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# Scapegoats, Safety Valves, and Social Structure: A Sociological Analysis of the History of a Deviant Stereotype in Western Society

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SCAPEGOATS, SAFETY VALVES, AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF A  
DEVIANT STEREOTYPE IN WESTERN SOCIETY

(TITLE)

BY

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**THESIS**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts in Sociology

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CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

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## PREFACE

This paper is concerned with three dominant themes: these are conflict, the progress of the social change process over time, and deviance. The study has for its purpose the determination of whether the change in attitudes toward a particular deviant stereotype on the microlevel may be an indicator of a change in cultural ideology at the macrolevel.

Change situations develop as a result of a conflict of ideologies or variations in the value structure of an ideology.<sup>1</sup> Conflict is central to the concept of the process of change in society--this conflict need not be overt and may exist in situations of competition or cooperation. The degree of conflict can vary from actual physical engagement to confrontation and dialogue.

This is not to say that all change in society originates after-the-fact from conflict situations. Some change results from other sources such as technology and planned innovation. Planned change is induced as a result of a process of interpretation and evaluation of the situation and the weighing of the degree of desirability of various outcomes from introducing the change by the individuals or

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<sup>1</sup>Kenneth E. Boulding, The Meaning of the 20th Century (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1964), pp.160-170.

groups involved. These changes may be introduced for purposes of efficiency, growth, or to avoid the precipitation of a crisis situation that would result in conflict and possibly more radical change.

The forces of social change are at work all the time and some amount of change is always occurring in any society. Change, however, is a process and the kind and the direction of change is, in a general way, controlled by the ideological emphasis of the larger society.

If one starts at the highest level of society, conflict can be seen at work in the competition of ideologies. According to Boulding, the elements of an ideology are: an interpretation of history; an image of the future; a critique of personal and political behavior and a role for everyone.<sup>1</sup> Society then symbolizes the idea, propagates it, and then organizes and enforces it with a system of social control. No two societies, even if they possess some commonalty of cultural heritage, are going to have exactly the same ideology. Therefore, there is going to exist a competition of ideologies for the minds of their followers. In order to stay alive and viable an ideology will have to do two things, it will have to change to cover new societal situations as they develop in a dynamic environment and it will have to compete actively with other ideologies that might offer alternative solutions to the social problems in the society

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 198.

in which it is the dominant framework of rationality.

Ideologies and the societies that subscribe to them become what could be termed conflict "systems" in which the systems are maintained and enhanced not only as a result of the on-going process of conflict but also as a result of the interpretation of the social situation and its assessment and evaluation by individuals and groups.<sup>1</sup> This is carried even further by the process of "planning" for future change. This involves the introduction of change into the "system" in accordance with the evaluation of the "purpose" of the ideology embodied in the society, taking note of the "best" way of realizing these values in terms of future action.

Therefore, the theoretical basis of this study is "eclectic" in the sense that it is based on a readaptation of conflict theory in combination with a wider application of some tenets of symbolic interactionalist approach to encompass the intergroup relations in all interactional contexts--with individuals, groups within the society, the environment and ultimately with its historical heritage.

Each individual or group, after all, is an expression of the history that has gone before in terms of the interpretation of its meaning within the societal context.

Ideologies change over time as areas of cultural emphasis change. Therefore, the definition of what is deviant and the amount of "toleration" of deviance will also

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

change as time passes. The reason that ideologies change and areas of cultural emphasis change is that there is a continual interactive process going on between individuals, groups, national entities, and, their particular interpretations of the past history of mankind itself.

This is why the field of history is so important to the study of the sociology of knowledge. Man is continuously engaged in reinterpretation and reevaluation of his historical heritage—in terms of additional experience. So, history, in the sociological sense, is not only a part of the past, but of the present and also the future.

The use of the historical method is vindicated as a vehicle for this study because an interpretation of history and its symbols is central to the existence of every individual. Others may structure part of this interpretation for him but this does not diminish the effect that history has on him or the meaning its symbols have for him. This is particularly true in forming his attitudes concerning stereotypes of certain kinds of behavior and certain types of people.

There is a fundamental three-way relationship between history, change and deviance that cannot be discounted. The process of change and its relationship to deviance are continuously recorded in their historical setting and this is constantly reinterpreted for meaning as time passes and ideologies change.

The perspective should be viewed in the main as sociological rather than historical because its presentation



is so designed as to give serial interpretation to a particular constellation of traits that go to make up a particular stereotype in its social setting and to broaden understanding of deviancy in general.

Since this effort pioneers research in an area in which the descriptive literature is both episodic and voluminous, certain parameters must be outlined and limits placed upon the amount of material to be included. A complete study of all the historical records available could not be completed in the lifetimes of several researchers, therefore, the historical sources will be ones of acknowledged scholarship and concerning which a high degree of consensus exists among modern scholars as to their worth.

In areas of unquestioned agreement, and in which there is no argument, secondary sources will be used in favor of rare or unavailable primary materials.

Since this research is undertaken by one individual with limited time and economic means at his disposal, it must also be quite limited as to its scope. The data will be compiled in the nature of a pilot study which can serve to point the way to future "roadmap" treatments of history in the sociological perspective. To achieve this, the study will deal with a limited number of deviant groups whose influence has been greatest and whose membership has been the most numerous. Then, the treatment will emphasize society's reaction to these groups at specific times in the past down to the present (beginning with their period of greatest

social visibility) rather than showing their development in detail throughout history. The time sequence will encompass Western culture from Biblical times to the present. The emphasis will be on Europe until the advent of the nineteenth century and then shift to American society. Discussions of present-day post-industrialized society will be limited to its manifestation on the American scene.

The study will begin with a discussion of sociological theory and its application to the central thesis and will then move into a historical step-analysis of the problem as stated. The first few sections will deal almost exclusively with the presentation of the problem, the justification for the research, the theoretical base, methodology, and the character of the analysis to be used in the appraisal of the historical evidence.

Chapter II will be more or less concerned with a straightforward kind of historical reportage of an outline of the dominant changes in areas of cultural and ideological shifts of emphasis in Western society from biblical times to the present.

Succeeding chapters will treat the significant deviant groups as they gain social visibility in certain historical time periods. The relation of the master status traits of the classical configuration will be applied to each group in turn in the interactive milieu. An analytical summary of each period will be made (all of which will ultimately be synthesized qualitatively in the final section).

In the final chapter, the study will summarize the evidence gathered in the historical outline in terms of its application to the validity of the postulated hypotheses and ascertain if it supports or disproves the central thesis of whether the particular constellation of traits discussed can be termed a social indicator of change.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II. METHODOLOGY. . . . .	31
III. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY . . . . .	38
IV. THE CHARACTER OF THE ANALYSIS. . . . .	105
V. HISTORICAL PRECEDENT: THE ORIGIN, SYSTEM- ATIZATION, AND SPREAD OF DEVIANT TYPE-W IN WESTERN SOCIETY . . . . .	118
VI. THE CAREER OF THE SOCIAL HERETIC IN THE AGE OF CAPITALISM (1700-1955). . . . .	208
VII. THE DIRECTION OF THE DEVIANT CAREER OF THE SOCIAL HERETIC IN CONTEMPORARY POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. . . . .	343
VIII. SUMMARY, INTERPRETATION, AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	525
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	564

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Analogy Illustrating the "Roadmap" View of the Historical Dimension . . . . .	11
2. Schematic Representation of the Processes Involved in Buckley's Conflict-Actuated Adaptive Social System and Barnett's Process Theory of Cultural Change (Demonstrating the Effect of the "Precipitating Incident" in Terms of Changes in the System) . . . . .	87
3. The Theory Tree--Showing the Articulation of the Levels of Theory Utilized in This Study. . .	95
4. C. Wright Mills' Conception of the Intersection of History and Biography . . . . .	104
5. Selected Marginal Groups in Society Representing Deviant Minorities with a History of Being Victimized by the "Scapegoating" Practices of the Larger Society, or the Potentiality for Victimization in the Future. . . . .	109
6. Graphic Depiction of the On-Going Societal Conflict During the Reformation--Counter-Reformation in Europe. . . . .	168
7. Thermodynamic Analogy--"Pressure Cooker" Political-Economic Model of the Medieval Catholic Theocratic State. . . . .	182
8. Idealized and Simplified Conservative-Radical Continuum of Sociological Thought. . . . .	231
9. Thermodynamic Model of the Resolution of Social Conflict After the French "Social Revolution". .	267
10. Illustration (By Analogy) of the Slave-Holding Society of the American South in the Years Prior to the Civil War . . . . .	272
11. Thermodynamic "Pressure Cooker" Analogy of the Pre-World War I American Economy . . . . .	294

Figure		Page
12.	Thermodynamic Representation of the Rigid Social Structure of American Society in the Years of the Great Depression. . . . .	299
13.	Thermodynamic Representation of the World War II American Society. . . . .	317
14.	Thermodynamic Representation of the Rigid American Social Structure in the Years of World-Wide Ideological Conflict Between Marxist-Leninist Socialism and Social-Darwinism. . . . .	321
15.	Mills' Power Pyramid Conception of the Unilinear Power Flow in American Society. . . . .	360
16.	Stylized Diagram Showing Conflict Areas Between Three Divisions of American Society as a Result of the Lack of Complete Correspondence of Value Orientations. . . . .	388
17.	Contrast of the Traditional Values of the Protestant Ethic and Emergent Values of Post-Industrial Society Leading to Both Psychological and Sociological Conflict. . . . .	389
18.	"Spin-Off" Paradigm for the Generation of Associated Social Change as an Offshoot of a Central Movement . . . . .	428
19.	Gerth-Mills Ideal Model of Social Structure. . .	465
20.	Thermodynamic Analogy--The Military-Industrial Warfare (Preparedness) State . . . . .	470
21.	Electromagnetic Systems Diagram. . . . .	474
22.	Electromagnetic Systems Diagram. . . . .	477
23.	Electromagnetic Systems Diagram. . . . .	479
24.	Electromagnetic Analogy of the Gerth-Mills' Conception of Social Structure--Concentric, Intersecting Rings of Sphere and Order . . . . .	484
25.	Differences in the Character of the Integration of Society . . . . .	492

Figure		Page
26.	Illustration of Simmel's and Coser's Ideas of the Generation of "Internal" Enemies by Furnishing "Scapegoat" Minorities to Reintegrate Social Structure by Uniting to Combat a Common Enemy . . . . .	533
27.	Progress of the Career of a Deviant Stereotype ("Drift") Over Time. . . . .	550
28.	Wave-Form Analogy for Turning Points in Areas of Cultural Emphasis in Conformance with the Social-Change Process. . . . .	554

## I, INTRODUCTION

This study proposes to examine the interplay of social conflict and change and their relation to the societal reaction to a particular deviant stereotype over the time dimension. The relative position of this stereotype in Western society will be traced over the passage of time in its relation to shifts in areas of cultural emphasis as the controlling ideologies of Western society have progressed from biblical to modern times.

This stereotype of deviance in its continued existence over the chronological dimension will be referred to as a "career." The concept of career has been applied by Becker<sup>1</sup> and Matza<sup>2</sup> to the individual deviant but the present author has expanded the idea from the lifetime of the individual to encompass the societal lifetime of a particular constellation of traits which comprise a stereotype (see explanatory subsection on definitions).

For the purposes of this study, the word stereotype will be defined as an oversimplified generalization that emphasizes only selected traits of another group (or individual). It tends to evoke a generalized reaction to any

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<sup>1</sup>Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: Free Press, 1963).

<sup>2</sup>David Matza, Delinquency and Drift (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).



member of that group.

The stereotype that will be the subject of study here will be that of the various manifestations of the "social heretic" under whatever label that society may have attached to certain master traits at a particular point in the flow of history.<sup>1</sup> At various times, the names of entire peoples or classifications of individuals have been labeled in such a way as to make them guilty of social "heresy."<sup>2</sup> (The term heresy is generally used to refer to subversive individuals in a religious institution who are suspected of working from within to bring about the downfall of that institution--Simmel has shown that the term can be broadened from the restricted use in the institutional framework to apply to individuals in the same kind of relationship with the whole society.<sup>3</sup> The fact that these groups, or aggregates of individuals, are labeled as internal enemies results in their being "stigmatized"<sup>4</sup> and so take on the role of a

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<sup>1</sup>Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe, 1958), pp. 56-67; Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology, I (March, 1945), 353-359; and Howard S. Becker and Anselm L. Strauss, "Careers, Personality, and Adult Socialization," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (November, 1956), 253-263.

<sup>2</sup>Edwin M. Lemert, Social Pathology (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951).

<sup>3</sup>Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe, 1956), pp. 87-111.

<sup>4</sup>Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).

"symbolic assailant."<sup>1</sup> (The terms enclosed in quotes define concepts and partial theories that have developed in the study of deviance and intergroup relations. They are used here as a sort of shorthand--if the reader is unfamiliar with these terms, they are defined and referenced in the following subsection of the paper.)

### Definitions

In defining deviant careers, both Becker and Matza show a deviant career to be a continuous process of gradually increasing commitment to deviance as the societal reaction to their deviance grows in intensity.

Becker states that

What happens is that the individual, as a consequence of actions he has taken in the past or the operation of various institutional routines, finds he must adhere to certain lines of behavior.<sup>2</sup>

He continues by explaining,

In any case, being caught and branded as deviant has important consequence for one's further social participation and self-image. The most important consequence is a drastic change in the individual's public identity. Committing the improper act and being publicly caught at it place him in a new status. He has been revealed as a different kind of person than he used to be. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Each new occurrence of deviance (increasingly forced by societal reaction to the last) continues to deepen the

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<sup>1</sup>Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

<sup>2</sup>Becker, Outsiders, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-32.

deviance spiral, and the final step in the career of a deviant is the full-fledged membership and acceptance of the deviant ideology of an organized deviant group.

In this process there are various stages of commitment to deviant action, which Matza and Becker both note but which they define in different terminology.

The second definition of interest here is that of the "symbolic assailant"--this is a term developed by Skolnick.<sup>1</sup> It grows out of the base work done on status traits by Everett C. Hughes. Hughes has shown that the possession of one overpowering deviant trait may have a generalized or "symbolic value" so that people automatically assume that its bearer is the possessor of the other undesirable traits that are generally associated with it. Thus the individual becomes a representative of all of the general kind of deviant that he has become associated with. He then becomes the objective symbolization of a "threat" to the larger society.

Becker then goes on to point out that the person being treated as though he were generally rather than specifically deviant results in a self-fulfilling prophecy.<sup>2</sup> The individual becomes what society has labeled him.

The individual being caught at an act determined by society to be deviant results in his being "stigmatized" and labeled as deviant. Stigma is a term that is usually

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<sup>1</sup>Skolnick, Justice Without Trial.

<sup>2</sup>Becker, Outsiders, p. 34.



associated with Erving Goffman, who has done considerable research with this phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> Stigma is really the assessment of a negative aura to the individual as a result of his deviant act. He is no longer regarded with favor by so-called "normal" associates. The result of this is to force him even further along the road to a deviant career.

The process of "labeling" an individual as deviant has unfortunate consequences in that being credited with the characteristics (i.e. label) of a certain kind of deviances converts his identity from positive to negative. Therefore he may be converted from a "primary deviant" (one who has committed a deviant act or acts but who does not regard himself as deviant) into a "secondary deviant" (that is, one who recognizes himself to be deviant and who acts in a way to cover up this deviance). Edwin Lemert has explained these concepts in more detail in his book, Social Pathology.<sup>2</sup>

The present author maintains that the foregoing concepts that apply to the career of the individual deviant as it has been considered by scholars such as Lemert, Hughes, Skolnick, Goffman, Matza and Becker can also be applied to groups.

That is to say that a minority group can embark upon a deviant career in just the same way as an individual deviant.

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<sup>1</sup>Goffman, Stigma.

<sup>2</sup>Lemert, Social Pathology.

By definition, a minority group is less in number than the dominant group. Also by definition it must be different enough to receive differential treatment in order to be identifiable. In this respect it resembles the primary deviant. Then the group itself recognizes itself as being sufficiently different from the dominant group to warrant "governing" behavior such as the neutralization of Conventional attitudes.<sup>1</sup> These give the group a rationale that supplies reasons that appear to be sound for pursuing the line of activity they have begun. The group can now be compared to an individual that has become a "secondary deviant" for it recognizes itself to be deviant and takes steps to survive in a hostile social environment.

All of these features are combined in the definition of a minority as it is conceived by Rose:

A group is a minority group if it is the object of prejudice and discrimination from the dominant groups, and if the members think of themselves as a minority.<sup>2</sup>

Rose obviously thinks of all minorities as being deviant. However, this is a question of "degree." In this study, a distinction will be made between the term "minority" and the term "deviant minority." For the purposes of this research a minority will be any group that receives, as a

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<sup>1</sup>Becker, Outsiders, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Arnold M. Rose, "Race and Ethnic Relations," Contemporary Social Problems, ed. by Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), p. 326.

general condition of social life, differential treatment. When this treatment becomes serious enough to have called out sanctions or active discrimination based on generalized stereotypes, this group will be referred to as a deviant minority. In other words, the value system of one group differs from society but the situation is one of mutual accommodation and coherence. In the other case, the value system of the minority group is so different from the dominant group that it is sufficient to breed concerted hostility on the part of both. An example in point, which will be developed more fully later in the study, is the whole youth subculture which is "marginal" to the greater society, and the youth drug subculture, which is a deviant minority. The author realizes that the difference involved here is one of degree, and it is employed solely for the purpose of providing a more detailed description of the process.

The foregoing discussion, then, illustrates the application of the terms that have been defined as they will be employed in the descriptive context of the study.

A particular deviant minority may serve to save the structural form of the society by furnishing it with an internal enemy to provide a rallying point around which to solidify public support and develop what Emile Durkheim has referred to as "social cohesiveness" which he felt to be one of the most important factors in maintaining the viability of

any society.<sup>1</sup>

In the progress of the particular career of deviance that is being investigated in this research, the groups concerned have worn such labels as "heretic," "witch," "wizard," "sorcerer," "astrologer," "Chaldean," "oracle," "Manachean," "Gypsy," "Jew," or "nigger," and many others too numerous to recount here. What is important, though, is that each of these groups, or the individuals that comprised them, possessed one or more of the master traits that go to build up the configuration designated in this study as Deviant type-W.

Frequently, in the past, the possession of just one of these traits was sufficient motivation for the more unstable members of the dominant group to view them as "symbolic assailants" who posed a threat to the structure of a particular society suffering stress. Further, the mere association with one individual member of a group that had been labeled as "social heretics" often caused sufficient attention and social visibility<sup>2</sup> to result in the label being transferred to the associating individual. (This happened frequently during the Spanish Inquisition with family members and friends of Jews who had come to the attention of the Grand Inquisitors of the Church.)

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<sup>1</sup>Emile Durkheim, Suicide (New York: Free Press, 1951), p. 139; and The Division of Labor in Society (New York: Free Press, 1956), p. 130.

<sup>2</sup>Becker, Outsiders.



### Problem

The present writer, in investigating the literature of history and sociology having to do with deviant groups and social change, noted that there seemed to be some commonalities in the descriptions of deviant groups regardless of the period of time involved. This led to some questions in the mind of the present author: Are there certain deviant minorities who, irrespective of the time period, have served as targets for the aggression of the dominant group in periods of stress? If such groups do in fact exist, do they have certain physical or cultural characteristics or traits in common that result in their being singled out (rather than some other marginal group) for persecution by the dominant majority?

It appears, if the answers to the two questions are affirmative, that it should be possible to trace the career of this particular constellation of traits through the course of the historical development of Western Society. Also, it would appear that, if the career of this particular stereotype could be traced through the time dimension, its status at particular pivotal points of change in ideological emphasis may vary in such a way that, by viewing the status of these deviant minorities at chosen times and connecting these changes in status, an idea of the changes taking place at the macrolevel of society might also be gained. In this way the deviant minorities under study might become social indicators,

which through showing change in the social climate at the microlevel can reflect changes at the macrolevel.

### Study Design

The physical design of such a study would be analogous to the ordinary motorist's highway map. It would consist of two dimensions: the vertical dimension of the flow of historical time which can be compared to the tracing of a highway across the surface of the map, and the horizontal dimension which can be compared to the relatively greater detail shown on the map as to the shape and street layout of towns and cities along the chosen highway. (See the illustrations on the following page.) In this way, the historiography of the historical career of the social heretic becomes a map of its continuity through the social fabric in the time dimension, with interspersed studies of particular social situations in greater detail to illustrate loci of intergroup conflict and their relation to change taking place in the general society and the area of cultural emphasis at that particular period in time. At the end of each chosen section there appears an analysis and summary of the significance of the period for the career of Deviant type-W. In the final section of the study, a summary and interpretation of the salient events of the whole career either justifies or refutes the thesis of the research in terms of the stated propositions.

Since a search of the available literature failed to

# ANALOGY ILLUSTRATING THE "ROADMAP" VIEW OF THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION

( The marked highways can be compared to the longitudinal flow of time which gives continuity, while the greater detail of shape and road layout of the towns can be compared to cross-sectional detailed description of conditions at pivotal points in history)



1945

World War II

1959

1936

The Great Depression

1929

1919

World War I

1915

Flow of  
Time

Path of the  
career of  
the social  
heretic  
Represented by  
construct--  
Deviant type-W

disclose the existence of such a study, the decision was made to undertake it in order to see if the historical evidence would tend to support such a view, or if the evidence would refute the basic idea and show the intergroup relations between dominant groups and deviant minorities to be unique episodes with no common thread of continuity or no value to indicate changes at the macrolevel.

### The Thesis Statement

The central thesis of this study, then, concerns the ways in which Western society has reacted to a particular construct of master traits that have been associated with the classical stereotype of "witch" or "heretic" (herein designated as Deviant type-W for purposes of brevity) as the ongoing process of social change has evolved through the historical dimension. Master traits of this classical stereotype configuration<sup>1</sup> come to be assigned and ascribed to individuals in certain time periods in accordance with the current areas of cultural emphasis or changes in ideology.

The thesis of this paper may be stated as:

the type of reaction evidenced by a society to this deviant stereotype of mastertraits in any time period can be used as a social indicator as to the type, intensity, and direction of fundamental social change that is taking place at the macrolevel in a particular society at a particular time.

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Charles Lea, Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Inc., 1957); Wallace Notestein, A History of Witchcraft in England (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968); Montague Summers, The History of Witchcraft (New York: The Citadel Press, 1970); and Montague Summers, Geography of Witchcraft (New York: University Books, 1970).



The intensity of the change taking place, as evidenced by society's reaction, identifies specific social problems that are extant and indicates the locus of conflict involved in the change process.

The forces of change in society can result in conflict, which may create social problems. The varied ways in which individuals evidence their reaction to problems through conflict may result in some individuals being labeled as deviant. These individuals, if as an aggregate pose a threat, real or imagined, to the dominant group may have further master traits ascribed to them to fit the stereotype of social heretic.

In dealing with the thesis as stated, the following hypotheses will be tested in light of support or denial by the historical evidence.

#### Hypotheses To Be Tested

In dealing with the thesis as stated, the following hypotheses will be tested with regard to their validity as determined by the degree with which historical evidence tends to either support or deny their allegations as to the nature of the greater society and its institutions, the factors that determine its social climate, and the effect that these conditions and the social structure have on the career of minorities in the context of intergroup relations.

Hypothesis No. 1

Institutions inhibit social change, since one of their basic concepts involves their own self-perpetuation.

During a discussion of the functions of social institutions Lewis Coser comments:

Disappearance of the original enemy leads to a search for new enemies so that the group may continue to engage in conflict, thereby maintaining a structure that it would be in danger of losing were there no longer an enemy.

. . . As Chester Bernard says, "An organization must disintegrate if it cannot accomplish its purpose. It also destroys itself by accomplishing its purpose." Thus new purposes must be found in order to avoid dissolution.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing discussion by Coser deals with institutions but, by extension, it would appear that the same assumption could be made concerning institutionalized opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. Indeed, some research has been done which would lead to the acceptance of this assumption concerning the nature of institutionalization as well. One instance of evidence to support this point of view appears in Millikan and Backmer,

Historical experience indicates that no society ever simply abandons its traditional culture. On the contrary, the old culture almost always leaves permanent and significant marks of continuity. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Further evidence of the persistence of institutional-

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>Max F. Millikan and Donald L. M. Backmer, eds., The Emerging Nations: Their Growth and United States Policy (Mass. Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies: Little, Brown and Co., 1961), p. 19.

ized opinions, attitudes and beliefs comes from Berelson and Steiner,

Opinions, attitudes and beliefs originating in an earlier period persist to be influential in a later period, both within a single lifetime and over generations.<sup>1</sup>

### Hypothesis No. 2

Institutional resistance to social change determines the degree to which an innovator may be labeled deviant or "stigmatized," neutralizing him as a real or imagined threat to the "status quo."

A number of studies have noted the resistance of institutions themselves and their belief patterns to change. Dubin comes to the conclusion that

The history of technological advance makes clear that innovation tended to be resisted rather than welcomed. Only since the Industrial Revolution has the reverse been generally true.<sup>2</sup>

(In the quote above, Dubin is dealing only with technological change which has not been resisted as much as change in the nonmaterial side of the culture, as is pointed out by a number of twentieth century scholars—i.e. William F. Ogburn.<sup>3</sup>)

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1954), p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Dubin, The World of Work: Industrial Society and Human Relations (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> William F. Ogburn, On Culture and Social Change (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

As will be pointed out in a later section of the study, the Industrial Revolution, the Protestant Reformation and accompanying Urbanization brought a change in ideology.

In terms of intergroup relations, which is the primary area of concern of this study, it would be natural to assume that if change and innovation are resisted the agents and innovators that promote such social situations will be resisted as well, and probably in proportion to the degree of the disturbance to the integration. Generally, the conclusion of scholars holds that innovation or change may be interpreted as a "threat" to the established order or the social structure, most especially in rigidly structured societies. As Pierson concludes when talking of race relations:

. . . of still greater significance is the development of a feeling on the part of the members of a dominant group, that they are under threat of displacement from an established social situation; that is, race prejudice is usually acute in those situations in which members of a dominant group have come to fear that the members of a subordinate group are not keeping to a prescribed place of exclusion and discrimination but instead threaten effectively to claim the privileges and opportunities from which they have been excluded.<sup>1</sup>

In applying the threat of change to the structure of the society and considering its effect on personal and social organization, Keesing states that the more the traditional values of a society appear to be threatened by social change,

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<sup>1</sup>D. Pierson, "Race Prejudice as Revealed in the Study of Racial Situations," International Social Science Bulletin, II (1950), 473.



the greater will be its cost in terms of accompanying personal and social disorganization.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem logical, then, to expect that if individuals are active innovators, or change agents, the attention of other groups in that society who feel threatened by such change will give them publicity and attendant social visibility. As Becker comments in speaking of rule enforcement,

Enterprise, generated by personal interest, armed with publicity, and conditioned by the character of the organization, is thus the key variable in rule enforcement.

. . . When two competing power groups exist in the same organization, enforcement will occur only when the system of compromise that characterizes their relationship breaks down. . . .<sup>2</sup>

### Hypothesis No. 3

An increase of crisis or conflict in society increases the social visibility of nonconformists and also may increase the possibility of one or the other being labeled as deviant.

As has been pointed out, the general conclusions of scholars, supported to some extent by empirical research, tend to support the contention that institutions and institutionalized beliefs resist forces of change, and when

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<sup>1</sup>Felix M. Keesing, Culture Change: An Analysis and Bibliography of Anthropological Sources to 1952 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1953), pp. 80, 83.

<sup>2</sup>Becker, Outsiders, p. 128.

innovation for change takes place special interest groups develop an interest in the innovator which in turn gives him publicity, increasing his social visibility as the dominant group attempts to neutralize him as a threat to the "status quo." The third hypothesis is an extension of this situation in that innovation for change increases conflict within the social structure. (This conflict can take any one of several forms which will be discussed in more detail later.) The more rigid the social structure (associated with homogeneous societies) the more likely the conflict is to escalate into a crisis situation which augurs serious consequences for the minority group. In connection with the homogeneous, rigidly structured society, Berelson et al. asserts,

The more homogeneous the social environment of the individual, the more intensely he holds his opinions, attitudes and beliefs and the more likely he is to act on them.<sup>1</sup>

Carrying this over from the individual to the dominant group reaction, Berelson, et al. state that

the more homogeneous a person's attitudinal, personal, and social background, the more firmly his political preferences are held and the more they conform to the modal position of the group. The less homogeneous the background--that is, the more cross-pressures the individual is subject to--the more changeable his preferences.<sup>2</sup>

Then, by inference, what appears to be true for political attitudes of the individual in the group would also appear to hold in other areas as well.

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<sup>1</sup>Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 567.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 434.

People who hold feelings against one minority in society tend to extend that feeling to cover other groups who seem "different" to them. In other words, prejudice seems to have the quality of becoming generalized. As Christie observes when speaking of ethnic groups,

the ethnic ingroup is reified to the extent that patriotic and nationalistic sentiments are related to rejection of ethnic minorities. . . . and, prejudice toward one ethnic minority is usually (although not invariably) accompanied by prejudice toward other ethnic minorities.<sup>1</sup>

Once conflict develops Berelson et al. feel that, considering the evidence of studies in social conflict, the more intense the conflict, the greater the participants have a tendency to polarize and participate exclusively with those who are of the same state of mind and, as a result, the conflict becomes increasingly sharp because the antagonistic positions continuously harden.<sup>2</sup> In a similar vein, Lasswell and Kaplan conclude that

During noncrisis periods, persons of conflicting attitudes can live side by side. As antagonisms intensify, however, the dispersed pattern is broken up as fellow believers seek safety in segregation. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Also the character of the conflict, that is, just what values are being contested, appears to have some

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<sup>1</sup>Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, eds., Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality (New York: The Free Press, 1954), p. 134.

<sup>2</sup>Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 620.

<sup>3</sup>Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 253.

influence on whether it will escalate into a crisis situation or not. Berelson et al. are of the opinion that the more committed the participants are to the organizations involved and the more that ideology is involved, the more likely the conflict is to escalate.<sup>1</sup>

Berelson et al. also point out that the approaching crisis hastens and intensifies the trends in social relations that already exist. In other words, it would appear that if a minority group has already been made visible in terms of some social innovation, or as an ongoing problem in intergroup relations, conflict would serve to heighten this visibility and increase the minority's chances of being labeled unfavorably as deviant.

As Kluckhohn states

If a tribe's customary outlet for aggression in war is blocked, one may predict an increase in intra-tribal hostility (perhaps in the form of witchcraft) or in pathological states of melancholy resultant upon anger being turned inward against the self.<sup>2</sup>

By way of interpretation, then, what Kluckhohn is pointing out is that a conflict, in short, causes a dichotomy to develop between the "we's" and "they's."

Once the minority has gained visibility, conflict is increasing, and a dichotomous relationship has polarized out of the situation, it can quickly degenerate to a point where a crisis occurs, and only a "precipitating incident" is

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<sup>1</sup>Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 621.

<sup>2</sup>Clyde Kluckhohn, Mirror for Man (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), p. 267.



required to bring panic, riot, hysteria or other socially uncontrolled behavior directed at the minority by the dominant group. As Williams observes concerning intergroup relations in society under conflict conditions:

Mass violence (e.g., race riots) is more likely under the following conditions: (a) prolonged frustrations, leading to a high tension level; (b) presence of population elements with a propensity to violence (especially lower class, adolescent males in socially disorganized areas); (c) highly visible and rapid change in intergroup relations; (d) a precipitating incident of intergroup conflict.<sup>1</sup>

#### Hypothesis No. 4

As the areas of cultural emphasis shift, or as the governing ideology changes, the societal "tolerance of eccentricity" and of deviant individuals changes.

In line with the above-stated hypothesis, the writer has already used a quote from Lasswell and Kaplan to illustrate crisis situations with their heightened stress on the differences of groups in society. This same quote can also be used to show how it is reasonable to expect intergroup relations to improve during times of relatively less conflict. Again, Lasswell and Kaplan state,

During non-crisis periods, persons of conflicting attitudes can live side by side. . . .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Robin M. Williams, Jr., "The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on the Problems of Ethnic, Racial and Religious Group Relations," The Social Science Research Council Bulletin, LIX (1947), pp. 60, 61.

<sup>2</sup>Lasswell and Kaplan, Power and Society, p. 253.

Berelson et al. add to this that opinions, attitudes and beliefs are more differentiated in more complex societies. In showing how increasing complexity works to bring diversity and pluralism in the developmental pattern of society--moving from the simple to the complex--Berelson et al. note:

In the Western world historically and in the East currently, the rise in political importance of the common man's opinions, attitudes and beliefs is associated with the rise of the middle class, the growth of nationalism and industrialism, the expansion of literacy and education, the emergence of democratic institutions, the spread of competing religious dogmas, and the development of the mass media of communication.

Broadly speaking these major historical conditions operate in two ways: first, by increasing the number and intensity of distinctions within a society, as with nationalism or the differentiation of classes; and second, by providing the means for the learning and expression of opinions, attitudes and beliefs, as with the mass media or democratic institutions.<sup>1</sup>

Rose argues that the more urbanized a society is the more open and differentiated the system will be. Rose contends,

The city is more class graded than the country, more differentiated in the types of social positions to be filled, more impersonal (so that family connections count for less), more professionalized, more attractive of the talent from the small town and rural areas. In cities, even "the purely caste element in social stratification is minimized. In the great and growing cities of India, for example, the caste system cannot be maintained. In the Middle Ages the budding cities were places where serfs lost their unfree."<sup>2</sup> Some scholars believe, as one puts it,

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<sup>1</sup> Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 559.

<sup>2</sup> Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 332-33, quoted in Rose, "Race and Ethnic Relations," p. 365.

that "the caste system in its full form is possible only in a rural society."<sup>1</sup>

The quote from Rose illustrates a point in line with the foregoing hypothesis. In the differential power orientation and treatment of dominant and minority groups in society, they resemble a caste system. In other words, by being born into the dominant group gives one individual social advantages that the other does not have. This situation is relatively permanent and there is little the individual minority member can do about it so long as he is directly associated with the minority group by the members of the dominant group. City life however, by its very diversity and the diversity of the population, tends to break down this stratification of society into castes.

Lipset and Bendix are of the opinion that the more industrialized the society is, the more open and differentiated the system of stratification will be (up to a certain point).<sup>2</sup>

Freedman, in line with the functions of industrialization and urbanization for "leveling out" the group feelings and the production of a relatively open, pluralistic society, states that,

With the absorption of formerly disparate units into an inclusive organization—that is, the urban

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<sup>1</sup>Rose, "Race and Ethnic Relations," p. 365.

<sup>2</sup>Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (University of California, Institute of Industrial Relations: University of California Press, 1959), p. 13.



community--goes a generalization of culture. A common denominator is necessarily sought in all things. . . . all tend to submit to the leveling influence of sustained interaction involved in mutual dependence. It is obvious that there cannot be a monetary system adapted to the preferences of each individual; the monetary system must be adapted to the average requirement. The same is true of language, means of transportation, and in the long run, of less concrete manifestations of behavior.<sup>1</sup>

Before leaving the subject of change in cultural emphasis and its potentiality for the career of deviant minorities, something must be mentioned about a special case. In the discussion earlier, intergroup conflict was discussed with regard to the possibility of its escalation to crisis proportions with dire consequences for certain minorities that seem to propose a "threat" to the dominant group. Now it must be noted that some scholars feel that

in the face of a threat from the outside, a human group, unit or society subordinates its internal conflicts to the common good (survival). When the external threat is removed, the internal conflicts return to action.<sup>2</sup>

The foregoing statement by Berelson et al. leads into the next hypothesis. From the quote, it can be seen that these authors (Berelson et al.) are convinced that the fortunes of minority groups of deviants in the society depend upon the condition and security of the society in its environment.

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<sup>1</sup>Ronald Freedman et al., Principles of Sociology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1956), p. 369.

<sup>2</sup>Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 622.

Hypothesis No. 5

As the areas of cultural emphasis shift over the passage of time, the reaction of society can range from acceptance, to toleration, to rejection, to outright extermination of a particular deviant type.

It has just been shown that Berelson et al., as a result of their investigation of the problem, feel that when the society faces an outside threat, differences that exist between the dominant group and deviant groups in society are laid aside and a partnership exists in the common defense. Once the conditions change, however, and the social order is once again secure from outside threat, it has to look elsewhere for "enemies" and the fortunes of "different" groups in the society begin to wane as aggressive tendencies are once again directed inward.

Also it was pointed out earlier that Keesing feels that when social change threatens or appears to threaten the society's traditional values, there is a greater resistance to that change.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, too, the cost of the change in attendant personal and social disorganization will be much greater. As Keesing observed,

Several theorists have suggested that, so long as the basic value system stands reasonably firm, selective change can proceed with minimum strain and stress. At the other extreme, some groups and individuals have undergone, or are in the process of undergoing, the experience of having their value

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<sup>1</sup>Keesing, Culture Change, pp. 80-85.



systems in jeopardy or shattered, catastrophically or through a prolonged series of crisis episodes.

(Naturally, if the value system of the minority group is destroyed in conflict situations, this amounts to the same thing as the rejection and destruction of the group itself--it has been effectively neutralized by more powerful social forces.)<sup>1</sup>

A further example that might lead to the conclusion that the fortunes of the minority group are tied to the time period and the area of emphasis of the culture is the evidence found by Williams concerning the incidence and location of prejudice to the big waves of immigration as applied to American society in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Williams states,

Prejudice against Negroes and certain other minorities is likely to be especially vigorous and vocal among ethnic groups which have been only recently "Americanized" and which are attempting to move up in the class hierarchy. . . . The cessation of large-scale immigration has thus removed an important element of flexibility in the balancing system of controlling intergroup hostilities.<sup>2</sup>

So it would seem that in the past, each new wave of immigration had the result of providing a new objective target at the bottom of society to which those in the superstructure above might direct their prejudices.

To further support the contention put forth by the foregoing hypothesis that as areas of cultural emphasis shift, the reaction to the deviant by society can cover a wide range is the assertion by Berelson et al., that

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Williams, "Reduction of Intergroup Tensions," pp. 60, 61.

Like most other forms of behavior, prejudice and discrimination follow the going social customs in the community.<sup>1</sup> (The authors then go on to quote a summary of how customs of the community influence prejudicial attitudes extracted from a study by Raab and Lipset.)<sup>2</sup>

It is only a short step from the assertion that social situations determine the reaction to the deviant and change his fortune in accordance with the conditions of the "social climate" to the idea that a particular "type" of deviance may exist with continuity through the time dimension but that the reactions of the dominant group at various times, and as a result of various conditions extant in the society, will result in the particular "label" (or name) that describes a particular type of deviance changing with changes in cultural emphasis.

#### Hypothesis No. 6

As the areas of cultural emphasis change with time, the reaction to a particular type of deviant individual results in a corresponding shift in labels. (The same individual--exhibiting the same master traits--might be a "witch" in one historical period, a "radical" in another, and "mentally ill" in another, or a religious leader in yet another.)

In line with the idea proposed in the hypothesis above, the principle of the generalization of prejudice as

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<sup>1</sup> Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, pp. 32-33.

<sup>2</sup> Earl Raab and Seymour M. Lipset, Prejudice and Society (New York: Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1959).

espoused by Christie,<sup>1</sup> ~~seems~~ pertinent. Harding et al. conclude that the stereotyping of ethnic groups tends to be similar among the various social groups throughout the society and even, to some extent, through the stereotyped group itself.<sup>2</sup>

Berelson et al. continue by describing the process of stereotyping which has so much to do with intergroup relations between dominant and deviant minority groups and subcultures. They assert:

The less contact or experience with the ethnic group in question, the less strongly held the stereotype and the less important it seems to be.

Even so, stereotypes do not always, or even usually, arise from direct experience with the group being stereotyped, but rather from the general social climate in which one lives.

Such stereotypes are quite resistant to change, although changing social and economic conditions can lead to shifts over a long period of time.

The stereotype as a whole sets the emotional tone for the several traits within it.<sup>3</sup>

In applying the foregoing conclusions by Berelson et al. to the assertion of the hypothesis above, it would seem that stereotypes (applied by the authors to ethnic groups, but equally applicable to others such as homosexuals) which include several traits in combination define a kind of individual for which the dominant society holds a negative emotional feeling. The times can change, the individuals

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<sup>1</sup>Christie and Jahoda, eds., Authoritarian Personality, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup>John Harding et al., "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," Handbook of Social Psychology, II., ed. by Garner Lindsey (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1954), p. 1024.

<sup>3</sup>Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 503.

often change, but the stereotype lives on. Then, as pointed out earlier, if this stereotype tends to be generalized from one group to another (again the example of ethnic groups was given but there is no reason to believe that this should not apply to other groups with easily discernible characteristics that are "different"), the stereotype gains an immortality of its own, no matter what the individual wearing its label may be called.

### Conclusion

In reference to the theoretical and empirical studies available, there seems to be ample justification for the further study of the hypotheses as stated. If they appear to scholars in the science of sociology to be applicable to certain areas of interpersonal relations in the interactive process, then they should be capable of being extended to the area of dominant-minority group interaction and to crisis situations in intergroup relations where collective behavior phenomena are involved.

The extent to which the historical evidence supports or refutes the stated hypotheses should determine the extent to which the thesis that the societal reaction to the classical stereotype of the social heretic at the microlevel can be used as a valid indicator of the nature, intensity and direction of social change at the macrolevel.



### Justification for Research

As was pointed out earlier in the introductory discussion, the present author's search of the available historical materials failed to find any evidence of a study of the proposed type. Although the literature dealing with the various manifestations of the social heretic is voluminous, there has been no effort to date to draw it together into a form which would give organization to a type of social historiography of the stereotype in relation to its evolving socio-temporal background. Most studies of this area are episodic and are written in a descriptive vein. For instance, several good references covering the study of witchcraft from the descriptive point of view and using the chronological approach are: Lea,<sup>1</sup> Notestein,<sup>2</sup> and Summers.<sup>3</sup> These are notable examples of the study of religion, heresy, and witchcraft and are interesting as sources of historical data, but must be reinterpreted to be of use in sociological research.

It will be the function of this study to fill in the gaps of the research of this deviant type and establish the continuity of its career of deviancy through the historical medium.

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, History of Witchcraft.

<sup>2</sup>Notestein, History of Witchcraft in England.

<sup>3</sup>Summers, History of Witchcraft and Geography of Witchcraft.



## II. METHODOLOGY

This research will be a sociological investigation of anthropological and historical materials which will seek to delimit and analyze the position of certain deviant groups in society with respect to the thesis presented in the previous section of this paper.

The study will attempt to utilize library research of historical materials to trace the career of social heretics as groups within the greater society across the time dimension. It will illustrate the relationship between the treatment of these groups and the prevalent societal conditions at certain pivotal periods of history. A variety of published materials will be consulted in order to accomplish the purpose of establishing a thread of continuity in terms of historical chronology.

In this way, the behavioral consequences of social attitudes toward deviance can be visibly traced through the fabric of the historical development of Western society and these consequences noted in terms of the situation at the present time in American society. The progress of the social change process can be seen in the light of the evidence of the general treatment of the master first constellation and its change in accordance with changes (if any) operating in other sectors of the society.

Then, the resulting pattern of societal reactions, in their historical sequence will be analyzed to ascertain if there are any significant generalizations that can be applied to the problem of judging if Deviant type-W represents scape-goat minorities in the society, and further, if there are any marked changes taking place in status and role orientation. Finally, if there should be some evidence of a change in status and role orientations, an attempt will be made to assess the direction and the degree of intensity of this change in relation to other changes taking place in the arena of present-day American society.

The field of history is important to the study of the sociology of knowledge. Man is continuously engaged in reinterpretation and reevaluation of his historical heritage --in terms of additional experience. So history, in the sociological sense, is not only a part of the past, but of the present, and also of the future. In this way, the classical stereotype can be tied into the fabric of society over the time dimension and thus gain insight into the relation of this deviant type to the history of the change process in Western society.

Ideologies change over time as areas of cultural emphasis shift. Therefore, the definition of what is deviant and the amount of "toleration of eccentricity" will also change as time passes. The reason that ideologies change and areas of cultural emphasis shift is that there is a continual interactive process going on between individuals, groups,

national entities, and their particular interpretations of the past history of mankind itself.

This study will make use of historical materials and information edited and compiled in conformance with a sociological perspective. As Lazarsfeld, Sewell and Wilensky point out,

--in principle, historians and sociologists are immersed in a common mass of raw material. In practice, however, their attention is directed toward data that have been recorded at different points in time. Most historians choose data that have been recorded in the relatively distant past, whereas most sociologists choose data that have been recently, or are currently being recorded. Not all historians and sociologists behave this way, however, and there is no inherent reason in either discipline why they should do so.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it would seem that the relative age of the data does not necessarily detract from its usefulness for either discipline so long as it is employed logically and in context, making note of the basis of the reporting observer or researcher.

As Erickson says:

Now historiography has come a long way since the nineteenth century and it would be absurd for us to be concerned because those writers did not observe modern conventions about neutrality in the study of the past.<sup>2</sup>

The relationship of sociology, history, and systems

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<sup>1</sup>Paul F. Lazarsfeld, William H. Sewell, and Harold L. Wilensky, eds., The Uses of Sociology (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967), p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>Kai T. Erickson, Wayward Puritans: A Study of the Sociology of Deviance (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), p. 188.

theory is succinctly stated by Bertalanffy. He states,

The course of events in our times suggests a similar conception in history, including the consideration that, after all, history is sociology in the making or in "longitudinal" study. It is the same sociocultural entities which sociology investigates in their present state and history in their becoming.

. . . Events seem to involve more than just individual decisions and actions and to be determined more by sociocultural "system," be these prejudices, ideologies, pressure groups, social trends, growth and decay of civilizations, or what not. We know precisely and scientifically what the effects of pollution, waste of natural resources, the population explosion, the armaments race, etc. are going to be. We are told every day by countless critics citing irrefutable arguments. But neither national leaders nor society as a whole seems to be able to do anything about it. . . . we seem to follow some tragic historical necessity.

While realizing the vagueness of such concepts as civilization and the shortcomings of "grand theories" like those of Spengler and Toynbee, the question of regularities or laws of sociocultural systems makes sense though this does not necessarily mean historical inevitability according to Sir Isaiah Berlin. An historical panorama like McNeill's The Rise of the West, 1963, which indicates his anti-Spenglerian position even in the title, nevertheless is a story of historical systems. Such a conception penetrates into seemingly outlying fields so that the view of the "process-school of archaeology" is said to be "borrowed from Ludwig von Bertalanffy's framework for the developing embryo, where systems trigger behavior at critical junctures and, once they have done so, cannot return to their original pattern."

. . . The tendency to study systems as an entity rather than as a conglomeration of parts is consistent with the tendency in contemporary science no longer to isolate phenomena in narrowly confined contexts, but rather to open interactions for examination and to examine larger and larger slices of nature.<sup>1</sup>

The use of the historical method is vindicated as a vehicle for this study because an interpretation of history and its symbols is central to the existence of every

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<sup>1</sup>Ludwig von Bertalanffy, General System Theory (New York: George Braziller, 1968), pp. 8-9.



individual. Others may structure part of this interpretation for the individual, but this does not diminish the effect that history has on him, or of the meaning its symbols have for him. This is particularly true in forming his attitudes concerning stereotypes of certain kinds of behavior and certain types of people.

There is a fundamental four-way relationship between history, conflict, change, and deviance that cannot be discounted. The process of change, and its relationship to deviance, are continuously recorded in their historical setting and this is constantly reinterpreted for meaning as time passes and ideologies evolve.

The perspective of the study should be viewed in the main as sociological rather than historical because its presentation is so designed as to give serial interpretation to a particular constellation of traits that go to make up a particular stereotype in its social setting and to broaden understanding of deviancy in general.

The author realizes that this kind of study is speculative to a degree due to the factors of unavoidable non-objectivity (both of the author and his sources), the use of historical evidence, the mythological basis of some theories, and the choice of representative sources.

Necessarily then, the synthesis of historical materials must be essentially qualitative, since there exists at present time no form of quantitative measure which has commonality at the microlevel and the macrolevel or which can



standardize and calibrate increments of behavior across the time spectrum that could be used to quantify this study. There is, however, the time base of the larger society, and its changes in emphasis (ideology) in terms of direction and degree which can be compared with the fortunes of the configuration Deviant type-W to judge if a relation exists, and if so, what its character is.

Sources have been chosen for this study which are representative of the majority interpretation of the mythological, psychological and historical material available. Many more sources of these interpretations are available than could be cited in the bibliography of the study. In the interests of brevity, where there are broad areas of consensus, materials were chosen that best synthesized the sub-areas covered in the various divisions of the study. In consideration of the sociological perspective of the study, whenever equally valid choices exist between historical and sociological sources to document the material in the text, the author will customarily refer to the sociological treatment.

The main purpose of the author is to apply a critical sociological perspective with the aim of discovering some underlying order and pattern of the materials (in the chronological dimension) as they are illuminated by consideration in terms of sociological theory.

Any investigation of a problem, in order to proceed in an orderly fashion, must have basic assumptions, a point

of departure and a theoretical framework within which to assemble the evidence for assessment.

Since the problem herein discussed is basically one of intergroup relations, and collective behavior, and since these interactions take place within an environment of power differentials, the present writer has chosen the three themes of conflict, the social change process, and deviance. In order to develop these themes in their social context over time, a theoretical framework for the interrelationship and the interaction of these three themes is needed. The choice for this theoretical orientation will be based primarily on conflict theory as it is applied in the sociological discipline. This general conflict theory orientation will, however, be stratified into three levels to demonstrate how it can be applied at three social levels ranging from the general to the specific: first, to the general social situation at the middle range, of dominant-minority group interaction; second, meaning, symbol, and the formation of stereotypes; and third, status trait formation, vocabulary of motives, social visibility and collective behavior.

In the following section of the paper, a definition and description of the processes of conflict and change (accompanied with variation—or deviance) will be related to the efficacy of the application of conflict theory to the basic problem on which the thesis of this study is postulated—group interaction.

### III. BASIS FOR THE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

In discussing the subject of social organization in terms of the two underlying themes that are used in the development of this study, conflict and change, Olsen states,

From the perspective of our overall process conception of social organization, . . . the phenomena of conflict and change appear to be somewhat more fundamental than the others. If social reality is in fact an ongoing dynamic process, then conflict and change are ubiquitous throughout life. Our concern . . . is to gain basic understanding of both of these processes, . . . but even the most casual observation of contemporary social life suggests that they are indeed pervasive phenomena. No aspect of social organization is so totally insulated from its surrounding environment that it never encounters external stresses nor so perfectly ordered that it never experiences internal strains. Disruptive forces are thus constantly impinging upon all social organization from diverse sources. The results are perpetual social conflict and change.<sup>1</sup>

The same author goes on to describe and define conflict, making note of its various manifestations,

In general, conflict occurs whenever there is discord or opposition between two or more actors within the process of social organization. Conflict is thus a generic process that contains several subtypes, including competition (orderly pursuit by actors of a prescribed goal), aggression (attempts by one actor to harm or destroy another),

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<sup>1</sup>Marvin E. Olsen, The Process of Social Organization (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 133.

hostility (if it is openly expressed between actors), and cleavages (splits among actors or factions of an organization).<sup>1</sup>

Kenneth Boulding would go even further and include cooperation and dialogue as forms of expressions of conflict.<sup>2</sup>

It is in the sense of the combined definitions of these two men that conflict will be considered in this study.

Then, in order to continue with the study in terms of the interrelation of conflict and social change, it must be made clear what kinds of relationships can exist between the two variables.

Again Olsen is the source of a clear exposition of this interrelationship. He states,

. . . conflict and change are intertwined in social life, so that neither process can be fully understood apart from the other. Conflict often produces changes in social organization, conflict frequently accompanies change and becomes an integral part of this process, and change in one area of social life can in turn stimulate additional conflict in other related activities. . . .

Conflicts among opposing actors normally introduce some amount of discord into existing patterns of social order and shared cultural ideas. As a result conflict tends to produce variations in social activities. Whether or not these variations have lasting consequences depends on the nature, intensity, resolution, and other features of the conflict situation. In contrast, social change has fairly broad and permanent effects on organized social life. . . . we are here conceiving of social change as a relatively extensive and enduring reordering and/or redefining of the process of social organization.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Kenneth E. Boulding, The Meaning of the 20th Century (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1964).

<sup>3</sup>Olsen, Social Organization, pp. 136-137.



In the relationship between dominant and minority groups in society (and groups have been shown to be entities), it becomes apparent that conflict of many kinds will take place. Many variations in behavior will occur (deviance) and these will not be accepted by the dominant group (who control the legitimate power structure) until the change process is complete and they are accepted as the standard ways of behaving.

Then, if one is going to study intergroup relations between the dominant and deviant minorities (including the various manifestations of the social heretic) and subcultures, it would appear that a particularly effective way would be to trace their interactive history (behavioral reaction to each other) in the background of the major crises, conflicts and pivotal changes that have taken place in a given society.

The very hierarchal relationship between the two groups in terms of power (one subordinate to the other) insures interreactions in terms of the various manifestations of conflict. The attitudinal<sup>1</sup> framework of the

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<sup>1</sup>Attitude systems will be used here in the same sense that Katz uses the term. (Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz, Reader in Public Opinion and Communications [New York: Free Press, 1966], p. 55.)

Berelson and Janowitz state,

Attitude is the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of his world in a favorable or unfavorable manner. Opinion is the verbal expression of an attitude, but attitudes can also be expressed in nonverbal behavior. Attitudes include both the affective or feeling core of liking or disliking, and the cognitive, or belief, elements which



dominant group will resist the influence of pressures for change by the minorities and the reaction is likely to be one of suppression. The minority groups are forced to live under the power (and social control processes and institutions instituted to insure the retention of such power) and therefore must adapt to the attitude structure (and its behavioral requirements) of the dominant group. However, the values of the minority group differ in some extent from those of the dominant group, therefore this group will resist the larger and more powerful group in some areas--these are the areas of conflict which have potentiality for producing change.

The continued interaction of the groups must eventually produce change of some sort for the conflict must be resolved or subverted in some manner. The stratagems used by either side (when applied to the situation) when accepted, become a part of the total social situation, thus altering its character (although these changes may be different from any envisioned by either side to the conflict).

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**describe the object of an attitude, its characteristics, and its relations with other objects. All attitudes thus include beliefs, but not all beliefs are attitudes. When specific attitudes are organized into a hierarchical structure, they comprise a value system.**

. . . An additional aspect of attitudes is not clearly described in most theories, namely, their relation to action or overt behavior. Though behavior related to the attitude has other determinants than the attitude itself, it is also true that some attitudes in themselves have more of what Cartwright calls an "action structure" than do others. Brewster Smith refers to this dimension as policy orientation and Katz and Stotland speak of it as the action component. (Berelson and Janowitz, Public Opinion and Communications, p. 56.)

Conflict Theory as a Base--The First  
Level of Theory

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the conflict theory base should be valuable for the assessment of the career of the social heretic over the time dimension for the social heretic represents a deviant minority that is subject to oppression and hostility from the dominant group. And, of all the theoretical orientations open to use in the sociological perspective, conflict theory is allied most dynamically with the social change process. It makes no assumptions as to the directions that the change process may take at any moment but does assume that change is ubiquitous and discontinuous (as to direction). Other theoretical orientations involve less degree of change and generally make some overall assumption as to the directionality of change over time. Too, the close association of conflict theory with the concept of power structure in society (which has been developed by C. Wright Mills and which will be covered at more length later) adds to its appeal as a theoretical vehicle for this study. This is because the area of inter-group relations (when they take place between minority and dominant groups) assumes a power differential.

Intergroup relations in society, carried on in atmosphere of conflict in its various manifestations, also gives credence to the concept of Boulding of society as a "conflict system."<sup>1</sup> (This concept has been further developed

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<sup>1</sup>Boulding, Meaning of the 20th Century.

by Buckley,<sup>1</sup> which will be described at more length later in this section to demonstrate the differences between what the structure of society is, and what such people as C. Wright Mills believe that it could be.)

Based on the relationships between conflict and the social change process, combined in their effect on inter-group relations and interaction, and supported by the logical arguments of men such as Olsen,<sup>2</sup> Boulding,<sup>3</sup> and Buckley,<sup>4</sup> this research problem will employ conflict theory as the base of the organisational framework for study.

### Society as Conflict System

Since this study is concerned with change, and change is a dynamic situation, the basic concern will be with conflict in the social system. Even though society can be viewed as a system, and is evolutionary in the sense that it develops over time in a particular direction, conflict and change are occurring at every moment in this system.

Sociologists are generally agreed now, since the early work of Parsons in this area of study, that society is a system. Their point of disagreement concerns the nature of this system. This argument, too, is largely based on

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Buckley, Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Scientist (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968).

<sup>2</sup>Olsen, Social Organization.

<sup>3</sup>Boulding, Meaning of the 20th Century.

<sup>4</sup>Buckley, Modern Systems Research.



what a particular scholar conceives the change process to be, and this is in turn affected by his theoretical orientation. Some believe the society to be a "closed system," others think of it as a "steady state" or homeostatic system, and finally Buckley<sup>1</sup> has developed the idea still further (this will be discussed later in the study as the concept of system has relevance in the adequate description of the character of social structure). The concept of system that is most prevalent in social thought today is Parson's model of the "steady state" or homeostatic system, which fits in well with both the minimization of change, and the directional (progress) orientation of the evolutionary and equilibrium theories of society. (The actual state of affairs, though, is that historically, and in present-day society as well, because of the emphasis on rigid structure in the conservative tradition, society has tended to behave as if it were a closed system.)

Since the character of the social system, and its relation to conflict, is so important in development of the topic (for the purpose of showing how this character contributes to the formation of "scapegoat" minorities) a further word about conflict, change and systems is needed to build background for analysis.

For a general analysis of systems, von Bertalanffy<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Von Bertalanffy, General System Theory.



is recommended for a simple and logical explanation. But, in the application of systems theory to the social sciences, Buckley is the foremost authority. Therefore, the present writer presents some of Buckley's explanatory material in laying the groundwork for the further description of the social structure. Buckley states,

. . . conflict is endemic in organic systems. It is at its most complex and acute in men and societies. For both men and societies try to do far more things at the same time and over longer periods; in other words, they are governed simultaneously by many different sets of governing expectations, by no means consistent. The resolving of conflict, exceptional in most creatures, is our most constant and familiar activity. This is what decision means. It involves choosing one, at the cost of rejecting many other alternatives. We have "advantages"; we can build long purposeful sequences of behavior in our heads; we can clarify our rules, working out their implications on each other. But these precious gifts only enable us to state more clearly the questions for evaluation to answer. They do not supply the answers. Their principal effect is to enable us to live more complicated lives.<sup>1</sup>

Buckley, in his argument attempts to show that the concepts of conflict and social change are adaptable to systems theory, goes on to magnify his conceptions of social change defining the dimensions of social change:

When I think of men or societies as systems, extended in time, I see their essential character developing in three related ways. I see first an increase--or decrease--in the number of relationships which they are set to attain or elude. I see next an increase--or decrease--in the repertory of behavior by which they can pursue these relationships and in their skill in devising apt responses from their repertory. I see finally an increase--or decrease--in

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<sup>1</sup>Buckley, Modern Systems Research, p. 466.

their power and skill to resolve the conflicts which these developments involve.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps, since Buckley is one of the foremost scholars of the application of systems theory to the social sciences today, it might be well to note Buckley's definition of just what a system consists of. Buckley's definition of a system states:

We define a system in general as a complex of elements or components directly or indirectly related in a causal network, such that at least some of the components are related to some others in a more or less stable way at any one time. The interrelations may be mutual or unidirectional, linear, non-linear or intermittent, and varying in degrees of causal efficacy or priority. The particular kinds of more or less stable interrelationships of components that become established at any time constitute the particular structure of the system at that time.<sup>2</sup>

Not only does Buckley see society as a conflict system but he sees it as an open, adaptive system. And he goes on to elucidate his conception of change in such a situation. He comments,

. . . the complex, adaptive system as a continuing entity is not to be confused with the structure which that system may manifest at any time. Making this distinction allows us to state a fundamental principle of open adaptive systems: Persistence or continuity of an adaptive system may require, as a necessary condition, change in its structure, the degree of change being a complex function of the internal state of the system, the state of its relevant environment, and the nature of the interchange between the two.<sup>3</sup>

It is in accordance with the view of society as a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 503.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

conflict-actuated adaptive system as postulated by Buckley, that this study is organized. The general movement from the simple to the complex is understood, for as the system develops, the subsystems become more specialized, integrated, and the whole becomes more efficient. This development can be channeled in a certain direction to serve certain purposes or achieve certain goals. So, in that sense, then, the social system is evolutionary. It is at this point, with the choice of certain directions of development or the choice of goals (purpose), that the symbolic interactionist perspective becomes paramount. In the interaction that takes place between individuals and groups within the society, choices as to the desirability of outcomes are made, and planning is done to move the whole system in the direction of achieving the most desirable outcomes once they are precipitated by the action of consensus as a result of interaction over the time dimension.

The Scapegoating Mechanism and the "Safety Valve"  
Function--Two Aspects of a Process for Dis-  
placement of Aggression in Rigidly  
Structured Societies

In effect, this study is concerned with one aspect of intergroup relations and assumes, as was noted previously, a differential in power or a dominant-minority relationship.

As Berelson and Steiner comment,

In short, the underlying idea is that of difference in some fundamental readily visible, lasting and socially reinforced way.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 494.

The authors above stress the quality of being unlike the dominant group so that the representatives of the dominant group can employ the "we" and "they" orientation.

As was noted at the beginning of the study, Rose has defined the characteristics of a minority group as,

A group is a minority group if it is the object of prejudice and discrimination from the dominant group, and if the members think of themselves as a minority.<sup>1</sup>

There is a lack of "coherence" between the value systems of the dominant group and the minority group. If this lack of coherence between the value orientations becomes so serious as to produce hostility on the part of both groups then the minority group has become a deviant minority. As was discussed earlier, the difference between a minority and a deviant minority is one of degree, and is used in this paper to give mere shades of comparison in the description of group careers.

If in the interactive context of two groups, one group is treated differentially, and further, if the value systems of the two groups do not coincide, then conflict will result during interaction.

This conflict can take a variety of forms ranging from cooperation and dialogue to open hostility and aggression.

In such conflict the dominant group has the advantage

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<sup>1</sup>Rose, "Race and Ethnic Relations," p. 326.



of controlling the power structure of the society and being the legitimized authority, but if the dominant group has reason to fear that the minority group poses a threat to the established order, the dominant group may act out aggression toward the minority.

For instance, Pierson observes,

The development of the feeling, on the part of a dominant group that they are under threat of displacement from an established social situation, that is, race prejudice is usually acute in those situations in which members of the dominant group have come to fear that the members of the subordinate group are not keeping to a prescribed place of exclusion and discrimination, but instead, threaten effectively to claim the privileges and opportunities from which they have been excluded.<sup>1</sup>

With this hostile feeling already in existence, it is reasonable to expect that it could be activated under circumstances other than in an actual threat by the subordinate group to usurp the place of the dominant group and demand equality.

As Berelson and Steiner comment (on the basis of an empirical study by Miller and Bugelski of attitudes toward Mexicans and Japanese),

When the actual barrier is physically, psychologically, or socially invulnerable to attack, aggression may be displaced to an innocent but more vulnerable bystander [displaced aggression].<sup>2</sup>

This term "displaced aggression" effectively defines the practice and action of "scapegoating" in society.

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<sup>1</sup>Pierson, Race Prejudice, p. 473.

<sup>2</sup>Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 267.

To clarify what is meant by this term, it is helpful to go back to its origin in the religious institution.

Brasch<sup>1</sup> discusses the origin of the term and sheds some light on the application of the term to the social situation.

Brasch quotes from the Book of Leviticus (Chapter XVI) in the Bible in which the practice is outlined in the religious context:

And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, even all their sins. And he shall put them upon the head of the goat and shall send him away by the hand of an appointed man into the desert. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities. And he shall let the goat escape into the wilderness. . . .

The author continues to explain,

An early mysterious rite thus still survives in one of our common expressions. But the omission of a single letter, which once prefixed the word, hides its original meaning. The escaped goat became the scapegoat.<sup>2</sup>

The symbolism of the goat continued in Western society to denote something unclean or evil. As Brasch noted

Throughout history the goat appears to have been identified with fools and sin.

The Bible taught to separate the goats from the sheep [the Judas' goat]. Though we no longer, like our medieval forebears, represent the Devil in the shape of a goat, we still rebuke people for "acting the goat."<sup>3</sup>

In the social context, "scapegoating" has come to

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<sup>1</sup>R. Brasch, How Did It Begin? (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1969), pp. 182-183.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

mean making someone else, either consciously or unconsciously, the one to suffer for one's own misdeeds. In the case of the relation between two social groups, it allows the more powerful group to displace its aggression from an undefined or invulnerable target to a real target. The fact that the target is "different" gives both a legitimacy and an emotional justification for the aggressive acts.

Scapegoating can be an action practiced with the full sanction of an established rigid social structure. Rigid social structures resist change in form—scapegoating can divert attention away from obvious contradiction or faults in the society to an "objectified" target. So it is that the action or practice is only one aspect of a social process.

The other aspect of the process is the social function of the practice of scapegoating.

The practice of displacing hostility in an undefined social situation has the effect of relieving pressure on the social structure itself to reduce a threat of disruption of accepted practices and to achieve reunification, cohesion and consensus.

This is a necessary procedure in a rigidly structured society such as a monarchy because no social change that would alter the social order can be tolerated. By giving a real target to objectify the discontent of the citizenry, the political institution can direct attention away from the real problem, and achieve unity of purpose against an alternate target which can be destroyed and leave the social order intact.

In support of this interpretation of the function of the action of scapegoating is a study of monarchies by Rose.<sup>1</sup> He states, referring to the 1960 study:

. . . certain social structural factors [are] associated with prejudice and discrimination against minorities. In a comparative study of 40 societies, it was found that absolute monarchies showed the greatest harshness toward minorities, especially in regard to personal violence and economic exploitation. The same study showed personal violence toward minorities to be associated with feudal economics, with low respect for law, and with well-defined class-systems.<sup>2</sup>

The function of the action of scapegoating has also come to have a name in the societal context. This name describes the function: the "safety valve." This concept was originally conceived by Georg Simmel. As Coser notes,

Simmel may be said to advance a "safety-valve theory" of conflict. Conflict serves as an outlet for the release of hostilities which, were no such outlet provided, would sunder the relation between the antagonists.<sup>3</sup>

This "safety valve" theory can be used (the author maintains --and will give logical reasons to support this contention) to describe society up until the present post-industrial pluralist society. From the ancient times until the present, some force operated in society to make the society rigidly-structured with vertical integrity. In the medieval times and during the middle ages the Church served as the element that gave the alloy of the structure its rigidity. After

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<sup>1</sup>Arnold M. Rose, "The Comparative Study of Intergroup Conflict," Sociology Quarterly, I (1960) 57-66.

<sup>2</sup>Rose, "Race and Ethnic Relations," pp. 343-44.

<sup>3</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 41.



the advent of the industrial revolution, the Church combined with the State to put forth the "Protestant ethic" which gave the structure rigidity, strength and cohesion. From the advent of the industrial-military super-state until the present it was the remaining vestiges of the Protestant ethic, the support of the "status quo" by the organized religions, and the state bureaucratic and legislative machinery that maintained the rigidity of the alloy of the boundary walls of the social structure. The case will be made, however, that such need no longer be the case because the post-industrial society<sup>1</sup> has, in the last few years, been transformed from the mobilized "preparedness economy" described by Bell<sup>2</sup> to a truly "pluralistic" society as a result of the struggle for civil rights.

Coser also points out the close association of the use of minorities as "safety-valves" with the rigidity of the social structure of the society in which the action takes place. Coser observes,

Several of these examples suggest the hypothesis that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social structure, that is, with the degree to which the social system disallows expression of antagonistic claims where they occur. . . .

The well-known "scapegoating" mechanism operative in group conflict is relevant in this context. . . .

Racial and religious prejudice, by channeling hostilities onto powerless targets, may contribute as much to the stability of existing social structures as the safety-valve institutions discussed above.

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<sup>1</sup>Jack D. Douglas, ed., The Technological Threat (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

All this raises a problem previous alluded to, of central importance for the theory of conflict: an institution which serves to channel hostility and to prevent release against the original object, thereby maintaining the structure of the social system, may also have serious dysfunctions for either the social system or the actor or both. As Clyde Kluckhohn notes: "Witchcraft has its cost for the individual and for the group."<sup>1</sup>

So it is that the whole process for the diversion of internal conflict in society is composed of two aspects; the mechanism of scapegoating and the function of the safety-valve.

The emotional involvement of the society in the process will be all the more heated if it can be shown that the target group is a "renegade" or even worse, a "heretic."

The term heretic originally was used in the religious context to indicate a believer who has come to doubt the faith, and who then works within the framework of his religion to lead others away from the "true faith." There is no worse threat to any institution than this kind of enemy. Whether the threat is real or imagined has little to do with the strength the emotions generated. The term "heretic" has been applied to the social context by Simmel and Coser.

Coser continues,

Groups tend to deny that reverses in conflict with out-groups can be attributed to the strength of an adversary, for this would be an admission of their own weakness. Hence they look in their own ranks for a "dissenter" who hampered unity and the concerted action against the enemy. . . .

. . . the loyal members are reassured that the group as a whole has not failed, but only some

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 49.

"traitors"; moreover, they can now reaffirm their righteousness by uniting in action against the "traitors." In struggle groups the same mechanism is at work in the perennial drives for purification, namely the "pulling together" of the group against an inner "threat."<sup>1</sup>

The above quote describes the conditions that produce the social and religious "heretic" that is represented by the social heretic.

"Safety-valves" such as the stereotyped groups represented by the constellation of master traits designated as Deviant type-W serve to divert hostility onto substitute or which function as channels for cathartic release. Coser cites an example of the above in relation to witchcraft.

Consider, on the other hand, such institutions as witchcraft; many observers have pointed out that though witchcraft is indeed often used as a means of revenge against an object of hostility, the voluminous literature on witchcraft abounds with cases in which those accused of witchcraft had not in any way harmed their accusers or aroused hostility, but were singled out as a means for the release of hostility which could not be expressed safely against the original object.<sup>2</sup>

Simmel offers much concerning the social "heretic" or "renegade." Renegadism of any type is perceived by a close group as a threat to its unity. Renegadism principally threatens to break down the boundary lines of the established group. Therefore the group must fight the renegade with all its might since he threatens symbolically, if not in fact, its existence as an ongoing concern. There are two types of renegade in society, the apostate and the heretic. The

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 106-108.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

apostate deserts the group in order to go over to the enemy, whereas the heretic presents a more insidious danger: by upholding the group's central values and goals, he threatens to split it into factions that will differ as the means of implementing its goal. Unlike the apostate, the heretic claims to uphold the group's values and interests, only proposing different means to this end, or variant interpretations of the official creed. Heresy derives from a Greek verb which means "to choose" or "to take for oneself." The heretic proposes alternatives where the group wants no alternatives to exist. As Robert Michaels wrote, "The hatred of the party is directed, not in the first place against the opponents of its own view of the world order, but against the dreaded rivals in the political field, against those who are competing for the same end."<sup>1</sup> The heretic continues to compete for the loyalty of the members of his former group even after he has left it. The renegade will fight them, the heretic will proselytize.

In conflicts within a group, one side hates the other more intensely the more it is felt to be a threat to the unity and identity of the group.<sup>2</sup>

In consideration of the above material, however, it must be remembered by the reader that it is not necessary to

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<sup>1</sup>Eric A. Nordlinger, ed., Politics and Society: Studies in Comparative Political Sociology (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 80-96.

<sup>2</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 71.



really be a heretic to be so labeled. The mere suspicion of heresy is often enough to convert an individual into a secondary deviant.<sup>1</sup>

It has so far been shown how change and conflict are related in the social context. It has also been pointed out how intergroup relations between dominant and deviant minority groups take place in a conflict orientation. This intergroup interaction process is also the basis of a theoretical orientation in sociology called the symbolic interactionist approach. So, indirectly, conflict can be seen to be the base upon which the superstructure of the symbolic interactionist approach is built.

The symbolic interaction approach is applied to the interaction of individuals and groups in which an element of choice is involved. In the past it has been chiefly applied to the interactive situations involving individuals and small groups at the microlevel but it can be applied (as a consequence of its close alliance to game theory) to any established entity that is capable of interacting with another entity.

Since this study deals primarily with the intergroup relations of groups labeled as social heretics and the dominant group of society, it must apply both conflict theory and some of the tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach to the social situation in the historical context, therefore the second level of theory is the level of the application of the symbolic interactionist approach.

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<sup>1</sup>Lemert, Social Pathology.

The Tenets of the Symbolic Interactionist  
Approach as an Outgrowth of Conflict  
in the Interactive Context--The  
Second Level of Theory

In discussing symbolic interactionism as it applies to the present topic, it is necessary to point out that it involves basically three ideas: symbol, meaning, and behavior in an interactive exchange between acting entities. Therefore, it is evident that change is inherent in the interactionist perspective, and indeed, it is necessary for the ongoing process. As the close association of conflict with change has already been discussed, it is also evident that conflict is inherent in the perspective as well.

Symbolic interactionism as a sociological perspective is the result of the ideas and concepts of many different scholars who made notable contributions to the approach. (It must be pointed out that symbolic interactionism is not a theory but rather a theoretic orientation or approach made up of many different concepts which are applied in the symbolic interactionist perspective--which as this author has already indicated is based on conflict and change in the interaction of groups and individuals.) The approach developed gradually, over a considerable period of time, with important conceptual contributions from such men as John Dewey, George Herbert Mead, W. I. Thomas, William James, George Horton Cooley, Robert Redfield, Ernst Cassirer, Hans Gerth, C. Wright Mills, and presently is benefited by the intellectual efforts of men such as Lemert, Erving Goffman

and Becker.<sup>1</sup>

It is not possible here to give a complete discussion of all the principle concepts and the symbolic interactionist approach or to adequately acknowledge all their contributors.

Rather, in this section the writer will discuss briefly the principles and concepts that are applicable to the topic, and, in the next section of the study, the partial theories and concepts that apply to the deviant group gaining visibility and being identified in such a way as to be victimized by society as a scapegoat will be coordinated to show how the scapegoating process results from the context of interaction and the resultant reaction of dominant group members.

In this section two main concepts will be elucidated: symbol and meaning. W. I. Thomas stated that the problem of sociology consisted of tracing the influence of the culture and society on the individual and the individual's influence on culture and society. This has portent for the concept of meaning. Meaning is established over time by the culture, but it is in the interaction of individuals that meaning comes to be changed. George Herbert Mead developed the ideas of communication and language as being central to giving meaning to the social situation. He felt that meaning was not fundamentally a state of consciousness or a set

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<sup>1</sup>Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960).

of organized relations. He saw meaning as being derived in terms of symbols at the most complex state of their development. His idea was that intelligence consisted of the ability to arrive at solutions to the problems of present behavior through the form of structure exhibited by the rules of a game. However, the critical factor is that the player of roles in society has to internalize the attitudes of others (what he conceives them to be) involved in the playing of the game.

Over time relatively stable patterns of meaning are attached to behavioral sequences. Then, the individual no longer reacts only to the other's actions but the interaction comes to be based in an interpretation of definition of the actions of others and the "response" does not come automatically or directly but is made in conjunction with the meaning that such actions have for them.

In turn, these meanings are formed, weakened, maintained, enhanced, or transformed through the recurrence of the socially defining process of interaction. The actions involved take on the characteristics of becoming joint actions and these joint actions are linked historically over time. Thus, each joint action arises out of the background of previous joint actions and they are linked to them historically. In sum, then, each new joint action is built on, and is the result of a previous joint action. If a new form emerges or a transformation takes place, it is always dependent on the context of the previous joint action. The



new meaning cannot be understood out of the historical linkage of its context. There is always some continuity and connection with what went before. Finally, linked horizontally, and vertically, joint actions and the interactional process assumes the form of a network of interrelations that exist a particular time and in space and are connected with actions that occurred before and to those that will occur in the future. In this context, meaning is relatively stable but is dynamic in the sense that it can be changed as the result of repeated interaction.

The symbols, as Gerth and Mills define them, in their interpretation of the interactional perspective consist of signs, emblems, ceremonies, music and language which maintain the order of the social structure.

The work of Ernst Cassirer<sup>1</sup> shows that this European sociologist, like Mead in America, believed that the whole development of human culture depended on symbolic behavior. This behavior differentiates man from the other animals in that it points out the differences between propositional language and emotional language. Cassirer states, "Signals and symbols belong to two different universes of discourse; a signal is a part of the physical world of being; a symbol is a part of the human world of meaning. Signals are 'operators'; symbols are 'designaters.' Thus man is released from the immediate stimulus on the basis of this difference."

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<sup>1</sup>Ernst Cassirer, An Essay on Man (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1944), pp. 30-32.

According to Cassirer, the animals possess a practical imagination and intelligence but man is the only animal that has developed intelligence (abstract) and symbolic imagination. The element that adds versatility and applicability is symbolism. Relational thought is made possible by symbolism and the awareness of these relations is a unique characteristic of human consciousness.

In summing up what has been said of the two concepts, meaning and symbol, one might say that meaning for the symbolic interactionist arises out of the reaction to units of behavior in social situations over the time dimension, and symbols also arise out of this process and consequently have meanings attached to them.<sup>1</sup> Blumer points out that meanings are used by people in their actions to accomplish various interpretations of social situations.<sup>2</sup> This second concept of "interpretation of the situation" (a concept developed by W. I. Thomas) is very important and essential to the perspective of symbolic interactionism. As Thomas also pointed out, whatever an individual perceives as being reality actually is reality for him. In light of this statement, it can be seen that the individual interpretation of the situation need not necessarily be accurate and frequently results in the calling forth of stereotypes. The stereotypes

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

are so forceful that frequently people play the parts of these stereotypes because they interpret this behavior as what the "significant other"<sup>1</sup> or the "collective" "expects" of them.

This phenomenon of the utilization of stereotypes the interaction of meaning, symbol and behavior through the interpretation of the situation is central to intergroup relations between dominant and deviant minorities and particularly so in the formation of scapegoat minorities. In order to understand this more fully so that it can be applied at the third level of theory which is developed in the next section of the study, something more must be said about the process of the creation of myth, legend, and stereotypes in human cultures.

#### Myth, Legend and Stereotype

The stereotype, or generalized view of some object, idea, institution, being, or group is very important in any individual-to-individual, or intergroup relationship. Stereotypes can have two types of effect; they can be beneficial or detrimental in their application. (The scientific generalization is one kind of generalized view that has beneficial results. Stereotypes are a kind of mental shorthand that man tends to use in dealing with unknown situations in

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<sup>1</sup>George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society, ed. by Charles Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

terms of an inventory of known experiences from the past. They permeate all phases of human interaction and, therefore, it becomes necessary to show how stereotypes are formed because this becomes an important aspect of the relationship between dominant groups and deviant minorities (as will be adequately shown in the body of the study).

The manufacture of myth is the forerunner of stereotyping. As pointed out previously, some myths seem to be universal but new myths also grow from day-to-day in all societies. When these myths are combined with a certain amount of history (especially true in instances of the oral tradition) the result is legend.

A legend is a story that is in small part historical and which contains large amounts of fantasy and myth. Legends and myths in their unique combinations are the basis for the formation of stereotypes which apply to large groups in a generalized way. (Stereotypes can develop spontaneously as generalized ways of responding to certain social situations, but most stereotypes that apply to large groups of people as a unit usually follow a causal sequence that begins with a basis in myth, then myth combines with some historical sequence of happenings to legitimize, and finally into a cultural inventory of generalized traits referred to as stereotypes.)

Then these stereotypes become a part of the cultural inventory of particular societies, groups and individuals, to be called forth as a sort of "mental program" to achieve a



"fit" for a new and unfamiliar situation based on the known patterns of actions that have seemed to work satisfactorily in somewhat similar situations in the past. The inventory of stereotypes eliminates the need for protracted abstract thought to arrive at a fresh "definition of the situation" in every unfamiliar context. These stereotypes can become formalized to the extent that they become "codes of behavior" as in the case of the black-white caste system in the South, or in the case of the male-female relations developed over the historical continuum.

The importance of myth and stereotyping in the reaction of the dominant group to deviant minorities will be carried further in the next section. For the time being, it is sufficient to see, through the application of the tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach, that stereotypes come to have "meaning" within the social context and once visualized may become "symbols" with either a powerful positive or negative valence, depending on the social meaning that is associated with the visualization.

### The Third Level of Theory

The calling forth of stereotypes as a means of simplifying the "definition of the situation" and thus giving the individual a "program" to facilitate his reaction to the behavior of another (although his "program" may not actually "fit" the situation in question) brings the present discussion of intergroup relations to the particularistic level of

the acting entity--or the third level of theory as it has been designated in this study.

The third level involves the individual-group reaction that precipitates his being made socially "visible" and identified with a particular stereotype or the group that the stereotype represents. This level also makes use of parts of the symbolic interactionist perspective--beginning, as has been noted with the "definition of the situation." After the social situation has been defined (in terms of the differential in dominant-minority group power) by the dominant group representative or representatives a number of partial theories and individual concepts from the symbolic interactionist approach are called forth to determine the fate of the minority participants involved in the interactive situation. Terms, concepts and partial theories which will be explained and illustrated in this section of the paper include: "social visibility," "vocabulary of motives," "primary deviance," "labeling theory," "stigmatization," "secondary deviation," "master status traits," and "role theory." All of the above have relevance to the development of the "deviant career" of social heretic as the term was defined and explained in the introduction of the study.

First of all, the concept of "definition of situation" has already been defined in respect to the interactive context. However, in order to define the social situation, another concept of the symbolic interactionist perspective must be considered, and that is the concept of "vocabulary of

motives." This concept was developed by Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills.<sup>1</sup> They state that motives are popularly thought of as lying in the psychic structure of the organism and act as springs of actions and are further, "terms which persons typically use in their interpersonal relations." They define motive sociologically, according to Martindale,<sup>2</sup> as "a term in a vocabulary which appears to the actor and to the observer to be an adequate reason for his conduct." "Conceived in this way," Gerth and Mills continue, "motives are acceptable for justifications for present, future, or past programs of conduct."<sup>3</sup>

According to Gerth and Mills then, symbolic interactionism, in order to be an adequate and complete orientation of thought, must contain an acceptable theory of motivation. This theory, as Gerth and Mills see it, that motivation consists of systems of phrases and terms, or vocabularies, that have a value as instruments of deceit and self-justification and shows people as doing what they would do anyway. This base has been built upon by Gresham Sykes and David Matza with their concepts of "subterranean values" and "techniques of neutralization" which are applied by the authors to the study of juvenile delinquency.

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<sup>1</sup>Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social Institutions (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1953), pp. 114-15.

<sup>2</sup>Martindale, Sociological Theory.

<sup>3</sup>Gerth and Mills, Character and Social Structure, p. 115.

Considering what has been said in the discussion these motives can be shams but they are not always so. However, the authors (Gerth and Mills) leave the impression that most of the time they are. Different levels of the psychic structure have different vocabularies of motives. It would seem that, in the view of Gerth and Mills, "vocabularies of motives" are really another way of saying social strategies of behavior.

The significance of this for the interpretation of interaction between dominant-deviant minority group members (considering the dominant interpretation because of the power differential given before) is that the dominant group will tend to impugn motives from their own "vocabulary" to the behavior of the minority individual or individuals. The result is that the behavior of the minority is out of its true context as the dominant group representative has defined the situation in terms of his own vocabulary of motives instead of that of the minority actor. The result of this behavioral interchange has the potentiality of a strong negative valence in terms of resolution of conflict.

The key to the situation, from the point of view of both actors, is the behavior that occurs--for it offers the only attitudinal evidence on which either can act.



Symbol and Meaning, Behavior, Visibility  
and the Making of a Scapegoat

A strange looking member of a minority group symbolizes an undesirable stereotype; they, the dominant members, wait for him to act--to this behavior is impugned negative meaning from the dominant vocabulary of motives and the minority member has taken his first step toward becoming a scapegoat. An alternate scenario finds the minority group member acting in a manner strange or alien to the normal manner of acting of the dominant group member--the dominant group member interprets this behavior negatively from his own vocabulary of motives and with this to bolster his impression, ascribes other undesirable traits to him, or views him as strange-looking so as to make him "fit" an undesirable stereotype to bear out his original assessment in terms of motive.

The key to the interpretation of the interaction is in the sequence of symbol, meaning and behavior in whatever order they own.

