism.

Insofar as the child will be capable of divesting himself of the feeling of fear more quickly, that is, overcoming the impulse to violent behavior and acting in accord with social order, so will he achieve tranquility more quickly, which in turn will constitute a positive reinforcement for him. Such reinforcement will lead him to adopt the path of restraint in preference to that of aggressive reaction. The sooner this positive reinforcement manifests itself, the more impressive will be its effectiveness, and the better will be the results. Positive reinforcement tends to dissipate the sense of fear which is accompanied by changes in blood pressure, heartbeat and electrical conductors of the skin, which in turn are operated by the autonomous nervous system. Insofar as the latter is capable of overcoming fear more quickly, the reinforcement will be more immediate, and consequently the child will learn to curb his aggressive behavior more quickly.

It may be that because the nervous system functions more slowly, the child will not succeed in overcoming his fears and will express his frustration in aggressive and violent behavior. Mednick and Shulsinger (1968), in a study of 311 subjects numbering among them 36 who had had run-ins with the law, found that the recovery of the autonomous nervous system (A.N.S.) among delinquents was slower from the outset. In ten cases from this sampling (the ten were classified as psychopaths) the recovery of the A.N.S. was even slower (Mednick and Christiansen 1977).

It follows from the above that among delinquents and psychopaths, feelings of stress do not enjoy positive enforcement by means of the removal of fear and terror. Thus it is quite possible that these individuals do not dev-

elop a suitable restraining mechanism, but conversely, adopt an impulse reaction. Siddle et al., (1973) confirmed this opinion and pointed out that the speed of recovery of the A.N.S. is a function of the delinquency deviancy. However, Siddle's claim is still only the opinion of one individual (Aronson 1977; Montague 1976).

Mednick asserts that the electrical conductors of the skin, which are an expression of the proper functioning of the A.N.S., differ from delinquents to non-delinquents. Furthermore, in his opinion, it is possible that there exists a relationship between the slow electrical conductivity of the skin (which is an expression of an impaired functioning of the A.N.S.) and between violent behavior in particular, and delinquent behavior in general (Mednick and Christiansen 1977).

It appears, therefore, that violent behavior, like other forms of conduct, is acquired by the individual through various means of learning, but his choice of acting violently or adopting an alternative way of acting is tied to biological mechanisms.

Experiments with animals have shown that it is possible to increase or decrease violent behavior in accordance with the amount of certain types of enforcement or suppression that is applied to the animals. In a similar vein, cultures, classes and groups that encourage violent behavior cause the behavior to become rooted in the social system and turn it into a socially acceptable and normal pattern within these groups. That one can acquire aggressive behavior by imitating the environment has been indicated by an experiment by Bandura et al., (1961). The researchers acted violently towards the dolls and toys in a children's nursery. When the children subsequently played with the dolls, they dealt with them with such a degree of violence that surpassed previous behavior. An environment that expresses itself violently constitutes an example for children to imitate and adopt.

Erickson (1965) in his study of two Indian American tribes, concludes that kindness and beastly cruelty are culturally produced characteristics which are learned as a result of enforcement that is accorded to the infant. He writes: "The cultural demand of kindness received its early sanction by according the privilege of unlimited breast-feeding; while the need for stopping the angry biting (the mother strikes the head of the child to prevent him from biting the breast) contributed to the ever-present and available savagery of the tribe — so that this accumulated anger was channelled towards hunting or towards the enemy" (ibid., p. 101). Erickson claims that in order to attain the desired educational results, the Indian tribes dedicated themselves, generation after generation, to the early training of their children. To "train" a child so that he should remain consistent and complete within

himself he must be woven in by a continuous and uninterrupted economic and cultural synthesis. For it is the synthesis that is bound up with every intimate relationship. Elements such as climate, body-structure, economy, psychology, society, and the bringing up of children, provide the raw material for this synthesis.

It seems that the process of learning exerts an important influence on the choice of a person's manner of reacting. It was found that the individual is capable, by rational judgement, of overcoming processes whose direction is initiated by the A.N.S. Giora (1975) stresses the fact that the voluntary nervous system, as well as the A.N.S., is influenced by the learning process. Experiments indicate that it is possible to acquire voluntary mastery over autonomous functions, such as brain waves, heartbeat and pulse (according to Kamiya, 1968). The voluntary mastery over functions directed by the A.N.S. is acquired by means of reckoning. In one of the experiments (ibid., p. 40) the subjects were provided with data on their brain waves. Although the subjects were given nothing else of a supportive nature, they were capable of controlling their brain wave frequency, to alter their heartbeat, or lower their blood pressure. Weiss and Engel (1971) have proved that patients suffering from early contraction of the heart chamber are capable of learning to control their heartbeats. Basmajian (1972) was able to demonstrate how to learn to control the spinal muscles voluntarily. Voluntary checks (by means of thinking) over functions considered to be autonomous. allow us to conclude that all process of learning, direct or indirect, even those derived from conditioning, are controllable processes to a larger or smaller degree. Violent behavior, like all other behavior, is a pattern of reactions to which the individual has become conditioned, or which have been acquired by him in the course of his life. This pattern of behavior is the consequence of an individual's desire to convert it into his reaction mechanism, or to reject it (see also Kamiya 1968).