The second important factor in the interactive situation for the career of a deviant is the factor of "social visibility." This simply means that his deviant act must become publicly known and he must be identified with it. Becker has dealt with this in his book, The Outsiders. Becker, in treating enforcement of legal sanctions and concerning the crucial factor of visibility, states:

First, enforcement of a rule is an enterprising act. Someone--an entrepreneur--must take the initiative in punishing the culprit. Second, enforcement occurs when those who want the rule enforced publicly bring the infraction to the attention of others; an infraction cannot be ignored once it is made public. Put another way, enforcement occurs when someone blows the whistle. Third, people blow the whistle, making enforcement necessary when they see some advantage in doing so. Personal interest prods them to take the initiative. Finally, the kind of personal interest that prompts enforcement varies with the complexity of the situation in which enforcement takes place. Let us consider several cases, noting the way personal interest, enterprise, and publicity interact with the complexity of the situation to produce both rule enforcement and the failure to enforce rules.<sup>1</sup>

The amount of visibility that a deviant act calls down upon the perpetrator depends upon who the observing entrepreneur from the greater society is, what his motives are, the amount of power and influence he can bring to bear, what the attitudes of the dominant majority are toward the act, and the nature of the situation in which the deviant behavior occurs.

Individual attitudes develop as a result of group associations. Since most attitudes are result of group interpretations of cultural norms over the time dimension, the individual attitudes of the groups to which he belongs serve as his frame of reference and provide the general orientation for his behavior. There are attitudinal priorities depending on the place in the hierarchy of values in the value system of the culture which serves as their source. Therefore the principle values of a society are the ones to

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<sup>1</sup>Becker, Outsiders, p. 122.

which the dominant group ascribe the highest priority. This discussion indicates, then, that attitudes serve the individual as relatively stabilized definitions of situations, and so orient the individual and allow him to function in the society with minimum conflict. The overall attitudinal "set" of a society furnishes a "climate" for the social visibility of deviation, or, as Clinard comments,

What constitutes social deviation is not something universal or "natural." The reaction of a society to deviation from norms can vary in the direction of approval, tolerance, or disapproval. Deviations vary in the intensity of the reaction to the deviation, as well as in the direction of approval or disapproval. Each norm can be thought of as having a tolerance limit, that is, the ratio between violations of the norm and society's willingness to tolerate or suppress it.<sup>1</sup>

Clinard continues,

Obviously the extent and the degree of disapproval in a particular instance are dependent on the nature of the situation and the community's degree of tolerance of the behavior involved. Rules--for example those regulating the young about juvenile delinquency--are made by certain groups to order sanctions against others. A given situation of deviation<sup>2</sup> depends, therefore, on the reaction of others and to some extent on the reaction of the deviant.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Marshal B. Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> General deviance here can be compared to the specific instance of mental disorder as it is defined in G. M. Carstairs, in his article, "The Social Limits of Eccentricity: An English Study," which appears in Opler, Culture and Mental Health, which concerns the "social limits of eccentricity." The study states that the individual may be slightly, moderately or severely impaired, depending on how his behavior is interpreted by other individuals from the dominant group. See Marvin K. Opler, ed., Culture and Mental Health (New York: Macmillan Company, 1959), p. 377.

<sup>3</sup> Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior, p. 28.



If the behavior of a particular type passes beyond the "tolerance of eccentricity," the individual or group involved becomes identified with the behavior and its meaning in the context of the values, norms and attitude system of the dominant group and he is labeled.

This brings the discussion to another partial theory of the symbolic interactionist approach, and that is what is referred to as labeling theory. This body of theoretical concepts is a result of the work of men such as Albert Cohen, Edwin M. Lemert, Erving Goffman, Howard S. Becker and Kai T. Erikson.

In discussing the process of labeling, Cohen in Deviance and Control quotes labeling theorists who hold that the consequences of labeling an individual as deviant are not always the same but that frequently they cause the deviant act to assume more of an importance to the individual than the mere act of commission. The ascription of a label to the individual transforms an "offender" into what Cohen has referred to as a "deviant character."

The process of attaching a label of "deviant" may bring about what has been termed as "a self-fulfilling prophecy":<sup>1</sup> because of the fact that a deviant has been so labeled he may develop a "deviant career." The idea of

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<sup>1</sup>The "self-fulfilling prophecy" was a construct originally used by Robert K. Merton. See Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure.



career has been defined in the beginning of this study as it applied to both individuals and groups. It has been developed in detail by both Howard S. Becker and David Matza. The growth of a deviant career in its normal sequence causes the individual to change from a primary deviant to become what Edwin M. Lemert has defined as a "secondary deviant." In other words, the labeling process generally sets in motion a sequence of events that tends to mold the individual into the image the representatives of the dominant group have of him.

Of course, the labeling process, like the creation of deviant behavior itself, is a selective process. The operation of sanctions, or, in other words, social control is not the same for all individuals in society. The sanctions vary from culture to culture, the time period involved and the age, sex, and social class of the individuals involved. Clinard has stated the premise being developed in the discussion above in the following manner:

Whether a person is selected and labeled as a deviant depends on such factors as social class, occupation, racial and ethnic background, age, past record of deviation, the situation out of which the behavior arises, the pressures of public reaction, and the resources available to apprehend or deal with the deviant.<sup>1</sup>

Sufficient individuals of a particular deviant type

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<sup>1</sup>Clinard, Deviant Behavior, p. 28.

may make up a subculture of deviance (this classification of deviant subcultures has been studied by such men as Cohen, Miller, Bloch and Niederhofer and Cloward and Ohlen)<sup>1</sup> and other deviant individuals, after their deviant career has progressed to the point of affiliation (as Matza termed it) then join these subcultures. Lemert has referred to this subcultural deviation as "systematic deviation" which means that practices are communicated, there are common rationalizations, rapport and an ideology that binds the deviants together into a unified collective.

As far as the rest of society (the dominant group) is concerned, these types of individuals and groups are "stigmatized" by their label of deviance and so, to some extent are undesirable as associates. One reason for this is that if members of the dominant groups were to associate with stigmatized members of the subculture, the label could be transferred to them. This illustration shows that deviance, to some degree, (at least in the minds of agencies of social control) is like communicable disease--it can be infectious and spread.

As Clinard points out,

deviation may be reacted to with varying degrees of disapproval. What specific behavior is disapproved and the point at which disapproval will be expressed depend largely on the content of the norms of the given society in question. Deviations which are

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<sup>1</sup>Articles by these men appear in James E. Teele, ed., Juvenile Delinquency: A Reader (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock, Publishers, Inc., 1970) and many other references as well.

disapproved may be reacted to with disgust, anger, hate, gossip, isolation, and ostracism, or even physical punishment. Deviations from orthodox political and religious thinking, approved sexual behavior, or certain legal codes may encounter strong disapproval.<sup>1</sup>

If the stigma of the label attached to a particular group is of sufficient degree, the group may constitute either a real or an imagined threat to the normative structure of the dominant group. As such, it would have the potential to be victimized by the process of "scapegoating" if social conditions involved a high degree of conflict or if a particular social problem reached crisis proportions.

The fact of belonging to a minority group with the potential for becoming a scapegoat minority has serious repercussions for the individual. This situation involves another partial theory of the symbolic interactionist perspective which has been defined as "role theory."

Clinard observes,

Deviants and nondeviants play a variety of social roles which represent the behavior that is expected of a person or status within the group. . . . A social role more specifically involves four parts: (1) the person's identification or conception of himself; (2) the appropriate behavior he displays according to his conception of the situation; (3) the roles which are acted out by other persons in response to his role; and (4) the evaluation by the individual of these roles. The person's behavior, based on his estimate of how he should act, is called role playing and his idea of the other person's behavior is called role taking. A role set is a complement of role relationships which persons have by occupying a particular social

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<sup>1</sup>Clinard, Deviant Behavior, p. 28.

status such as the role of a teacher to his pupils and to others connected to the school. Social control becomes possible through the fact that persons acquire the ability to behave in a manner consistent with the expectations of others.

. . . Groups, then, are multidimensional systems of roles, a group is what its role relationships are. In the interaction of any group there are various role relationships involving mutual attitudinal and behavioral responses to one another. The individual members of a group may change but the group may continue, as in the case of a delinquent gang.<sup>1</sup>

Newcombe points out that persons are influenced in their role behavior by a given status and role prescriptions, or the social "script," which outlines the particular roles they are expected to play. He goes on to show that some persons play more roles than others and that some role prescriptions are more highly structured than others. Newcombe further observes that when the individual is forced to fulfill multiple roles in complex situations role strain develops.<sup>2</sup>

Concerning problems of the individual in adapting to role demands Clinard states:

Many of the problems arising in systems of roles are due to the fact that (1) the role prescriptions are unclear and the person has difficulty in knowing what is expected of him, (2) the roles are too numerous for the individual to fulfill, with a resulting "role overhead," and (3) they may even conflict or be mutually contradictory so that the individual must play a role he does not wish to play, such as the subordinate role a Negro must often play in the United States or the marginal role played by adolescents.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Theodore M. Newcombe, Social Psychology (New York: Dryden Press, 1950), pp. 398-427.



Parsons, in fact, has explained role conflict as the basis of deviant behavior.<sup>1</sup> Such behavior is a response to a strain or conflict in institutional role expectations which the individual faces.<sup>2</sup>

As Scheff has shown, role playing and taking plays a large part in mental disorder.<sup>3</sup> He views mental disorder in the context of residual rule-breaking or residual deviance. In this concept of mental disorder (as well as in other forms of deviance) an operation of normality (or conformity) should be in terms of "normal for what" and "normal for whom."<sup>4</sup> Naturally the "whom" in the answer will be representatives of the dominant group. To the extent that individuals are non-adaptive to the expectations of role playing of the dominant group, then to that extent they are considered deviant.

One final characteristic of role-playing and role-taking which has importance in the fate of the individual is that of an individual playing the stereotyped role that the larger society expects of him because it is the only one at which he can experience success and social reward of attention (even if it is in a negative form).

Again the concept of mental disorder as learned

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<sup>1</sup>Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, eds., Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 275-76, cited in Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas J. Scheff, Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968).

<sup>4</sup>Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior.

behavior as it is promoted by Scheff<sup>1</sup> provides a source of understanding of this concept. In the process of interaction, the mentally disordered person, because of the self reproof of unsuccessful attempts at communication, may develop a distorted self-conception and as a result of this first distortion, he then distorts the conception of role expectations and so plays his social roles deficiently. This is a dynamic process which worsens because of continual reaffirmation of lack of success. Mental disorder is thus the result of a long and cumulative process of unsuccessful role playing rather than a single circumstance of a few mistakes in definition of the situation. This causes the individual to escape from reality and stress by building what Cameron refers to as a "protective shell of incapacity." Scheff then takes this conception even further to show that the individual then receives a new role orientation that is reenforced by reward from the society--he begins to play the role of the stereotyped mentally disordered person--at last he has a role at which he can succeed, because as Scheff has pointed out, he has been introduced to, and has been learning this role since early childhood. (This concept will be utilized later in the discussion to show why some women so readily confessed to witchcraft during the witch hysteria that swept Europe during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.)

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<sup>1</sup>Scheff, Being Mentally Ill.

This brings the theoretical discussion down to the level of the analytical instrument that will be used in this study--the master status trait. The master status trait is both a product of the stereotyping phenomenon discussed in the last section of the paper and the labeling and role theory which has just been discussed. The process of stereotyping causes certain prescribed roles to be associated with a particular status in society. This may have to do with social class, sex, race, religion, occupation or some other attribute.

Everett Cherrington Hughes has developed the concept of the master status trait as a descriptive concept that adds to the useful employment of role theory in the analysis of the individual and the group in relation to the social system.

Hughes first defines "status" to be taken in the strict sense of a distinct social position for whose incumbents there are defined rights, limitations of rights, and duties.<sup>1</sup>

Hughes continues to explain the relationship of the statuses to the societies in which they exist:

In societies where statuses are well defined and are entered chiefly by birth or a few well-established sequences of training or achievement, the particular personal attributes proper to each status are woven into a whole. They are not thought of as separate entities. Even in our society, certain statuses have

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<sup>1</sup>Everett Cherrington Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe, 1958), p. 102.

developed characteristic patterns of expected personal attributes and a way of life. To such, in the German language, is applied the term Stand.<sup>1</sup>

The author then goes on to state that he plans to elaborate the notion of contradictions and dilemmas of action.<sup>2</sup> Hughes feels that this idea was conceptualized suggestively by Robert E. Park when he conceived of the term "marginal man" for the special kind of case in dilemmas of status concerning the racial hybrid, who as a result of races being defined as status groups, becomes a victim of a status dilemma.<sup>3</sup>

In the process of defining the term master status trait, Hughes defines the function of auxiliary characteristics:

There tends to grow up about a status, in addition to its specifically determining traits, a complex of auxiliary characteristics which come to be expected of its incumbents. It seems entirely natural to Roman Catholics that all priests should be men, although piety seems more common among women.<sup>4</sup>

He goes on to point out that,

The expected or "natural" combinations of auxiliary characteristics become embodied in the stereotypes of ordinary talk, cartoons, fiction, the radio, and the motion picture. Thus, the American Catholic

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>3</sup>Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881-93. Also in Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe, 1950).

<sup>4</sup>Hughes, Men and Their Work, pp. 103-4.



priest, according to the popular stereotype, is Irish, athletic, and a good sort who with difficulty refrains from profanity in the presence of evil and who may punch someone in the nose if the work of the Lord demands it. Nothing could be further from the French or French-Canadian stereotype of the good priest.<sup>1</sup>

A further example, and a striking one, is given by Hughes to demonstrate the power of the master status-determining trait. He sites the example of the Negro who qualifies for one of the traditional professions. Hughes observes,

Membership in the Negro race, as defined in American mores and/or law, may be called a master status-determining trait. It tends to overpower, in most crucial situations, any other characteristics which might run counter to it. But professional standing is also a power characteristic—most so in the specific relationships of professional practice, less so in the general intercourse of people. In the person of the professionally qualified Negro these two powerful characteristics clash. The dilemma, for those whites who meet such a person, is that of having to choose whether to treat him as a Negro or as a member of his profession.<sup>2</sup>

After assessing the demands that cultural expectations place upon people in areas that have strong master status-determining traits and the auxiliary traits that cluster around the dominant expectation, Hughes concludes by making some observations and asking some questions of the reader.

Many questions are raised by the order of things here discussed. One is that of the place of these common solutions of status conflict in the evolution of the relations between the sexes, the races, and the ethnic groups of our society. In what

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

circumstances can the person who is accepted formally into a new status, and then informally kept within the limits of the kind mentioned, step out of these limits and become simply a lawyer, foreman, or whatever? Under what circumstances, if ever is the "hen doctor" simply a doctor? And who are the first to accept her as such—her colleagues or her patients? Will the growth of a separate superstructure over each of the segregated bottom groups of our society tend to perpetuate indefinitely the racial and ethnic division already existing, or will these superstructures lose their identity in the general organization of society? These are the larger questions.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this study, however, is not to answer these larger questions posed by Hughes, but to show how (if such a relationship truly exists) they relate to the formation of scapegoat minorities in the larger society in times of social conflict and crisis.

Before leaving the subject of the application of grounded sociological theory to the present study, one additional topic must be covered to fully describe the research process. The last theoretical topic concerns the theory of collective behavior. The formation of a scapegoat minority is the result of social conflict or a crisis situation and the collective behavior that takes place in reaction to the social situation. The collective behavior then impedes the social change process by unifying the dominant group members against the real or supposed threat to the social order. This, however, does not insure that change will not take place because unforeseen consequences can be the result of the collective behavior of the masses and the action of legitimized

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

authority to achieve unity.

The general conditions under which collective behavior occurs have already been mentioned briefly but they can also be enumerated in step fashion (however, it must be remembered that, as in all social phenomena, the steps do not always occur in exactly the same manner).

The steps leading to collective action and its effects are as follows:

1. tension--resulting from an "undefined" situation.

"The condition exists that the need for understanding exceeds the available information."<sup>1</sup>

Shibutani states, concerning the step outlined above:

There is a shared sense of arousal due to the lack or inadequacy of preestablished definitions of the situation. There is a sense of problem and a need to do something about it. Under such conditions, there is a heightened sensitivity to interstimulation, an openness to suggestion. Blumer uses the term "circular reaction" to refer to the process of interstimulation in such situations.<sup>2</sup> He emphasizes the emotional nature of the process and notes the social unrest (as distinct from individual neurosis) involves heightened arousal and excitement, erratic behavior, and increased suggestibility. It is within such a context that new collective definitions are particularly likely to evolve.<sup>3</sup>

2. the existence of a "generalized belief."

In the situation of an undefined and therefore,

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<sup>1</sup>Tamotsu Shibutani, Improvised News: A Sociological Study of Rumor (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1966).

<sup>2</sup>Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, p. 170, cited by Tamotsu Shibutani, ed., Human Nature and Collective Behavior: Papers in Honor of Herbert Blumer (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 85.

<sup>3</sup>Shibutani, Human Nature and Collective Behavior, p. 85.



threatening, condition tension mounts in the emotional state of the members of the collectivity. In especially rigidly structured and well-established setting, the patterns of prescriptions and expectations may appear so natural in the social context and so appropriate that no one is really clearly aware of just what may be the trouble. The source of the tension is very difficult to specify and the pervading sense of tension is therefore all the more troublesome because there appears to be no suitable means for dealing with it. Smelser's<sup>1</sup> reference to the "generalized belief" which can be a "hysterical belief" becomes associated with the tension that is felt by the collective and gives it a tangible meaning.

### 3. a credible threatening agent.

In such a situation as the one described above, the presence of a credible threatening agent would provide a tangible and real target for the feelings of the collective.

The situation is thereby clarified (or seems to be) in the mind of the "sensitized" person and as Shibutani says,

Rather than amorphous anxiety, therefore, the members come to experience fear of this threatening agent. The belief serves to objectify the sense of strain and provides a point of reference for any action that is taken.<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious to the reader, of course, how this step

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<sup>1</sup>Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Shibutani, ed., Human Nature and Collective Behavior, p. 86.



applies to the fate of a minority group with the proper master status traits that finds themselves in the position of a threatening agent.

In the situation as defined by the previous steps, the path of action that is provided shows a means of coping with tension and the symptoms that are produced by it but does not demonstrate how the collective will be able to cope with the social setting that is the true source of the tension.

#### 4. precipitating incident.

So far the steps in the dynamic process leading to the expression of collective behavior have been enumerated. There has been what Shibutani refers to as a "dynamic interplay" between the other elements of society and the collectivity.<sup>1</sup> A spiral of increasing sensitivity and heightened tension is initiated and as Shibutani observes:

Especially if various officials and experts behave as if the threat were a legitimate source of concern, the evolving definition will be strengthened, and others will be encouraged to define their discomfort in those terms. This will encourage a greater number of victims to acknowledge their symptoms and thereby increase the credibility of the threat. Thus, the position taken here suggests that such an interactive view might profitably be used in the analysis of all forms of collective behavior, even those which seem to be turned "inward," and which do not move toward an alteration of the social structure. It also suggests that such a view would illuminate not only the action of the collectivity but also its ideology.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

It can be seen how such conditions could lead to the excesses of the "witch hysteria" which gripped Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which will be discussed in a later section of the paper.

Shibutani<sup>1</sup> lists the conditions immediately leading up to the "precipitating incident" which will lead to violence of a susceptible population in the form of rioting (or other violent concerted action) depends on certain factors: (a) the effectiveness of the achievement of redress by institutionalized and conventionalized means, (b) the degree to which individuals feel that they share a common fate (i.e. the degree to which they feel themselves to be entrapped without hope of escape as individuals), (c) the presence of a threat that the individual feels concerns matters that relate to his self-esteem enflames common moral sentiments.

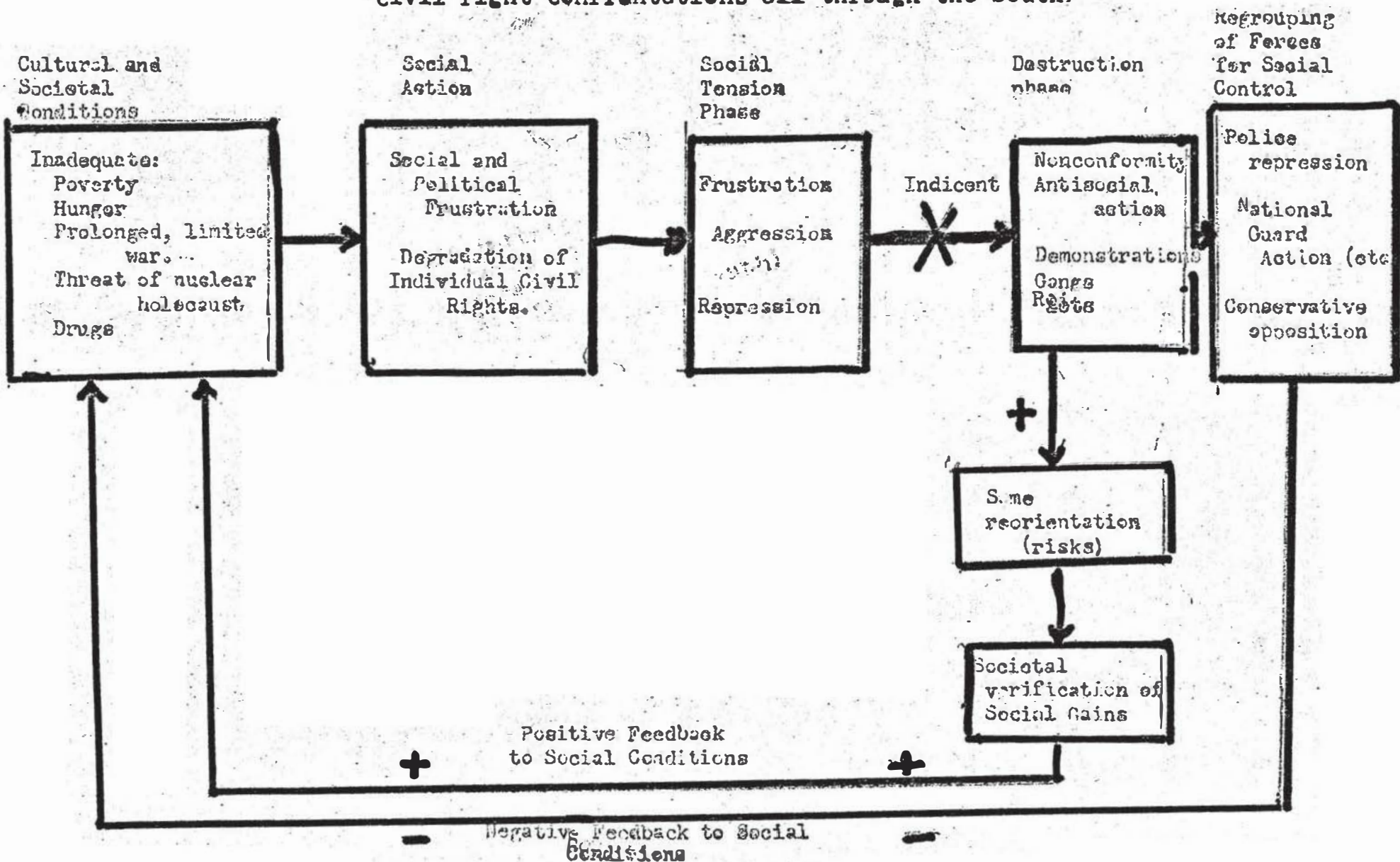
As a result of the operation of these factors, a polarization takes place in a population with a critical mass of individuals who are highly susceptible to being galvanized into action with the slightest provocation. It is in such a social climate that the "precipitating incident" occurs. (Note the systems diagram which appears on the following page which demonstrates what happens in a social system that leads up to the precipitating incident and also demonstrates the possible outcomes of the incident after it has occurred.)

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

IN BUCKLEY'S CONFLICT-ACTUATED ADAPTIVE SOCIAL  
SYSTEM AND BARNETT'S PROCESS THEORY OF CULTURAL  
CHANGE

(A case in point is the precipitating incident  
was the one involving Rosa Parks in Alabama in  
1954 which caused the bus boycott and sparked  
civil right confrontations all through the South)





The crowd behavior that follows a precipitating incident must be considered as a collective problem-solving action that takes place as a result of the social and organizational breakdown within the social context. The social crisis situation has, in instances such as this, degenerated into physical conflict.

As Shibutani puts it, the only way that the precipitating incident and the violence can be avoided is for "conflict . . . to be rechanneled into more effective day-to-day negotiations with visible results."<sup>1</sup> Thus, conflict can either be alleviated, subverted or postponed through strategies such as the negotiation, resulting in agreements to disagree, compromise other action which will relieve the situation through some visible stratagem of amelioration.

However if the precipitating incident takes place anyway, then these steps must be taken after-the-fact. If not, the next stage in the destructive process will occur.

5. contagion--or what Rosen refers to as "psychic epidemics."<sup>2</sup>

Rosen quotes Rudolf Virchow, who developed a theory of epidemic disease as a manifestation of cultural and social maladjustment, and he then carried this concept further, to encompass a theory of psychic epidemiology. According to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>2</sup>George Rosen, Madness in Society: Chapters in the Historical Sociology of Mental Illness (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1968), p. 179.



Rosen:

Reasoning by analogy, he (Virchow) drew a parallel between the individual and the body politic; "If disease is an expression of individual life under unfavourable conditions then epidemics must be indicative of major disturbances of mass life."<sup>1</sup>

Virchow differentiated natural and artificial epidemics basing the distinction on the degree to which cultural factors are interposed between nature and man. Artificial epidemics he considered as attributes of society which occur not only as a result of social contradictions, but also as significant manifestations of historical trends and development.

Nodal points in history, periods of political and intellectual revolution, are marked by such outbreaks of disease. . . . Within his socio-historical theory of epidemic disease, Virchow included the psychic epidemics, a phenomenon and a concept in which interest declined and almost disappeared during the later nineteenth century under the influence of bacteriology and biological determinism, but in which interest has again been aroused in the present century.<sup>2</sup>

In grounding his theory to conditions in society Virchow himself observed that

The artificial epidemics are physical or mental, for mental diseases also occur epidemically and tear entire people into a mad psychotic movement. Psychiatry alone enables the historian to survey and understand the major fluctuations of public opinion and popular feeling, which on the whole resemble the picture of individual mental illnesses.<sup>3</sup>

As Rosen goes on to point out

Unfortunately, this theory of psychic epidemics and its implications have never been explored in any systematic fashion. In our own time a few authors,

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<sup>1</sup> Rosen, Madness in Society, pp. 179-181, citing R. Virchow, Die Einheitsbestrebungen in der wissenschaftlichen Medizin (Berlin: G. Reiner, 1849).

<sup>2</sup> Rosen, Madness in Society, pp. 179-181.

<sup>3</sup> Virchow, Die Einheitsbestrebungen.

among them Hellpach, Schoenert and Sigerist, have touched several limited aspects of the problem. There is no doubt that such studies are beset with great difficulties; nevertheless, a thorough systematic study would be fruitful for an understanding of mental disease in time.<sup>1</sup>

Virchow and Rosen then believe that there is ample historical evidence to warrant studying collective behavior, which may seem to be bizarre and irrational, in its cultural context in terms of collective psychopathology.

This concept has been espoused by Thomas Szasz in the present day. Szasz concludes

Like syphilis and tuberculosis, nonconforming social beliefs and practices also spread through the population as if by contagion; and they too are regarded, by those who reject them, as harmful to both self and others. It is therefore still considered justified to resort to special measures for controlling contagions (whose social significance has become negligible in industrially advanced nations) and dangerous ideas (whose social significance has skyrocketed in these countries). The result is a pervasive conceptualization of social nonconformity as a contagious disease. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The fear and hysteria that accompany the outbreak and uncontrolled spread of contagious disease is well-known, both historically and in underdeveloped countries without a preventative medicine policy today. So, it is seen that a condition that would accompany the threat of the spread of dangerous ideas (to the dominant group) just as it does the spread of dangerous communicable diseases, is anxiety, fear

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen, Madness in Society, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas S. Szasz, The Manufacture of Madness: A Comparative Study of the Inquisition and the Mental Health Movement (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1970), pp. 19-20.

and their overt behavioral expression in the form of hysteria.

The modern study of hysteria began in France shortly after the mid-point of the nineteenth century with the work of Charcot and his famous pupil Janet. Charcot, a distinguished neurologist, held an appointment as a visiting physician at the Salpetriere, a large Parisian hospital for the insane. The master and his pupils became interested in the practice of hypnotism, which at that time was considered in a class with black magic and other such dubious arts. Charcot, however, was a flamboyant personality as well as a rugged individualist, and he persisted in his investigations of the mental state of his disturbed patients by means of hypnosis despite criticism from his more conservative colleagues.

The deeper significance of his studies, however, escaped Charcot. Without knowing, he had stumbled upon one of the greatest medical discoveries of all time, namely, that physical symptoms and organic disorders can be caused by psychological factors. Janet took the experiments of his mentor even further and found that the human personality is capable of being fragmented into two or more separate selves, each of which may be totally unaware of what the other is doing. This concept served as the basis for today's work in states of dissociation.

"Irrespective of the form of the outbreak, all hysterical manifestations have one outstanding characteristic which links them together--they occur as the result of



suggestion in highly suggestible individuals.<sup>1</sup> Just (as will be shown in the body of the study) the inquisitors of the 15th and 16th centuries did, the sincere but credulous bearer of tales, a faith healer, a propagandist or a rumor-monger can implant strange beliefs or generate wild excitement in the hypersuggestible. As Chaplin comments,

there can be no doubt that hysteric reaction, both collective and individual, affecting both the inquisitor and his victim, played a major part in witch-baiting in the 15th and 16th centuries. Hysteric reaction, too, had much effect on the use of, and the response to, torture in the identification of witches and heretics.<sup>2</sup>

Contagion then, as it appears in the context of collective behavior, is a result of all the factors previously discussed plus the spontaneous spread of hysteric behavior from individual to hypersensitive individual unchecked or even promoted by the existing legitimate authority. The constituted authority can promote the continuance of violent reaction to a precipitating incident by a number of ways but two are of particular interest: tacit approval through a policy of inaction and active encouragement of a reign of terror with the conscious purpose of eliminating an undesirable group and the entrenchment of their own favoured position through the misdirection of social aggression.

#### 6. social reorientation.

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<sup>1</sup>J. P. Chaplin, Rumor, Fear and the Madness of Crowds (New York: Ballantine Books, 1959), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-30.



Social reorientation represents the reestablishment of consensus or of the restoration of order either through intervention by established authority, allowing the conflict process to run its course unchecked, negotiation, or the change of conflict groups into accommodation groups. Any of these strategies will result in situational adjustment and/or social change. In some way conflict must be resolved, checked, nullified or subverted. Generally, however, intervention in force usually results in further suppression or oppression of the minority in question, with future threat of further aggression as new crisis situations develop.

The foregoing has been a discussion of the theory of collective behavior that is applicable to the formation and persecution of scapegoat minorities in intergroup relations.

With the discussion of collective behavior, the body of sociological theory that is applicable to the study of intergroup relations and collective problem-solving is complete. For, after all, as Shibutani states, "a crisis is obviously a basic general condition necessary (though not sufficient one in and of itself) for the emergence of new groups."<sup>1</sup> And he further comments that "all crowd behavior has to be studied as collective problem-solving activity within the larger context of social and organizational breakdown and change."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Shibutani, Human Nature and Collective Behavior, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

Three levels of theory have been studied here in light of their application to intergroup and individual-group interaction. Conflict theory has been shown to be the basis of the interactive process and symbolic interactionism has been shown to be the approach that delineates the characteristics of human interactions and attempts to explain the mechanics of the process. (See the following page for a diagrammatic exposition of the situational application of each of the three levels of theory.) Then, if, even with the use of the symbolic interactionist concept of the "definition of the situation," the situation still remains undefined (within a societal atmosphere of fear) the crisis situation may be "triggered" by a precipitating incident to launch a reaction that is both contagious and hysterical in nature. The response of constituted legitimized authority can determine the resolution of the conflict and the reorientation of society.

These are the conditions of interactive situation that a scapegoat group faces in its relations with the dominant group. It finds itself the target of the misplaced aggression of the dominant group in the effort to objectify their fear of a real or imagined threat by providing a concrete target and thus protect the social structure by regaining consensus and reunification. The historical verification for the foregoing theoretical precepts will be covered in a later section of the paper.

THE THEORY TREE  
(Showing the Articulation of the Levels  
of Theory Utilized in this  
Study)

Bottom to Top-- --General to Specific

Specific

Leaves--Roles  
Twigs-- Role Theory  
Branches-- Primary and  
              Secondary  
                  Deviance  
Limbs-- Labelling Theory  
          "Generalized  
              Other"

(Behavioral unit)  
(Interactive occurrence) Definition  
(Master Trait Config- of the  
uration-- Deviant type-W) Situation

LEVEL I

Trunk-- Symbolic  
          Interactionist  
              Approach

(Intergroup and Group-Individual  
  Interactive Principles)  
(Meaning and Symbol--  
  Myth--Legend--Stereotype)

LEVEL II

General

Root  
System-- Conflict  
          Theory  
              Base

(Dominant-  
  Minority Group  
  Relations)

{Conflict-Change-  
  -Variance (Deviance)}

LEVEL III



Symbolic interactionism, particularly labeling theory and role theory, is the basis for the development of the concept of "the master status trait" and its cluster of secondary traits.<sup>1</sup> It is this particular concept of the "master status trait" which will be utilized in the following section of this study to design a construct for use as an analytic instrument.

Before moving on to the actual design and implementation of the analytic instrument to be applied to the historical evidence, it must be shown how the three levels of theory just discussed can be combined with historical data to provide an effective study design. If this can be accomplished, the resulting research vehicle should be both theoretically and methodologically sound.

Fortunately, the groundwork for such a study has already been firmly established. The combination of conflict theory, the symbolic interactionist perspective, and historical methodology has already been accomplished by a noted twentieth century American sociologist, C. Wright Mills.

Although his points of emphasis were the study of power and the character of society, there is no reason that his approach cannot be applied equally well to the study of dominant-deviant intergroup relations and the resultant historical careers of the deviant groups.

A brief description of Mills' theoretical approach will demonstrate its applicability to the present study.

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<sup>1</sup>Hughes, Men and Their Work.



The Combination of the Three Levels of Theory  
with the Pageant of History: The Unique  
Achievement of C. Wright Mills in His  
Conception of the Study of Society  
as the "Intersection of  
Biography and History"

Mills was basically a conflict theorist in his interpretation of the method of Marx and in his ideas of the ubiquity of social change as to time and place. Mills himself gives an indication of his basic conflict theorist orientation when he states that, "this comes out in the obvious fact that what a conservative calls disorganization, a radical might well call reorganization."<sup>1</sup>

In Character and Social Structure, the authors state:

By social change we refer to whatever may happen in the course of time to the roles, the institutions, or the orders comprising a social structure: their emergence, growth, and decline. Our model of social structure (to be discussed in a later section) thus provides us with several interconnected units each of which may undergo quantitative as well as qualitative, microscopic as well as macroscopic, change.

When we focus upon the concept of role as the unit of social change, we ask how many people play a given role and, at what tempo is one role displaced by another.<sup>2</sup>

They go on to say that every level of the society can experience change; the role, the institutional order, and even the society as a whole could be overturned. It is clear that at the bottom of such an interconnected and interacting model of society is the concept of conflict (be it physical,

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<sup>1</sup>Irving Louis Horowitz, ed., Power, Politics, and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills (New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1963), p. 548

<sup>2</sup>Gerth and Mills, Character and Social Structure, p. 398.

competitive, or even dialogue) actuated change. It is also clear that the two authors are combining their fundamental conflict orientation with aspects of the symbolic interactionist approach. As a result of their work, the two approaches have been shown to be compatible.

The idea of the individual or an entity interacting with a "generalized other" or behaving in accordance with a certain perception of the values of the collective is a principle of symbolic interactionism but is also dealt with in detail by Gerth and Mills.<sup>1</sup>

This, in effect, then completes an outline of the theoretical orientation of Mills. He has been shown to have been actuated by the ideas of the classical theorists such as Marx and Weber. He rejected that which he did not feel would apply to the society of the present and he accepted the ideas of these two men that he found to be applicable to his contemporary society. From Marx he accepted a method; from Weber the concepts of power, class, bureaucracy, the partnership of the Church with the establishment, especially the economic establishment; from the other conflict theorists he accepted the idea of ubiquitous (but intermittent and pluralistic) change, and from the symbolic interactionists he accepted the idea of the human decision to make a choice in terms of desirable outcomes in the process of interaction with other individuals, the institutions of society, and his

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

historical tradition.

Mills was a firm believer in the consequence of ideas and their practical worth. He further believed that men of ideas should pursue an active role in the practical world of men. The social study of the personality in its social setting came to be Mills' conception of biography. Mills felt that only when biography is combined with history, and only when the researcher correlates the objective with the subjective criteria, is sociological research and study legitimate. Mills considered all sociology to be both historical and biographical and this legitimates it as a science because it was no longer necessary to hold any abstract absolutes about themes like the "absolute essence of human nature," or a "mysterious core" governing men in the process of social interaction.

Mills did not agree with the value-free concept of the Academic school of American sociology. He felt that problems of "value" naturally come up in any sociological investigation and the questions that they raise become both genuine and specific. These questions must be answered by sociological analyses of the contexts in which they exist. Issues that now seem vague can be defined precisely if they are analyzed in their contextual setting.

Particularly important in Mills' conception of the interactive process was the apparent disparity between behavioral evidence in certain cultural contexts and what is said by the actors. This furnished the basic idea for the

research that Mills did on the Vocabulary of Motives. He felt that the investigation of these vocabularies of motives for different social contexts would have very real consequences for the design of investigative techniques. He felt that knowledge of these verbal components of action would enable the sociologist and methodologist to design his methods with a built-in margin for error. Disparities could then be plotted in the dimensions of how much and in what directions overt action differs from stated postures. This would enable the scientist to achieve guidance and control of the collection of evidence and the inferences he draws from that evidence.

Above all, Mills stressed the individual's role as the actor in the social drama. By taking sociology down to the personal level, Mills moved to deprofessionalize the science to a certain extent. Of course, this is the secret of his appeal to intellectuals and the popular reading public alike. Mills' approach in sociology, as he stated it, involved the intersection of history and biography. In other words, he combined quantitative and qualitative methods, leaving open the ends (the concept of the society as a conflict-actuated adaptive system as described in Buckley) and analyzed the problem in terms of its behavioral consequences for the individual in the social milieu.

Mills applied his orientation from the starting point of his assumption of the institutionalization of power. His major works and his popular works are both organized with



this concept as the key to their construction.

When he speaks of the combination of biography and history in weaving the history of society and the story of sociology, the biography is the part of his theory that is grounded in the symbolic interactionist approach.<sup>1</sup> He states that, "man's action is interpersonal. At its minimum, social conduct consists of the actions of one person oriented to another, and most of the actions of men are of this sort."<sup>2</sup>

Mills himself demonstrates his orientation toward social change when he asserts:

Several factors and mechanisms of social change may of course operate at the same time, and moreover, in various directions. But not all changes are "cumulative," in fact, some are quite jerky and discontinuous. And all phenomena do not result from a great plurality of causes: some are due to unilateral jerks and jolts.

Many thought models of historical change may be useful for discerning types of change in the specific historical sequences. Some institutional orders, and no doubt whole social structures, go through what may seem like cycles, other sequences seem linear, while still others seem like fluctuations of a pendulum. And, of course, which model one discerns is in part dependent upon the time-span one uses.<sup>3</sup>

Mills is shown in the above quote to be solidly in camps of both the conflict theorists (with their concept of the ubiquity of change in time and space) and also with the symbolic interactionists with their belief that change is

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<sup>1</sup>In his concept of sociology as a combination of biography and history, Mills is building an elaboration of the Hegelian-Marxian process.

<sup>2</sup>Gerth and Mills, Character and Social Structure.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 376-81.

discontinuous and affected by the acting unit (man) in his use of choice of acceptable outcome. Thus, general trends of change can be discerned but, at certain times and places, man's power for decision can effect the degree and direction of change entirely out of proportion to the general trend.

Mills sees social change to involve the answers to several questions. For instance: "What is it that changes?"; "What unit is to be observed in change?"; "What is the direction of change?" (Mills points out that at this point in the discussion of change there are many value-laden terms used to describe the process such as "progress," "decadence," "integration," and "rise and fall." Mills obviously feels that these terms depend totally upon the view of a particular author as to ideology, theoretical stance, and time and place in the historical dimension.); "What is the tempo of change?" (Mills points out that rates of change vary between societies, the parts of an individual society, and indeed, as the "cultural lag" theorists indicate between the material and spiritual aspects of a single society.)

In Mills' mind, the definition of the term history involves the progress of the whole social environment over the time dimension and the forces that it exerts on the individuals that compose it in the interactive process. Biography involves the individual's career or course over time through the social milieu and the behavioral consequences of the interactive process for him at the various times and levels (in terms of the changes in his status and roles and

his adaptation to the forces that effect them). This concept of Mills' that history and biography are at the center of the study of sociology is illustrated in the figure on the following page.

Finally, the author, in accordance with the view expressed by Becker in his article, "Whose Side Are We On?"<sup>1</sup> will make the value judgment that the differential treatment of minority individuals or subcultural groups by the dominant group of the same society is an undesirable condition.

Conflict and change in the following study will be developed within the theoretical parameters outlined in this section.

Since this research is a library study of historical materials, it is necessary to develop an analytic instrument that can both be inferred from these materials and applied to them in some source of coherent process. The following section of the study will deal first of all with the design of this instrument; secondly, it will attempt to delineate representative groups which are described by the instrument, and, finally, it will set the parameters for determining the validity of the instrument to be used in the analysis and how this analysis is to be accomplished.

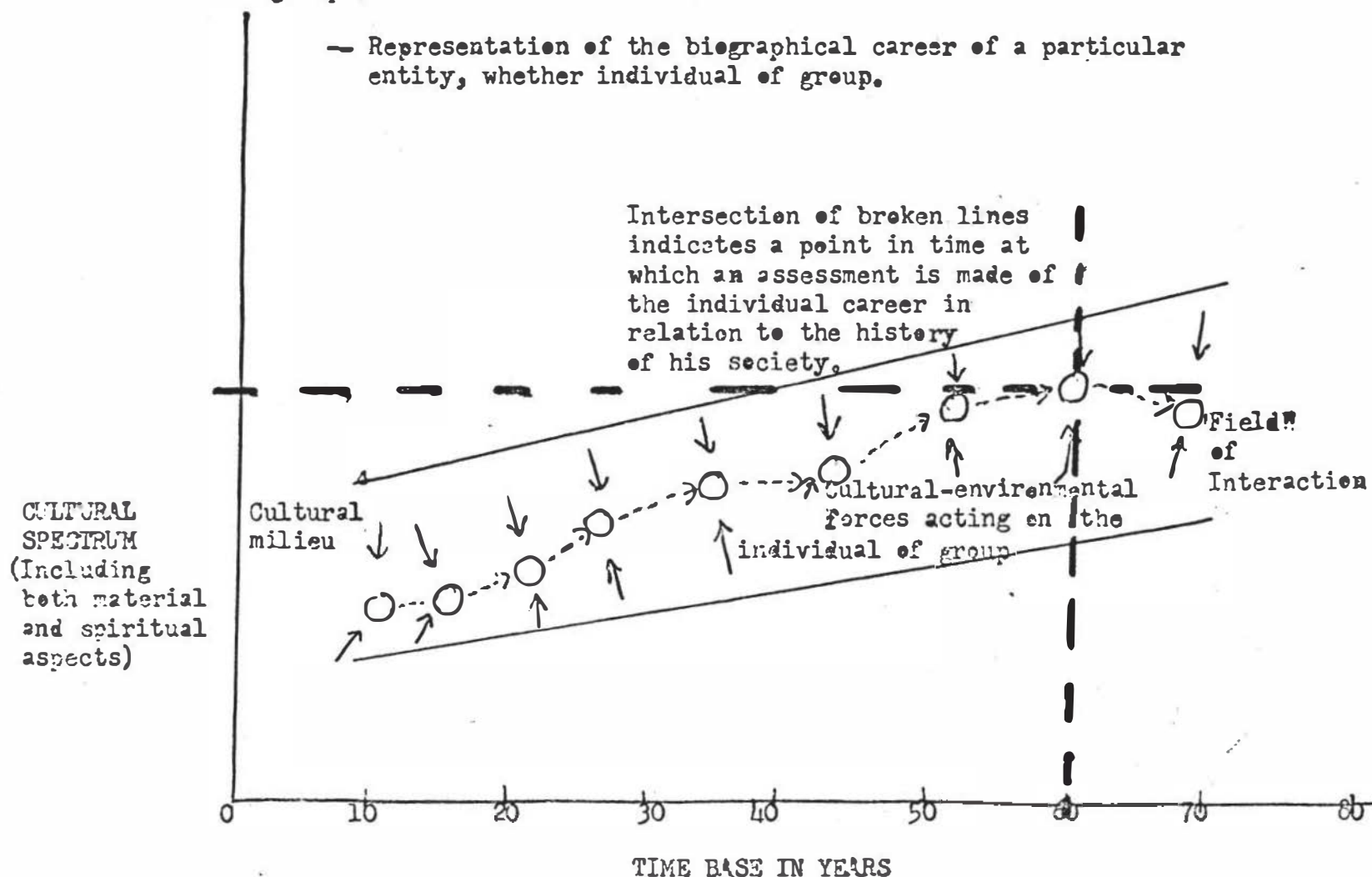
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<sup>1</sup>"Whose Side Are We On?" cited by Teele, Juvenile Delinquency, pp. 96-103.

**MILLS' CONCEPTION OF SOCIOLOGY AS  
THE INTERACTION OF HISTORY AND  
BIOGRAPHY**

**History:** The progress of the whole social environment over the time dimension and the forces that it exerts on the individuals that compose it in the interactive process.

**Biography:** The individual's career in its course over time through the social milieu and the consequences of the interactive process for him at the various times and levels (in terms of status and role changes and his adaptation to them) In this study, the individual career has been widened in scope to encompass the deviant career of whole groups.





#### IV. THE CHARACTER OF THE ANALYSIS

In the previous section of the study, the concept of the "master status trait" and its secondary cluster of traits was discussed. This concept was developed theoretically, and then tested empirically to show that it existed in the real world, by Everett Cherrington Hughes. Robert E. Park's concept of the "marginal man" also helps to substantiate the validity of status determining traits.

The basic unit of analysis in this paper will be the individual scapegoat groups (of which a few of the most prominent representing various points on the spectrum of the continuum of nonconformity have been selected on the basis of social visibility) and this will be accomplished by first establishing their authenticity as scapegoat groups by comparing them to a construct based on the master status-determining traits of Hughes, and secondly, by comparing their fortunes to the conflicts and changes taking place in Western culture at certain nodal or pivotal points in the historical dimension.

The author has chosen to call this construct Deviant type-W. It represents what he considers to be the master status-determining traits accorded historically to the classical stereotype of the witch, wizard, and social and religious heretic as discussed in such works as Summers

Lea, Plaidy, and Notestein.<sup>1</sup>

Deviant type-W actually represents a constellation of master traits--any one of which is sufficient, in the right social context, to make the individual who "fits" it a potential societal scapegoat.

In the previous section Hughes' concept of the master status-determining trait was developed to show how the incumbent's social career is governed by a particular master trait together with its complex of secondary traits. In the case of the classical witch-heretic stereotype, the writer feels that, instead of one master status-determining trait with secondary traits, there is a constellation master trait which furnishes the basis for stigmatization as a threat to society. If an over-active imagination can achieve a "fit" for one out of the total configuration, the process of "selective perception"<sup>2</sup> in a highly emotionally charged situation will suffice to cause others of the constellation to be ascribed to him.

The traits that will be listed below are frequently associated with the individual or group that is labeled as a representative of the classical stereotype as explained in

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<sup>1</sup>Summers, The History of Witchcraft and Geography of Witchcraft; Lea, History of Witchcraft; Jean Plaidy, The Spanish Inquisition: Its Rise, Growth and End (New York: Citadel Press, 1967); and Notestein, Witchcraft in England.

<sup>2</sup>Selective perception is at work at all times, but particularly so in emotionally-charged situations. See Walter Lippman "Stereotypes" in Berelson and Janowitz, Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, pp. 71-72.

the foregoing discussion. In the majority of cases during the witch hysteria of the 15th and 16th centuries, they are either traits of the groups and individuals persecuted as witches or attributed to them through conscious design, selective perception or unbridled and unconscious hysteria. As was just pointed out, frequently the individual or group possessed only one of the constellation of master traits, but once it was brought to light, the labeling process took over, other traits were imagined and ascribed to fill in the rest of the configuration. The following traits have been chosen as the basis of the constellation that will be used as the construct for this analysis:

- (1) Secrecy or mystery (Individual or group)
- (2) Physical oddities or affliction (Warts, moles, birthmarks, scars, epilepsy, prominent features)
- (3) Eccentricities or nonconformist behavior (Bizarre behavior defined by the dominant group as nonrational)
- (4) Favor with the supernatural or suspicion of unexplained power. Myths or legends (for instance—witches or the Jews in their position as the Lord's "chosen" people)

This constellation of traits has "symbolic" significance and thus, at various times, provokes differing reactions from the greater society. It is the thesis of this study that, by observing the character of these reactions, Deviant type-W becomes a social indicator of the level of conflict, anxiety and the direction of the change processes in the society as a whole.

It is also the contention of the writer that, at

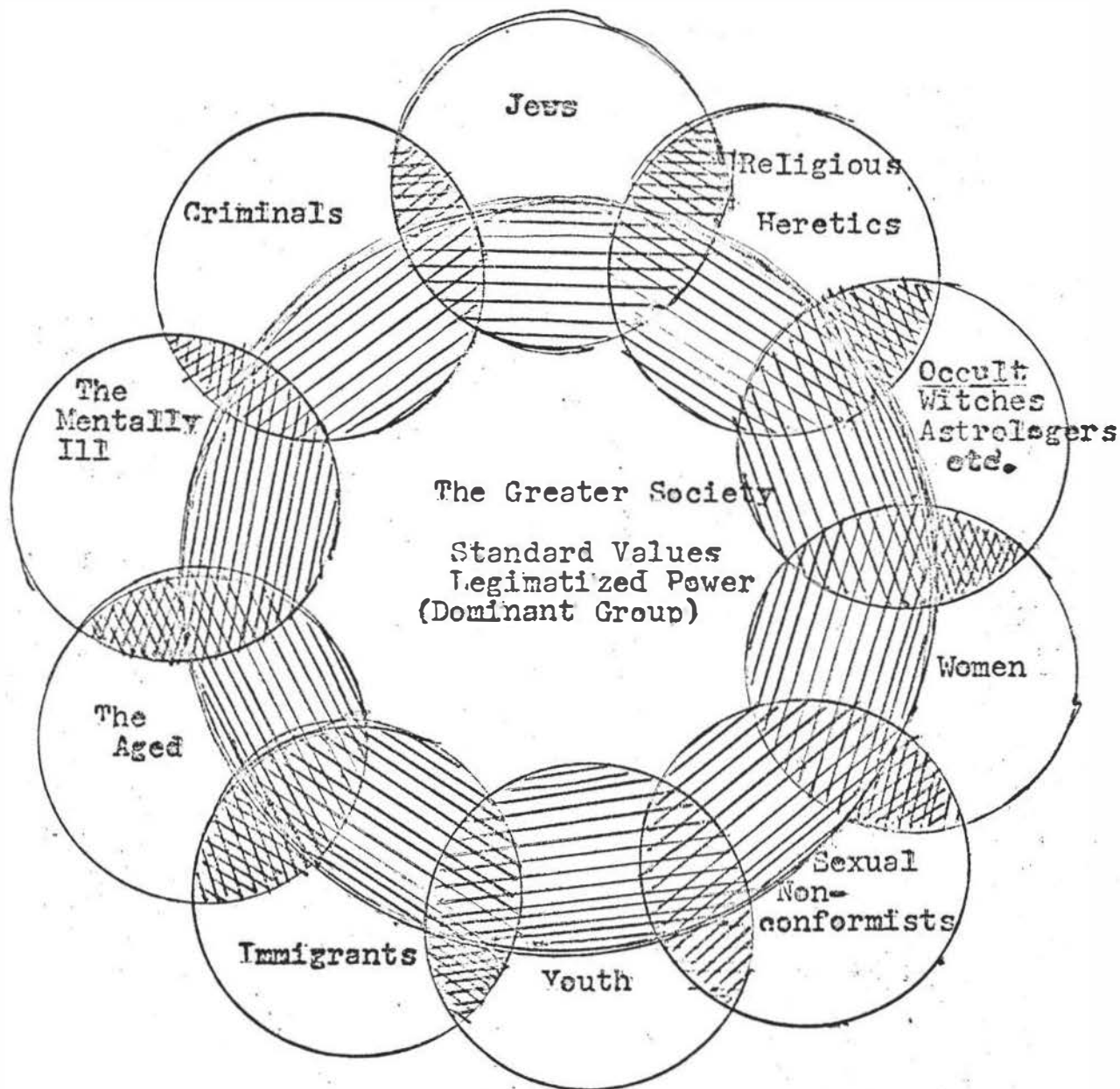
various times in the history of society, this configuration of traits has been assigned to various groups and under differing labels. Whatever the label, though, the specific characteristics and attributes ascribed to the particular group in question were to be found in this one constellation of master status-determining traits that originally described the witch-heretic.

In the study, the choice of groups for study in their relation to the historical background of Western culture and European and American society will include those shown in the illustration on the following page and which will be briefly noted and discussed in this section to establish and describe their validity for consideration as representative examples of Deviant type-W.

For the purposes of this pilot study, and due to its limited scope, it was necessary to make a select of the groups whose deviant careers have had the longest history of social visibility. Further, it was decided to choose groups whose attributes and deviant characteristics, when assembled collectively, would approximate coverage of the whole spectrum of deviance. Groups were chosen on the basis of attributes such as sex, religion, race, ethnicity and age. However, two of the groups chosen, although they have a history of differential treatment, discrimination and, in a limited number of cases when included in some other classification have served as scapegoats, have not yet been subjected to campaigns as distinct groups. These two groups are the young



SELECTED MAGRINAL GROUPS IN SOCIETY  
 REPRESENTING DEVIANT MINORITIES WITH  
 A HISTORY OF BEING VICTIMIZED BY THE  
 "SCAPEGOATING" PRACTICES OF THE  
 LARGER SOCIETY, OR THE POTENTIALITY  
 FOR VICTIMIZATION IN THE FUTURE



Intersection and shaded areas in the Venn diagram show (in idealized fashion) the intersection, interpenetration, and interrelation of value systems and group membership. Areas outside the main circle show areas of value diversity and conflict. Line marking the diameter of the large circle representing the larger society indicates a line of confrontation.

and the aged.

Many of these groups intersect and interpenetrate, which can result in an individual belonging to more than one of them at any one time. Also, as has been done frequently, an individual who belongs in one of the groups may be wrongly classified as a member of another, resulting in even more suffering.

For instance, the gathering of particular types of deviant to make them fit under one label as a general classification reached its height during the European witch hysteria of the 15th and 16th centuries. During this time members from all of the groups listed in the preceding figure were grouped together under the level of either witch or heretic. (Either label was sufficient to seal their doom since a witch was automatically a heretic and suffered the same fate.)

In this section the groups will only be outlined and described briefly, but, in the next section of the paper where there will be an attempt to establish the existence of Deviant type-W in the real world through the use of historical evidence, and in the following section where the characteristics and conditions in Western society that have contributed to the process of scapegoating will be discussed, the character of each group will be filled in in more detail.

Witches, Wizards, Oracles, Occultists,  
Psychics and Astrologers

This is one of the foundation categories for the establishment of the classical stereotype as the governing framework for Deviant type-W. These people all have, or claim to have, powers beyond the understanding of ordinary people and so, consequently, if they desire to do so can represent a threat to the ordinary man. The first five sub-classifications claim to have supernatural powers while the last, astrologers, claim to be the practitioners of a science of prediction according to movements of heavenly bodies and the principles of mathematics. They too (although they are generally acknowledged now to be the practitioners of a pseudo-science by the scientific community) were the possessors of skills and powers not available to other mortals. Thus, they could either help the rest of mankind, or if they desired, they could pose a threat to it.

Religious Heretics

Whatever the religion, those people within its population who are disbelievers, or who believe in alien gods, represent heresy and present a clear threat to the very existence of the religious beliefs. This is the other original member of the classical stereotype as it was first conceived. Of course, in the classification above, the witch, if she resided within the religious community had to be, by definition, a heretic as well. (Because she called upon powers not available through the extant religion.) At



one time, during the Roman Empire, Christians, as a group, were heretics as well. (This will be discussed in more detail in the next section of the paper.) Even Jews, who had never been a part of the Christian population, and who kept themselves strictly apart were, strangely enough, (as explained by Trevor-Roper) also adjudged to be heretics during the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>1</sup>

#### Woman as a Scapegoat Minority

In Western society, as will be substantiated later, woman has had a history of being a victim of differential treatment, discrimination, oppression, and, when assigned to other categories, aggression at the hands of a male-dominated society. For instance, as Trevor-Roper points out, most of the witches were women (well over 90 percent).<sup>2</sup> Either the very old women (especially if they were hags, widows, unmarried, marked, or given to bizarre behavior) or the young who were strange looking or acting, were the victims of the inquisitors.

#### Immigrants

Immigrants of all kinds have served as scapegoat groups. Newly arrived people, particularly in primitive societies, had strange customs and habits, owed allegiance

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<sup>1</sup>H. R. Trevor-Roper, The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, and Other Essays (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1967).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



to a different culture. Possibly they were not only ethnically different (observable through cultural differences), they might be physically different (observable through cultural differences), they might be physically different (race--as the term was popularly thought of). In this case the physiognomic differences made the group even more socially "visible." They were in a word, DIFFERENT. Sometimes, as has been mentioned before, they could be stigmatized under more than one label, as has already been shown concerning the Jews. But the Jews were not alone; certain traits or practices were generalized from individuals to the whole group. For instance, Chaldean became a synonym for astrologer, and a Gypsy was automatically a thief and had the ability to foresee the future and tell fortunes. Of course, the reader is familiar with the history of slavery in the United States. In this unique social caste system, an entire group of people with certain physical characteristics and skin color came to be considered as untermenschen or subhuman.

### Criminals

There are many types of criminals, ranging from those wrongly assigned the label through misfortune, to those secondary deviants who regard themselves as criminals and who, with an entirely different value system than the rest of society, are content to engage in criminal behavior as a way of life. (The professional criminal and the member

of organized crime come under this category.) However, this study does not concern itself with organized crime or the professional criminal who willingly sets himself up to gain a livelihood by victimizing society. It is more concerned with the individual labeled as criminal who is the victim of society or who is the victim of his own passions and is forced into this category because of circumstance, and the resultant labeling process. During the course of history, this category has frequently traded off with others for particular members. For instance, as was pointed out in the discussion of immigrants, gypsies were often considered to be criminals (and they were destroyed as criminal enemies of society by the Germans of the Third Reich). One other category which frequently interchanges with the label "criminal" today is "mentally ill." Since the advent of "institutionalized psychiatry" and the Therapeutic State described by Thomas Szasz<sup>1</sup> many of the people who in the past had worn the label of criminal were able to be moved into a category which had less stigma attached to it generally: the mentally ill or disordered.

#### The Mentally Ill or Disordered

This category, too, has been interpenetrated by and intertwined with several other categories of deviants who

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

have been victimized as societal scapegoats.<sup>1</sup> At times in the history of society, the mentally disordered have been adjudged as witches, or heretics (because of their bizarre behavior) or as criminal (for crimes with a psychological base but a heavy social stigma, such as sex offenses) and, at times this category has included others, such as the aged (who, for instance, may be guilty of bizarre behavior patterns).

The mentally disordered, as a category, has suffered differential treatment and discrimination generally, and at times has suffered punitive action and aggression from the dominant society. (Often atrocities were perpetrated upon this category of deviant in the name of treatment or "help.")

#### Sexual Nonconformists

This category of deviant has had a checkered career in the history of mankind. It frequently intersects and interpenetrates other deviant categories. Frequently this category of persons has suffered aggression from the oversociety, but usually as an individual, and under another label, such as criminal (sex), witch, heretic, or as insane. For instance, impressionable young girls, given to

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<sup>1</sup>This concept of victimized peoples has a Janus face which cannot be discussed in this paper, as it is tangential to the main theme. However, there are peoples with long histories of victimization who have used their stigma as a method of adapting to social conditions. For example, the gypsies' use of "hakano" and the Jews living up to the expectation of society by becoming money lenders, bankers, etc.

fantasizing and sexual delusions, were frequently victimized as witches when actually they were guilty of nothing more than an overactive imagination. At one period in history, homosexuality coupled with other practices, caused the Catholic church to move against the Knights Templar.

In the foregoing brief characterizations, most, if not all, of the potential or actual scapegoat categories to be utilized in this study in conjunction with the construct Deviant type-W have been introduced, and certain interconnections and interpenetrations noted.

The application of the master trait configuration which has been designated as Deviant type-W to the historical dimension of Western culture would be an impossibility unless certain limitations as to scope are observed.

In the present pilot study, the research will be limited to the groups briefly categorized above which can be utilized to form a rough typology of representative groups that cover the spectrum of qualifications for a scapegoat group.

The next two sections of the paper will attempt to put each of these groups into historical perspective as contributors to the cumulative career of the social heretic as represented by the classical stereotype, or (in this study) by the master-status-determination construct, deviant type-W.

The final step in the construction of this research vehicle will be a qualitative interpretation based upon



inference and logical analysis of the recorded historical evidence. This is the analytical problem that the historical discipline defines as synthesis. The historical data that has been gathered must be pieced together into a meaningful pattern and then applied to the testing of the hypotheses postulated earlier.

The final result should either deny or support the contention that the classification "social heretic" because of its stereotyped (that is, traditional, symbolic) meaning, and its various reinterpretations, can furnish the social researcher with a valid indicator and barometer of the social change process as it has operated across the time dimension in Western society.

In the discussion of theory as it applies to the areas of intergroup relations, the interactive process, and collective behavior, the logical basis for the master status-determining construct, Deviant type-W has been painstakingly developed, but it remains to be supported as a matter-of-fact in the real world. In this section of the study the historical basis in-fact of the classical stereotype and how it came to be applied to certain groups will be established.

V. HISTORICAL PRECEDENT: THE ORIGIN,  
SYSTEMATIZATION, AND SPREAD OF  
DEVIANT TYPE-W IN WESTERN  
SOCIETY

This historical outline will begin in biblical times. Of course, one cannot measure the influence of the ancient peoples of Egypt and the Near East, but there is evidence that there was significant influence.

This section of the study will first deal with three questions: Is the existence of a stereotype represented by the construct Deviant type-W valid when checked against the historical evidence? Second, if the stereotype is a valid construct, what were the characteristics of those people so labeled? Third, what historical conditions and events caused it to be systematized and spread?

At the very root of the problem, there appears the struggle between religion and magic.

To begin the present study with the Hebrew Bible, it is interesting that from the very earliest times, the attitude of the writers toward magic and its related practices is mostly one of condemnation and uncompromising hostility. The repeated and vehement outbursts launched against the occult science, the foreign esoteric mysteries and their practitioners, do not, however, seem to be based upon the idea of fraud

so much as upon the "abomination" of the magic itself. This magic is recognized as the power of evil which, once loosed, can not only harm life and limb, but can degenerate the very soul.

The Mosaic law repeatedly denounces such arts. "Go not aside after wizards, neither ask anything of soothsayers, to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God."<sup>1</sup> "The soul that shall go aside after magicians and soothsayers, and shall commit fornication with, I will set my face against that soul, and destroy it out of the midst of its people;"<sup>2</sup> and, even detailed and explicit, "Neither let there be found among you anyone. . . that consulteth soothsayers, or observeth dreams and omens, neither let there be any wizard, nor charmer, nor anyone that consulteth pythonic spirits, or fortune tellers, or that seeketh the truth from the dead. For the Lord abhorreth all these thing."<sup>3</sup>

These warnings make it obvious that the essential malice that was in these acts was the same as that in the sin of heresy. The seriousness of this transgression was shown in the fact that the temporal penalty was death. "A man, or woman, in whom there is a pythonical or divining spirit, dying, let them die."<sup>4</sup> Further, the famous statute

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<sup>1</sup>Lev. 19:31.

<sup>2</sup>Lev. 20:6.

<sup>3</sup>Deut. 18:10-12.

<sup>4</sup>Lev. 20:27.

expressly states, "Wizards thou shalt not suffer to live."<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, these prohibitions in the scripture against the practice of witchcraft and magic did not deter their practitioners or others who consulted them for advice or help in times of trial. One of the most well-known incidents involves King Saul's visit to the Witch of Endor in which she called forth the shade of the prophet Samuel (Necromancy) to give Saul foreknowledge of the coming battle.

### Greece and Rome

Nature had given man the concept of the sacrifice because of the cyclical nature of the progress of the seasons and the life spans of the plants and animals. It is evident all through the history of man how nature and the supernatural have occupied the foreground of his thought. How he can relate to nature and the supernatural is an unanswered question that remains just as relevant in the age of technology, the post-industrial economy and the service state as it did in ancient times. However, in the classical world of the Greeks this all-important question was, for the first time, attacked with systematic orientations of thought. This was the birth of philosophy. From this point on in the classical world there existed three approaches (and mixtures thereof) to the solutions of the problems that man faced: religion, magic, and philosophy. All three of these areas of human endeavor had a contribution to make in the birth, systemati-

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<sup>1</sup>Ex. 12:18.



zation and spread of the classical stereotype on which Deviant type-W is based.

From its very earliest period there were, in the classical Greek world, complex systems of universal mythology, aboriginal beliefs with attendant curious practices of ancient superstition which made up a primitive order of magic and certain symbolic religious ceremonials. This was to be made even more elaborate in the later days as new material from Egypt and Phoenicia was added. It even came to be studied in schools and was finally glossed and codified. This gives direct evidence that the systematization of the practice of the occult sciences can be traced at least as far back as classical Greece.

The present author maintains (and the quoted material from the Hebrew Bible supports this view) that the basic form of the classical stereotype was the witch (whether female, or the male version, the wizard).

The basic description of the characteristics and powers of the witch began to take form and were systematized and preserved in the literature of the time. For instance, the Greek goddess of necromancy and all witchcraft was the mysterious Hecate. At least the name appears to be Greek and may be translated variously as "the far-off one," or "the one who stands aloof." However, no explanation of the name's origin seems to be truly authentic and accurate. An even greater obscurity covers the origin and character of this figure. The Homeric epics do not mention her, she has no

genealogy or legend.

Some history of her worship is available at Aegina, where she was especially honoured, and at least by the fifth century her mysteries were firmly established and the tradition was locally ascribed to the Thracian, Orpheus. In fact, everything indicates that Thrace was truly the first home of Hecate,<sup>1</sup> and the Thracian goddess Bendis may be Hecate venerated under a different name.

For the purposes of this study, however, it is the symbolism attached to Hecate as a witch which is important because some of it lives today. The hound was the animal sacred to Hecate, and black dogs often preceded the coming or the manifestation of the divinity herself.

In later years, Hecate and Artemis were worshipped as lunar dieties, and soon her figure achieves more prominence. In Lucian, Hecate is evoked nightly by a sorcerer and she appears "terrible to see," in the form of a woman, "half a furlong high, snake-footed, snakes in her hair, a torch in her left hand and a sword in her right."

In the foregoing passage can be seen the beginnings of one of the traits of the constellation of the construct, Deviant type-W, the unusual imposing, frightening, or awesome appearance of the witch with such stressed features as burning eyes or fingers like claws.

Brasch points out that, "the cold hand of Hecate comes down through history to grip the heart of modern man

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<sup>1</sup>The history of Hecate discussed in Brasch, How Did It Begin?

in the howling of dogs at night."<sup>1</sup> In the literature, too, such stories as the devil dog of The Hound of the Baskervilles, by A. Conan Doyle trace their origin to the influence of Hecate.

Again, there is the story of Hecate, associated in Greek lore with the realm of the uncanny and ghosts. Hovering at the crossroads, she foretold death. But only dogs were aware of her. They gave warning by their show of terror and barking.<sup>2</sup>

The Greeks established the characteristic of the witch as a strange or awesome figure of a woman with powers that other mortals did not possess, and occasionally the Greek witch met with the same fate as did her sister a thousand years later, but most generally they were tolerated and, in troubled times, consulted for help and advice. Not only the appearance and character of the witch but her practices also descended from classical Greece to the present day. The use of the waxen figures, the witching hour of midnight, a location by the sea, the consummation of wax in the fire; all but a very few of the terrible and loathsome rites of magic in the world of Grecian literature can be shown to have parallels in the lore of modern witchcraft.

The Greeks, too, were responsible for the attachment of the label of "occultist" to entire peoples. The people of classical times believed that supernatural powers were the heritage of certain animals and of certain families, as well;

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<sup>1</sup>Brasch, How Did It Begin?, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

these powers descended from one generation to another. The Greeks considered the Thessalian dæmons to be above all others in enchantments and sorcery.

In establishing the precedent for the crediting of entire peoples with the stain of evil practices, or of powers beyond human understanding (another of the master status-determining traits of the constellation of Deviant type-W), Lucian, when he decides to tell a story about enchantment, dispatches his hero to Thessaly where such things are commonplace:

"Extremely desirous of becoming acquainted with all that is strange and wonderful, I called to mind that I was in the very heart of Thessaly, celebrated by the unanimous consent of the whole wide world as the land where spells and incantations of the art of magic are, so to speak, indigenous. . . accordingly excited in the highest degree by my eagerness and my ardent temperament I examined everything in detail with closest curiosity."<sup>1</sup>

This gives precedence for the master trait on which some people credit the Gypsies and Jews with abilities and powers not given to others.

In referring to the history of Greece, Rosen asked the question, "Were deranged individuals ever chosen as ritual scapegoats?" Then he went on to answer his own question,

Vaughan conjectured that "at certain periods in the history of Greece madmen, by reason of their supposed selection by the gods were at times offered in sacrifice." Contact with holiness, like contact with its opposite, uncleanness, was perilous and to be avoided. In fifth century Greece, madness was widely considered the consequence of a divine curse, and

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<sup>1</sup>Summers, Geography of Witchcraft, p. 9.



an insane person was therefore polluted and a thing of evil omen.<sup>1</sup>

As to the problem of old age in the history of Greece, Rosen comments that the Greek literature often made reference to the inevitability of old age as a recurring theme and characterized it generally as a kind of punishment. As Rosen comments,

The wisdom of old age is mentioned and extolled by numerous Greek writers, and yet one cannot avoid the conclusion that the Greeks were more impressed by the unfavorable aspects of the closing years. Browning's optimistic philosophy was not shared by the Nillenes. They tended to see the mental and emotional sides of old age in objective but pessimistic terms.<sup>2</sup>

One other deviant group gave its label to an entire people, and indeed, the usage still lives today in the literature. By the time Theocritus was writing around 280 B.C., the word Chaldean was used as a synonym for astrologer or fortune-teller. In English, too, the name "chaldean" was used to denote a soothsayer or a magician. This is another case that gives strong support for the contention that whole nationalities could be credited possession of unusual powers through the bestowal of some supernatural gift.

Oracles, soothsayers, diviners, necromancers, and astrologers were consulted widely in the classical world because of their proclaimed ability to foresee the future. They appeared to be able to fill the gap left by religion and

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen, Madness In Society, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

philosophy, and give man control of the great unknown of the future. (This preoccupation with knowing the unknowable persists until the present day and these individuals are experiencing a new wave of popularity.)

From Greece witchcraft ostensibly penetrated to Rome in about the third century B.C. Accompanying it in full force came oriental magic, although the superstitions of the East had already been trickling in by other routes. Of course there were also native traditions, such as the mythology and the mysterious cults of the Etruscans. In addition, the lore and legends of yet older primitive civilizations and races lingered on. From the Etruscans the Romans derived their belief in, and the solemn rites of divination, which became an essential part of their official religion.

The practice of the sciences of the occult and the rites of witchcraft had a checkered career in the Roman Empire and no detailed coverage will be made of it in this paper. Only the major shifts in attitude toward the practice of the occult sciences will be noted here to document the observation that the fortunes of the occultists tended to shift in accordance with the particular intellectual and social climate in the Roman Empire in particular time periods. Some of the major shifts of attitude and their approximate dates are noted in order to give an idea of the wide swings from ban to popularity that took place under various emperors and the changes in the social context. Whatever conclusion is drawn, it is evident that from the very earliest

period a tradition of magic was handed down in Rome. This tradition is both apparent in the records of daily life and in Roman literature.

In the Law of the Twelve Tables in the fifth century B.C., malevolent spells were punishable by death, and from time to time severe laws directed especially against those who would do harm to the crops or spread disease among the livestock were passed. In 139 B.C. The Praetor Cornelius Scipio Hispalus ordered the Chaldeans through an edict to leave both Rome and the peninsula within ten days. His efforts, however, were fruitless; for after the first alarm was over, the astrologers appeared again in even greater numbers. In the time of Catiline and Marius which were periods of civil war, lightning changes of fortune, and intense political activity, the necromancers, diviners, soothsayers, seers, occultists, magi and fortune-tellers were to be found on every street corner and in every alley in Rome. In these times of stress, the people flocked eagerly to them to hear their predictions and to pay the fees they asked. At this time the astrologers began to compile almanacs and books of instructions which they openly sold to the public.

The "malefici" and "mathmatici" were repeatedly banned by the early emperors and even from time to time were severely prosecuted, but the emperors themselves were as guilty of dabbling in magical practices as any member of the public. Although Augustus made a bonfire of all the grimoires in Rome, he was just as superstitious as anyone else. Rome was

infested with occultists of every description under Nero, although he declared repeatedly that he had no faith in any such practices. In fact, he was known to have consulted an astrologer by the name of Babilus in the matter of the appearance of a blazing comet in the heavens. When the astrologer advised him that the comet was an omen that had to be expiated by noble blood, Nero did not hesitate to cause half the aristocracy of the city to be butchered.

Hadrian was so caught up in the practices of the occult that when one of his proteges fell from the royal barge into the Nile, the lad's death was soon connected in popular gossip with some of the rituals of necromantic lore. Commodus (A.D. 190-92) had himself in the rites of Mithra, assumed divinity and omnipotence for himself, and sacrificed many youths on his altars. These sacrifices were carried out largely for the purposes of the examination of human entrails for the sake of divining the future. Septimius Severus (193-211) condemned many Chaldeans and fortune-tellers to death as well as those who had sought their advice. It was not so much a hatred of occultism that was the cause but a fear of conspiracies against his power. He was worried about the possibilities of pertinent questions being asked and omens being observed concerning the length of his reign.<sup>1</sup> A quarter of a century later, Alexander Severus reversed the trend, being not only tolerant of magicians and astrologers,

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<sup>1</sup>Summers, Geography of Witchcraft, p. 46.



but even putting some of them on regular salaries and offering gifts to others in return for their services. Gordian the Elder (A.D. 238) consulted astrologers concerning contemporary affairs, although he did not appear to give their predictions much serious consideration. Aurelian (A.D. 270) after he was elected as emperor by the legions on the Danube, went secretly to certain druidesses, or Gaulish sybils, to ask of them if the throne would continue in the control of his family. The Druidesses replied that in the whole history of Rome there would be no names that were nobler than those in his line; a prophecy which the historian Flavius Vopiscus saw fulfilled in Constantine.

Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) condemned black magic in no uncertain terms. However, Summers makes the comment that superstition was never more rife and magic practices more widespread than in the decadent and debauched days of the later Roman empire.<sup>1</sup> During these times the old civilization was crumbling, and in the midst of such a decadent social situation, hope and interest were sought in other spheres of action and thought.

Under the Roman emperors there were two powerful influences at work. Each of these had an effect upon the practice of magic. Neo-Platonism with the rites of Mithra was ephemeral and encouraged the practice of enchantments, while the other, Christianity, was the sworn enemy of sorcery.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-49.

Neo-Platonism was a system of idealistic and spiritualistic theosophy with an added element of indeterminate mysticism. This theosophic system sought to restore the vitality of Greek thought by the addition of certain Oriental religious conceptions. As such, it was a last effort to combat Christianity with Hellenic ideas and ideals.

Mithraism, the cult of the ancient Indo-Iranian Sun-god Mithra, came into Europe by way of Asia Minor where it had flowered after the conquests of Alexander and from there spread rapidly over the Roman Empire. It appears to have been first introduced to Rome by Pompey after the wars with the Cilician pirates. During the first and second centuries of the Christian era, the influence of Mithra was continually increased by the legionnaires who were returning from Eastern service. Before Christianity triumphed, the cult of Mithra had vanished. Under Julian it had one more short lease on life, but the laws of Theodosius the Great at last closed its caves.

Under the famous Edict of Milan in A.D. 313, it seemed for a while that religious toleration would prevail and all forms of worship would be allowed. However, in 319-21, there were a number of laws passed against astrology and magic which threatened the existence of paganism. It had been true that the heathen emperors of the past had often legislated against these practices in the same way, but now there appeared to be a difference. Constantine (337-61) explicitly named the kinds of sorcerers and branded them as

evil-doers and criminals and ordered that no one consult them.

Then again in 361-63 with the short reign of Julian, the fortunes of the occultists ascended again as the emperor commanded all temples to reopen for pagan worship and astrologers, magicians and soothsayers were encouraged by all segments of society. In a few months there appeared to be as many of them as at any time in the past. Under Jovian, Julian's successor, things went on as before. However, with the advent of Valentinian I in 364, the former laws of repression were reinstated against the professed diviners and soothsayers. He led a bloody crusade similar to the later witch trials in Scotland and Salem. In seeking out the culprits, informers were used and a simple accusation of divination was sufficient for prosecution. Some of the most distinguished names in literature were suspect, and not even the scholars of philosophy were exempt from the attacks.

The remaining Roman rulers all banned the soothsayers, astrologers, and the use of sacrifices. Indeed, Valentinian III (425-55)--in another case of the condemnation of a whole people--turned the full force of all the laws upon the Manichees, declaring them guilty of sacrilege, and forbidding them to live in the cities. At this time only a span of some twenty-five years was left for the Roman Empire under the Caesars. Romulus Augustulus, a boy of fourteen, was the last ruler of the Western Roman Empire. With his retirement to Comania the old paganism was dead. As Summers comments,

"Witchcraft was no longer the science of the heathen, but the portion of the heretic."<sup>1</sup>

Christianity, with its own days as a scapegoat minority behind it, now controlled the Roman Empire. And in the days to come, it never forgot the struggle for existence of the early days. It declared a no-quarter war against all those individuals who might represent a threat to the solidarity of the Church.

The foregoing discussion has been devoted to the practices of the occult as the primary examples of Deviant type-W in the Roman Empire. Of course, practices of the occult included witchcraft and witches. Since early times the word witch had been used chiefly to refer to women, and especially (as pointed out with respect to ancient Greece) women of unusual or awe-inspiring appearance with supposed extraordinary powers. Therefore, this had a negative effect on the social attitudes toward certain kinds of women, certain age groups of women and women from certain immigrant groups of different nationality.

The witches described by the Roman writers fit the Deviant type-W construct quite readily. They were sometimes mysterious and stately women, and sometimes foul and filthy hags, but both seem equally terrible and potent in the ways of evil. Further, their powers were just as great as any that were ascribed to their sisters during the hysteria of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 57.



the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

For example, The Saga of Tibullus portrays a witch who was as well-versed in the occult as any of medieval times. She was able to control the weather and to bring forth the dead. Ovid's Dipsas was a drunken crane and a bard, yet he gave her the power of Circe.

Horace produced one of the most famous scenes of the witches' sabbat to appear in Latin literature. It portrayed a midnight incantation upon the Esquiline hill before the wooden statue of Priapus. The scene he described was just as shocking as any to come from the imaginations of the inquisitors and victims of the witch hunts a thousand years later.

During Roman times the mentally disordered as a marginal group of society fared much as it had during Grecian times. Rosen describes their position in society as:

Deprived in large measure of a socially acceptable position defined in religious or supernatural terms, the mentally disordered required a role and a position which enabled the social group to tolerate them. To what extent and in what form a society can accept conspicuously abnormal persons is a perennial problem which has been solved in various ways. In antiquity, the mentally disordered became objects of ridicule, scorn or abuse, and remained public butts for the amusement of the populace.

Evidence for such behaviour is to be found scattered throughout Greek and Latin literature from the fifth century B.C. to the decline of the Roman world.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning another marginal group, the aged, Rosen declares that,

Old age was regarded as a period of deterioration, and certain morbid conditions and forms of

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<sup>1</sup> Rosen, Madness in Society, p. 88.

disability were looked upon as the special province of this time of life.<sup>1</sup>

During Roman times the Jews came under the rule of the Roman Empire, but as Mattingly comments that,

Unlike most of the peoples of the Empire the Jews could not forget their lost independence. In spite of the Roman toleration of their religion, they hated Rome and dreamed of a Messiah who should set them free.<sup>2</sup>

The final fate of the Jews of Roman times left them defeated and Jerusalem destroyed. As Mattingly observes,

Close on the persecution of Nero followed the first revolt of the Jews, ending in the destruction of Jerusalem. The Church had to adapt itself to new conditions. The Empire, long seen as friend, might at any moment turn persecutor. The disastrous end of the Jewish fight with Rome might seem to mean the catastrophic end of the age of which Jesus had spoken. . . . The position of the Jews in the Empire was seriously changed for the worse.<sup>3</sup>

The Rise of Christianity: From Deviant  
Minority to Heirs of the Roman Empire

During the times of the shifting fortunes for the pagans just discussed the life of the Christian in the Empire was just as uncertain. Their fortunes, too, tended to shift with the religious views of the particular emperor in power. Of course, added to this was the fact that the Christians would bend in none of their beliefs.

They refused to serve in the army, and they held

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>2</sup>Harold Mattingly, Christianity in the Roman Empire (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

secret meetings. (For their refusal to serve in the army, they gave the reason that it was forbidden for a Christian to kill his fellow men. It seems a pity that this was not remembered in the following centuries.)

Intolerance seemed to be an integral part of the Faith. Indeed, throughout the hundreds of years that lay ahead all those who desired to direct it or mold it were determined to preserve and cultivate that intolerance while those who sought changes, even at the periphery of the faith, were labeled as heretics. St. Augustine, who probably did as much as any one other man to promote Christianity, outlined the pattern for the future when he stated that he thought heretics should die as their mere presence was a danger to the true believers.

The Church was firmly implanted in the Roman Empire before the barbarians from the North put an end to it in the fifth century, and the Church and State functioned side by side from that time until the French Revolution. The same men often exercised temporal and secular power. As Mattingly states,

And a social change that had long been coming now reached completion--the religion of the poor and dispossessed became the religion of the rich and respectable. We probably underestimate the scope of the change.<sup>1</sup>

It is, however, difficult to underestimate the scope of the social change when a small minority of undesirable

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

deviants (religious fanatics all--in the minds of the Romans) were able not only to defeat the power of the Emperors but to become active partners with the State. In fact, in the future, the name was changed to the Holy Roman Empire.

From the fifth century to the twelfth there had been relatively few religious persecutions (compared to what took place from that time on) but the young Church, so recently a scapegoat minority itself, furnishing entertainment for the mobs of Rome in the arena, was determined not to give up the power so dearly won. Therefore, the powers of the Church were not above using the same techniques of persecutions and the generation of mass hysteria to consolidate and direct that power. Under the hands of the Christians, the shift of attitude toward the other marginal groups, especially those who fitted the construct of master traits for Deviant type-W such as the occultists, witches, and other pagans, even including the Jews, went from toleration to proscription. The balance, once shifted, continued to swing farther and farther in the centuries to follow and suppression progressed to oppression and finally to extermination.

Since the practitioners of witchcraft formed the basis for the classical stereotype which is designated in this study by the construct of master status-determining traits designated as Deviant type-W, it would be well to take a glance at conditions on the outskirts of the Roman Empire, and in the areas of Europe lying outside it, during the time from the fifth century to the twelfth.



Paganism persisted in Germany until beyond the year 1000, and it is clear that in the territory that today is Germany, medieval witchcraft absorbed, at least in the popular imagination, much of the lore that still persisted from the days of the pagan religions. However, there does not appear to be any definite evidence to support a direct link with some ancient religion.

In France, though, such was not the case. As early as Clovis the rulers had accepted the Christian faith. This does not mean, however, that either these rulers or their followers gave up their belief in witchcraft.

To summarize briefly the evolving position of the Church in the years from the fifth to the twelfth centuries, it can be stated that witchcraft was often punished by torture and the death penalty, and that from time to time accusations of witchcraft were brought against persons in high places. Sometimes this trading of accusations appears to have resulted from political intrigue. During the Merovingian period the Church strongly opposed witchcraft or superstition of any kind.

In 829 a Council of Paris made a solemn appeal to the sovereign to aid the secular arm of the Church in carrying out its crusade against witchcraft. This marked a further step in that the Church had now invoked the force of civil power against magic and sorcery, and it now became the duty of kings to destroy the wicked. A Capilulary of Charles the Bald proclaimed at Kiersy-sur-Oise in 873 states,

We have learned that warlocks and witches have established themselves in diverse places within this our realm, that their evil charms have devoted many to sickness and even to death, and since, as the Saints have written, it is the duty of Kings to slay the wicked, not to suffer wizards and poisoners to live, we enjoin therefore that all and any such shall be sought out and taken. If they be found guilty, whether men or women, let them die the death as law and justice demand. And not only the principals of this abomination, but also those who consort with or consult them, shall pay the penalty in order that the very memory of so heinous a crime may be utterly abolished and uprooted from our land.

In cases where the accused persisted in their innocence, and there was not sufficient evidence to be conclusive, the officials resorted to the Judgment of God. This was an ordeal already in existence and Charles the Bald applied it in witch trials as a test. However, in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there were very few witch trials, (and in other countries as well) owing largely to the unsettled state of Europe, the Crusades and campaigns of various princes against each other.

Frederick II, in the constitution of 1224, declared that heretics should be tried by an ecclesiastical court, and if convicted, should on imperial authority, be burned. Then, in 1230, his son Henry, who later was known as Henry VI, stated by decree that all sorcerers should likewise be put to death. From this time on, heresy and sorcery came to be regarded as one and the same crime as far as prohibition and punishment was concerned. (This was the final step that implanted the stereotype of the social heretic in the cultural inventory of Western society.)

Gregory IX in his Bulls of 13, 20, and 22 April of 1233, officially set up the Order of Preachers as the Pontifical Inquisitors for all dioceses of France to stem what he proclaimed to be a flood tide of anarchy and ravages perpetrated by heretics. Thereafter, however, the office of Inquisitor was not confined to one particular Order but there were others who were Franciscan delegates, Cistercians, canons Regular, and also secular priests.

In Gregory's Bull, he declared that all heretics should be excommunicated. The Church was not to punish those who were condemned but, instead, the sentence was carried out by the secular arm.

The unrepentant were burned at the stake, and those who wished to repent were to be punished also but not put to death. These people were to be condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Those people found to be helping heretics would also be excommunicated, and in turn, anyone befriending those who were excommunicated would be given a year to prove they themselves were not guilty of heresy. If they failed to prove their innocence, they, too, would fall into the hands of the Inquisitors. Even if a person should be discovered to have given an excommunicated person a Christian burial, he would be placed under the ban until the corpse was moved from that place, and arrangements made that anyone of the faith should never be buried in the same plot.

If anyone knew of the existence of heresy, they were

bound by the Church to report it to the authorities and failure to do so would make them susceptible to excommunication and suspicion of heresy.

The children of heretics, and of those who had been found guilty of coming to the aide of persons accused of heresy, would lose their rights to any public office to second generation.

With the statement of these rules, and in the name of Christianity, an Inquisition was established which was to condemn tens of thousands of persons to misery and death in the centuries to come.

Those who followed the orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, the Dominicans and the Franciscans were the two orders which were chosen to become the Inquisitors. These cowed figures were to strike terror into the hearts of the people wherever they appeared in the years to come.

It seemed ironical that these monks, the followers of the orders founded by these two saintly men, were the first of the Inquisitors. However, the fact that the Inquisition was carried out in the name of Jesus Christ was even more ironical.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, all kinds of misfortunes from epidemic disease to the crop failures were blamed on the evil influences of witches and Jews, and social frustration vented in the aggressive acts of their massacre became accepted social practice.<sup>1</sup> That this was true becomes

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 6.



clearer if it is kept in mind that during medieval times there was no such person as a citizen as the meaning of the word is commonly understood today. The bond that held men together during those days was not a secular law to which they had given their consent to be governed, but divine law, which, being Christians, they were expected to obey unquestioningly because of their faith in God. For the period of a thousand years, up until the last years of the Middle Ages, social relations were not based on reciprocity but upon dutiful submission and benevolent domination. So, then, the subject's life involved a series of one-sided obligations, and he had no means of enforcing duties owed him by his superiors.

It has already been pointed out that the Medieval society was completely dominated by the Church. This marked the existence of what Szasz has referred to as the "Theocratic State."<sup>1</sup> In such a state, deviance comes to be conceptualized in the terminology of theology: the deviant becomes an agent of Satan, the witch. Walter Ullman, a Medieval historian, declares:

Publicly to hold opinions which ran counter to or attacked the faith determined and fixed by law was heresy, and the real reason for making heresy a crime was--as Gratian's Deveretum had explained it--that the heretic showed intellectual arrogance by preferring his own opinions to those who were specially qualified to pronounce upon matters of faith. Consequently, heresy was high treason,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

committed against the divine majesty, committed through aberration from the faith as laid down by the papacy.<sup>1</sup>

For thousands of years the only conceivable ordering of human affairs had been the hierarchical model of social relations. This scheme of relationships became a preordained plan for life on earth, in heaven and in hell. However, with the development of the feudal contract, a reciprocal social relationship of obligations was established between the lord and the vassal which began to undermine the divinely ordained nonreciprocal stratification of society. The basis of common law was established in the practice of Diffidatio which was the repudiation of a feudal contract by a vassal when the lord did not comply with his responsibilities or exceeded the bounds of the contract. This practice was not based on any doctrines or sophisticated theories but grew out of actual practice as the result of actual social exigencies. So it was that the seed of practical associations that led to the theory of the social contract was planted in the soil of European society.

In order to achieve social transformations of such degree often requires a great price in terms of human suffering and such was the case during the years between 1232 and the beginning of the French Revolution. The rulers, holding both secular and temporal power, and afraid of losing it, redoubled their oppression of the people, and the people,

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Ullman, quoted in Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, pp. 4-5.

afraid of being left without protection increased their submission. The atmosphere was one of uncertainty, conflict and change. The Church, officialdom, and the subjects united in a desperate attempt to find a solution. Since no solution existed, and there was no clear way to define the situation, they fell back on the belief that the forces of evil were working to destroy the Church, and in the process, mankind. The witch, or the heretic, as the symbol of Satan and the powers of evil, furnished a scapegoat that could be objectified as the target of displaced aggression, or, in other words, a scapegoat. By finding the scapegoat and holding him or her responsible for society's ills, they could proceed to cure society by killing the scapegoat.

The foregoing description of the undefined social situation that led to the excesses of the witch hysteria in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a classical example in real life of the principles of the theory of collective behavior which were outlined earlier.

In terms of the broad base of sociological conflict theory Coser explains:

Those group members who must bear the burden of being scapegoats, through their sacrifice, cleanse the group of its own failings, and in this way reestablish its solidarity; the loyal members are reassured that the group as a whole has not failed, but only some "traitors"; moreover, they can now reaffirm their righteousness by uniting in action against the "traitors." In struggle groups the same mechanism is at work in the perennial drives for purification, namely the "pulling together" of the group against an inner "threat."

The inner enemy who is looked for, like the outer enemy who is evoked, may actually exist; he may be a

dissenter who has opposed certain aspects of the group life or group action and who is considered a potential renegade or heretic. But the inner enemy may be simply invented, in order to bring about through a common hostility to him the social solidarity which the group so badly needs.<sup>1</sup>

It was in terms of the principles of conflict theory and its applications to the phenomenon of collective behavior that witches, Jews and heretics served the Theocratic state as scapegoats and thus by acting as "safety valves" preserved and unified the social structure against the forces of change which were cited earlier in this section.

When the term Inquisition is mentioned, the listener generally thinks immediately of the Spanish Inquisition, which has been credited by the historians as the most infamous persecution of humanity until the time of the Nazi state in the twentieth century. It deserves particular mention in this part of the study, though, because the two problem groups of Spain did not strictly qualify as heretics. As Trevor-Roper has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the Inquisition was set up originally to deal with heresy, and therefore, since neither the Jews or the Moors had ever been a part of the Church, they were not legally subject to it. Heresy had to be the crime of Christians; the Jews and the Moors were then "unbelievers." But gradually both Jews and Moors were brought under the control of this agency of enforcement of social conformity.

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup>Trevor-Roper, European Witch Craze, p. 109.



As far back as 1215, the year King John granted the Magna Carta, Pope Innocent III had called together the Fourth Lateran Council. His universal power was attested to by the size of the assembly, for more than fifteen hundred dignitaries came from all parts of the world to Rome to pay tribute to his power and to deal with the problem of rooting out heresy in the Church. The council, first of all, denounced the Albigensian heresy and proclaimed a holy war against it: and it further ordered that Jews must wear a yellow badge on their clothing to identify them as Jews. (This is reminiscent of the roundup of the Jews of France by Nazi Germany in World War II, which shocked the world by its brutality.)

The four hundred years between 1200 and 1600 became centuries of extermination and suppression. The Jews bore the brunt of the persecution for more than two centuries. They were killed or converted in Europe and expelled from France and England. At the end of the thirteenth century, in one six-month period, over a hundred thousand Jews were massacred in Austria, Bavaria, and Franconia. During this period the persecution of witches had been sporadic and haphazard. The end of the fifteenth century would bring their appointment with destiny.

Regardless of how shocking the figures are for the persecutions of Austria, Bavaria and Franconia, the Holy Inquisition in Spain was even bloodier. Plaidy, in discussing the Holy Inquisition in Spain, points out that there has always been persecution in the early history of religion,

when it might be expected to be less civilized, but there was never any persecution to compare with the Holy Inquisition in Spain.<sup>1</sup> A great deal has been written by historians about the Roman persecution of the martyrs of Christianity, but the number of victims sacrificed to the Inquisition during the reign of Phillip the II of Spain was many thousands greater than those executed at the order of the Roman emperors. As Plaidy comments, "Moreover, the Roman emperors worshipped Pagan gods; they had not been commanded to love one another."<sup>2</sup>

In answer to the problem of how to fit the Jews and the Moors to the label of heretic, the Church officials developed the device of compulsory conversion to Christianity. In both cases the machinery of persecution was designed and established before its future victims were subject to it legally. Once they were subject to it legally, however, the original pretext of the subjection was purposely forgotten.

Lea writes,

To appreciate properly the position of the Jews in Spain, it is requisite first to understand the light in which they were regarded elsewhere through Christendom during the medieval period. It has already been seen that the Church held the Jew to be a being deprived, by the guilt of his ancestors, of all natural rights save that of existence.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Plaidy, Spanish Inquisition, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Vol. 1 (4 vols.; New York: Macmillan Company, 1906-1907), p. 81.

In Spain neither conversion nor expulsion was enough to solve the "Jewish problem." If it was true that the Jew was an alien, then, to a lesser extent the converted Jew had to be an alien also. In Spain, there remained in the fifteenth century tens of thousands of convernos, or converted Jews. These people continued to control capital and trade. This being the case, it became necessary to develop some way to differentiate between the old Christians and the new specifically genuinely converted Jews from those expediently and falsely converted, and who continued the secret practice of the Jewish rituals. So, in November, 1478, The Holy Inquisition of Spain was set up by papal decree.<sup>1</sup> Persons accused by the Inquisition of practicing the Jewish faith in secret were called "Judaizers," and these people became the scapegoats of Spanish society.

This movement in Spain in 1478 is very closely parallel to the modern interpretation of an anti-Semite as given by Coser in accordance with conflict with outgroups and group structure in modern sociological conflict theory:

. . . If men define a threat as real, although there may be little or nothing in reality to justify this belief, the threat is real in its consequences --and among these consequences is the increase of group cohesion.

But the aspect of the scapegoating mechanism which concerns us more particularly here is the type of imaginary threat that the scapegoat represents. The anti-Semite justifies his persecution of the Jew in terms of the Jew's power, aggression and vengefulness. "He sees in the Jew everything that brings his misery--not only his social oppressor but also

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<sup>1</sup> Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 103.

his unconscious instincts." Mingled fear and dread of the Jew is one of the key elements of the complex anti-Semitic syndrome. This imaginary threat leads to a "regrouping" of the anti-Semitic by his joining, as in Germany, the real community of like-minded men, or by his joining, as in America, an imaginary pseudo-community of likewise threatened individuals. . . . Anti-Semitism provides "a means for pseudo-orientation in an estranged world." The (Jew's) alienness seems to provide the handiest formula for dealing with the alienation of society. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Talcott Parsons has pointed out, "prejudice is not only directed by individuals against scapegoat groups, but can readily become a phenomenon of group attitude, that is, partly institutionalized. Then instead of being disapproved by members of one's own group for being prejudiced, one is punished for not being prejudiced."<sup>2</sup>

Robert K. Merton states, "discrimination is sustained not only by the direct gains to those who discriminate but also by cultural norms which legitimize discrimination."<sup>3</sup>

During the Renaissance, it was believed that only Christians could be witches, but before the sixteenth century, it was often a charge also leveled against Jews. In fact, Trevor-Roper writes that in medieval Hungary, witches were sentenced as a first offense to stand all day in a public place wearing a Jew's hat.<sup>4</sup> "Once we see persecution

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup>Talcott Parsons, "Racial and Religious Differences as Factors in Group Tension," cited by R. M. MacIver, ed., Approaches to National Unity (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1945), pp. 182-199.

<sup>3</sup>Robert K. Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed," quoted in R. M. MacIver, ed., Discrimination and National Welfare (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1948), pp. 99-126.



as social intolerance," explains Trevor-Roper, "the intellectual difference between one heresy and another becomes less significant."<sup>1</sup>

Trevor-Roper continues,

Moreover, in both cases the persecutors were the same. It was the Dominicans who, from the start, had persecuted the witches in the Alps and the Pyrenees. It was the Dominicans also who, with some help from the Franciscans, had been the great persecutors of the Jews.<sup>2</sup>

Trevor-Roper goes on to comment further:

The similarity between the persecution of Jews and the persecution of witches, which reached their climax in different places at the same time, suggests yet again that the pressure behind both was social. The witch and the Jew both represent social non-conformity.<sup>3</sup>

In its periods of introversion and intolerance Christian society looks for scapegoats. Either the Jew or the witch would do, society settling for the nearest and most available. The Dominicans, an international order, hated both; in the Alps and Pyrenees they hunted witches, but in Spain they concentrated on Jews. This was not because there was no evidence of witches in Spain. The Pyrenees, for that matter, was as much Spanish as French, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Holy Inquisition functioned in the province of Aragon, the witches in northern Spain supplied many of its victims. Later, however, the Jews were handier and therefore were more important as scapegoats

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

in the other provinces of Spain.

The earliest of all general treatises on witchcraft was written in 1359 by a Dominican inquisitor-general in Aragon, Nicolas Eymeric. Then, in the next century, Spanish witches—bruxas and xorquinas--gave as much trouble to the authorities charged with the maintenance of orthodoxy as did the Spanish Jews. Many works on demonology were written in Spain during the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, and these books were exported to other countries to give them the benefit of Spanish expertise on the subject. However, once the Inquisition had been set up and was functioning, the priority was established on a local basis. The Spanish Inquisitor had little time for witches, since they had Jews and Moors to deal with, they won glowing tributes for their "temperate wisdom and firmness."<sup>1</sup> Obviously such credit is misplaced because the lack of single-minded pursuit of witches was not a conscious policy, but only an accident, since all their energies were devoted to the pursuit of Jews and Moors.

In demonstrating this misconception that Trevor-Roper alludes to, a quote from Plaidy demonstrates the use of correct statistics but with faulty interpretation:

In this tale of terrible suffering which the inquisition brought to Spain it is very pleasant to be able to record something to its favour; and perhaps it is rather churlish to look for motives which promoted such action. Let it be said however, that the action of the Inquisition in Spain towards

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

witchcraft was such that it stopped the development of the cult which spread throughout the rest of Europe.

By refusing to take witchcraft seriously, the Inquisition destroyed the desire of many people to indulge in it. Consequently, Spain remained comparatively free from witchcraft and all its attendant horrors which prevailed in Europe from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century.

Even in Britain--usually so much more moderate than any other European country--the total number of witches done to death is in the neighbourhood of thirty thousand (at least a quarter of this number was executed in Scotland).<sup>1</sup>

The period of time from the twelfth century through the seventeenth centuries was as filled with anguish for Christians as it was for the Jews. The charges of "heresy" and "witchcraft" mounted by the end of the fifteenth century.

In the same manner that the Crusades for the reconquest of the Holy Land were initiated by the presentation of papal bulls, this crusade for the reconquest of Christian Europe from heresy by the forces of spiritual purity was also begun by the papal bull issued on December 9, 1484 by Pope Innocent VIII. It read in part as follows:

Desiring with the most heartfelt anxiety, even as Our Apostleship requires, that the Catholic Faith should especially in this Our day increase and flourish everywhere, and that all heretical depravity should be driven far from the frontiers and bournes of the Faithful, We very gladly proclaim and even restate those particular means and methods whereby Our pious desire may obtain its wished effect. . . .

It has indeed lately come to Our ears, not without afflicting Us with bitter sorrow, that . . . many persons of both sexes, unmindful of their own salvation and straying from the Catholic Faith, have abandoned themselves to devils, incubi, and succubi. . . .

Wherefore We . . . decree and enjoin that the aforesaid Inquisitors be empowered to proceed to the

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<sup>1</sup>Plaidy, Spanish Inquisition, p. 150.

just correction, imprisonment, and punishment of any person, without let or hindrance, in every way as if the provinces, townships, dioceses, districts, territories, yes, even the persons and their crimes in this kind were named and particularly designated in Our letters. . . .

The foregoing bull was written and disseminated as a technique to maintain the structural solidarity of the Catholic faith in line with the idea of stopping contagious and dangerous ideas before they could spread to the point that the protestant groups would destroy the power of the Church.

As a result of the policy of the Church which gave the cause legitimacy, a second kind of contagion took place in the witch-baiting in the 15th and 16th centuries. This factor is the psychic epidemic which was described in the section on the theory of collective behavior. There can be little doubt that hysteric reaction, both collective and individual, affecting both the inquisitor and his victim, was common during this period. Hysteric reaction, too, had an effect on the use of, and the response to, torture in the identification and confessions of witches and heretics.

The use of torture had an effect (or, rather, a combination of effects) on both the victim and the inquisitor. First of all, is the close link of torture with sex. For certain types of individuals, both victims and inquisitors, torture has a sexual significance, and satisfies a need (whether considered normal or not). The victim plays a passive role while the torturer is the aggressor. The whole study of this problem is too complex to be included here



but it need only be noted that cases of this type are documented for both victims and inquisitors.

Incidents concerning the principle denoted above were the result of the lack of what Szasz has referred to as differential diagnosis.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the doctor at the time had to diagnose the situation as to whether the victim had a physical problem or whether it was caused by being "possessed." Today it would either be a case for medicine or psychiatry. As to the inquisitor, no one was even questioning his mental health, but if one can have faith in the studies made after the second world war of German concentration camp personnel, one is led to believe that if a person were to engage in the occupation of inquisitor (even granting that he were normal upon entering) there would be a detrimental effect on his mental state with the passage of time. Such operations as the Inquisition and the German experience tend to dehumanize both the perpetrator and the victim. (This idea is related to the new subdiscipline of criminology: victimology.)

Hurwood refers to this phenomenon as algolagnia (from two Greek words, algos--pain--and lagnia--sexual excitation).<sup>2</sup> Broadly speaking, algolagnia means the necessity to include pain as an essential part of the sex act. Hurwood believes that all people have this necessity to some extent and points to the fact that the entertainment media

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<sup>1</sup> Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhard J. Hurwood, Torture Through the Ages (New York: Paperback Library, 1969), p. 115.

are liberally spiced with violence and torture. (He points out also that this is not an abnormality unless the perverse emotions dominate.)

There is little need to struggle with logic to find motives for the behavior of the witch finders, inquisitors and other torturers who seemed to enjoy the sufferings of their victims. On the other hand, though, the explanation above does provide some grounds for the actions of some of the victims when their treatment is regarded in terms of passive algolagnia.

Another factor to be considered from the point of view of the reaction of the victim is the action of the Christian authoritarian conscience and the sin-guilt mechanism.<sup>1</sup> The foremost feeling of one who has internalized an authoritarian ethic is one of guilt. Of course the greatest sin one can commit in terms of the authoritarian ethic is rebellion. Heresy is that sin of rebellion. Any action (sin) contrary to the internalized ethical framework is subject to punishment whether the governing authority (whether it be political or religious) knows it or not. If the desecration has been secret, the guilt is carried in the unconscious of the miscreant and (if he has sufficiently internalized the ethic) must be expiated. If the authority does not know, the individual punishes himself. This is the basis for

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<sup>1</sup> Erich Fromm, Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics (Greenwich, Conn: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1947), pp. 147-49.

many flagellations, pilgrimages and acts of penitence. In extreme cases, this internalized pattern of guilt feelings can force an individual to admit to crimes he or she did not commit or even to believe that the accusations are justified in light of the guilt he carries for some other imagined desecration of the authoritarian ethic. This negative spiral of sin and guilt lies at the center of the Christian ethical system so it is not surprising that many of the victims of torture during the witchcraze were in this category.

Now, considering the perpetrators of the torture, the inquisitors, another basis for the acts as practiced was a phenomenon called "transference." This is a concept which lies at the very core of this study as far as group interaction is concerned. However, whether the action is engaged in by groups or by individuals, it consists of making some other entity the "scapegoat" by punishing him for the transgressions of the one doing the punishing.

One could not leave the consideration of the actual mechanics of the Inquisition, which consisted of debasement and torture of the victim and ended in his or her ultimate death, without considering the position of women, as a group, in the whole picture.

It has been noted by one scholar that well over ninety percent of the accusations of "witch" were directed at women. (The term witch, however, can also refer to men.) In order to understand why such hostility was directed at women, one has to understand in historical perspective the tradi-

tional position of women in Western society. Women had, through the whole course of history, been associated with sin, evil, disease, and misfortune. This led to a differential treatment for women and the decreased status to that of a rather recalcitrant slave or a piece of chattel property. Female offspring were not valued as highly as male offspring and it became customary to pay a dowry when they became someone else's responsibility. Single women in society were the subject of disdain and the butt of jokes if unmarried, and the subject of suspicion if widowed and living alone.

In the process of considering the explanatory material above, one can readily see why the constellation of master status-determining traits that have been used in this study to define the classical stereotype can be applied to women as a group. One or two of the master traits can be applied to every woman, just on the basis of tradition, and, if unusual in appearance, of a certain age, unmarried or widowed, others can be brought to bear to fill in the whole stereotype.

The Church and the early Popes continued the view of Woman that was put forth in the traditional myths, and they associated Woman and sex with Satan and evil.

Part of this conception shared by the Popes through the 15th Century was the idea of preserving celibacy among the Clergy and part was the Church-supported legitimization and institutionalization of male-dominance in Western society.

It was at this point, from the fifteenth through the



seventeenth centuries, that the first hard evidence of woman as a "scapegoat" minority is made a concrete fact of history. In the "witch hysteria" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, woman served as an "internal" enemy to strengthen the structure of the rigid theocratic society.

The fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries was the period of the inquisition, the reformation and the counter-reformation. First the Catholic church was threatened by secular power, then by the Protestant Reformation. Then the Protestants and the Catholic Church both used this type of "internal" enemy, the witch, to their own particular advantage.

The attack upon the female sex which took place in the period of the witch hysteria seems to represent a regression to primitive magical fear which is truly astonishing. In its unbalanced character it appeared far less civilized than the mythological attitudes of the Greeks or the Hebrews. In the past, uncomfortable and repressive restrictions had been the lot of women, but with the inquisition and the reformation and counter-reformation women were destroyed with sadistic ferocity.<sup>1</sup>

The witch embodied a complete throwback to the most primitive times but at the same time it was completely rationalized by Christian theology. Masters states that although some men were accused of witchcraft, female witches out-

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<sup>1</sup>Trevor-Roper, European Witch Craze, pp. 108-120.

numbered the males by one hundred-to-one.<sup>1</sup>

The tradition of the female witch has continued on in folklore and literature. Even fairy tales such as Hansel and Gretel immortalize the characteristics of witchcraft and the personality of the witch. Runebery points out that the witch is shown as a child cannibal, and states,

The ghastliness of the woods appears in the language of the tales, above all in the notion of the magic forest. No road leads out of it. It holds a man captive once he has strayed into it until he has overcome or propitiated the powers operating there.<sup>2</sup>

It might be added that the witch's house is also a trap which destroys the unwary captive. Thus the symbol of the dangerous female organ is spread over both the dark aperture of the wood and the receptacle of the house, an unchanging threat to male virility.

One final point that has its origins back in the Theocratic society and concerns the status of women is the preoccupation with sex as the opposite of morality. As a result of the concern with demonology, the symbolism of the supernatural entities, God and Satan, were considerably narrowed. The result was that the Devil became, and has continued to be, identified in the popular mind mainly with pleasures of sex and a few other forbidden delights of

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<sup>1</sup>R. E. L. Masters, Eros and Evil (New York: The Julian Press, Inc., Publishers, 1962), p. 171.

<sup>2</sup>H. R. Hays, The Dangerous Sex: The Myth of Feminine Evil (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Inc., 1964), quoting Runebery.

hedonism, while God's role became an increasingly negative one--that of an enforcer of undesirable antipleasure dictums even in the period of life after death. The process has advanced so far in the contemporary society that, in popular usage, "morality" generally refers exclusively to matters of sex.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the stereotype, once firmly established, generates its own folklore and becomes in itself a force of centralization. Once the folklore had been generated and instilled by the clergy on every mind, it became both a social and psychological stereotype.<sup>2</sup>

Once such a "scapegoat" action was set in motion by the power of authority, it had a "snowball effect," growing by its own inertia until the general public became caught up on the "hysteria" or "social fear" and this led to an all-out psychological contagion.<sup>3</sup>

The medieval marriage system regarded women as classed with the other property that man held, and as such all her services were due to her owner. Hays points out that this desire for a monopoly of female property is borne out by the invention of the chastity belt. Another, and the most extreme, practice was the Bedouin treatment of female slaves which was in effect until the first part of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>2</sup>Summers, History of Witchcraft, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup>Trevor-Roper, European Witch-Craze, p. 120.

twentieth century. This was called infibulation. The practice was carried out some time before the age of puberty. The edges of the vulva were made raw and then were sewn together so that scar tissue would form and there would be an opening left which was just large enough for the function of urination. When the owner bought the slave, it was necessary to carry out a second operation to ready her for the purpose for which she was purchased.<sup>1</sup>

According to Hays a combination of anxieties reached their crest in the notion that one could not trust a woman to remain faithful.<sup>2</sup> One cannot rule out the element of guilt. The male imagination had projected its fears upon woman which it in turn justified by the creation of stereotypes.

As Masters comments,

It is little wonder then that women came to be the most frequent victims of the torturer as the witch-craze spread across Europe. The male practitioners of the art relieved their feelings of inadequacy by the practice of vicious acts of torture to mortify the female bodies of their victims as symbols.<sup>3</sup>

Since it has been shown that the social heretic was (and is) identified and labeled by the use of stereotypes and myths, it becomes necessary to cover one more facet of the witch-craze, and that is the methods used for recognizing

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<sup>1</sup>Hays, The Dangerous Sex, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Masters, Eros and Evil.



witches and heretics. In the process of discussing some of the techniques utilized in identifying witches will show the four master status-determining traits of the construct Deviant type-W at work in a crisis situation.

The most important document revealing the real meaning of the witchcraft mania is the *Malleus Maleficarum*. In 1484 Innocent VIII issued a special papal bull giving two Dominican monks, Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Springer, power to try witches in northern Germany. However, they met with some resistance, so they wrote a handbook, the *Malleus*, and through the use of influence, persuaded the faculty of the University of Cologne to endorse it in 1486. The King of Rome, Maximilian, gave it full legal support. It was to be the outstanding text of the Inquisition and came out in nineteen editions. This book, which exerted a tremendous influence, points out, using the ingenuity at rationalizing for which medieval scholasticism is noted, the alleged factual basis for witchcraft and presents a step-by-step manual as to what to do and how to deal with it.

It should be noted here that there was no question in the minds of good Christians that witchcraft worked and that witches existed. The Inquisitors had to believe in witchcraft, otherwise their actions were both illogical and irrational. The *Malleus* leaves no doubt as to the question of belief. In the first place the *Malleus* proves the existence of witches by pointing out that the Bible states there are devils and that devils can do wonderful things.

Six out of seven chapters of the book deal with sex.

In the very beginning the following words appear,

But if it be asked why the devil is allowed to cast spells upon the venereal act, rather than upon any other human act, . . . for the present the reason that it has been mentioned before must suffice, namely that the power of the devil lies in the privy parts of man.

The devil was supposed to act through incubi, male demons (witches), and succubi, female demons (witches).

The succubus seems to be derived from the Lilith of Babylonia, the Lamia, and is also related to the vampire.

Richard Burton describes the nightmare as follows in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*: "Such as are troubled with succubus, or wench ridden (as we call it) if they lie on their backs, they suppose an old woman rides and sits so hard upon them they are almost stifled for want of breath." The experience often ends in orgasm. . . .

Ernest Jones points out, "The explanation for these fantasies is surely not hard. A nightly visit from a beautiful or frightful being who first exhaust the sleeper with passionate embraces and withdraws from him his vital fluid; all this can point only to a natural and common process, namely to nocturnal emissions accompanied by dreams of more or less erotic nature. In the unconscious monk blood is commonly an equivalent for semen."

It can be seen then how the basic charge against the witch of being a night demon and a seducer of men clearly comes from the imaginations and dream experiences of a celibate and repressed male clergy.

The *Malleus* continues however, to show, by quoting a noted Church authority (a common method of substantiation during scholastic times), St. John Chrysostom:

It is not good to marry. What else is woman but a foe to friendship, an inescapable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a delectable detriment, an evil of nature, painted with fair colors.

The handbook goes on, after this emotional outburst which is considered as irrefutable evidence, to point out, wherefore, in the many vituperations that we read against women, the word woman is used to mean the lust of the flesh.<sup>1</sup>

From the Malleus and other sources, the witch-hunters received instructions as to who witches were, what evil they could do and how one could recognize them.

It is this recognition of witches that shows a parallel to what has already been pointed out about the appearance of witches during Greek and Roman times. It was shown that they fit the master status-determining trait of strange or unusual appearance. They could be loathsomely ugly or strikingly beautiful, but there was something else about their appearance that was awe-inspiring or strange--such as piercing eyes.

According to Masters:

The typical witch who has come down to the present day is old and ugly and often deformed, or, less often, she is beautiful in a not altogether wholesome sort of way, but is sensual and wicked, her imperfection and deformity being mainly of the soul or of the mind. No doubt, the beautiful but wicked witch represents something of an advance and a refinement over the ugly witch, since blatant signs of iniquity are no longer required.

. . . In a bow to probability, the beautiful witch tempts men to lust while the crone is more likely to be an enemy of procreation, interfering with potency and conception, and murdering infants. Both witches are sex symbols--foes of marriage and friends of fornication--further stimulating the identification of sexual acts (when not the passionless unions of married couples laboring only to procreate children)

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<sup>1</sup>Hays, The Dangerous Sex, pp. 151-58.

with sin and evil. Demons have the same functions and to the same end.<sup>1</sup>

As to the specific signs of identification of an individual as a witch, there were many but usually stressed some outstanding or unusual feature. Women with strange eyes--"mirroring the rot of their souls"--were likely to be accused. Extra nipples were particularly incriminating since "familiar" undoubtedly suckled them. Women with four toes were certain to be accused since this, too, was a definite sign. Any hermaphrodite or person with unusual growths on his or her genitalia was certain to be accused. Marks that could be termed "bites" were particularly incriminating and even more so if in the region of the genitalia or the breasts.

It is pointed out that no one was safe in the final analysis. If a woman were plain or ugly, and seemed to be pious, it was considered to be a disguise for a witch beneath. If she were young and beautiful, it was obvious that she was a temptress who exploited her charms to bring good men to damnation through her service to the Devil.

Another certain sign of identification was the "Devil's Mark" or the "Witches' Mark" as it was sometimes called. It was regarded as an important element in the identification of a witch. This mark was thought to be the sign of the Devil on the very flesh of his servant, and any person having such a mark stood convicted out-of-hand. This

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<sup>1</sup>Masters, Eros and Evil, p. 171.



mark was said to be entirely insensible to pain, and when pricked, no matter how deeply, it would not bleed. This belief developed a new trade, that of the "witch-pricker" who went around the countryside sticking hapless women with pins or trick pins designed like stage knives.

Any mark or blemish, wart or mole could be considered to be a "Devil's mark" as is pointed out by the following quote of Mr. John Bell, minister at Gladsmuir, in his tract, The Trial of Witchcraft: or Witchcraft Arraigned and Condemned,

The witch mark is sometimes like a blew spot, or little tate, or raid spots, like flea biting; sometimes also the flesh is sunk in, and hollow, and this is put in secret places, as among the hair of the head, the eyebrows, within the lips, under the armpits, and in the most secret parts of the body.

This mark is sometimes the complete figure of a toad or a bat; or, as Delrio says, the slot of a hare, the foot of a frog, a spider, a deformed whelp, a mouse.<sup>1</sup>

Summers states that the same authority describes where these are observed:

In men it may often be seen under the eyelids, under the lips, under the armpits, on the shoulders, on the fundament; in women, moreover, on the breast or on the pudenda.<sup>2</sup>

It is not difficult to see that with such generalization of the stereotype, that a large proportion of the population could qualify as potentially "different" enough to be

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<sup>1</sup>Summers, History of witchcraft, pp. 70-71, quoting John Bell, The Trial of Witchcraft: or Witchcraft Arraigned and Condemned.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

molded to "fit" the classical stereotype of the social heretic as categorized by the constellation of master status-determining traits of the construct Deviant type-W.

As Summers demonstrates this could and did happen.<sup>1</sup>

All that was needed was what Becker referred to as an "entrepreneur" to give publicity and social visibility to the victim.<sup>2</sup> Since witch-prickers were running around looking for victims, an "entrepreneur" was not difficult to find.

Summers comments,

When every allowance has been made, as every detail of the long bloody history of Witchcraft is studied, one is able to recognize the fearful fanaticism and the atrocious extravagances of the witch mania. There appears case after case of individuals who went to the stake without mercy--one an hysterical subject, a cataleptic, an epileptic, a sufferer from some obscure nervous disorder even today not exactly diagnosed; another, denounced by the malice of private enemies, perhaps on political grounds; a third, some victim of the ideo superstition or mere malignity; a fourth, accused for the sake of gain by a disappointed blackmailer or thief; other, silly bodies, eccentrics and half-crazed cranks; and the even greater number of victims who were incriminated by poor wretches raving in the agonies of the rack and boots. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Masters brings out one final point that again demonstrates the status of women as a scapegoat group in Theocratic society and illustrates the preoccupation with sex that affected the clergy at the time.

Religion, like all superstition, is made possible by man's penchant and capacity for objectifying the subjective. God and Devil, angels and demons, are

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>2</sup>Becker, Outsiders.

<sup>3</sup>Summers, History of Witchcraft, p. 64.

examples of the objectification of the subjective. They are also symbols, and far from immutable ones. Demonologists of the witch era considerably narrowed the symbolism of these supernatural entities, especially the demonic ones, but vastly increasing the importance of sexuality within the framework of their concerns. The result was that the Devil became, and has remained, popularly identified mainly with sexual and a few other pleasures while the role of God became an increasingly negative one--that of a proclaimer and post mortem enforcer of anti-pleasure prohibitions. So far has that process advanced at the present day that to the popular mind, "morality" refers almost exclusively to sexual matters.<sup>1</sup>

(For a graphic illustration of the societal conflict during the time of the Theocratic state, see the figure on the next page.)

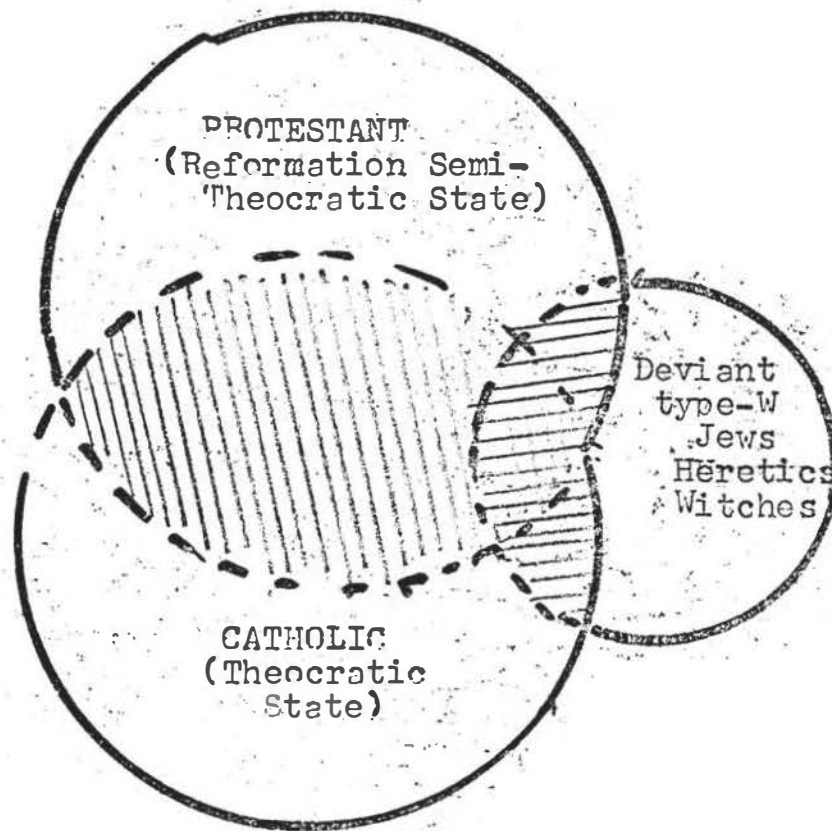
Finally, once established the stereotype seems to generate its own folklore which becomes a centralizing force in and of itself. If that folklore had not been created by social fear from the material furnished by popular superstition within an intellectually sanctioned environment, then the probability is that the psychopathic persons of that time would have sought out individual figures on which to attach their sexual hallucinations. However, since the stereotype had been created and had been strengthened and given credence by the established clergy, it served not only as a social stereotype but as a psychological one as well. The myth of witchcraft had been given constancy and universality. It had become a fact of European life, socially necessary, intellectually logical and experimentally proved. It could not be attacked logically for it was rational within the intellectual

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<sup>1</sup>Masters, Eros and Evil, p. 169.

GRAPHIC DEPICTION OF SOCIETAL CONFLICT  
DURING  
THE REFORMATION-COUNTER-REFORMATION  
PERIOD IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Shaded areas indicate the extent to which one group is assimilated into the other and there is a consensus of value orientation and a behavioral match--



Broken lines indicate the maximum limit to which there is an interpenetration of value consensus and therefore represent frontiers of social conflict. Blank spaces outside the shaded areas are an exaggerated representation of value orientations of individual groups which are mutually exclusive.



context of that historical period.

Around 1600 there came a turning point and from that time on the craze began to die out gradually. After 1597 there were no more witches burnt in Holland. This does not presume to state that it stopped suddenly. In the rural areas of Europe, the persecution of witches lingered on and the persistence of this problem is shown by the fact that the last legislation against witches lasted in England until nullified by further legislative action in 1950.

The reasons for the death of the witchcraze have been the cause of much speculation. Many see it as a victory of the laity over the clergy. The view that it was a struggle between theology and licency, superstition against reason or the Church against "rationalism" was the predominate assumption of nineteenth-century liberal historians. Trevor-Roper is not in agreement with these reasons and, instead, offers his opinion that it was because of a complete turn-around that he believes took place in religious philosophy. He maintains that all these arguments strike at the periphery of the problem and his solution is to strike at its center where the beliefs in the stereotypes are "refreshed"! He feels that in the mid-seventeenth century this was done.

Trevor-Roper states that "it was a new philosophy, a philosophical revolution which changed the whole concept of Nature and its operations."<sup>1</sup> He observes that the

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<sup>1</sup>Trevor-Roper, European Witch-Craze, p. 180.

revolution did not occur within the narrow field of demonology, and therefore we cannot usefully trace it by a study which is confined to that field. It occurred in a far wider field, and the men who made it did not launch their attack on so marginal an area of Nature as demonology.

Trevor-Roper goes on to assert:

Ultimately, Renaissance Platonism had been left with its demons, and the Cambridge Platonists, insulated in their fenland cloister, were to provide some of the last intellectual defenders of witch-beliefs. But the impulse which it had given was continued by other philosophers: by Bacon with his "purified magic," by Descartes with his universal, "mechanical" laws of Nature, in which demons were unnecessary. It was Descartes, Thomasius and his friend agreed, who dealt the final blow to the witch-craze in Europe--which perhaps explains, better than the original Protestantism of Colbert, the early suspension of witch-trials in France.

. . . But the final victory, which liberated Nature from the biblical fundamentalism in which Bekker himself had still be imprisoned was that of the English deists and the German Pietists, the heirs of the Protestant heretics of the seventeenth century, the parents of the eighteenth century Enlightenment in which the duel in Nature between a Hebrew God and a medieval Devil was replaced by the benevolent despotism of a modern, scientific "Deity."<sup>1</sup>

Trevor-Roper states that he believes that the witch stereotype "died" with the acceptance of the argument that he presents above.<sup>2</sup> Based on the historical evidence so far presented, the present author disagrees with him on that point. In other ways Trevor-Roper presents a brilliant analysis of history and uses this analysis to present a cogent picture of things as they were in the time from the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

16th to the 19th centuries but the stereotype of the witch is not as dead as he would have one believe. Even Trevor-Roper himself makes the following observations:

. . . the repudiation would not be complete: for it would be merely intellectual. Unless there were also a social transformation, the social basis of the belief would remain--although a new stereotype would have to be devised in order to express the hostility which it had embodied.<sup>1</sup>

Trevor-Roper had already pointed out that the labels heretic, Jew, and witch served to identify and make visible the same individual. This individual was the so-called "scapegoat" made an enemy of society by the "hysteria" that Trevor-Roper refers to and stirred up by the individuals or institutions that would profit from this accusation.

However, the present writer maintains that the stereotype itself (referred to in this study as Deviant Type-W) is not dead at all. It has merely been relabeled. It has already been pointed out before in an earlier section that the reaction to this stereotype by the public has varied in the past, during the Greek and Roman civilizations, according to the amount of anxiety, frustration, or political unrest is being evidenced in the social situation. And more reasonable, considering the evidence, than Trevor-Roper's final argument that the stereotype is dead is his earlier statement that:

it remained at the bottom of society, like a stagnant pool, easily flooded, easily stirred. As long as the social and intellectual structure of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

which it was a part remained intact, any social fear was likely to flood it, any ideological struggle to stir it, and no piecemeal operation could effectively drain it. . . .<sup>1</sup>

This is similar to Ralph Linton's concept of the cultural alternates that disappear back into the cultural inventory to be called forth when needed again. Now, however, it is necessary to return to the pageant of history to look at the development of a new phenomenon that accompanied the rise of Protestantism and which had great significance in the developmental career of Deviant type-W. This was the introduction of a value orientation in Western society which has come to be known as the "protestant ethic."

The revolt of Luther was followed by the institution of other protestant fundamentalist beliefs that were "deterministic" in nature. The most important of these, as far as economic development in Europe, was Calvinism. There was an institution of capitalism under the feudal system but under the Protestant atmosphere of northern Europe Capitalism began to take on a new look.

The economic progress and the growth of capitalism was such that men such as Marx, Sombart, and Weber noticed the great expansion of capitalism in the sixteenth century and therefore sought the origin of the "spirit of capitalism" in that century. Weber found it in the Reformation; the spirit of capitalism he said emerged as a direct consequence of the new "Protestant ethic" as taught not by Luther but by

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.



Calvin. Sombart rejected Weber's thesis and indeed dealt it some heavy and telling blows. But his thesis was far from being as defensible as Weber's. He suggested that the creators of modern capitalism were the Sephardic Jews who, in the sixteenth century, fled from Lisbon and Seville to Hamburg and Amsterdam; and he traced the "spirit of capitalism" to the Jewish ethic of the Talmud.

Trevor-Roper does not agree with Sombart's assessment, but he does see much merit in Weber's thesis.<sup>1</sup> The two differ in degree more than in fundamentals. Trevor-Roper points out that capitalism did exist under feudalism, but that it was limited in development within the rigid limits set by the controlling Prince; something like present day "state capitalism." This is a type of "bureaucratic" system in which the regulation of the State tends to squeeze out free enterprise. The earlier system had been the mercantile system of the free cities, which might be compared to a more flexible type of monarchy. Trevor-Roper compares this earlier system to the economy of China in the ninth century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Weber was right when he saw that the Calvinist entrepreneurs were proliferating through Europe. Trevor-Roper claimed that Weber inverted the problem. The novelty lay not in the entrepreneurs themselves, according to Trevor-Roper, but in the circumstances that drove them to emigrate.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

Nevertheless, the Protestant ethic and the people who lived by its tenets had much to do with the treatment of Deviant-type W in the coming centuries--the 1800's and 1900's.

However, it is important to point out that in accordance with the point made in the outline of the growth of the Protestant ethic above, the Calvinists in their migration and missionary zeal were the cause of a witch-craze in Scotland which rivaled anything that had occurred in Europe up to that time.

Another reference to the persecution of witches by a Protestant group, the Puritans, must be made before closing the books on the 17th century. Szasz notes that in the year 1692 the Salem Witch Trials took place in the United States and the disease that had flourished so long in Europe had spread to the western hemisphere for a brief but violent epidemic.<sup>1</sup>

Characteristics and Structure of European Society  
During the Time of the Theocratic State in the  
Period from the Ninth Through the  
Eighteenth Centuries

In contrast to Buckley's concept of conflict-actuated open, adaptive system view of society, the society in actuality, when controlled by the institutions of the Church and State which have served to rigidify the structure, was a closed system. A closed system functions independently of

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 300.

the environment and if any internal maladjustment develops the whole system is threatened. If, for instance, the society (as a closed system) is compared to a thermodynamic system in which steam is conducted under pressure through pipes to do work, the continual build-up of greater pressure from a heat source in the social environment will eventually result in the destruction of the system if no provision is made to relieve the pressure gradually. This is a perfect parallel with the old closed system-rigid structure view of society. (In this study, in the sections to come, a thermodynamic analogy will be used to show the effect that conditions within the social environment had on the various scapegoat groups at particular pivotal points in the historical dimension--demonstrating in cartoon form the action of "safety valve" effect.)

As a result of the development of medieval capitalism and this widening of the peoples' intellectual base, they began questioning the structure of society and searching for new answers to life's problems. Thus began the period known as the Renaissance. The Renaissance began first in Italy and Spain. This new humanism brought an attitude that caused men to challenge clerical authority and rely increasingly on observation and experimentation. The period was not only a revival of pagan letters but of pagan religion. It is easy to see why the church would view this new attitude as a threat to its strict and rigid structure. Established religion was willing to give mysticism free play so long as it

did not impinge on the areas of faith or morals. Thus, the mysticism of pagan letters and pagan religion could not be allowed.

Established religious mysticism believed mankind was divided into two camps. God was at the head of one; Satan was at the head of the other.

Trevor-Roper points out that the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution mark the stages of our emancipation from medieval restraints, but he also takes note of the fact that this period from 1500 to 1800 is not the steady period of progress that it appears to be from a superficial overview.<sup>1</sup> As was stated, the Renaissance began in Italy and then Spain. It then moved north, finally dying out in the places of origin. Before the end of the Renaissance period, which Trevor-Roper puts at 1620,<sup>2</sup> Italy and Spain had taken a back seat in relation to the rest of Europe.

Trevor-Roper also points out that each of the three general states mentioned had a "Janus-face." Each had a positive side of progress and a negative side of regression. As that author goes on to state:

The Renaissance was a revival not only of pagan letters but of a pagan mystery-religion. The Reformation was a return not only to the unforgettable century of the Apostles but also to the unedifying centuries of the Hebrew kings. The Scientific

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<sup>1</sup>Trevor-Roper, European Witch-Craze, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 2.



Revolution was shot through with Pythagorean mysticism and cosmological fantasy.<sup>1</sup>

The periods that followed the end of the Renaissance, the Reformation, Counter-reformation and the Scientific Revolution, might be generalized under one heading—the Age of Enlightenment.

As the nations of the north had looked to the south during the first part of the Renaissance, the nations of the south were looking to the north during the whole of the Enlightenment, starting as early as the latter part of the Renaissance. The cause of this great cultural shift in geographic focus was the religious aspect according to Trevor-Roper.<sup>2</sup>

In summing up the two general cultural and ideological periods of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, it might be said that the Renaissance had its inception under Catholicism and the Enlightenment under Protestantism. In the Medieval society and during the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church was allied with the State and its Princes in order to extend their power wooed the Church and many exercised and occupied both secular and temporal power. But the rise of a kind of medieval capitalism and the creation of a middle class coupled to the trade of mercantilism with other countries and exploration resulted in the challenge to the Church's authority that was noted earlier.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

Of course the Church struck back in an attempt to reestablish its structural solidarity, and to stifle those malcontents who would question its practices. It tried to keep these questioners from spreading their contagion.

Disruptive forces or the "threat" of disruptive forces tend to "heat up" a rigidly structured society and cause pressures that eventually cause the structure to rupture unless the pressure can be relieved in some way that will retain the vertical integrity of the closed system. One way to do this is to attack, either individually or as a group, the subcultural groups or individuals that had less interaction or systemic linkage with the greater society. These groups represent an opening to the outside, since there was not a complete congruence between their value system and the value system of the greater society. In this way, a subcultural group picked as a "scapegoat" could be used as a channel to bleed off the pressures that threatened the structural integrity of the society. (In the same way the social heretic became a "safety valve" for the part of his value system that did not coincide with the greater value system offered a relief vent for societal pressures.)

When the fact that society is a rigidly structured closed system is considered, any crisis within the system is a threat to the integrity of the whole. Thus, when a part of the system is relieved, the threat to the whole is alleviated.

In this sense, then, any individual or group that

might be used as a target for tension or anxiety-relieving conflict to reestablish the structural integrity of the system could be called a "safety valve" mechanism. It is within these parameters that the present author is using the adaptation of Simmel's idea.

The same function was described by Erikson as a boundary-maintaining function.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, whether it is called boundary-maintaining, scapegoating, "safety-valve" or cathartic, the result is the same to maintain and strengthen the rigidity of the social structure when it is conceived of as a closed system.

If a closed social system is to maintain itself it must have either some "safety valve" mechanism or some method of expansion to accommodate increasing forces which build up pressures within the system. Throughout history both have been used. Subcultural groups and individual social heretics have been singled out to be "scapegoats" and fulfill the safety-valve function, and mercantilism, war, territorial expansion, imperialism, and religious and ideological expansionism have all been used to expand the system itself to relieve internal pressures. This is a crude form of control. The thermodynamic analogy here seems appropriate. The simple safety valve and expansion offers rudimentary control over a potentially destructive situation. If the adaptation could be carried a step further as James Watt did with the flyball

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<sup>1</sup>Erikson, Sociology of Deviance.

governor, then the principal of feedback would have been applied and homeostasis would be a possibility. Such was not the case with societies in the past, however, being regarded as closed systems by most scholars. The idea of society as a conflict actuated, open and adaptive system is the recent result of the pressures of the civil-rights activity in a pluralistic society.

As this study progresses, the thermodynamic analogy will be used from time to time to illustrate, with idealized pictorial representations, the conditions prevalent in society at certain nodal or pivotal points in the historical dimension.

The thermodynamic analogy has precedent for use in the area of political science. In that discipline, the "boiling pot" analogy has been utilized for many years to describing the effect of conflict in rigidly-structured societies. The popularity of this analogy is attested to by the popularity of the phrase "keeping the lid on" with such enforcement agencies of social control as the police.

The analogy as it is used in this study will be altered to some extent to include analogous concepts for specific gravity, lower boiling point and mechanisms for expansion within a "closed system."

In the study, the marginal and minority groups will be compared to liquids of lower specific gravity and lower boiling point--these characteristics depending on the extent to which they are integrated into the oversociety.



On the following page, the first of the series of illustrations described above appears. This illustration shows the structure, rigidity, and the forces at work in society during the Church-state partnership of the Theocratic State which lasted through the periods of the Reformation, and the Counter-reformation down to the time of the French Revolution.

A Summary of the Effects that the Societal Structure, Character and Crisis Conditions had on the Development, Spread and Generalization of the Stereotype of the Social Heretic (Signified by the Construct Deviant Type-W) Between the Ninth and the Nineteenth Centuries

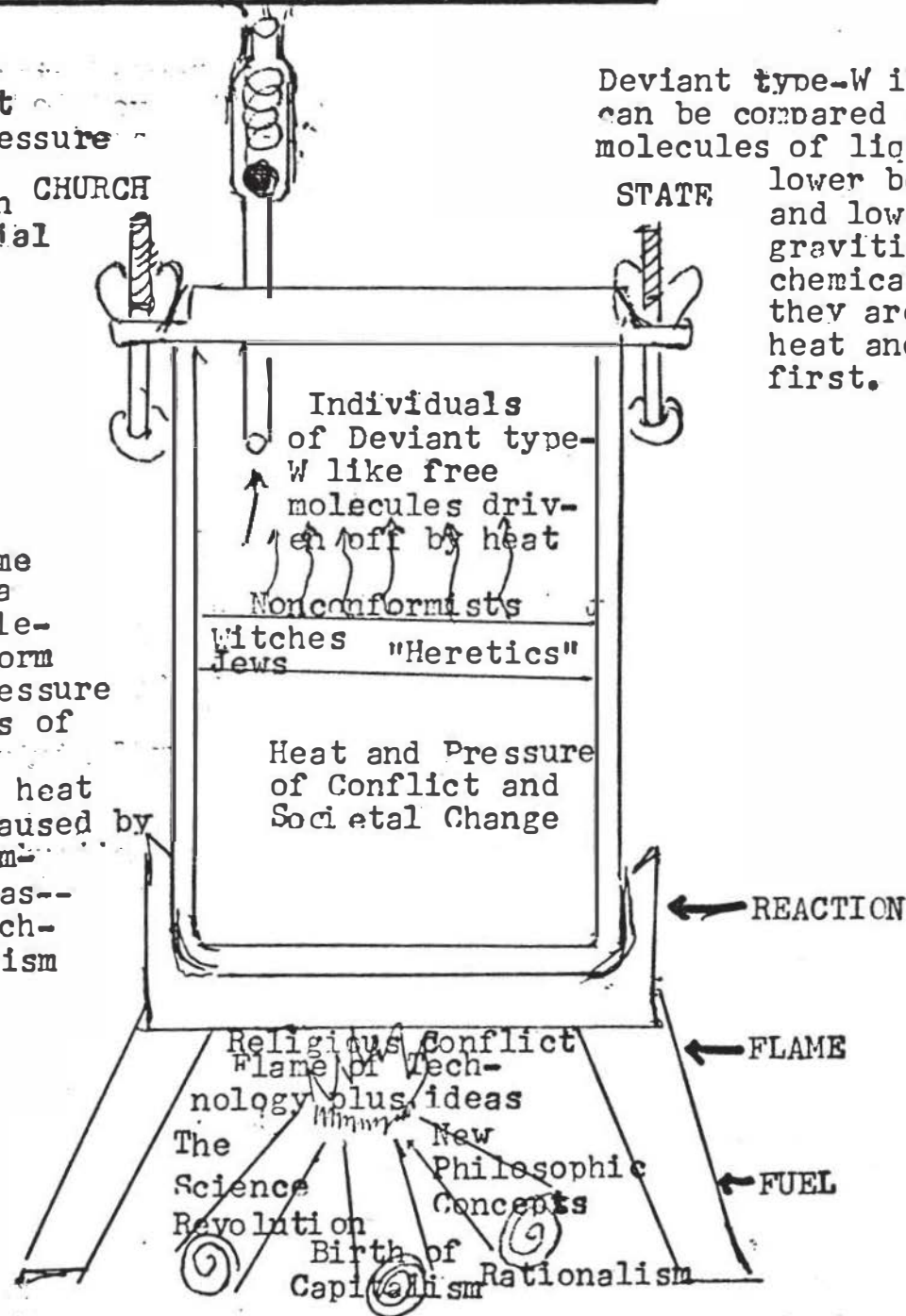
In summation, this first period of history, covering the period from biblical times through the Classical ages up to the end of the eighteenth century, it is evident that the stereotype or constellation of traits that are referred to as Deviant type-W in this study was already well entrenched in Western history and tradition by the end of the Roman empire. The Bible not only recognized the existence of people of extraordinary powers but described them as to function appearance and as to treatment. The Greeks systematized magic and sorcery and a wealth of material is found in their literature as to physical description of the practitioners and their power. It was the Greeks that extended the stigmatization of being labeled as a sorcerer to include families and even nations of people (i.e. the Chaldeans). The Romans inherited the systematic organization of the hierarchy of

**"PRESSURE COOKER" METAPHOR  
MODEL OF THE MEDIEVAL CATHOLIC  
THEOCRATIC STATE**

"Safety Valve"  
function of Deviant  
type-W enables pressure  
to be relieved  
without destruction CHURCH  
of the form of social  
institutions

Deviant type-W individuals  
can be compared with  
molecules of liquids having  
lower boiling points  
and lower specific  
gravities in a  
chemical solution--  
they are affected by  
heat and pressure  
first.

The structure of  
society at this time  
can be likened to a  
rigid vessel (double-  
walled) held in form  
by the combined pressure  
of the institutions of  
Church and State  
(virtually one) The heat  
of activation is caused by  
the mixture and com-  
bustion of new ideas--  
plus developing tech-  
nology and capitalism  
for profit.



magical practices from the Greeks to which they added their native version of divination based on the use of the entrails of freshly-slain sacrificial victims.

The course of magic and sorcery and the fortunes of their practitioners in Greece and the Roman Empire was outlined in some detail in light of the influence that it had on later times. H. R. Trevor-Roper, whose work on the European Witch-Craze is a brilliant sociological evaluation, is, however, negligent when he states:

For in the Dark Age there was at least no witch-craze. There were witch-beliefs, of course--a scattered folklore of peasant superstitions: the casting of spells, the making of storms, converse with spirits, sympathetic magic. Such beliefs are universal, in time and place, and in this essay I am not concerned with them. I am concerned with the organized, systematic "demonology" which the medieval Church constructed out of these beliefs which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, acquired a terrible momentum of its own.<sup>1</sup>

He is right when he states that there was no witch-craze during the dark ages but, as the preceding material points out, the stereotype that included the witch as she was characterized in the period from the 14th to the 19th century had already been "systematized" by the Greeks a thousand years before. Trevor-Roper entirely discounts this heritage of well-documented material that stretched through the time from ancient Egypt to the fall of the Roman Empire.

The Church during the Middle Ages was not doing its first battle with sorcery and magic. During the days of

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<sup>1</sup>Trevor-Roper, European Witch-Craze.

Rome it had vied with neo-Platonism and Mithraism for supremacy, finally winning out over the other pagan religions under the emperor Constantine.

The sociological import of this first battle with the occult sciences was that it served to demonstrate what an "ideal" enemy was in the dichotomy that the Church wished to preserve: Good was pitted against evil, truth against lies, life against death, light against darkness, and God against the forces of Satan. This was a social conflict to stagger the imagination. And, due to the fact that during times of civil unrest and uncertainty, and under emperors that favored them; the soothsayers, astrologers and other go-betweens in the interaction between man and the supernatural multiplied so rapidly the Christian leadership was fearful of what would happen if they were to lose their iron control over their flock.

As was covered in the historical material, in the latter days of the Roman empire there was a struggle for the minds of the people between the Christians and the neo-Platonists. In terms of material reward, the Christians had less to offer than did neo-Platonism. Christianity was originally the religion of the poor; it was based on negativism (witness the ten commandments, most of which are admonitions not to act in a certain way); there was a complete lack of material reward--it had to be spiritual in the next world; man was naturally sinful, and there was only one paternalistic God who gave no evidence of his existence.



This was faced with the pomp and splendour of the polytheistic religions supported by the neo-Platonists, who offered rewards that could be seen and touched. These early days of the persecution of the Christians were not forgotten by the Church when it gained the power to make the continent of Europe a "Theocratic State from the time of Clovis to the time of the French Revolution."<sup>1</sup> (Although the Catholic Church lost its complete control of the continent with Luther's Reformation and the protestant movement, the following period of social conflict between the two churches--the periods of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation--was still a period when the Church was allied with the State in complete control of society.)

Trevor-Roper states that in the period between the eighth and the twelfth centuries the Churchmen ceased to believe in magic.<sup>2</sup> In the text presented in this paper it has been shown that there were Churchmen, nobles and commoners that did believe fully in the power of magic, so much so in fact, that agitation was going on to get civil action against sorcerers as well as ecclesiastical action, and this was accomplished under Charles the Bald.

The reason for making the point of the fact Christians believed in the power of the sorcerers and witches during all this time is to demonstrate that the characteristics of the

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<sup>1</sup> Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

<sup>2</sup> Trevor-Roper, European Witch-Craze, p. 92.

bundle of traits designated here as Deviant type-W was kept alive and viable particularly on the emotional level continuously from the days of Rameses until the end of the thirteenth century.

Even in the ancient world, this stereotype has been shown to progress through stages that might variously be described in degrees from encouragement to acceptance, to toleration, to suppression, to extermination. It is sociologically significant to note that during this period of history acceptance and encouragement was during times of strife, uncertainty, confusion (whether on a national or an individual level). On the other hand, tolerance was during times of relative social stability. Suppression was usually for political purposes, while extermination was used in times of panic when the stereotype became a "transference object" or scapegoat for aggression that society would otherwise have directed inward upon itself. It has been shown that this has been applied to whole families and even nations by the Greeks. The Chaldeans carried their reputation down to modern times. Another characteristic is appearance. It is obvious that, from the descriptions of witches by the Greeks, this can vary a great deal. Greek witches varied in appearance from stately beauties to crones. Any type of nonconformist behavior was sufficient to label someone as being "different." This has a cumulative effect, for once the individual's eccentric behaviour was noticed, other traits that form the constellation were ascribed to him.

In the homogeneous societies of the city-states of old, people like the Chaldeans, who came in from elsewhere, had an air of mystery about them. The closed society of the city-state called for much more conformity than did the complex urban society of the time of the industrial revolution. A person, outside his own restricted locale, was a stranger and an alien everywhere else. His customs were regarded with suspicion because he was "different."

From historical material presented in the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the label of wizard, sorcerer, astrologer, diviner, seer, witch or any other, could be ascribed to just about anybody so long as they possessed at least one of the traits of the constellation. If they possessed one of the traits, others might be ascribed to them, or as in the case of the Chaldeans, they might be labeled just because they belonged to a certain family or national group. So it is seen that the label that is used shifts with time and place. The "stereotype" can be fitted to an individual or a group, and this individual is given "visibility" because someone profits from bringing him to the attention of the collectivity or he may be "fitted" for the role of scapegoat to expiate some one person's guilt or the guilt of society is what is important. In times of tolerance of deviance or even encouragement of it, or after harassment, an individual may choose to play the role of deviant that society has assigned him because the rewards are greater for

playing the role.<sup>1</sup>

By pointing out the ease with which the Deviant type-W can be fitted to an individual (no matter what the label) it is easy to see how the Inquisitors came to look upon Witchcraft and heresy as the same crime so far as the punishment extended. The guilt in both cases was nonconformity or rebellion against the authoritarian ethic. The Christian religion is an authoritarian religion based on belief in a Paternalistic God, and the pattern is: that none is without sin, that all feel guilt and gaining forgiveness calls for submission and confession. In a society based on the authoritarian ethic, rebellion is the greatest transgression and nonconformity (when it is given visibility) is a kind of rebellion.<sup>2</sup> Once an individual has been given visibility, a kind of vicious spiral takes over as people's memories begin to fill in the blank spaces in the classical stereotype. Finally, the victim will stand guilty by circumstantial evidence.

Before continuing with the period from the fourteenth century until the French Revolution, it would be well to explain one more factor about the importance of heresy to a sociological analysis of a historical period. This can be accomplished in an adaptation of conflict theory.

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<sup>1</sup> Scheff, Being Mentally Ill.

<sup>2</sup> Fromm, Man for Himself, pp. 147-62.



Coser describes the problems facing the Catholic Church both before and after the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> Before the Reformation, the Church with the rigid rules and the strict obedience that it required was a hard taskmaster for its followers. Something had to be done to artificially give it cohesiveness and firm up its internal structure. Coser states,

Disappearance of the original enemy leads to a search for new enemies so that the group may continue to engage in conflict, thereby maintaining a structure that it would be in danger of losing were there no longer an enemy.<sup>2</sup>

This was the case up to the reformation, for the regrouping against the heathen magicians and witches who would destroy their religion and their community gave the people "purpose." The fact that these people were people just like themselves until they were "found out" gives an additional mission of weeding out "traitors" and preserving their institution. (It is a fact, too, that most of the Witch-hunt was carried out by the Dominicans during the first part and the Jesuits during the second part. Involved were mountain areas of the Pyrenees and the Alps, pointing up the evangelistic mission of these groups in uniting a backward area against a common enemy. The fact that this enemy was one of their own, only made the search more frenetic.

After The Reformation the conflict system might be

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, pp. 106-107.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

described in terms of an "outside enemy" combined with the unknown "traitors" in their midst.

Coser says,

Groups tend to deny that reverses in conflict with outgroups can be attributed to the strength of the adversary, for this would be an admission of their own weakness. . . . Hence they look in their own ranks for a "dissenter" who hampered unity and the concerted action against the enemy. . . . Rigidly organized struggle groups may actually search for enemies with the deliberate purpose or unwitting result of maintaining unity and internal cohesion. . . . Similarly, search for, or invention of a dissenter within may serve to maintain a structure which is threatened from the outside. Such scapegoating mechanisms will occur particularly in those groups whose structure inhibits realistic conflict within.<sup>1</sup>

This was the case, not only in the Catholic Church during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the areas of operation of the proselyting Dominican and Jesuit friars, but it was the same with the certain rigid protestant groups such as the Lutherans, and particularly the Calvinists. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that the Calvinists led the infamous witch-hunt in Scotland and the Puritans were responsible for the hysteria that gripped Massachusetts in 1692.

The sociological significance of the period from 1200 to 1800 for Deviant Type-III represents the longest period of history in which the policy of extermination was carried out against the classical stereotype of deviance. Several periods of repression and even some periods of extermination of nonconforming individuals had been instituted before in the history of the Greek and the Roman civilizations but none had

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

lasted for so long.

It was the fundamental intolerance of the rigid structure of the Christian religion, as represented by the Roman Catholic Church, that resulted in the social conflict situation that led to the long period of extermination and repression.

It has already been shown in the Classical period that the classical stereotype included all types of groups and individuals: nonconformists such as seers, astrologers, fortune-tellers, witches, oracles and others who were just "different" or alien. Under the Greeks and the Romans the heritage of magic, the occult, spiritualism, witchcraft and astrology had been "systematized" and even absorbed into the Mythology and the religions then in vogue.

Then the Roman empire was also exposed to a new type of "mysticism" concerning the existence of a single "paternalistic" and jealous God, structured on a fundamental dichotomy concerning an eternal struggle between this God and his opposite counterpart. It was light against dark, good against bad or God against Satan. The God kept his kingdom in line by the use of guilt, and the mutual confession and expiation of that guilt which led to a cathartic religious experience.

Such a religion of deprivation of carnal appetites and self-induced suffering attracted a large number of converts who had tendencies to offer themselves to martyrdom. Nominally the new mystic religion took the name of an earlier Jewish prophet whose teachings differed greatly from the new

religion in that he supported conformity and "working within the system for change" (in the vernacular of the present day). The Roman Emperors and the Roman society never did understand this new religion of individuals who were at this time "nonconformists" and who fitted the category of Deviant type-w themselves.

It must be pointed out here that this group, too, believed sincerely in the "magic" and the "occult sciences" but they associated this magic with the "negative" God in their Pantheon. It must also be pointed out that actually this religion had two Gods--locked in an eternal struggle--the outcome being understood--that at some time in the future the "good" God would triumph. The "negative" God, or Antigod Satan, had supernatural powers, but those who chose to support him had only temporary power as opposed to those who chose to support the "good" God. If these "believers" would forego "special powers" in this world, they would gain a reward during the period of victory of the "good" God in the "spiritual" realm. There he would establish for them after the ultimate victory which would result in the battlefield of contention, the "physical" world.

To most of the Romans this structure seemed no more believable than the polytheism that they were already practicing and which offered them tangible "hedonistic" rewards. Scientifically, in terms of empirical evidence, neo-Platonism and Mithraism seemed a great deal more logical than the completely "spiritual" conviction of the new and "wierd"



nonconformist sect who called themselves "Christians." Ideologically, the new sect was a religious "conflict system" whose whole basis was contradiction in practice. Psychologically, it seemed to emphasize "negative" values in terms of the orientation of the Romans.

Nevertheless, this new and "intolerant" religious "cult" ultimately triumphed through the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine, and from there, its success grew until it became a formal religious institution which ultimately came to exercise both sacred and secular power over the territory once controlled by the Roman empire.

However, the Catholic church inherited the systematic literature of magic and the occult which the Greeks had put together and the Romans had institutionalized (although they assigned this power to the "negative" Antigon Satan and his demons) together with the specific prohibition against the practice of such arts which the Old Testament of the Jews stated in no uncertain terms. (They were prepared to implement these written prohibitions literally.) That the clergy and the majority of the Christian people believed completely in this system as it has been outlined here has been thoroughly documented. (See the Malleus and other bibliographical references too numerous to list here.)

It is the writer's hypothesis that evidence indicates that it was not the belief in witchcraft itself that triggered the great witch craze of the 16th and 17th centuries. It was a combination of the economic and political situation

that was being artificially contained by the inflexible monolith of a combined Church and State. This new growth of capitalism (albeit a state-controlled Capitalism) and a budding middle-class coupled with new ideas, generated, as a result of contact with alien cultures of the East through the Crusades and the trade that they opened up, a climate for liberalized thought. As a result, this new awareness of possibility led some individuals to question the traditions and dogmas of the Church-State.

This new awareness then grew to such proportions that it threw the officers of the state and the Clergy into a panic. Finally it created a panic that reached the papacy itself. Once this happened the papacy had to find some way of keeping the rigid structure of the Church-State from simply "exploding" (so they felt). They hit upon a method of eliminating the troublemakers and stabilizing the situation.

The method was to find some way of grouping the penchant for nonconformity together in a way that would furnish a "safety valve" to bleed off the pressures of discontent. Thus, they fell back on the dichotomy that had served them so well before—the coupling of any questioning of church authority with devilish influence as shaped up in the form of the historic witch. After all, this stereotype had existed from classical times, could fit individuals or entire nations, had been established by precedent, and had the firm basis of being planted firmly in the cultural inventory of fundamental

belief. Most importantly, it was specifically condemned in the "holy scripture."

However, this would seem to take care of only half the problem that faced the Papacy since it was specifically a two-pronged one. In addition to the deviants, there were the groups such as the Arabs and the Jews that controlled the finance and commerce of Europe (particularly Spain--the classical example of the medieval Theocratic State) as opposed to the Church, that controlled the government and the real property. Then there were the deviants, the non-conformists who were "questioning" the basic teachings of the Church. (Already pointed out is the fact that the most serious crime possible in an authorocratic ethical system is the crime of rebellion.)<sup>1</sup> The process of "questioning" the teachings and regulations of the clergy constituted an act of rebellion which constituted the worst possible sin--heresy. This furnished the Church with its original instrument. Now it was faced with the problem of bringing the two groups in question together under this umbrella of common guilt.

Deviant type-W came to the rescue--naturally. Although it was true that some individuals whose only crime was being "different" in appearance and who might be sacrificed to someone's ambition or imagination might suffer innocently, the church reasoned it was for the ultimate "good of the

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<sup>1</sup>Fromm, Man for Himself, pp. 147-162.

majority." These innocent individuals were "expendable" in the cause of the "purge of evil." Even though they were not heretics, they were acclaimed as social "undesirables" by their peers. Thus they received the taint of "criminality." Crime is, after all, socially defined.

Once such a "safety valve" action was set in motion by the power of authority, it had a "snowball" effect, growing by its own inertia until the general public was caught up in the "hysteria" or "social fear" (as Trevor-Roper defines it)<sup>1</sup> and it became an all-out social catharsis. Trevor-Roper has also pointed out in his book (quoted in the body of this section) that the change of charges to civil authority, and the establishment of the device of torture in the hands of the civil authority, resulted in further "snowballing" of the "vicious cycle" of condemnation and confession.

The psychological traits of sadism and masochism operated in the personalities of both victims and the persecutors to increase the numbers brought into the net. In addition, each new confession with its horrible details, made even more lurid by the process of torture, added to the "mythology" and also to the "credibility" of the accusations of the persecutors. Through this "safety valve" the Church released the social pressures of conflict and eliminated the "threat" to its rigid social structure by converting it into "common threat" to all.

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<sup>1</sup>Trevor-Roper, European Witch-Craze.



Not all the "dissenters" and "traitors" were silenced, however. Martin Luther, for example, managed to lead his successful revolution in Germany. This revolution resulted in the establishment of the Protestant reformation. Ultimately, this led to other cults and then to other protestant sects. One very important one in terms of Deviant type-~~W~~ was Calvinism.

An interesting note to include here in this narrative is that the worst persecutions (outside Spain) took place in the rural areas of the Alps and the Pyrenees where the orders of the Dominicans and the Franciscans (and later the Jesuits) were proselyting for Catholicism in evangelistic movements. Also interesting was that these ~~same~~ areas were the principal general areas of conflict and persecution under the Protestants with the persecutions flowing back and forth with alternating charges of "heresy" according to which religious orientation happened to be gaining ground at that particular time. The significance of this is that it shows that the Protestants simply took over the "systematized" ideology of the Catholics en toto and reversed it to apply to its original supporters when they gained advantage.

Finally, however, the forces of the rising capitalistic economy and the movement to the cities plus the philosophic thought of the 18th century combined to turn the interests of society into other channels such as expansion and imperialism.

Trevor-Roper (as it has already been pointed out) said that it was a fundamental change in philosophy which concerned man's relation to Nature and to God, and, indeed, the very nature of that God that caused the witch-craze to die out gradually. However, the previous body of evidence has shown that this concept of Trevor-Roper is much too highly simplified. First, neither the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Jesuits, nor the protestant evangelists or their parishoners on the "missionary fronts" in the rural areas of Europe were philosophically oriented. All these people were more emotionally than intellectually oriented. In these areas men were moved by profit or expediency, not by high-blown intellectual ideas as to the scientific unity of the Universe. Besides, the man who followed the Protestant ethic in northern Europe and who supplanted the Catholic leaders, were believers in exactly the same jealous God. They were subject to all the restrictions that the members of the Roman Church were plus one further negative factor. They did not have the psychological guilt-assuaging device of the confessional in front of the priest to fall back on to recover their psychological balance.

The previous body of evidence also has shown that Trevor-Roper's contention of the "death" of the classic stereotype at this time does not hold up. The reason that he advances for this "death" is not valid. The stereotype did remain. True it sank back into the cultural inventory, to

reemerge in different form, but it did remain.

As the society turned to the new pursuits of capitalism and expansion with the corresponding increase in mobility of the population, it turned from the process of internal conflicts and its interests shifted to points outside itself and its structure. The Age of Exploration and Colonization was underway and mercantilism was in full swing. Eyes turned to other parts and climes and the internal troubles of society subsided as, in terms of the conflict theory of Coser,<sup>1</sup> they found outside enemies on which to direct their aggression.

This gave the Church and the State a new raison d'etre in terms of expansion and imperialism. As Coser states when he quotes Chester Bernard,

"An organization must disintegrate if it cannot accomplish its purpose. It also destroys itself by accomplishing its purpose."<sup>2</sup> Thus new purposes must be found in order to avoid dissolution.

. . . Disappearance of the original enemy leads to a search for new enemies so that the group may continue to engage in conflict, thereby maintaining a structure that would be in danger of losing were there no longer an enemy.<sup>3</sup>

Philosophers and thinkers took advantage of this new outgoing orientation to institute more humanistic relations between the State and the individual, and the concept of individual rights and dignity began to take root with the

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict.

<sup>2</sup>Chester Bernard quoted in Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 105.

idea of the "social contract."

An incident which further supports the Deviant type-W thesis is the new outbreak of the witch "hysteria" in 1692. By this time the witch-craze in Europe was dying out. However, the homogeneous Protestant group of the Puritans had been exported to America together with their inflexible social structure. In the Salem, Mass. of 1692, similar conditions developed in which this close-knit society turned in upon itself for a group to furnish a "safety-valve." Again Deviant type-W came to the rescue with one manifestation of this nonconformist group, the witch. This epidemic burned with a flame just as bright as the European epidemic, though it was over in a much shorter time.

In America and in Europe in the 18th century the stereotype settled back into the cultural inventory to re-emerge in a new manifestation. This time the manifestation was a double one.

In every society there is a large conglomeration of nonconformist individuals who, during times of stress or social pressure either choose to come together to form a collectivity or are forced by society into a collectivity or "subculture." Such pressures were the ones affecting the nonconformists variously labeled as witches or heretics or Jews. As a result of the determination policy followed during the Inquisition in Spain, the Jews were scattered throughout Europe in numbers so small that they did not



comprise a "threatening minority." Thus, society could again ignore them. However, there had to be another way of dealing with other nonconformists of the characteristics of Deviant type-W.

The answer was simple. This time instead of Jews and Arabs, instead of heretics and witches, there would be lunatics and criminals. Thus the Deviant type-W was divided between insane and the "lawless" element.

There were many factors leading to the concept of insanity. The Industrial Revolution and the accompanying urban movement was creating a society that was more impersonal than it had been under feudalism. People were more "mobile," idiosyncracies or eccentricities were not so "visible," and if "visible" was not the threat that it had been under the rural community or mechanical society that had no outside interests to "stabilize" its rigidity of form.

The rise of the Protestant ethic had put into concrete terms the relationship and responsibilities of man toward God, other individuals, and society. This "Protestant ethic" was to be the dominant value orientation in Western society right down to, and continuing into the present. The subsequent effects of this ethic will be discussed in more detail later, but in the 18th century, it was allied with the new outlook that science had given to the field of medicine toward disease. So, a new conception was born that was to become even more important in the two centuries to follow; the concept of mental illness. In addition to the concept of

mental illness was to develop later the associated concept of therapy. These became what Szasz has referred to as the "myth" of mental illness and the rise of the Therapeutic State.<sup>1</sup>

In comparing the present day to the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, Szasz makes the following points:

Psychiatrists are enthusiastic advocates of the psychopathological theory of witchcraft: they maintain that witches were mentally sick women who had been misdiagnosed by well-intentioned but ignorant inquisitory. Historians, on the other hand, are strong supporters of the scapegoat theory of witchcraft: they hold that witches were the sacrificial offerings of a society animated by the symbolism and values of Christian society.<sup>2</sup>

Szasz goes on to compare the "differential diagnosis" technique used in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries with the differential diagnosis of today:

The medieval diagnostician had to distinguish persons afflicted with natural diseases from those afflicted with demonic diseases. The contemporary physician must distinguish persons afflicted with bodily diseases from those afflicted with mental diseases.

. . . The point we must keep in mind is that in the days of the Malleus, if the physician could find no evidence of natural illness, he was expected to find evidence of witchcraft; today, if he cannot diagnose organic illness, he is expected to diagnose mental illness.

In both situations, once the subject comes into the presence of the physician, he becomes a "patient" who cannot be left undiagnosed. The doctor often feels free to choose between two categories only: illness and witchcraft, physical illness and mental illness; he does not feel free—save at the cost of

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<sup>1</sup> Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

defining himself as professionally inept or socially deviant--to declare that the patient belongs in none of these categories.<sup>1</sup>

Szasz goes on to quote himself in an explanatory note at the bottom of the same page that gives a cogent argument for the "myth" of mental illness:

In so far as the concept of mental illness functions as a classificatory label justifying the psychiatric disintegration of nonconformists, it is logically faulty, not because it fails to identify a socially definable characteristic, but because it mislabels it as a disease: and it is morally faulty, not because the physicians and psychologists who use it are badly intentioned, but because it fosters social control of personal conduct without procedural protections of individual liberty. (For detailed discussion, see Thomas S. Szasz, The Myth of Mental Illness.)

Trevor-Roper pointed out the importance of the use of civil torture in the civil proceedings to bring about the high percentage of bizarre confessions and stories of the days of the witch-craze.

In the historical periods that were to follow and which will be developed in more detail later, the German Gestapo, the French in North Africa and the "Brainchanging"<sup>2</sup> techniques used against the U.N. Forces in Korea, all these social forces of physical torture were seen to support Szasz's theories as stated above. This would also support

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup>"Brainchanging" and "brainwashing" are terms which were introduced by men like Edward Hunter to discuss the process carried on in Korea to change the political beliefs of American prisoners. See William Lindsay White, The Captives of Korea: An Unofficial White Paper (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), and Edward Hunter, Brainwashing: The Story of Men Who Defied It (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1956).

Thomas Scheff's concept of the relation of society and its expectations to mental disorders of the individual in terms of role theory.<sup>1</sup>

However, the label of insanity could not be made to fit everyone who was considered socially dangerous. Neither could the old standby "witch" be made to serve since the label "witch" from the 18th century on came to be used more sparingly and then principally in the rural areas (it did not die out for people were still being labeled as witches in the true sense of the term even in America in the early part of the twentieth century).

Thus, there was still a large group of the members of the stereotype of Deviant type-W that fell outside the classification of mentally ill. In the more complex, impersonal capitalistically-and-expansion-oriented society (which Durkheim refers to as the "organic" society) the deviant was not given the very close scrutiny and personal attention that had warranted the ascription of sufficient traits to fill in the classical stereotype to make up for the ones that were missing. So if the individual came to the attention of society without the full range of traits and he couldn't be found to be mad, another label had to be found.

This proved easy to do. The category of "criminal" was simply broadened to accommodate all those labeled deviants who would not fit under the label of "insane." After all, the result was the same in the 18th, 19th and first half

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<sup>1</sup>Scheff, Being Mentally Ill.



of the 20th centuries. More or less permanent or serial incarceration and withdrawal from society thereby diminished the "threat" that these individuals posed.

Szasz points out:

With the decline of the power of the Church and of the religious world view, in the seventeenth century, the inquisitor-witch complex disappeared and in its place there arose the alienist-madman complex.

In the new—secular and "scientific"—cultural climate, as in any other, there were still the disadvantaged, the disaffected, and the men who thought and criticized too much. Conformity was still demanded.<sup>1</sup>

Szasz then goes on to point out that his generalizations are borne out by the founding of the mental hospital in the seventeenth century. He notes that the landmark date for this change in orientation can be put at 1656 with the decree that founded Hospital General for the protection of society.

Szasz is of the opinion that

It is consistent with this close mental and verbal association between crime and madness that commitment laws are formulated in terms of the individual's supposed "dangerousness" (to himself and others). . . . Dangerousness, of course, is a characteristic the alleged mental patient shares with the criminal, rather than with the medically ill person.<sup>2</sup>

It was easy to broaden the classification of "criminality" at will because society defines what is "criminal" and then solidifies this by legislation.

The trait of Deviant type-W that results in whole

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

peoples being ostracized or suppressed or even exterminated was not to be forgotten in the centuries to come, either. The Jews, who had suffered so much as a people during the Spanish Inquisition and the Plague, were to suffer individual persecution from this time on, and were to take their turn again in the twentieth century as the "escape valve" of a highly structured society when Hitler succeeded in shifting the blame for the economic disaster of Germany after World War I. Thus the precedent of the Inquisition was followed with a new policy of extermination (given a new label-- genocide) during World War II.

At the end of the 18th century, the situation of the classical nonconformist type that has been analyzed under the title of Deviant type-~~II~~ was better than it had been during the whole 15th, 16th, 17th, and the first half of the 18th century. The stigma of "witch" and "heretic" had been exchanged for the new "stigmatized status"<sup>1</sup> of "madness" and "criminal," and the price of visibility and public attention changed from torture and death to incarceration and deprivation. In addition, many people were able to escape the unwanted attention of public judgment altogether because the urbanization movement was taking place paralleling the development of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution. This resulted in a kind of complexity and impersonality of society that allowed a higher "tolerance" of eccentricity.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

The next period of history to be covered ranges from the time of the French Revolution to the birth of the cybernetic revolution. This was to be a period of time that was to see a burgeoning growth of trends already noted in Western society. The career of Deviant type-W and the fate of individuals clearly exhibiting one or more of the constellation of traits that go to make up this classical stereotype, consequently changed for the better to some degree as will be seen from the following pages.

First, however, let significant historical evidence be pointed out that will allow the tracing with some degree of accuracy of the social setting in which the stereotype found itself during this period.