There is a difference within the framework of violent behavior between aggressive actions whose purpose is to provide the ritual needs for survival, such as defense or obtaining water, and between aggression for its own sake. As previously stated, aggressiveness as such may be directed inwardly, which in extreme cases can lead to suicide, or it may be directed outwardly to others, in which case it will usually find expression in cruelty and damage to others. Freud (1948) maintains that there exists in every person a stream of violent energy that must flow out of him; and as it undergoes a refining process it will both liberate the individual from his aggressiveness and enable him to find his place, in a productive way, in society.

Lorenz (1963) supports the approach of Freud with the theory that there

actually exists in every person an aggressive impulse. This drive, like all other instincts, contributes a means of organizing life within the group, tribe, flock, or animal family. Thanks to this tendency, by the process of natural selection, the weak are discarded and the species is improved by retaining only the strong. According to Lorenz, aggressiveness plays the most important role in the survival of the species. Aggressiveness in animals is based on set laws intended to protect the species and prevent their extinction. According to Lorenz, the aggressive drive is an offspring which seeks channels of relief. Male tropical fish, for example, will usually only attack other males of their own species; however, if they cannot find their own, they will seek out males of another species even though they ordinarily do not act aggressively towards them.

It is important to find some relief for the aggressive drive within them. Furthermore, if no male victim is to be found, they will begin to vent their wrath on females... this instinct is necessary for survival. The aggressive drive is a primary instinct. It is independent and can be activated without any visible external stimulus. It has the power to impose a sense of restlessness in a body, when it is denied the possibility of activating itself. The aggressive drive will seek out targets for expression and in their absence, as mentioned above, will find substitute targets even if they... bring about his annihilation. The male yellow amnon fish, when he finds his mate, will drive out of his living area those of his own species. His aggressive offspring is directed towards all strangers within his own compass. However, should they be removed by the breeder, the male will vent his aggressive drive against his "bosom mate", will cause her death, and subsequently even annihilate his whole family (Lorenz 1975, p. 180-181).

Lorenz believes that the same situation is found among humans: the aggressive drive (A.D.) seeks release. Lorenz advises finding substitute objects of release, because "It is better for a person to vent his wrath on sticks and stones and not on his fellows, G-d forbid..."

In order to avoid the extinction of the species, animals are equipped with restraining mechanisms that prevent the powerful animals from annihilating their kind. Such instinctive apparatus is to be found in almost all animals. For example, the restraint which prevents the wolf from destroying his fellow competitor makes the survival of the species possible. Most conflicts are struggles between members of the same species to obtain control over territory, females, or the flock. Where the possibility of attacking his own

kind does not exist, he will turn against an animal of another species. Lorenz found that certain animals have a greater A.D. than others. For instance, fish of bolder colors are more aggressive than those whose color is more subdued. There are also cases where the colors become more pronounced and striking when the fish are in a state of aggression or conflict. Animals whose A.D. is greater are also generally equipped with a more efficient restraining mechanism which is not dependent upon the changing moods of the animal. The most savage beasts of prey are possessed of the best safeguards against killing. Among some of the animals the restraining mechanism is activated by chemical stimuli (the green lizard, male dogs versus females), while with others by behavioral patterns (the wolf turns his head aside when confronting his superior in strength; the jackdaw lowers his unprotected pate before the beak of his more powerful adversary).

Aggressiveness, according to Lorenz, is the instinct which sustains life and constantly improves it by means of natural selection, whereby the weak are annihilated by the strong, or by disease, or by natural disasters. The theories of Lorenz are therefore linked with Darwin's theory of evolution and the survival of the species. Nevertheless, Lorenz recognizes that there exists an aggressiveness for its own sake, divorced from the need for survival. Lorenz believes that besides the negative aspect of the aggressive instinct there is to be found the secret of vitality which impels us to activity, competition, and an awareness of self-esteem. It motivates us to seek personal friendship and even to enjoy fun and laughter. It activates us and negates a life of endless passivity. It follows that Lorenz advocates that we learn to live with this instinct and derive the utmost from it by learning to direct it to constructive channels. The destruction of the instinct would only do harm to the human species. It is necessary, therefore, to devise ways of sublimating this A.D., in the psychoanalytical sense, and to find productive forms of release (sports, the race to the moon) that will divert this violent energy to various substitute objects (ibid., p. 236).

In opposition to the causal approach of Lorenz, aggressive behavior can be regarded as an offspring, that is as a result of some purposeful end. Shechter (1970) defines this approach as follows:

There are among animals manifestations of self-respect, love, internal conflicts, restraint and sublimation, and considerable evidence of method. The pressure of instincts such as hate is evidence of the existence of evil in the world. There are animals who pursue others without actually attacking them; others kill their victims by biting and then do not eat the meat of their prey. Thus, the pursuit, the biting, and the killing is an