## VI. THE CAREER OF THE SOCIAL HERETIC IN THE AGE OF CAPITALISM (1700-1955)

During the Renaissance and the Age of Enlightenment the thought of Man regarding God, nature and himself, and their subsequent relationships, took a new turn. No longer did the Scholastic ideals of custom and authority hold. Man placed the emphasis on himself and reoriented his system of thinking accordingly. To the medieval mind, controlled by the Theocratic State, nature had represented an environment that existed and changed from moment to moment by divine intervention. The mind of man in the Renaissance and during the Enlightenment, however, stressed the lawfulness of nature and the feeling that once the undying rationalism of nature had been discovered in terms of her laws, man would be found to be subject to those same laws. In other words, then, both physical nature and human nature follow consistent and permanent laws.

The chief thinker of the period was Descartes. The central concept of Descartes' method was "doubt." Bronowski and Mazlish state that,

the books of scholars had shown Descartes that there is no certain truth in authority; the book of the world had shown him that there is none in custom. . . . Descartes uprooted all his accepted ideas, whether they reached him from authority, from custom, or through his senses. . . . Like Socrates, he had arrived at the point where he knew only that he did



not know; and from here he wanted to construct himself and the world anew. He would do this by pure reason. . . .

This is the thought which Descartes put into one of the most famous sentences in philosophy; cogito ergo sum ("I think, therefore I am"). He might have put it more correctly by writing dubito ergo sum ("I doubt, therefore I am"). The change from doubting to thinking may have been only a verbal one to him, since his method of thinking was always to doubt. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The aim of Descartes was to reach down to the area of certainty by the step-by-step elimination of doubt. His method was analytic and consisted of picking things and thoughts to pieces. By using this method he could get down to successively simpler planes and arrive closer to the base of truth as expressed by laws which he felt to be universal and immutable.

Bronowski and Mazlish describe Descartes' method in the following words:

. . . he had seen that the key to the universe was its mathematical structure, and from that moment nothing less could content science. Therefore, Descartes' method is designed ruthlessly to unmask the imponderables, and to find in everything the lucid and exact structure. Here are his four rules of logic.

My first rule was to accept nothing as true which I did not clearly recognize to be so; to accept nothing more than what was presented to my mind so clearly and distinctly that I could have no occasion to doubt it.

The second rule was to divide each problem or difficulty into as many parts as possible.

The third rule was to commence my reflections with objects which were the simplest and easiest to understand, and rise thence, little by little, to knowledge

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<sup>1</sup>J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, The Western Intellectual Tradition (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1960), pp. 223-24, citing Descartes.

of the most complex.

The fourth rule was to make enumerations so complete, and reviews so general, that I should be certain to have omitted nothing.<sup>1</sup>

The method of doubt initiated by Descartes was effective philosophically in overthrowing traditional prejudices concerning nature and its workings, but it could not create a scheme of natural laws that were practical and positive. However, it did contribute one-half of the orientation of thought that resulted in the scientific method. In order for the scientific method to function, it requires the combination of rationalism and empiricism.

In contrast to Descartes' commitment to rationalism without empiricism, the narrow-minded outlook of the Royal Society in Britain in the eighteenth century caused the undervaluation of rational inquiry.

So, as a result, around 1760 there developed an emphasis by the rising intellects of America and England on an empirical view of science with a practical bias.

The discussion of the foundations of the scientific method leads to the consideration of the first in a series of revolutions that took place to change the character of society during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries.

### The Era of Revolution

The basic meaning of the word revolution is the overturning of something. In the period under study at present,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 220-21.

certain features of life in the Theocratic State were overturned and certain other central features of contemporary life were conceived within (historically speaking) a comparatively short span of time. The first essential feature is the one already discussed as the pursuit of scientific knowledge, the birth of the scientific method of investigation, and the continued application of human talent to technological advancement. The second feature of contemporary life concerns the birth of the concept of large-scale, mechanized industry. The third essential feature to be initiated by revolution was the shift of the center of gravity (in terms of power and industrial development) in the Western world westward toward the new world of the Americas. And finally, the increasing importance of the concept of the social contract between the people ruled and their rulers. This resulted in the continuing substitutions of elected representative-type republican governments for the traditional absolutist monarchies that had controlled the face of Europe during the period of the Theocratic State and the Holy Roman Empire.

The first revolution, which will only be mentioned in passing, did not take place in the 18th century but its effects (since it was not successful on the social scene) did not achieve their full import until the 18th century. This was the Puritan Revolution in England. The Puritan Revolution broke the tradition of divine right of kings through taking the head of King Charles I. This did much to give

legitimacy to the concept of the "social contract" as later espoused by Rousseau.

The second revolution to be discussed here encompassed the span of time between 1500 and 1700 and its ideas stretched into the 18th century to furnish the groundwork for the scientific method and the institutionalization of technology which ushered in yet another revolution. This second revolution, the Scientific Revolution, as Professor Herbert Butterfield is quoted as saying, "outshines everything since the rise of Christianity and reduces the Renaissance and Reformation to the rank of mere episodes."<sup>1</sup> This statement, of course, is an exaggeration since there are ramifications and interconnections between these movements that must be considered in any evaluation of comparative importance. However, the Scientific Revolution, in its function as the foundation of the scientific method, the institutionalization of technology, and the rise of the Industrial Revolution does make an unmeasurable contribution to the development of modern technical society.

It is the Scientific Revolution that instituted the concept of the mathematical analysis of the natural world that gave impetus to the thought of men such as Descartes. It is the Scientific Revolution, too, that is responsible for the beginning of a breach between science and religion which is an area of contention in the present day.

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<sup>1</sup>Bronowski and Mazlich, Western Intellectual Tradition, p. 107, citing Prof. Herbert Butterfield.



The Industrial Revolution had its inception in England because of the relatively advanced state of industry there as compared to the countries of the continent. About 1760 marked the end of a cottage industry economy and overseas trade. There came an upswing in industry at this time as a result of technological discoveries made as adjuncts to industry in the early eighteenth century.

The Industrial Revolution came about as a direct result of the Scientific Revolution and the combination of rationalism and empiricism in the scientific endeavor, but it was not brought about by the scientific community. After the success of Newton's system, the scientific community, such as the Royal Society in England, sat back on its laurels and became speculative and abstract--intent upon the pursuit of universal mathematical theories.

The development that led to the Industrial Revolution took place in the applied sciences and was brought about by nonconformist and unorthodox men outside the universities engaged in the first-hand application of scientific principles to industry.

As Bronowski and Mazlish point out,

The Industrial Revolution was only incidentally a change in industrial techniques; it was more profoundly a change in industrial organization.<sup>1</sup>

The factory system was the new organization of

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<sup>1</sup>Bronowski and Mazlish, Western Intellectual Tradition, p. 308.

production that became the great drive for the Industrial Revolution. A number of technical inventions directed, and were directed by, this drive. What was involved was basically the constant mutual interplay of machines and method, of economics and techniques.

The factories at first were located along the streams and rivers, but with the advent of steam power, location was shifted to positions that could better utilize the resource of labor. The concept of efficiency (which is now a central value of institutionalized technology) became a part of the industrial scene when James Watt, a skilled instrument maker to the University of Glasgow, repaired a model of Newcomen's engine around the year 1763, and used his skills to calculate the efficiency of the remodeled engine.

With the entry of steam power, iron and coal became essential resources for heavy industry. Even today, one of the principle measures of the relative strength of a nation's economy is its potential to produce steel, the end product of the combination of the two resources indicated.

Advances were made in agriculture, too, during this period with institution of the land-saving practices of crop-rotation and the feeding and housing of animals through the winter. The pattern of land-usage also changed during this period.

From England the Industrial Revolution spread to other countries and contributed to the rise of the middle

class as a power in society and the making of the new man, The Captain of Industry, into a hero.

As was pointed out earlier, a phenomenon which came to be known as the Protestant (or Puritan) ethic, contributed much to giving capitalism and the Industrial Revolution the impetus of the positive sanction of religion which led to the construction of the other institutions of society around the center of the economic institution. Thus, it might be said, that the Industrial Revolution, as physical manifestation of the theory of capitalism, came to have an ethic of its own.

Truly, though, in terms of the differential treatment of minorities in society, it is a fact that as Bronowski and Mazlish comment:

The pathos of the Industrial Revolution was that it did not see a market among its own workers for the new output which they were producing.<sup>1</sup>

The only thing new about the Industrial Revolution as far as the labor force was concerned was that it transplanted drudgery and long hours from the home to the factory, and child labor was moved from the village home into the discipline and brutality of the city factory.

The third revolution of importance in the shaping of the foundations of the contemporary world was the American Revolution. Deceived by the American myth, Europeans often think of the American Revolution as being conceived by a bunch of backwoodsmen who lived in log cabins. This is not

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 313.

the case. The American Revolution was conceived and conducted by a class of people who could only be described as aristocrats.

The Puritan Revolution of England served as an impetus to men such as Patrick Henry and James Otis, to deny both the divine origin of kingship and the supremacy of the British Parliament.

Usually it is not theory that brings action but some practical necessity or real danger. Then, once action is initiated and the old relationships are destroyed and a new and perplexing state of affairs (undifferentiated definition of the situation) produced, theory can be put to the test. This is what happened in the American Revolution.

As H. G. Wells comments,

From the point of view of human history, the way in which the Thirteen States became independent is of far less importance than the fact that they did become independent.<sup>1</sup>

He goes on to say that it was if something new had broken out of an egg. Finally, Western European civilization had succeeded in breaking free of the clutches of Church and Empire. In the United States there was now no trace of monarchy or of State religion. There were no groups of title-bearers with claim to ascendancy by right of birth. It was seen as a clean start in political organization such as the world had never before witnessed.

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<sup>1</sup>H. G. Wells, The Outline of History (New York: Garden City Books, 1949), p. 880.



The freedom of the United States to take charge of its own destiny marked at last a concrete step forward by man towards the deliberate and conscious reconstruction of his circumstances to conform with his aims and needs. It further released man from traditional usage and precedent and introduced practicality and utility into the realm of public affairs. Whereas the modern European state had been evolved historically, slowly and without plan, out of preceding events, the United States was planned and then created.

Another factor of importance was that the constitution gave voice to ideals which were growing in the thought of the intellectual community. An example is the ideal of equality—probably the most extreme and most incredible idea in the history of mankind—became a standard of practical human relationships. The constitution gave voice to other ideals just as lofty as that of equality, but it is doubtful if the founders intended these to be taken literally. More likely they envisioned the usage described in the following passage by H. G. Wells,

. . . it will be evident that most of these fundamental statements are very questionable statements. Men are not born equal, they are not born free; they are born at most various multitude enmeshed in an ancient and complex social net. Nor is any man invited to sign the social contract or, failing that, to depart into solitude. These statements, literally interpreted, are so manifestly false that it is impossible to believe that the men who made them intended them to be literally interpreted. They made them in order to express certain elusive but profoundly important ideas. . . .<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 882.

Of all the new ground broken by the creation of a new community of will rather than of obedience, the most noteworthy was the absence of any binding religious tie. As H. G. Wells further comments,

Its spirit was indubitably Christian; but, as a State document of 1796 explicitly declared, "The government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion."<sup>1</sup>

The fourth revolution of consequence was the French social revolution which started in 1789 and culminated in 1794. France in the seventeenth century had been an expression of a strange contradiction. While the thought of her intellectuals had grown bolder and bolder, her government became more and more absolute. The existence of a powerful bureaucracy exerted an influence to bring more centralization of authority. The two currents of life which existed contemporaneously--an absolute government and an awakened public opinion--were destined to create a crisis in France as they had already done in England in 1640.

As was the case with both the British Revolution and the revolution in the United States, the French Revolution originated in the absurdities and ambition of monarchy. The costliness of the courts and the policy of expansion through war brought unbearable financial hardships to the people.

Unlike the War of Independence in America, which took place on the periphery of the system of European monarchies and foreign offices, France voiced its repudiation of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

Machiavellian statecraft as a directive form of human affairs from the very home of the Grand Monarchy.

Again, unlike the Americans, and following the precedent of the English Revolution, the French beheaded a king, rather than simply repudiating a monarch.

The French Revolution had three stages. The first stage was the "aristocratic revolution" which failed and opened the way to an attempt at enlightened despotism. After the failure of the aristocratic revolution Mirabeau became outstanding among the "other-class" leaders. It was he who led the second phase of the Revolution—the bourgeois revolution—and he tried to create a hybrid of an enlightened despotism and constitutional monarchy. He had counseled the king to accept a constitution and the National Assembly. Mirabeau, like the Physiocrats and Voltaire, preferred reform to freedom which could degenerate into license. The monarch did not cooperate and made both enlightened despotism and constitutional monarchy impossible solutions for France.

Next was the Revolutionary government headed by Robespierre which was responsible for the Reign of Terror. The Terror was in the last analysis a political weapon, because the social revolution was already a fait accompli through the actions of the bourgeois assembly.

It was the time for Rousseau's theories (one of which was the Social Contract which has been mentioned repeatedly) to be put into practice in the real world.

It was also at this time that the right of property

as a sacred right was established.

Napoleon took over the reins of the French government from the Directory which had followed Robespierre's "revolutionary government."

Napoleon realized that the mass of Frenchmen were satisfied with the social reforms that had been accomplished during the Revolution and that their foremost desire had become the establishment of order and stability.

As Bronowski and Mazlish describe it, Napoleon used alternating force and conciliation to achieve his ends. He secured a measure of domestic peace by pacifying the Vend'e; he initiated fiscal reform and set up the Bank of France; he ordered a legal code (embodying a conservative interpretation of the Revolution's social gains) drawn up, which influenced all Europe and has lasted until today; and he tried to heal the religious wounds of France by offering a concordat with the pope.

Unlike the enlightened philosophes and bourgeois of the Revolution who had seen in religion the enemy of all reform, Napoleon regarded religion as a mainstay of the state. The only difference between his view and that of the old-regime supporters was in the nature of that state. For Napoleon, the state was the centralized, nationalistic state enhanced by the Revolution and based on the social dominance of the bourgeoisie. Religion was merely the one more social force to be used in maintaining the Bonapartist state. As Napoleon commented: "For my part, I do not see in religion the mystery of transubstantiation but the mystery of social order."<sup>1</sup>

Bronowski and Mazlish continue by pointing out the significance of the French Revolution and Napoleon's career for the map of Europe:

By carrying the concept of the nation in arms, the slogans of liberty, equality, and fraternity, the legal

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<sup>1</sup>Bronowski and Mazlich, Western Intellectual Tradition, p. 412.



code, and the whole paraphernalia of revolutionary reforms into all the conquered countries, the Revolution and Napoleon toppled not only the feudal structure of Europe, but undermined the foundations of the monarchical systems as well. Then, by awakening the spirit of nationalism, in reaction to French aggression, the Revolution and Napoleon laid out the lines upon which the changed European nations might grow.<sup>1</sup>

So it is that in making an analysis of the ultimate results of the French Revolution in terms of social change, the following concepts appear to be most important. First of all, the concept of the "social contract" between the leader and his people is opposed to the old idea of the "divine right" of kings. The second outcome was the overthrow of the iron grip of religion in its partnership with the State. The third outcome was that the supremacy of the bourgeoisie was solidified as the makers and controllers of industrializing and urbanizing societies of the European countries. The fourth outcome was that the French Revolution acted as the spark which ignited other revolutions in Europe in the nineteenth century and resulted in the spread of nationalism.

One further revolution must be mentioned briefly with respect to the last point mentioned in the discussion of the French Revolution. The Revolution of 1848 was important for it represents the culmination of the spirit of nationalism on the European continent. With this revolution, the wave of nationalism that started with the creation of the United States in the Western hemisphere completed the same movement on the European continent.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 414.

The Era of Revolution was important not only for the changes it wrought in the character of society which are reflected yet today, but as well, for the social and scientific thought that was spawned during the period.

It was during this period of emphasis on science that the stage was set for the development of Darwin's theory of Evolution that had so much significance in both the biological and the social sciences and led to the development of the social-Darwinist ideology.

In the forty years before the French Revolution, the Radical tradition in social thought was conceived, and in the years following the revolution and its reaction, the conservative tradition in social thought began to evolve.

These three products of the Era of Revolution, as well as the concrete changes noted earlier, in terms of social theory, are still viable and have functioned to influence the direction of the career of the social heretic as a deviant stereotype from that time to this.

It has been shown that the period that this study refers to as the Era of Revolutions grew out of the thought of the Men of the Renaissance and the enlightenment. New concepts in the relation between God, nature and man led to the development rationalism and scientific Deism in philosophy and the scientific community developed the process of empirical investigation and the inductive method that led to the investigative orientation known today as the Scientific

## Method.

However, the French Revolution offered the opportunity to put theory into practice in the social realm. Fundamental changes in social thought such as the "social contract" idea of Rousseau, and the bourgeois insistence on the "sacred right of private property" were at last actually instituted in the real world of the social context of nineteenth century Europe.

The ideas of the time and the Era of Revolution cannot be considered separately or out-of-context. The thought of the years previous to the French Revolution influenced the course of the Revolution. And, after the Revolution, the changes instituted by it in the social context, and the reaction to it, influenced European thought (especially social-thought--which resulted in a new science --sociology--being born). The spread of revolution by the military campaigns of Napoleon sparked other revolutions as the 19th century got under way. For instance, the reaction to the conquests of Napoleon caused a spirit of nationalism to grow on the continent.

The realm of social thought and its effect on the careers of the minorities that fit the construct of Deviant type-W is the special province of this study. Therefore, some time must be devoted to the history and development of ideas in relation to the effect they exerted on the direction of the evolution of the character and structure of society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And, in the

process of considering social thought, scientific, political and religious thought cannot be ignored for these institutions had an effect on the development of both the ethic and the ideology that was to determine the character and structure of society from the opening of the eighteenth century until the present time.

The early part of the nineteenth century, from 1815 to 1848, saw a long period of relative peace in Europe with burgeoning industrial expansion. In America as well--with the exception of war with England, 1812-15, and with Mexico, 1846-48--saw phenomenal national growth and relative political tranquility up to the outbreak of the Civil War.

However, by mid-century, tensions were increasing again on the continent, and England and France had developed an intense rivalry once more, partially due to the change-over from sail to steam in their navies. At this junction in the history of the European states the forces of nationalism and imperialism were uppermost.

In this study, little attention will be paid to wars and warfare as such because they lie outside the scope of a research project dealing with history only in its relation to the fortunes of a nonconformist type. However, there is the factor of the dominant ideology that results in war, and where this ideology has something to do with both the deviant type and the progress of social conflict, it will be brought out in the text.

By the same token the problems of pre-Revolutionary



France, the problems during the Revolution, and the post-Revolutionary Napoleonic period had much to do with the development of religious, philosophic and sociological thought in Europe, England and ultimately, American in the nineteenth century.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Social,  
Economic, Political and Religious Thought  
and Their Relation to the Development  
of the Character and Structure of  
Present-Day Western Society

The conditions of society that resulted in the witch-craze of the previous centuries as a result of the State-Church monolith resulted in much anticlerical feeling (and consequently, thought) in the nineteenth century, particularly in France.<sup>1</sup>

The word "anticlerical" was first used in 1866, in France, but the reality goes back at least to Carolignian times. Once Western society had a new basis, an educated laity had to contend with clerical refusal to give up control of public functions that had no direct connection with the Church's mission. A constant accompaniment of this struggle was anticlericalism.

However, the limited and pragmatic anticlericalism of Rabelais and Montaigne is very different from the kind that developed, especially after the Revolution, due to the con-

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph N. Moody, The Church as Enemy: Anticlericalism in Nineteenth Century French Literature (Washington, D.C.: Corpus Publications, 1968).

spicuous failure of the Catholics to meet the needs of a rapidly changing society. It is interesting to note that the intense and all-pervading anticlericalism characteristic of the nineteenth century is particularly well-mirrored in French literature, though it has never been examined in detail.

Secularization became one facet of the advancing humanism that the Renaissance introduced and that which the Protestant sects attested to by their mere existence, that represented a desire by the human spirit to examine itself in terms of a necessary relation between its values and gifts. It was not an affront to traditional values but a questioning of the dogma and the institutions that were the cultural means for the transmission of these values. Today, the work of philosophers, scientists and historians says that the relation of man to nature and to himself is not pre-determined, but is for man to form, to study and to develop.

The development of the interest in science that took place in the previous two centuries was combined with the philosophic thought that originated during and after the Revolution to bring about the positivistic school of science and produced the prolific scientific discoveries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that accrued from the implementation of the scientific method.

Both the natural and the human sciences were affected by the scientific method which emphasized one of the many fundamental ideas that flowed together to compose it, the

idea that both human and physical nature follow permanent and consistent laws.<sup>1</sup> (This has already been discussed with relation to the philosophic orientation of Descartes.)

In the human sciences, scholars attempted to apply these methods of rationalism and empiricism to the investigation of the society in which man lived.

The human sciences had so many variables that such investigation appeared impossible but, in the natural sciences great strides were made in the direction of reduction to a few simple laws.

Since thinkers had come to accept the idea that the Universe was governed by fixed laws and that these laws also governed man, social scientists developed an organismic view of society as a miniature of the world of nature--also governed by the same laws.

Within the limits of this broad general view of a society in accord with nature, two distinct approaches developed, differing profoundly as a result of the wide difference of their point of departure. These two approaches developed into two traditions in social thought which have grown with the science of sociology and are still viable in modern post-industrial society.

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<sup>1</sup>Bronowski and Mazlich, Western Intellectual Tradition, pp. 491-92.

The Conservative and Radical Traditions  
in Social Thought

In this discussion of the historical evolution of scientific, religious, political, economic and social thought and how they blended to produce the ethic and the ideology that still serve as the prime moving force of western society, it is necessary to develop a brief outline of the conservative-radical traditions in social thought. These two traditions bracket the time period of the French Revolution, also the experience of that revolution furnished the laboratory for the testing of the ideas of one of the traditions, and the reaction to it furnished the motive force for the development of many of the concepts of the other.

The juxtaposition of the fundamental concepts of the two traditions further served, in the study of society conducted by le Count St. Simon and Auguste Comte, to give rise to a new and separate social discipline, sociology. The real problems of society, which stood in stark outline as a result of the concepts of the two traditions, could not be solved by philosophical deduction. Therefore, sociology, as the new science was named by Auguste Comte, broke away from its parent, philosophy, and became a separate discipline.

Basically, the Conservative and the Radical traditions can be differentiated easily as shown by noting the fundamental difference in their point of origin. The point of origin for the Conservative Tradition is the social structure. To the conservative the social structure is real and Man is



but a product of this social environment. For the Radical, on the other hand, Man is the center of sociological investigation and the social structure merely a construct that serves the purposes of Man. When this construct ceases to be rational and ceases to serve the purposes of man, its creator, it is not to be regarded as sacred, but is to be replaced with a construct which will better meet the needs of Man.

The Radical Tradition (as previously noted) had its beginnings in the years before the French Revolution with the Renaissance emphasis on humanism. It continued through the period of the French Philosophes with the thought of men such as Rousseau and Montesquieu. It was fostered by the rationalism of Descartes. The Radical Tradition (in terms of its basic concepts, such as the idea of the "social contract" by Rousseau) produced the thought that gave birth to the first social revolution, the French Revolution.

On the other hand, the reaction to the French Revolution produced the social conditions that gave birth to the Conservative Tradition of social thought. There was a cry for "order" in the face of disorder. The new bourgeoisie wanted to solidify their gains with a utilitarian posture. The father of the Conservative Tradition, as a formally developed approach, was le count Saint-Simon. His concern with industrial progress, order and social structure was continued by his secretary, Auguste Comte, to an extent that resulted in the birth of a separate social discipline,

sociology.

In a sort of shorthand, in terms of two polarities placed upon a continuum and grading from one into the other, the illustration on the next page attempts to give a generalized representation of the tenets of thought of the two traditions and to place men and schools in their approximate positions on that continuum.

To further explain the reaction of the men St. Simon and August Comte to the social reform policies of the French Revolution and the significance of this thought for the character and structure of Western society, it is necessary to investigate some of their basic concepts which have been kept alive and viable by the Conservative Tradition and its supporters over the years. The Conservative Tradition, as will become apparent from the material to follow, has been the dominant school of thought from the time of the French Revolution to the present.

The Comte Henrie de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), sometimes referred to as the father of French socialism, was the most prominent writer, in the period after the Revolution, to assess the case for the reform movement. He had made a fortune in speculation of the Church estates confiscated during the revolution. He spent much time in prison during the Terror. After his release he devoted himself to the problems of social reform.

Saint-Simon set forth the idea that social progress depended on the scientific reorganization of society and the

# Idealized and Simplified

## CONSERVATIVE - RADICAL CONTINUUM IN SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

Men and Time Periods:

Renaissance  
-humanism  
Philosophes  
Roussesu  
Montesquieu  
FRENCH REVOLUTION

Saint-Simon

Comte

REACTION TO FRENCH REVOLUTION

Burke -- Utilitarianism

Capitalism

← Marx (Grand theorist)

← Weber →

Durkheim →

Social Darwinist Ideology

Dewey (Pragmatism and Instrumentalism)

Sorekin (Grand theorist)

Park (Symbolic Interactionists)

(Various 20th century schools of functionalism) ← C. Wright Mills

← Parsons (Systems theory)

← Merton →

← Goulaner →

AMERICAN ACADEMIC SOCIOLOGY

AMERICAN RADICAL SOCIOLOGY

American  
Academic  
Sociology

CONSERVATIVE TRADITION

RADICAL TRADITION

1. Social Structure the "real" --  
(Man is a product of the social system)
2. Order and structure the normal state--  
Conflict is dysfunctional
3. Change--except teleological, in terms  
of the social-Darwinist Ideology is  
dysfunctional--therefore should be kept  
to a minimum so as not to threaten the  
state of social cohesion and the social  
structure itself
4. Society--more or less a closed system--  
growth is in terms of expansion or in  
slow evolutionary process

1. Man is the "real"  
The social system  
is a construct
2. Conflict is  
ubiquitous
3. Change is the prime  
mover of the dynamic  
synthesis that is the  
normal state of society
4. Society--open, conflict  
actuated adaptable  
system-- ever-present  
change in the system is  
the key to growth

promotion of science as an area of study. In his idea of a new society, people would be paid according to the wealth they produced and idlers would be punished. The only useful class, the industrial producers, would prosper. The maintenance, protection and promotion of the industrial organization would be the chief function of the political state, and its function in other areas would be as restricted as possible. In time, the national states of Europe would disappear. It can be seen that this proposal by St. Simon was the one that furnished the fundamental view of the function of government in the United States in the nineteenth century--of the least government possible--and lives today as one of the central concepts of state's rights and in the philosophy of the Republican party.

A final proposal involved the formation of a new religion that would give men a sense of unity in the world.

That Saint-Simon did not represent an isolated phenomenon was amply demonstrated by the fact that a school of thought developed in his name, and he exerted influence on a diverse group of scholars such as Rodbertus, John Stuart Mill, Blanc, Marx, Proudhon, and his private secretary and the future father of sociology, Auguste Comte.

Such scholars as these engaged in the utopia-building and reformism that became the nineteenth-century counterpart of the eighteenth century liberal and revolutionary movements. Other men such as Durke, de Maistre and de Bonald



developed a conservative reaction contrary to the course of events and eventually influenced the development of a school of thought designated as utilitarianism and the further advancement of ideas that came to be concentrated in the Conservative Tradition.

In pointing up the fundamental differences between the spheres of thought in this time period, it can be seen that the idealistic program with its organic conceptions of society and history was built on conservative ideas and opposed to planned social change while the positivistic program of the reorganization of society originated in liberal and reformist circles.

In taking over the socially conservative, idealistic-organismic concept of society and subordinating the positivistic method to it, Auguste Comte (1798-1857) provided a conservative answer to socialism and set forth the direction of development of Western society for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Comte was a disciple, secretary and confidante of Saint-Simon, though they eventually parted company. He was familiar with Saint-Simon's socialistic principle. As was noted previously, Comte is considered as the father of a new human science, "Sociology." First he called his study "positive philosophy" but later he adopted the term "sociology." Spencer also approached the area of study by way of his "synthetic philosophy."

Comte was a success, not because of a chance

combination of social and intellectual elements, but because the time period in which he lived and the social conditions that prevailed formed an environment that was responsive to just that combination. His simultaneous consideration of the conservative and idealistic elements in the definition of subject matter is apparent in his analysis of social phenomena. According to Comte, the world is governed by ideas which, if left alone, throw it into chaos. He defines the social mechanism as resting on opinion. He states,

The great political and moral crisis that societies are now undergoing is shown by a rigid analysis to arise out of intellectual anarchy. While stability in fundamental maxim is the first condition of genuine order, we are suffering under an utter disagreement which may be called universal.<sup>1</sup>

Comte, however, as one might think, does not continue his line of thought into an analysis of public opinion but develops a reclassification of the sciences as a first consideration in the building of moral, social and intellectual order.

The field of social structure (or order) was described as social statistics by Comte.<sup>2</sup> Comte thought of society as an organic whole divisible into three parts: the society, the family and the individual. He saw the organs of society as social institutions. The smallest potentially self-sufficient unit of society was the family.

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<sup>1</sup>Auguste Comte quoted in Martindale, Sociological Theory, pp. 12-63.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 13-63.

As such, it represented a sort of suborganic whole. As such, it became for Comte the basic unit of society. From this concept he made an assertion about the organic unity of mankind: "the whole human race might be conceived as the gradual development of a single family."<sup>1</sup>

Comte felt that the real unit of concern for sociological analysis was the society. He found it to be superior to the individual organism because it is found to include "the whole of the human species, and chiefly the whole of the white race."<sup>2</sup>

Comte found that the most important property of society was tendency toward government in the form of a rank order of subordination, cooperation and division of labor. He saw this subordination as both material and social and developing out of the existing natural individual differences. In such a scheme the individual must acknowledge his subordination to those above him in the organization. This conception of hierarchy according to natural fitness develops in society a "natural" tendency to form governments and demonstrates the greater fitness, by nature, of some men to be the leaders of the society.

In the foregoing discussion of the basic principles set forth by Comte, can be seen the preoccupation with stability, order (structure) and the development of a bureau-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

cratic organization with finer and finer divisions of labor such as exist in society today. It also portends the development of the idea of the "Captains of Industry" as specially gifted men, morally and intellectually superior to the other members of society. It also lays the groundwork of the concept of the "survival of the fittest," a Darwinian biological concept to be discussed later.

Comte was so preoccupied with order and stability that he was influenced in his thought by the Indian caste system, which appeared to him to represent a paradigm of social stability.

Comte, too, originated the concept of "progress" that was to live right down into the present day. He conceived of the principle of development which is one of the most important properties of the modern conservative-idealistic formula. In this manner progress was taken out of the revolutionary context and reformed and set at the very center of the conservative position. It was the principle of immanent development; it was an inevitable result of man's existence; it could only be checked or speeded up by such factors as population density, social heredity, race, or climate.

Comte traced the development of mankind through a theological, metaphysical and toward a positivistic stage. He identified the period of the French Revolution and the philosophy of rationalism with the metaphysical state of social development. To Comte metaphysical philosophy



signified rationalism, Deism, the conception of natural rights of man and the social contract.

Finally, in line with the importance that Saint Simon had delegated to the institution of religion, Comte proposed a new religion of humanity, and with supreme modesty, envisioned himself as the high priest. In his scheme, society would be subject to the most minute and systematization of the individual life. Humanity becomes the center of the religious orientation relation of Comte's new society, and, as such, is objectified in worship. Comte's conception of humanity included all future, living or dead beings who labored for the advancement of Man on the earth.

In his religion the earth was the great fetish and it existed in the great medium of world space. The great being, the great fetish, and the great medium--mankind, the world, and space--become the trinity of positivism.

In Comte's conception of the sociocracy, the captains of industry would have the ruling power in external affairs since they would be so rich that they would no longer be subject to feelings of greed. The individual would have no rights, only duties. Industrial life would be conducted in such a way as to make the best conditions for family life possible. Women would be in charge of feeling (the emotional side of life) and men would have charge of rational life.

From the principles of Comte's societal construct, effects on contemporary life are obvious. His ideas lived on

as justification for imperialism and the superiority of the white race, and in the treatment of women as if they were inferior beings incapable of logical thought.

The philosophical points of view of positivism and idealism have always tended to have a characteristic social origin. Idealism has generally resulted from philosophies of social conservatism. For instance, in the ancient world, Aristotle and Plato were conservative in orientation. In the modern world both the irrational idealists and the objective idealists were conservative. For example, Shopenhaur was wholly opposed to the study of science and Hegel thought of the State as the march of God through the world.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, in both the ancient and modern world, the positivists could be considered as lining up on the side of social reform. This was the reason that Aristotle and Plato feared the Sophists. From the time of Bacon's New Atlantis, a wide range of reformist programs have been initiated in the name of science.

Events that transpired after the French Revolution and in the closing days of the eighteenth century served to make the linkage of social reaction with idealism particularly strong. This exemplified by the writing of Louis de Bonald, Joseph de Maistre, and Edmund Burke. During the same broad period the works of John Stuart Mill, Blanc, Owne, Proudhon, Marx and Saint-Simon demonstrate how the

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<sup>1</sup>Martindale, Sociological Theory, p. 76.

programs of scientific socialism became linked to the principles of scientific socialism.

It was in this context of social thought that the attitudes of society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were formed and these attitudes were the determining factors in the function and treatment of the deviant minorities who fitted the construct of Deviant type-W (or the social heretic) in the same time period. Not only were these ideas influential in the development of attitudes in the past but many of them still persist in the form of current social attitudes.

The effects of the two traditions just described have left their mark on society, and specific social developments can be traced to their point of origin in a particular tradition. Certain facets of present-day social structure reflect directly the conservative or the radical tradition.

The Conservative tradition, of course, led to the ascendance of the economic institution as the center of society. True, it did not completely control the development of the other institutions, but it did result in social arrangements in which the economy and property play a very significant role. The bourgeoisie and their utilitarian orientation were chiefly responsible for the concept of the "sacredness of private property." The concept of property under the bourgeoisie was different than it had been in the Medieval world where the clergy and the landed nobles simply held the

land as the source of wealth. In the bourgeois society, private property was considered as a source of production, and the middle-class citizen who held private property fulfilled a useful function in society--therefrom the appellation, utilitarianism. A modern class system grew to replace the system of estates that had existed in France.

The Radical Tradition found its expression in the societal context in the form of certain socialistic reforms in the structure of the State, first in Europe and then in the United States. Certain kinds of facilities were found to work best under State protection--services such as education, the postal service and some kinds of transportation; the so-called public utilities. (This movement, too, spread faster in Europe than in the United States.)

Summarizing the sphere of influence of the two traditions, it can be said that the Conservative Tradition expressed the thought of the bourgeois (middle-class) who controlled the machinery of production, owned the property, and saw the economic function as the most important institution in society in terms of the utilitarian philosophy as they defined it. On the other hand, the Radical Tradition became the orientation of the working proletariat who, as individuals without property or economic power, were dependent on the industries controlled by the bourgeoisie, and who needed the economic protection of the State that the various socialistic reforms could give.



The Industrial Revolution had progressed farthest and fastest in England, and it was from that country that the utilitarian aspect was added by such men as Edmund Burke. All during this time the economic phenomenon of capitalism had been growing under the forces of urbanization, industrialization and the rise of Protestantism. The Protestants were not concerned with the sins of avarice and usury as were the Catholics. They went about the building of a powerful bourgeoisie with considerable zeal. It was at this time that the conditions that fostered the Protestant (Puritan) ethic were developed.

Meanwhile, technology, industrialization, and capitalism combined with a policy of mercantilism and imperialism overseas created a set of social conditions for the common man that were like nothing ever seen before. The rise of cities, the in-migration of rural workers displaced by entrepreneurs, caused abominable housing and sanitation conditions. Social legislation was in its infancy, and starvation wages and employment of children, with no regard for safety, was the order of the day. These conditions came to the attention of a young man by the name of Karl Marx.

Under the pen of Karl Marx, the Radical Tradition came alive again. He saw the social process as a dialectic. Thesis was followed by antithesis which was in turn followed by synthesis. Then the process would end finally in a utopia in which there was no need for government at all as man would

reach his full moral potential. Many of the conditions that exist today, Marx could not have foreseen. He was mistaken in his evaluation of the potentiality of the proletariat under capitalism. However, he did contribute three ideas which still remain valid in the area of social theory today: these were his method, his seminal theory of social class, and his idea of alienation which were further refined by Durkheim, and forty years later, again by Merton into anomie theory. Marx also introduced empiricism to sociology, making full use of English governmental statistical studies in compiling his economic treatises.<sup>1</sup>

Next on the scene were Simmel, Durkheim and Weber. Simmel contributed much theoretical material about social institutions that is still used by such men as Coser today. Durkheim, as a synthesizer of all the useful concepts of the Conservative Tradition, extended it and added an increment of empirical investigation that has caused scholars to refer to him as the "father of structural-functionalism."

Weber, on the other hand, defies classification as to a position on the Conservative-Radical continuum. His thought ranged through the whole fabric of society. He developed the concept of the "ideal type," and the ideas about authority and bureaucratization which have practical application in the description of current power structure in American society.

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<sup>1</sup>The idea of the dialectical process originated with Hegel; however it was Marx who gave it a different ontological basis. With Hegel the process begins with a "geist," which is a Spirit or God. With Marx it is rooted in the material substance of the planet.

As was pointed out earlier in the European witch-craze, Simmel and Weber both held theories as to the order of development of European capitalism. Weber theorized that it was connected to the rise of Protestantism and the progress of the Industrial Revolution.

Appelbaum summarized Weber's thought as follows:

Weber was, of course, most concerned with the increasing rationalization of the economic sphere and the manifestation in Western capitalistic enterprise: (He quotes Weber) "and the same is true of the most baleful force in our modern life, capitalism. . . . The impulse to acquisition, pursuit of gain, of money, of the greatest possible amount of money, has in itself nothing to do with capitalism. . . . Unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism, and is still less its spirit. Capitalism may even be identical with the restraint, or at least a rational tempering, of this irrational impulse. But capitalism is identical with the pursuit of profit, by means of continuous, rational, capitalistic enterprise."

And Appelbaum continues,

Rudimentary forms of capitalism can be found outside the Western civilization, but only in the West did it develop in the direction of rational capitalistic organization, built around free markets for both products and factors of production (especially labor), with the concomitant separation of business from the household, and the use of rational bookkeeping--the hallmarks of modern capitalism which distinguish it from earlier pre-capitalistic forms. Weber identifies the rational ethic associated with the early development of capitalism in the West as Calvinist, whose this-worldly asceticism facilitated the development of the Western capitalistic entrepreneur.<sup>1</sup>

During this time the Darwinian theory of evolution in the biological science took hold as a frame of reference in the social sciences. It was this type of thinking that gave

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<sup>1</sup>Max Weber cited by Richard P. Appelbaum, Theories of Social Change (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 114-15.

birth to the organismic theories and the evolutionary theories in the social sciences. Together with Weber's concept of the Protestant ethic, the social-Darwinist ideology contributed much to the Conservative Tradition in Sociology and Political Science.

The Conservative Tradition was born, as demonstrated in the foregoing discussion, with Auguste Comte's rearrangement of the principles noted by Saint-Simon, but, before it was to gain the full power it was to have in the social thought (and its expression in the real terms of the characteristics and structure of Western society), it was combined with elements of other intellectual orientation. It was to be combined with concepts from the Protestant (or Puritan) ethic, the social-Darwinist ideology and finally, this powerful combination was to form the basis of the value systems of most of the Western nations. In America, particularly, this combination of concepts took on a uniquely powerful and compelling form, which came to be called the American Dream.

In the discussion that follows, an attempt will be made to tie these elements together and show how they combine to produce the fundamental values determining social and economic behavior, (and which determine attitudes toward minorities and deviant subcultures in society) many of which are still in force in the American post-industrial economy of the present day.

Present-day Western social thought, as held by those



in positions of power and influence in American society, is the result of a combination of all the elements enumerated at the beginning of this section of the study. The combination of the tenets of the Protestant ethic, the social-Darwinist ideology, and the American Dream have been held in such esteem by those who control the wealth and have been expounded by their supporters in the intellectual community to such an extent that they have become traditional values and are even reenforced through government action and made sacred through religious sanction.

#### The Protestant (or Puritan) Ethic

The first of these elements, the Protestant ethic, came about as the result of several historical factors. These factors were the Protestant Reformation, the Counter-reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the urban movement, and the rise of capitalism. The tenets of the Protestant ethic which roughly coincide with the traditional values listed in the figure on page 389 were especially compatible to the rise of capitalism as was pointed out by Max Weber.

Weber conceived of this Puritan (or Protestant) ethic, which was embodied in varying degrees in the Anabaptist, Methodism, Pietism, Puritanism and Calvinist sects, had the "greatest significance in the development of capitalism."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. by Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner and Sons, Publishers, 1958), p. 151.

Weber wrote that Puritanism carried with it "the ethos of the rational organization of capital and labor," and that it "burned with all its force against one thing: the spontaneous enjoyment of life and all it had to offer."<sup>1</sup>

According to Weber, Asceticism

. . . looked upon the pursuit of wealth as an end in itself as highly reprehensible, but the attainment of it as the fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God's blessing. And even more important: the religious valuation of restless, continuous, systematic work in a worldly calling, as the highest means to asceticism, and at the same time the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith, must have been the most powerful conceivable lever for the expansion of that attitude toward life which we have here called the spirit of capitalism.<sup>2</sup>

Briefly stated, the Protestant ethic called for the internalization of the following concepts of behavior:

- a) facing up to problems and doing something about them on an individual basis.
- b) the value of work through enjoying it and for the success (material) that it brings and proof of virtue.
- c) control of emotions.
- d) future orientation and planning—struggling onward and upward to achieve success.
- e) striving to achieve self-established goals (to denote progress).
- f) community participation.

During the whole of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, everyone, including the members of adult society in America today have been thoroughly

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

socialized in the principles of the Protestant ethic.

As an illustration of the core values generally subscribed to by the adult American society, the following list by James Vander Zanden is cited here:

1. Materialism. Americans are prone to evaluate things in material and monetary terms. . . . We tend to get quite excited about things as opposed to ideas, people, and aesthetic creations.
2. Success. . . . Part of the American faith is that "there is always another chance" and that "If at first you do not succeed, try, try again." If we ourselves cannot succeed, then we have the prospect for vicarious achievement through our children.
3. Work and Activity. . . . Work and activity are exalted in their own right, they are not merely means by which success may be realized; in and of themselves they are valued as worthwhile.
4. Progress. A belief in the perfectibility of society, man, and the world has been a kind of driving force to American history. . . . Americans tend to equate "the New" with "the Best."
5. Rationality. Americans almost universally place faith in the rational approach to life. We continuously search out more "reasonable," "time-saving," an "effort-saving" ways of doing things.
6. Democracy. "Democracy" has become almost synonymous with "the American way of life." . . . We extol the Declaration of Independence with its insistence that "all men are created equal" and "governments (derive) their just power from the consent of the governed."
7. Humanitarianism. . . . Philanthropy and voluntary charity have been a characteristic not of America. More recently, more attention has been given to numerous programs for social welfare, with government playing an active role.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Olsen, Social Organization, p. 58, citing James Vander Zanden.

In addition to the seventh value listed by Zanden, Gouldner would probably add the "sacred right to private property."<sup>1</sup> In the past in America, when the right to private property and humanitarianism have been juxtaposed, the value of humanitarianism has always been sacrificed to the "sacred right of private property."

Before continuing with the contribution of the Protestant ethic to the ideology of Social-Darwinism, it is well to take note of another effect that this ethic had on the thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and how this thought as embodied in the tenets of the Protestant ethic, resulted in the rise of the Therapeutic State, institutional psychiatry, the public health agency, and the mental health movement.

The Rise of the Therapeutic State and Its  
Significance for Deviant type-W

As has been noted, society, after the French Revolution, was generally controlled in conformance with the ideas of the bourgeoisie or the middle-class and in accordance with the utilitarian philosophy and the values contained in the Protestant ethic. At this time, the concept of "normality" was born. What was "normal" behavior was that that coincided with these traditional values as set forth by the Protestant ethic and to which the middle-class subscribed en masse.

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<sup>1</sup>Alvin W. Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970).



This concept of normality, combined with the idea of imminent progress (things getting better and better) which was both set forth by Comte as a sociological principle, and which was also contained in the value system of the Protestant ethic, produced the idea of "curability." This ultimately resulted in the "cult of curability," or the idea of "sickness" or "pathology," which could be treated to once again achieve the "normal" state of production and progress. (The social scientists borrowed from the natural sciences here to show that both the body of man and the body of society, the social order, were organisms, and as such had temporary setbacks in the form of illness or pathology which, when overcome, returned the organism to a healthy state of "normal" growth and development.) These same principles, of course, gave impetus to the development of the social-Darwinist ideology, which will be outlined briefly in the following subsection of the study. The combined positive sanction of the Protestant ethic and the social-Darwinist ideology gave birth to a new orientation of thought, which might be entitled the therapeutic orientation. This orientation supplanted the previous orientation which used punishment for nonconforming behavior. The posture of the therapeutic orientation was therefore more positive (in accord with the positivistic philosophy in science) than had been the punitive orientation which had preceded it.

The new orientation which emphasized "treatment" of

"illness" over the punishment of nonconforming behavior (which was considered as rebellion) had strong positive effects on two categories of Deviant type-w who had previously had little hope. Conditions, however, did not change overnight, for tradition, custom and emotionally-ruled behavior frequently lag far behind what has been conceptualized on the intellectual level.) Nevertheless, although the punitive orientation has continued to exist through history and is still used today, the therapeutic orientation made such great strides that it first won over the medical profession, then psychology, and finally the political institution until the state can be described today as the Therapeutic State.

The time of the rise of the Therapeutic State (a term originated by Thomas Szasz<sup>1</sup> and later expanded by Nicholas N. Kittrie<sup>2</sup>) varies according to various scholars. It does roughly parallel, however, the founding of institutional psychiatry which made the psychiatrists of the mental hospitals agents of the state and gave them the coercive power to enforce treatment.<sup>3</sup>

In discussing the characteristics of the Therapeutic State Kittrie notes a number of assumptions on which this

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

<sup>2</sup>Nicholas N. Kittrie, The Right to Be Different: Deviance and Enforced Therapy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971).

<sup>3</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

character is based. First,

. . . the therapeutic state builds its foundation on science rather than faith. It therefore speaks not in terms of moral judgment (it abhors such concepts as "mens rea," "free will," "good," "evil") but in concepts reputed to be descriptive and scientific ("mentally ill," "socially delinquent," "psychopathic," etc.).

The implications of the therapeutic state for the treatment of crime and criminals are dramatic, representing a departure from the moral-religious concept that crime and other antisocial behavior are manifestations of "evil" and should therefore be suppressed and punished as a means of purging the evil-doer as well as society. Crime is viewed as a natural feature of the social landscape. . . .<sup>1</sup>

He continues,

The growing acceptance of the deterministic view of crime, however, has not totally replaced the classical penal system in actual practice. Instead, deterministic concepts and solutions have been grafted onto the old classical school through the development of social controls over people without mens rea. . . .

In the new hybrid system of social controls—which is here designated the therapeutic state, the heaviest emphasis has been placed upon the treatment and rehabilitation of offenders. Yet the treatment concept was at best only one of the principles of a positivist-deterministic criminology, which laid its total emphasis on social defense.<sup>2</sup>

Particularly important is the consideration of the character of the therapeutic function of the State as opposed to the public welfare function. Kittrie goes on to clarify the difference between these two functions.

The therapeutic state differs from its more established sister, the public welfare state, in that the latter offers its services to the voluntary recipient while the former seeks to impose its "beneficial" services compulsorily (since the recipient is held to

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<sup>1</sup>Kittrie, Right to Be Different, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

be incompetent). Under the public welfare, the citizen is faced, at least theoretically, with the final choice either to accept or reject the offered public assistance and any concomitant governmental scrutiny and demands, but the state's therapeutic function is often authoritarian and may be exercised on a deviant individual for the asserted public interest with little or no consideration of his own choice.

The operations of the therapeutic state are in a condition of constant growth.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Szasz<sup>2</sup> makes a point of this coercive function of the institutional psychiatrist as an enforcement agent<sup>3</sup> of the state (having power to identify and label an individual with the stigmatized label of "criminal" or "mentally ill") Szasz goes so far as to compare the modern psychiatrist with the inquisitors of the middle ages.

First of all, Szasz states that the institutional psychiatrist is in the business of ". . . putting under lock and key deviant citizens categorized as mentally ill. . . ." <sup>4</sup>

He goes on to comment that,

The community mental health centers movement proposes to expand and extend this traditional police power of the psychiatrist. It does so by asserting that the mental health worker has a responsibility, not only to the patient who comes for help, but also to those who do not come because they do not consider themselves sick but who must nevertheless be "serviced."<sup>5</sup>

Szasz in pursuing this point and showing that in the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>2</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

<sup>3</sup>Becker, Outsiders.

<sup>4</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 224.



guise of moving from the orientation of protection to treatment, to prevention the police powers of the State psychiatrist are augmented to such an extent that he could represent an oppressive force for this type of deviant individual, whether he becomes classified as "criminal" or "mentally disordered." Szasz quotes Norman Lourie, Executive Deputy Secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, as insisting that "Mental health services can no longer rely upon patients asking for help. Potential patients must be sought out to achieve early detection and prevention."<sup>1</sup>

All such statements by public officials, couched in the vocabulary and concepts of the middle-class Protestant ethic, sound very encouraging to those wanting to preserve the "normal," "healthy" condition of society. The fact that the patient is identified, "treated" to regain "normality" and then is returned to society to continue to strive to "get ahead" rings with a very pleasant note on those citizens (and many social scientists--such as the social pathologists of the first part of the twentieth century) who have been thoroughly socialized in the Protestant ethic and infused with the ideology of social-Darwinism.

Nevertheless, as Szasz has pointed out, there are some very real dangers for deviant individuals in society. The labels "criminal" and "insane" are extremely negative and fit the classical stereotype under investigation in this

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 225.

study. What the agent of the State, in the form of the psychiatrist, is really doing is creating "secondary deviants." He is labeling individuals as social heretics.

As Szasz asserts,

It is in forensic psychiatry, finally, that we find the best examples of how preoccupation with the "mental health" of victimized individuals or groups --Negroes, persons accused of crime, old people-- actually works to their detriment, serving only to confirm them in their debased roles as defective objects, and to elevate their caretakers to the exalted position of loving parents. . . .  
 . . . if, as I suggested, the person incriminated as mentally ill is a scapegoat, then it is the duty of a humanistic behavioral science to focus attention not on him but rather on those responsible for casting him in that role.<sup>1</sup>

Szasz continues in the same vein to demonstrate that it matters little what the individual label might be because the deviancy is generalized to fit the deviant stereotype of the social heretic. He maintains,

"The term stigma," writes Goffman, "refer[s] to an attribute that is deeply discrediting. . . ." Being considered or labeled mentally disordered-- abnormal, crazy, mad, psychotic, sick, it matters not what variant is used--is the most profoundly discrediting classification that can be imposed on a person today. Mental illness casts the "patient" out of the social order just as surely as heresy cast the "witch" out of medieval society.<sup>2</sup>

Undoubtedly the development of the therapeutic state has had its positive side because it has served, to some extent, to lessen the repercussions on the individual deviant. Instead of being subjected to torture and possibly death as a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 237.

generalized group, the secularization of thought has resulted in a particularistic science of psychiatry which deals with individuals on an individual basis. The fate of the individual may still result in indignities and incarceration but the more extreme penalties are avoided and, on an intellectual level at least, there is hope for the future.

As a result, too, there has been a positive shift on the intellectual level (more in the pure than in the applied areas of science it is true) from the punitive to the therapeutic and, (with the work successfully done in preventative medicine in the public health field) finally, to the preventative orientations of thought among scholars and government officials.

The growth of the public health institution and its positive effect has already been noted. Also, there are many positive factors about the stress on the mental health program. Nevertheless, so long as, noting Szasz' comment that, "The institutional psychiatrist is a duly authorized agent of the Therapeutic State; his client is the State and its agency, Institutional Psychiatry."<sup>1</sup> This makes the future of the institutional psychiatrist directly dependent on how well he conforms to the middle-class idea (or laymen's idea) of diagnosing the patients' conditions and labeling them.

Naturally, such a situation does not augur well for the future of the individual deviant because the psychiatrist

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

feels that he would rather be safe than sorry.

Before leaving this subject to return to the Protestant ethic and its contribution to the social-Darwinist ideology, there is one more entry on the negative side of the ledger that must be considered. This is in the form of a projection into the future in terms of a possible scenario. This scenario concerns what Kittrie refers to as the "Fear of Therapeutic Tyranny," and which Szasz has already alluded to. Kittrie quotes Szasz as follows:

He [Szasz] has therefore set out to demonstrate how in modern society moral standards have declined in social preeminence, "how health values have usurped the place of moral values," and how "social engineering" has arrived "disguised as mental health."<sup>1</sup>

Kittrie describes a society in which the therapeutic orientation has been carried to its ultimate:

Under a future therapeutic ideal, police and criminal process might be abandoned. The environment would be manipulated and controlled. Preventative measures would be taken to render any antisocial action impossible. There would be perhaps a perpetual monitoring instead of policing of every individual's behavior. In this way, antisocial activity would be detected and prevented before harm could result. When one demonstrated antisocial tendencies, he would not be subject to a criminal trial but rather would be medically diagnosed and treated so that the behavior would not recur. Complete histories of individuals would be kept from birth to death, to generate the statistical knowledge necessary to sound diagnosis and to provide the necessary feedback to measure the efficacy of treatment. Secrets would be taboo, privacy unheard of, resistance to the new controls pathological. Man's innermost

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<sup>1</sup>Kittrie, Right to Be Different, p. 354, citing Thomas S. Szasz.



thoughts would have to be open to complete scrutiny if the preventative model were to be successful.<sup>1</sup>

It can be seen that such a total application of the values of the Protestant ethic to create the ultimate therapeutic state would create many problems for the average individual of the dominant group, without even considering what the consequences could be for the individual member of a deviant minority, or even the deviant as an individual.

One might say that such a scenario has little possibility of developing as actual fact. In answer to that, the reader is directed to the consideration of the optimum application of the social-Darwinist ideology (discussed in the next subsection) by the German state during the 12-year Third Reich, which is discussed in a succeeding section in connection with Jewish persecutions during the period.

Whether or not the Protestant sects were any more or less influential in the rise of capitalism in Europe than Weber imagined, it is nonetheless true that the teachings of thrift, hard work, progress, the foregoing of present pleasure for future reward, and the equating of wealth and success with virtue was especially compatible with the social-Darwinist ideology that was to become dominant in Europe, and especially America, in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup>Kittrie, Right to Be Different, p. 354.

### The Social-Darwinist Ideology

In Martindale social-Darwinism is compared with the other major conflict ideology, Marxist-socialism.<sup>1</sup>

According to Martindale,

The first form of social-Darwinism, already partly evident in the writings of Charles Darwin, conceived human society as a product of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. In the works of Spencer, William Graham Sumner, and others, this led to the notion that the captains of modern industry represented the fittest members of society. It also led to the assumption that social welfare activities, in aiding the socially underprivileged, were destroying the biological potential of the race. The rich thus merited their wealth; the poor, by biological inferiority, deserved their fate. . . . Social-Darwinism was a conflict ideology projected in the name of the upper strata of a bourgeois society. . . . Social Darwinism's external program was imperialism ("manifest destiny," the "white man's burden"). . . . Social Darwinism's internal program was an active eugenic policy aimed at race improvement, mass sterilization, and the rooting out of socialism as if it were a genetic defect. It was left to the Germans, with typical Teutonic thoroughness, to demonstrate fully the implication of consistent social-Darwinism.<sup>2</sup>

The Puritan ethic became the way of life in England, coupled with the utilitarian philosophy of the growing middle-class and the expansion of industry at home and imperialist foreign policy and mercantilism overseas. The English became so famous for their business practices that a new word was coined for their policies: "Yankeeism."

The Protestant ethic was transplanted to England's Puritan colonies in the new world and the people there took

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<sup>1</sup>Martindale, Sociological Theory, pp. 157-175.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 174.

their name from the policy of the Puritan ethic. They became known throughout the world as Yankees. In conformance with the Protestant ethic, an important part of the American character is the so-called "gospel of work" or the belief that any individual could get ahead by just working harder. To the early American, the greatest fault of all was that of idleness. The entire civilization was devoted to the materialistic concepts of acquisitiveness and the accompanying technological progress.<sup>1</sup>

This further entrenched the Puritan idea of the divine rights of property and stewardship, that is, the duty of the Christian man is to acquire as much wealth as possible in God's name. This became the basis of the American Dream of Success.<sup>2</sup>

#### The American Dream of Success

In the American Dream goodness was associated with wealth, and sin with poverty.<sup>3</sup> This had much to do with the later theories of certain religio-economists who advanced the theories of the "divine right of property" and the "gospel of wealth." As the organized Church gained a foothold in the

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<sup>1</sup>Carl N. Degler, Out of Our Past (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1959), pp. 154-160.

<sup>2</sup>Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1943), pp. 69-70.

<sup>3</sup>Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 315-365.

new world, it did its part as a servant of order and tradition to advance this quasi-religious obsession with progress and success and to reinforce these ideas by sanction from the pulpit.<sup>1</sup>

For all the materialism that was present in the make-up of the philosophy of the average American and which finally culminated with the pragmatism of philosophers such as John Dewey, the American was also an idealist who believed it was preordained that all would turn out for the best and to the ultimate benefit of humanity.<sup>2</sup> Regardless of existing conditions, the will of God for the equality of the individual human being in relationship with all others would in the end be realized without the conscious direction of society itself. (The influence of the thought and his principle of the "emanence of progress" is evident in this attitude.) Basically, the American felt that the world was getting better and better, and that progress for its own sake was "good."

Coupled with these ideas was another concerning the political institution that again harked back to Auguste Comte. The American felt that the least amount of government was the best amount of government. Also, government was to take a "hands off" attitude toward business because the development of the economic institution was of primary importance to society.

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<sup>1</sup>Curti, Growth of American Thought, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup>Doegler, Out of Our Past, pp. 155-156.



Now, instead of the partnership of the Church and State that had existed during the Theocratic State, with the Church as the senior partner and the State as the "silent" partner, a new partnership developed that had different characteristics. The new partnership was a three-way partnership of the economic institution, the political institution, and the religious institution (supported by the educational institution) with the economic institution being the senior partner. The economic institution was to set policy (in accordance with the ideas of the Captains of industry being the most "qualified" leaders as promoted by Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte) and the State and the religious institutions functioned chiefly to maintain the "status quo." How the Protestant ethic helped in this indoctrination of the individual has already been noted.

As Bronowski and Mazlish stated in referring to the promotion of the Industrial Revolution by the teachings of the Protestant ethic,

Even the later Industrial Revolution was powered by an ethic of its own, which changed the character of the Christian virtues in the direction of thrift, frugality, and resignation. In this respect, John Wesley in the eighteenth century was as much of an innovator as Luther and Calvin were in the sixteenth.<sup>1</sup>

In the American experience in spite of the existence of new problems and rampant social injustice, the society still remained firm in its belief the combination of concepts

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<sup>1</sup>Bronowski and Mazlich, Western Intellectual Tradition, p. 496.

and the partnership of institutions (just discussed as part of the American Dream) and the "cult of success" during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. This was because the common man, just as much as the captain of industry, also believed sincerely the concepts constantly impressed upon him from the literature, from the pulpit, and from the social mechanism itself.

The foregoing discussion of the American Dream was presented because it shows how the wedding of the Protestant ethic to the social-Darwinist ideology affected the common man after he had been thoroughly conditioned by the religious, political and educational institutions. (The American experience is of particular importance to this study because, as will be explained in more detail later, with the independence of the United States from Britain, the American history society offers a laboratory culture of the ideas of the Conservative Tradition transplanted to fresh soil without the contradictory effects of native tradition and custom.)

This was the social climate in which American Academic Sociology developed. (American thought represented an extension of the thought of the English anthropologists who were oriented to the Conservative tradition and were the forerunners of structural-functionalism). At the top of the American society were the industrialists with their firm belief in the social-Darwinist biological theory as proof of their mental and physical superiority, and the Protestant

ethic which pointed to their personal wealth as evidence of their spiritual superiority. At the bottom of society was the working man who also believed in the social-Darwinist ideology and the Protestant ethic, not because he had benefited from their application, but because he had been socialized in their values by the established Church, government sanctions, and the teachings of the educational institution.

Needless to say, if an intellectual valued his personal future and the possibility of a fortune, he too would become an avid supporter of, or an apologist for, this combination of factors that governed American social thought.

What was true for the rest of the society was also true for succeeding generations of American Academic Sociologists. They were profoundly influenced by the Conservative Tradition, the Protestant ethic, and the social-Darwinist ideology. These intellectual orientations were combined, with the support of the intellectual community, and the public was indoctrinated with concepts that were to culminate in the American Dream of Success.

In the foregoing discussion of the combination of economic, political, religious and social thought that were to influence the career of the social heretic in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a change of emphasis in the geographic location of this socio-historical investigation was effected as the current of social thought crossed the

ocean from Europe to America.

In the presentation of the material that follows, in contrast to what has gone before, the emphasis will be on the American society as the central locale with the conditions in Europe as peripheral.

The reason for this has been previously noted. In order to facilitate the progress of the study of the effect of social changes wrought by the era of Revolutions and the subsequent direction of political, economic, religious and social thought in terms of the future career of the social heretic for the balance of the 19th century and during the twentieth century, a change of social scene is indicated.

This change of the area of study from western Europe to the United States is supported by a number of factors, some of which have already been noted. First of all, it was a state that was planned and then created. The plan incorporated many of the social reforms contained in the most advanced thought in Europe at that time. It encompassed the same reforms that were also the targets of the French Revolution. Europe was a complex conglomeration of small states in the years to come, whereas the United States was a unified federal system. To sum it up, the United States was, at that time, an empty space in which would be, in a manner of speaking, grown a laboratory culture of the combination of capitalism, the Protestant (or Puritan) ethic, and the social-Darwinist ideology.



The developing social situation described above can readily be observed as an on-going social process in the American situation because the ideas of Europe were transplanted to new soil with no historical heritage of conflicting ideas.

A Change of Scene: The American Society as a  
Laboratory Culture of the Capitalistic  
System Supported by the Puritan Ethic

The American continent offered a vast empty space with seemingly unlimited frontiers. In such an environment the fledgling United States of the early 1800's represented a transplanted culture of English Yankeeism. As noted previously, the men of the new American nation came to have such a reputation for commercial acumen that they became known the world over as the "Yankees."

The Historical Development of the Character and  
Structure of American Society

The changes that were wrought by the French social revolution in the social structure of the states of Europe made them more like the American society that had gained its independence from England a few years earlier.

France, before the Revolution, had been a Catholic monarchy. As such it was a rigidly structured society of a system of estates. At the top were the landed royalty and the clergy and at the bottom were the small farmers, or peasants, and the city workers.

After the Revolution the French society (as depicted

by the illustration of the thermodynamic analogy on the following page) became a system of classes with the bourgeois entrepreneur at the top, but with the peasant and the worker still at the bottom. Some gains had been made, though, for the new world which had been created by the bourgeoisie did extend formal legal freedom to the lower classes thus at last freeing them from the system of hereditary bondage, but making them dependent upon the emerging industries. This made their fates dependent on the sales of their services to the labor market.

The mass society of modern times who rent instead of own their own homes--the new proletariat--were destined not to find any protection in the "sacredness of private property" which consumed the middle class but now were subject to treatment as dictated by the conscience of the economic entrepreneur.

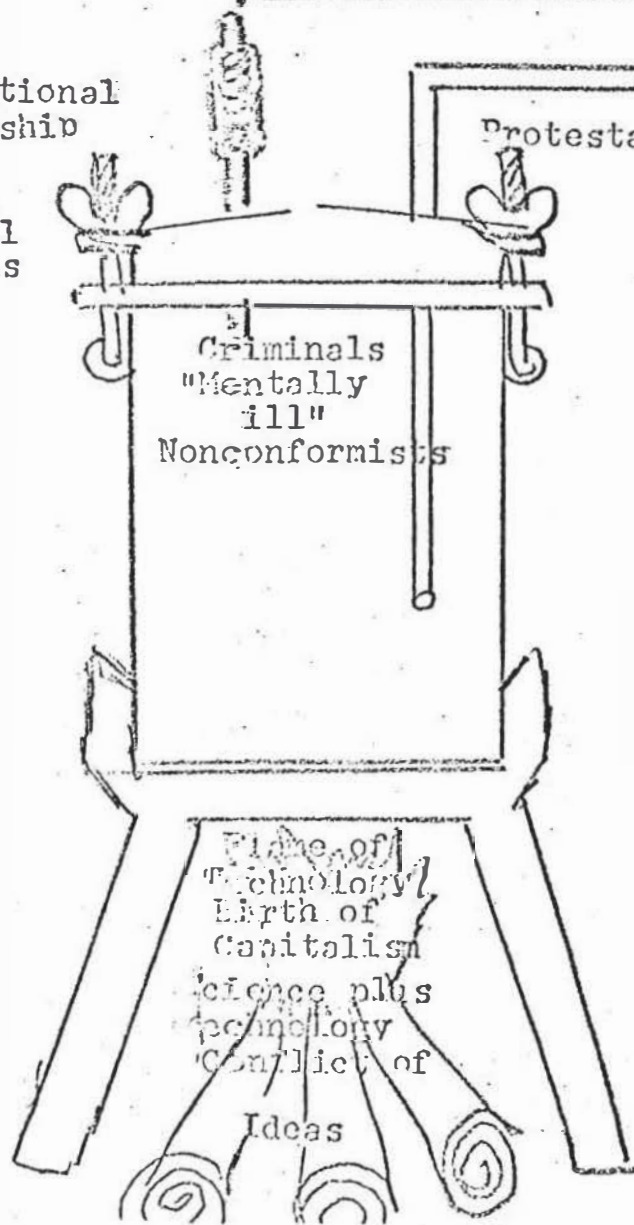
In order to gather some measure of protection, the proletariat tried to shift the center of gravity more in its favor through the technique of socialized property and services. In modern post-Revolutionary society groups were created that were without any economic protection, except for that given by the State through the socialization of services and property. This social phenomenon came about as a societal structural development peculiar to the Western world.

Social reform began with (in Europe first) the administration of postal services, education, and certain

THERMODYNAMIC MODEL OF THE RESOLUTION OF SOCIAL  
CONFLICT AFTER THE FRENCH "SOCIAL REVOLUTION"--  
THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD--THE  
ALLEGIANCE TO THE "PROTESTANT ETHIC" AND THE  
SPREAD OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS  
ACCOMPANYING MOVEMENT TOWARD URBANIZATION

New  
Institutional  
Partnership

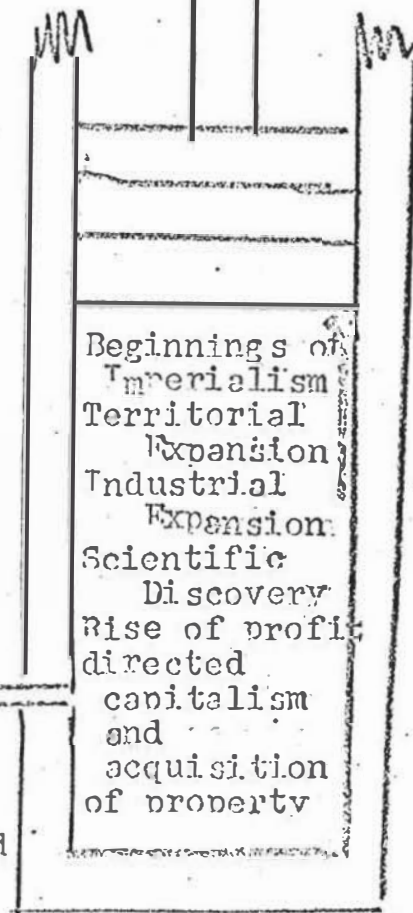
1. Economic
2. Political
3. Religious



Protestant Ethic

Potential of  
Market  
Development  
a matter of over-  
coming resistance  
to expansion

New "mobility" of  
the population with-  
in the limits imposed  
by the Protestant  
ethic



Beginnings of  
Imperialism  
Territorial  
Expansion  
Industrial  
Expansion  
Scientific  
Discovery  
Rise of profit  
directed  
capitalism  
and  
acquisition  
of property

types of transportation. It is this lack of economic security of the masses that is the starting point of all systems of socialist ideology which attempt to guarantee such security to all social elements.

The society of the fledgling United States resembled that of post-Revolutionary France much more than it did of France under the monarchy. Although Americans like to perpetuate the myth of the hard-drinking, hard-fighting almost illiterate frontiersman as the determining force in the early society, the true situation was quite different.

Classes have existed in American society from the very first. Such men as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, the Adamses, and Alexander Hamilton were not illiterate country bumpkins, wise in the ways of the frontier. Rather, they were aristocrats, well-educated, traveled, and large landholders with slaves. It was this element that, together with the first immigrants from northwest Europe, became the first economic entrepreneurs, whose names today occupy the social register of the upper class.

The story of social class in America consisted at first of a denial of its existence, then the perpetuation of the fiction of complete vertical mobility (in accordance with the American Dream) that would allow the poor boy to rise to the top. Later came the admission of a class system but with the assurance that it was only an economic phenomenon. The result of this was that everyone fancied himself to be a



member of the middle class.

Now, of course, there is a more realistic approach to this concept. There is a total of some six classes in the North and the vestiges of a caste system in the South.<sup>1</sup> The general basis of this class system is economic but, at the top, is an upper-upper class that is largely hereditary due to intermarriage and carries with it automatic membership in the social register.

The beginnings of the upper-upper class already existed in post-Revolutionary War America. In addition to this class of aristocrats in the North and in the South, there were the factory owners, world traders and industrialists of the North, shippers and exporters of the South, a middle-class of shopkeepers and artisans (such as shoemakers, gunsmiths, carpenters, etc.) and the workers and small farmers. Outside the class system, at the very bottom were the indentured servants and the slaves.

The size of the empty territory did offer the opportunity for both horizontal and vertical mobility. The scarcity of labor and skill on the frontier could enable a worker to rise to the artisan class, to shopkeeper, then, with sufficient acumen to become a middle-class trader or manufacturer and so possibly to become a business tycoon. The very top, however, was reserved for those people who had already arrived, and the only way to crack it was through inter-

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<sup>1</sup>The concept of six classes in society comes from the typology by Warner which is based on Weber and which in turn was based on a Marxian idea.

marriage, as a trade-off of finance for good name in the second or third generation.

Nevertheless, a folklore grew up around the individuals who were able to accomplish this rise to the top that came to be known as the American Dream of Success (and which was described in an earlier section).

American society then, at first, became a strongly individualistic society based on a rural economy with unlimited frontiers but with a rigid social structure that rather closely resembled that of post-Revolutionary France.

The purpose of the foregoing discussion of social class is to demonstrate this fact that early American Society was much more rigid than popular myth would have one believe. Just as in Europe the economic entrepreneur at the top exercised the power as his God-given right as attested to by his success under the gospel of work and the Puritan ethic. After the development of the social-Darwinist ideology, his position at the top was made even more secure by the sanction of quasi-scientific theory that supported his physical and racial superiority as well as the religiously sanctioned moral superiority to the relatively less-fortunate individuals of society.

Of course the evils of this system have already been pointed out, for, supported by the institutions of organized religion and education, the economic institution propagandized the working classes into believing in the validity of the Protestant ethic, the scientific basis in fact of the

social-Darwinist ideology, and in the glowing possibilities for the individual promised by the American Dream.

The South went even further in the construction of a rigid "closed system" society than the North. With the introduction of slavery, they imported their own means of unification, a built-in "threat" that gave them both a scape-goat and a safety valve. In the South, the white man always had someone to be superior to, because no matter how far down he was there was always someone below him.

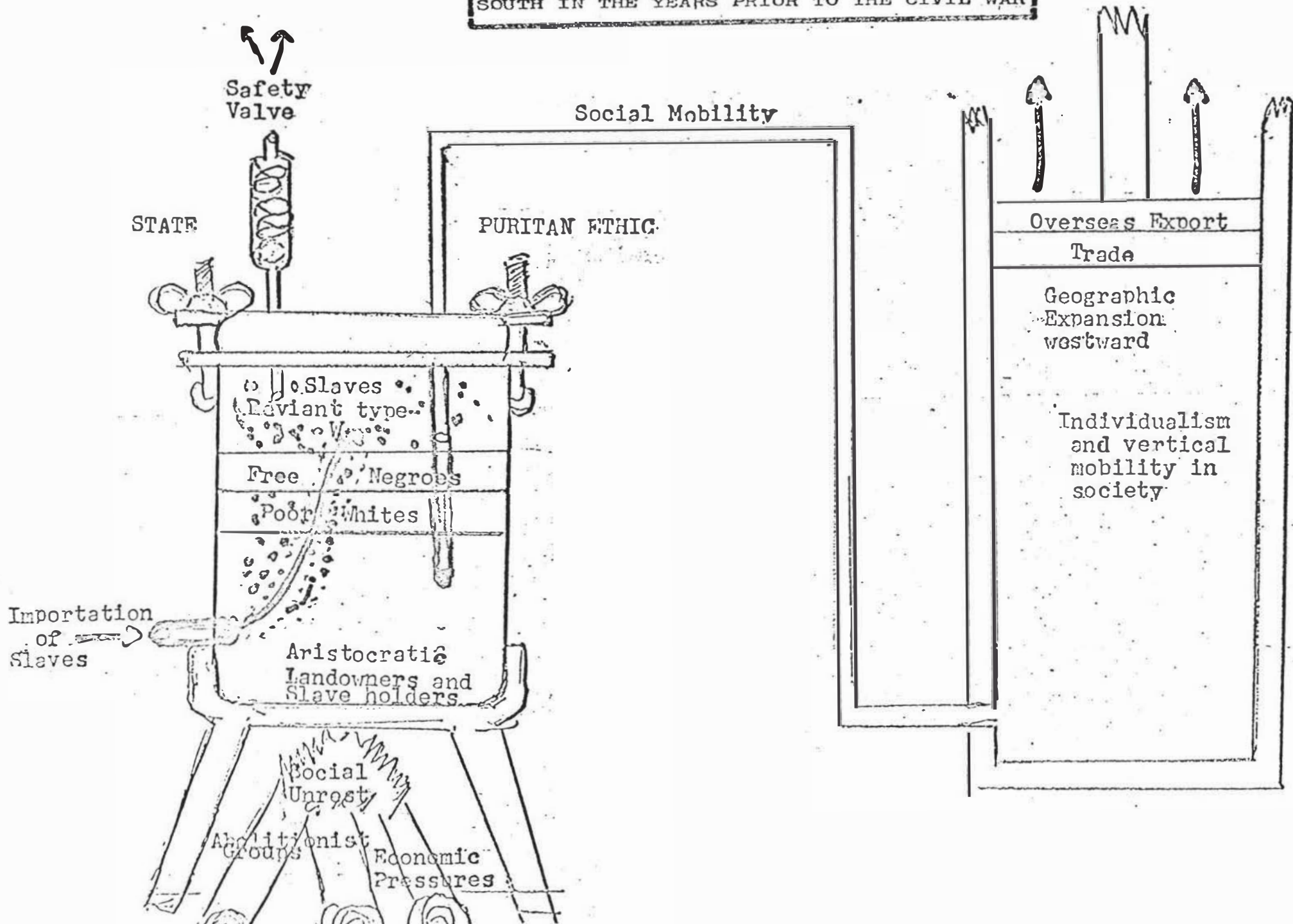
So it was that the South came even closer than the North to Comte's idea of the perfect paradigm of a perfectly defined social order--the caste system.

On the following page, by use of the thermodynamic analogy, the rigid social structure of the slave South is shown pictorially.

In the years prior to the Civil War, the country was divided as to livelihood structure into three areas. To the north and east was found the cities and industry (at first along the waterways as had been the case in England), to the west the small farmers, under more or less subsistence conditions, with sales only from surplus, and then the South (as a region) an area of plantation agriculture for export in combination with the small general type farms found to the west.

Thus the territory of the United States of the first half of the nineteenth century was split into two vastly

THE SLAVE-HOLDING SOCIETY OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH IN THE YEARS PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR





different economic systems: the industrial and commercial northeast and the plantation agriculture region of the South. These systems differ vastly in themselves but an additional factor was added to the South that widened the breach. At the very beginning of the eighteenth century, the South was already an economy of slavery.

### The Institution of Slavery in the United States

So, to again pick up the thread of the story of the career of Deviant type-W in the early eighteenth century, the local is the Southland of the United States. In accordance with the principles of white supremacy as advanced by Comte, and in conformance with the conflict theory of the social scapegoat, the institution of slavery as it developed on the American scene created a "safety valve" for the rural South by importing its own Deviant type-W.

Slavery was not new in the world. In fact the name slave was contributed to this human condition by the Slavs. Bonded servants were common in pre-Revolutionary North America as people sold their freedom for a limited time to obtain passage to the New World. Slavery existed too in South America, particularly in Portuguese Brazil.

However, the institution of slavery as it developed in the South of the United States was unique in the history of the world. The pre-Revolutionary War slavery was of an entirely different type. Although the people involved were either indentured servants or slaves, they were still

regarded as human beings. It was the slavery of the South after the Revolutionary War that stripped human beings of both humanity and dignity, converting them into untermenschen and chattel property.

A finely circumscribed and self-contained system, causing all lines of communication in the society to begin and end in the master, the system in the United States was quite different from the one practiced in Latin America. Although the systems were concurrent, as practiced in Latin America it had a long history of precedent and the individual slave was allowed some intercourse with society in general. Also, he had rights as an individual to family and ownership of property. However, in the United States the slave, himself, was property.

There is no way to measure the culture shock that the slave suffered in being placed into a strictly paternalistic dominant society in which he was treated as a perpetual child. The analogy has been made with the situation of the Jews in the SS concentration camps in Germany in World War II. This analogy is well taken, for the exhaustive studies made of the effects of these prison camps on their inmates are enlightening in the many ways that they parallel the psychological effect of the plantation life on the individual slave. The slave system had a detrimental effect to some degree on the personalities of all involved; the southerners, the northerners and the slaves themselves.

Although the northerners were not directly involved, they shared the guilt, and it was this feeling of guilt, restrained by fear, which led to the formation of the abolitionist societies in the north and the resistance against any type of freedom in the South.

In the South there was great fear, although unreasonable, of a general slave uprising. (In this way, in terms of conflict theory, the slaves, as a body, represented a "threat" to the existence of the Southern plantation society. The fact that they had imported this fear of their own accord and continued to support the conditions that fostered it, and although it was entirely unrealistic in the first place, did not make the fear of the threat any the less real.) Psychologists point out that the fear of the unknown is the greatest fear of all. Of course, another point that led to the perpetuation of slave-holding was that it became economically desirable, in terms of trading profits, around 1830. As importation of new slaves from Africa died down, the practice of slave-trading became a profession in and of itself.

The people of the Southern United States became a mob operating under the conditions of crowd psychology (which were described in the theory section of this study). That is, they were moving under an emotion that was general and sanctioned, but lacking in any intellectual direction. De Tocquevill had, in his visit to the United States, found the

society to be a "tyranny of the majority." He felt that there was no place for the function of reason in a democratic society that was already of the same mind. This generally describes the social situation as it related to the white oversociety of the South in the period immediately preceding the Civil War.

The slave system of the South ultimately came to degrade and brutalize all those who were affected by it or were engaged in it. The outstanding features of this system were the cruelties, dangers, loss of life, and indignities it inflicted on its victims, the slaves, and the dehumanizing effect that it had on slave traders who dealt in human beings as objects of commerce and who denied any human standards in regard to their victims except those that could be measured in terms of loss or profit.

Nevertheless, when the Civil War came, it was not slavery itself that was the cause of Northern intervention, but the restoration of the Union.

The institution of slavery in America was not only unique in its application, it is unique in the world. It represents the bringing in of a "safety valve" group and making them into both an economic advantage and a "transference group." With this technique society was able in the South to maintain its rigid, agricultural aristocratic structure and to draw it together by transplanting within its own body an aggregation of individuals who were sufficiently



"different" upon whom it could legally vent its aggression.

That the Negro in the South fitted the construct of Deviant type-W is readily apparent. Aside from his difference in geographic origin and physiognomy, he worshipped different and strange Gods and suffered from the myth of being subhuman.

### The Civil War

As pointed out earlier, the Civil War took place not because of the oppression and degradation of a whole race of people, but because of the threat of disunity which could possibly destroy the social structure of the American society. It was later that those who argued that the war could not be won without the abolition of the slave system, managed to convince the President that it was a cause with promise. It was only then that slavery was brought into prominence as an issue in the conflict.

The Civil War was the first modern war with armies making use of new facilities of transport and communications. The importance of the vast railroad network (many more miles in extent than at present) and the ocean-going vessels cannot be overstressed. The importance of a population for the potential for industrial production was realized, too, as the Civil War became a contest of supply of material. Sherman's march to the sea also established the precedent of taking the war to the population and destroying the base of production. The Civil War also originated the idea of trench warfare with

the "dead space" of a no man's land (a technique that was to be perfected in World War I).

After the Civil War, the Negro found that he had won freedom under the law, but he did not have political power, and as a "powerless person," he was again enslaved economically by the power structure of a kind of aristocratic opportunism that circumvented the laws that had been enacted in the first few years after the end of the actual conflict.

Forces Shaping the Character and Structure of  
American Society During the Balance  
of the Nineteenth Century

The period following the Civil War is a particularly unique and interesting time for study and analysis. It was a period of urbanization, industrialization and economic growth. However, attendant to the progress of growth and change in the economic life of the nation were depressing problems of the inequality of man and the social injustices of city life.<sup>1</sup> American society was faced with problems the like of which it had never known. Having had no experience with the problems of social injustice in the individual, acquisitive, materialistic economy of the pre-Civil War era, a change in the traditional way of thinking would seem to be indicated. Instead, the men who formed the social opinion of the day tried to fit the current economic situation to the historic concepts developed to fit the rural economy of

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<sup>1</sup>Degler, Out of Our Past, p. 314.

unlimited frontiers of the pre-Civil War period.

In the change from a rural to an urban manufacturing economy that followed the termination of the Civil War, new conditions and problems were bound to be created and certain modifications of the foregoing pattern of the character of American society were inevitable. Underlying it all, though, was the individual American's view of himself and the image that he wished to project to the rest of the world, that of an individual who directed his own affairs with little interference from government and who had equality of opportunity to demonstrate his creative and acquisitive ability. The concept of the ability of the individual to overcome all odds and struggle upward through hard work to achieve the goal of fame and fortune is a continuous thread that binds the American society's image of itself together throughout the course of the history of the nation.

Nevertheless, the urbanism and the industrialism that accompanied it fulfilled many needs of the economy and, in turn, created many new problems of social injustice.

With the opportunities and cultural advance in the cities, the "gospel of work" was to change in some degree. The prejudice against the "useless" pursuits was the first to feel the pressure of the new social forces. As stated earlier, American political institutions were built up under simple rural conditions; they had not yet learned how to cope with cramped urban populations. There were thousands of

examples of misrule in city government, control by political machine, and miserable and worsening conditions of life of the poor working segment of the population. The "gospel of work" didn't seem to be paying off. The cramped living quarters, problems of sanitation, health and social abuse created doubts as to the adequacy of the laissez-faire type of democratic economy. Only the rich and powerful now seemed to get any advantage from the rule of uncontrolled individualism. The diversities of grinding poverty and ostentatious wealth showed a need for free schools, public libraries, for married women's property rights, prison reform, and dealing with the insane. These conditions in city life were forces for the development of a social consciousness.

As was pointed out earlier in the discussion of the American Dream, the common man still believed in the "cult of success" because he had been bombarded with the key ideas of this orientation from the pulpit, from his government, from his employer, in his school experience and all this was reinforced by forces in the social mechanism itself such as the newspapers and magazines. Social change has to spring from some element in the population and there was not yet a firm enough foundation at that time to cause effective action. Underneath it all, however, was a growing feeling that it was the duty of the government of all to take steps to safeguard the opportunities of all under the changing conditions of urban industrialization. It was this uneasiness which caused



movements for social reform, the labor movement, and the development of the theory of socialism in America at the turn of the century.<sup>1</sup>

Coupled with the social injustices prevalent in the cities were the economic and political problems of the growing industrialization. Industrial development served to emphasize the relationship between American and world history. Apart from its direct influence on material progress, it injected into the American political system the typical problems of the older European states who had undergone the growing pains of the industrial revolution at an earlier time.<sup>2</sup> As the end of the nineteenth century approached, the national problems of tariff, labor unrest, the curbing of the railroads, banking and business monopolies, currency regulation, and the dislocation of the farming population made themselves evident. Differences between the American scene and the Old World were in time and degree rather than in kind. The forces of industrialism coupled with nationalism must share a good part of the responsibility for the wave of imperialism that engulfed the United States at the turn of the Century.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the problems just discussed are still with

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 311-320.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Steele Commager, Living Ideas in America (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1951), pp. 302-452.

<sup>3</sup>Curti, Growth of American Thought, pp. 667-671.

the American society in varying degrees at the present time. No adequate solutions for them were found in the nineteenth century and few have been found so far in the twentieth.

One of the reasons that little progress was made in solving these problems in the nineteenth century was that the leaders of the working class believed the myth of success just as strongly as any rich and powerful entrepreneur.<sup>1</sup> This is a fact that goes far toward the explanation of the failure of the radical groups at the end of the century to convert the American people to social theories such as socialism and communism.<sup>2</sup> Even the philosophy of groups such as the socialists was built around the materialistic concept of success. Naturally, the belief of the common man in the gospel of work and the myth of success could do nothing to advance the cause of organized labor. Even the political parties believed in the success ideal. Of course, this prevented intelligent consideration of public issues by not having a clearly-stated program of issues which could be evaluated objectively by the opposition. Since both parties, and the liberal and conservative factions thereof, were devoted to the concept of the success myth, they had to rely on political hysteria and absurdities for issues and points of contention.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Degler, Out of Our Past, pp. 203-72, 338-78.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 257-59.

<sup>3</sup>Curti, Growth of American Thought, pp. 572-73.

All this concern with material progress and economic success was a major cause of the monotony of the political and literary life of the period under consideration. Even the liberals were bound up in traditional beliefs, and no one seriously threatened the "status quo." The reason for this was that all of them, the entrepreneur, working men, churchman, educator, and the writers of the time were all products of their heritage and believed so strongly in the Dream of Success, that they would not challenge it with enough vigor to produce any marked change in public opinion. It was a case of believing their own propaganda.<sup>1</sup>

The accumulated evidence as the century progressed caused men to doubt the authenticity of the success myth intellectually but their emotional heritage caused them to attempt to mold and shape the evidence to make it conform to the standards it would have to possess if the dream of success were valid.

This belief was reenforced by those two great forces of tradition and conservatism, the governmental establishment and organized religion. Throughout the history of man, governmental institutions and organized religion have been strong supporters of the "status quo." Having vested interests, these two institutions feel that they are bound to be the losers in any radical change in the attitudes or character of society in general. Frequently they have worked

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<sup>1</sup>Commager, Living Ideas in America, pp. 109-60.

together to maintain order and tradition.<sup>1</sup>

So it was in the period following the Civil War. There was no conscious program of cooperation because of the statement of separation of Church and State in the constitution and due to the large number of different sects of Protestantism. However, it was the old story that their spheres of interest complemented each other. The government was influenced by the capitalists and domestic imperialists of the time and the Church was dedicated to preserving the middle-class Puritan ideas that it was the individual's Christian duty to carve out a fortune for himself. The "Yankeeism" of England had been brought to the fertile soil of the New World and transplanted as the "Protestant ethic" or later, "the Gospel of Wealth." This framework of beliefs was superimposed by the established Church on the new and evolving urban and industrial America. Thus, the Church actually became, as Marx termed it, "the opiate of the people." They were narcotized and hypnotized from the pulpit into contentment with their lot. If they worked hard and failed, it was not the fault of the social and economic system as a whole, but the result of their own individual inadequacies and sinfulness. Goodness was again equated with wealth, and evil with permanent poverty. Men such as Horatio Alger then had complete religious support for their moral preachments. Alger was particularly powerful, as were certain religio-

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<sup>1</sup>Curti, Growth of American Thought, pp. 35-69, 142, 380, 519-20.



economists later in the century, because he was not content to preach the moral code of traditional Puritanism from the pulpit but appealed to the young public through the power of the printing press.

As pointed out earlier, government in America had been tradition-bound to keep "hands off" the commercial enterprise. Since powerful entrepreneurs influenced government through their control of the wealth that the government needed to operate, the government also supported the "laissez faire" economy<sup>1</sup> and enabled the individual industrialist to apply the principle of caveat emptor and price his goods at a level only controlled by the limits of his conscience. With the teachings of the "Protestant ethic" behind him and the masses tranquilized and propagandized into a state of quiet acceptance of their lot, his conscience had very few limits indeed.

The problems that developed in success-oriented society of the post-Civil War Period were varied. Poverty in a status society was accepted as a way of life, but poverty in a success society was to become very hazardous psychologically. It was felt that to begin in a state of poverty had a purifying effect on the soul of the future entrepreneur but to fail and remain in a state of poverty permanently was synonymous with sin. The people were told that their time in the poor working class was a sort of idyllic state to be used

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<sup>1</sup>Commager, Living Ideas in America, pp. 323-27.

to forge the personality for future achievements. The individual that failed to do this became at first confused, and then frustrated, in the belief that there was something innately wrong with him because his church and government told him that the Puritan society of America was the best of all possible societies. To this was added the reenforcement of the teaching of the public educational institution in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

In summary, the character of American society was such that some of the problems that developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century as a result of the success and progress orientation were those of enforced poverty, lack of security, the specter of failure, political hysteria, disruption of the family institution through new marriage and sex problems and attitudes, and the lack of imagination concerning the spiritual side of the culture.<sup>1</sup>

Added to this was the problem of the powerful moral preachments of the established church, the government, the school, ritual and tradition, and their literary spokesmen such as Horatio Alger, who convinced young minds that any progress at all was good and to fail was an indication of personal inadequacy, because to question the structure and character of the society as a whole was unthinkable.

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<sup>1</sup>Kenneth S. Lynn, The Dream of Success (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955), pp. 243-44.

Although the "gospel of wealth" is no longer recognized as a viable economic theory, the success myth is still alive today, almost as powerful as it was when Alger was at his zenith of production. The character traits as conceived at the beginning of the country's history are still a part of the ideal American psyche and the psychological, social and literary problems which evolved after the Civil War, and concerned the late nineteenth century writers, remain as important unsolved questions of the society in modern times.

The beginning of the twentieth century marks the midpoint of periods of persecution of two categories of social heretic: the Negro and the immigrant.

#### The onset of Jim Crow

As was pointed out previously, the mere act of declaring the Negro a free citizen did not make it a condition in fact. After the reconstruction, around the year 1877, the Negro lost everything he had gained during the Reconstruction and, what was even worse, he no longer had the security he had had under the slave system. He became an economic slave, adrift in a hostile economy, with no rights and only obligations.

The stream of Southern history has been broken into periods of slavery and secession, independence and defeat, emancipation and reconstruction, redemption and reunion. Redemption, here, refers to the overthrow of the regime of the carpetbaggers or the Compromise of 1877.

Each successive regime in the South had its peculiar social arrangements, its system of politics, and its characteristic industrial and economic organization. The phase of "Jim Crow" that began in 1877 was brought about by the withdrawal of troops from Southern territory, thus giving up the attempt to guarantee political and civil equality to the freedmen, and the responsibility of the welfare of the Negro as a national ward. This followed agreement to the demand that the whole situation be left to the dominant group of white people in the South. Social and economic conflicts in the Southern section were finally resolved at the Negro's expense. By the early twentieth century it became quite evident that neither equality nor economic reward were in the Negro's future. The goal throughout the South was his disfranchisement.

The inferior position of the Negro was constantly enforced by continued reminders and public symbols. The official sanctions for this were groups of segregation statutes, the so-called "Jim Crow laws."

It has been pointed out that race policies applied in the South were sometimes milder than they became later. The policies of ~~disfranchisement~~, segregation, and proscription are not unchangeable folkways of the South, immune to armed intervention and legislative reform, but are more recent in origin. They cannot be justified as consequences of the necessity of the times of the Reconstruction because



they did not originate in those times.

The practices of extreme racism were due more to the weakening of forces that had previously been enforced by Northern liberal opinion in the press, in the courts, and the government. Furthermore, some internal checks had been imposed by the influence and prestige of the Southern conservatives as well as the zeal and idealism of the Southern radicals.

The year 1890 ushered in the policy of imperialism with the entrance of the United States into the war with Spain. The idea of the "white man's burden" caused the rest of the country to adopt many Southern attitudes on the subject of race. This policy of imperialism brought respectability and popularity to racism among scholarly and intellectual circles. In the reconciliation of the North and South, the Negro became the "scapegoat" for the bringing together of the estranged classes and reunion of the "Solid South."

Then came the period of Progressivism and the Progressive movement gained ground in humanitarian legislation for the consumer, child labor, factory workers, and miners. However, the blind spot on the Progressive record was the treatment of the Negro. It seemed that the movement coincided with the high point in a wave of racism. In fact, some conceived that Progressivism in the South was founded on Racism. Thomas P. Bailey, a Southern educator said, "In fine, disfranchisement of the Negro has been concomitant with the

growth of political and social solidarity among the whites.

After 1877 the "Jim Crow laws" effectively disfranchised the Negroes. The laws put added authority into practices which were already being used to curtail the politics, social and academic life to the Negro. They gave sanction to more aggressions that might have been deflected or curbed, otherwise. Unlike the feudal laws of western Europe, the "Jim Crow laws" did not give the Negro a fixed, though subordinate, status in society. They were designed to keep pushing him further and further down. The attitudes of the whites were definitely aggressive and destructive, aiming at the isolation of the Negro as a group and thus, his alienation from the larger society as an individual.

In the same era, before and after the turn of the century, the first generation immigrant found himself in the position of receiving differential treatment from all levels of his new society.

It has been pointed out how the theories of Darwinism had furnished the basis for racism in the social-Darwinist ideology. Popular myths, of course, had always pointed to some peoples as being inferior, and these myths, coupled with the xenophobia, the competition for jobs in the factories and the sanction of scientists and intellectuals who functioned to "legitimatize" racism served to subject the later immigrant to the same stigma as was being directed at the Negro. Science seemed to indicate that some people, due to the

national constitution or race were more capable of developing into good Americans than others. It was argued that the "older immigrants," those that had come to the United States in the years before 1880, had come from the superior strain of the western and northern areas of Europe, but that those who came later were from the more inferior peoples of eastern and southern Europe.

Orientalists had already been excluded in the 19th century as a reaction to their increasing concentration in the western United States appeared to pose a threat to the white labor market. Now the same mechanism was at work in the East (in lesser degree of course, because of the lesser differences involved). This movement was ultimately to result in quota legislation.

During the growth of industry and urbanization in the period following the Civil War there had been a need to fill the vacancies at machines in the factories. Now, however, at the end of the century, the frontier was gone and the country had begun to fill up. As has been pointed out previously, social problems had grown in the cities, and a serious recession had occurred. These factors increased the anxieties of the workers at the bottom of the social structure.

Although the latest immigrants had always been afraid that newcomers posed a threat to their jobs, such did not prove to be the case. Instead, what happened was that the most recent wave of immigration served to shove the previous

immigrants one more notch up the economic ladder. Although these fears appear to have been unfounded, this fact did not make them any the less real to the people involved.

The turn of the century with its Spanish American War marked the end of the era of geographic expansion and imperialism (though not economic imperialism) of the Western nations except for Italy's attack on Ethiopia at a later time.

The Spanish American War had made the United States a two-ocean power and had established her presence in Asia which she had initiated with the opening of Japan. The United States then set about the business of consolidating her power and followed a policy of isolation from European affairs until the outbreak of World War I.

In summary, the end of overseas expansion, the rapid disappearance of the Western frontier, and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few upper-class families produced a lively competition for jobs in the factories among the poor. This tended to make any first generation immigrant a threat in terms of economic security to the last arrivals. The result was a further change in the character of American cities. Ethnic enclaves developed in the industrial cities which were the forerunners of the "ghettos" of today.

In the years of Progressivism before the First World War, some moves were made to stop the concentration of the nation's income in the hands of a few families who controlled the nation's economic institution.



In the 1890's antitrust legislation had been enacted to stop the growth of huge monopolies which left the consumer at the mercy of the producer as far as the price of necessities and staples were concerned but it was not effectively enforced.

In 1913, income tax legislation was instituted as well, with the purpose of causing a redistribution of income. This, too, was ineffective for many years until a method for collection was devised in the years prior to World War II.

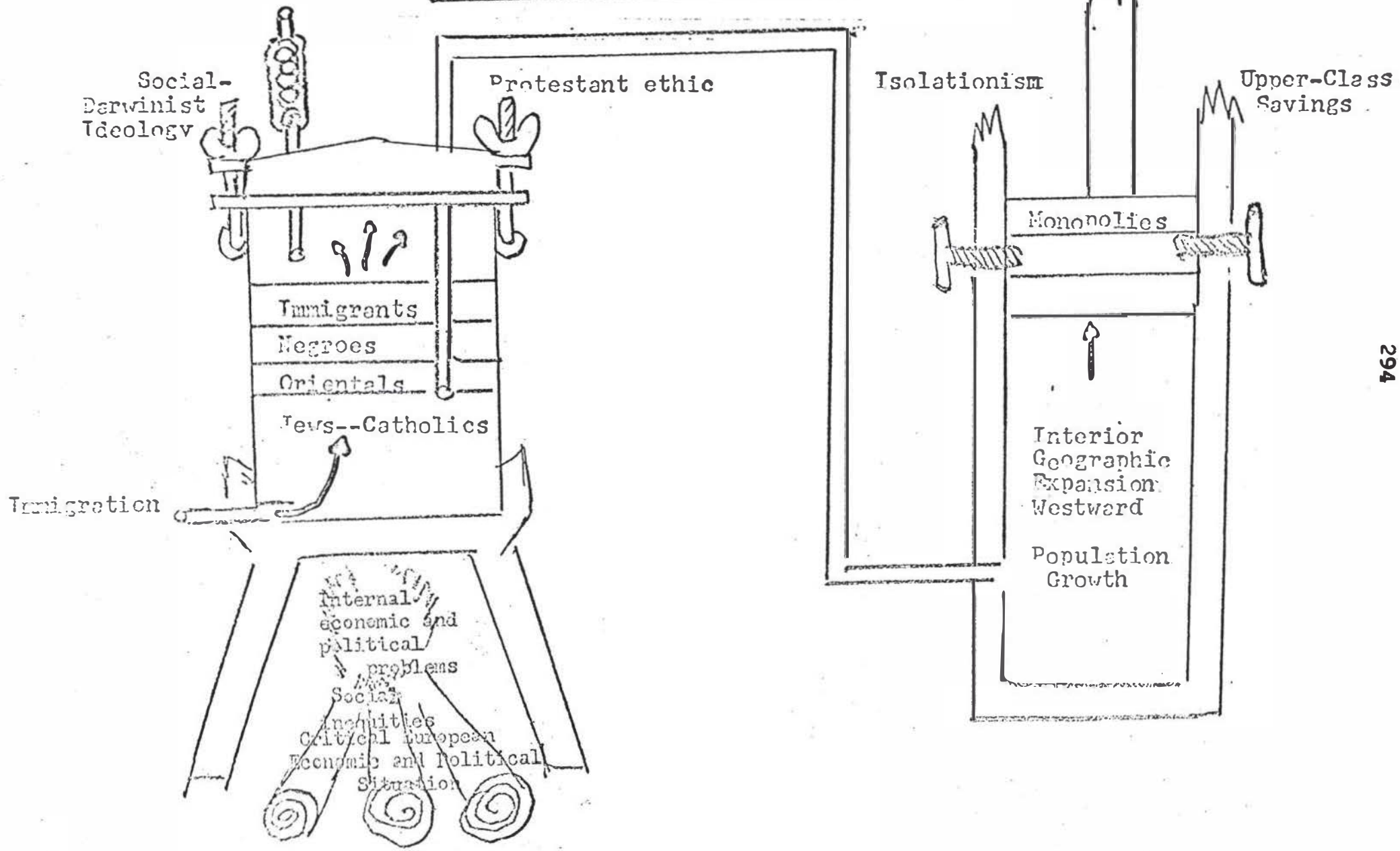
In characterizing the social structure of the time, it could be described in terms of the partnership plan which was noted earlier. It consisted of an economic institution run by the upper-class which made policy through its wealth which insured the support of the political institution, and it could already count on the support of the Church because of the function of the Protestant ethic. (An illustration of this social structure and the forces acting on it is given in terms of the thermodynamic analogy on the following page.)

Meanwhile, in Europe, economic conditions and jealousies originating in the time of the imperialistic division of Africa had brought the continent to the eve of World War I.

#### The First World War and Its Effect on the Character of Western Society

The forces of economic imperialism and nationalism were growing throughout Europe. As a result of the social-

**THERMODYNAMIC "PRESSURE COOKER" ANALOGY  
OF THE PRE-WORLD WAR I AMERICAN ECONOMY**



Darwinist thought (although the intellectuals were the only ones who could have given a name to their orientation) ideology and the forces of nationalism, the continent erupted into war.

With Germany's attack on France, the United States saw the threat to the so-called democratic system of government, but followed the policy of neutrality until German U-boats began to sink American shipping. Then the United States entered the war, sending an expeditionary force to France under General "Blackjack" Pershing. (His nickname is interesting in relation to the subject matter of this study, because it was a result of his use of black troops under white command. Although black soldiers had fought bravely in the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, it was a myth among the white officers that they were inferior and cowardly--their use was at first criticized for this reason--then, when they had proved themselves in the field of battle and the French began to decorate them--jealousy took over and this practice was challenged.)

The slogans that united the many ethnic groups of the United States against the "exterior enemy" exhibited the burning nationalism which characterized the society through the twentieth century until the time of the Korean War. Examples were, "to keep the world safe for democracy," and the "war to end all wars."

World War I was a slaughter to boggle the imaginations of people who had never before experienced mass warfare. It

inaugurated the use of mass armies facing each other across a lifeless space, each dedicated to the destruction of the other. Mass fire was utilized in the form of the machine gun, and the tank was used strategically and tactically for the first time. This war also saw the introduction of motorized transport and the development and the tactical use of airplanes. An idea of the length of the front is given when it was described as barbed wire stretching from the Danube to the Baltic.

The First World War also heralded the end of the use of war as an extension of diplomacy. The idea now became not just one of threat and coercion but of total destruction. The nationalistic spirit on both sides made the conflict the bloodiest war to date (both sides were convinced that God was on their side). The end of the war saw widespread destruction on the continent and the German in ruins.

The First World War did little to change the structure of the American society, but its character was altered significantly by the technology developed during the war. The fledgling automobile industry was given a shot in the arm and thoughts turned to the commercial exploitation of the airplane. Technology also was largely responsible for gains in women's rights and employment.<sup>1</sup> Particularly the typewriter and the telephone, combined with the war effort enabled

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<sup>1</sup>Peter F. Drucker, Technology, Management and Society (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1970).



them to make gains in the job market. In 1919 they were recognized as citizens and given the right to vote. With this action, one of the oldest of the scapegoat groups in the history of the Western world, symbolically at least, made great social gains toward equality and acceptance by the dominant group.

The period of the '20s was one of social unrest in the United States and the fullest development of the producer economy with such stratagems as the holding companies plus stock manipulations that ultimately ended in the market crash of 1929.

The Great Depression: The Genesis of Social Reform, The Study of Dominant-Minority Relations and the Conversion of Capitalism to the Consumer Economy

The depression began on the continent of Europe and spread westward to the United States.

As the year 1932 ended, a pessimistic loss of faith hovered over the country. The need for social reform was evident to all. The new administration and its program named the "New Deal" solved some problems and alleviated the crisis to some extent, but it did not bring recovery. The Depression continued for six more years after 1933 without substantial change.

The relief roles and the lengthening breadlines, shook the American faith in the future. It appeared that the "land of opportunity" had run out of opportunity. Perhaps

this had happened with the close of the frontier earlier in the century, or perhaps with some unnoted change in the structure of capitalism.

The figure on the following page indicates, by use of the thermodynamic analogy, the pressures and forces at work in American society during the Great Depression and shows what groups were affected and how they were affected.

The Crash and the depression that followed it brought many of the social problems that had been lying below the surface of American society out in stark relief.

The loss of jobs due to the cutbacks in production hit first at the first generation immigrant. What had been a land of opportunity was now worse than conditions at home. In the new country they were not only forced to stand in breadlines but were also subjected to discriminatory treatment even to the point of being given derogatory names designed to point up supposed racial or ethnic inferiority.

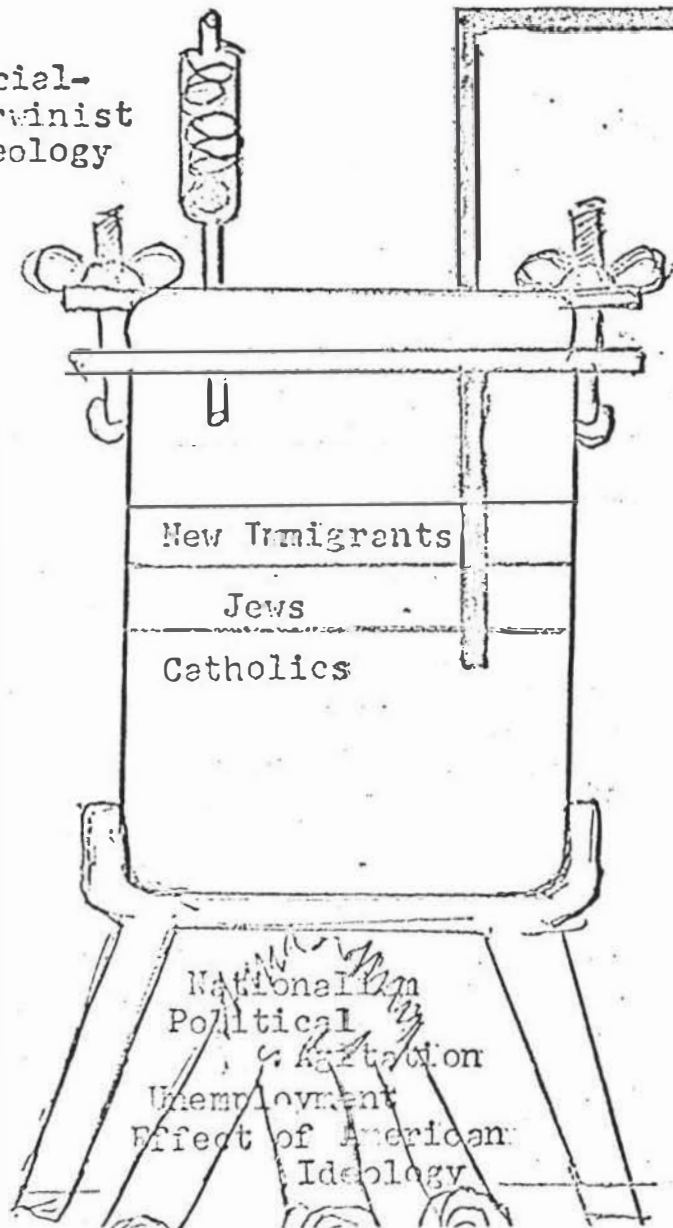
Things did go a little better for the second and third generation immigrants because this was the time of the expansion of the organized labor movement in America. Nevertheless, the conflict and insecurity of the social situation created differential treatment for practically all ethnic minorities.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>As has been pointed out, the period of the 1920's and 1930's was one of extreme social unrest, particularly regarding labor unions and immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. For instance, the Palmer raids of the 1920's by Attorney General Palmer against Communists, Anarchists, and other radicals had as their victims foreign

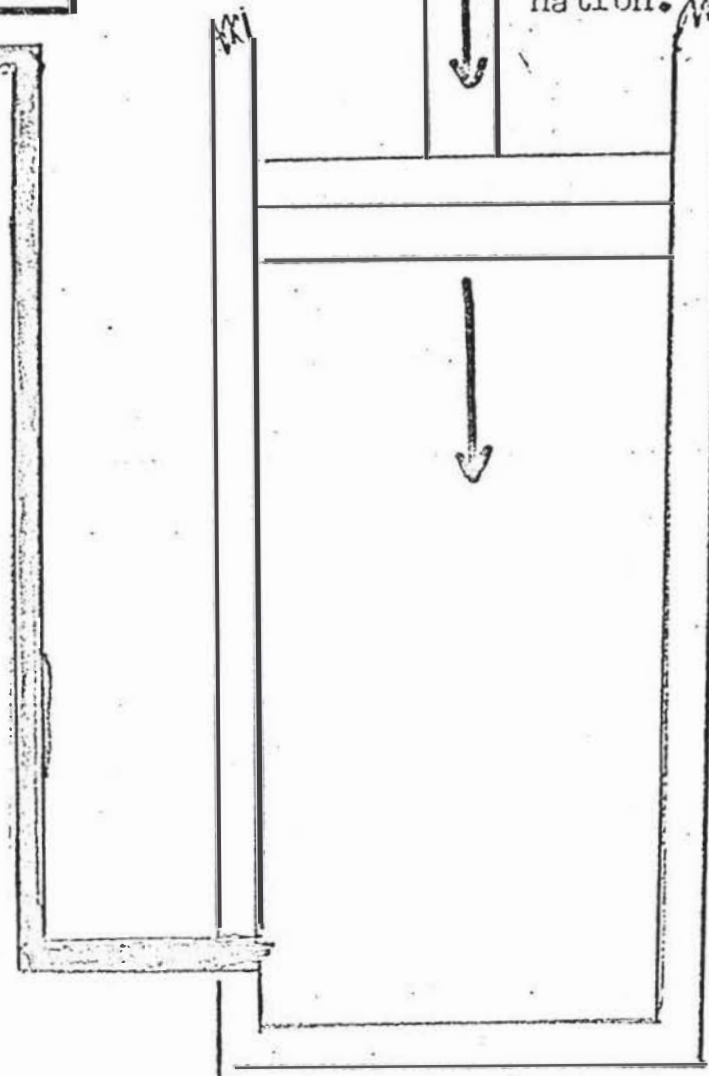
THERMODYNAMIC REPRESENTATION OF  
THE RIGID SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF  
AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE YEARS  
OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Social-  
Darwinist  
Ideology



Unfavorable  
World  
Economic  
Climate

Economic  
Depression  
Lack of market  
for goods -  
within the  
nation.



This was a period, too, of religious discrimination which had begun earlier in the century and affected the Jews and the Catholics. However, as the depression wore on the discrimination shifted from religious grounds to political grounds. The Jews faced three different kinds of discrimination in the first part of the twentieth century. They had suffered religious discrimination in the 1890's and up to the First World War. After the war, they furnished the stereotype for the international financier, who capitalized overseas on funds wrested from the American working man. Then, as Hitler was doing in Europe, the American politician used the Jew as a political "scapegoat" in the elections of the late thirties.

Of course, at the very bottom of the social pyramid in the North and in a separate caste in the South was the American Negro.

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born, especially those from southern Europe. Peoples included were the dark Europeans, peoples who were not Teutonic types, Jews, and Trade Unionists. On the west coast the Sacco-Vanzetti case was the precipitating event. However, the public had to settle for two white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, both Unionists. The real target was the trade union movement. This is another case of guilt by association. Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were condemned to die, but eventually they were pardoned. Another such event was the Haymarket riots. During this period, Attorney General Palmer reported thousands of persons who were considered as a threat. Also, as a consequence of hysteria, immigration quotas were set up that discriminated against southern Europeans, Africans, Asians and other undesirables. For proof and further reference one only has to check the rhetoric in the Congressional Records of the period. If the reader wishes to pursue this line of investigation further, a complete account is to be found in Oscar Handlin, The American People in the Twentieth Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).



During the years of the First World War the Negro had made some economic gains due to a manpower shortage, but he promptly lost them in the twenties through the fear of competition held by white labor. This was expressed by unions which excluded and discriminated against Negroes. In the South, the "Jim Crow laws" continued their spiral of oppression.

To return to the discrimination against ethnic groups during the depression, it is particularly important with relation to the subject of this investigation to note that both a new subject for sociological research and a new approach for conducting that research was inaugurated by men such as Robert Park and George Herbert Mead at the University of Chicago.

These men began to study the ecology of human beings. In other words, they made local studies of sections of the city of Chicago by quantitative methods with the purpose of attacking social problems at the microlevel. This was how the subdiscipline of urban sociology originated. This subdiscipline was further subdivided to arrive at the level of investigation that is the base level of this paper--inter-group relations or the problem of minority groups.

George Herbert Mead and other men who were discussed in the theory section of this study originated the symbolic interactionist approach which, with its various partial theories, is the theoretical substantiation for the construct of master status-determination traits which makes up the instrument of analysis in use in this investigation.

These minority ethnic groups were the victims of what Oscar Handlin refers to as "the American ideology,"<sup>1</sup> which is simply another way of describing that combination of the Protestant ethic and the biological principles of Darwin that has been referred to in this study as social-Darwinism.

Handlin pointed out that the intergroup superiority-inferiority relationships had had the sanction of the scientific community for many years. Although fallacies of nineteenth-century science should not be permitted to hide its authentic achievements, neither should one discount the human frailties of the scientists as ordinary human beings subject to the same prejudices and emotions of others in their communities.

The victims of these prejudices were Negroes and Indians, as well as white men such as Slavs, Italians, and Jews--anyone who could be designated as "the other." These victims were chosen, not because of their distinctive differences but because of the needs felt by the oppressors of the dominant group.

Handlin defines "the American Ideology" in the following way:

The American ideology, held by many right up to the present time, strangely enough, had much to do with the advancement of prejudice against the minorities in American society. The American ideology, general to the nation despite the diversity of its people, is not simply a common heritage in the narrow sense; the bulk of Americans today do not have a common heritage. The

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<sup>1</sup>Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), p. 72.

antecedents of that ideology lie back in the eighteenth century, but the process by which it reached the mass of the population was slow, and extended through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the course of diffusion it encountered great resistance, with the outcome often uncertain. . . .

. . . The elements of that ideology were an implicit acceptance of the idea of progress and of man's perfectability, a firm faith in the power of reason to transform the world, and the confidence that evil was the product of defective human institutions that could be rectified by human effort.

The external expressions of this ideology took form in the years that followed and played a significant part in the life of the nation. On one level they included the certainty that the individual, by his striving, could assure himself of his proper goal, mundane success; on another they included the conviction that society could be reformed by organized movements to eliminate its imperfections. These ideas and the overt forms in which they were embodied were involved in all the crucial issues of the next hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

This ideology is of interest, apart from its origin in the Protestant ethic and Darwinian biological theory, for the narrow interpretation that various extremist groups of the "lunatic fringes" of reactionism have given to it in practice.

One example is an organization that came about in the bitter years after the Civil War: the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan had a long and colorful history which cannot be covered in detail here. This discussion will be restricted to its reason for existence and the kind of people that it attracts to its ranks.

Although the Klan is popularly known for its violent anti-Negro campaigns, it is also against Catholics, Jews and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-100.

any other minority or ethnic groups or individuals which are not white Anglo-Saxon protestant in origin.

In a parallel to the German experience with the literal interpretation of social-Darwinism and its ultimate application, the Klan represents the same interpretation and application of the American version of the social-Darwinist ideology.

There have been three separate Klans.<sup>1</sup> It has been active for over a hundred years on and off. It has had influence on the political scene in the past in several states and is well-known for violence and terror.

A highly romantic legend grew up around the Klan of the early years, but this was unearned. In actual fact, it was anything but romantic. For instance, in Louisiana in the period of the 1868 elections it murdered 2,000 people and hundreds of other murders were perpetrated throughout the South.<sup>2</sup>

The forms of punishment were both brutal and unique. Often men were whipped with rawhide until their bones would be exposed. Other men were hung from trees until they strangled while yet others were quartered. On one particular occasion a Negro suspected of murder was caught and killed. Then he was put into a sugar boiler and his body boiled until

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<sup>1</sup>George Thayer, The Farther Shores of Politics: The American Political Fringe Today (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1968), pp. 81-106.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 82.



the flesh could be removed from the bones. After this was accomplished the skeleton was wired together and hung from a "tall pine tree" as a warning to others.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to look at the description of an average klansman. He is usually a day laborer and has a fifth grade education. As a mechanic or industrial worker, he has little job security and the competition of the Negro is real and immediate. He probably lives in the city but his point of origin was the country and he still dreams of that lifestyle. He knows himself to be a poor white and feels unwelcome in the city. However, he is well aware that, because of economic reasons, he cannot go back to the country life that is his preference.

In effect, he finds himself astraddle of two societies, selling cars, selling lightning rods or quick lunches or operating a gas station. These are the kinds of businesses that are found clustered along the border between the city and the farm, an area which is brightly lit with neon and known in most cities as "the strip." His education hurts him more than it helps him because it gives him just knowledge enough to be aware of his predicament but not enough to make enough economic gains to better himself. He finds himself completely outside the white power structure, and because of this he finds himself subject to the same frustrations as the Jew,

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<sup>1</sup>William Pierce Randel, The Ku Klux Klan, A Century of Infamy (Philadelphia: Chilton Publishing Company, 1965), p. 133.

Catholic or Negro, who generally feel themselves to be "powerless people." To the Klansman, the only escape from the trap he feels himself to be in is to lash out at the white power structure that oppresses him, or the Negro, who is below him.

In the present day, the Klan is an urban, not a rural, movement although it is generally thought of as a rural phenomenon. The membership ranks of the Klan are filled with "wool hats" or "rednecks" who have only lately become urban dwellers. The Klan is truly a sociological phenomenon that represents a reaction to the changes in life, particularly in the South where change has been most radical.

According to Stewart Alsop, the Klansman is an escapist who swaggers around with shotguns and pistols, bragging about his invincibility and importance and believing himself to be on the side of the angels. Alsop maintains that the Klan is similar to the secret clubs that young boys are always organizing with a sense of belonging--no girls, oaths, rituals, costumes, and an enemy. There is one fundamental difference, however, the Klan is "playing for keeps."<sup>1</sup>

All the hopes of a self-contained United States that could steer a secure course through a disordered world ended with the onset of the Great Depression that followed the Crash. The panic produced an industrial decline in the next three years and resulted in a complete economic stagnation of the economy from which there was no relief for the span of a

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<sup>1</sup>Stewart Alsop, "The Loaded Pistol," Saturday Evening Post, 23 April, 1966, p. 22.

decade. The Great Depression was a world-wide phenomenon that found extensive social reforms made for its alleviation in the name of the powerless workers and for the public good, such as the institution of social security and the Securities Exchange Commission to stamp out sharp practices in the trading of securities.

In terms of the economy, holding companies were outlawed and entrepreneurs changed their orientation from the producer economy, which needed a market in breadth, to the development of a consumer economy, which could create a market in depth. For the first time, the producers looked upon their workers as potential consumer of the products they produced. This was an entirely new concept which was largely responsible for the phenomenal expansion of the mainstay of the American economy in peacetime, the automobile.

But, the American consumer economy was not left to develop in peaceful conditions for long, for the German society had not only changed in character but in structure. From the democratic Weimar republic, it had changed into a dictatorship run by the leader of the National Socialist Party, Adolph Hitler.

#### The Nazi State: The Literal Application of the Social-Darwinist Ideology

As such, Germany became a monolithic rigidly structured economy dedicated to the full development of social-Darwinist philosophy in its purest form. It carried the ideology to its logical extreme. The background assumptions of

Nazism were developed fully by Lothrop Stoddard (1883-1950) in his proposals for race-building, "multiplication of superiors," and "elimination of inferiors" or "race cleansing."<sup>1</sup> These processes were termed "positive" and "negative" eugenics.

The starting point is in race cleansing and consists of the segregation of the insane and feeble-minded in public institutions, awakening society to the gravity of the situation, and tracing the relation between the "degenerate classes" and others "all the way from the unemployable 'casual laborer' right up to the 'tainted genius.'"<sup>2</sup> The eugenic ideal is that of "an ever-perfecting super-race." This was not the "superman" of Nietzsche's vision of the master caste but a super race, cleansing itself throughout by the cultivation of its "qualities."<sup>3</sup>

The neo-aristocracy so created will need a new philosophy more adequate than democracy. "Now I believe, for the time being at any rate, the new philosophy should be called 'Neo-aristocracy'; because it involves first of all, the disestablishment of the democratic cult and the rehabilitation of the discredited aristocratic idea."<sup>4</sup>

The further full development and practical application of the kind of program indicated by Stoddard occurred in

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<sup>1</sup> Martindale, Sociological Theory, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Lothrop Stoddard, The Revolt Against Civilization (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, Publishers, 1922), pp. 220-62.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 266.



Germany. The beginnings are even before the date of his book (1922). Hitler outlined future German policy in Mein Kampf. National policy was to be based on racist theories.

Implementing these theories, the Jews were held responsible for the German defeat in World War I and Jewish capitalists were held responsible for the depression that raged in Germany following the War. In the Nazi program of 1920, citizenship and public office were proposed only for those of "German blood," and everyone of alien blood was to be deported or eliminated. Upon Hitler's assumption of power in 1933, laws began to be passed to these various ends, and anti-Semitic persecutions began.

In 1935, with the Nuremberg Laws, full-scale action began in earnest. All Jews were deprived of the right of citizenship, and marriages and extramarital relations between Jews and German non-Jews were prohibited. All Jewish children were removed from elementary schools. In 1936, the expropriation with recompense of Jewish property and banking accounts began and continued through 1937--this measure aimed at eliminating Jews from trade and commerce. In 1938, outbursts against Jews became general, and mass arrest occurred in Berlin. Pogroms took place throughout Germany. By an edict, the Jews were assessed for all damage done during such outbreaks, plus a fine of a billion marks.

In 1939, the Jewish community in Berlin received orders from the police to produce daily the names of one hundred Jews who would receive two week's notice to leave the

country. No provisions were made to finance the emigration.

At the same time, racism in the Third Reich was beginning to spread to other areas. Alfred Resenberg, editor-in-chief of official newspapers, pronounced the Christian Church to be a menace to true Nordics, and discovered antipathy of the Nordics in the decadent words of the Sermon on the Mount. This all reached fruition in the mass murders, the gas chambers, and the death factories of the concentration camps.

So it was that the Jews once again took their place in history as a scapegoat group who were sacrificed to preserve the solidarity of the social structure and the State.

Germany under Adolph Hitler was being rebuilt on a war footing. In order to build his war machine, he needed a unifying mechanism because the economy was in ruins, the people were suffering, and there existed no external enemy as yet to bind them together.

Hitler decided to remake the character of the German society. Since Germany had no gold, he took it off the gold and silver bullion standard that the rest of the world was using to measure wealth and declared that the real wealth of the nation lay in its population, its physical plant (in terms of public buildings, roads, utilities, etc.) and in its production base. For this he was later hailed by economists as a great financial genius but, at the time, it was a radical move (the United States clung stubbornly to the outmoded system of basing the economy on stored gold until the

late 1960's).<sup>1</sup> He then employed the people in building the material for a war machine and in constructing a physical plant and production base for the country.

Such sacrifice required a strong force to bind the people together. Hitler turned to the unrestrained use of the social-Darwinist ideology with its arguments that fostered the superiority of achievement and the immanence progress, and through this superiority it fostered the idea of racism.

The Jews had banded together in certain areas of the cities referred to as "Ghettos" and so were very socially "visible" to the populace. This clannishness of the Jews and their religious customs plus the fact that they cultivated the use of a second "inferior" language<sup>2</sup> gave them sufficient "difference" from the rest of the population that they could be fitted to the constellation of master status-determining traits herein designated as Deviant type-W. Added to this was the factor of historical precedent that they had been blamed in the past for the ills of society, and during the Middle Ages had been associated with the classical stereotype and had worn the label of social heretic.

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<sup>1</sup>Although Hitler takes the credit for the idea that the real wealth is the people, he is in fact paraphrasing Karl Marx as is discussed in Das Kapital in that the sources of capital are in human productivity.

<sup>2</sup>The idea of "inferior" referring to language came from the fact that Yiddish was based on an older German and also the situation was made more serious by the fact that the Jews prayed in a third "inferior" language, Hebrew.

The sanction of the government and its policy of a "Jewish solution," objectified the problem and gave the principles that control collective behavior both impetus and direction at a real target. Then, after the war plans were initiated, the interior enemies at the very breast of the nation served to divert the public attention from reverses in the field, while on the positive side, the campaign against the enemies of the State at home allowed the civilians to contribute to the collective "mission" adding to the unification of the effort.

In conformance with the pseudo-scientific (biological) basis of the social-Darwinist philosophy and the organismic view of society described earlier, the problem was put into the medical terms normally assigned to contagious diseases. (Of course, the fact that the State was engendering a kind of "psychic epidemic" was conveniently neglected.) Social pathology was equated with pathology as the term related to health of the human body.

The ills of society were caused by the Jews (and other seditious groups) and therefore they were a source of pathological contagion that had to be rooted out. The health of the State would be good again once these measures of political hygiene were practiced. For example, Heinrich Himmler, chief of the Nazi S.S., explained that "Antisemitism is exactly the same as delousing. Getting rid of lice is not a question of ideology. It is a matter of cleanliness."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 216.



Similarly, Paul Otto Schmidt, press chief of the Nazi Foreign Office, declared that "the Jewish question is no question of humanity, and it is no question of religion; it is solely a question of political hygiene."<sup>1</sup>

Szasz himself states that "the medical rhetoric of Nazism was, moreover, not just a ruse for the murder of Jews (any more than the medical rhetoric of Institutional Psychiatry is just a ruse for the coercive control of helpless and troublesome individuals)."<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, the scientistic society of the Nazis regarded it as an integral part of the general policy of health consciousness.

In line with what has already been said with respect to the generalization of deviance, or the collection of various kinds of deviant individuals under a general stereotype, the Germans began to search for other "threatening" groups in their society.<sup>3</sup> They quickly settled on the Gypsies and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>It is important to note here that the first groups regarded as a threat by the Nazis were not the Jews or the Gypsies but the Communists. Nazism was not only anti-Jewish but also anti-Communitistic. This later focus was the major appeal both in Germany and especially in Italy to attract the middle class to its support. In America this stratagem was used by Father Coughlin, who was both anti-Semitic and anti-Communitistic. Many anti-Communist organizations in America connected the Jews and the Communists together. There was some good and real reason to do so because 1. Marx was of Jewish extraction, and 2. Jews as an oppressed people have a history of joining radical organizations to seek a solution to their predicament. For a more detailed discussion of this concept, see Oscar Handlin, The American People in the Twentieth Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963) and John Pritchard, Reichstag Fire: Ashes of Democracy (New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1972).

so-called "political criminals." Gypsies had been fitted for the label of the classical stereotype before in most of the countries of Europe. They were generally considered to be born thieves and also to possess certain powers to foresee the future that ordinary mortals did not have. Political criminals and undesirables came to mean anyone who did not agree wholly with the "party line" of the State and who gained social visibility by whatever means. (This coincides with the more recent definition of all crime as--political expression.)

In line with the generalization of deviance, Szasz quotes Hanna Arendt as saying "they (the Nazis) intended to extend their extermination politics into the ranks of 'racially unfit' Germans. . . . Hitler contemplated during the war the introduction of a National Health Bill."<sup>1</sup>

Szasz further states that,

As I have stressed throughout this book, the demoralization and de-politicalization of social problems, and their transformation into problems of medicine and treatment, is a characteristic modern totalitarian states (both National Socialist and Communist) share with modern bureaucratic states. However, although the degree and the directness of the destructiveness which such therapeutic rhetoric justifies may vary from one political system to another, its essential aim is always the same; to identify, stigmatize, and control particular segments of the population.<sup>2</sup>

While the Nazis were going to the extreme in terms of social-Darwinist ideological thought, the American state,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

for a somewhat different reason and to a lesser degree, was following the same policies against many of the same people.

During this time, in the years of the depression, there was a search for some one cause or group who could objectify the blame and thus direct the social unrest away from the idea of changing the capitalistic system.

Many of the immigrant groups which had furnished scapegoats for the lower class and thus functioned as a safety valve for the social structure and laissez faire capitalism had been absorbed into the organized labor movement; this left only the most radically "different" minority elements in society as targets for aggression. The Negro, whose difference rested in his color, and his (supposed) racial inferiority, the newest immigrants, the Puerto Ricans, and the Jews (many of whom were immigrants also, arriving from fleeing persecution in Germany) who had served the world many times as a classical stereotype of the social heretic were the groups that the politicians settled on as the targets of the political campaigns of the late thirties.

Deviance was made a political tool in that the Jew, in America as he had been in Germany, was pictured in the stereotype of the international financier who was milking the country of its wealth and taking it abroad for investment. All the immigrant groups were selected as targets because, since the depression, there were not enough jobs to go around and they represented a further inferior and undesirable element in an already overpopulated country.

World War II in Terms of its Significance  
for the Deviant Minorities

With the outbreak of World War II and the creation of an "exterior enemy" in the form of Germany, who was seen as a threat to the whole world, again the dissenting groups of the United States were unified in a giant effort to once again save the world for democracy and rescue it from totalitarianism.

On the following page, the thermodynamic analogy is again used to illustrate the structure and character of the American society during World War II, the groups in American society and the pressures and forces operating on them.

Differences of the deviant minorities were forgotten as all available manpower was needed to man the machinery of production. Even the Jews and the Negroes benefited from the need for manpower and from the popularization of the democratic ideal. For instance, it was hardly fashionable to persecute the Jews at home when one of the policies that made Hitler so hated in the world was his so-called "Jewish solution."

Another factor that influenced this new "tolerance of differences" was the differences of the peoples of the world who were all bound together in a common effort to stop the combined German and Japanese war machines all across the face of the world.

The successful conclusion of the war for the United States resulted in a period of comparative prosperity as the productive machinery was converted to supply the consumer demand which had been pent-up during the war years. The auto-



**THERMODYNAMIC REPRESENTATION OF THE  
WORLD WAR II AMERICAN SOCIETY**  
(The Social Structure--Still Rigid,  
but the Conflict is Other-directed  
more than Intra-societal)

Social-  
Darwinist  
Ideology

The  
Power  
Elite

Protestant  
Ethic

Zoot-suiters etc.  
Displacing  
of Japanese-Americans  
Spy, counterspys and  
Saboteur Campaigns

Ideology  
Make the  
World Safe  
for  
Democracy Survival  
of National  
Entities

Evangelical  
advancement of  
democratic  
ideals by the  
use of Propaganda  
and Force

Supplying  
material to U.S.  
forces and allies  
to replace losses  
in battle

Testing of  
Technological A  
Advances under  
Extreme Conditions

cooperation in the  
production of war  
material.  
Expansion of the  
economy with the use  
of women, negroes  
and immigrants in  
the war economy.  
Scientific  
advancement

mobile industry became the mainstay of the economy as every returning service man had the dream of owning a new car.

However, a new enemy appeared on the horizon. Russia, who had been an ally during the war in stopping the German war machine in the East, now represented a threat to Democracy because of the alien socio-political ideology that controlled its development and the strange character and structure of its society.

The "Cold War" of Ideologies and the Creation  
of a Twentieth Century Witch-Hunt

Communism had furnished Germany with one of its most useful external (and internal) enemies during the formation of the Nazi State. Now it became the enemy of all of the so-called democratic nations of the world, and particularly the United States.

Of course, the real reasons for the enmity were not wholly ideological, although this was the motivating force. The concrete problem that existed, however, was one of a balance of power and the intersection of "spheres of influence." Of course, this was made more crucial because both ideologies were imperialistic and expansionist so, naturally, they were bound to clash.

Although, at the outset, communist Russia had declared the international "mission" of communism, it had represented no real threat until the country's potential for heavy production and the construction of a war machine had been developed during World War II and in the period immediately

following the war. Once the industrial potential of this huge country became apparent, the fact of the existence of a truly threatening ideology on the other side of the world struck home to the power structure of the United States.

As stated before, both the social-Darwinist ideology of the United States and the Marxist-socialism ideology of the U.S.S.R. are expansionist and imperialistic in regard to external policy. This resulted in a world-wide "cold war" of propaganda and subversion for the minds of the uncommitted nations of the world. Each tried to extend its sphere of influence at the expense of the other.

This policy gave an excuse for the continued diversion of productive capacity into heavy industry and the construction of newer and more sophisticated weaponry. In the United States, particularly, where employment had always been a problem and where the specter of depression still haunted, the waste connected with the continual production-obsolescence cycle of weaponry promised to keep the population placated. The threat of so-called "doomsday" weapons and total annihilation of populations (promoted through the use of mass media) kept the populations of both countries in a state of anxiety (the fear of the unknown—since neither population really understood the full import of a nuclear holocaust).

This allowed the power structure of the United States to "harden" its position and become even more monolithic. At the top, as Mills described it, was a "power elite" composed of the economic, political and military institutions

that kept the capitalistic economy functioning by military production for obsolescence.<sup>1</sup>

The figure on the following page denotes the structure and character of the American society (again making use of the thermodynamic analogy) during the conflict of ideologies and illustrates the pressures and forces leading to social conflict.

To keep the population of the United States solidly in support of the social structure, communism was played up continuously as a "bogey man" by the mass media with government sanction. The communist was an external enemy to society but, the government insisted, he also represented an internal enemy of the worst kind since all of the physical ways of identifying him (as represented by the status-determining trait constellation of the construct Deviant type-W) would not work. The government maintained that the communist policy was to infiltrate American society and to destroy it from the inside so that all the Russian forces would have to do was to mop up pockets of resistance. In fact, members of the "cells" had to appear as much like normal citizens as possible to carry out their mission. Therefore, their next door neighbor could be one of "them." Since the average citizen knew nothing about the actual ideology of communism, he was at the mercy of the combination of the mass media and his emotions.

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<sup>1</sup>C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).



THERMODYNAMIC REPRESENTATION OF THE  
RIGID AMERICAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN  
THE YEARS OF WORLD-WIDE IDEOLOGICAL  
CONFLICT BETWEEN MARXIST-LENINIST  
SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL-DARWINISM

Social-  
Darwinist  
Ideology

The  
Power  
Elite

Protestant  
ethic

Internal  
Communists (scare)

Minorities suspected  
of communist tendencies

Nationalism  
Uncommitted  
Underdeveloped  
Societies  
Apathy due to nuclear  
threat  
Concepts of Limited War  
and Sandbar

Evangelism for  
the Social-  
Darwinist  
ideology  
(Intellectual  
imperialism)

Conflict with  
the other major  
expansionist  
ideology of  
Marxist-Leninist  
socialism

Post-war interior  
expansion of the  
consumer economy  
and  
Production to  
supply material for  
the conduct of  
"brush-fire" wars  
against communism  
supplying others  
with material and  
money to combat  
the spread of  
Marxist-Leninism

As has already been pointed out in the theory section the conditions were now ripe for the principles of collective behavior to be put into practice. All that was needed was visibility and labeling by some "authority," to provide the "precipitating incident" that would kick off the process of hysteria and contagion.

Since the general sanction by the government already existed, the appearance of an entrepreneur representing the authority of the state was not surprising.<sup>1</sup> The entrepreneur who set this process in motion came in the person of Senator Joseph McCarthy.<sup>2</sup>

As Cardozo points out,

McCarthyism was possible because of this fear and ignorance of Communism. However, Jo McCarthy's initial reason for seeking out the "Communists in government" was hardly as patriotic as it sounded. Actually, his own political ambitions prompted his first accusations. "Communists in government" would make a good campaign issue for the 1952 election.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Becker, Outsiders.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting function of scapegoating that is brought out by a study of McCarthyism is that persons who become scapegoats are "blackballed." In other words, they are unable to find work by having their names placed on lists of undesirables. Although thousands were blackballed the simple fear of being blackballed frightened millions from participating in any liberal organization (guilt by association). This is like Japanese thought-control. The object was social and political conformity. Also, McCarthy succeeded in using another stratagem--one also used by Hitler and the Inquisition--of getting neighbors and fellow workers to report one another.

<sup>3</sup> A. Rebecca Cardozo, "A Modern American Witch-Craze," Original M.S. in Witchcraft and Sorcery, ed. by Max Marwick (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Ltd.,) 1970, p. 373.

Cardozo quoting R. Reveré, Senator Jo McCarthy (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959), p. 119.

The importance of the entrepreneur, as pointed out by Becker,<sup>1</sup> is shown by Cardozo when she comments,

That McCarthy was a Senator made a difference. As a Senator, he had access to information he might not have otherwise had. The American people therefore took heed of his accusations. Most important in relation to his advantage as a Senator is the fact that Senators speaking in Congress are immune from libel suits. Undoubtedly this immunity gave McCarthy a certain amount of courage in making such serious accusations.<sup>2</sup>

This rash of accusations carried out by a representative of the established authority through the mass media, and the myth that it perpetrated of Communists in governments created suspicion and fear that swept through the country.

Cardozo continues by way of explanation,

"In [McCarthy's] demonology the Democratic leaders, the liberal intelligentsia, and a supposedly decadent Eastern aristocracy played the accomplice role that Hitler assigned to the Jews."<sup>3</sup>

The accusations continued, becoming more personal and ugly. McCarthy said once, for example, "The Democratic label is more the property of men and women who have . . . bent to the whispered pleas from the lips of traitors . . . men and women who wear the political label stitched with the idiocy of a Truman, rotted by the deceit of an Acheson, corrupted by the red slime of a [Harry Dexter] White."<sup>4</sup>

The similarity of the McCarthy witch-hunt for communists and the actual witch-hunt of the 15th and 16th centuries is self-evident. McCarthy fitted the description of the

<sup>1</sup>Becker, Outsiders.

<sup>2</sup>Cardozo, "Witch-Craze," in Witchcraft and Sorcery, ed. by Marwick, p. 373.

<sup>3</sup>Cardozo, "Witch-Craze," in Witchcraft and Sorcery, ed. by Marwick, p. 373.

Cardozo quoting Revere, Senator Jo McCarthy, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Marwick, p. 374; Revere, p. 11.



"witch-pricker" who devoted himself to the search for individuals with "the Devil's mark" perfectly. He simply transferred the scene of action from the religious setting into the political setting.

As Cardozo explains in her introduction,

Social, political, economic and religious upheaval makes a society especially vulnerable to a craze. In an atmosphere of confusion and uncertainty, people become intolerant toward change; and it is primarily social, political and religious intolerance that provides the initial impetus for a craze. Influential members of society single out and identify an "enemy of the people," e.g. the witch, the heretic, the Communist, the Jew. This infamous "enemy" is then blamed for all evil and uncertainty.

. . . As a craze develops, a climate of fear and suspicion permeates throughout the society; and the consequences of the widespread fear and intolerance is the madness of "the hunt." Accompanying the "hunt" are false accusations, torture, forced confessions, ruined reputations and death.<sup>1</sup>

Cardozo then goes on to point out that crazes do not die overnight but, rather, may persist for hundreds of years. She maintains that the hysteria and psychic contagion that comes to be associated with a craze can be promoted in a number of ways. The main qualification is that the myth be disseminated throughout the society and passed on over time. McCarthy achieved this through the mass media.

The facts of the case show that McCarthy was a good student of conflict theory and the theory of collective behavior because as the earlier quote with the use of the term "label" shows, he knew the power of identification and labeling theory in the process of achieving the association of an

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<sup>1</sup>Cardozo, "Witch-Craze," in Witchcraft and Sorcery, ed. by Marwick, p. 369.



individual with a heretical group. He was aware, too, that in the setting of the modern bureaucratic state as opposed to the Theocratic State, it was no longer necessary to actually torture, maim or kill his adversary. It was just as effective to destroy his reputation through the mass media. He was just as dead politically as if a real bullet had been used.

Gradually the tide turned on McCarthy when Senators such as Hubert Humphrey took a stand against his scare tactics and invoked the due process of law to effect his censure.

With this censure, the power of McCarthy was destroyed and the era of McCarthyism ended, and the nation turned its attention to events that were changing the world in the Far East.

#### The Effect of the Korean War on the Character of American Society

During the McCarthy era, the United States was already involved in a real physical conflict with Communism in Korea. Although as far as the common citizen was concerned, this conflict was a war, the government insisted in calling it a "police action." The Korean War became the first war in American history that lacked popular support. The very term "police action" raised negative feelings in the American public because they had no desire to be world policemen.

Nevertheless, two new concepts developed during the Korean War that continue to be effective until the present day in the Vietnam Conflict. These principles were the concept of "limited war" and the concept of "sanctuary." These

two terms had not been in the military vocabulary until this time and the officers were slow to accept them. The North Koreans were supplied from sources safe behind the sanctuary of the Yalu River. Then the introduction of the Chinese "volunteers" provided another shock to the officers of the army and to the civilians at home. The effect was mind-boggling for the conservative students of warfare among the officer corps, but even more so for the people at home. They knew that the United States still possessed atomic superiority (for after all, since World War II, the big scare had been used to gain public support of the military-industrial complex) and therefore could not understand why it was not used. They did not understand the fact that it needed concentrations of population and productive capacity as proper targets. Korea did not offer such targets, and besides, the rugged terrain would tend to dissipate the blast ineffectually, and moreover, the fallout could do more damage in Japan than in Korea (especially during the winter months). China did not offer the targets that would assure a complete neutralization either, and besides, because of communications facilities, the world would know of this strike immediately and the United States would be classed as a new barbarian force of destruction.

It was at this time with the protracted period of fierce fighting with no concrete gains that the spirit of nationalism that had supported the establishment in two world wars died. The young saw the lack of concrete objectives in

the conflict and did not want to sacrifice their lives uselessly. Minority groups, especially, suffering differential treatment and discrimination at home, could not see any reason for sacrificing their lives in a meaningless conflict.

With the armistice and the drawing of the line at the 38th parallel, the political institution lost even more public support. Three years of war had resulted in the United States ending up right back where it had begun without deciding anything, and the Communists were even more of a force to be reckoned with than ever before. In the past, America had always fought until victory was achieved; the public could not understand the tactics of attrition.

The concrete evidence of the loss of national feeling of patriotism is the statistical evidence offered of the number of men who either went M.W.O.L. or, if captured, succumbed to the brain-changing techniques being experimented with by the communist forces. The soldiers in combat had no clear conception of what they were fighting for, and therefore, some of them were not socialized sufficiently in the value system of the United States to have internalized it to an extent that they could withstand the assault on their physical body and their psyche that the Communist prison camp "brain-changing" techniques represented.

No sooner had the Korean "limited war" been settled with a stalemate than the problem of the French in Indochina became real to the United States. The French were fighting to preserve their empire in Asia. The people of Indochina

were fighting under the strong will provided by the spirit of nationalism (fostered in a backhanded manner by the old Japanese Southeast Asia Co-prosperity idea) and a "mission" provided by an ideology. The French were losing--their modern machines and dry land tactics did not function in the jungle and the local revolutionaries were using guerrilla techniques under the leadership of General Giap in North Vietnam.

Finally the French were forced to capitulate. At Dienbienphu the French lost an empire and the Americans inherited the problem of the French when they intervened to help the South Vietnamese junta in its conflict with the northern people's republic.

This brings the discussion of the historical evolution of the character and structure of American society up to contemporary times because this conflict is still going on and the entry into the conflict in Vietnam by the United States largely coincides with another revolutionary era in world history; the era of the Cybernetic Revolution.

Summary of the General Significance of the  
Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth  
Centuries on the Historical  
Development of the Career  
of the Social Heretic

This historical period is especially important in the evolution of the career of Deviant type-w as a result of the change in the structure of society in Europe, the creation of a new society in the United States, the changes that occurred in political, economic, religious, and social thought with their influence on the character of society, and the institutionalization of technology of society through industrial-



ization and urbanization.

As was pointed out in the discussion, society after the French Revolution in Europe and England became largely Utilitarian in outlook due to the shift from the nobility as masters of the social system to the bourgeoisie, the foundation of the middle-class society that persists to this day.

This society became committed to the Protestant ethic and social Darwinism during the balance of the century, and followed a policy of capitalism, material gain and industrialization at home and expansion and imperialism abroad.

The social-Darwinist ideology as it developed as an offshoot of the work going on in the natural sciences in combination with the trends of social thought contributed also the policy of nationalism that spurred the progress of imperialism abroad and the pursuit of war as an instrument of policy.

It was social-Darwinism, too, that contributed to the concept of racial purity and white supremacy that had such unfortunate consequences for the peoples of Africa and Asia, leading to the racial conflict that continues to the present time.

The Utilitarianism of European sociological and political thought was transported to America and transformed in the process to pragmatism, the philosophy of the middle-class American. The primary proponent of pragmatism in America was John Dewey.

### Summary

Now it is necessary to put the social, political and economic history of this period into perspective as to the way it effected the problem of using the classical stereotype of the social heretic as a "scapegoat" or "safety valve" to increase cohesion in rigid social structures. As pointed out before, America furnishes the best opportunity to observe this phenomena in action due to its unique position as a "laboratory culture" of the Protestant ethic.

The social thought that was current in Europe was simply transplanted onto American soil. This included the Protestant ethic (with its variant English "Yankeeism"), industrialism, and social Darwinist ideology. It must be remembered that the ordinary citizen did not spend his time philosophizing on the type of orientation he had--he was bombarded with propaganda from the pulpit, the government and his employer. He had "internalized" this frame of reference and acted in the way he did without conscious direction.

Ideologies, then, were not compared intellectually by the common man. He simply internalized emotionally those portions which most closely affected him and his economic situation as they were explained to him by those who had the most influence on his socialization. The Civil War stepped up the speed of a process which transformed American society

in the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Between the Civil War and World War I, the United States became the chief industrial nation of the world. Not only did it manage to produce more goods and services than any other country, but it also consumed a large percentage of its output--a unique phenomenon in the history of commerce and business. The high birth rate and the flood of immigrants (this will be mentioned more fully later) sustained a growing aggregate demand that converted the economy from an agricultural society into an industrial and urban society. By 1890, the national wealth had reached \$63 billion and the value of manufactures was over \$9 billion--three times that of agricultural products.<sup>2</sup> All this industrialization of the economy and the accompanying urbanization, coupled with the influx of immigrants from Europe changed the character of the society from a homogeneous one to a heterogeneous type.

For a breakdown of what the move to industrialization means to a rural society, Moore synthesizes many of the previous works in his discussion of the conditions, consequences and dynamics of modernization. His conclusions of the effects on the social structure can be summarized as follows: the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries had the effect of introducing the therapeutic reaction to the treat-

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<sup>1</sup>August C. Bolino, The Development of the American Economy (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1961), p. 213.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 214.

ment of social heretics in the individual sense, and the creation of two new, easily identifiable groups of social heretics by the importation of the Negro and the establishment of the slave system in the South, and the importation of immigrants for industry in the period immediately after the Civil War in the North. All of these things were to have repercussions for society in the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup>

The next period of history, from the end of the first World War to the present, was to be a period of social conflict on many levels reaching from the conflict of ideologies on the world scene to the intergenerational conflict of the children with their parents within the institution of the family.

In summarizing the significance of the 20th century for nonconforming groups and individuals in American society in particular, and Western society in general, a historical recapitulation of some significant ideas, trends and events is necessary. The opening of the twentieth century saw a continuance and increase in the oppression of the Blacks in both the de facto and de jure spheres of the society. In the north, de facto segregation and discrimination was practiced while in the South the de facto practices of the North were observed. However, in addition, this type of treatment was given official sanction and enforced by the coercive

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<sup>1</sup> Wilbert E. Moore, Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), Ch. 5.



powers of the State by means of the Jim Crow legislation discussed previously.

Immigrant groups that had been sought out so eagerly by the capitalists of the latter part of the nineteenth century were exposed to more and more ill-feeling from the descendants of earlier immigrants in the lower socio-economic class. The lower class laborer looked upon new arrivals as a threat to his source of livelihood. This proved to be an unfounded fear as each new group actually served as a wedge driven in at the bottom of the social structure and raised the earlier arrivals occupying the lower rungs of the economic ladder a step up. These facts were not known to the people of the time, however, and an increasing feeling against the importation of new populations from overseas caused new restrictions on immigration and the immigration quota that was rigidly applied until after World War II and the Cold War (the first immigrants to be actually received with open arms were the refugees from the Hungarian revolution against Communism), and the quota system remains in effect today with little change.

Only one other group of non-nationals has been involved in immigration to the United States in recent years and this is the dispossessed middle-class population of Cuba fleeing from Castro's revolution. Other immigration movements in the span of recent years have involved United States nationals from Puerto Rico coming to the big cities of the

Northeast manufacturing region and the movement of poor southern whites and Negroes to the big cities of the North seeking economic gain.

The coming of the Great Depression resulted in a lessening of the conflict created by immigration due to the common problem of survival. This common problem of a sick economy served to override regional and sectional differences and the social reforms instituted by the alphabetic agencies of the New Deal served to bring more unity to the country. It was a matter at this time of the laboring forces banding together to gain power in their dealings with big corporations. The Great Depression, in addition to spurring the labor union movement, was also the most favorable period for Communist ideology in the United States and in Western Society in general. This was the period of greatest dissatisfaction with the ideology of Social Darwinism.

The two periods of World War temporarily offered opportunities for the immigrant populations and the Blacks to work in war production and so there was, during these times, less discrimination in terms of economic advancement. However, after World War II the conflict of ideologies which came to be called the "Cold War" resulted in the hysteria of McCarthyism that led to the communist "witch hunts" that have been compared to the witch hysteria of Europe of the 16th and 17th centuries. This hysteria was due to American society searching for renegades and heretics within the

system to furnish objects of conflict to unite the country against the outside enemy of an alien ideology.<sup>1</sup> This same use of the stigma of Communism had been used earlier by Adolph Hitler in his takeover of the German state. In fact, the precipitating incident by which he was able to seize power, the Reichstag Fire, was blamed by his followers on the Communists when it was, in fact, staged by the Nazis in a deliberate move to topple the government.

With the Korean War and the ignominious defeat of the French forces in Indochina, a disillusionment and apathy gripped both the American and the French citizenry which had a crippling effect on the Nationalism that had reached its crest with the two World Wars. This was due to a number of new factors which the general public of the Western world was unable to understand.

One of these concepts was "limited" war. "Limited" war here was not limited in the sense that wars had been heretofore limited in the West by geographic space or political objectives, but limited in the sense that no military victory was possible. The concept of "sanctuary"; and the strategic use of what had once been only a tactical weapon--guerrilla warfare--were other concepts the Western world was unable to understand. Thus, Western forces found themselves, together with their magnificent mechanized equipment, immobilized by peasants with crude weapons--this had never

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<sup>1</sup>Marwick, Witchcraft and Sorcery, pp. 319, 369-77.

happened before.

These new concepts were coupled with the overwhelming threat to human survival of opposing ideological camps armed with nuclear "doomsday" weapons, the full power of which the average person could not even imagine. The psychological effect of all of these factors can only be guessed; the staggering changes in orientation of thought are evident.

In terms of group heresy, the foregoing discussion shows the situation as it is today. Before closing the analysis of the historical background, however, it is necessary to discuss the changes that have taken place in regard to the various individual nonconformists for which society has developed negative stereotypes. Such individuals are those to whom the labels of mental illness, sexual promiscuity, homosexuality, immorality, or criminality can be affixed.

All these individuals have benefited to some degree from what Thomas Szasz has referred to as the Therapeutic State.<sup>1</sup> This, at least, shows a shift away from the punitive orientation, to the therapeutic orientation and possibly a trend toward a preventative orientation in the ideology of the entrepreneurial enforcement agencies of social control in the society. All of these orientations, however, neglect the consideration that society itself may be the source of a portion of the problem of individual

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<sup>1</sup> Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.



nonconformity. The Therapeutic Orientation (although it does represent a step forward from the punitive) makes a basic assumption that behavior that does not conform to that generally accepted by the dominant group in the society represents some kind of pathology or sickness. This stems first from the development of the germ and disease theories of medicine, and later from the ideas of the social pathologists (a group of social scientists from rural backgrounds, thoroughly steeped in the tenets of the Protestant--middle-class--ethic as the single criterion for normalcy). The concept involves the idea that dysfunction to the Protestant ethic is pathological for society.

The development of the science of psychology, and its subsequent specialization, psychiatry, led to the firm entrenchment of the therapeutic orientation. The aberrant individual is unhealthy and must be cured (the cure is to make him functional in the social environment—whether it is rational or not). The psychiatrist's viewpoint is particularistic while the sociologist transferred this idea to the social situation and made it general.

As was pointed out earlier, this did represent a step forward, at least in theory, from the punitive orientation. Theoretically, the psychiatrists and sociologists were interested in making the individuals and groups functional as participating members in the society as an end result rather than locking them away forever as a protection for society

from a threat. Nevertheless, they are still considered a threat and are committed to "protect" society. These screening processes and commitment procedures are open to question as to their objectivity and scientific validity. Role theory and the theory of mental disorder as it is put forward by Scheff opens up some other areas to consideration.

Scheff sees mental disorder as learned behavior used in trying to overcome stress and anxiety. Finally, the individual escapes from reality by building what Cameron has called "a protective shell of incapacity." The individual then receives a new role orientation--he now plays the role of his learned stereotype of the mentally disordered individual and has arrived at a part in which he can succeed and receive a reward from society even if in a backhanded way. Thus, mental disorder is a dynamic process of interaction that ends in the individual playing deficiently the roles expected of him by the larger collectivity. This deficiency in behavior expectations results in his becoming visible and identified as a threat to the normal conduct of the lifestyle as it is seen by the dominant groups.

Again it must be pointed out when discussing the whole range of representative marginal social groups that can be fitted to the construct Deviant type-W, that the generalization of all of their characteristics under the label of "witch" or "heretic," stopped with the witch hysteria and individual deviants were no longer tortured and destroyed as

"enemies" of society as a generalized group. (An exception, of course, is the German case during the Third Reich when the trend toward generalization of deviance under one stereotype for convenience in dealing with them had begun to develop once again.)

Generally speaking, however, the secularization of thought during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment brought about a change in attitude that resulted in the separation and particularization in classifying deviants in society.

This did not destroy the classical stereotype represented by Deviant type-W but simply spread it throughout society under a variety of labels once again. This actually allowed it to be called to service under more varied circumstances than in the Theocratic State.

Neither did the particularization and individualization of deviance result in a reduction of the "stigma" of being labeled as "different." For whether one was a "criminal," "crazy," "mentally ill," "Jew," "Gypsy," "nigger," or a "painted hussy" he, or she, represented an "enemy" of society and after being given social visibility by an interested entrepreneur stigmatization took place.

After the Theocratic State came what Szasz has referred to as the Therapeutic State (with capital letters)<sup>1</sup> or the therapeutic state of Kittrie (with lower case letters).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Kittrie, Right to Be Different.

The difference is, of course, that Kitztrie feels that the therapeutic orientation is one function of the modern state while Szasz is of the opinion that the therapeutic orientation (from the motive force of the value system of the Protestant ethic and the social-Darwinist ideology) is the primary motive force of the state.

Once again to summarize the therapeutic orientation in terms of its social effect is based on the middle-class interpretation of what is "normal" and "good" for society.

There is evidence now to indicate that possibly the Protestant ethic is no longer relevant. If this evidence is considered, it might also cast doubt on the validity of the present conceptions of "normal" and "good." Possibly there should be a reinterpretation of what behavior is abnormal in a society that has increasing leisure, a mature technology, and a post-industrial economy.

Finally, it has been mentioned that in the Theocratic State, the Church exerted both sacred and temporal power. However, after the French Revolution the structure of society was changed, and a new kind of institutional partnership was formed. This time, the dominant partner was the economic institution under the control of the bourgeois entrepreneur, with the political institution supporting the economic institution that was the source of its funds, and the religious institution supporting the state and the economic institution with the value system of the Protestant ethic.



As far as the social structure is concerned, this is still the partnership that exists in the world's representative democracies today (which includes the United States). However, as will be shown later, the United States has perpetuated the control of the economic institution in the hands of a hereditary upper class who also, in turn, themselves or through their proteges control the political and military institutions. The Church, of course, still provides its function of supporting the "status quo," by propounding the traditional values of the Protestant ethic.

Although the structure of the American society is still the same (a structure designed for a simpler more rural society of vertical integration), the character of the American society has changed markedly. Instead of being a homogenous, rural society as it was when the structure was formed, it is now a complex, urbanized, heterogeneous (pluralistic) society of horizontal integration. (By vertical integration is meant integration through likenesses--as in family lineage--and by horizontal integration is meant integration through differences and secondary overlapping relationships--secondary groupings.)<sup>1</sup>

It has already been mentioned that rationalism and technology have been institutionalized in Western society, and their values, efficiency and expediency have been incorporated into the organizational structure of all the social institutions.

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict.

In fact, the technological side of American society has grown to such an extent now that men such as Daniel Bell and Herman Kahn refer to it as a post-industrial society. Daniel Bell originated the term and uses it to describe a situation in society that had its beginning in 1956 when white collar workers outnumbered blue collar workers for the first time.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the American society had, in the period between 1850 and 1950, passed completely from rural to urban society.

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<sup>1</sup>Douglas, Technological Threat.

VII. THE DIRECTION OF THE DEVIANT CAREER  
OF THE SOCIAL HERETIC IN CONTEMPORARY  
POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

In less complex societies, men play roles that are less segregated. In simple, primitive societies, for example the functions of artistic creation, medical technology, educational functions, and priestly duties may be combined and played by one individual. One role incumbent in undifferentiated role situations may serve in several capacities. In the later stages of social evolution, roles become gradually differentiated and separate roles become the duties of certain specialists. The result is considerable division of labor.

This process of differentiation of structure and the specialization of function in modern post-industrial society has resulted in considerable tension and strains. The individual may still be called upon to fill many functions but they are no longer integrated into one all-encompassing role orientation but are divided into many secondary relationships.

The Complex Character of Post-Industrial Society

Present-day American society is a pluralistic one in actuality that encompasses conflict of values at the same time, diverse, ambiguous, enigmatic, paradoxical, and at

times contradictory. The historical precedent of tradition holds in effect many of the ideal values on which the country was founded, the very real presence of the Protestant work-success ethic (in the face of a growing problem of constructive recreational use of leisure time), while the day-to-day existence requires the adherence to another set of real-life values dedicated to efficiency and expediency. Naturally such a situation leads to a condition in the individual personality of progressive alienation, fractionalization of self, loss of identity, and anomie. Anomie has been described as a condition of normlessness. This leaves the individual in a state of frustration and anxiety without any real anchor points to serve as guidelines by which to live.

Christopher Lasch describes the character of the post-industrial society as:

Post-industrial society may be said to come into being when capital accumulation has reached the point where scarcity is no longer a major social problem--that is, when the industrial system has developed the capacity to satisfy all the basic human needs. Only capitalism has achieved this level of productivity--notably in the United States and in the more advanced states of Western Europe, like Sweden. The term "post-industrial," therefore, designates a particular stage in the historical development of capitalism which is distinguishable from earlier stages in important respects but is still capitalist in its essential features. Post-industrial society is still capitalist in the sense that the industrial system produces commodities rather than objects for use and that the important decisions concerning production remain in "private" hands rather than being socially determined.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Christopher Lasch quoted in M. Donald Handcock and Gideon Sjöberg, eds., Politics in the Post-Welfare State: Responses to the New Individualism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 36.



Lasch continues:

Poverty is no longer a general and pervasive condition. In industrial society masses of people lived in poverty, and poverty was aggravated by periodic business depressions with widespread unemployment. The consciousness of poverty was therefore as generalized as poverty itself. In post-industrial society, poverty is found isolated in "pockets" or "islands" and tends to become "invisible." . . .

The changing character of poverty is closely related to the changing class structure of the post-industrial society. The industrial working class is no longer the largest class. As industry nationalizes itself, the demand for white-collar workers outruns the demand for unskilled and semiskilled workers. People without skills consequently find themselves not only excluded from industry altogether but also excluded for a variety of reasons from the educational opportunities that would enable them to acquire skills necessary to enter the industrial working force (even though their children are forced to spend many years in school). Post-industrial society gives rise to a sizeable class of new poor who live, as noted, on the margin of the industrial system, with access only to the most menial jobs. The new poor are not a proletariat in the strict sense because they are not engaged in industrial production; instead they constitute a new kind of lumpenproletariat, alienated and resentful.<sup>1</sup>

Lasch goes on to delineate class system of the post-industrial society as opposed to the industrial society:

Whereas the class structure of industrial society tended to be polarized between bourgeois and proletarians, post-industrial society consists of five distinct classes, of which the first is steadily diminishing in size and importance.

(1) the traditional middle class, declining in status and increasingly attracted, in its insecurity and despair, to racist versions of its old *laissez faire* ideology.

(2) the traditional working class, now somewhat diminished in size, unionized, relatively affluent, and integrated into the industrial system.

(3) the new lumpenproletariat, swollen by recent migrants from rural areas where mechanization has

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

eliminated the need for unskilled labor, who collect in the ghettos of decaying cities.

(4) the "new middle class" or white-collar proletariat; and finally,

(5) the ruling class, an amalgam of the haute bourgeoisie and the new managerial elite, that controls the great corporations, most of the land, and the higher reaches of government (especially the military). In both its functions and ideology the ruling class is predominately managerial. The term "ruling class" is misleading, however, if it suggests too sharp a distinction between those who control the giant corporations and those who own them. The theory of the managerial revolution notwithstanding, ownership even today--as C. Wright Mills pointed out in The Power Elite--is by no means wholly divorced from control. Nor has the managerial class developed an antibourgeois ideology, as so many writers over the years have predicted it would. On the contrary, it has developed a variant of bourgeois ideology a variant of liberalism but described as corporate liberalism and exemplified in progressivism, The New Deal, The Fair Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society. Corporate liberalism, sometimes confused with socialism by those who do not know any better (and even by those who should like William F. Buckley), differs from traditional liberalism in the acceptance of a managed economy, the recognition of Labor unions as legitimate bargaining agents, its commitment to the welfare state, and its devotion to a Liberalized imperialism abroad. It shares with traditional liberalism a fundamental commitment to the "free enterprise economy"--that is, to the system of commodity production for "private" profit known as capitalism.<sup>1</sup>

Smith describes the post-industrial state as technostuctured democracy. He states:

In combination all employees make up what Galbraith has referred to as the technostucture. Because of the development of advanced technology and the concomitant ruse of the technostucture, the distinctions between employee and employer are obscured. Power passes down into the organization effectively making it a democratic organization even though formal chains of command might be established. . . .

The technostucture brings additional Liberal blessings. Since the unstable market has been eliminated

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 38-39.

by the management of taste, the tutoring of responses, careful conditioning, and forced savings and forced investments, there is a reliable flow of earnings which makes the maximization of profits "no longer necessary." Moreover, the dispersion of power and intelligence into the technostucture prohibits the personal profit-making, proscribes the privacy that malfeasance and misfeasance requires, and makes it difficult to deploy financial resources for political purposes. . . .

Presumably the only reason the technostucture endeavors to make any profit at all is for its own survival. If it fails to make a profit, stockholders and other "outsiders" will come in and cause all kinds of problems. An additional blessing of new liberalism is that its technostucture only tries to secure a "minimum of profits." New liberalism, consequently, is a much better world to live in than the old liberalism. But it is still not the best of all possible worlds.<sup>1</sup>

Smith then shifts to a description of what he terms as democratic domination which he sees as a characteristic of the post-industrial technostuctured society.

Streamlined domination of Liberal technocracy is still domination but one which is more aesthetically pleasing. Since the power of the capitalists has been removed--since the United States is no longer a capitalist society but rather a society with a wide dispersion of power--to protest against one's domination is to protest against democracy. Liberal democracy. Democratic domination will obviously be a better form of liberalism than any which has existed in the past. After the present phase when protesting minorities are beaten and consumed into submission, subsequent attempts to castigate liberalism will become more and more quaint, and more and more meaningless. The bureaucratized structure of liberalism will contain and pervert the humanistic tradition with greater and more streamlined ease. . . . The technostucture, based upon a complex technology and heavy capital investment in the production of waste, is a manifestation of Liberal rationality. Liberal rationality is dependent on and consistent with the production of goods which continually wear

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<sup>1</sup>Handcock and Sjoberg, Politics in the Post-Welfare State, pp. 76-77.



out. The largest expenditure of wasteful production would be the space program. Liberal reason is wasteful irrationality.<sup>1</sup>

Smith sees Liberalism as:

now anchored to a military and industrial organization that imposes its definitions of reality through ideology, diplomacy, brute force, and threats both at home and abroad. However, it also incorporates certain elements from the humanistic tradition and uses them as ideological devices. . . . The contradictions between the humanistic theory and nonhumanistic practice of Liberalism is quite perplexing to the practicing liberal. Internal and external pressures from those who question liberalism, changes in the technological and economic realms, and changes in the world situation force Liberal spokesmen to suggest accommodation that must be made to reduce the obvious contradictions of theory and practice.<sup>2</sup>

Many view the varied and diverse facets of the character of American Society and its value system as contributing to a state of instability. Lasch describes this instability succinctly:

Post-industrial society contains many mechanisms that inhibit the political expression of underlying social conflict—that is, prevent those conflicts from assuming a political form. The tendency of political grievances to present themselves as personal grievances, the tendency for repressive authority to assume the guise of benevolence, the substitution of psychology for politics, and the pervasiveness of the managerial mode of thought help prevent conflicts from coming to the surface and contribute to the illusion that ideology has exhausted itself. But, in spite of all these factors, post-industrial society—in the United States as well as in Western Europe—is torn by political conflict. It is the nature of that society, as we have seen, that creates new classes of marginal and technologically superfluous people, notably the ethnic minorities who make up the "new poor" and the students, who are removed from the working force and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 81.



placed in educational custody where they are exposed to a combination of bureaucratic repression and dangerous ideas. These groups whom post-industrial society has been unable to absorb make up an increasingly alienated and subversive force within it.

Nor is discontent confined to the marginal classes. . . . The same corporate institutions that sustain the celebrated American standard of living require for their continuing growth, policies that are making the cities uninhabitable, polluting the air and water, impoverishing cultural life, creating an apparently endless series of international emergencies, and breeding riot and rebellion at home. In order to make these anxieties tolerable, the post-industrial order offers to the working classes the pleasures of consumption on an unprecedented scale, but it is not always successful in concealing the emptiness of those pleasures or their social cost.<sup>1</sup>

In summary, it is a post-industrial society with a new Liberalism and a new form of capitalism in which the giant corporation has become institutionalized and is more interested in perpetuating itself and in growth than it is in the accumulation of profit for its stockholders. In the process it overcomes objections of the individual by increasing democratization (but only on levels--as will be further explained under the discussion of the power structure), and offering a level of consumption never before possible. This policy of accommodation and absorption of dissenters insures the maintenance of the corporate structures and the central power system. The creation of military waste, obsolescence of consumer goods, and the maintenance of a preparedness economy allows for further expansion. However, the pluralistic quality of the urban society and the resulting plethora of values, many of which are divergent or ambiguous, or even

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 46-47.

contradictory, lead to a state of frustration and anxiety in the individual. The impersonality of the interaction between man and the rest of society results in alienation and "anomie." If these conditions are true of the adult individual, they are intensified in the young person who, not yet fully socialized in the materialism of the post-industrial society, sees value conflicts and social inequalities in sharper contrast. The rise of capitalism demanded even greater technological development. Therefore, change in this area came to be not only encouraged but sought after as expediency and efficiency came to be the principal means toward the end of maximization of profit.

The problem of administering control of the complexity of society brought about the phenomenon of bureaucratization in government. This soon spread to industry and fostered the growth of giant corporations.

In the meantime, the increasing urbanism and growing industrialization created further social problems. The character of society changed. Reading and writing became necessary and finally universal as skills became necessary for the operation of the complex economy created by the technology. The whole life style of society changed with the switch from a production economy to a consumption economy that took place in the '30's during the period of social reform following the Great Depression.

The demands of technology produced further and

further division of labor and specialization, thereby increasing the problems of alienation and anomie for the individual personality. The bureaucratic phenomenon began to produce a new type of individual pathological condition that came to be called the "bureaucratic personality." This was heightened by the fact that the population, with their new skills in reading and writing began to feel the value diversities, ambiguities and contradictions that affected their lives. The result was value conflicts that developed a condition of frustration and a general or "blanket" anxiety. The contagious spread of democratization (not Democracy) that accompanied the greater dissemination of information also caused unrest and heightened activism by groups of dissenters in the society--particularly the young (partly as a result of proselyting for the Democratic "ideal" and being urged to think for themselves in the schools).

The conditions, however, did not alter the fact that the society is controlled by monolithic power structure directed by an elite composed of corporate financiers and their proteges. In order to continue in control in the face of more and more dissent, they were forced to change the character of the economy, from the liberalized consumption economy that had replaced the laissez faire production economy in the thirties to a super consumption economy that came to be known by appellations like "service State" and the "welfare state." In this super-consumption economy needs

were created by the mass media and the use of "planned obsolescence" made sure of a future market through the stratagem of calculated waste which in turn became a major factor in the growth of bigger and more efficient production facilities. The ultimate answer was hit upon by the "power elite" as C. Wright Mills has termed the combination of the political, economic and military institutions. Since the key was production for relatively quick obsolescence before wear-out and then conversion to scrap or waste, what better answer than a military preparedness economy? This answer has two advantages, it increased the total amount of waste (thereby insuring a greater market and insuring the expansion of production facilities) and also helped keep full employment in industry and the military. The whole scheme had a further advantage in that the calculated war hysteria that assured support of the citizenry took their minds off other pressing social problems like poverty that could not be solved so readily by the capitalist game plan. Meanwhile, the production of commodities lulled them (the consumers) into a sense of complacency by giving plentiful conveniences and creature comforts. Thus a policy of accommodation and containment accomplished a task that could have been much more costly without the new Liberal capitalist strategy.

While all this was going on, most of the academic social scientists aligned themselves as apologists for the establishment. In so doing they prostituted their science to



win the support and recognition of the power structure by not only keeping the Conservative Tradition (chiefly composed of the Protestant ethic and the social-Darwinist ideology) alive in the face of damning evidence of irrelevancy but actually pushing it to the fore and making it a part of the socialization process of future worker-consumers. Trained, propagandized, and indoctrinated, the labor force, to be utilized in the production process, acts as the consumers for the economic enterprises in their favored position in society.

This is where things stand in American society today. It is a pluralistic consumption-oriented society dedicated to the concept of rationalism and the furtherance of technological change, while the nonmaterial side of the culture is still controlled by a Conservative Tradition dedicated to the work-success ethic in direct contrast to the greater and greater increase of leisure and enforced idleness. It is a society of growing democratization as contrasted to decreasing democracy. The complexity of the structure is producing a more and more intricate bureaucratization dedicated to more efficiency and expediency and controlled by an increasingly powerful oligarchical elite.

A new concept of Liberal capitalism has emerged from this elite. It is no longer dedicated to the maximization of profit (in fact, no profit at all would be perfectly satisfactory if the small stockholders could be appeased). What it is interested in is "plow back," the survival and

growth of the corporate entity to giant size and engaged in the production of commodities of calculated obsolescence. The consumer public can then be controlled and manipulated through the mass media by the creation of new needs. The public is caught up in this way in the system and are contained and accommodated and, in a sense, themselves consumed by the system. Dissenters and activists are absorbed by the system because of the factor of horizontal democratization of the bureaucratic structure. Once they are a part of the system and committed to it, deviation appears not only to be irrational but downright disloyal to their fellow workers at whatever level they find themselves.

One has only to look at the changes that capitalism has made to survive, from its inception as a laissez faire mercantilistic system of production; through its stage of monopolistic contraction and a policy of caveat emptor; on through the stages of the holding companies to circumvent the anti-trust legislation and the securities market regulations; through the switch to the concept of a consumer economy in order to survive in the period of social reform that followed the Great Depression; to the idea of the welfare state, on to the concept for the laying aside of the concept of maximization of profits for the purpose of furthering the existence of power and the expansion of the giant corporations and conglomerates of the present. It has become a super-consumption economy based on the concept of calculated

obsolescence and production of waste. Under their system the consumer is subverted, his desires manipulated and needs created and dissenters are accommodated and contained. A military preparedness economy insures that the worker-consumer's attention will be diverted away from pressing social problems, and outlets for the production facilities will be created through producing weapons with a high potential of obsolescence for the military institution. A concomitant benefit for the capitalistic economic institution is that large amounts of manpower are diverted into the military service (young) and so the problem of marginal youthful troublemakers in society is partially abated.

From the foregoing discussion of the character of the contemporary American society, one can see that there have been some changes in the social structure since its inception but these changes are superficial when one considers that the hierarchy of social institutions still exhibits the characteristics of the partnership described in the summary of the last section.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that the power structure which lies at the center of this institutional hierarchy has only changed in one way. It has increased the only size and the efficiency of its bureaucratic organization by way of which power is allotted in terms of direction and degree of intensity.

Social Control and the Flow of Power  
in American Society

The power structure of American society seems to be vertical and unilinear, operating from the top down. At the top, there is an elite of power wielders who delegate this power in a downward direction through the middle level to the masses.

The understanding of the working of this societal power structure is necessary if one is to place the educational institution in its proper perspective in the societal context.

Of American scholars who have studied the concept of power and social control, C. Wright Mills has perhaps come closest to painting the clearest picture of the mechanics of the consolidation and exercise of power in this society. Lasswell concurs in this assessment to some extent when he speaks of delineation of social class in America:

As conceptual development, theory, and empirical research stand today, it is not possible to set down a coherent theory of social class based on power differentiation. Probably Mills has done the best possible job in The Power Elite and White Collar. It seems an improvement over the earlier Marxian theory as far as the United States is concerned.<sup>1</sup>

In the following section, the present author will attempt to set down the basics of Mills' conception of the power structure in American society and to illustrate it

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas E. Lasswell, Class and Stratum: An Introduction to Concepts and Research (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), p. 187.



diagrammatically.

Mills looked upon the study of power as a beginning of sociological knowledge and understanding, and he felt that the basis of that understanding lay in recognition of the fact that power is a human product. Men delimit power, and, therefore, the proper areas of study were the human uses of power.

Men struggle for power and struggle to keep power once they have attained it: therefore power tends to institutionalize itself. It was on this idea of the institutionalization of power that Mills based his major works. In The Power Elite he states, "Within American society, major national power now resides in the economic, the political and military domains."<sup>1</sup> He justified this concept by pointing out that the economy, once a scattered pattern of small production units in the balance of autonomy has come to be controlled by two or three hundred huge corporations that are politically and administratively interrelated, and they manipulate the economic decisions. Further, the political order which was in the beginning decentralized with much power residing in the state governments has become highly centralized and functions as an executive establishment which has connections into every part of the social structure. Finally, the military order, which was once made up chiefly

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<sup>1</sup>Mills, Power Elite, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>This does not constitute a rejection of the pluralist model which will be discussed beginning on page 366.

of a conglomeration of state militia forces has become a unified federal force of three branches and a huge bureaucratic structure that is connected to the economic and political domains. Centralization and consolidation has increased the amount of power residing in the institutional areas mentioned and their interrelationship in terms of both function and personnel has resulted in a magnification and integration of this power. For instance, decisions of the military have effects on the economic and political institutions and vice versa.

Mills asserts:

As a result, the political directorate, the corporate rich, and the ascendant military have come together as the power elite, and the expanded and centralized hierarchies which they head have encroached upon the old balances and have now relegated them to the middle level of power.<sup>1</sup>

Mills states that the American system of power is not, as it is usually interpreted to be, "a moving balance of many competing interests." He states further,

The balance and the compromise in American society--the "countervailing powers" and the numerous associations, the "veto groups" and the "vested interests"--must now be seen as having mainly to do with the middle levels of power. . . . The new middle class of white-collar employees is certainly not the political pivot of any balancing society. It is in no way politically united.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>2</sup>C. Wright Mills, The Causes of World War III (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1958), p. 14.

In The Causes of World War III<sup>1</sup> Mills shows how the character of the American society is experiencing more and more integration of the democratic forces, potential and real, into the burgeoning superstructure of the state. He points to the "governmentalization of the lobby" and the replacement of electoral policies by the functions of a bureaucratic administration. He demonstrates how the politicians at the federal level are being relegated to the middle levels of power while the executive power is increasingly being exercised by "corporation men" at the upper levels. Thus, the middle level of power in America, in Mills' view, is more a semiorganized stalemate than a moving balance.

Mills saw the growth of the power elite and the occupation of the middle range of power by the democratic machinery as being paralleled by the growth of a mass society in America. He saw the American population not as a "public" or a group of "publics" but as a "mass society."

As he comments,

The issues that now shape man's fate are neither raised nor decided by any public at large. The idea of a society run by publics is not a matter of fact, it is the proclamation of an ideal and, as well, the assertion of a legitimation masquerading as fact.<sup>2</sup>

(For a diagrammatic view of the structure as outlined by Mills see the illustration on the following page.)

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-33.



MILLS' POWER PYRAMID CONCEPT  
OF THE UNILINEAR POWER FLOW  
IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

C. WRIGHT MILLS' CONCEPTION OF THE POWER STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN SOCIETY  
(Simplified and rendered pictorially to show the flow of power and the  
interactive connections between the various institutions and levels).

Mills sees the power flow to be generally in one direction--from the  
top down--except at the level of the economic, political and military  
orders which interpenetrate and interact with both an interchange of  
power and of personnel

UPPER LEVEL  
"THE POWER ELITE"

Started with the upper  
class and their  
protégés

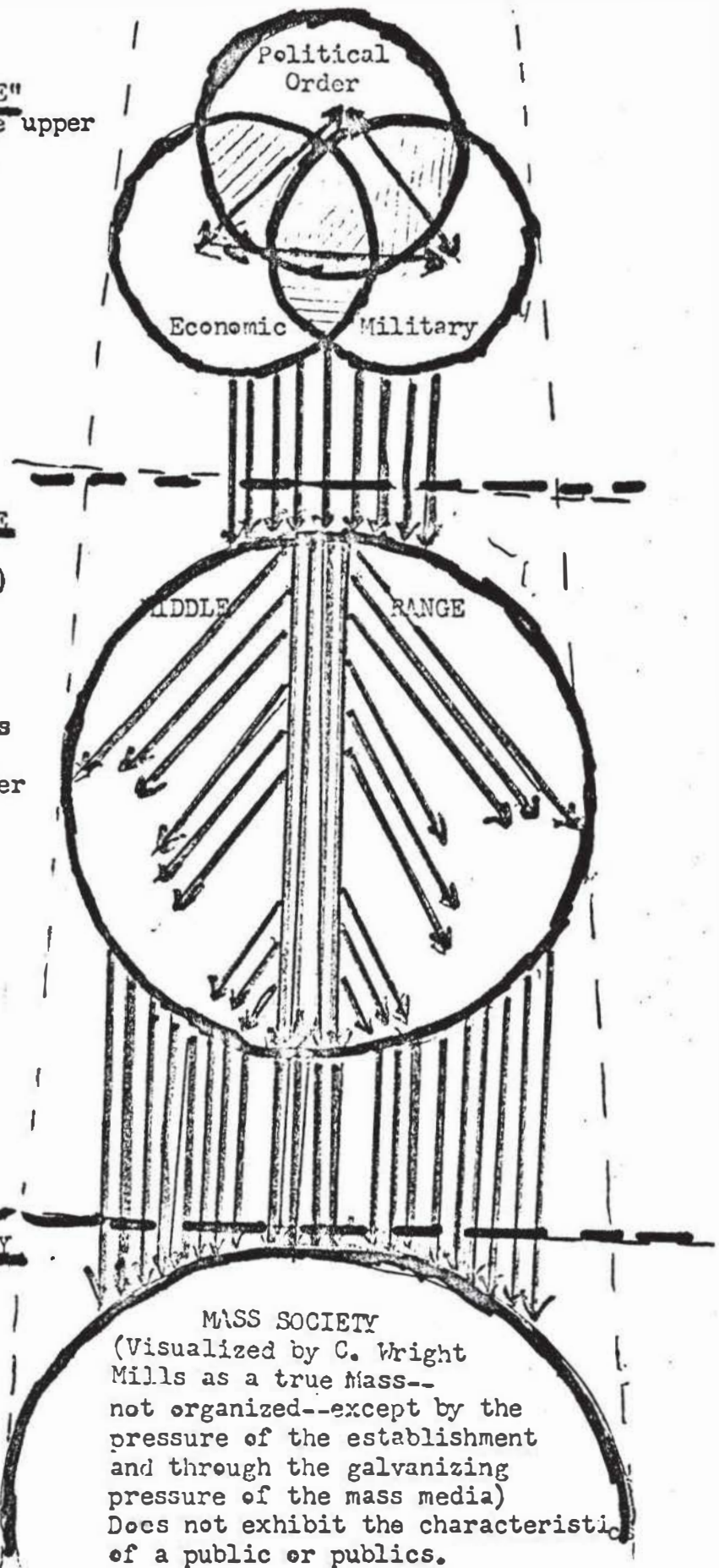
Orders  
Economic  
Political  
Military

MIDDLE RANGE  
Middle Class  
(White Collar)

Congressional  
Level  
Professional  
politicians  
Little original  
power--most power  
delegated from  
above.

MASS SOCIETY

MASS SOCIETY  
(Visualized by C. Wright  
Mills as a true Mass--  
not organized--except by the  
pressure of the establishment  
and through the galvanizing  
pressure of the mass media)  
Does not exhibit the characteristics  
of a public or publics.





Mills felt that the reason that the elites of the military, political and economic orders are at the focal points of society and are responsible for the decisions is due to the powerlessness, the apathy and the insensibility of the publics and the masses.

In his summary of the power structures incorporated in American society Mills states in The Power Elite that:

The top of modern American society is increasingly unified, and often seems willfully coordinated; at the top there has emerged an elite of power. The middle levels are a drifting set of stalemated balancing forces: the middle does not link the bottom to the top. The bottom of this society is politically fragmented, and even as a passive fact, increasingly powerless: at the bottom there is emerging a mass society.<sup>1</sup>

G. William Domhoff offers corroborating evidence for Mills' conception of American society. On page one in his introduction Domhoff states his purpose for investigating American society in his book Who Rules America? when he comments:

This book is inspired by the ideas of four very different men—E. Digby Baltzell, C. Wright Mills, Paul M. Sweezy, and Robert A. Dahl. Many other scholars contributed documentation and minor theoretical points, and a considerable amount of data was gathered by myself and my students, but the basic ideas which guided this study were developed in an attempt to ground Mills' "power elite" in Baltzell's "American business aristocracy" (Sweezy's "ruling class"), and to show that Dahl's finding of "pluralism" on the local level is not incompatible with the idea of a national upper class that is a governing class.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mills, The Power Elite, p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America? (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 1.

Examining the makeup of America's most important institutions, associations, foundations, and government agencies, Domhoff garners evidence that conclusively shows the existence in America of a ruling elite upper class which has in its power the bulk of America's corporate wealth and is able to place its members in disproportionate numbers in the strategic decision-making positions throughout the nation. He shows the extent of their control of the judicial and executive branches of the Federal Government and how they use influence in state and local governments to achieve their economic and political ends. Their control is so vast that they even shape American foreign policy.

Listed on the outside jacket of his book in the paperback edition are five quotes which make both his and Mills' case quite succinctly:

The American upper class controls the Executive branch of the government through its financing of presidential nominees for both major political parties. . . .

Of the thirteen men who have been Secretary of Defense or Secretary of War since 1932, eight have been listed in the Social Register. . . .

By controlling every major opinion-molding institution in the country, members of the upper class play a pre-dominant role in determining the framework within which decisions on important issues are reached. . . .

CIA ties to the upper class are . . . manifested through business firms, minor charitable foundations, certain universities, and certain university institutions. . . .

The most important of corporations, foundations, universities, mass media, and private associations are part of a power elite that serves the interests

of an American upper class of rich business men and their descendents. . . .

The existence of power cannot fully be utilized unless it can make itself felt in terms of direction and intensity in whatever sector it wishes. The way that this is done in complex societies is through Organization. This organization has become so extensive and pervasive that it has become known by a special term and has been the subject of political and sociological studies. This term is Bureaucratization.

As Crozier comments in speaking of the complexity of the modern urban and post-industrial society, "the growing utilization of complex organizations is a means of action indispensable to modern man."<sup>1</sup>

As society in the Western world has increasingly become urbanized and industrialized the phenomenon of bureaucracy has spread from the political institution (from which it got its name originally) to the economic institution (even to individual entrepreneurial enterprises) and then on to the other institutions in society at all levels, national, state and local.

One has only to look at the breakdown of the division of labor in a schematic of the executive branch of government or at the plan of organization for the operation of a business corporation to see the phenomenon of bureaucracy in action.

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<sup>1</sup>Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 1.

As growth in an organization or institution occurs, the division of labor becomes increasingly narrower and more specialized in an attempt to increase efficiency.

This is a natural function for the bureaucratic principles of organization because the American society (and the post-industrial countries of Western Europe as well) has institutionalized technology and rationalism. Two of the greatest factors in the speeding of development and change in the technological institution are efficiency and expediency. Weber's concept of technology as a rational system to achieve efficiency then serves the technological side of the culture well. The bureaucratic principles employ the philosophy of institutionalized rationalism (philosophy of pragmatism and Dewey's instrumentalism) to create organizational networks that function to create more division of labor (specialization) and efficiency to expedite whatever process to which it may be applied.

This is the theory of the positive functions of bureaucracy in society. According to Merton and others, it also has some dysfunctions. First of all, as Blau points out,

Bureaucracies in a democratic society pose a paradox. In a mass society democracy depends on bureaucratic institutions, but the concentration of power in the hands of a few men in business and government threatens democratic institutions. If this is a paradox, it is also a challenge. Our democratic institutions, which originated at a time when bureaucracies were in a rudimentary stage, are not designed to cope with their control. . . . To extend our institutions



by developing democratic methods for governing bureaucracies is, perhaps, the crucial problem of our age.<sup>1</sup> (Blau is not talking here of business corporations and the like, however.)

Another characteristic of bureaucracies that might be called a dysfunction on a society-wide scale is the secrecy with which the bureaucracy operates, the esprit de corps it generates on the various horizontal levels, and the cloak of anonymity that protects the bureaucrat from public scrutiny and allows him to "pass the buck."

Concerning the factor of secrecy, Merton comments:

Bureaucracy is administration which almost completely avoids public discussion of its techniques, although there may occur public discussion of its policies. This secrecy is confined neither to public nor to private bureaucracies. It is held to be necessary to keep valuable information from private economic competitors or from foreign and potentially hostile political groups. And though it is not often so called, espionage among competitors is perhaps as common, if not as intricately organized in systems of private economic enterprise as it is in systems of national states. Cost figures, lists of clients, new technical processes, plans for production—all of these are typically regarded as essential secrets of private economic bureaucracies which might be revealed if the bases of all decision and policies had to be publicly defended.<sup>2</sup>

Another dysfunction is indicated by Merton, and results in what he terms as "the bureaucratic personality." He states that the formalism, maybe even ritualism, which tends to characterize the behavior that bureaucracy requires

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<sup>1</sup>Peter M. Blau, "The Dynamics of Bureaucracy," in American Social Patterns, ed. by William Peterson (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956), p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>Robert K. Merton in Politics and Society, ed. by Nordlinger, p. 61.

of its workers (especially at the lower levels) tends to alienate them and produce a state of "anomie."

This very brief description of the general characteristics of bureaucracy in society with some note of its functions and dysfunctions will have to serve for the purposes of this study. It was necessary to point out how prevalent the phenomenon is in American society. All the institutions of American societies today fit the definition of bureaucratic organization, and they are therefore necessarily committed to its philosophy of rationalism and its goals of increasing efficiency and expediency. Of course, the most important function of the bureaucratic structure for social control, whether it concerns governments or corporations, was mentioned at the very beginning of this section, and that is the delegation of power in terms of direction and intensity.

Conflict, Crisis and Change in Contemporary  
Society and Their Effect on the Social  
Careers of the Representative  
Groups of Deviant Type-W

The therapeutic orientation of contemporary society, its pluralism with the concomitant myriad secondary relationships, and conflicting vested interests in the social structure have resulted in the particularization of deviance just as the complexity of society has resulted in finer and finer division of labor.

In the section of the study that follows, the careers of the chosen representative groups will be developed and

their position within the range of "tolerance of eccentricity" of contemporary society will be plotted.

In addition, mention will be made of two "new" groups: the "poor" and "youth," (as a scapegoat group). The first group is the unique creation of the social effects of the traditional value orientation of the combination of the Protestant ethic and the social-Darwinist ideology. The same combination of values has given rise to the "drift" of the "youth" from a marginal group status of differential treatment into a conflict posture with the larger society.

As far as the groups of social heretics that are easily identified, such as the Negroes and the Jews, are concerned, both have played significant parts in social change and conflict in the twentieth centuries. The Jew has played his part as Hitler's scapegoat for the World War I economic catastrophe in Germany and in the final establishment of a Jewish state in the Middle-east. This has resulted in a conflict that persists to this day. The Negro has played his part in the quest for civil rights in America.

#### The Negro and the Civil Rights Movement in America

The existence of racial discrimination and injustice has been the most potent ammunition that is available to discredit American democracy and capitalism in the eyes of the rest of the world. The establishment of the United Nations opened a window on the race practices of America to the rest of the world. Men in the government became increasingly

aware that, whatever their personal opinions might be, something had to be done to correct the loss of prestige of the nation in the world press.

The federal government led the attack on the old order of racial practices, first under Franklin D. Roosevelt and then under Harry S. Truman. Franklin Roosevelt established the fair employment practices committee in 1941, and in 1946 Harry Truman broke through the old bipartisan consensus on racial policy when he created a Commission on Higher Education and appointed a Committee on Civil Rights. These agencies brought out a report that called for the "elimination of segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin from American life." A big step forward was made by Truman in the same year, 1946, when he issued an executive order calling for the end of discrimination in the armed services and the federal government.

This marks a period of American History that might properly be called the Second Reconstruction. This Second Reconstruction was held back for some years due to President Eisenhower's personal philosophy. "I don't believe," he said, "you can change the hearts of men with laws or decisions." In addition, he preferred state over federal action in these areas, and naturally, the states that were most guilty of these transgressions were not going to act against themselves. Thus, after 1954 (sparked by a "precipitating incident"—the Rosa Parks incident depicted in Figure 3 on page 87—in



Montgomery, Alabama and resulting in a large-scale bus boycott)<sup>1</sup> the rise of militant Southern resistance, gains in civil rights and voter registration actually declined for a time.

Meanwhile, however, the Supreme Court decision of 17 May of 1954 was the most momentous of the century in civil rights. School segregation laws were toppled in Florida, Arkansas, Texas and Tennessee as a result of Federal Court action. Negroes now began to realize that they had the law and the courts on their side at last. Now they were no longer the submissive docile creatures the Southerners thought them to be. They were not the personalities the South thought they knew so well by stereotype. They began to assert their rights with much more force than they had for three generations.

During the last half of the fifties, however, President Eisenhower refrained from expressing any approval of the decisions of the Supreme Court and failed to speak out to demand compliance. Therefore, during 1957, 1958, and 1959, rebellion spread over the South. Censorship reigned, professors and teachers were harassed and persecuted, and men became afraid to speak out. The year 1960, however, proved

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<sup>1</sup>Rosa Parks, a Negro lady, returning from work at the end of a trying day, was asked to give up her seat to a white man—she refused, and her refusal brought so much support from the Negro community that a full-scale boycott of the city buses took place, thereby sparking similar actions throughout the South.

to become a turning point, because the nemesis of Jim Crow, the "sit-in," was born. The fortitude and self-discipline of the youths who bore abuse and insult silently brought grudging respect in the South. Non-violent direct action spread throughout the South--Negroes themselves were in charge of their movement now, and the youth were in the vanguard.

The year 1961 brought another non-violent means of protest--"the freedom ride." Freedom rides were joined by mass marches by both Blacks and whites; the Civil Rights campaign was truly underway and Jim Crow was dead. The new President, John F. Kennedy, drove the nails into Jim Crow's coffin when he said in his inaugural address that the court's decision was "both legally and morally right," and he devoted the facilities of the federal government to school desegregation. Violence in Mississippi and Alabama followed but, with the country behind the Court decision, the states had to back down from their unreasonable stand.

By 1964 the central issue before the country was civil rights and it ceased to be a problem which was confined solely to the South. Cities in the North, East, and West flamed in protest and the whole country became tense over civil rights issues. Crises were to be found in all geographic areas.

The first of the summer riots exploded in Harlem in July of 1964 as a result of ominous talk of "revolution" and

"revolt" due to de facto segregation in the North. This was opposed to what had been de jure segregation in the South. Not only segregation in the schools, but residential segregation of the Negroes in so-called ghettos, appeared to be growing instead of declining. The result was exploitation, urban decay, and increased delinquency and crime. The Negro's relative position had been continually slipping below the whites in employment and income. He was making gains economically, but they were in no way commensurate with those being made by the members of the white society.

The taste of power gained by the Negro resulted in a more militant position being taken, particularly by the younger people. Violence began to become more prevalent. The Voting Rights Act, signed by the President on August 6, 1965 climaxed the greatest single legislative achievement for civil rights. Woodward states that, "in absolute terms Negro Americans scored more gains in the last two decades than in any period since emancipation."

However, more recent unrest is evidence that advantages limited to a relatively small urban middle class of Negroes is not enough. The great gap between the races in education, employment, and opportunity must be filled for the great majority because, even with full possession of civil and political rights, they continue to face family deterioration through entrapment in ghettos, unemployment, urban decay, and de facto segregation in schooling and housing. These

problems call for more drastic and broader remedies because they lie beyond the jurisdiction of civil rights laws. Thus, although Jim Crow as a legal entity is in the past, his ghost still haunts the United States in the situation of a society closed to a troubled people.

Louis E. Lomax begins his book, The Negro Revolt, by stating that "the American Negro is a man--not a God--made race."<sup>1</sup> The Negro of America today was born here for generations back. Many are the descendants of alliances between the female slaves and the slave masters. As a result of this, the American Negro does not have a culture in the classic and precise sense of the word. He was a product of the new world, in mind, body and spirit. Thus, the Negro does not share a positive sense of identity in American society as other "minorities" do and must reach beyond his group for absolute identification. As a result, the Negro must think of himself first, last, and always.

#### The "Poor" as "Traitors" to the Capitalistic Way of Life

As an adjunct of the Civil Rights struggle of the Negro, and before going on to the other major present day highly "visible" internal threats to the social structure, a word must be said about a group usually not thought of as "social heretics." This group is the poor.

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<sup>1</sup>Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1971).



The Poor in America number about 25 million. These Americans exist in conditions of want or near want. While they make up about 20 percent of the population, they live in what has been called an "invisible land."<sup>1</sup> While poverty is rural as well as urban in nature, the cities of America have become "the frontiers of the poor."<sup>2</sup>

As the studies of the ghettos have shown, poverty robs the individual of his dignity. He loses self-concept and soon develops a negative identity. He is caught in the situation of poverty and there is no escape because the conditions that caused his poverty cannot be changed quickly. It doesn't matter if they are environmental or personal, they are the kinds of conditions that take time and initiative to solve, and, more than that, money. The poor individual has time, but he doesn't have money, and the enforced poverty has coupled with this lack of money and opportunity to kill his initiative.

Soon a subculture of the poverty-stricken develops and they gravitate to an area of the city where they can live on the least amount of money. This becomes what the average citizen refers to as "the slum." This state of being poor feeds upon itself and drags the poor further down, and along

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<sup>1</sup>Michael Harrington, The Other American (New York: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 9 and Gerald Leinwand, Poverty and the Poor (New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1968), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Abrams, "Rich Country, Poor Cities," The New York Times Book Review, July 16, 1967, p. 2.

with them, their children—and even their children's children.

Every magazine and TV advertisement, with its beautiful women and sleek cars and new washing machines, shout at them that they are failures, for they do not share in your picture of what American life is like.<sup>1</sup>

The poor are a "threat" to the American way of life because they are a negation of the efficacy of the Protestant ethic and the myth of the "American Dream" that has been discussed previously.

In the past (nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) when the populace was less educated and more propagandized by the tenets of the Protestant ethic and were full-fledged members of the "cult of success," it was felt that the poor deserved their fate. By being poor they were paying a fair price for their sins. These sins were believed to be laziness, lack of ambition, indifference, wasteful habits of living, idleness, and extravagance.

While this attitude was true of Europe as well as America, it was in America that the myth of the self-made man was born. In general, the idea prevailed that those who were poor had simply been unable to survive the battle in the natural struggle among men for wealth, power, and position (the teachings of social Darwinism). That the strong should survive and prosper and that the weak should remain poor was regarded as natural and just.

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<sup>1</sup>Lee Dirks, "Poverty Is a Simple Issue," The National Observer, III, No. 4 (January 27, 1964), 1.

As to the assistance of the poor, we find that that attitude of the poor as failures in the competition for the fulfillment of life made itself felt in the assistance programs right up to the present. Still, today, there are people who begrudge payment of public aid funds to poor families on the basis that they don't want to work and that giving them of money will only encourage them to remain idle.

(What these people neglect to consider in their assessment is the enormous amounts of money that flows into the middle-class as a result of the poverty programs--the money for food and clothing--the salaries of the social workers--it is plain to see that the middle-class has a "stake in poverty," some factions even being dependant upon it for their employment.)

The factor that was just mentioned, that the poor should not be made too comfortable in their poverty, is still one of the most common opinions expressed by the uninformed, and, indeed, even some politicians who should know better but who intend to please their constituents. There is popular feeling that any generosity or kindness shown the poor would merely encourage poverty and the poor would find the condition enjoyable. Thus, aid has been in the past and is frequently in the present given grudgingly.

At this point, it might be well to compare what have been called the "new immigrants" or the refugees from the silent revolution, with the immigrants that have already

been discussed who served as an apparent threat to the lower class employment picture in the pre- and post-World War I periods. Today the immigrants are native Americans, refugees from rural poverty, moving to the city for the purpose of finding better conditions. These may be the American Indians trying to escape the bitter conditions on the reservations; they may be the Negroes of the South trying to escape persecution and poverty; or they may be the poor whites from the Ozarks or the Appalachian regions trying to find somewhere where they can eke out an existence.

The European immigrant came to the city at a good time, a time of expansion. The modern rural immigrant comes to the city at a bad time. The Negro, of course, has it worst of all because he suffers not only from the deprived conditions, but from the additional forces of discrimination and repression because of his race as well. The other two, the poor white and the Indian, can perhaps escape back to where they came from, but the Negro has nowhere else to go. He has reached the end of the line.

Even the transition from rural poverty to urban poverty is frustrating. There is an entirely new life-style in the city and all the regulations and the paper-work of being poor is often too much for the rural individual that may not even know how to read or write. Often he may hide this fact --to his own detriment as far as survival is concerned-- because his pride will not allow him to admit in front of his



children and the social worker that he can't read. He can get away with this sham because usually the people in jobs at lower levels in the city and state government simply assume that all native-born Americans can read and write or follow directions in the city. This is not a valid assumption because the culture that the poor, rural individual grew up in is considerably less complex and he is completely out of his element.

This is not to imply that these poor are in any way inferior. However, it is to say that their sphere of experience has not equipped them for survival in the city environment. Naturally, the average individual steeped in the tradition of the Protestant ethic and his own version of the "myth" of success assumes that he is dealing with an "inferior" individual who is somehow a "traitor" to the whole American way of life. This individual could be better if he just tried hard enough. However, eventually the average American must ask himself, "Why are there so many individuals who are living in poverty?" to which he may well reply, "They can't all be just lazy and shiftless!" If he comes to this conclusion, he must then doubt the efficacy of the Protestant ethic and the American Dream.

As a result, many people cannot stand the frustration of trying to adjust their ideological outlook, so they find it simpler to regard the poor as "social heretics" who are trying to lower the standards of society.

The Negro, an easily identifiable threat to the white middle-class society, and the "poor" the "traitor" to the industrious American Way of life today share the distinction of the title "social heretic" with yet another group. This group is one that fifteen years ago would have seemed the least likely of all to be "stigmatized" as an enemy of society. The group is American youth, and they would seem the least likely to be stigmatized because one of the most important reasons for striving to achieve the golden promise of the American Dream was the possibility of being able to give the children a materially better start in life than their parents had.

American Youth: From Marginal Man  
to Social Scapegoat

Somewhere in the course of recent years there was a change in the ideological orientation of the young. It is a change that has brought social manifestations in social actions that the adult society is incapable of coping with. In their frustration at the various manifestations of dissent, they have labeled various groups among the young as "kooks," "hippies," "delinquents," and "communists." The strange thing, though, is that the split is often in the same family. It is an intergenerational schism creating two polarities.

The result of this intergenerational polarization process is the development of a youth subculture in the

United States (and in other industrial nations as well--but to a lesser degree) and, still further, a division into various delinquent youth subcultures of the main subculture.

As was pointed out by Lasch, in the excerpts from his contribution to the Handcock and Sjoberg book entitled Politics in the Past-Welfare State, the young people believe themselves to be "outsiders" in an "insiders" game. They feel alienated and marginal to the main society in that they are welcomed as consumers but are allowed only minimal participation in production and decision-making.

The same anxieties, frustrations and fears that the adult experiences are felt by the young but in greater degree because they have not been fully socialized, have been exposed to dangerous ideas (ideal), and do not have the "stake in conformity" that stays the hand of the adult that has internalized the idea of conformity.

The result of all this has been the growth of a youth subculture (the so-called "generation gap" in the popularized jargon of the mass media). The definition of a subculture is a portion of society which has value orientations sufficiently different from the rest of society that it subsequently develops its own ideology. This is a mode of thinking or a rational framework by which this group gains cohesion and perpetuates itself. These ideologies frequently overlap in certain areas between subcultural groups and with the ideology of the larger society.

In order for a subculture to develop there must be conflict in some form (physical, confrontation, competition, or, more desirable, dialogue) which creates a difference or confusion of value orientation of the subcultural group in relation to the orientation of the larger group.

Characteristics of deviant subcultures have been discussed, analyzed, and empirical data collected to support them by Cohen, Lerman, Cohen and Short, Miller, Matza and Sykes, and Cloward and Ohlin<sup>1</sup> to such an extent that the existence of youth subcultures and deviants cannot be doubted as to validity. The points of disagreement between these sources vary only as to characteristics within these groups, not in the fact that they exist.

To understand the withdrawal from the larger society that the various youth subcultures exhibit in differing degrees, it is necessary to pick out specific areas of conflict that result either in value rejection or confusion as to the value orientation and the behavioral roles that the orientation requires.

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<sup>1</sup> Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys (New York: Free Press, 1955) and Deviance and Control (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966); Paul Lerman in Juvenile Delinquency, ed. by Teele; Albert K. Cohen and James F. Short, Jr., "Research in Delinquent Subcultures," Journal of Social Issues, XIV (Summer, 1958), 20-37; Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, XIV (Summer, 1958), 5-19; David Matza and Gresham M. Sykes, "Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), 712-20; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (New York: Free Press, 1960).



The young in American society, particularly the adolescent (who finds himself in a purely "artificial" stage between childhood and adulthood) is society's "marginal man." The young person, the "marginal man," is isolated in a social "no man's land" between two groups and he has no true sense of belonging to either one of them. He is too old to be a child and he is too young to join the privileged ranks of adulthood.<sup>1</sup>

Although the fact of being young is idealized in American society (as the most favorable condition), the young person is not permitted full participation in the adult world in constructive ways. He is forced to accept passively what is offered him without contributing in a creative way to the ongoing social process or being permitted to accept the full responsibility that would give him the sense of "belonging." In this way, the young are alienated from the larger society, because they feel like strangers or an "occupied people" who must accept the rules of others, but who have no part in the process other than conformity and obedience to authority.

Another very real problem to the young is that things are very often not what they seem to be. There is so much

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert A. Block and Arthur Neiderhoffer, The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958), pp. 7-15.

In their explanation of gangs, Block and Neiderhoffer express the concept of intergenerational tension in the transitional stage between childhood and adulthood. Withholding material and social symbols of adulthood creates pressures and keeps the young person in a condition of dependency in an urban society that fails to provide "rites of passage."

hypocrisy in the expression of attitudes and corresponding differences in behavior by adults that the young have difficulty in perceiving what reality should be. The gap between the "ideal" and the "real" in society is apparent to the young person as he compares the teachings of the institutions of education and religion with the situation "as it is" in everyday life. The Church attempts to instill in him teachings that arouse feelings of guilt that he does not comprehend and compels him to submit to lists of things that are forbidden to him purely on the basis of an authoritarian ethic (which becomes what Erich Fromm calls the "authoritarian conscience" once it has been internalized through the process of socialization by the adult). This authoritarian ethic, as the young person interprets it, apparently has no relevancy with the present-day situation in the post-industrial society but appears to be rooted in some mythological past. The school presents a model of an "ideal" culture and inculcates a total feeling of "inferiority." What the youth sees in the behavior of his parents, his neighbors, businessmen and his teachers does not agree with the "idealized" values that they have been attempting to teach him. The school seems to exist as a center for the worship of the "ideal" as the textbook authors of "censored" and "canned history" present it. Meanwhile, the institution attempts to insulate him from life as it is really lived. If youth should question his indoctrinators, or their one-sided arguments, he is given

the label of troublemaker and his record as a deviant begins its growth.

By the time that his grammar school career is behind him, the young individual is already familiar with the operation of the "double standard" of behavior. Claude Brown effectively describes the effect of this "double standard" in his article, "The Effective Society":

This situation presents a ludicrous image of the older generation to the youth. When persons insist upon what is obviously hypocritical pontificating, observers cannot avoid drawing one of two conclusions: the proponents of the lies must be extremely naive or thoroughly dishonest. And I am quite certain that most of today's youth forms one of these conclusions about the older generation at an early age. Therefore, in lieu of telling our youth that it is wrong to steal—when we know that they will eventually discover that the doctor steals, the minister steals, the auto mechanic steals, and everybody in society steals from someone—it is likely we would elicit more respect from the younger generation if we were to admit that we live in a corrupt society that accepts certain methods of stealing but not others.<sup>1</sup>

The double standard, as it is presented in the quote from Brown, increases the frustration that the young person feels in terms of the contradictions that he feels as he observes the society around him. He is faced with internalizing a set of values in his process of socialization that appear to be diametrically opposed. This frustration and confusion as to value orientation adds to the isolation and alienation he already feels due to his "marginal" or

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<sup>1</sup>Claude Brown, "The Effective Society," quoted in William R. Ewald, Jr., ed., Environment and Change: The Next Fifty Years (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 173.

"outsider's" relationship with the larger society. The forces of personality fractionalization and dehumanization are compounded by his lack of participation and feeling of "powerlessness" to direct his own future development. This could result in one of two outcomes: it could bring about a state of normlessness or "anomie" as visualized by Durkheim and Merton with a corresponding attempt to retreat or escape this hopeless state, or, on the other hand, it could bring about behavior patterns which play off one value of society against another to strive to justify any behavior pattern he might choose as being the right one.<sup>1</sup>

Another source of frustration to the young is the American fascination with the Protestant ethic and the so-called "American Dream" or the "Horatio Alger" tale of success. The American society actively supports this concept of wealth and the principle of hard work as being equated with virtue, although it has been shown to be a myth. Poverty and idleness are associated with evil. The established church and the educational institution have actively supported this myth to the extent that the average middle class American cannot take a day off without guilt if he cannot make some kind of rational excuse for his idleness. The young person has only to look around him to see the

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<sup>1</sup>Matza and Sykes, "Juvenile Delinquency," refer to "techniques of neutralization". . . . Definitions favorable to the violation of the neutralization when the offender is not isolated from the world of conformity.



ridiculousness of this view. First, continually less time is needed for the productive process, so Americans are faced with the problem of what to do with more and more leisure time. Second, he sees people who are poor and idle, not as a matter of choice but because there is no way out of their predicament provided by the society.

The Church, state and the educational institutions actively support another ideal value called the "democratic process." The young person can see that this has little place in the power structure of the establishment. (However, he has been instilled with the democratic ideal and cannot see why a democracy of participation will not work--therefore, there is increasing drive for a return to participatory democracy among a youth that is becoming increasing activist.) The inflexibility of the power structure has been realistically pointed out to him recently, for, although the 18-year-olds have nominally been given the right to vote, many communities have promoted a policy of harassment to keep this segment of the population from registering.

The puritan espousal of the "authoritarian ethic" with its stress on the blind acceptance of authority without reason and the sanctity of property has been brought into question as the young people of America strive to develop a new type of ethics more in conformance with what Erich Fromm terms "the humanistic ethic."<sup>1</sup> This would be an ethical

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<sup>1</sup>Fromm, Man for Himself, pp. 147-76.

system that would emphasize human values over property values.

As man gains knowledge through his widening of his scope of experience, both physically and vicariously,, he tends to use this new-found knowledge to question old values and ways. Thus it is that knowledge brings a conflict in values and techniques. This conflict ultimately results in social change of some kind if the new knowledge leads to a better way to accomplish what the old system sought to accomplish. American society has been in the position in the past (and at present) of encouraging technical change following the philosophy of pragmatism—the most practical way to accomplish that which needed to be done. This fitted well with the Puritan ideas. However, on the other side, social institutions tend to resist change, because change can be a threat to their very existence.<sup>1</sup> These social institutions, in their pursuit of self-perpetuation tend to seek to maintain the "status quo."

This has led to a contradictory situation which is quite evident to the young—they see a society in which change is both encouraged and discouraged according to where it takes place. This seems incongruous to them since they have been (perhaps unavoidably—in spite of, rather than because of, the educational institution) given the possession of a great deal of knowledge by this society; they have learned the application of the scientific method, and they

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 105.

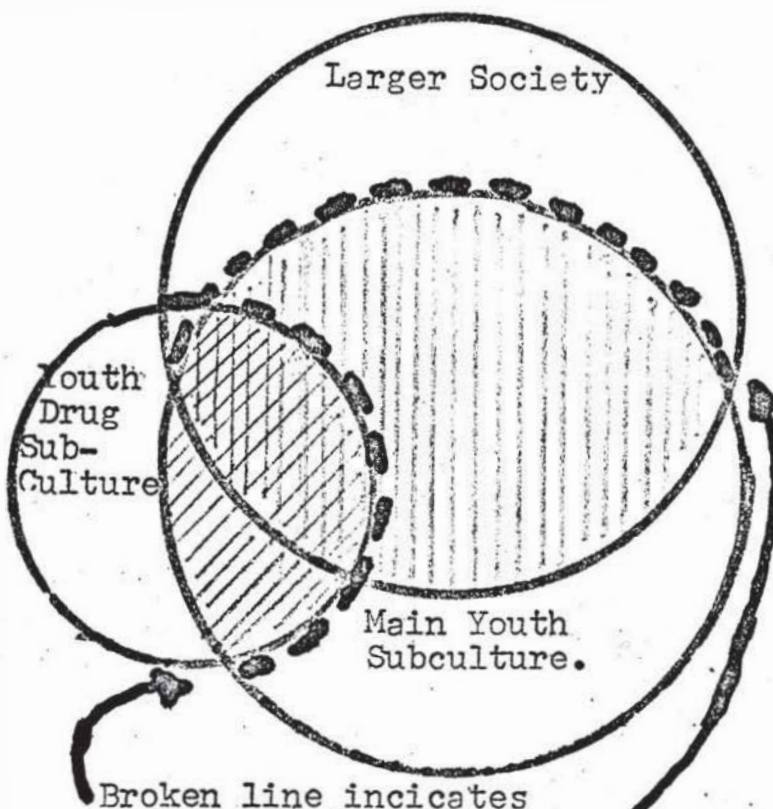
have been taught the value of progress (no attempt will be made to accurately define this word--it seems to be one of the ephemeral values that is generally pursued by societies that ascribe to the tenets of the Protestant ethic--but it seems to indicate some sort of teleological change toward a better and better state). The young person feels that, if these concepts are truly universally applicable as they have been purported to be, they should be effective on all levels of society and not just in the area of technology.

Due to the great scientific strides made since World War II, the young have taken advantage of a pool of knowledge of a scope which has never existed in the history of mankind. In absolute terms, they know much more than many of their elders (that is, in exposure in numbers of units of knowledge per unit of time). They see no reason why this knowledge and the resources of society cannot be utilized to better the human condition.<sup>1</sup> What is described is the state of frustration resulting from knowing what needs to be done but not being able to do it (powerlessness) that has the result of creating what the media are fond of calling "the generation gap." The young have the knowledge of what must be done and, since they are "marginal" to the oversociety, they do not yet have the "stake in conformity" that keeps the adult from

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<sup>1</sup>For an illustration of the idea of a fundamental value conflict of the emergent values of the young, as opposed to the traditional values held by the mature members of the dominant group and the greater society, see figures 16 and 17 on the following two pages.

STYLIZED DIAGRAM SHOWING CONFLICT AREAS THAT DEVELOP BETWEEN GROUPS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY AS A RESULT OF THE LACK OF COMPLETE CORRESPONDENCE OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS (Areas of Value Conflict or Confusion are Represented by the Unshaded Portions of the Diagram)



Broken line indicates maximum interpenetration of common value orientations of the youthful drug subculture with both the youth subculture and the adult overculture.

Broken line indicates the maximum interpenetration of value orientations common to both youth and adults

The broken lines represent the maximum interpenetration of the three spheres, and therefore, they show graphically the frontiers of confrontation and conflict-- It is along these frontiers that deviants and their deviant acts are made visible, labeling takes place, and status deprivation is most keenly felt.



TRADITIONAL VALUES	EMERGENT VALUES
<u>Puritan morality</u> (Respectability, thrift, self-denial, sexual constraint; a puritan is someone who can have anything he wants, so long as he doesn't enjoy it.)	<u>Sociability</u> (As described above. One should like people and get along well with them. Suspicion of solitary activities is characteristic.)
<u>Work-Success ethic</u> (Successful people worked hard to become so. Anyone can get to the top if he tries hard to be there. So people who are not successful are lazy, or stupid, or both. People must work desperately and continuously to convince themselves of their worth.)	<u>Relativistic Moral Attitude</u> (Absolutes in right and wrong are questionable. Morality is what the group thinks is right. Shame, rather than guilt is appropriate.)
<u>Achievement orientation.</u> (Success is a constant goal. There is no resting on past glories. If one makes \$9,000 this year, he must make \$10,000 next year. Coupled with the work-success ethic, this value keeps people moving, and tense.)	<u>Consideration for others.</u> (Everything one does should be done with regard for others and their feelings. The individual has a built-in radar that alerts him to others' feelings. Tolerance for the other person's point of view and behaviors is regarded as desirable, so long as the harmony of the group is not disrupted.)
<u>Future-Time orientation.</u> (The future, not the past, or even the present, is most important. Time is valuable, and cannot be wasted. Present needs must be denied for satisfactions to be gained in the future.)	<u>Hedonistic, present-time orientation.</u> (No one can tell what the future will hold, therefore one should enjoy the present--but within the limits of the well-rounded, balanced personality and group.)
	<u>Conformity to the group.</u> (Implied in the other emergent values. Everything is relative to the group. Group harmony is the ultimate goal. Leadership consists of group-machinery, lubrication.)

acting to change the nonmaterial side of the culture in terms of developing human values over property values.

Since these young people are not permitted to participate fully in the responsibility for, and the productive process of, the greater society, they seek out other groups which conform more with the value orientation they see as rational. They are seeking an ideology furnished by some group which will enable them to organize a set of values and form a systematic identity and concept-of-self as a viable human being. This brings about what the greater society refers to as radical associations, militant societies, gangs and behavior and dress fads.

One of the most ancient categories of social heretic has been shown to be woman. Her history of differential treatment in Western society is grounded in myth, religion, and history.

#### Women as a Minority Group in Western Society

The physical and political domination by the male of the culture has resulted in the past in the development of a sharp division of labor and a polarity of roles. Many roles have come to be exclusively male or female in their social orientation. There results a cultural definition of the type of personality to be attached to the incumbent who plays the specific role. So it is that "master traits" develop that immediately classify a person in terms of the most dominant role he or she plays. As Scheff has pointed out in his

application of role theory to mental illness, the culture influences most strongly the self-image of a person in terms of his ability to play the roles that society assigns to him.<sup>1</sup> The ability to live up to the role expectations, or unfavorable views of himself as others see him results in the formation of identity problems for both individuals and groups.

The consequences of the mythological traditions and the historical development of Western society has had great effect on the roles played by women in the society, and also in certain striking changes in these roles (and in the total family structure) since the Industrial Revolution and the advent of steam power.

Of course, the mythological portion of the discussion that follows concerning the reconstruction of mythical basis for certain belief patterns occurred in the province of pre-history and is, therefore, lost to either history or sociology as far as verification in terms of empirical evidence is concerned.

First of all, it is necessary to consider the basic assumption that, from the outset, Western society was male dominated. This is the point where the first powerful influence of mythology and stereotyping enter the picture.

In terms of Western mythology, two stories predominate. These are the myth of Eve and the Fall and the myth

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<sup>1</sup>Scheff, Being Mentally Ill.

of the Mediterranean fertility goddess, Pandora.<sup>1</sup>

Woman seems to have her good side and her bad side in Western mythology. The good side is portrayed by the Earth-Mother concept. The Earth, among the primitive tribes, was considered to be the mother of all Man. Woman and the physical birth process was only a microcosmic manifestation of the greater event, the birth of mankind. This was portrayed in ancient societies by symbolic rituals of rebirth.<sup>2</sup>

This concept of the birth of man was a strange and wonderful occurrence. It was more than wonderful; it was awful (from this was developed the English word awful). It was so awe-inspiring that man could not begin to understand it (and he still doesn't). Woman seemed to have strange and awesome power in her body which allowed her to duplicate the forces of Nature. She must, then, be favored by Nature. Nature existed in the Earth and the Earth was the mother of Man so Woman must then be a part of that Nature.

As the mother of Man, Woman was good, but, since she had powers that man could not understand, man feared her. What man cannot understand, he has tended to fear and to give the value classification of being evil.

Man did not understand the forces of nature. Nature created life. Woman, too, could create life, therefore her

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<sup>1</sup>Kate Millett, Sexual Politics (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970).

<sup>2</sup>Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1957).



body must also be possessed with a power that man could not understand (witness the term Mother-nature today--representative of two basic themes, motherhood and natural forces).

Man stood outside all this. He came out of woman's body. He came from nature, but he seemed to have no connection to it. He could live in it but he could not create life or duplicate any part of the forces of nature. This gave him feelings of inferiority which he compensated for by setting himself above Nature and even creating a God in his own image (the paternalistic Hebrew god Yahweh--later adapted to the Christian faith). He felt that woman's power over him would destroy his self-concept unless he could justify his superiority on some other grounds.

He found that he could dominate woman physically, but, although he used her body she drew something from him in the process (he felt that this process must in some way detract from his physical ability because one could easily see that when something is taken away and nothing else added, something less of the organism remains). His lack of understanding, awe, and not a little fear, led him to suspect that he was weakened by this physical act. No physical changes could be observed in the woman but the effects of sexual intercourse on him were painfully obvious to him.<sup>1</sup>

It was then that he hit upon his new idea (perhaps not through conscious design)--that there was something evil

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<sup>1</sup>Hays, Dangerous Sex.

about woman's seeming power over nature and the ability to create life from nothing. What he could not understand could not be good--thus was born the first value judgment that was to lead ultimately to the degradation, oppression, and sometimes even the destruction of woman in Western society.<sup>1</sup>

These misogynic feelings about woman led to the myths of the Fall and Pandora's box.

Eve was a kind of fertility goddess who tempted man into copulating with her--thus he gained knowledge (sex) which his paternalistic god had forbidden to him on pain of death. (He did not die, however, so he had again to justify Woman's power by putting her in league with the devil--the other half of the dichotomy--who had almost as much power for evil as the paternalistic god had for good. So was engaged the struggle between good and evil that has lasted down through the centuries to the present day in the Christian theology.)<sup>2</sup>

Pandora, too, was a fertility goddess of the Mediterranean area whose memory has been corrupted by men crediting her with unleashing all the "evils" upon the world when her box was "opened." Much of this was added to the original myth in which Pandora did not have a box at all. The sexual symbolism of this story, too, is obvious.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Millett, Sexual Politics.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

(The original model for Pandora of Europe was a Middleeastern goddess of fertility, who, like other Eastern magical figures, traveled westward and became a figure in Western mythology as well.)

The two foregoing myths were the beginning of the degraded and oppressed state of woman in Western society. These images stayed with her down through history and affected the growth of her attitudes and her self-image.

Therefore, from earliest times, one can see the process of myth-building and stereotyping at work to give man power over woman. Such a being as woman, who had such a potential for power over man, must never get the upper hand. Man must use his physical strength combined with the help of the supernatural to keep her subjugated to the point where she could not harm him.

Since she was physically different from him, and since he had to be superior (justified by the fact that she originally came from a useless part of his body--sanctioned by religion), she must obviously be some sort of inferior creature. She must be kept in her place and allowed to do only the one thing (that only she could do) that was necessary, and that man could not do for himself, produce life and preserve his species. Other than that, exposure to woman should be severely limited to avoid the contagion of evil and the detrimental effects on him spiritually and physically.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

Now it is time to take leave of the misty areas of prehistory and myth and come to the section of the historical dimension in which the deviant career of Woman can be traced more accurately from witnessed historical record.

During the Classical Period of Rome and Greece, the status of Woman had not improved very much from her position as shown in the myths.<sup>1</sup>

The position of woman in the Theocratic State has already been covered in the discussion of womanhood in relation to witchcraft and demonology. Also, note has been made of the open hostility of the leaders of the Church toward the female sex as "threats" to the celibacy of the clergy.

With the decline of the witch hysteria in 1600, there appeared to be a drastic change in the treatment of women as a reaction against the extremes committed in the name of religion by the clergy.

At this time the angel, which had been so thoroughly masculine for centuries, was transformed into a woman.<sup>2</sup>

Woman, who in the past had been criticized for the magnitude of her carnal appetites, now became the symbol of purity--that is, chastity--and this went so far that she was denied the appreciation of sexual pleasures and the capacity for sexual desire.

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>Masters, Eros and Evil, p. 171.



However, this was not the complete reversal that it seemed to be. The reversal was only superficial. There was but a single purpose served by each of these extreme views: to make excuses for the sexual inadequacy of the male (as males have seen it).<sup>1</sup>

When the woman was looked upon as a creature of insatiable appetites of the flesh, it was ridiculous to expect that any man could satisfy her; then when the view changed and she became a creature of extreme virtue, no man need be obliged to make the attempt to give her satisfaction. Thus she had been reduced from sexual superiority to moral superiority, and this is less threatening to the male self-image.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the two-century aberration of the witchcraft persecution, Renaissance woman did gain some in stature, as seen by men, but the reasons were not of a very high order.

Hays lists quotations from Lord Chesterfield that exemplify how man regarded women at this time:

"Women, then are only children of larger growth; they have an entertaining rattle and sometimes wit: but not solid reasoning, or good sense, I never knew in my life one that had it or one who reasoned or acted consequently for four and twenty hours together. . . ."

"A man of sense only trifles with them, plays with them, humors, and flatters them, as he does a sprightly forward child; but he neither consults them, nor trusts them with serious matters; though he often makes them believe that he does, which is

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

the thing in the world that they are most proud of. . . ."

"Women are much more like each other than men: they have in truth but two passions, vanity and love; these are their universal characteristics."<sup>1</sup>

Hays continues in his own words:

. . . as Gordon Allport has pointed out, [these] contain familiar expressions of prejudice which are habitually used against all out-groups. Just as some Europeans used to say that all Chinese looked alike, so the eighteenth-century gallant generalizes about women, insisting that they all think alike. His condescending description is similar to the image which the die-hard segregationist applies to the Negro or the white-man's burden imperialist to a colonial people. We are reminded of the Bushman and Pueblo myths in which men and women are treated as belonging to separate tribes.<sup>2</sup>

Hays goes on to observe further that if the gallants painted a picture of woman as a disgusting, frightening, but beautiful animal on which to place the visions created by their nightmares, and if it was their own decadent and deviant personalities that resulted in the imagery used in the description, nevertheless their contribution in the construction of the femme fatale stereotype was in some measure related to the attitudes that prevailed and were promoted by the nineteenth century philosophers and novelists.<sup>3</sup>

Hays further observes that as Western civilization grew more and more complex man's doubt concerning his own masculinity seems to have become more and more troublesome to him. Even though the women were considered in the position

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<sup>1</sup>Hays, Dangerous Sex, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

of being private property, or idealized beyond reality, or as status symbols, he kept on projecting his dissatisfaction with himself upon them. He felt that what was wrong of the society and world was, in major part, the blame of the dangerous sex.<sup>1</sup>

The Victorian period became one of extreme denial to women. As Hays stated:

The Victorian woman had no legs: they were replaced by "limbs" and, eventually, covered with many petticoats and crinolines, they disappeared entirely. The bell-shaped creature which resulted wore padded upper garments which effectually concealed the mammary glands. Since undergarments

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 205.

In the foregoing section concerning the relation of woman to the oversociety the present author drew heavily from two sources:

Hoffman R. Hays, well-known novelist and anthropologist, is also the author of the widely acclaimed non-fiction works From Ape to Angel and the Putman Award-Winning In the Beginnings: Early Man and His Gods. In The Dangerous Sex: The Myth of Feminine Evil, Hays draws upon original sources to make a systematic inquiry into misogyny.

R. E. L. Masters is the author of the books Forbidden Sexual Behavior and Morality (a study of perverse sex practices in different cultures); The Homosexual Revolution (a study of homophile cults and organizations, past and present); and, with Allen Edwardes, of The Cradle of Erotica (a survey of African and Middle and Far Eastern sexual behavior). He is also the author of books on the subjects of incest and prostitution. Eros and Evil (the volume used as a source for this study) is a systematic study in the origins and development of Western sexual (or anti-sexual) morals. This book is a significant contribution to psychological literature. The volume is made still more valuable by the inclusion of the complete text of Sinistrari's Demoniality, one of the great classics of demonology. He draws liberally from The Malleus Maleficarium of Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger and other equally impressive original sources for the analysis of the witchcraft phenomena in terms of a comparison of the witch hysteria with present-day medical and psychological knowledge.



were always hidden away and considered unmentionable, all trace of the dangerous organ with which men had never succeeded in coming to terms was banished from the public consciousness. It was Captain Marryat who, when he visited America, recorded the fact that even the legs of pianos were in some cases covered with crinoline pantalets.<sup>1</sup>

Along with the denial of the visual characteristics that identified women as female there was an intellectual and emotional desexualization that was almost unbelievable as to its scope.

It is to be remembered that this period is the period of the maturation of the capitalistic (laissez faire) capitalist system. So in order to have a stable working class with a family system that could be controlled to insure workers that could be depended upon to man the machines, a new repressive sexual censorship was initiated that has not yet completely disappeared from the American scene.

Coser states:

It is interesting to note that each society suppresses those activities that it judges to be peculiarly damaging to its dominant interest and concerns. This observation is true in the sphere of politics and religion, but it applies especially to sexual matters. What is considered obscene or lascivious varies a great deal with time and place, and such evaluation must be understood in terms of dominant preoccupation and dominant interests.<sup>2</sup>

Up until the Victorian age, English literature had been as free and outspoken as any other. It was only during

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis A. Coser, Men of Ideas: A Sociologist's View (New York: Free Press, 1970), p. 89.



the final years of the Eighteenth-century until the present that the United States and England have made a practice of suppressing of literary materials that are condemned as obscene. The censorship of "obscenity" only assumed major proportions in the two countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Once the lower classes were released from the traditional and religious restraints of Puritanism, their management became a key problem. As pointed out earlier, they furnished the laboring class for the advancement of the Industrial Revolution, and their social control was necessary for the progress of capitalism.

The new industrial society demanded that its workers accept the "Puritan ethos" and its accompanying morality of postponed gratification. Disciplined and methodical work habits were a necessity for the growth and efficiency of the industrial sector. Unsupervised sexual relations threatened the family in that, if they were allowed, gratification could be sought outside the home. Thus a relationship pattern and personality change might take place that would be incompatible with the discipline demanded of the lower classes. Social control must be maintained to keep down spontaneity and hold the lower classes in a position of docile compliance.<sup>1</sup>

This censorship, as had other ideas of social control in the past, hit hardest at the woman in society. Her life

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 90-91.

was restricted to the home and the bosom of the family. A woman in public life was the subject of considerable gossip. Women writers of the period even went so far as to adopt men's pseudonyms.

However, the industrial revolution had other effects. In the building of an urban society, with its diverse groups and the accompanying mobility, the character of the family changed and social control had to relax in some measure. The scope of this study does not permit an extensive study of the consequences of the industrial revolution, capitalism, imperialism and the urban movement caused in the whole society, the form and function of the family and for women in particular.

During the 19th century, the women of the American society did make some progress in the direction of emancipation, braving jest and ridicule and great resistance in achieving it. Their complaints of oppression, prejudice, discrimination and segregation seemed funny to the male portion of the population. The society was male-oriented and it was not about to allow women to usurp any part of the privileged male status or to gain control of any part of the power structure which would give a legitimacy to their claims.

As Drucker observes, however, " . . . the days of complete subjugation of women were numbered--not because of a change of attitudes on the part of the male--but because of

technology and the world situation."<sup>1</sup>

Drucker goes on to state that the telephone, the typewriter and later, the automobile (Ogburn points this out, too) did much more for the social position of women than did the nineteenth-century feminists, such as Susan B. Anthony. If a "help wanted" advertisement had appeared in 1880, everyone would have been aware that a man was needed even if the job was for a secretary. However by 1919, if an ad appeared in the paper calling for a secretary, then everyone knew that it was a woman that was called for. The woman's role constellation was beginning to grow with the addition of new duties and functions outside the home.

The invention of typewriters and switchboards required greater and greater amounts of labor that could be supplied by women. This forced the State to supply public secondary education for girls, which Drucker considers to be the greatest single step toward equality for women.<sup>2</sup> The demand for girls to work in offices, and the requirements of better education, resulted in changes in old laws that had forbade women from entering into contracts, had excluded them from the control of their own property and earnings, and ultimately, by 1920, caused men to grant them the vote in almost every advanced industrial Western nation.

It seems that women's roles, and their need for

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<sup>1</sup>Drucker, Technology, Management and Society, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

orgasmic experience has changed in accordance with the male concept of what they should be, which is reflected in the male-dominated culture's expectations. However, the duty of men is to carry on the race. If they are incapable of erection and discharge, they are not fulfilling their duty, and so, are actually less than a man. It seems that man has been worried about his potency since the beginning of history. This was carried so far in some primitive societies that the male saw woman as a castration threat.

The highly technical industrial society increases the male problem with his self-image. He finds not only other men competing with him, but women as well. Since in this complicated social context his work and achievement have been equated with manliness (and, therefore, potency) being out-distanced by a woman in the success-oriented business world is equivalent to sexual impotence. His ego is damaged and all of his fears and ambivalence toward the sexual act itself add to his distress. So it is that he is suffering what one might term "creative castration" at the hands of the competing woman worker.

Hays points out that:

Just as the die-hard southern segregationist, now that Negroes are actively demanding first-class citizenship, begins to wail that they are out to deprive him of political supremacy and disfranchise him, so the insecure male announces that women have made the United States into a matriarchy. At worst he retreats into homosexuality.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hays, The Dangerous Sex.



This is why that the male is much more vehement in his denunciation of the feminist movement today, whereas in the nineteenth century his attitude had been one of ridicule and jest. It is because that today in American society just what the norm of masculinity is is more ambiguous and poorly defined than it has been in any other time period. In accordance with the work ethos and the goals of success, man has striven for these ends. Now, he finds himself in competition with women in these areas. The result is confusion and frustration--he has been taught that the man is superior, but all around him he sees evidence of the falseness of this assumption. He begins to doubt himself on the individual level, since the traditional cultural values cannot be wrong. Then, he takes this out in hostility to women or retreats into the world of homosexuality for support.

As Hays suggests:

Today the male is supposed to be a "success," but increasingly women are also out to obtain success. Similarly, in family relationships, more formalized cultures set up a network of privileges and responsibilities. In general, through the Western history until the feminist movement, women were supposed to obey. Now the most masculine figure in daily life is someone who rides a desk instead of a white charger, who operates a computer instead of engaging in battle, and who, as a father is a bumbling Dagwood Bumstead type. Such types as these are not congruent with the (traditional and historic) ideal masculine image.<sup>1</sup>

Also in Hays is a quote from Brigid Brophy, who, writing in the Saturday Evening Post shows that women had not

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

made much real progress toward equality. Even with the coming of the telephone, the typewriter, the motor car, and the intervention of two world wars with their increased demands for labor that increased her function in the productive base, woman was still denied equality in fact due to men's attitudes. (It is a condition that parallels the de facto and de jure segregation questions in the civil rights arena.)

Miss Brophy commented,

. . . that women are still imprisoned in a zoo without bars. All the zoo architect needs to do is run a zone of hot or cold air, whichever the animal concerned cannot tolerate, around the cage where the bars used to be.<sup>1</sup>

The barrier against women in society is social pressure. The nonverbalized misogynistic attitudes of men impede women at every turn.

Since the influx of the industrial revolution with the development of an urbanized society, the structure of the family had been changing. With the change in the family structure from the semi-extended family to the nuclear family (a process which is still going on), the role of the woman in the home changed also. Children changed from assets to liabilities, so consequently, there was less emphasis on child-bearing and child-rearing as a central function of the woman. With the development of electrical facilities and utensils and appliances, her function as a laborer in the home was

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<sup>1</sup>Brigid Brophy, Saturday Evening Post, quoted in Hays, The Dangerous Sex, p. 284.

diminished.

In the past the woman entered into the marriage state as a contract for her services (for instance, breach of promise was a serious offense). Now the marriage contract did not seem to be so sacred. Also more and more women, as mentioned before began to play roles outside the family in the industrial world. They began to gain a share of independence. But, as noted earlier, these changes in independence did not work a similar change in the attitudes of the males who dominated the society.

As O'Neill observes:

After all, women already had all the rights men did, and the privileges they didn't, it was thought. In fact the relative position of women had been deteriorating ever since the old 19th century feminist movement died out. Though more women went to college than in 1920, they made up a smaller percentage. The proportion of women earning a graduate degree was smaller than in 1930. More women worked, but still mostly at the worst jobs. White women earned less on the average than black men, black women least of all. Despite Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibited certain discriminatory practices, women continued to earn less than men with the same training and experience. Yet until the late sixties women did not protest. This helped persuade everyone, themselves included, that women really were as well-off as people hoped.<sup>1</sup>

Then a change began to take place in the attitude of women. With the publication of Betty Friedan's book, The Feminine Mystique, the discrepancies between what people thought was the condition of women in society and what it

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<sup>1</sup>William O'Neill, ed., Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1971), p. 195.

really was came to light. Society claimed much more in the way of privileges for women than they really enjoyed. She showed that thinking that domesticity plus sex plus consumption did not really equate with happiness.<sup>1</sup>

In the late sixties, with the successes of the civil rights movements for the Negro, several spin-off movements originated and groups of deviant types of individuals began to organize and agitate for their rights also. The climate was now right for social change.

#### The Civil Rights Movement and its Significance for Women in American Society

The civil rights movement had started for the Negro with a precipitating incident in Montgomery, Alabama. A black woman by the name of Rosa Parks, after a busy day at her tiresome job, was adamant in refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white man. The result was the boycott that shook the American society.

After this incident followed parades, marches, sit-ins, freedom rides and many other techniques of gaining attention for Negro rights. This movement grew until it reached its height in 1966.

The gains of the civil rights movement for the Negro caused other minorities and other social deviants to begin thinking that possibly there might be a chance to ameliorate

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<sup>1</sup>Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1947).



their conditions as well. Suddenly, women too, gained a "minority consciousness" and began to demand equality in fact as well as in law.

As was mentioned previously, the climate for change was better than it had ever been. Conditions were such that to be against minorities was almost un-American. However, sympathy for the women's movement was less well-accepted than had the other movements been.

O'Neill, in discussing the characteristics of the modern feminist movement, stated:

The violent abuse that feminists encountered everywhere was all out of proportion to what they did. One of the peculiarities of modern history is that feminism is always thought ridiculous. The old feminist movement, while a mighty social expression that lasted nearly a century and involved millions of women at its peak, struggled against ridicule at the end. The new feminism encountered it at the beginning. Liberal men like David Suskind invited them on television programs for the sole purpose of insulting them, so it seemed. Everyone with the slightest experience in these matters was struck by how much sheer bigotry men (and brainwashed women, too) were willing to express.

In fact, among ordinary middle-class people, antifeminism seemed the only remaining respectable prejudice. It was once socially acceptable to hate Jews, Negroes, immigrants and the like. That was no longer possible. Even anti-Catholicism, the "anti-Semitism of the intellectuals," as it used to be called, had become contemptible. Only the hatred of women (and homosexuals) remained.<sup>1</sup>

O'Neill goes on to sum up the significance of the feminist cause and why it meets more resistance than any other current movement for the recognition of the rights of the individual:

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<sup>1</sup>O'Neill, Coming Apart, p. 198.

The reason feminism was always taken lightly was that to take it seriously opened up dreadful possibilities. What if feminine equality was incompatible with marriage and the family? Nobody could be sure it wasn't. That was why even moderate feminists had . . . to confront the woman question squarely, meant taking risks. Feminists were viewed as homewreckers. Feminism might well be the most truly radical proposition of them all, one that threatened to reach into secret and intimate places which politics had scarcely touched before. Hence, along with all the problems women had to confront, liberated women had to deal with this widespread, if seldom admitted, anxiety. And they had to resist the other pathologies to which radical movements were prone in the sixties. They all succumbed to sectarianism, fissioning, rhetorical extravagance, posturing and obsessiveness.<sup>1</sup>

The fate of the women's liberation movement is still in the balance. The emphasis on Civil Rights has been receding since its high point in 1968. It remains to be seen if the lid of the predominately male-oriented WASP society, with its adherence to the Protestant ethic, will be clamped down on the women's movement. Gaining ground, without securing it, may result in renewed and more vigorous oppression in reaction.

In the foregoing discussion it has been demonstrated that women, although they outnumber men physically, occupy the position of a minority group in American society (and indeed, in Western society as a whole). It has been further pointed out that the power structure has been and still remains in the hands of men. This situation has in the past been supported by the political institution in terms of legislation concerning rights of ownership and inheritance

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 199.

and by the sanctions of organized religion.

The persecution of women in the past has been shown to rival that of the Negro in American society. Even today some states retain laws concerning abortion that, in effect, sentence certain women to death. In terms of conflict theory, women have often suffered as scapegoats for their male counterpart in Western society. First of all, in terms of mythology, they were stigmatized with immorality and evil. Organized religion picked up this conception in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries and burned women as witches and heretics. Then, in reaction to the excesses of this period, the male conception of women was given a new twist to conform to the image immortalized by the romanticists. This image of the woman as an angel, instead of the betrayer, gave women only moral superiority which was easier to accept than the physical and supernatural superiority with which she had been earlier credited. Finally, with the success of capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the persecution shifted to ridicule with the growing attempts at equality.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the invention of the telephone switchboard, the typewriter and the automobile gave women an advantage that they never had before in terms of acquiring employment outside the home in a capacity other than as a domestic or governess.

This introduced a new phase in the conflict relation-

ship between the male-dominant oversociety and the women's minority. The new phase was that of competition. With the advantage that technology had given them, and the advantages gained as the result of two World Wars with increased demands for labor, the competitive advantage of women grew to the extent that some men began to worry about female competition in previously all-male areas. Still, tradition and the social institutions cooperated to continue the favored position of the male.

The ambiguous situations that this state of competition did, however, create some problems in identity structure for both men and women. There had been a continuing problem for the identity structure of the woman due to the patriarchial system of male-dominance and the complete fulfillment as a person that was still denied her. In addition, there was the new state of anxiety that her new competitive posture aroused in man.

Erik Erikson clearly sees problems in identity as influencing both men and women. He states:

This brings us back to the crux of the identity problem. I feel that our sense of identity is composed of both positive and negative elements. There are some things which we want to become, and we know we are supposed to be, and which--given good socio-historical situations--we can fulfill. Then there are things which we know we are not supposed to be.<sup>1</sup>

Continuing with this theme Erikson comments:

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<sup>1</sup>Erik Erikson quoted in Richard I. Evans, Dialogue with Erik Erikson (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1967), p. 32.



My feeling is that Freud's general judgment of the identity of women was probably the weakest part of his theory. Exactly what is to blame for that I don't know, except that he was a Victorian man, a patriarchal man. He may have missed the whole substratum of matriarchy in man. Also, he was a doctor, and he obviously saw in his woman patients what you first get in free association of any patients, namely, the story of deprivation and resentment. And finally, it probably took a certain development of the field, including the participation of women doctors, to help men empathize with women—a dangerous undertaking for a man if your public role, your preferred method, and your masculine identity all depend on each other. The point is not to deny what Freud saw and generalized. For there can be no doubt that women in many ways envy masculinity deeply. Any little girl growing up at that time, for that matter, throughout the patriarchal era of mankind, could see that a boy, just because of his anatomical appendage, was considered more important. That behind man's insistence on male superiority there is an age-old envy of women who are sure of their motherhood while man can be sure of his fatherhood only by restricting the female, that is another matter. At any rate, psychoanalytic literature tends to describe woman as an essentially passive and masochistic creature, who not only accepts the roles or "identity" assigned to her submissively, but needs all the masochism she can muster to appreciate the phallic male. But I would think that passive and masochistic are relative terms. Basically, the female anatomy suggests different modes of activity, within which a woman can be very active indeed, or very passive. Freud's perception might also have been colored by the sexual mores of his time, which could not admit at first that an upper-class woman could have passionate and active sexual wishes and yet be refined and intelligent. She had to act a bit as if something terrible was happening to her. You may remember that it was the anemic woman who was supposed to be the most "feminine." At the same time, the evaluation of childbearing in the culture of Freud's era was slanted toward considering it a more animalistic activity, one that needed less brains, and could be less easily sublimated into "higher" strivings. All of this most women had, in fact, accepted. So you are right: women could not help harboring that inner rage which comes from having to identify with your exploiter's negative image of you. And, as usual, the exploiter offered some complex compensation in his own terms, offering (to high and low) the ideal of the lady, or the keeper of the house, or the courtesan.

Given different roles the question is always what single role or what combination of several roles can lead to a sense of being fulfilled as a person.<sup>1</sup>

The wartime shortage of labor and the employment conditions after the World Wars threw women into direct competition with men in certain areas that had before been strictly male provinces. The new ambiguity which became attached to the role orientations in the production and commercial sectors then resulted in identity structure problems for both men and women. The woman felt that she must make herself over into the feminine equivalent of the male image that the role required, and the man who occupied the position now encroached by women workers felt that his manhood suffered to some extent and so, his identity structure suffered as well.

With the outbreak of the civil rights movement, the time seemed to be right to again change the phase of conflict. With the civil rights legislation of 1964 that guaranteed equality for women under the law, the conflict posture entered a new phase--that of negotiation. The civil rights successes of the Negro American had given women a minority consciousness and a militancy that demanded that the male society deal with them as equals.

This brings the discussion to the questions asked in the introduction: "What have women got to complain about?" and, "Why are women so militant in their demands?" The answer is that their new feeling of solidarity as an organ-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

ized and oppressed minority (due to the Civil Rights Movement) had imbued them with the drive to achieve the personal rights that had been denied them (possibly not as particular individuals but as a group) for so long.

This is where the situation stands at the present. The female minority has won the right to negotiate as equals. This has not lessened the conflict involved in intergroup relations, though, for there is the tradition of superiority that is still held by many men and which holds the promise of renewed oppression unless the women can secure the gains that they have made since the height of the civil rights movement in 1966.

The present trend, however, is in the direction of more and more equality, and if the psychological concept that enforced behavior patterns eventually change attitudes holds true, there are very good possibilities that male attitudes may be changed to such an extent that equality will become the desired state by both sexes.

#### Sexual Nonconformity in Contemporary Society

Another classification of individuals that represent members of the negative stereotype are those accused of immorality, sexual deviance or sexual promiscuity. This kind of classification would include those individuals who believe in free love, those who think of marriage in a way that is not condoned by the greater society (for instance, "swapping," communal marriages, etc.), homosexuals of both types, and

even "liberated" women if they go beyond the tolerance of the values of the dominant group.

In this general classification, there is sometimes an element as of how to categorize them. In a Therapeutic State, there is a thin line in this classification between "illness" and "criminality." Sexual aberration, until recently, was considered a crime, but in line with the general therapeutic orientation, there has been a general shift toward the "illness" concept. The central function of the concept of "morality" in the Protestant ethic results in very strong feelings of society being threatened by any individual that appears to be "immoral." There is a fear here of a wave of contagion that will cause a breakdown in the whole system. This was the basis exemplified by the capitalists using censorship to establish the Victorian moral code and thus exercise social control over the new lower-class reading public. Their morals were protected and, at the same time, their situation as a dependable work force was insured. Homosexuality goes even deeper in that it threatens the very reproduction and posterity of the culture itself.

Since 1919 with the right to vote, women have continuously increased their autonomy in the society and the work force. Some of this was due to chance, some of it to active design. The greatest advance was the use of women in industry in World War I and even to a greater extent in World War II. This was a chance happening that resulted in their



permanent acceptance as a legitimate part of the labor force. This threatened the patriarchal family and resulted in the development of the democratic family.

The more recent movement for complete equality of the sexes has represented even more of a threat even to the very idea of masculinity itself. The superiority of man to woman has been a part of culture since the adoption of the Hebrew concept of the "father" God, Yahweh. Such an orientation results in males, whether they realize it consciously or not, suffering an identity crisis if they must treat women as exact equals.

There is much more to be said in this area but it would be impossible to give adequate consideration to all facets of this problem in a study of limited scope (for instance, the feeling that some people support, some of them with empirical evidence, that the physical and cultural distinctions between the sexes is breaking down to such an extent that what might be called a "unisex" may be the result).

It is also interesting to note that the categories of deviants that used to be considered purely as individuals are growing, becoming organized and generalized into deviant groups, or subcultural collectives. This is clearly evident in terms of the organization of homosexuals (the "Gay World" etc.), the Women's Liberation movement and organizations such as "Swingers International" catering to "swappers" and other

with bizarre (in terms of the culture) sexual tastes. These have been relatively recent developments--most of them dating since the height of the civil rights movement in 1966.

Nevertheless, since the greater society (particularly the older generations) is rather firmly grounded in the Protestant ethic, the thin line between illness and criminality in terms of sexual behavior is easily crossed. Even the label of "illness" as it applies to sex has the most negative connotation of all. Therefore, some of the sexual non-conformists are found in the next category of individual heretics, the criminal element of society, depending upon the identity and function of the social entrepreneur that originally gave them visibility by calling the attention of society to them.

Criminality is the most difficult label to deal with because it is the most tenuous and deals with the widest selection of individual heretics. Society tends to define crime in many ways. Also by enacting legislation to protect itself, the qualifications for becoming criminal become broader and broader. Due to the concept of the "symbolic assailant" as it was developed by Skolnick, the agencies of enforcement tend to label as "criminal" any individual that possesses physical characteristics that conform to what they imagine to be a "threatening" appearance.

In addition to this there is the concept of selective enforcement, and the legal and social definitions of crime.

The label of "criminality" is generally reserved for individuals who challenge society directly by breaking a visible legal rule, by committing crimes against the private property of middle-class citizens, or by physical assault. Those people who engage in "white collar" crime and the professional criminal element of "organized" crime usually escape the consequences of their acts.

A further category of individual nonconformists that must be considered in this section is the category of the individual practitioners of the occult, witchcraft, and the other so-called pseudosciences dealing with the supernatural.

As far as formal homosexual groups are concerned, they too, like women's groups, have enjoyed a new status since the advent of the Civil Rights Movement. They, too, might be considered a spin-off of this movement. The social conditions conducive to the formation of any organization must be operative for a specific movement. At the same time society must not offer rewards (in the form, for example, of protection or freedom from punishment) for those who refrain from forming such organizations.

Thus, several factors inhibited earlier organization among homosexuals; they were interactive, not independent, forces at work in society-at-large. Before the Second World War, an unfriendly attitude prevailed toward social change in the area of sex. Added to this was anonymity, or the ease of concealment, which protected the homosexual and encouraged

him not to organize. Nor was there any established structure which could serve as the basis for an interchange of the undercurrent of ideas, concepts, viewpoints, and goals, which, in turn, would give rise to an organization.

Furthermore, as Sagarin points out, the leadership of any social movement, particularly if the constituents are themselves a disadvantaged minority, often comes from a few intellectually tolerant members of the majority. The anonymity so pervasively surrounding the homosexual, together with society's extremely negative attitude toward him, made suspect anyone who might come to his defense in a court of law or before a tribunal of public opinion.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, as Sagarin further asserts, minorities who live in an atmosphere of contempt and hostility, who constantly feel the hatred of the majority directed upon them, turn much of this hatred inward.<sup>2</sup> This was often the case with homosexuals. They accepted society's verdict, and felt themselves vulnerable and unworthy--too vulnerable to expose themselves by organization, and, in their view, unworthy of the social acceptance for which any such organization would strive.

Despite all the foregoing, by the late 1960's scores of homophile organizations, a few national but for the most

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Sagarin, Odd Man In: Societies of Deviants in America (Chicago: Quadrangle books, Inc., 1969), p. 81.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 91.



part local, were functioning openly. Many had formed more or less simultaneously, independently of each other, in various parts of the country. Newspapers and magazines, published all over the United States and Canada, constituted a homophile press within the homophile movement. At present there may be a few thousand people who belong to different homophile groups, people who can be counted as members, and perhaps an equal or slightly greater number who have been affiliated at one time or another over the years.<sup>1</sup> In addition, there are thousands of regular readers or subscribers to the magazines.

One reason that this came about is that the social climate changed during and directly after the Second World War. The war served as a catalyst for the reevaluation of sexual mores among the youth of America.<sup>2</sup> Sexual behavior could be, and was, discussed with increasing frequency and ever-greater candor. The newly liberal or permissive attitude toward the discussion of pregnancy, illegitimacy, venereal disease, and sexuality in general laid the foundations for homophile organization in essentially two ways: (1) it led to discussion of the "most unmentionable" of sexual activities, thereby bringing homosexuality into the open; and (2) it exposed to a few homosexuals the possibility of a liberal "pro-sexual" society, one whose tolerance might be

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

extended even to themselves.

In addition to the new sexual freedom, the Second World War also increased geographic mobility. People traveled more frequently during the war, both in service and to find new and better work in wartime industries. Homosexuals, like others, found themselves suddenly removed from their families--in their specific case, freed from possible family disapproval by distance alone. The increased urbanization brought about by the war also provided the homosexual with an atmosphere conveniently anonymous to his life and functions.

In 1948 the Kinsey report showed that literally millions of American males were exclusively homosexual throughout their lives and that other millions were more homosexual than heterosexual, though not exclusively deviant, either throughout their lives or for a considerable period after the onset of adolescence. The country was quite amazed.

So was the homosexual himself. For the first time in his life he could feel his strength in numbers. If millions of men were homosexual, then would there not be a handful, a score, or a hundred who would be equipped to lead a social movement? Would such a movement not gain wide support among these leaderless people, and would it not be a difficult one to suppress?

With the help of the Civil Rights Movement, which put emphasis on the individual right to choose, by 1969 there

were approximately 150 known formal and structured voluntary associations of homosexuals. These homophile organizations have generally been ignored by the public, catered to by the mass media, tolerated by the police, largely approved of (but unsupported morally or financially) by most homosexuals, and applauded by the few social scientists who have taken note of their existence.

Erving Goffman was not specifically writing of homosexuals—but to no other category are his remarks so pointedly directed—when he mentioned persons with a particular stigma who sponsor a publication:

which gives voice to shared feelings, consolidating and stabilizing for the reader his sense of the realness of "his" group and his attachment to it. Here the ideology of the members is formulated--their complaints, their aspirations, their politics.<sup>1</sup>

Howard Becker speaks approvingly of deviants, specifically of homosexuals, as being more organized,

more willing to fight with conventional society than ever before . . . prouder of what they are and less willing to be treated as others want to treat them without having some voice in the matter.<sup>2</sup>

Edwin Schur, writing of the homophile organizations, notes that

these groups appear to function for some homosexuals as a symbol of hope and reassurance of the worthiness of their cause, and to provide some solace to

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<sup>1</sup>Goffman, Stigma.

<sup>2</sup>Howard S. Becker, The Other Side: Perspectives on Deviance (New York: Free Press, 1964).

those isolated homosexuals who may have felt left out of homosexual life as well as heterosexual society.<sup>1</sup>

Sagarin, after quoting the three social scientists above, goes on to comment himself

While all these comments may be considered "correct," they give only a partial picture of the organizations of sex deviants--and usually a favorable one. Underlying these sociologists' views is a sense of injustice and moral outrage, a sense of righteous indignation at the cruel social hostility directed against the socially harmless--and hence support for any measures that would make for retaliation and self-defense. Many sociologists seem to be ideological predisposed to see usefulness and good in such organizations. In some instances, the predispositions may result from the fact that these organizations are a challenge to the world of respectability; in others, because they embrace the aspirations of the underdog.<sup>2</sup>

Sagarin goes on to delimit nonconformity and deviance in American society,

While there is pressure to conform in America, the country takes pride in both its tolerance of nonconformists and the contributions which they make to society. Provided that he operates within certain socially stipulated limits, the nonconformist is almost glorified; however, when he goes outside these limits, he is pilloried. And these limits may lie precisely at the point where nonconformity coalesces with deviance: in fact, this statement becomes tautological if one defines deviants as socially disapproved nonconformists.<sup>3</sup>

Any society which tolerates and, at times, even glorifies nonconformity cannot fail to arouse in its deviant members the hope that they, too, may one day enter its main-

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<sup>1</sup> Edwin M. Schur, Crimes Without Victims: Deviant Behavior and Public Policy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

<sup>2</sup> Sagarin, Odd Man In, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 240.



stream, if not by being conformists themselves, then by forcing a redefinition of their deviant characteristics as acceptable nonconformity. While the special status that marks such people as different from others would remain (that is, they would continue to be defined as a homosexual, ex-convict, or dwarf), the social disapproval attendant on that status would be lifted. Once the status had ceased to be a stigma, the person would no longer be a deviant, except in the statistical sense of that word.

This appears to be a period in American and probably world history when everyone is fighting for rights--his and everyone's. Due to the Civil Rights movement, there is almost a complete turn of the table: those who would deny rights and dignity to the deviant must admit to being prejudiced, and conceal their illiberal views as they might a discreditable stigma. Certainly it has become improper to stigmatize, and to the extent that this development is the result of the existence of organizations of deviants (rather than the result of conditions making possible such existence), to that extent this movement has made a remarkable contribution to intergroup tolerance and liberalism in America.

Sagarin sums up the feelings of deviant groups in American society:

In the end, what seems most to be under attack by societies of deviants, albeit frequently without their realization, is stigma itself. That many of these organizations, certainly their members, have internalized the stigmatization process and express it toward others--even toward themselves--should

surprise no one. They are the products of a society that has rejected them; thus they are no less its products either when they accept some of that society's judgments or when they turn around and reject those who have rejected them. Furthermore, people reinforce their own righteousness and normality, even their own humanity, when they differentiate themselves from others who have been despised and cast out. Thus, those who have been cast out by society may have a strong need to rejoin humanity (in their own mind) by separating themselves from other stigmatized persons.<sup>1</sup>

Not all scapegoat or safety-valve nonconformists are yet able to organize. For those individual deviants who fit the classical stereotype of the social heretic which has been designated for the purposes of this study as Deviant type-W, a more stern and intractable fate awaits. These are the deviant individuals stigmatized with labels denoting "mental illness" and "criminality."

The momentum of the civil rights movement for the Blacks in the United States has had unforeseen beneficial effects for other minorities as well as has been demonstrated in the foregoing discussion.

Women and homosexuals have used the social inertia created by the civil rights movement to organize and win concessions for their groups as well. True, total victory for either group is still not in sight but there can be no denying that great strides have been made in the direction of social acceptance of these groups in equal terms. The results have not been so spectacular for the youth sub-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 247.

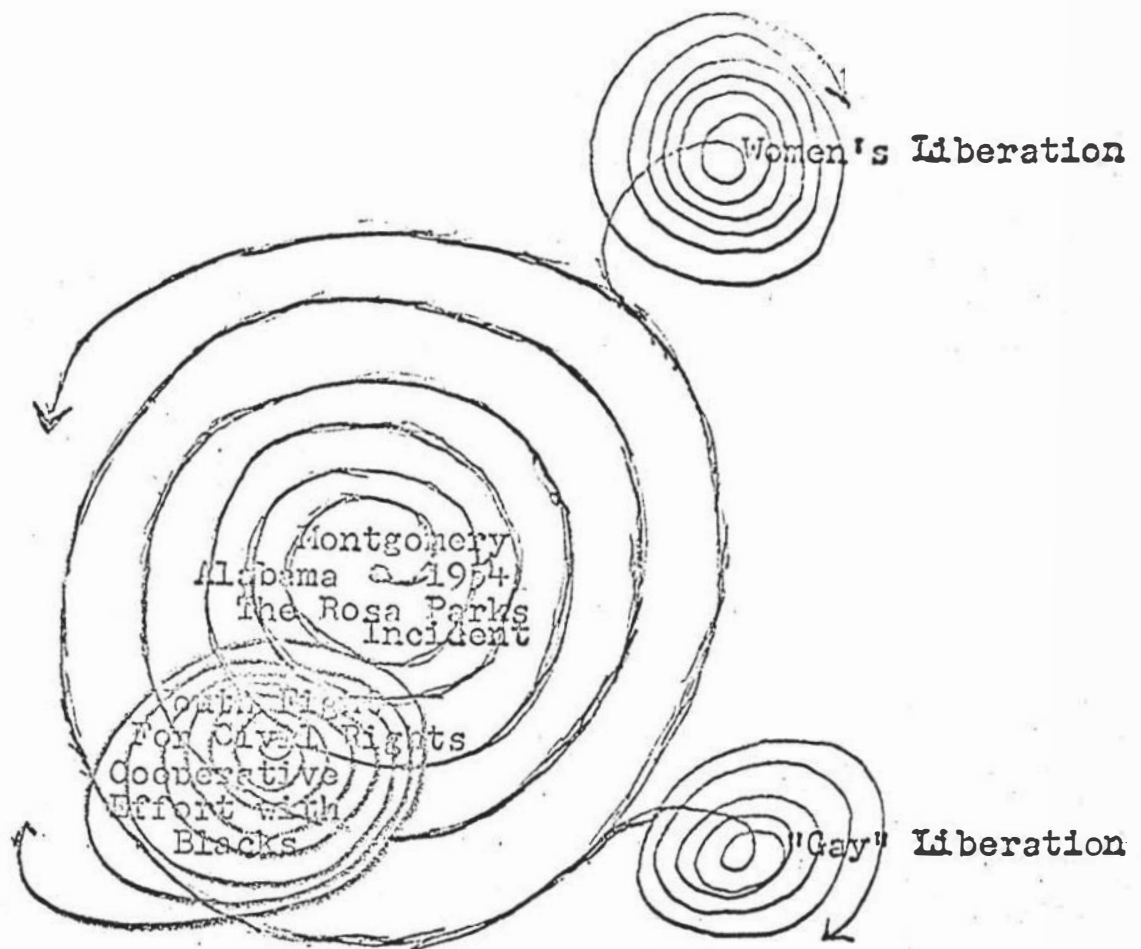
culture, the poor and the aged but public interest in their plight has been aroused and if sufficient political pressure can be applied, there should be benefits for these groups as well in the near future.

The social inertia created by the civil rights movement with its development of a social climate in which prejudice is unfashionable has produced the conditions that are favorable to the functioning of the paradigm which is illustrated on the following page. The central movement by its very growth and inertia of movement creates offshoot movements among other disadvantaged groups as well as a "spin-off" of the major movement much as eddies are created by obstructions in running water.

If these groups could be enticed into forming a coalition to bring political power to bear on their plight, their chances of pressing their advantage would be greatly enhanced. The problem is that it is very difficult to bring such diverse groups into a state of cooperation over common problems. In fact, the only other historical opportunity that existed was during the Reconstruction period in the South when the opportunity existed for the poor whites and the Negroes to form a coalition and dispossess the upper class was subverted.

Whether the present opportunity will materialize is highly doubtful as well. Nevertheless, the "spin-off"

Illustration  
 "Spin-off" paradigm for the Generation of  
 Associated Social Change as an  
 Offshoot of a Central Movement



Paradigm illustrating the "spin-off" principle of social movements. Youth dissent developed along with the Negro struggle for civil rights and further "spin-offs" of the struggle for civil rights were the activist, organized movements for women's liberation and "gay" liberation. For the first time there is formal organization and attempts to develop an "ideology" for both these "spin-off" movements. Women's rights campaigns were conducted in the past but there was no formalized ideology or organization on the scale that it exists today.



benefits from the main civil rights movement to other groups are evident as shown by the foregoing discussion. The future will determine if these gains will be retained by forceful action or if, because of insufficient political strength, the dominant groups will again be able to clamp down the lid of oppression.

#### The Individual Nonconformist: Mental Disorder and Crime

In considering another member of the master stereotype of the social heretic, the mentally disordered, it is necessary first to make a brief excursion into the past. According to Rosen, "the historical study of the mentally ill must be carried on with a constant awareness of the emotional and intellectual climates prevailing in different periods, of the social, political, and ideological factors that have influenced psychiatric theory and practice, and the degree to which crucial problems, such as defining insanity and separating it from the sane mind, have been formulated in contexts organized along moral, theological, legislative and social

dimensions, rather than in medical terms."<sup>1</sup>

The society has, at various times in its history, formalized its way of relating to this type of individual deviant. At certain periods in the history of Greece, deranged individuals were chosen as ritual scapegoats by reason of their supposed selection by the gods and were offered in sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> It is clear from various sources that the madmen, even when regarded as in some way touched by the divine, were persons to be shunned. Contact with holiness, like contact with its opposite uncleanness, was perilous and to be avoided.

In fifth century Greece, madness was widely considered the consequence of a divine curse, and an insane person was therefore polluted and a thing of evil omen. Meeting a madman exposed one to the damaging power dwelling in such an individual. The Yemenite Jews believe, for example, that mental patients may exert an evil influence on others and even make them sick. To ward off such evil or contagion, rituals of aversion or riddance were performed.

Spitting, an act of this type, was often practised in antiquity and is still widely prevalent. As a characteristic of the superstitious man, Theophrastus mentions that when he catches sight of a madman or an epileptic, he shudders and spits in his bosom to avert evil. (This conforms

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen, Madness in Society, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

with the oriental idea that the bosom is the "seat of the soul" and thus the center of the power of the body.) This practice was also common among the Romans; Pliny, for example, comments that in cases of epilepsy, spitting repels contagion.

By the fifth century B.C., although religious fear and awe still influenced attitudes towards the mentally disturbed, other views had become evident. The situation is clearly indicated by Socrates with his comment that "madness was accounted no shame nor disgrace by the men of old," implying that in his day people did consider it shameful and discreditable.<sup>1</sup>

Behavior towards the mentally disordered has always reflected the general attitudes of the public. In the ancient classical world, no effort was made to conceal madmen or mental defectives from public view. Thus, they were a visible part of everyday experience. By and large, community attitudes toward these individuals were compounded of fear and contempt, mingled to a lesser extent with an element of compassion.

Rosen makes the observation that:

Deprived in large measure of a socially acceptable position defined in religious or supernatural terms, the mentally disordered required a role and a position which enabled the social group to tolerate them. To what extent and what form a society can accept conspicuously abnormal persons is a perennial problem which has been solved in various ways. In antiquity, the mentally disordered became objects

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

of ridicule, scorn or abuse, and remained public butts for the amusement of the populace.<sup>1</sup>

Evidence for such behavior is to be found scattered throughout Greek and Latin literature from the fifth century B.C. to the decline of the Roman world.

During the medieval period, public authorities took only limited responsibility for the mentally deranged. Mentally or emotionally disturbed members of a community were left at liberty as long as they caused no public disturbance. Custody of the mentally ill generally rested with their relatives and friends; only those considered too dangerous to keep at home, who had no one to care for them, or who were socially disturbing, were dealt with by communal authorities.

During the sixteenth century there appeared, according to Rosen, a slowly growing tendency to place the mentally deranged in special institutions.<sup>1</sup> To a considerable degree this tendency was influenced by the social policies of the Protestant reformers and the rise of absolutist government. It must be remembered, however, that the recognition of mental illness at this time (the witch-craze was still going on) was a problem. Szasz makes a parallel between the criteria of witchcraft and mental illness which he summarizes as follows:

In the Age of Witchcraft, illness was considered either natural or demonic. Since the existence of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 142.



witches as the analogues of saints could not be doubted (save at the risk of incurring the charge of heresy), the existence of diseases due to the malefaction of witches could also not be doubted. Physicians were thus drawn into the affairs of the Inquisition as experts in the differential diagnosis of these two types of illnesses.

The medieval diagnostician had to distinguish persons afflicted with natural diseases from those afflicted with demonic diseases. The contemporary physician must distinguish persons afflicted with bodily diseases from those afflicted with mental diseases.<sup>1</sup>

Szasz goes on to point out that

My thesis regarding the relations between organic and mental illness thus both resembles and differs from Weyer's in so far as he maintains that merely because physicians cannot cure a disease, they should not infer from this that the disease is due to witchcraft. It differs from his in so far as he proclaims his belief in witchcraft as a cause of illness and protests only that his colleagues make this diagnosis more often than they should. I hold that, like witchcraft, mental illness is a misconception which can "cause" neither bodily illness nor crime. . . .

In so far as the concept of mental illness functions as a classificatory label justifying the psychiatric denigration of nonconformists, it is logically faulty, not because it fails to identify a socially definable characteristic, but because it mislabels it as a disease; and it is morally faulty, not because the physicians and psychologists who use it are badly intentioned, but because it fosters social control of personal conduct without procedural protections of individual liberty. For detailed discussion see Thomas S. Szasz, The Myth of Mental Illness.<sup>2</sup>

The point that has to be kept in mind is that in the days of the Malleus, if the physician could find no evidence of natural illness, he was expected to find evidence of

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, pp. 20-22.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

witchcraft. Today, if he cannot diagnose organic illness, he is expected to diagnose mental illness.

Social attitudes towards the mentally and emotionally disturbed have clearly not been uniform at all times but have exhibited modulations and nuances.<sup>1</sup> During the medieval period and the Renaissance, forms of unreason were considered fundamental elements in the fabric of the universe and of man. Medieval men believed that there were compelling forces making for righteousness and perfection, not only within the individual, but in nature as well. To violate these forces and natural norms was vice. The later Middle Ages, particularly from the thirteenth century onwards, placed madness in the hierarchy of the vices. Another view of mental derangement was the implication that only madmen and angels can speak the truth. This related to the idea of holy madness, in that it was believed the ultimate of Christian truth is revealed to Christ's fools,, i.e. to those who throw themselves utterly on God. Actually this view is very old and is based on the New Testament.

For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God.<sup>2</sup>

During the waning Middle Ages a feeling of melancholy and pessimism marked the period. A sense of impending doom hung over men and women, intensified by a belief that the end

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen, Madness in Society, pp. 154-55.

<sup>2</sup>I Cor. 1:18.

of time was approaching and that the last days were at hand. Nor was this apocalyptic sense of anxiety and urgency unjustified. A world was indeed disintegrating, and in its midst a new order, the shape of which could be seen only dimly, was agonizing towards birth. The feudal order was yielding to absolute monarchy and the early nation state.

The all-embracing Christian commonwealth, fashioned and guided by the Church of Rome, was wracked by dissension, hatred, and violence. The prevalence and spread of heresy, popular mysticism and personal piety in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were hardly an accident. History (in their view) was moving towards renewal and divine fulfillment, and men looked for signs and interpretations that warned sinners and encouraged the just.

Within this context madness, through its linkage with the revelation of religious truth, became a means of achieving knowledge. Madness was a primitive force of revelation, revealing the deaths of menace, destruction, and evil that lurked beneath the illusory surface of reality.

Irrationality personified in the figure of Folly loomed large in the Renaissance, but there was little discrimination between species of folly. Erasmus speaks of foolish persons and of the insane without clearly differentiating between them. In large measure this identification of stupidity with irrationality reflects an attitudinal shift from the idea of madness as a cosmic phenomenon to the

view that madness is born in the hearts of men.

In the sixteenth century, from the humanistic, as well as from the Christian viewpoint, irrationality is not regarded as having any absolute existence in the world. Folly exists only in relation to some form of reason, whether it be that of God or of man. Indeed, folly itself becomes a form of reason, even though distorted.

Montaigne wrote:

Reason has taught me that to firmly condemn something as false and impossible is to assume that one knows the bounds and limits of God's will and of the power of our Mother Nature; and that there is no more notable folly than to reduce these things to the measure of our capacity, and self-conceit.<sup>1</sup>

The literature of this time is consumed with the questions of what is Man and what is wrong with him?

For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mental illness was to be exiled from the social scene in both thought and practice. The shift in social attitudes towards mental illness which took place in Europe at this time can be analyzed and explained in terms of socio-economic, philosophical, and moral factors. Furthermore, this attitudinal change is closely linked with the character of the institutions developed and used during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the mentally and emotionally deranged. These institutions must be seen first in relation to the evolution of the hospital.

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen, Madness in Society, p. 157.



The medieval hospital in all its varied forms was essentially an ecclesiastical institution, not primarily concerned with medical care. This type was eventually replaced in the sixteenth century by another kind of hospital whose goals were not religious but primarily social. That is, the hospital from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century was intended chiefly to help maintain social order while providing for the sick and the needy. To achieve this aim the medieval hospital was to a large extent secularized, placed under governmental control, and its activities were accepted as a community responsibility.

However in the course of time, the general hospital combined the characteristics of a penal institution, an asylum, a workshop and a hospital. An important purpose was to deal with immorality and antisocial behavior. All individuals who were defined as asocial or socially deviant were segregated by internment. This procedure is analogous to the manner in which the leper was treated in the medieval period. By separating such individuals from society, by exiling them to the Hospital General, they were consigned to a social and psychological situation of which the dominant character is alienation. A separate socio-psychological lifespace was created for those who removed themselves from or transgressed the moral order considered appropriate to their social position, occupation, or family relationship.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

Rosen further states that for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the touchstone was reason and its right use.<sup>1</sup> Reason provided the norm; any divergence from the norm was irrational. Montaigne had still been able to accept and to discuss reason and unreason as related, interwoven facets of human behavior. By the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, however, a sharp line of separation was being drawn between reason and unreason. Descartes, for example, recognized that reason and irrationality are encountered together, that dreams and errors of various kinds are associated with madness, but he decided to rely upon reason and to avoid the irrational. Thus, unreason and madness were exiled in thought on the basis of a conscious decision.

From this viewpoint, irrationality took on a new aspect; it could be regarded as a matter of choice, as a matter of volition. Unreason, and with it insanity, were related primarily to the quality of volition and not to the integrity of the rational mind. Endowed with reason, man was expected to behave rationally, that is, according to accepted social standards. Rational choice was his to make by virtue of his nature. Eccentric or irrational behavior, actions which diverged from accepted norms, were considered as rooted in error or as derangements of the will and therefore subject to correction.

Two questions appear over and over in the writings

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

on the subject of mental illness of the period. One is "Is the number of insane increasing?" And an answer to this question is at the same time also an answer to the question, "Does civilization cause more mental illness than simpler stages of cultural development?" These questions imply a causal theory, namely, that social relationships and developments are deeply and significantly involved in the causal nexus which produces mental disease. Examination of this theory in historical perspective may therefore illuminate the current situation by enabling us to see its sources and how these may have determined our approach to the problem of mental illness and its causation.

The Enlightenment and the French Revolution dominate the thought of the eighteenth century on the connections between social relationships, social change, and mental disorder. In the intellectual climate of the Enlightenment, Design, Nature, Natural Law, Reason, and Happiness were key ideas. It was accepted as a basic premise that the world had been established by the Creator according to a definite plan, within which there were ordered ways of behaving. These ordered ways were the laws of nature, which redounded to the glory of the Creator and the greater good of man. Indeed, the Creator had so designed the human body that it would flourish when it lived in harmony with its political and social environment, and conversely He had so framed the political order that human health was fostered by good social

institutions.

In short, proper political stimuli, and a stable and ordered society were required for health. Mental health implied a society which would provide the proper stimuli and necessary conditions for well-being, and this was to be found in an agricultural economy such as existed in the young American Republic.

Broadly speaking, mental illness emerged as a proper subject for objective medical investigation in the eighteenth century. As asylums were created and data collected on the patients in them, the question was raised: Is insanity on the increase? The problem derived from a number of sources. For one, there was the nature cult of the eighteenth century which viewed the present as a degenerate retrogression from a golden age of natural virtue. Any further development of civilization was found to increase manifestation of degeneracy. Then, this was also the period of the early Industrial Revolution with its attendant evidences of social maladjustment. The alleged increase in the incidence of insanity was viewed as another aspect of the situation, and physicians, philosophers, and others speculated on the question of whether man would be able to adapt successfully to the increasing complexities of society. Current viewers with alarm and prophets of impending doom are simply the most recent in a long line.

Therefore, from the eighteenth century to the present,



there has existed the concept that social stress is in some way related to the causation of mental illness. Within this social context there has gradually emerged a more sharply focused approach based on the ability to distinguish and define apparently relevant variables. For example, it is certainly true that in broad outline cultures vary widely in their responses to such stressful conditions as epidemics, wars, technological and economic upheavals, and psychological deprivations. Whatever ways men use to defend themselves against stress will in general reflect the answers favored by their culture to certain human problems.

In the past, among the mentally ill, the psychotics, rather than the neurotics or the psychosomatics, come to the attention of the community, inasmuch as these individuals were considered to represent a threat to society. Therefore, at first, they were relegated to institutions whose primary function was to isolate them from the community. However, over a period of time, this concept of exclusion gave way to a variety of approaches; moral treatment; early institutionalization, based on the "cult of curability," and then, once again, treatment methods which were based on a pessimistic prognosis for mental illness. The mental hospital reflected each of these trends in turn.

At this point in time the mental hygiene movement was born. Both in Europe and in America, the early public health movement was permeated by a spirit of social reform, and was

broadly conceptualized. Without question, the major task of public health was the prevention and control of communicable diseases. However, there was a lack of agreement and causes of these conditions. Most early sanitary reformers accepted the miasmatic theory of disease. Indeed, it is noteworthy that their program was effective, despite the fact that it was based, to a considerable extent, on an erroneous theory; that is, they hit upon the right solution, but mostly for the wrong reasons.

With the growth of microbiological knowledge, by the first decade of the twentieth century, a solid basis had been established for the control of a number of infectious diseases. Public health, now, had moved away from its "police" activities, which, of course, were essential to the control of the pestilential diseases and to the protection of the vulnerable members of the community. As a result, the psychological dimension in community health work has become increasingly prominent and significant.

In discussing the field of mental illness, Rosen defines mental illness as:

In every society there are individuals whose feelings, thoughts, judgement, and behavior differ markedly from accepted norms. In most cultures, the criterion of severe mental disturbance or psychosis is the individual's inability to apprehend reality, as conceptualized by that society.<sup>1</sup>

As already pointed out, although physicians attempted to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

understand mental illness in naturalistic terms, explanations in terms of evil spirits, demonic possession, or magical influence also prevailed throughout antiquity as well as the medieval and early modern periods.

Mental treatment took a long step forward first with the advent of what Szasz has referred to as the "Therapeutic Age" and the birth of modern institutional psychiatric medicine.<sup>1</sup> Throughout a large part of the nineteenth century, psychiatric theory had been a tangle of confusion. During the later part of this period, as somatic trends grew stronger, it was felt that an organic basis could be found for mental diseases. Slowly, during the later decades, medical thought was being prepared for a reorientation toward greater emphasis on the patient's personality. In the United States and perhaps also in other countries, the turning point in this reorientation came during and after the First World War.

The greatest impetus for the present mental hygiene was the development of Psychiatry. The study of psychiatry had much significance for the differentiation between "criminality" and "mental illness" that took place in the last part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Psychiatry is diverse in the range of its applications and in the variety of its theories. Psychiatrists have delved into history, religion, philosophy,

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

and cultural anthropology. Some have entered criminology with a conviction not always warranted. Disagreement exists even among those continuing the approach of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939).

Any discussion of psychiatry must be highly generalized because psychiatric views on crime and mental illness are eclectic in nature. However, any discussion of psychiatrists and their views must always take two factors into account: psychiatrists and social pathologists start from the value orientations of the Protestant ethic and most of them are (or were) from middle-class rural extraction. Naturally, these two biases would cloud their relationship with individual clients.

The recognition of and institutionalization of the study of psychiatry by the state caused what Szasz refers to as the "Therapeutic State" to develop.<sup>1</sup> Thus, what developed was not a reduction in "stigma" for the classical stereotype, it simply resulted in the redefinition of kinds of "stigmatization."

As Szasz states:

Today, Americans live under two sets of laws: one applicable to the sane, the other to the insane. The legal regulations binding on the former--with respect to hospitalization for illness, marriage or divorce, standing trial for crime, or the privileges of driving a car or practicing a profession--do not

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<sup>1</sup> Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.



apply to the latter. In short, individuals categorized as mentally ill labor under the handicap of a stigma imposed upon them by the State through Institutional Psychiatry.<sup>1</sup>

Changing from a homogeneous simple rural society to a heterogeneous, complex, urban, industrial society has some general consequences for the visibility and labeling of the "social heretic." As has been mentioned before, there is a higher "tolerance of eccentricity" in the complex urban society.<sup>2</sup>

In Becker's evaluation of the people in whose interests the violation of the rules is made visible, as being in two classes, creators and enforcers, there is a need to identify these two groups in terms of the social heretic.<sup>3</sup> The rule creators are those people and institutions through which the force of public pressure is made known. In the American society, the public pressure is caused by the middle-class in terms of the Protestant ethic--whatever other behaviour there is outside the tenets of the Protestant ethic is abnormal and, as such, is subject to sanction.

There are, under institutionalized Psychiatry, two classes of specialized enforcers in American society: the police and the psychiatrists. There only remains for them to split up the sphere of deviance between their two groups and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>2</sup>Lemert, Social Pathology, p. 406.

<sup>3</sup>Becker, Outsiders, p. 147.

stabilize the areas of responsibility in terms of legislation. In terms of the individual social heretic, then, his indiscretions in terms of behaviour will be made known as a result of the actions of either the police or the Psychiatric Institution. Regardless of which group of enforcers brings his behaviour to public attention, the deviant will be "stigmatized" by being associated with a label. He is either labeled as "criminal" or "mentally ill."

Goffman observes:

The term stigma refer(s) to an attribute that is deeply discrediting . . . Being considered or labeled mentally disordered--abnormal, crazy, mad, psychotic, sick, it matters not what variant is used--is the most profoundly discrediting classification that can be imposed on a person today. . . .

By definition, of course, we believe, that the person is not quite human. On this assumption we exercise varieties of discrimination, through which we effectively, often unthinkingly, reduce his life chances. We construct a stigma-theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class.<sup>1</sup>

Szasz believes that the witch-hunter mentioned earlier in the study was a duly authorized agent of the Theological State; his client being the Church and its agencies, and he compares that case with the situation of the institutional psychiatrist as a duly authorized agent of the Therapeutic State; with his client being the State and its agency institutional psychiatry.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Goffman, Stigma, pp. 3-5.

<sup>2</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 239.

The case of witches, criminals, and mental patients involves what Szasz refers to as "covert signs" or "hidden stigmata" of witchcraft, social aberration and mental disease.<sup>1</sup> These supposed signs are not evident to ordinary persons and must be sought out by those specially qualified and authorized to find them. This is what justifies the employment of "experts."

On the other hand as Szasz further observes, ". . . although, as scapegoats and victims, (italics added) witches and madmen resemble Jews and Negroes, there are also some differences between them. . . ." Szasz then goes on to point out that "the Negro's 'stigma signs' are bodily, the Jew's behavioral."<sup>2</sup>

As far as the present study is concerned, these variations make no difference, one is an easily identifiable group sign and the other is obtained by "fitting" the individual to one or more of the certain "traits of identification" of the classic stereotype as delimited in Deviant type-W at the beginning of this study. In all cases, the individual (whether alone or as a member of a heretical group) is declared to be "abnormal" and as a social heretic, he represents a "danger" to the rest of society. As a danger, he must be either eliminated or "neutralized." With the development of institutional psychiatry and the idea of "rehabili-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 238.

tation" in criminal law proceedings, he can be neutralized by being locked away for treatment. This is the replacement of the punitive orientation in society with the therapeutic orientation.

In the therapeutic reaction generally, the criminal or mental patient is considered to be "sick" in the sense of being a victim of social or physiological forces and of defective conditioning of his personality. The idea is to bring changes to the individual which will improve the likelihood of more socially approved and less "threatening" conduct in the immediate future. The therapeutic reaction is consistent with the Protestant ethic and the general humanitarianism brought about as a result of the rise of the middle classes in the nineteenth century. In this one sees the perfection of man's nature in accordance with the inculcation of Protestant morality as a means of restoring stability, sobriety, and safety in society. The mental health movement stemmed from the publication of Clifford Beers' courageous autobiography in 1908 and the organization of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in 1909 by Beers, Adolf Meyer, and William James, among others.<sup>1</sup>

The following years saw an increasing expansion in the variety of activities and facilities loosely ranged under the overarching rubric, mental hygiene. The term "mental health movement" has replaced "mental hygiene," and interest

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen, Madness in Society, p. 286.



and attention have shifted from the care of the mentally ill to the prevention of mental illness and the promotion of mental health.

During this time, sociologists also became interested in the mental health movement. With the organic conception of society, social illness for society was seen as a parallel of illness for the individual. This gave rise to the concept of social pathology. Social pathology combined with the structural functionalist approach led to the study of mental health in the framework of function and dysfunction.

Since the social pathologists were of largely rural, middle class background, steeped in the tradition of the Protestant ethic, they saw mental disorder in terms of behavior patterns not in conformance with the Protestant ethic. This view is still largely effective today, even though the terminology has changed. Mental disorder tends to be behavior which is in glaring contrast to the dominant norms and which is called to the attention of some agency of social control.

Szasz sums up the situation in this way:

The success of the patient in exhibiting the type of behavior necessary to achieve the standards indicated above determined whether he was mentally healthy or not. The impossibility of a scientific objective definition of the conditions in these terms for universal application is easily discerned. . . .

We are plagued by some of the same kinds of social problems which plagued people during the declining Middle Ages, and we try to solve them by similar methods. We use the same legal and moral categories: lawbreakers and law-abiding citizens, guilt and innocence; and we, too, use an intermediate

category--the madman or mental patient--whom we try to fit into one class or the other. Formerly the question was: In which class do witches belong? Now it is, In which class do mental patients belong? Institutional psychiatrists and men of enlightened popular opinion hold that because they are "dangerous to themselves and others," madmen belong in the class of quasi-criminals; this justifies their involuntary incarceration and general mistreatment.

Moreover, to support their ideology and to justify their powers and privileges, institutional psychiatrists combine the notions of mental illness and criminality and resist efforts to separate them. They do this by claiming that mental illness and crime are one and the same thing and that mentally ill persons are dangerous in ways that mentally healthy persons are not.<sup>1</sup>

The orientation toward the treatment of criminals changed, also, through the years. At present, the orientation, like that used with the mental patient, is chiefly therapeutic. Again like the mental approach, there is much talk of prevention, but there is as little progress in preventing crime as there is in prevention of mental illness. Both seem to be increasing with the increasing complexity, ambiguity, and diversity patterns of social interaction and value orientations.

Stripped of value judgments, crime problems become the problems of minority groups in society. There are some crimes which even a society of criminals (as the oversociety defines them) would have to punish or deal with in some way. Other crimes are of a still more disintegrating effect.

It is clear that certain crimes enable society to simplify or avoid social problems by making the blaming of an

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness, p. 17.

individual possible instead of dealing with the more intractable, social problem. Moreover, if society were to acknowledge that their social control systems were inadequate, society would be accepting collectively some measure of guilt, whereas by invoking extra-social factors in criminal acts, society divests itself of guilt by laying it on "the offender." If crime is thought of in this way the word does not have any fixed meaning and the criminal is simply the one who the society says is under certain conditions at certain times. Therefore, although he is always identified with the classical stereotype as a social deviant, at different times and in different places, the criminal may wear a variety of labels.

#### Practitioners of the "Occult Sciences" in a Pluralistic Society

It is the social situation of uncertainty and diversity and ambiguity of values that has brought about a redefinition of the particular stereotype of Deviant type-W, the same social situation that this study introduced in Biblical times, in classical Greece, and in Rome. There is a new emphasis on the occult in American society: this includes the areas of witchcraft, sorcery, astrology, psychic power and other pseudo-sciences. There has been a proliferation of occult book clubs, magazines, books, and the popularity of this form of entertainment in television programming is self-evident. It appears that the occult has made a full circle in Western

society. It has progressed from the condemnation of the Scriptures to tacit acceptance in Classical Greece, to alternate times of repression and encouragement under the Romans, to the extermination practices under the witch crazes of the 16th and 17th centuries in Europe and America, to treatment as mental illness, back again to tacit acceptance by the public in the present day. To be sure, local laws exist against the practices of the pseudo-sciences in various cities, but such widespread acceptance by the public at present has resulted in the news stands being flooded with material for sale and the open practice of the occult generally without fear of repression by the police.

The extent of the popularity of the pseudo-sciences in the United States is evidenced by approximately 1,200 of our 1,750 daily newspapers now having astrological columns. Many include "advice" on problems involving Mysticism.<sup>1</sup> Magazines featuring occult topics have proliferated. Books about occult subjects have more than doubled. Courses in witchcraft, magic and sorcery are given in an increasing number of institutions of higher learning, among them the University of Alabama, the University of South Carolina, and New York University. Personalized computer horoscopes are available on more than 2,000 college campuses and in 350 department stores. In Grand Central Station alone some 500

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<sup>1</sup>Emile C. Schurmacher, Witchcraft in America Today (New York: Paperback Library, 1970), pp. 8-9.



electronically compiled horoscopes daily are purchased by travelers and commuters.

It wasn't long ago when professional purveyors of the occult practiced cautiously for the most part as "spiritual" or "psychic" advisers. They charged no set fees for consultations or seances but accepted "donations." Today, whether one seeks a witch, sorcerer, numerologist, exorciser or evil spirits, guru, palmist, clairvoyant, tea leaf reader or other metaphysical practitioner, they are all readily available--either through recommendation or their own advertisements in many classified columns.

Not only is the number of practicing occultists growing, but the selling of packaged witchcraft has grown to be a multimillion dollar annual business in the United States. With a potential market of believers estimated at more than five million; with additional millions of bettors on horse races, numbers and lottery players--the sale of packaged witchcraft and "occult products" has boomed tremendously. The mail-order suppliers of packaged witchcraft, occult products and supplies word their advertisements carefully so as to conform to postal laws. They make no actual promises but use such qualifying words and phrases as "alleged," "purported," and "is said to be."<sup>1</sup>

Marika Kriss sums up the viewpoint of the occultists:

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 156-161.

Rationalists have seized their power contemptuously from nature, glorifying in their own strength and knowledge, attempting to force more from nature than she is ready to give. Contempt has made them overconfident and tricked them into believing they are greater than the forces that shaped the universe. The pervasive atmosphere of contempt has poisoned their attitudes toward their fellow men and toward themselves. . . .

It would seem that the time has come to return to the beliefs of those first men who struggled for survival on a savage but unspoiled planet—that nature is sacred, and that it is up to man to arrange his affairs in harmony with her, for failure to do so will inevitably result in disaster. . . .

A sense of the sacred is perhaps the key difference between witches and rationalists. . . .<sup>1</sup>

One university Physics student has said, "The future starts here, (with children) not in the laboratory. Science demands that we believe in nothing that is not amenable to observation and measurement. There is more to man than that which can be observed and measured."<sup>2</sup> Kriss goes on to point out that students disgusted with the current stagnation of established religion have shouted, "God is dead"; now more students discouraged after the failure of the rationalists, are shouting, "Science is dead."

Kriss states:

It is true that the rebellion against rationalism is a movement of young people. It is also true that representatives of every age level swell its numbers. . . .

Hardening of ideas and attitudes is worse than hardening of the arteries. And both diseases can strike any age group. . . .<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Marika Kriss, Witchcraft for the Millions (New York: Sherbourne Press, Inc., 1970), pp. 153-155.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

Martin Ebon, in his book, Witchcraft Today, quotes a modern scholar of the occult:

A scholarly appraisal of current trends was presented to the Ohio Valley Sociological Society at Akron on May 1, 1970. The society's annual meeting heard a paper by Professor Marcello Trucci, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, entitled "The Occult Revival as Popular Culture: Some Random Observations on the Old and the Nouveau Witch." Trucci concluded that mass interest in occult matters, "in so far as they represent a playful and non-serious confrontation with these supernatural elements still present in our society, represent a possible cleansing or purging of old fears and myths that would quite naturally precede the kind of naturalistic rationalism in line with a more scientific view of the universe." Speaking of "the major followers of Satanism," the speaker observed that these "do not represent a search for a new spiritual meaning, only a disenchantment with religious orthodoxy."<sup>1</sup>

It would appear that both the impersonal scientific observer and the practicing occultist tend to agree with Kriss' statement, "All the signs say the last third of this century will be favorable to witchcraft."<sup>2</sup>

In the preceding sub-section, the popularity of the occult arts and the pseudosciences was presented in some detail. At this point, however, it might be well to show the connection between the past and the present by developing briefly the most ancient of these arts, astrology, in relation to the scientific orientation and bureaucratic organization of today.

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Ebon, Witchcraft Today (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1971), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Kriss, Witchcraft for the Millions.

The temple priests of the ancients pointed to the skies and said that the gods lived there. Today scientists point to the skies and say that life may be there. Allen says that the evolution of thought about extraterrestrial life can be stated as simply as that. He goes on to comment:

Every civilization has been star-studded—the Egyptian pyramid builders with their structures oriented to the stars; the astrologically ruled Chinese during the millennium before Christ; and a certain contemporary society whose banner is star-spangled, whose folk heroes are called "stars," and whose children are rewarded with gold stars.

Since man first looked up, he has seen in the skies the phantoms of his wondering mind. If there is one thread that links the temples of Thebes with the rockets of Cape Kennedy, it is this: Beyond the sky, man has long sensed a rendezvous.<sup>1</sup>

Star-gazers became important counsellors. Looking backward for explanations was soon supplanted by a more productive occupation: predicting coming events by reading the map of the heavens. More astrologers than astronomers, these celestial guides warned kings and emperors of impending events. These astronomer-astrologers helped to direct the destinies of empires. They were not astronomers in the modern sense of the term. Now they would be labeled astrologers. However, they often did make accurate astronomical observations, many of which have been used by modern astronomers in studies of ancient comets and eclipses. In recognition of their scientific work, we can call them astronomers—with marked astrological tendencies.

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<sup>1</sup>Tom Allen, The Quest: A Report on Extraterrestrial Life (New York: Chilton Books, 1965), p. 1.



Unlike modern astronomers, however, the ancient astronomers could make mistakes with fatal consequences. The astronomers of the Chinese court were put to death in the third century B.C. because of "their negligence in calculating and observing the stars." However, some astronomers enjoyed immunity from punishment if they erred, as they frequently did. If a prediction was faulty, the court astronomer sometimes had the audacity to blame his failure on the heavens--or even on his royal employer.

The heavens were the source of ancient celestial religions and the highest form of religion in the Graeco-Roman world. The celestial gospel was spread in Roman circles by, among others, Cicero, who maintained:

It is therefore likely that the stars possess surpassing intelligence, since they inhabit the ethereal region of the world and also are nourished by the moist vapors of sea and earth. . . . The stars move of their own free will and because of their intelligence and divinity.

The Romans inherited an astronomy equated with theology synthesized from the ideas of Babylonian astronomer-priests, from the star-addicted Chaldeans, and from the Persian magi, later immortalized by the "Star of Bethlehem" tradition.

Christianity itself borrowed heavily from heavenly allusions when, under Emperor Constantine, it became the state religion of the Roman Empire. Wrapped in a coronation mantle bearing the signs of the zodiac, Constantine began a reign over a strange mixture of new and old starry myths. He ordered a horoscope drawn up for his new capital of

Constantinople. The birth of Christ was ordained to be December 25—the date of Brumalia, or the winter solstice, the birthday of the sun. The birthday of Mary, the mother of Christ, was fixed to the movements of Spica, a brilliant star in the constellation of Virgo, the Virgin, within which Astraea, the goddess of purity and innocence, long had dwelled.

Astrology was still very much a part of Christianity up through the third century and the belief in the tyranny of the stars—in direct conflict with the Church doctrine of free will—persisted throughout the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance. (Although the early Church fathers such as Augustine said that "though the stars might exert some influences over the world of nature, they could not affect the lives of men" and that "through Christ man had been raised from servant of the stars to master of the stars.")

On February 17, 1600, Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake by the Inquisition. He had previously looked at the sky and made this observation:

Sky, universe, all-embracing ether, and immeasurable space alive with movement—all these are one nature. In space there are countless constellations, suns, and planets; we see only the suns because they give light; the planets remain invisible, for they are small and dark. There are also numerous earths circling around their suns, no worse and no less inhabited than this globe of ours. For no reasonable mind can assume that heavenly bodies which may be far more magnificent than ours would not bear upon them creatures similar or even superior to those upon our human Earth.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

The Church, with its supreme authority over theology and astronomy, passed the sentence of death upon him. However, he left a legacy. He said, "I await your sentence with less fear than you pass it. The time will come when all will see what I see."<sup>1</sup>

Allen goes on to point out his opinion that, concerning the Giordano Bruno (Philosopher) incident;

It is at this point that the history of man's view of the heavens becomes especially pertinent to our age--and to the subject of this book. For, in the Church's condemnation of unorthodox theories and discoveries, there is a foreshadowing of the conflict of our time between unorthodoxy and what we have come to call the Establishment.

In our speculations about life beyond the Earth, we are still looking up through a tangle of fact and myth, reason and superstition. . . . Today, however, it is Science, not the Church, that cautions us to beware of erroneous doctrine. And the caution of Science is well founded. We are not so far away from our star-awed ancestors as we might suppose. Solar's Official Astrology Magazine, which claims a circulation of 100,000 even exerts influence over the stock market. In commenting on the magazine's celestial interpretation of the market, The Wall Street Journal reported in 1963 that "star-gazing seems to hold considerable appeal for many businessmen and investors puzzled by fluctuations in the economy and the stock market."<sup>2</sup>

In The Age of Aquarius this author, in speaking about the way decisions are arrived at in the pluralistic society, and concerning the effect of the ambiguity and lack of precedence on the young asserts:

The scene is often pathetic. The widespread interest in witchcraft and astrology, for example, is

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

no doubt motivated in part (but not wholly) by youth's sense of helplessness. As one student told the sociologist priest Andrew M. Greeley: "I'd sooner feel that my future was being shaped by the stars or by the turn of the cards, because these would represent powers that would be more concerned about me than either my draft board or the Pentagon." Or more to the point, perhaps, powers that can be influenced and controlled --if you know the right spell to cast.<sup>1</sup>

In the preceding subsections of the study, the contemporary post-industrial American society has been discussed with regard to its changing characteristics, the structure and flow of power for social control, and finally, how these factors of character and control combine to cause social conditions of conflict and change which affect the social careers of the chosen representative groups of deviant minorities.

In other words, so far in the study, the history of what the character and structure of society has been and is, and the repercussions of the social context for the master stereotype of the social heretic have been noted and analyzed. Now before considering the evidence in light of its support of the hypotheses and the thesis statement, two more topics need to be considered briefly. They are: the character and structure of what society should be, and the design of a possible strategy for the future.

It has been amply shown that, although the character and composition of society has changed from rural to urban

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<sup>1</sup>William Braden, The Age of Aquarius: Technology and the Cultural Revolution (Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1970), p. 112.



and from homogeneous to heterogeneous, the power structure of the American post-industrial society of today is basically the same as it was a hundred years ago, and it is very similar to the power structure of France after the French Revolution. It has the same partnership of the economic institution (the senior partner), the political institution (dependent on the economic institution for operating capital) and the religious institution (a firm supporter of the "status quo" because of its inflexible adherence to the traditional values of the Protestant ethic).

In effect, then, the present author maintains that the character and composition of the society are pluralistic and complex as befits the complexity of the social situation, but the structure of the society is still adapted to the control of a simple, homogeneous rural society. Such an anomaly cannot continue forever.

In accordance with the theoretical base of conflict used in conjunction with the symbolic interactionist approach, Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills developed an "ideal" paradigm of a society whose structure was "flexible" or "plastic" enough to absorb conflict and to accommodate the resultant social change without the threat of disruptive processes doing irreparable harm to the social structure itself.

The advantages of such a society, in terms of the careers of the master stereotype under investigation here, are obvious. If normal social change does not pose a threat

to the social structure, then there is no need for a scape-goat group to provide a safety valve to absorb the tensions and pressures of the conflict that accompanies social change.

In the foregoing part of the study the thermodynamic analogy has been used to illustrate the rigidity of the social system, the pressures and forces involved, and their subsequent effect on the groups comprising the construct of Deviant type-W. However, the forces of pressure of the thermodynamic system enclosed as they must be by rigid structures of strong steel tubing is not suitable to the construction of the equivalent of a flexible or plastic structure.

Therefore, in dealing with this design the author proposes to exchange thermodynamic action and steam pressure for electromagnetic pressure and the flow of energy created by the alternate growth and collapse of electromagnetic "fields" as created by electromagnetic lines of force generated by the flow of electric current under the pressure of electromotive force. In this analogy the size and shape of the field at any one time would be determined in the direction and amount of change in current flow.

The function of this analogy will become clear as the section is developed. It has been shown that the structure of the society in which a problem exists affects the individual actor. It is within this overstructure that the functions of the social system are carried out. It is this structure which, to a large extent, determines the systems

of patterned action-reaction sequences that determine much of human behavior.

The Gerth-Mills "Ideal" Paradigm of a Truly  
Functional Social Structure Demonstrated  
in Terms of an Electromagnetic  
Systems Model Analogy

Gerth and Mills developed their ideal model of social structure from the concepts of interchange, interpenetration, and interaction. The model is based on man as the acting unit in the roles he plays. The role is the basic unit of conduct in their estimation and they see any change in a role as being reflected at all levels of the structure. As such the structural model is man-centered. Men play roles and other men react to them in terms of the roles played by them. Changes in behavior result from varying interpretations of meaning and changes in meaning.

As Gerth and Mills state in their own words, "The organization of roles is important in building up a particular social structure; it also has psychological implications for the persons who act out the social structure."<sup>1</sup>

They go on to point out

The mechanism by which persons thus internalize roles and the attitudes of others is language. Language is composed of gestures, normally verbal, which call forth similar responses in two individuals. Without such gestures man could not incorporate the attitudes of others, and could not so

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<sup>1</sup>Gerth and Mills, Character and Social Structure, p. 14.

easily make these attitudes a condition of his own learning and enactment of roles of his own image of self.<sup>1</sup>

To show the interchange and interaction, the authors continue:

The roles allowed and expected, the self-images which they entail and the consequences of these roles and images on the persons we are with are firmly embedded in a social context. Inner psychological changes and the institutional controls of a society are thus interlinked.<sup>2</sup>

Then the components of a social structure are: individuals, groups, roles and role constellations, and institutions. Social constructs that have specific functions and require a formalization of cluster or constellations of roles are called social institutions. These role clusters and functions become formalized with tradition, and as a result of tradition the individuals who make up these institutions tend to ritualize their behavior.

Gerth and Mills divided their model of the social structure into three parts (shown on the next page) the character structure (involving persons), and the role, and then the social structure (involving social institutions and spheres of activity). The character structure was composed of the organism (man) and his psychic structure (acquired by socialization in the environment). The role is the connection between the person and the social institution and is the

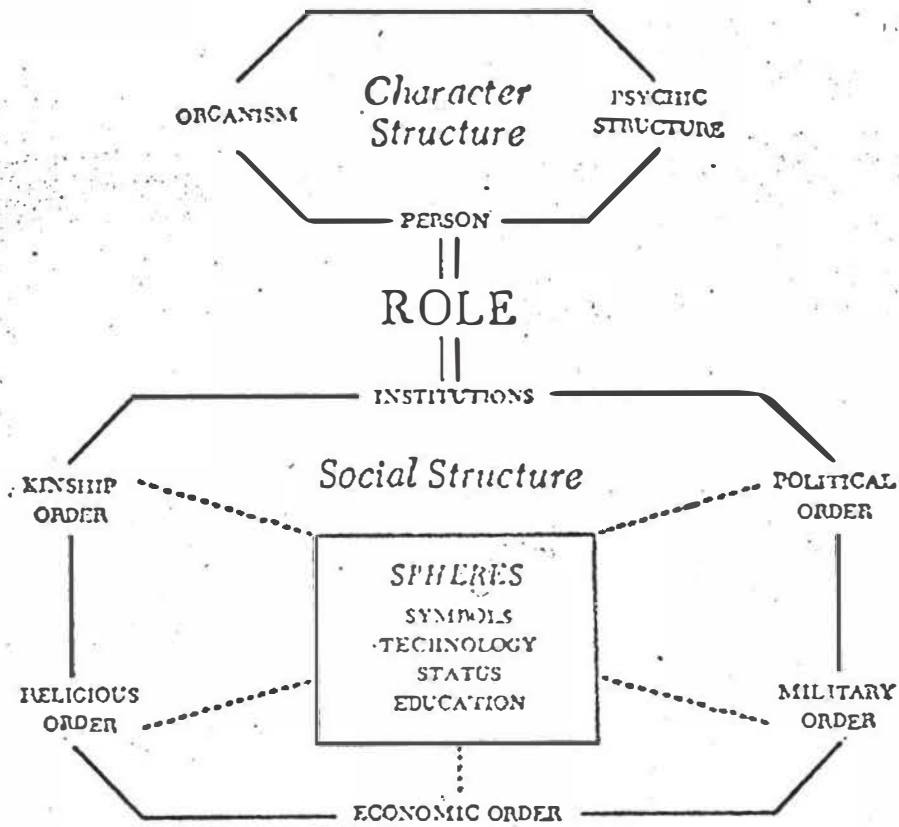
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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 13.



THE GERTH MILLS CONCEPTION OF THE  
"IDEAL" SOCIAL STRUCTURE



channel through which they interact and through which change is wrought. The Social Structure is composed of what Gerth and Mills refer to as the institutional orders and their interpenetration and interaction to form what the authors refer to as spheres of activity.

Gerth and Mills define institutional order as,  
 ". . . institutions within a social structure which have similar consequences and ends or which serve similar objective functions. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

This composite general institutional order is made up of several types of specialized institutional orders, all of which interact to a greater or lesser extent. These institutional orders are:

(1) The political order. This is the institutional order within which power is acquired, wielded, distributed and the patterns of authority and influence are set up.

(2) The economic order. This order is composed of those establishments that are utilized by men to organize resources, technical facilities and labor for the purpose of producing and distributing goods and services.

(3) The military order. This is the order in which violence is legitimized and supervised.

(4) The kinship order. Kinship orders regulate, facilitate and legitimate procreation and sexual intercourse and, in the process, supply, rear and socialize children to keep the culture viable.

(5) The religious order. Institutions make up this order that are utilized by men to facilitate, organize and supervise the worship of a deity or deities at specific places and on specific occasions.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

Then the authors point out that these various institutional orders interpenetrate in and interact in the environment of various "spheres" of activity.

The authors postulate:

There are several aspects of social conduct which characterize institutional orders, the most important being: technology, symbols, status, and education. All orders may be characterized by technological implements, by the modes of speech and symbols peculiar to them, by the distribution of prestige enjoyed by their members, and by the transmission of skills and values. We shall arbitrarily call these "spheres," in contradistinction to "orders," because they are, in our view, rarely or never autonomous as to the ends they serve and because any of them may be used within any one of the five orders.<sup>1</sup>

The authors then go on to define each "sphere" in more detail. It is not necessary to belabor those descriptions in this context, however, because it is fairly evident from their titles, and an understanding of the symbolic interactionist approach, just what each "sphere" would consist of in terms of role configurations for the individuals therein.

The authors further point out that change in such a structure is ever-present. There are changes of two types: quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative changes, of course, outnumber the qualitative aspects. The uneven growth of institutions in the same order will change the composition of that order. Change in one part of the structure has interactive consequences, though, throughout the whole of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

structure through the linkage of orders and spheres.

Gerth and Mills sum up their concept of such an interpenetrating, interdependent and interacting system as follows:

When we try to answer questions about the transformation of a total society, we must realize that every social area is connected, directly or indirectly, with every other, in short that institutions and roles are interdependent.<sup>1</sup>

Their concept of the structure of the society in terms of person, role and the combination of the institutional "order" and "spheres" of activity into one great interlinked and freely interacting whole is praiseworthy also. However, this is, in the mind of the present writer, an ideal construct which does not yet exist wholly as they see it in fact. It does not wholly bear out the one-way flow of power and the characteristics of the mass society that he discusses in the power structure. The System as it exists in reality is an artificial one imposed on the society. It is a rigid structure, a relic of an earlier rural, homogeneous society of vertical integration imposed upon a modern, complex, urban, heterogeneous society with potential for horizontal integration by a power group with vested interest in keeping things as they were in the past. The few at the top have succeeded in formalizing and keeping power for themselves by impressing a structure from the relatively simple homogeneous past on a pluralistic complex society with diverse, ambiguous and con-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 403.



flicting value orientations. This hereditary acquisition of the reins of power by the upper class out of all proportion to their numbers in relation to the rest of society is achieved by the hysteria perpetrated by the military order and spread by the mass media of the exterior threat of destruction. The function of this artificial system, forced upon the society, is illustrated on the next page in terms of a thermodynamic "pressure cooker" analogy. The function of the rigid system and how it is maintained to give solidarity is explained in terms of heat, pressure, expansion and an adaptation of the "safety valve" concept of Simmel.

Gerth and Mills system which was illustrated by the diagram from their book on page 462 is the most "natural" structure for a pluralistic society such as the contemporary pluralistic post-industrial American society. It is capable of instant change without threat to its structural integrity. Indeed, the very pluralistic nature of its composition gives a type of horizontal integrity as a result of a network of interconnected roles connecting one individual to many diverse groups. This diversity (but drawn together by role interconnections of many different individuals with many different aspects of personality) actually, then, leads to a more organic solidarity and cohesion on the horizontal level than the old rigid system did artificially with "boundary maintenance" and "safety-valve" institutions (when no actual external enemy existed) composed of minority groups, to unite the

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL "PREPAREDNESS STATE"  
--A RIGID SOCIAL STRUCTURE KEPT VIABLE AND  
STRONG BY PRODUCTION OF SHORT-LIVED WEAPONS  
SYSTEMS FOR THE ALLEGED PURPOSE OF SURVIVAL  
AGAINST ATOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL THREAT OF  
COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF SOCIETY

Social-  
Darwinist  
Ideology

The  
Power  
Elite

Protestant ethic  
(Supports the  
goals of the  
establishment)

Negroes

MINORITIES  
Disenchanted  
and  
Rebellious  
Youth

Limited  
Wars  
Without  
Victory  
Value  
Conflicts

Internal  
Economic  
Problems

Expansion of  
against the  
Marxist-Leninist  
Ideology

Destruction of  
material in the  
field and the  
planned  
obsolescence and  
scrapping of  
defensive  
weaponry

Technological  
Advancement and  
production of  
succeeding gener-  
ations of weaponry  
which quickly be-  
come obsolete for  
the alleged purpose  
of protecting  
society from  
destruction by  
communist nuclear  
weaponry.

society and its institutions against a common threat and thus achieve social cohesion as described in Coser.<sup>1</sup>

Present-day society with its industrial-military complex has an external enemy created by the military in conjunction with the "power elite" through the mass media that spreads the hysteria of mass annihilation. This artificially and temporarily gives respite to the "boundary maintenance" and "safety valve" groups that would be suffering otherwise in the effort to maintain the rigidity of the present outmoded social structure.

This is the justification that the writer feels supports his contention that society is not structured as Gerth and Mills saw it, yet. However, it is the correct structure for a post-industrial, pluralistic society and serves as an ideal for future attainment. If the present inflexible narrow power base of the "power elite" that exerts its influence over the masses could be broken and the society were allowed to function as a kind of Structural Pluralism, then the Gerth-Mills model would be fully applicable.

This, too, could be explained in terms of an illustration based on pressure. However, this time the illustration should be based on electric energy-generated pressure instead of the heat generated pressure of the thermodynamic model illustrating the Military-Industrial Superstate. Electromagnetic lines of force are set up by the generation of an

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 45.

electromagnetic field which builds up electrical pressure (or, electromotive force) that flows through a conducting medium in accordance with the relative expansion or collapse of a field.

As discussed previously, this system does not conform to the thermal model-analogy that can be used to depict the artificially-imposed rigidly-structured form that is maintained and forced upon the present pluralistic society. This is because the thermal model requires "vertical" integrity furnished by the strength and rigidity of the boundaries of a society made cohesive by formal mechanisms of social control (tradition, custom, law, and authoritarian ethics) enforced by the sanctions of the "power elite" through governmental and religious institutions. Of course, a disadvantage of the rigid social structure is like the disadvantage given to iron with the addition of carbon to make it harder. The extra strength is achieved at the expense of loss of malleability. High carbon steel is also brittle. The same characteristic is true of a society held together by artificial means of achieving vertical integrity. Crisis situations create fault lines. What Gerth and Mills proposed, on the other hand, was a social structural configuration that has "horizontal" integrity (in fact, three-dimensional) necessary to cope with conditions engendered in a pluralistic society. The configuration is "plastic" in that form and can change continually with new interpretations of role in the social situation.



This is a new kind of strength that might be compared to the difference between bearings made of high-carbon steel and those made of nylon. The nylon bearings are superior because of their elasticity and "built in" lack of friction. So it is that the horizontal integrity of the Gerth-Mills model adapts to the forces of a pluralistic society.

The form of this configuration is a boundary not held together by the formal sanctions of government and religious institutions as enforcers of social control, but by the interlocking of the varied and diverse characteristics of the myriad roles of each individual played out in many social situations. The result is a shifting, plastic, flexible boundary that gets its strength from an interlocking network of responsibilities that resist faulting rather than a brittle, artificially-enforced structure.

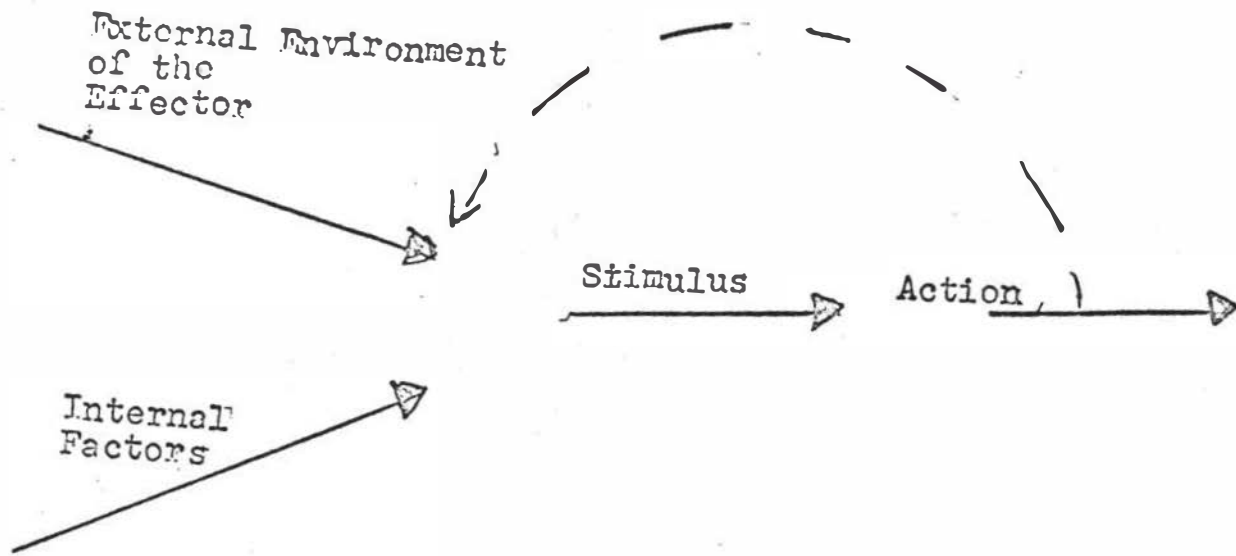
This type of model is illustrated on the following page and is theoretically based on the discussion by de Latil.<sup>1</sup> In his book, Thinking by Machine, Pierre de Latil developed concepts that apply analogously to the Gerth-Mills configuration of society.<sup>2</sup>

"The degree of liberty of a system depends on the degree of independence that it can maintain against contingency. . . ."

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre de Latil, Thinking By Machine: The Thought Behind the Thinking Machines (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Riverside Press, 1957), p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 319-32.



(de Latil, 1957: 321)

This degree of liberty in the system and the ability to maintain its integrity against contingency "fits" the conception of Buckley that society is a conflict-actuated, adaptive, "open system."<sup>1</sup>

Such a system has to prove its degree of liberty by its reaction to internal and external circumstances. It may be thought of as an autonomous engine which, while seeking to adjust its internal sub-systems to the optimum state, is continually exploring external contingencies. Thus the determined program (induced today by the unilinear power flow) would be negated in the field-actuated system by reference to a network of feedbacks.

The mechanism of such a model can be envisaged by reference to living organisms. As de Latil says:

All animal activity is retroactively organized and yet numerous nervous mechanisms can be dissected without the least trace of a retroactive circuit. It seems that the feedback is generally developed in the external environment, outside the living organism. Such a feedback is "external" and it is an essential part of sensory mechanisms.<sup>1</sup>

In the Gerth-Mills model, society can be visualized as a super-organism made up of living units (persons) which interact with themselves and their environment to produce feedback to effect change (either in condition or structure). This concept of the action of the environment as an individual sensing unit (in the case of society, the human being) is

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<sup>1</sup>Buckley, Modern Systems Research, pp. 490-98.

<sup>2</sup>De Latil, Thinking By Machine, p. 321.

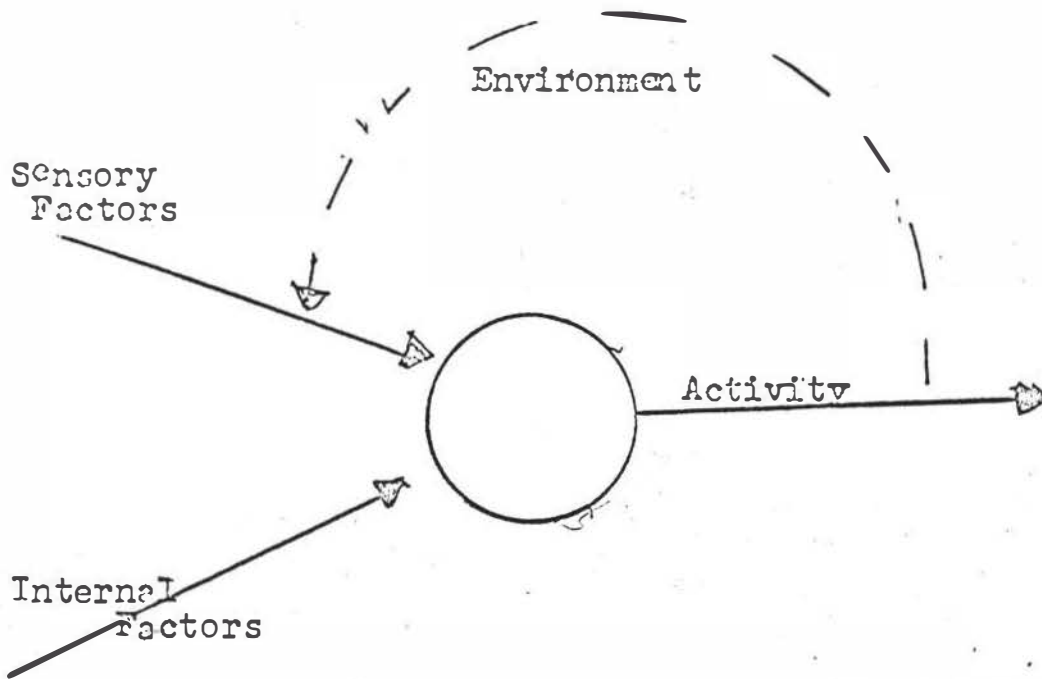
shown on the first illustration on the following page.

As de Latil points out then, the "organization of a living organism extends to its environment, or more exactly to what it perceives." He points out that a perceiving being has as its only limit the number and quality of its senses; whatever is perceived by it becomes part of its system. DeLatil offers the example of a fish maintaining its equilibrium in water by taking advantage of the varying currents. If a fish were to be considered in isolation it would be a nonexistent entity. DeLatil goes on to point out further that a living entity is in a state of continual flux and continual movement since it has a unity with that on which it acts and which acts on it to form a complete whole.

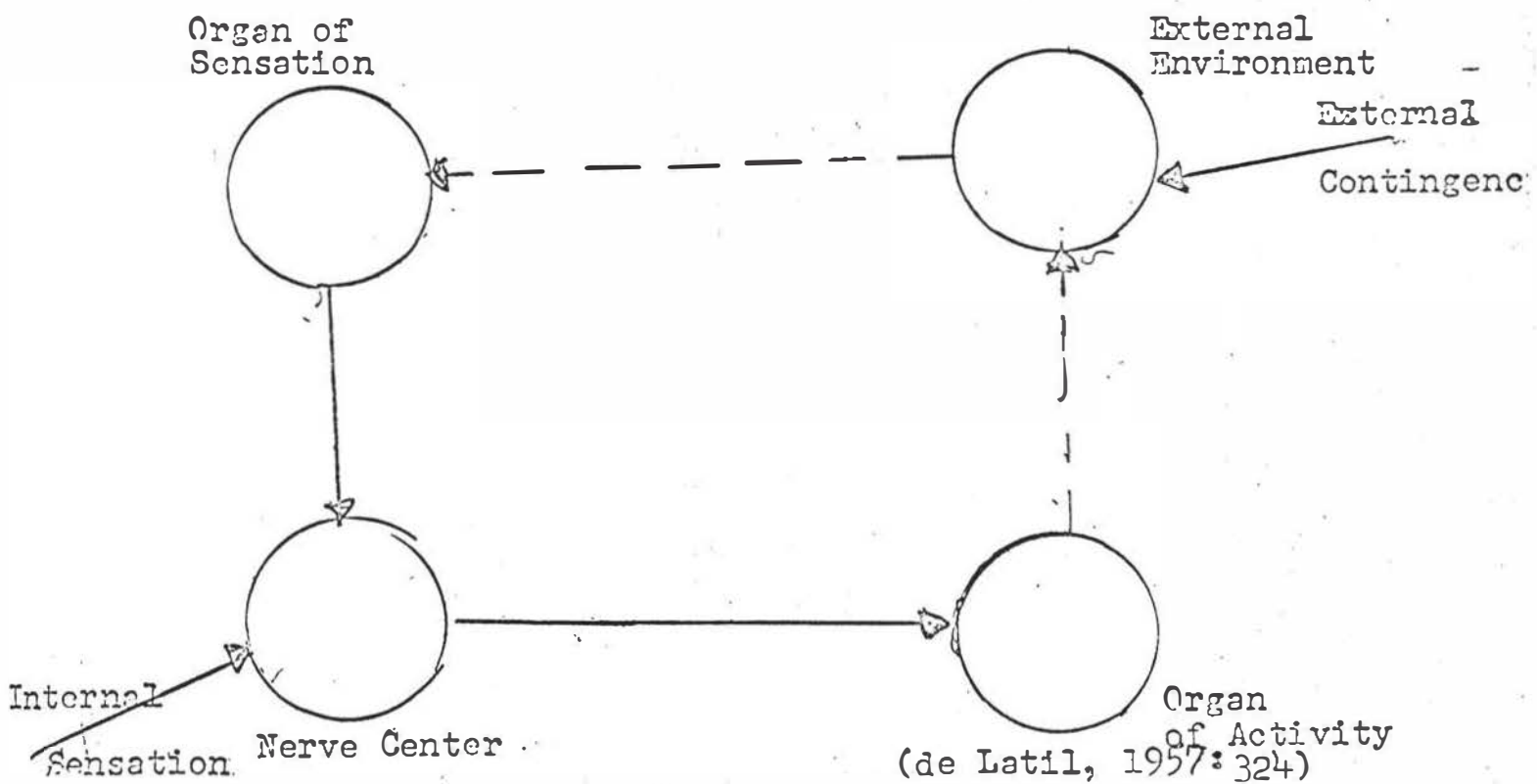
DeLatil's diagram has other implications as well, for instance the external environment is not to be considered as exerting a force on the organism as a purely external influence, rather as a part of itself (and its own state) which it is able to sense and compensate for it. DeLatil comments, "Contingency is not imposed on the organism by the world in itself, but by the discontinuous spectrum of the senses that perceive it."

Activities of the organism are, most commonly, made up in such a manner as to negate contingencies in the organism's interest. Thus, there has to be a retroactive circuit. (This is the element that is missing in the rigidly-structured model of society.) Actions to be meaningful and ameliorative





(de Latil, 1957: 323)



(de Latil, 1957: 324)

must be linked in a retroactive circuit, and must involve the external and internal environment in the production of events that affect the relation of the organism to its environment (excepting those examples of instinctive origin).

DeLatil goes on to explain his principle of reaction as shown by his *Machina liberata*:

As we have already pointed out, a retroaction is to be thought of as a closed chain of effects succeeding each other, and to no one of them should primacy be ascribed. We may not consider a scheme such as that illustrated in the following diagram (next page) in which the organs of sensation, the nerve centres, the organs of activity and the related world, are interconnected by stimuli, by nerve impulses, by activities and perception and in which contingencies may influence any of the effectors, but above all the nerve centres and the environment.<sup>1</sup>

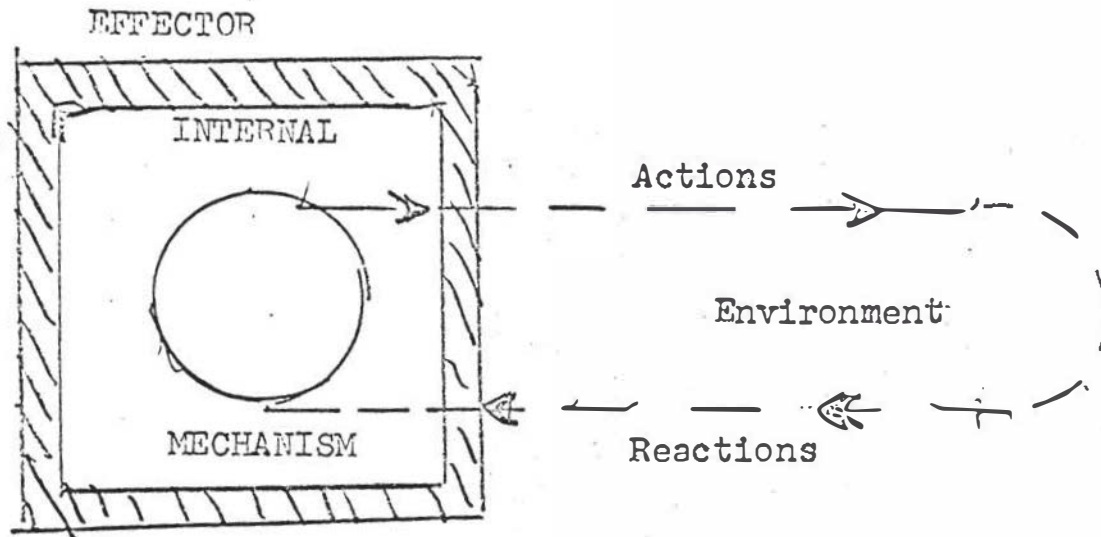
A study of the most sophisticated calculating machine takes the researcher back to the physiology of Claude Bernard: "All activities, no matter how varied, have only one aim; that of ensuring the constancy of vital conditions in the internal environment."<sup>2</sup>

With the concept of the pressures and currents generated by the expansion and contraction of electromagnetic (3-dimensional combined with linearity in place of a strictly linear characteristic), it is possible to change a subsystem such as the one shown on the following page so as to "emphasize the ambivalence of the passive and active relations to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 323.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 324.



(de Latil, 1957: 324)

the environment." (The obvious parallel between the pluralistic society with its interpersonal and intragroup-intergroup relations and the resulting pressures for social change with the sensors and effectors of the electronic Machina liberati acting in the environment which generates electromotive pressures which effect changes in the internal electrical relations of the mechanism becomes even more apparent when the pluralistic post-industrial society is analyzed and its characteristics are compared with the possibility of a structural-pluralist society as envisioned by Milton M. Gordon.)<sup>1</sup>

In de Latil's conception the passive organs that receive messages from their environment could be thermometers, photo-electric-cells, microphones, etc. and each would have the function of transforming a particular essential quality of the environment into electrical qualities or, from condition to sensation.

This sensation then causes reaction by the active organs. These active organs are varied also; they can be mechanical arms, turning wheels, or motors or combinations thereof. All these organs, according to de Latil face outward from the body of the machine and make up what neurologists refer to as the peripheral system. (Thus, in the Gerth-Mills model, they compare to the individual, the insti-

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<sup>1</sup>Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, Minorities in American Society (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1968), p. 49.



tutional orders and finally the central construct of the "spheres" of activity.)

Thus the Machina liberati (and the Gerth-Mills model) appears as a complex of effector mechanisms, each of which contributes its bit of information in the continuous seeking of an optimum systematic operating condition. In the Machina liberati, this dynamic optimum condition (moment-to-moment) is the work of four systems which are more or less complex (at different levels--up-down or periphery to center as in the Gerth-Mills model):

- (1) A mechanism organized in relation to the environment and reacting to the present situation. This is the essential mechanism, for it is the only one possessing true organs of activity or, to use neurological terminology, final common paths.
- (2) A series of "programs" implicit in the construction which correspond to the innate instinct of animals.
- (3) A memory mechanism.
- (4) A "reasoning" mechanism, which, based on the present and the past, tries to predict the future.<sup>1</sup>

In comparing this with the Gerth-Mills model, it is found that the Gerth-Mills configuration has the following four systems which compare to those of de Latil in his description of the Machina liberata:

- (1) The individual as the role-taking and playing unit reacting to the immediate environment and effecting change through the medium of contact with the rest of society (and the basic unit of social change) the role.

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<sup>1</sup>DeLatil, Thinking By Machine, p. 331.

(2) A series of "programs" consisting of the institutional orders which have semi-permanent traditions and rituals built-in--give stability (dynamic).

(3) A memory mechanism--this compares to the collator in the electronic machine--in society it is the function served by the intersection of history and biography and is effected in the central part of the system, the "spheres" of action, where all information is ordered and effected.

(4) A "reasoning" mechanism--this to Mills was the function of the science of sociology--as de Latil put it "based on the present and the past, tries to predict the future." Mills sees the role of the science of sociology and its effector, the sociologist, in a similar light. It is the scientific instrument that describes, interprets and predicts on the basis of a particular problem in its social setting (historic and biographic).

From the interrelations of these systems arise directives which descend to the lower level, or from the center to the periphery, where they react on the social (or physical) environment.

From the lower level upwards, or from the periphery to the center, each organ attempts to establish its own optimum condition (partial, temporary answer in systems theory) and thus notifies the more sophisticated levels of the outcomes of its activity (that is, its state of disparity from the optimum state); in the more sophisticated levels, this disparity is collated with the other tensions indicated by instinct, memory, and reason; and at that time, from the center toward the periphery (or from the top, down) the integrated outcome gives to the homeostatic (dynamic stability) mechanism of optimization, the posture at which optimum dynamic stabilization must be effected. This interconnection,

interpenetration, and interaction, insures that every unit of the system collaborates in the pursuit of the common goal of continuous dynamic optimization.

As de Latil states, and it applies also to the Gerth-Mills model of societal structure:

The machine that has been described would have one inevitable defect; it would be sensitive to every stimulus, it would hunt ceaselessly, without ever finding a state of equilibrium; it would start an activity, only to countermand it on finding that the course of action interfered with other equilibrating (optimizing) activities. It would be a model of restless human behavior. Only elementary creatures achieve peaceful equilibriums; the complex organism can never find it.<sup>1</sup>

What de Latil states about his Machina liberata is just as true of a complex pluralistic society. Relatively static conditions can only be achieved in homogeneous simple societies, or by artificial imposition by repressive forms of social control.

Unlike a simple causal relationship, in which the effect can be controlled by the factors involved, the purposeful systemic configuration is directed to constant optimization by forces that are combinations and must be considered as "fields" of influence rather than straight lines. (A simplified illustration appears on the following page.)

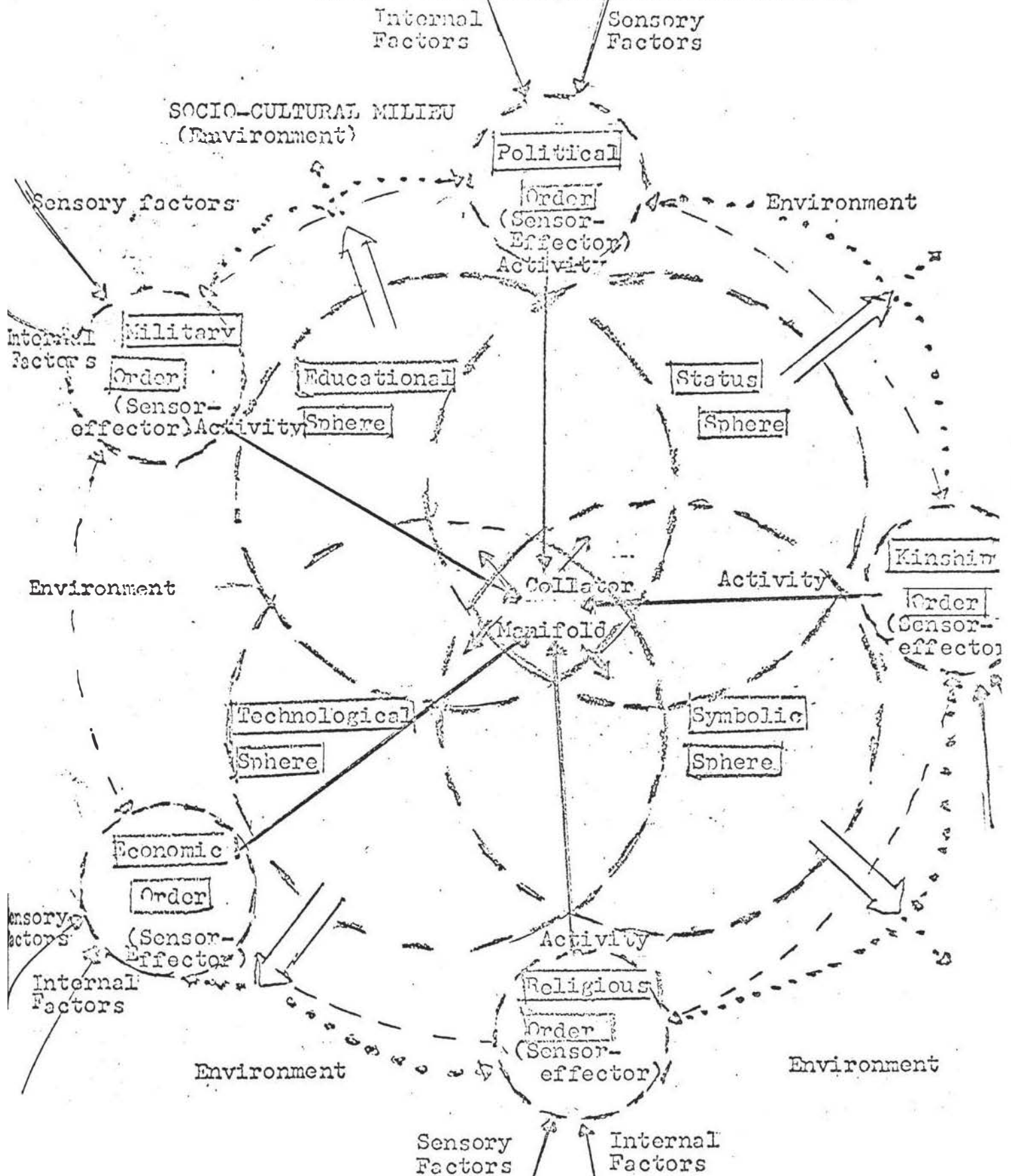
In summary, then, the parallel with the society of Gerth-Mills and de Latil's machine as it is described is apparent. The periphery of the sensor-effector is the system

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.



GERTH AND MILLS' CONCEPTION OF THE  
CONFESSIONATION OF SOCIETY --CONCENTRIC  
RINGS OF SPHERE AND ORDER  
(Analogy with the Machina Liberata  
of de Latil--based on E.M.F. and  
Counter E.M.F.)





of institutional orders and their senses (the individuals) that Mills and Gerth describe.

The information from environment (of which the mechanism is an integral part) coupled with internal changes in role are transmitted as pressures (social, rather than vapor or electrical) to the collator, (a manifold at the intersection of the "spheres" of symbol, technology, status, and education. Pressures from the spheres are transmitted in interaction with the socio-cultural environment, and the reaction in this milieu is picked by the individual probes (human beings) and retransmitted by role behavior to the institutional orders). The individuals and the role constellations that make up the probes of the individual sensors react to the pressures of the environment which work to change the internal state of the specific institutions, which, in turn, generate pressures which are transmitted back once again through the collator (manifold) to the activity "spheres" and thence again from the center to the periphery and into the environment to again change the overall state. Pressures and counterpressures alternate in an effort to maintain the "dynamic stability" of the whole system. These pressures and counterpressures that continually search for optimization of state might be considered as the "conflicts" of the conflict system which is the theoretical base from which Mills postulated his various concepts.

If, in some way, the unilinear power structure which

Mills covered in his concept of the "power elite" could be modified to react to feedback from the lower levels of society, then the model of Gerth-Mills would be functional. As was stated before, it is the ideal model for the structural-pluralist society (which American society could be if it were not for the domination through inherited power of individuals of the upper class and their proteges of the economic, political and military orders) that would be fully functional if interaction could proceed on the basis of the concept of optimization.

The ideal social structure as conceived by Gerth-Mills also is compatible with Buckley's advanced concept of society as a conflict-actuated open-ended adaptable system. Earlier in the study Boulding's conception of society as a "conflict system" was noted.<sup>1</sup>

Generally speaking, the conception of society as a system would not be challenged by most sociologists, past or present. It is the kind of system that it represents that is generally the point of contention.

Most political scientists and sociologists have conceived of society as a "closed system." Talcott Parsons took the idea a step further to allow the system the flexibility of being self-correcting, but the rigidity of the structure was left unchallenged.

Buckley describes first the closed system and then

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<sup>1</sup>Boulding, 20th Century, p. 103.

the Parsonsian system in the following way:

To summarize the argument in overly simplified form; equilibrial systems are relatively closed and entropic. In going to equilibrium they typically lose structure and have a minimum of free energy; they are affected only by external "disturbances" and have no internal or endogenous sources of change; their component elements are relatively simple and linked directly via energy exchange (rather than information interchange); and since they are relatively closed they have no feedback or other systematic self-regulating or adaptive capabilities. The homeostatic system (for example, the organism, apart from higher cortical functioning) is open and negentropic, maintaining a moderate energy level within controlled limits. But for our purposes here, the system's main characteristic is its functioning to maintain the given structure of the system within preestablished limits. It involves feedback loops with its environment, and possibly information as well as pure energy interchanges, but these are geared principally to self-regulation (structure maintenance) rather than adaption (change of system structure). The complex adaptive systems (species, psychological and socio-cultural systems) are also open and negentropic. But they are open "internally" as well as externally in that the interchanges among their components may result in significant changes in the nature of the components themselves with important consequences for the system as a whole. . . . True feedback control loops make possible not only self-regulation, but self-direction, or at least adaptation to a changing environment, such that the system may change or elaborate its structure as a condition of survival or viability.

We argue, then, that the sociocultural system is fundamentally of the latter type, and requires for analysis a theoretical model or perspective built on the kinds of characteristics mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

Buckley then goes on to define his concept of system in more detail (which is noted here to better show how the forces acting in society tend to make it conform more closely to the Gerth-Mills concept of the ideal rather than to the artificial, unilinear power structure which has historically

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<sup>1</sup> Buckley, Modern Systems Research, pp. 490-97.



been impressed upon it). The use of the Gerth-Mills conception and the Buckley conception would, as logically supported by Buckley's analysis, make a more realistic assessment of the ongoing social processes. Buckley continues,

We define a system in general as a complex of elements or components directly or indirectly related in a causal network, such that at least some of the components are related to some others in a more or less stable way at any one time. [the concept of the partial solution] The interrelations may be mutual or unidirectional, linear, non-linear or intermittent, and varying in degrees of causal efficacy or priority. The particular kinds of more or less stable interrelationships of components that become established at any time constitute the particular structure of the system at that time.

Thus, the complex, adaptive system as a continuing entity is not to be confused with the structure which the system may manifest at any time. Making this distinction allows us to state a fundamental principle of open, adaptive systems: Persistence or continuity of an adaptive system may require, as a necessary condition, change in structure, the degree of change being a complex function of the internal state of the system, the state of its relevant environment, and the nature of the interchange between the two.<sup>1</sup>

Buckley then turns his attention to the criteria against which social and cultural structures can be evaluated. He observes:

Although the problem is difficult, something can be said about more ultimate adaptive criteria against which sociocultural structures can be assessed. Consideration of the grand trends of evolution provides clues to very general criteria. These trends point in the direction of (1) greater and greater flexibility of structure, as error-controlled mechanisms (cybernetic processes of control) replace more rigid, traditionalistic means of meeting problems and seeking goals; (2) ever more refined, accurate and systematic mapping, decoding and encoding of the external

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 493.



environment and the system's own internal milieu (via science), along with greater independence from the physical environment; (3) and thereby a greater elaboration of self-regulating substructures in order--not merely to restore a given equilibrium or homeostatic level--but to purposefully restructure the system without tearing up the lawn in the process.

He concludes his argument for the (conflict-actuated) adaptive, complex system with the following words,

and, as a reading of history suggests, virtually every formal structure extant can be traced at least in principal from its beginnings to its present apparently timeless state through just such a morphogenic process--a process characteristic of what we have called the complex adaptive system.<sup>1</sup>

Buckley's system conforms to the theoretical orientation presented in this study. In considering society in conformance with his conception, it represents a conflict-system in which the present is rendered as a "dynamic" order or temporary "configuration" rather than a "static" condition. Interrelationships, associations and correlations are described and analyzed in terms of partial solutions, reasonably accurate at a particular point in the time dimension. Successive evaluations must be made to offer a stage by stage description of the adaptive process.

A similar orientation is described by Coser in different terms in presenting a discussion of in-group conflict and group structure. Coser sees this process of continual change and restructuring of situations to be a part of modern society which he defines as "pluralistic."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 505.

<sup>2</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, pp. 77-79.

A pluralistic society has been described as

The achievement of minority individuals has enhanced the "respectability" of minority descent. As large segments of the ethnic minorities have moved into middle-class occupations and become acculturated to middle-class norms, ethnicity, at least in the large urban multi-group communities, becomes more and more a private matter or a symbolic appeal in some public or political situations. . . .

"Respectability" means, then, that at least in the secular spheres of life, acculturation, at whatever class level, has taken place. It means, furthermore, that minority institutional patterns have modified and become more coherent with dominant norms. Yet within this frame of acculturation there persists, it is argued, a preference for intimate associations with people whose cultural and/or religious and racial heritage is like one's own. We have called this mode of adaptation stabilized acculturation. More recently Milton M. Gordon has used the term structural pluralism.<sup>1</sup>

Marden and Meyer then go on to quote Gordon's definition of structural pluralism, a part of which appears below:

. . . We have pointed to the considerable body of evidence which suggests that the ethnic varieties of Americans, excepting the intellectuals, tend to remain within their own ethnic group and social class for most of their intimate, primary group relationships, interacting with other ethnic and class varieties of Americans largely in impersonal secondary group relationships. The United States, we have argued, is a multiple melting pot in which acculturation for all groups beyond the first generation of immigrants, without eliminating all value conflict, has been massive and decisive, but in which structural separation on the basis of race and religion--structural pluralism, as we have called it--emerges as the dominant sociological condition.<sup>2</sup>

Coser sees this kind of society to be "adaptable" to change in the way that Buckley suggests. Coser comments,

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<sup>1</sup>Marden and Meyer, Minorities, pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

Pluralistic societies, however, which are built on multiple group affiliation tend to be "sewn together" by multiple and multiform conflicts between groups in which the members' personalities are involved only segmentally. . . . Loosely structured groups and open societies, by allowing conflicts, institute safeguards against the type of conflict which would endanger basic consensus and thereby minimize the danger of divergences touching core values. The interdependences of antagonistic groups and the crisscrossing within such societies of conflicts, which serve to "sew the social system together" by cancelling each other out, thus prevent disintegration along one primary line of cleavage.<sup>1</sup>

On the following page there appears an illustration of the difference between vertically integrated simple societies and horizontally integrated complex societies. An analogy might be presented here between two kinds of wooden structures. A stove-stick in which the grain runs in one direction is easily split into pieces, while a piece of plywood, with crisscrossing interspersed layers with the grain running in alternate directions, is extremely difficult to break.

Along the same lines, the author continues,

If we follow the clues provided by Simmel and Ross we come to see that the multiple group affiliations of individuals make for a multiplicity of conflicts crisscrossing society. Such segmental participation, then, can result in a kind of balancing mechanism, preventing deep cleavages along one axis. The interdependence of conflicting groups, and the multiplicity of noncumulative conflicts provide one, though not, of course, the only check against basic consensual breakdown in an open society.

Rigid systems, such as contemporary totalitarian societies, may succeed, as has been suggested previously, in partly canalizing hostile feelings through safety-valve institutions such as institutionalized

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<sup>1</sup> Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 80.



DIFFERENCES IN THE CHARACTER OF THE INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY  
(Simple Society Exemplifies Vertical Integration --  
Complex Society Exemplifies Horizontal Integration)  
Diagram is Constructed in Terms of the Relation of  
Roles (Numbers) to Groups (Letters)

Social						
Roles	123	456	789	10	11	12

A diagram of a rectangular area divided into six vertical sections labeled A, B, C, D, E, and F from left to right. The sections are separated by vertical lines, and the labels are positioned at the bottom of each section.

Simple, Rural, Homogeneous Society  
Vertical Integrity  
(Fracture along any major  
fault line threatens the  
whole Society)

## Social Roles

1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H

Complex, Urban, Heterogeneous Society  
Horizontal Integrity  
(An Integrity of Diversity--A break  
in any one section does not threaten  
the whole Struture)

See Coser (1970: 256-261)



anti-Semitism and xenophobia. However, their lack of mechanisms for readjustment to changed conditions permits the accumulation of occasions for conflict and hence of hostilities which may eventually directly threaten consensual agreement.<sup>1</sup>

Rigid systems . . . by not permitting conflict, will impede adjustments and so maximize the danger of catastrophic breakdown.<sup>2</sup>

The present author would agree with Buckley and Gerth-Mills about what the ideal social structure would be like, and further with Marden and Meyer and Gordon that the American society exhibits characteristics of a pluralistic society.<sup>3</sup> However, when Coser<sup>4</sup> states that the structure of American society is, in accordance with its pluralistic character, flexible and adaptable to change, he tends to exaggerate. In actuality, as C. Wright Mills has pointed out, and as was developed in the previous discussion of American power structure, the American society does not have a flexible structure. The power structure of American society has been shown to be much the same for over a century and it more closely resembles the totalitarian model that Coser points out in the quote above than it does the Gerth-Mills or the Buckley conception.

What is really the case is that American society has two aspects: character and structure. The character of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 78-79.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>3</sup>Both Buckley and Mills are indebted to Karl Marx for the seminal idea of what an ideal social structure is like.

<sup>4</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, pp. 76-81.

American post-industrial society is that of a pluralistic society while the structure is adapted to the American society of the early eighteenth century: a rural, simple homogeneous society devoted to the Protestant ethic. The character of the American society has changed radically with emergent values challenging the long-established traditional values of the Protestant ethic. However, as yet, the power structure (the economic, political and military institutions, supported by the "domestic" institutions of the church and school) have supported the traditional values and have made only minimal changes. (It has been shown in the text that this is the basic reason for the unrest of American youth--the inconsistency between the traditional values espoused and enforced by the power structure and the social situation in reality.)

However, in the next section, a strategy for change is presented which would alter the NATURE OF power structure (without any change in the fundamental dominance by the economic institution) so that instead of being impressed on (artificially) the body social, it would become incorporated within with an institutionalized change agent to change its function from one of external, impressed control to one of internal, integrated guidance.

It has been brought out that American society is a complex, heterogeneous, urban post-industrial society that is still operating on the traditions and rituals that were

designed for a homogeneous, simple rural society and coupled with an ethic, and an ideology, designed for the laissez faire capitalism of the early Industrial Revolution. As such, it presents a parallel with mounting the engine from a jet fighter on a Spad. The high-powered technology is imprisoned in an unstreamlined, aging and brittle framework. What is needed is not rigidity of form, (for compression and shear) at all costs, but tensile strength coupled with flexibility and plasticity of form. It is not rigid, compartmentalized, vertical integration that is needed, but a plastic, inter-laced horizontal, integration of pluralistic groups.

The structure of the present day American society might be likened to the exoskeleton of a crayfish or a crab that holds the growing organism (the body social with pluralistic character and a mature technology) imprisoned within its limits. In such a situation, the only way that change can occur is for this confining structure to break away. What would be more desirable would be a situation more comparable to that of the jellyfish in which the containing structure is flexible or plastic and stretches and changes shape with the situation in the organism, in the environment, and in the relation between the two. New emergent values must be associated with technological advancement. Instead of only efficiency and expediency, the goals could be converted into a search for knowledge and understanding. In this way, efficiency could still be maintained, but, at the

same time, man's humanity could be enhanced rather than being depersonalized into a marketable commodity.

In the area of ethics, a change is indicated from the rigid authoritarian (absolute) Protestant ethic to a humanitarian (relative) ethic (such as that described by Eric Fromm in his book, Man for Himself). This change could overcome the disadvantage of trying to fit a changing, evolving, uncertain reality to the revealed concept of an absolute, unchanging, universe.

This brings the discussion to the confrontation of the Christian religion and science. This dilemma could be resolved by converting the Christian religion of the early Church fathers (who were both fanatical and intolerant) into a true Christianity based on the teachings of Christ who taught both tolerance and adaptability. With the rigidity taken out, the negativism of guilt neutralized, and the emphasis on love of humanity despite its weaknesses, rather than an emphasis on the expiation of personal sin, Christianity could become a truly humanitarian religion. It could become a vehicle for human expression rather than a formal institution for control and oppression.

In the bargain, optimism could be substituted for pessimism and, that way, the doubts originated by the scientific community could be resolved without threatening the whole structure of society. Man could once more become a part of Nature, living in harmony with it (in the larger



sense) instead of engaging it as an enemy to be overcome.

The above views of conditions of a viable culture of the future "fit" what might be termed a structural pluralism whose unity lies in interlocking diversities. This type of "dynamic stability" has been best described by Gerth and Mills' concept of "spheres" just explained in the foregoing discussion, and all of these views, too, are in conjunction of the trend toward more tolerance of deviance in individuals and groups as a result of the Civil Rights movements, and the various spin-off movements. As Salariu has pointed out, the United States has entered a time when it is not fashionable to be prejudiced.

Also with the horizontal integration of true pluralism the need for a "scapegoat" group or a "safety valve" would no longer be applicable. The trend is moving toward more ambiguity and diversity within a general unity.

In the foregoing discussion, desirable and necessary changes in the social structure were noted and discussed in conformance with an analysis of the Gerth-Mills ideal paradigm for a society that is responsive to the changes germinated in interpersonal and intergroup interaction in accordance with the principles of the symbolic interactionist approach which were discussed in the theory section of this study.

The author is cognizant of the fact that such changes in the social structure, although within the realm of possi-

bility, are not probable. A power structure that is so monolithic, and so well organized, and which has endured for over one hundred years is not likely to be overturned in a short time.

There is, however, the possibility of changing the way in which the power structure functions, which would ultimately result in a society which would function much like the system denoted in the electromagnetic analogy.

In the following subsection, a strategy for the future is outlined which would have the effect of ameliorating the social situation for the minorities composing the master stereotype, Deviant type-W.

The assumption is made in designing such a strategy that the improvement of society's reaction to deviant minorities would, in turn, indicate a lessening of the effect of conflict and crisis in society and that this accomplishment of change together with the avoidance of the effects of conflict and crisis, is more beneficial to the society as a whole than change spawned in the midst of "undefined social situations."

A Strategy for the Achievement of Social  
Change in Post-Industrial Society by  
Means of the Neutralization and  
Diversion of Conflict  
(Crisis Avoidance)

The fundamental concept of this strategy is that in a society controlled by such a monolithic power structure, crisis avoidance must involve social change initiated at the top.

After spending so much time discussing the "status quo" and pointing out repeatedly the rigidity of the social structure, it may seem to the reader to be at least contradictory, if not naive, to suggest that there is a possibility that the power system itself would even consider a policy of innovation.

The facts indicate, though, that this is not the case. The three institutions that are most important in the power structure of American society, the economic institution, the military institution, and the political institution, are already following a policy of planned innovation.

The system being referred to here is what is commonly termed Research and Development, and millions of dollars have been spent in this area to date. Dickson in his book, Think Tanks, observes:

Another factor that has always fed growth of R&D is the simple one that progress demands it. If one wants a new missile, mumps vaccine or mousetrap, the road to it is R&D. Moreover, the theme of progress does not require that a specific goal be established before research is funded. Basic research is often called "seed money" because even though it is

geared to no specific result new knowledge and techniques will probably germinate from it later to solve new problems or bring about new advances.<sup>1</sup>

In discussing his subject, think tanks, the author above makes a point that is very applicable to the argument presented above. He shows that all research and development is not directed just at technological advances. Dickson maintains:

The crucial determinant is its role. The primary function of a think tank as the term is used here is neither traditional basic research, applied research, or development--although all three are commonly performed in think tanks--but to act as a bridge between knowledge and power and between science, technology and policy-making in areas of broad interest. . . .

. . . A currently popular term for this role is "policy research" or research that produces ideas, analysis, and alternatives relevant to people who make policy. It contrasts to traditional science and R&D, which normally produce scientific knowledge for other scientists and researchers.<sup>2</sup>

It is at this area of policy research that this discussion is particularly directed. In its capacity as an agency commissioned to find new and advantageous issues for policy change, the "think tank" becomes an "institutionalized change agent" whose raison d'etre is innovation.

Another point that must be made here is that these groups of people are composed of experts from many disciplines, including sociology. For years academic sociologists in America have had the ear of the power structure, but they

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<sup>1</sup>Paul Dickson, Think Tanks (New York: Atheneum Press, 1971), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 28.



have customarily been employed as experts in "social engineering" in a problem-solving capacity. In other words, a specific problem situation existed and the sociologist was charged with finding the most desirable solution to the situation from the point of view of his employer. Making a judgment on this, people such as Alvin Gouldner<sup>1</sup> feel that such "social engineering" experts who claim to be sociologists are prostituting their science.

Gouldner is even more concerned with what sociologists have been doing on the policy level. At this level, American Academic Sociology has acted more as propagandists for the social-Darwinist ideology and apologists for the Protestant ethic.

Nevertheless, the precedent has already been set for the study of society, with the intent to innovate, in policy-making areas. As Dickson points out, such groups have been formed and are operating as insitutionalized change agents at the policy level. Dickson comments,

The Inter-American Social Development Institute: Authorized by Congress in late 1969, this outfit will exist as a semiautonomous corporation of the State Department. It will act as a special center to encourage development of democratic institutions in South America. It is charged with the job of undertaking broad research and planning work in South American Affairs.

An East-West Think Tank: Soviet and American representatives have been holding discussions on the establishment of a large, internationally staffed think tank to study the common problems of industrialized societies. The nucleus of the group would

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<sup>1</sup>Gouldner, Coming Crisis.

be about 400 professionals who would concentrate on such universal problems as pollution, housing, education, and mass transportation.<sup>1</sup>

Before continuing the discussion of the strategy for change through crisis avoidance, it is necessary to consider one other specific type of "think tank" situation. This concerns a group of people referred to as futurists. These individuals are interested in the art of prediction. They use a number of techniques but there are two goals. One goal is to determine the "most probable future," and the other is to establish a future goal and then construct the most efficient scenario (a term developed by Herman Kahn at the Rand Corporation--it signifies the construction of alternate scripts of future action and choosing either the best or the most "surprise free"). The second goal stated also enables the initiator of the research, by knowing the situation thoroughly, to gain an element of control. In the short range, the most common way to predict the future is through a "surprise free" trend analysis. Trends are established and then are extended into the near future (on the basis that sudden change is rare), after taking note of any unusual events that might happen, and planning future action on the basis of the trend projection.

All of these techniques can be used by a commissioned change agent (in the form of research and development or think tanks) to convince his employer that it is in his own

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<sup>1</sup>Dickson, Think Tanks, p. 33.

self-interest to introduce social change at the policy level.

What must be done is to convince the economic institution entrepreneur that, in the long run, changing with social conditions can be more contributive to gaining efficiency in operation than seeking efficiency through maintaining and stabilizing the artificial channels of the bureaucratic structure in resistance to the currents of change in society.

As a matter of fact, an appeal can be made to the hardheaded economic entrepreneur, on the basis of the fact that a tremendous volume of technological changes (with which the economic and political institutions do not quarrel) are going to have widespread social consequences in terms of contradictions of existing traditional values. This brings about conflict, both psychological in the case of the individual and societal in the cultural context. Conflict is detrimental to the goal of efficiency, therefore it would be wise to solve such problems in the same way as other management problems are solved, by planning ahead for change. In this way, the transition from one developmental stage to another can be made as smooth as possible.

If such a program of innovation were outlined by the sociologist (after clearly demonstrating the economic advantages of such a social engineering project) it could be sold to the influential economic entrepreneurs on the basis of the two concepts they hold most sacred, efficiency and

expediency. It would then be in their own self-interest to become change advocates. (This selling job is exactly the same as that which was required to bring such fringe benefits as employee insurance and profit-sharing plans to the workers in industry.)

The pressures contributed by those groups not asserting themselves for civil rights could augment the arguments of the sociological change agents.

It has been pointed out that the concept of a capitalistic system has changed in the past, all the way from the "market in breadth" which was furnished by a production economy designed for exchange of manufactures for the raw materials of a colonial system of empiricism, to the super-consumption "market in depth" economy geared to mass consumption and "planned obsolescence." If capitalism has changed with the conditions and events of the past in order to maintain the control of the society in the hands of the economic institution, there is no reason to believe that, with the resources for research that are available today, the institution will not continue to change in its own self-interest.

It can be pointed out that it is better to know points of conflict in the society, and direction in which the pressures for change are mounting. If such information is available, the initiative can be seized to direct and guide in such a manner as to realize advantage from it. It is better to direct and guide the change process to practice the



diversion or dissipation of social conflict, in what might be called a "conflict avoidance strategy" which allows "business as usual" in a dynamic undefined situation, than it is to meet social conflict head on in an inflexible posture to use social control to "keep the lid on." In fact, this has been the very function of the "safety valve" institutions of the past; through the absorption of displaced aggression, these groups have relieved the pressure on the society, and have allowed the rigid inflexible social structure to survive.

The existence of these scapegoat groups which have allowed the safety valve mechanism to work in the past are an illogical strategy in a pluralistic post-industrial society like that of the United States today. Such a technique can only be detrimental to the development of the society as a whole.

If the strategy for change, which involves the institutionalized change agent at the policy level, will ultimately result in a change in the power structure. It would no longer be monolithic and wholly unidirectional but would be influenced by "feedback" from the social consequences of its policies. The basic change would involve a change from rigid control (which is a quantitative function) to that of direction and guidance (which is a qualitative function).

Thus the final result would be a kind of "plastic" social order such as been described in the Gerth-Mills paradigm.

In placing the power structure in its new configuration in the context of the Gerth-Mills paradigm as it has been interpreted in this study through the use of an electromagnetic pressure field systems analogy, the power structure would function as the "manifold" or "collator" (shown in the center of the master diagram on page 481)--still maintaining the power within the economic institution.

The present writer realizes that such changes would not be wrought in the short term due to the influence of historical precedent and misplaced fears on the part of vested interests in the structure as it functions presently.

Nevertheless, the change agent has been institutionalized in the economic, political, and military institutions in the guise of research and development. Further, the change emphasis from pure technological innovation to that of policy innovation is underway. In light of such evidence, there is some support for optimism for the future of the strategy for change outlined in the previous discussion.

In this section of the study, first of all the characteristics of American post-industrial society were investigated; secondly, the social structure of contemporary society was outlined, and its function of control analyzed; thirdly, the conditions and events that resulted from the interaction of character and structure were related in terms of their significance for the representative deviant minorities under study; then, the social structure as it is was then compared

with what it should be to conform its pluralistic character in terms of the Gerth-Mills paradigm and conflict theory; and, finally, a strategy for the accomplishment of change by the technique of "conflict avoidance."

In the subsection that follows, the significance of the period of history since the advent of the post-industrial society and the Era of Cybernetic Revolution (both of which began around the year 1955), will be summarized in terms of its significance for the career of the master stereotype of the social heretic.

The Significance of Recent Social History  
for Deviant Type-W as a Generalized  
Master Stereotype of Deviance

The continuation of the French problem in Indochina by the Americans in the late 1950's further added to the disillusionment and neo-isolationist feeling as people became convinced that a military victory was not possible. Meanwhile, more men and equipment continued to be sacrificed in an undeclared war, in support of a non-democratic government, and carried on in an environment frequently involving the open hostility of the inhabitants.

At this point in the historical recapitulation of the ideas, events, and trends that had meaning for the career of Deviant type-W, some mention must be made of the influence of the mass communications media. The use of communications satellites and television crews, photographers and foreign correspondents initiated the "Dial a war" concept. It is

impossible to gauge the full effect that this coverage has had on world opinion, especially on that of the underdeveloped nations. The obvious slanting of the material in the struggle of mere men against monstrous machines of war is bound to raise sympathy for the people's revolution. The open pictures of cruelty, hostility, graft, corruption and the lack of appreciation for the sacrifices of the young Americans involved has had an increasing negative effect on the American public, too. Frequently military fiascos, such as the Tet offensive of 1969-70, were converted into psychological victories for the people's revolutionaries through the facilities of the mass media.

The result of all this was a continually deepening spiral of disillusionment of the American public, particularly the young sector. The older generation resisted talk against the war as the nationalistic ideology was still strong as a result of their socialization during the period from the first World War to the second World War but, as time went by, even the older generation came to view the war as a waste of human and natural resources in the support of a policy that was unpopular throughout the world. The war now appeared to be folly of the worst sort: economically, socially and in terms of humanity itself. To the ordinary man, who lives at the emotional level, the policy decisions at the highest levels, made on the basis of game theory had little meaning.

Meanwhile, the young people who were anti-war and



could see no reason to sacrifice their lives in a country that did not want their presence, were joined by another group that felt that their sacrifices were greatly out of proportion to their numbers and the rewards offered them by society: the Blacks.

As the fifties wore on into the decade of the sixties these Blacks who had felt the oppressive pressures of a white oversociety which had only been lifted briefly during the World War II era, felt the pressure of the prohibitions of the system closing down on them again. Spontaneously, without any coherent strategic design, the movement for civil rights was initiated. The precipitating incident was produced in 1954 by the refusal of a tired, disgusted Black woman, Rosa Parks, to give her seat on a bus to a white man. This incident resulted in the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama that sparked the freedom rides, sit-ins, marches and nonviolent protest that in turn resulted in the establishment of civil rights legislation. This led to the death of Jim Crow in the South, but de facto discrimination and segregation continued in more subtle ways.

The Civil Rights movement combined with the Vietnam War to catch the imagination of the youth of the nation. These young were now directly involved. In addition to these two groups, numbers of young churchmen of the established religions came to the realization that if organized religion was to remain a viable force in American society, then they

would have to move for human rights. Up until this point, the record of the Christian religion in the area of civil rights had been negligible and, in fact, it had been used as an instrument of oppression by the State in terms of the Negro population. The Church, as noted earlier, has always been a conservative supporter of the establishment, and has a history of intolerance even between its own various forms.

The informal coalition of the forces of youth, the Blacks and younger churchmen, became agents of social change. Their actions, of course, provoked a reaction from the conservative "law and order" segment of society, but the mass communications media and the fact that nonviolent actions was countered by overreaction and unnecessary force swung more support toward the civil right movements than toward the reactionary forces of law and order. The result was favorable legislation and court decisions for civil rights.

Although strides were made in terms of legislation and court decision, de facto segregation and discrimination still persisted and seemed to be growing in some areas. This resulted in some Blacks and young white liberals becoming disenchanted with nonviolence and the formation of more radical groups, particularly among the Blacks. Examples of this are the Black Panthers and the Black Muslims who are separatist in ideology and violent in terms of policy. This led to violent confrontation and riots. What the State referred to as illegal "violence" was countered with their legal form of

violence which they termed "necessary force." Generally, however, the results of these violent interludes have not been satisfactory either to the dominant group or the minorities. However, the minorities have gained ground as they have forced the agencies of the State to adopt a posture of negotiation rather than oppression. This is a real gain in terms of equality. The minorities realize that they could not win in a showdown of force, and the majority group and its enforcement agencies realize that their victory in force would really be a psychological and social defeat both in terms of the American Society and in the opinion of the peoples of the world.

There have been, then, significant gains made for civil and human rights (in other words, human rights over property rights), but the ideas of the profit motive, the right to private property over all else, and the tenets of the Protestant ethic still remain in force.

The forefront of the struggle for human rights is now centered on the poor. There is a new concern with these people as a group. Any meaningful gain for them must confront the teachings of the Protestant ethic which have to do with the myth of connected poverty and sin. Now, for the first time, in history, there appears to be a possibility of a viable coalition for the acquisition of power by the traditionally powerless segments of society; the Young, the Black, and the Poor.

The situation in the contemporary world, then, is contingent on many factors. The developing of a pluralistic urban society is increasing the tolerance of eccentricity to the point where in the secondary relationships involved, wide aberrations by individuals from conformity in behavioral terms, do not bring censure or punishment. Social conflict has also become a part of the pluralistic society, and it has been suggested that this very conflict serves as a means of binding such a heterogeneous mass together.

Technology has become today an autonomous pattern of ends, functions, authorities, and allegiances; and, as such, it has become a social institution in itself. It is devoted to the rational control of man, space, and matter.

Social institutions are complexes of functions, authorities, and values, and apart from their interaction with other institutions--competitive and conflicting interaction--there is no reason to suppose that significant change in any one of them takes place.<sup>1</sup>

Institutionalized technology creates new possibilities of action and in so doing creates many possible conflicts with older patterns of behavior, and thereby with associated values.<sup>2</sup> Most importantly as Nisbet argues, the values and ideas of technology undermine other values by

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Nisbet in Technological Threat, ed. by Douglas, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Douglas, Technological Threat, p. 38.



leading the members of society to take an increasingly abstract and generalized view of evaluations.

Now, due to the influence of youth, the pressure of world opinion, legislative action, and the action programs of the black community and its leaders, the Negro seems to be making real progress in his social revolution to break down the caste barriers and win acceptance as a full-fledged member of American society.

There are many indications of changes taking place in the thinking of American society due to the impact of knowledge, technology and the drive for more humanistic values. The social structure under the influence of the technological institution (as previously described) becomes more and more complex. This is moving in the opposite direction from the type of society that can utilize "scapegoats," "safety valve" groups and the displacement of conflict. The need for safety valves increases with rigidity of the social structure. In such a social situation, safety valves provide substitute objects for the displacement of hostility. The conflict itself is channeled away from the original unsatisfactory relationship into one which the actor's goal is no longer the attainment of specific results but the release of tension.<sup>1</sup>

This is not to say that conflict and tension does not exist in the technological post-industrial society, but the individual's roles are so numerous and specific that conflict

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 156.

must be directed toward successive ends that are realistic even if they may be temporary. Needless to say, life is not as easy in such a social situation as it is in a rigidly structured situation because, as has already been pointed out, the individual has great difficulty in visualizing the larger picture of the meaning of life and his relation to the larger collective or even the understanding of the meaning of the myriad numbers of symbols.

Pluralistic society, as was seen earlier, is an abstract society, detached from human experience. The individual in this society has to change the social roles of autonomous sectors continuously, which inhibits an emotional identification with his institutional environment. This society, in addition, requires an impersonal bureaucratic attitude, which will, of course, cause an increase in the distance between the individual and modern societal structures. Man must learn the rules of the game, but the rules keep changing.

According to Drucker:

No wonder that the layman is confused, bewildered and sullen. We hear a great deal today about the anti-intellectual public. But what else can the public be if it cannot understand? Yet to understand, it would need the unifying general concepts which the experts themselves do not have.<sup>1</sup>

Christianity, especially in its Puritan versions, science, and Darwinism combined with elemental animal

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<sup>1</sup>Drucker, Landmarks of Tomorrow, p. 13.

passions to produce a civilization whose most striking elements were large-scale production and consumption of material goods, alienation from and war against nature, repression of the instincts for play or contemplation or their sublimation into competitive channels, and, above all, competition and war.<sup>1</sup>

All this has resulted in the rise to the position of an institution in Western society of technology. The technological institution has reached a stage of maturity and its values are production, efficiency, and expediency. Those students of the future in "think tanks" such as Rand assume that technological change will continue to play an important role in molding future culture--or is already doing so. They make technology more a necessary, than a sufficient, condition for changes. They perceive by tending to base their cultural prophecies on straightforward extrapolations of current trends.

The institutionalization of reason is facing a more difficult future than the technological institution. Reason has been the basis for Western society since the time of Descartes. However, the fragmentation and differentiation of modern society has led to opposing ideas of the institutionalization of reason. The liberal tradition located reason in the individual mind, in the citizen. A variant of this

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<sup>1</sup>Victor C. Ferkiss, Technological Man: The Myth and the Reality (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1969), p. 54.

doctrine placed it in groups of citizens, giving it a pluralistic liberalism.

In either case, reason born by individuals or groups could determine the shape of the policy as a vector of their negotiations. There was, in other words, no social reason. Conservatism envisaged conflicts as un-negotiable, as irreconcilable. Reason consisted, therefore, in the insight into the essential ~~rationality~~ rationality of politics: Weber's doctrine, in this respect, has been depicted as leading to authoritarianism.<sup>1</sup> Reason, briefly, could be imposed upon society--but never could emerge from it.

With the ambiguity, diversity, contradictions, dilemmas and the conflict of values that daily occur in the pluralistic western society, reason no longer packs the force it once did as a method for solving problems. More and more frequently there has been a trend to appeal to the non-rational revealed power of the supernatural to solve the nebulous problems facing the ordinary man.

Anyone over forty lives in a different world from that in which he came to manhood, lives as if he had emigrated, fully grown, to a new and strange country. For three hundred years, from the middle of the seventeenth century on, the West lived in the Modern Age; and during the last century this modern West became the norm of philosophy and politics,

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<sup>1</sup>Norman Birnbaun, Toward a Critical Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 25, 433.



society, science and economy all over the globe--became the first truly universal world order. Today it is no longer a living reality--but the new world, though real, if not indeed obvious to us, is not yet established.

As Drucker says,

We thus live in an age of transition, an age of overlap, in which the old "modern" of yesterday no longer acts effectively but still provides means of expression, standards of expectations and tools of ordering, while the new, the "post-modern," still lacks definition, expression and tools but effectively controls our actions and their impact.<sup>1</sup>

Braden puts it another way:

Now, unfortunately we've had a phase shift. And that's our trouble. Our society no longer answers the questions, automatically, that need to be answered. And it leaves ambiguous the areas that a young person can most profitably. Therefore he is uncomfortable.<sup>2</sup>

The world we now live in with its particular qualities of speed, mobility, rapidity of change and communication has no historical precedent as a cultural context.<sup>3</sup> A constream of moving, fleeting images of the world is presented for the individual's daily appraisal. Through these means he extends himself physically telescoping time, moving through history, spanning the world through unprecedented visual and aural means of experience.

Within this process is the diverse plurality of

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<sup>1</sup>Drucker, Landmarks of Tomorrow, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup>Braden, Age of Aquarius, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup>John McHale, The Future of the Future (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1969), p. 295.

messages, symbols, products, entertainment, and attitudes conveyed typically through the network of global communications including within its scope the many physical artifacts designed and produced for world consumption, which comprise our contemporary environment.

Such dominant views as Christianity, orthodox Marxism and classical liberalism have clearly failed to provide a rationale for dealing with the existential revolution, and they may simply be replaced, not by a new philosophy, but by a variety of conflicting value systems determined by individual histories, whims and tastes. In fact, the lack of a common value system in the declining period of bourgeois civilization appears to be part of the problem. Zijderfeld sums it up this way:

Modern man's life lies between relatively autonomous and institutionally isolated sectors. In addition, the bureaucratic attitude is required of him: he must be rational and efficient if he is going to keep up with the pace of modern society. His socio-cultural environment, being abstract, is not able to provide him with meaning, reality and freedom. The definitions of his world are not in harmony. Said W. I. Thomas: "There are rival definitions of the situation, and none of them is binding."<sup>1</sup>

Zijderfeld comments further about the reasons he feels are responsible for the conditions just discussed:

The God of the Old Testament became the God of Christianity and underwent many essential changes. Nevertheless, throughout the history of the Western world, the one essential feature of Jahweh has always

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<sup>1</sup>Anton C. Zijderfeld, The Abstract Society: A Cultural Analysis of Our Time (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971), p. 158.

been retained: God was the exterior point of gravity for man. Through his God, Western man was enabled to keep his social ambiguity in balance--that is, until he murdered his God.

Nietzsche tells us the story of the madman who announces the death of God to an amused audience. Man has murdered his God, but he seems not to realize what the consequences of his deed are. The madman cries out that man has lost his stability and sanity after he killed his God. We have disconnected the earth from the sun, he says. And now we fall, fall eternally, into all directions, backward, sideward, and forward. There is no above and below any more. We roam around as through an everlasting nothingness. Empty space is gazing at us.<sup>1</sup>

So it is that the analysis of the contemporary world in its connection to the historical traditions of the past comes to an end. Noted are the crisis of the human identity in the midst of ambiguity, diversity, and conflict of values; the institutionalization of the power of reason and rules, and subsequent exposure to doubt; the establishment of the economic institution of capitalism (accompanied with the ideals of imperialism and the sanctity of private property) supported by the Protestant ethic; the molding of the Protestant ethic with the scientific method in adapting the biological evolutionary ideas of Darwin to a new framework of progress and perfectability that came to be known as, what is now the obsolete but still functioning ideology of social-Darwinism; the use of the coercive powers of the State, supported by the Protestant establishment, to persecute minorities through differential treatment and outright oppression (in conformance with the ideas of Dahrendorf, Simmel, and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

Coser) (conflict theory) to shore up the antiquated rigid societal structure of the bureaucratic post-industrial State still based on the concepts of a homogeneous (Gemeinschaft) society when conflict and evolution had developed a complex, heterogeneous (Gesellschaft) urban society; and finally, the institutionalization of a mature technology which has become the greatest agent of material change (and its attendant consequences for social change after a lapse of time)<sup>1</sup> in the society. The society appears to have made no changes that could be interpreted as cyclic. Although the individual social heretic finds his condition ameliorated, it is the confusion, ambiguity and conflict of values of the heterogeneous society that is responsible, not any irrevocable cyclical trend in history. In fact, the evidence seems to support more an adaptable conflict-actuated evolutionary societal system as has been described by Buckley.<sup>2</sup>

The pluralistic post-industrial society that exists today is unique in history--true, it is the heir to the accumulated knowledge, understanding and technology of the past as well as its still living traditions and rituals rooted in the concept of society as a homogenous, rigidly structured closed system--it thus creates doubt about the ideas of Sorokin and Toynbee, who see a series of cyclical stages. As a unique social organism, modern pluralistic society is

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<sup>1</sup>Ogburn, On Culture and Social Change.

<sup>2</sup>Buckley, Modern Systems Research.



simply heir to all the old, unsolved social problems that existed in the rigid homogenous society, as well as new problems that are uniquely its own.

One of the old problems, inherited from the past and still functioning to shore up the structural walls of a rigid society in an attempt at vertical orientation (see illustration on page 489) is the problem of the myth-supported classical stereotype of the social heretic referred to in this study as Deviant type-W. This "scapegoat" and "safety valve" institution has persisted down to the present and has been regularly persecuted, oppressed, or exterminated as a "sacrifice" in the name of "stability and reintegration" of the social structure (conveniently ignoring the fact that pluralistic society is oriented to horizontal integration as compared to the vertical integration of the homogeneous "Gemeinschaft" society).

The pluralistic society, with its ambiguity and diversity of values and its myriad number of symbols, has created a void in man's personality that contributes to a state of confusion, frustration and a sort of "blanket anxiety" until post-industrial man forms a new orientation that, through consensus, will give him a framework to function in most social situations.

However, in a society of complex secondary relationships, the problems that man faces cannot be logically and simplistically attributed to the influence of the particular

stereotype of a group or individual. In addition to this, the therapeutic orientation that developed with the science of psychiatry emphasizes the regaining of a functional place in society for the deviant individual instead of ostracism, destruction, or permanent incarceration. Thus, the conflict within the structure of society itself demonstrated by the paradoxes, enigmas, and contradictions evidenced in the preachments of the scientific, religious, and educational institutions has become such a threat to the structure of the society and the identity of the individual that the necessity for a "safety valve" or scapegoat group is truly secondary.

The net result for the immigrant, the Black, the youth, the mentally ill, the homosexual, and other nonconformist groups and individuals fitting the negative classical stereotype has been a positive one. This effect occurred first as a spin-off from world events, then as a spontaneous drive for civil and human rights by the Blacks and the young. All nonconformist types have benefited by this movement for civil and human rights. The condition of the society itself, and the new concessions won from the dominant group in terms of human rights has greatly increased the "tolerance of eccentricity" for individual deviance with the possible exception of the poor.

This is the situation as American society enters the last third of the twentieth century. One category of nonconformist, the occultist, the original prototype on which

the classical stereotype of the social heretic is based, has made a full circle from a position of power, fear, respect, and influence in the ancient world when he was consulted even by the most powerful, through phases of persecution, destruction, and ridicule as mentally ill, to regain a position in society as advisor and confidante in the personal life of millions of people.

Nevertheless, the foregoing historical development in the body of the study, and the analysis in the foregoing section has shown that the stereotype of the social heretic (or Deviant type-*W*) has had a career of deviance that constitutes a chronological thread of behavior patterns, and consequences of those behavior patterns that continue from antiquity to the present.<sup>1</sup>

This is the basis for the thesis statement that was made at the outset. By observation of the career of this generalized constellation of traits (or impugned traits) that make up the stereotype in the process of conflict and evolution of society, it can be tied to pivotal points in history that mark the crests of social movements or areas of cultural emphasis. In this way, it can furnish the social scientist with a barometer of change process in society.

The following section of the study will present conclusions in light of the hypotheses stated in the introduction to ascertain their adequacy to either support or reject the

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<sup>1</sup>Becker, Outsiders.

contention that the conditions and fortunes of the deviant stereotype in question furnish an effective social indicator of the direction and intensity of change in society.



### VIII. SUMMARY, INTERPRETATION, AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to develop a comparison of the historical cultural setting in its relation and interaction with the classical stereotype of Deviant type-W (social heretic) over the time dimension in Western society from Biblical times until the present and has focused on the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The problem was delineated as showing the evolving reaction of society to this negative nonconformist stereotype in terms of the progress of the social change process. The historical data used in the description of the social situations over time should furnish sufficient evidence to test the thesis of this study which is that the observation of the change in the reaction evidenced by society to this deviant type in any particular time period should enable the social scientist to use the stereotype as an indicator of the type, intensity, and direction of social change taking place in the greater society at that time. Change in the nonmaterial culture involves long time periods, and so the possibility of using the stereotype as a predictor of change seems logical as well.

General Summary of the Extent to Which Conclusions from Theoretical Principles, the Findings of Empirical Studies at the Microlevel, and the Evidence of History Tend to Coincide at the Macrolevel and to Stand the Test of Time

At the outset, a number of empirical studies were noted as to their support, at the microlevel, of the hypotheses postulated.

A number of generalizations can be deduced from the combination of the findings of these studies. These generalizations may be listed briefly as: (1) Like most other forms of behavior, discrimination and prejudice are dependent upon the traditions and customs of a particular community; (2) People prejudiced against one group are usually guilty of extending this prejudice to others; (3) the more homogeneous the society in which the individual lives, the more intensely he will support his prejudicial attitudes and beliefs; (4) One stereotype may be generalized to include many types of individuals so long as they evidence certain key traits; (5) People tend to hold attitudes and beliefs that are sanctioned by their group memberships and identifications; (6) Opinions, attitudes and beliefs within a group are particularly susceptible to application when supported by legitimized authority or leadership; (7) more complex societies have greater differentiation, but opinions, attitudes and beliefs originating in an earlier period tend to persist (the stereotype that goes back into the cultural inventory as an alternate);

(8) The commitment of a person to an attitude or belief is itself a barrier to change and the more firmly the person holds his belief, the less likely he is to be influenced by an intellectual appeal; (9) In a society cities are focal points of change; (10) Secularization and tolerance tend to promote social change by opening more areas of life to decision rather than subjecting them to tradition and authority; (11) The sustained interaction involved in mutual dependence--urbanization--tends to reduce conflict between people who are "different"; (12) During noncrisis periods, persons of conflicting attitudes can live side by side, but in times of stress the dispersed pattern is broken up as persons of like attitudes tend to congregate; (13) When conflict does occur, it is the more poorly integrated members of the community that are (by their presence and "difference") more likely to aggravate the condition and precipitate a crisis; (14) Conflicts over ideology are more difficult to resolve than simple power struggles--also, in crisis conditions conflicts over ideology are more likely to degenerate into panic and socially uncontrolled behavior; (15) However, in the face of a threat from the outside, a human group subordinates its internal conflicts for the common good and the survival of the whole, but when the external threat is removed, the internal conflicts return to action; (16) As to the mechanism of scapegoating and the function of minorities as "safety valves," it has been shown by the study of monarchies that

rigidly structured societies are more prone to this type of conflict and displacement of aggression than are complex urban societies.

The findings of the empirical studies above (all of which appear in the bibliography at the end of the study) are in turn supported by the conflict-based theoretical orientation concerning intergroup relations (particularly dominant-minority) and collective behavior which was developed in the text.

In applying these theoretical principles to the problem of dominant-minority group relations in society the following general conclusions as to outcome can be deduced (and, in general, tend to be supported by the evidence of the findings of the empirical studies which has just been summarized).

General Conclusions Based on Theory Supported  
by the Findings of Empirical Studies  
of Group Behavior

Differential treatment arises as a result of real and/or imagined differences between groups and the prejudicial attitudes these differences seem to engender. The prejudicial attitudes then result in the discriminatory behavior such as segregation or ostracism. This behavior can result in a class or caste system such as the black-white caste system in the South (as illustrated in Marden and Meyer).<sup>1</sup>

In the case of minority relations, differences can be

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<sup>1</sup>Marden and Meyer, Minorities.



real or imagined and physical (as appearance or physiognomy), or cultural (as in subcultural ethnic groups). Of these, two categories are the easiest to use for justification of prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior. The first of these relates to physical difference. This has been justification for social prejudice in many areas of the world. Physiognomic differences are very visible, easy to recognize, and invite the impugning of negative meaning.<sup>1</sup> The second category, which is the easiest to establish and control for the assignment of deviant minority status, is the category of imagined differences. These differences can be based on real physiognomic differences and unique cultural traits but they need not be. Any eccentricity in behavior or oddity in dress or manner can be the basis for the ascription of a negative stereotype to the individual or the group to which he or she belongs. All that is really needed is a story which is vindicated by simply existing in the history or traditions of a dominant culture in relation to a particular minority. The result is a myth, a legend, or a stereotype, or even a combination of all. This cultivation of myth and legend (a legend is a large portion of myth combined with small portions of unclear historic events to create a story that is a mixture of a very little truth with very large amounts of fantasy) goes on in all cultures at all times. Mythologizing (or myth-building) goes on in all cultures at all times. Some

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-28.

myths even appear universally: for example, the various versions of the creation. These mechanisms result in the production of deviant stereotypes within the society, and, if their numbers are sufficient, a deviant minority results.<sup>1</sup>

A minority group that is the recipient of such treatment can react in a number of ways.<sup>2</sup> There can be open combat for the position of dominance; there can be competition; there can be negotiation on an equal footing; or, there can be dialogue and cooperation.

The conflict orientation suggests a number of conditions that, if they are borne out in terms of behavioral consequences, would vindicate the consideration of certain types of groups in society as minority targets for scapegoating behavior. Some of these conditions are: a superior-inferior power relationship, status deprivation, stigmatization, compensation for inferior feelings, need for an internal enemy, and displacement of aggression.

The tenets of conflict theory can be applied to the relation of differential treatment of minority groups and the generation of "scapegoating" mechanisms in society.<sup>3</sup>

As Coser points out, the existence of social institutions depends upon their having a "mission." Once this

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph Campbell, The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology (New York: Viking Press, 1959).

<sup>2</sup>Marden and Meyer, Minorities, pp. 20-52.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

mission is accomplished or removed, their reason for existence ceases to exist. Therefore, much of the activity of a social institution is directed at achieving its own perpetuation through perpetuating its mission. What goes for the individual social institutions also goes for the whole structure of rigidly-structured societies. Rigidly-structured societies must depend upon some kind of real or imagined "enemy" to achieve social coherence.<sup>1</sup>

A real "exterior enemy" is the easiest way to knit the society together if it is one based on a rigid vertically-integrated structure. For instance, the imperialism of the 19th century European nations, and finally America at the end of the century, gave cohesion and strengthened the structure of the society by providing exterior enemies and gave room to expand, creating a strong nationalistic feeling at the same time.

Coser further stresses, in his consideration of the propositions of Simmel, that if no exterior enemy exists, the structure of a rigid society is endangered and some force is needed to draw them together against a common enemy.<sup>2</sup> One stratagem for achieving this is the creation of a "traitor" group or an "interior" enemy. In a situation such as this, individuals and minorities within the society who deviate significantly enough from the dominant value orientation so

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<sup>1</sup>Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, pp. 105-20.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

as to be socially visible are nominated as "scapegoat" groups and receive displaced aggression as "enemies" of the worst kind (presumably because of their traitorous or renegade posture of boring from within to cause the downfall of everyone). The directing of aggressive action against the common "internal" enemy is another way of shoring up the structure of a rigid society by creating unity and cohesion. (The process described in the preceding discussion is illustrated in the figure on the following page.)

Naturally, the situation in which one group who holds legitimized power and who uses it to treat other groups differentially will bring about various degrees of conflict, or even crisis situations, even in a pluralistic society such as the contemporary American society.

The question that still remains to be answered is, Does this list of empirical generalizations and theoretical principles still hold when it is generalized to the whole of society and extended over the time dimension of history?

General Summary of the Relevancy of the  
Empirical Findings and the Theoretical  
Orientation to the Historical  
Evolution of Western Society

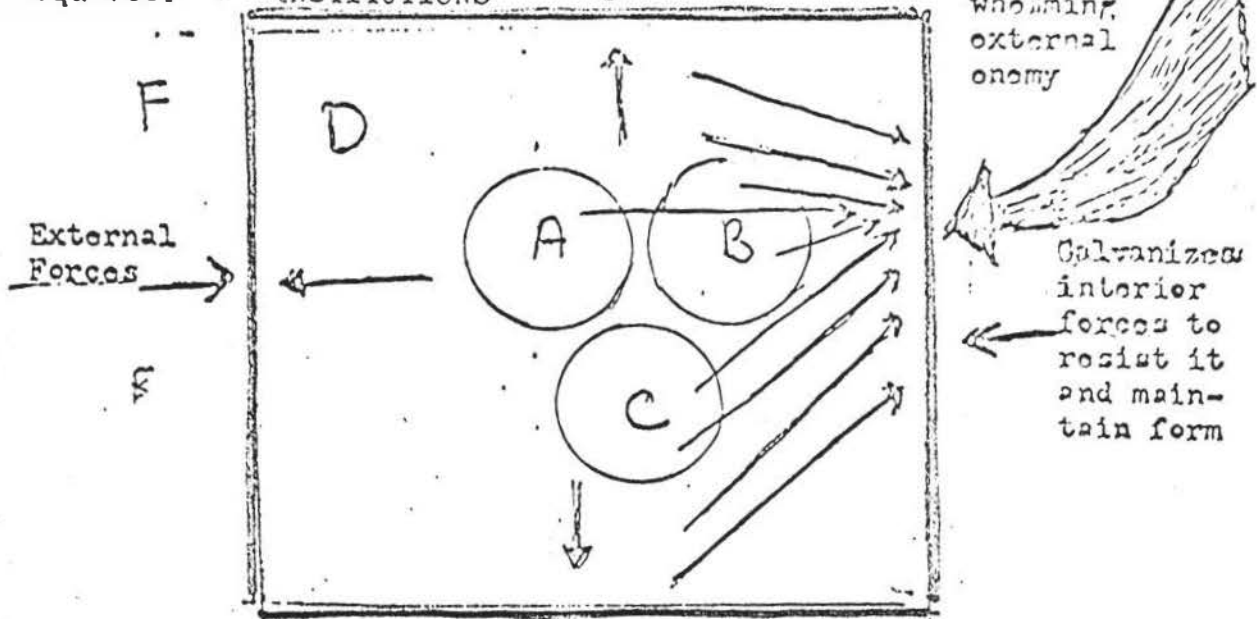
Historical evidence tends to support the concepts covered in the generalizations listed in the foregoing subsection when they are generalized and extended over time.

It has been shown, in the body of the study how the nature of the relationship between the various minorities and



# INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND THE FORCES ACTING ON THEM IN A RIGIDLY-STRUCTURED SOCIETY

Circles: Minority Groups  
Squares: INSTITUTIONS



A, B, C are scapegoat minorities  
D represents the dominant population(field)  
F represents the cultural environment of the social institution with its accompanying forces and pressures.

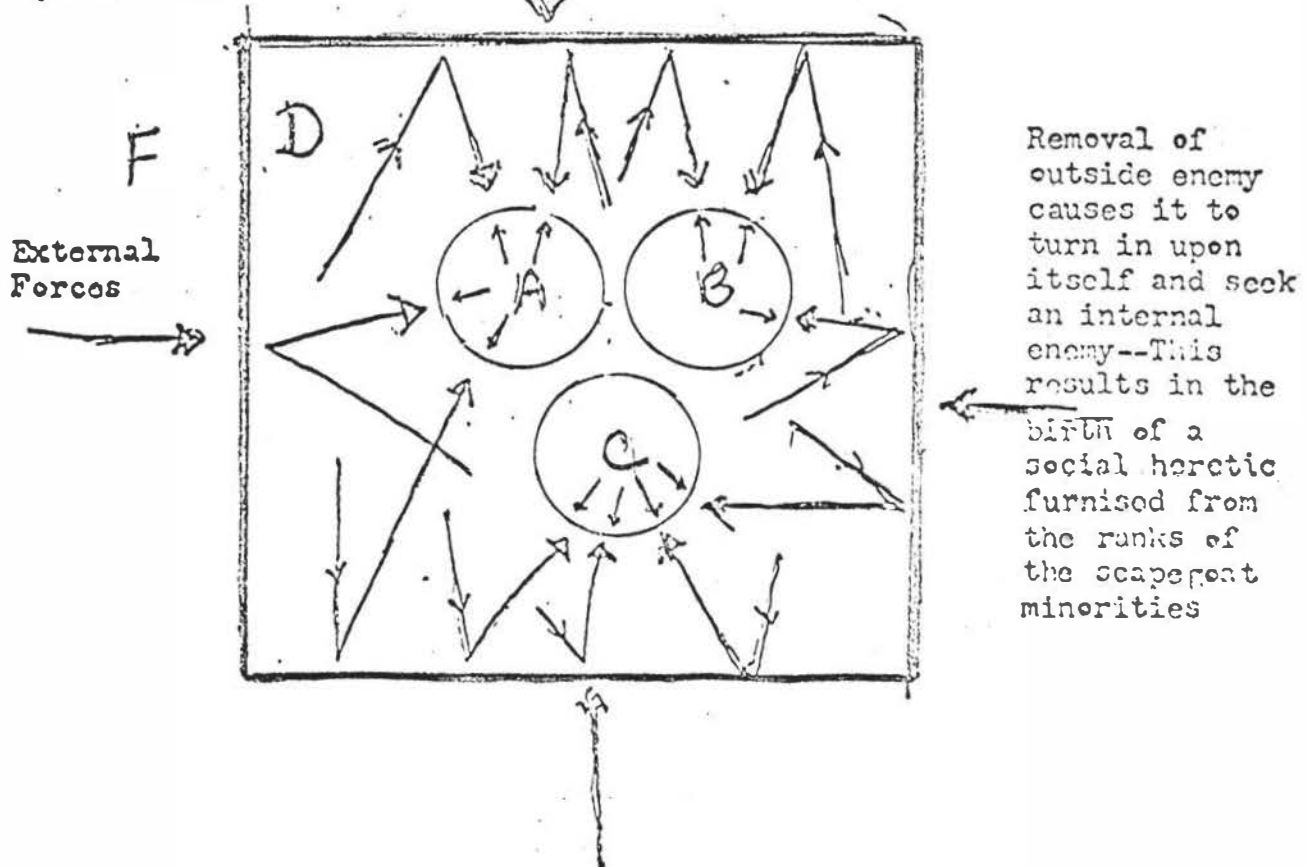


ILLUSTRATION OF THE GENERATION OF "INTERNAL" ENEMIES TO BY FURNISHING "SCAPEGOAT" MINORITIES TO REINTEGRATE SOCIAL STRUCTURE BY UNITING TO COMBAT A COMMON ENEMY (CONFLICT THEORY OF THE PERPETUATION OF INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES)

the greater society has changed as the character and structure have changed with the passage of time.

General changes in the character, and to a lesser extent, the structure of the society have occurred. The power of ideals, and their social consequences, has been shown. For instance, the influence of the Conservative Tradition in social thought, the traditional values of the Protestant ethic, and the philosophic orientation of Rationalism have all had great effect on both the evolution of society and the treatment of groups within the society.

The French Revolution marked a change in both the character and the structure of society. At this time, the secularization of thought, the industrial revolution, urbanization were all forces that caused the partnership of the Church and State to be destroyed and a new one formed. The new partnership consisted of the economic institution (controlled by the bourgeoisie), the political institution, and the religious institution. The political institution and the religious institution became secondary to the economic institution and served to maintain the "status quo." However, the firm belief in the Protestant ethic and the Conservative Tradition in social thought resulted in a social structure that was almost as rigid as it had been during the time of the Church-State monarchies. The social structure was still the "real" basis of the social relationship and the individual was considered secondary. However, the idea of the "social

contract" made the average man into a citizen who, in some ways, could engage in a two-way relationship of responsibilities with the leadership. Previously, the relationship had been only one way. The secularization of thought, and the increasing differentiation of roles and division of labor, created by the Industrial Revolution and the urban movement, caused an increasing particularization of deviance.

This, coupled with the increasing advances in technology, and the social change that occurred as a consequence, caused a greater and continuing change in the character of Western society.

As territorial expansion took place, industrialization and urbanization continued, and immigration caused a mixing of the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world, society became more and more differentiated and the character of society became more and more complex and heterogeneous until finally it developed the pluralistic character of present-day post-industrial society.

The development of this pluralistic character, coupled with further change produced by the consequences of technology, produced emergent values that tended to contradict many of the traditional values of the Protestant-ethic that were more applicable to the early days of capitalism during the Industrial Revolution.

The value conflict led to confrontations between the less-integrated groups and the ideology of the groups

controlling the power structure. The power structure had, unlike the character of society, remained virtually unchanged since the days of the post-French Revolution period. The partnership in which the political institution and the religious institution support the policies of the economic institution still exists.

Therefore, there exists a situation in which the two aspects of society: structure and character do not coincide. The technological and pluralistic character of a modern complex, heterogeneous, urbanized society has impressed upon it a system of social control designed for a more homogeneous, more rural, simple society in which capitalism is just beginning.

The Garth-Mills' conception of social organization and Buckley's concept of the open-ended conflict-actuated adaptive system are applicable to the processes and conditions that affect the character of the society. Meanwhile, though, those in control of the social structure, who hold the legitimized power, conceive of society as a "closed system," and seek to impress old-fashioned controls designed for closed systems on this complex system. In order to accomplish this they have resorted to more and more organization, with finer and finer divisions of labor, but they have not changed either the overall structure of the organization, or any of its functions.

In a social environment such as this, with the



traditional values and the rigid structure still in effect, while the character has changed as to both emergent values and ethnic composition, not only retains all of the old conflict situations but introduces new sources and kinds of social conflict. Of course, a fundamental source of value conflict is in the value of rationality which is belied by the conflict between the traditional value orientation and the emergent value orientation.

However, the complexity of the situation does keep the conflict from deepening around any one particular issue (as it did around religion during the witch hysteria in the 15th and 16th centuries). The very number of conflicts going on at any one time, and the number of individuals who are involved in a number of different conflicts (due to the large number of secondary roles) keeps any one issue from becoming all encompassing. This does not preclude, though, the development of serious troubles or crisis situations. It is merely that their numbers tend to be less and they tend to be less serious in terms of degree.

Before leaving the general summary of the relation of theory, empirical findings and historical evidence, it is well to mention that the formation of theory has a momentum of its own. In other words, it tends to create social conditions that support it when its supporters hold the reins of legitimate authority to put it into effect. The leading example of course is the Conservative Tradition and the chief

evidence of its effect, the persistence of the rigid structure of society.

It has been pointed out that a more logical, or rational organization (from the point of view of systems theory) would be the Gerth-Mills' configuration that would change function of the power structure from impressed control to integrated guidance.

It was pointed out in the subsection on empirical findings that conflict over ideology tends to be the most serious, and this is one factor, in combination with others, that holds the power structure from changing. This ideology, coupled with the theoretical ideas of the Conservative Tradition, and their basis in the Protestant ethic, holds the structural aspect of society in a rigid preconceived condition.

It has been demonstrated that the historical evidence does generally support the conclusions as to the relations of groups in society that the combination of theoretical principles and empirical findings suggest.

It is necessary now, however, to apply the historical evidence to the individual hypotheses with the purpose of either supporting or refuting the thesis statement.

In the following section of the paper, the individual hypotheses will be evaluated as to their applicability on the macrolevel and over the course of time. If they all appear to be applicable, then there will be support for the validity of

the thesis statement.

Evidence to Support the Applicability of the  
Postulated Hypotheses to the Wider Society  
and Over the Time Dimension

A number of hypotheses were postulated which were directly related, and their support or invalidation by historical evidence will either build a strong case for, or against, the feasibility of the thesis stated.

The first hypothesis advanced the argument that social institutions tend to inhibit change, since change might endanger their self-perpetuation through invalidating some portion of their mission which is their raison d'etre. This is adequately substantiated in the evolution of the Christian religion and particularly by the policies of the Catholic church during the practice of the Inquisition. The Protestant religions, too, during the reformation and the witch-hunts of the 15th and 16th centuries, showed the use of the mechanism of a common enemy to unify and strengthen the structure of social institutions by providing both a mission and an enemy to impede its accomplishment. Of course, this view is in accord with conflict theory as seen by Simmel and Coser.<sup>1</sup>

The second hypothesis made an assertion to the effect that since institutions tend to resist social change, and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

this resistance varies with the degree that they perceive a threat to their existence, it determines the degree to which they will resist the innovator or nonconformist and tend to label him deviant. This was adequately substantiated, too, during the period of the Religious State.<sup>1</sup> The established church during the witch-crazes would tolerate not the slightest degree of nonconformity (even associating with a suspected individual could bring the label of "heretic") and during the development of a more impersonal and complex society as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the urbanization movement that accompanied it, in which the "tolerance of eccentricity" tended to increase with respect to individual deviance. Also, when facing a true external enemy that presented a threat to all (as in the case of Nazism during the World War) the internal differences between dominant and minority groups tended to disappear in the common struggle for survival. This has even held between national entities of opposing ideological orientations such as Russia and the United States during the same time period. However, once the emergency has passed, the situation returns to the old configuration of a dominant group using others as "safety valves" or scapegoats to protect the structural solidarity of the society.

The third hypothesis asserted that an increase of crisis or conflict in a society increases the social

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.



visibility of nonconformists and also increases the possibility of one or the other being labeled as deviant. In the more distant past this tended to be true, as indicated by the historical evidence, but only so long as there is a solid, rigid social structure involved. Conflict as it existed during the Roman Civil War period and the myriad conflict situations of present day post-industrial pluralist societies presents so many apparently unrelated problems that it has a tendency to lessen the importance of individual or the deviant values of subcultural groups so long as they do not exceed certain limits. In fact, as in these two periods, certain deviants that were oppressed in other times may be even sought out in other times for specific purposes, rather than censured. One group noted in the text is composed of the practitioners of magic and the occult sciences who were sought out during the time of civil strife in Rome (later, with the victory of Christianity, they were persecuted and then a campaign was launched to accomplish their destruction). Then, in the present day, they are again gaining popularity as personal advisors.

The fourth hypothesis states that as areas of cultural emphasis change, or as the governing ideology changes, the societal "tolerance" of eccentricity of deviant individuals or subcultural groups change as well. This proposition is demonstrated to be true with the period of civil strife in Rome. Tolerance increased until this situation was

settled and a strong central authority took over again. Then the fortunes of deviants changed with the personality of the ruler until finally the intolerant Christian sect received recognition under Constantine as the true religion. Then, the intolerance of the Catholic religion took over all during the Medieval period and culminated with the Inquisition. The Theocratic State, with the Catholic church of the Inquisition and the Protestant sects of the Reformation, and the Catholics in their counter reformation practiced persecution of those they considered to be internal "enemies" of their particular rigidly structured institution. The Protestant ethic of the period of industrialization and capitalistic development created a different climate for the non-conformist. The social heretic became someone who either stood against the Church or who interfered with "progress." Wealth and property were associated with virtue, while poverty and idleness were equated with sin. Work became a virtue and men were expected to forego present pleasures for future rewards (this particularly applied to the working class). The working class was indoctrinated by the Church as morality was molded to conform to the stable and industrious family unit needed to man the factories of the capitalists. The capitalists controlled the government and the Church supported the "status quo." Thus, the Church became an instrument of the commercial establishment for the social control of the working masses. This was the basis of the Victorian

morality that has persisted in some degree down to the present day.

In the post-industrial society, further changes in the areas of cultural emphasis again produced changes in the societal tolerance of eccentricity. As discussed in the last section of this study, the technological institution with its emphasis on production, expediency and efficiency has produced a pluralist society in which there are many impersonal relations, secondary roles, and a network of conflict relationships. This complex of relationships has created a maze of value-conflicts due to ambiguities and diversities within the system. The result for the individual is a high tolerance of deviance because there are few straight-line or rigid structural relationships as there is in simpler societies.

As the areas of cultural emphasis change over time the reaction of society can change over a broad spectrum of behavioral manifestations ranging from encouragement to acceptance, to rejection, or even to extermination. This is exemplified with the example of the Jews in Spain under the Inquisition and again in Germany during the years of the Third Reich. The policy of extermination or genocide was also practiced by the Russians with the original people of the autonomous Baltic republics. In contrast, the earlier reference to the civil strife period in Rome and other times during both the Greek and Roman empires the practitioners of the occult, such as oracles, astrologers, soothsayers,

witches, etc., were sought out for advice in personal matters. The same situation is true in the United States and Great Britain with the new growth in popularity of the occult sciences. In fact, as pointed out previously, the occult sciences might be considered to have made a complete circle from acceptance and respect in the ancient world of Egypt to the policy of extermination of their practitioners during the Middle Ages, to the ridicule they have received during the era of positivism and deism, to their new acceptance in the post-industrial pluralistic society of the Service State of today.

In the fifth hypothesis it was asserted that, as areas of cultural emphasis change over time, the reaction to a particular type of deviant individual results in his having attached a different kind of label once he has come to society's attention. This means that the same individual--same master traits referring to the constellation of master traits that make up the stereotype of Deviant type-W--might be a "witch" in one historical period, a "heretic" in another, a "radical" in another, classical world. She retained the same title through the Dark and Middle Ages but a new and more important label of "heretic" was added because of her supposed association with the Devil and his demons. As the Industrial Revolution progressed and the society became urbanized so that there was less opportunity for individual nonconformists of this type to become visible, the witch



became regarded as eccentric, mentally ill, or criminal depending upon the type and degree of eccentricity of her behavior. During this period, although witches were ridiculed, people still secretly believed in them. The change from the Theocratic Society to the Therapeutic Society placed the emphasis on the label of "mentally ill" and stressed the treatment for an eventual return to a functional role in society. Today as has been pointed out, witches are again being sought out for advice and counsel.

A second nonconformist type that has worn various labels is the Jew. As was shown earlier during the Inquisition a campaign of extermination was carried out against him but not as a Jew. He was declared to be a heretic which was an interesting turn of events, seeing as how, if one is to qualify as a heretic, one has to be an "insider" in the first place. Trevor-Roper explains this process of conversion fully.<sup>1</sup>

In illustration of this, an overview of the career of the Jew as a scapegoat in Western society offers the classic example. Szasz comments:

The specific danger which the Jew represents to the community has kept pace with the historical changes in what the community values. In the Middle Ages, the Jew was a traitor against Christianity: his ancestors, so it was believed, killed Jesus, and he continued to reject the true Faith and the authority of the Church. In the modern world, the Jew is a traitor against the Fatherland and against the dominant political ideology. Dreyfus symbolizes the Jew

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<sup>1</sup>Trevor-Roper, European Witch-Craze.

as traitor against the nation. Since the Russian Revolution, the Jew has emerged as the prototypical enemy of Capitalism and Communism. In the West, the communist ideology is seen as Jew-inspired, with Marx and Trotsky as its leading symbols. In the East, the capitalist ideology is seen as Jew-inspired, with the Rothschilds and other "Jewish bankers" as its leading symbols.<sup>1</sup>

Of the five propositions discussed, four appear to be fully supported by historical evidence. The third proposition does not seem to apply in all cases as stated because conflict or crisis may occur in other than rigidly structured social situations, and when this happens, there seems to result tolerance of deviance rather than negative sanction so long as it stays within certain limits.

Interpretation of the Significance of the Action  
of the Hypotheses Upon the Historical Career  
of the Social Heretic

In analyzing the action of the hypotheses that have just been discussed on the career of the social heretic, an adaptation of a concept developed by David Matza, "drift," seems appropriate to describe the effect on the historical careers of deviant minorities. Matza applies his concept to the area of juvenile delinquency.<sup>2</sup> Another Matza concept is that of "soft determinism." In explaining the difference between "hard" and "soft" determinism (again in the context of juvenile delinquency) Matza comments that,

An alternative image of the delinquent can be developed by accepting the implications of soft

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<sup>1</sup>Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

<sup>2</sup>Matza, Delinquency and Drift, pp. 27-31.

rather than hard determinism. One effect of restoring choice to man is to render feasible a joining of classical and positivist assumptions. . . . Most men, including delinquents, are neither wholly free nor completely constrained but fall somewhere between. The general conditions underlying various positions along a continuum from freedom to constraint may be described. Viewed this way determinism loses none of its heuristic value.<sup>1</sup>

Central to the concept of soft determinism, as Matza sees it, is the element of "choice" that exists for the individual in the social context. Some things that happen to him, such as labeling, he cannot control, but the decision as to a particular course of action in the context of an interactive situation can be his to make. Granted this, the individual can change outcomes to a certain extent, and, therefore, every facet of the future is not rigidly predetermined as an automatic result of a particular triggering sequence as the hard determinists hold.

In carrying on with this assumption to arrive at his derivative concept of "drift," Matza states that,

The delinquent is casually, intermittently, and transiently immersed in a pattern of illegal action. . . . Drift stands midway between freedom and control. . . . Drift is motion guided gently by underlying influences. . . . The drift may be initiated or deflected by events so numerous as to defy codification. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Continuing, Matza points out that drift is not a hard and fast rule for all delinquent careers. Matza asserts,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

In developing an alternative picture, it should be obvious that not all delinquents correspond to the drifter here depicted. By hypothesis, most delinquents, although perhaps not most criminals, approximate the model.<sup>1</sup> (Here, the present writer presumes that Matza makes allusion to "professional criminals" not those who "drift" into situations that result with them being labeled with "criminality" as a chance process of the visibility-labeling sequence.)

In this study the construct, Deviant type-W represents a cluster of master status-determining traits describing a type of individual (having these traits—or to whom they can be ascribed) who is deviant in the same way that the delinquent described by Matza is delinquent.

These types, which all the groups discussed in this represent, follow deviant careers through history just as the individual follows a deviant career through a single life span. In an adaptation of Matza's theory, they "drift" within the "continuum" of behavior or traits which fall within the society's "tolerance of eccentricity." These groups can "drift" across a span of behavior or trait characteristics which ranges from acceptance, to tolerance, to discrimination, to aggression, to exclusion, and finally to extermination. In a social climate of conflict that reaches crisis proportions, a precipitating incident that gives visibility to the particular group, and subjects them to public reaction, may catapult them from a "drifting" attitude into the role of the social heretic, which results in their being subject to aggression, expulsion, or extermination as

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 29.



scapegoats.

On the following page, there appears an illustration which depicts this application of Matza's concept of the "social drift of delinquent individuals and groups" to the historical career of the generalized master stereotype.

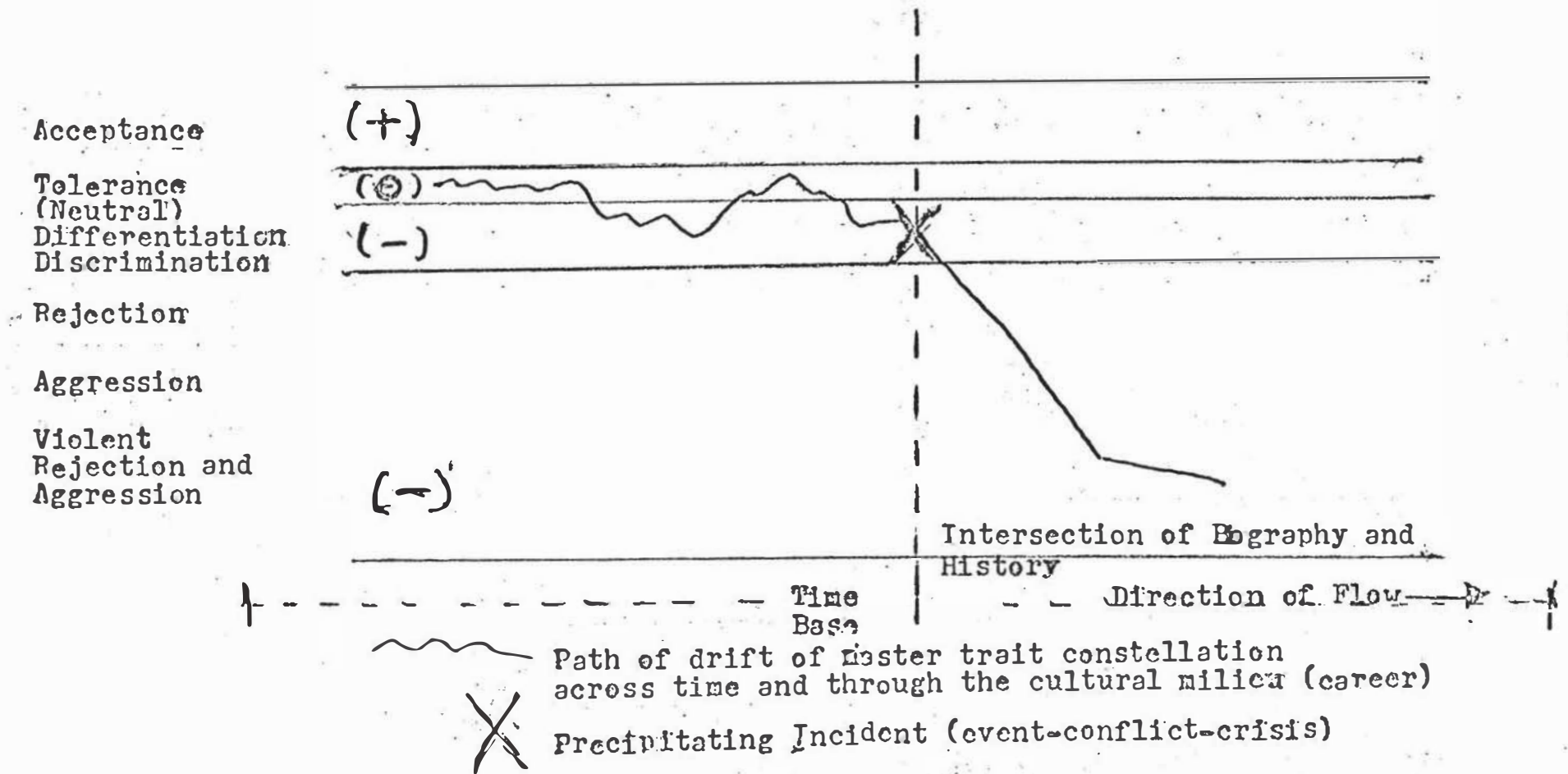
A group can "drift" along in any one of the postures (represented horizontally in the diagram) determined by a particular social environment (whether acceptance, tolerance, or discrimination) until a precipitating incident occurs. This precipitating incident marks a point that, in itself, illustrates the interaction of what C. Wright Mills has referred to as the "intersection of biography and history" to catapult the whole group into the role of "social heretic." The climate of the oversociety suddenly shifts from an attitude which (considering the differential relation of dominant minority group interaction) is usually one of discrimination into the highly negative areas of the various degrees of aggression, expulsion or extermination.

Becker's description of a community bringing deviant sanctions against an individual also applies to a group context. Becker states:

The community's decision to bring deviant sanctions against an individual is not a simple act of censure. It is a sharp rite of transition, at once moving him out of his normal position in society and transferring him into a distinct deviant role. The ceremonies which accomplish this change of status, ordinarily, have three related phases. They provide a formal confrontation between the deviant suspect and representatives of his community (as in the criminal trial or psychiatric case conference);

# PROGRESS OF THE CAREER OF A DEVIANT STEREOTYPE OVER TIME

(A Pictorial Representation of an Adaptation of Mills' Concept of the Intersection of Biography and History)



they announce some judgment about the nature of his deviancy (a social placement, assigning him to a special role like that of prisoner or patient) which redefines his position in society. These ceremonies tend to be events of wide public interest and usually take place in a dramatic, ritualized setting.<sup>1</sup>

It does not take a great deal of imagination to transfer this individual situation to that type of situation in the group context in which a precipitating incident focuses the attention of society on a whole group and causes a dramatic redefinition of their position in society. It is no less dramatic than the individual situation.

After the crisis situation of the oversociety has abated, and the need for a social heretic role as a scapegoat for the displaced aggression generated by an undefined social situation has eliminated the need for a safety valve mechanism, the particular unfortunate deviant minority will find their social environment ameliorated to some extent and so will "drift" up into a more favorable situation until another crisis develops and another precipitating incident again thrusts them into the role of the social heretic.

Interpretation of the Effect of Changes in Areas  
of Cultural Emphasis on the Progress of Social  
Movements and Their Reflection in Terms of  
Reaction to Deviant Minorities

The historical evidence clearly supports the thesis that the classical stereotype of the social heretic can be used as an indicator of the type, intensity, and direction of change in society. As such it also qualifies logically as a

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<sup>1</sup>Becker, Other Side, p. 16.

means of prediction. Social movements in the nonmaterial culture, as explained by Ogburn and others, do not move as fast as do technological changes for either acceptance or rejection.<sup>1</sup> The change of an area of cultural emphasis might be thought of as taking the shape of a wave form. It begins by emerging from the cultural inventory and gradually grows until it crests, then it seems to recede slowly back into the cultural inventory; possibly to be stimulated for form again at some time in the future. Few movements in the nonmaterial culture, however, can be measured in time spans that do not encompass many years. Behavior patterns that are developed and symbols that grow to have meaning in the interactive environment tend to persist as traditions or as cultural alternatives of behavior. These factors make the possibility of prediction on the basis of historical record of cultural reaction (in terms of behavior) toward nonconformist groups or individuals make the projection of a trend line feasible. Due to the characteristics of social change just enumerated, the social scientist can be relatively sure that there will be no abrupt changes at least for a predictable span of time. By studying other characteristics of the cultural areas of emphasis and the intensity of its reaction it should also be possible to judge the relative steepness of slope of the imaginary wave form.

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<sup>1</sup>There is today a question as to whether the ecology movement is not moving faster than technological change--proof is seen in the social rejection of the SST. This is the first time that a pragmatic innovation was set aside because of the theoretical threat it held for society.



The social indicator can be utilized to show change that describes the past, shows change over time, explains the present, and, on the basis of trends shown by social movements, which seem to be analogous to waveforms, in some extent to make predictions of the future.

Social movements might be likened to a wave on the surface of a body of water. The body of water represents the cultural inventory.<sup>1</sup> When it is disturbed by a precipitating incident of some kind a wave form is generated. This wave gains amplitude as it passes along the horizontal base in its period of ascendancy and this stage can be compared to the time base of a social movement. Then as it gains maximum amplitude it crests at the high point of the movement and the period of most intense change: then it descends as does a social movement when it loses inertia and finally subsides again back into the cultural inventory to be replaced by a newly generated movement that starts moving through the same kind of cycle. (Note the diagram which pictorially represents the process which appears on the following page.)

In summarizing and interpreting the historical evidence discussed, one might make the statement that in general the Therapeutic State and the secularization of thought has generally resulted in treatments instead of punishment, and particularization and individualization of deviance.

In ancient classical society deviance had particular-

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<sup>1</sup>Ralph Linton, The Tree of Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955).

WAVEFORM ANALOGY FOR TURNING POINTS  
IN AREAS OF CULTURAL EMPHASIS  
(Progress of Social Change  
Process)  
(Two representative Pivotal points)  
for the United States

Crest of Movement  
of change process at the  
ideological level.

Imperialism

Nationalism

Crest broke as  
a result of  
"limited war"  
and "Sanctuary"  
concepts during  
Korean War

Neo-  
Isolationism

Receding

Emergence of  
of innovation  
from the  
culture

BASE LINE OF CULTURAL INVENTORY

Spanish-American  
War

Period of Ideological  
Conflict between Marxist  
Socialism and Social Darwinism

TIME BASE

1898

1947

1952  
1954

ization and individualization of deviance.

In ancient classical society deviance had particularized as well, but under the Theocratic State and its intolerance of nonconformity, deviance was "generalized" to the libels of "heretic" and "witch."

In addition to the particularization of deviance by the secularization of thought, the Protestant ethic and the social-Darwinist ideology have contributed to the creation of deviance in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. This was accomplished through their making of the ethic of the bourgeois entrepreneur the basis of "normal," "healthy" behavior patterns. It was this concept of "normality" which led, in conjunction with the biological principles of Darwinism, to the study of "pathologies" both individual and social. In a real sense these beliefs are still in effect in the areas of applied criminology, institutionalized psychiatry, and the mental health movement.

This study has now shown that, first of all, there is both theoretical and empirical evidence to justify the use of the construct Deviant type-W as a valid instrument for the historical description and analysis of the groups careers of deviant minorities.

As a cluster, or constellation, of master status-determining traits, it establishes the existence of the generalized classical stereotype of the social heretic.

Historical evidence has been presented in the body of

the study to support the hypotheses postulated at the outset. Therefore, the analytical instrument has evidenced validity, and the hypotheses as a body tend to indicate that the thesis proposal that the classical stereotype, which has been designated as Deviant type-W, can be used as a social indicator, or barometer, to reflect the direction and intensity of the change process in the general society as indicated by the social climate of conflict and crisis and its effect on the deviant minorities described by the master status-determining trait configuration, Deviant type-W.

The study has presented the evidence by taking the examples of the most common representative minorities and has shown how they "drift" along in a state of either acceptance, tolerance, or discrimination until a threatening crisis develops and a precipitating incident catapults them into the role of the enemy of society.

The chosen representative groups cross the spectrum of characteristics that are incorporated in the cluster of master status-determining traits that make up the construct, Deviant type-W. The evidence confirms that these groups have been utilized by the rigid social structure of Western society as scapegoats to provide safety valves in terms of reunifying the inflexible structure against a "threat."

In a sense, these groups, because of their function as scapegoats and as objectified targets emotions attached to social situations that lack "definition," serve to plug



"gaps" in the social structure.

By following the socio-historical "careers" of these selected deviant minorities across the chronological dimension, the behavioral reaction of the society toward the groups and how their treatment varies within or outside of the range of the "tolerance of eccentricity" at pivotal or nodal points in the historical development of society reflect the social climate in which the group exists at any particular time (what Mills refers to as the intersection of biography and history).

Finally, since all these deviant minorities can be made to fit the generalized classical stereotype as represented by the construct Deviant type-W, the climate of society at any particular time as indicated by the current "state" in the drift path of the master stereotype makes the career "trace" path a "barometer" of the change process in society in much the same way that the "trace" on a barographic chart shows the continuing change of pressures in the atmosphere.

By studying the historical dimension of society, and searching for the social heretic groups in society, pinpointing them, and making repeated checks of their biography and the history of society, trends can be developed that show the ebb and change over time. (This has been amply demonstrated through the historical evidence in the body of the study.)

So far, then, the study has shown that the instrument of analysis used here can be utilized to describe the change in societal characteristics over time; it can be employed to analyze the change process over time; and it can be used to trace the development of trends.

Also, in the preceding section, the discussion of the prediction of "probable futures" through trend analysis as a "tool" of research and development agencies in the economic, political and military institutions was presented.

As the precedent of the "institutionalized change agent" has already been established by the existence of the interdisciplinary "think tanks" and research and development agencies, and that one of the techniques they use to obtain the "most probable future" is trend analysis, there is reason to believe that the construct Deviant type-W could be used in like manner as a predictor (short term) of the "most probable future" for the social change process.

Now that the case for the utilization of Deviant type-W for description, analysis, and prediction (in terms of probability) has been outlined, there is one more qualification that must be met if it is to be a completely versatile scientific instrument for the study of society--application to the function of control.

This was discussed tangentially in the text of the study in the subsection concerning a strategy for change and the appeal on the basis of self-interest to the economic

institution to establish planned innovational studies by institutionalized sociological change agents to formulate policies for the "guidance" of society through "crisis avoidance." (In this manner, a check of the trend of the social change process as reflected by its reactive behavior toward the career of deviant minorities would indicate where guidance measures could be instituted to achieve the desired effect--again as reflected by the "drift" of the deviant minorities across the range of the acceptance-aggression continuum)

In evaluation of the general findings of this study, the master stereotype construct, Deviant type-W appears to fulfill the first two qualifications of a scientific instrument--description and analysis--with little cause for question. As to the functions of prediction and control, there is some question because there is (although some grand theorists such as Sorokin and Toynbee maintain that there is validity to the concept) not sufficient evidence that society moves in cyclical paths.

However, within the limitations of the trend analysis method, and in consideration of the many variables at work in society, the construct does appear to have application for short term predictions of "most probable futures"

And, finally, if American society maintains its rigid structure (which it has for more than a hundred years), the construct could be used to some extent for both prediction

and control (depending on what level of society at which control was applied).

In line with the foregoing evaluation of the scientific validity of the social indicator as a barometer of change, a brief statement of what the meaning of the present might portend for the future seems proper as the closing section of this study.

### Trends and Prospect

Trends that exist at the present indicated by the evolving situation of the Deviant type-W, as described earlier, show that society is presently becoming increasingly tolerant of eccentricity and individual deviance; that individual differences in appearance or behavior do not as often result in differential treatment. The pluralism of society and the Civil Rights movement have had the effect of raising the tolerance level to both individual deviants and some forms of group deviance. These are what have been referred to as "spin-off" movements. The increased tolerance of differences in appearances, customs, traditions and ideas would seem to indicate that further changes will be taking place.

The career of the classical stereotype of the social heretic can be used in the extension of this trend into the future and in the process of description, explanation, prediction or even the control of change. Current reactional patterns give evidence of the attitudes of the oversociety toward a particular type of deviance at a particular point



in time.

In order to give the elements of control discussed above, the combination of the evidence in terms of reactive consequence, viewed with the aim of planning for innovation, it can give the element of control sought. In accordance with the concept of society as an adaptive system which is conflict actuated as viewed by Buckley<sup>1</sup> and with innovation as a process as propounded by Barnett<sup>2</sup> in his paradigm, innovation can be used as a control on the system to regulate feedback much as a governor regulates the r.p.m. of a reciprocating engine. In accordance with systems theory, a number of successive "partial solutions" (in terms of units of innovational input) can proceed in an orderly process toward goals that embody the direction and "purpose" of the over-all system of society as determined by the general values arrived at by consensus.

In summary then, the historical career of the social heretic can be made to conform to the investigative orientation of the natural and the social sciences. The concept of the social indicator can also be utilized to show the effect of methods of planned social control because, unless society is drastically and precipitously changed (which has no precedent in the period of recorded history), the methods of

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<sup>1</sup>Buckley, Modern Systems Research.

<sup>2</sup>Barnett, Innovation.

social control are reflected (as shown by the historical evidence in the body of the paper), after a lag in changes in the treatment of Deviant type-W,<sup>1</sup> (actuation of attitudes rooted in tradition).

In this way, effectiveness of planned innovation can be designed to create changes in either the society as a whole, or in its parts, which will be reflected in changes in the status and roles of Deviant type-W. This type of utilization of a social indicator can be "fitted" to the societal situation and will continue to function until society has progressed to the point of thorough integration in the horizontal orientation of a structural-pluralist society in which minority and dominant groups cease to exist and differential treatment is a thing of the past. Even if the stereotype of the social heretic becomes dormant in the cultural inventory<sup>2</sup> in the near future, which seems unlikely for several years to come, it is still valid as a social indicator at the present time, to describe and explain present day societal conditions and to make a one-shot prediction on which to base planning in the immediate (relatively speaking) future.

In fact, the two functions of description and explanation alone validate it as a mechanism of analysis, even if its future as a predictive instrument is uncertain in the

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<sup>1</sup>Ogburn, On Culture and Social Change.

<sup>2</sup>Linton, Tree of Culture.

light of present gains for deviants in the post-industrial society. The present author is inclined to take a more pessimistic view (supported by past evidence that social movements are slow at best and then must be supported by an ideology that is religiously pursued to keep them alive) that the process of the elimination of differential treatment for minorities and "eccentric" individuals in society will take many years, even granting a favorable social climate and fervent agitation for change on the part of the affected individuals themselves.

The position of these groups today; the state of, and the structure of, American and other post-industrial societies of the contemporary world; does furnish a basis for the suggestion at least of the direction of change, if not the intensity of the process, in the immanent future.

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