Exploring Criminal and Poetic Minds through Differential Association Theory: A Comparative

Study of Drishyam 2 and Daddy

Dissertation submitted to Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam, in partial fulfillment for the award of M.A degree in English Language and Literature.



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Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Exploring Criminal and Poetic Minds through

Differential Association Theory: A Comparative Study of Drishyam 2 and Daddy" is a bona fide

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Declaration

I, hereby declare that the presented dissertation "Exploring Criminal and Poetic Minds

through Differential Association Theory: A Comparative Study of Drishyam 2 and Daddy" is

based on the research that I did on under the supervision and guidance of Ms. Sreelakshmi P,

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of the requirement for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in English Language and

Literature from Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam. This is a report of my hands based on

the research done on the selected topic and it is my original work and interpretations drawn

therein are based on material collected by myself. It has not been previously formed basis for the

award of any degree, diploma or fellowship or other similar title or recognition.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Criminology and literature is an interdisciplinary topic that integrates the social scientific study of crime, criminals, criminal law and criminal punishment with humankind's artistic, imaginative expression through written words. Film and literature are aesthetic expressions of the human intellect. They are distinct mediums with the same goal, to inspire greatness in human imagination and comprehension. Both movies and literature contribute to the advancement of human civilization. Poems as well as films are artistic creations that unite the human mind. The project thus investigates a criminal and a poet with different point of view where both can be scaled under the same conditions of imagination power and as a learned behavior that is influenced by their interpersonal communication and social interaction.

The French term 'criminologie', which can be considered as the French equivalent of the English term 'criminology', is thought by some academics that the French anthropologist Paul Topinard used it for the first time in 1879. However, other academics assert that this term was created in 1885 by one of the greatest law professors in Italy called Raffaele Garofalo as 'criminologia' (Rushdy, 5).

Criminology is thus the scientific study of crime, criminals and criminal behaviour. It is a multidisciplinary field that draws on knowledge and methods from various disciplines such as sociology, psychology, law, anthropology and biology to understand the causes, consequences, and prevention of criminal behaviour. Criminologists examine various aspects of crime, including its origins, patterns and trends. They seek to understand why individuals engage in criminal behaviour, how societies and institutions respond to crime and what factors contribute to the development of criminality.

Poetry is a literature that evokes a concentrated imaginative awareness of experience or a specific emotional response through language chosen and arranged for its meaning, sound and rhythm. Poetry is thus a form of artistic expression that uses emotions, conveys various ideas and creates an aesthetic beauty.

A confessional poet is one who writes deeply personal. Autobiographical poet explores their innermost thoughts, feelings and experiences. This poetic style emerged in the mid twentieth century and is characterized by its candid and unfiltered expression of the poet's emotions, struggles and personal challenges. Confessional poetry often touches on themes such as mental health, relationships, family issues, identity and the human condition. One of the key figures associated with the confessional poetry movement is Sylvia Plath, her intense and introspective poems delved into her struggles with mental illness, family relationships, and societal expectations. This style of writing emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s and is associated with poets such as Robert Lowell, Sylvia Plath, Anne Sexton, and W.D. Snodgrass.(Poets.org)

The confessional poetry movement marked a significant departure from more traditional forms of poetry, as it disregarded the conventional boundaries between the public and private spheres. Instead, these poets sought to confront their personal demons and make the private aspects of their lives part of the poetic discourse. As a result, confessional poetry is often seen as a cathartic and therapeutic form of self-expression. It's important to note that while confessional poetry is deeply personal and autobiographical, it does not necessarily mean that every aspect of the poems is a literal representation of the poet's life. Poets may use artistic license and metaphorical language to convey their emotions and experiences effectively.

Imagination can be said as a cognitive technique through which a writer creates situations, characters and creatures that are very different from what is seen through the five senses and is based on actual experiences, feelings or wholly original fabricated concepts. Imagination can play a role in the actions and behaviour of criminals, both in terms of planning and executing crimes.

Criminals often rely on their imagination to devise strategies, anticipate outcomes and identify vulnerabilities in their targets or the criminal justice system. Imagination is crucial in the planning stage of a crime. Criminals use their imagination to visualize different scenarios, consider potential obstacles and develop strategies to overcome them. They may imagine various ways to commit a crime, such as burglary, fraud or even more complex schemes like identity theft or cybercrime. However, it is important to note that imagination alone is not sufficient to explain criminal behaviour. Numerous factors contribute to criminal actions, including personal circumstances, social influences, psychological factors and more. Imagination can serve as a tool for criminals to plan and execute crimes, but it is only one aspect of their overall motivations and decision-making processes. It shows how environment play a role in how people learn to commit crimes. People learn the tactics and beliefs that underlie criminal behaviour via their encounters with others.

Imagination is the part of our minds that makes things up. It is how we form new ideas, images or concepts of external objects that are not immediately present to the senses (Ehlers). Imagination plays a vital role in the work of poets. It is often considered one of the fundamental tools of their craft, allowing them to create vivid and evocative imagery, explore complex emotions and communicate their unique perspectives. Poets use their imagination to visualize and describe the world around them in ways that go beyond literal description. They tap into their imaginative faculties to convey their experiences, thoughts and feelings in a

manner that is rich with symbolism, metaphor and sensory details. By employing figurative language, poets can transcend the boundaries of everyday reality and engage their readers or listeners on a deeper level. Imagination enables poets to create new world and explore alternative realities. They can transport their audience to different time periods, distant lands or fantastical realms. Through imaginative storytelling and narrative techniques, poets can construct narratives and characters that resonate with universal human experiences, regardless of their literal truth. Moreover, poets often use their imagination to challenge conventional ways of thinking and question societal norms. They can offer fresh perspectives on familiar subjects or shed light on overlooked aspects of the human condition. By stretching the boundaries of what is considered possible or acceptable, poets can encourage their readers to think critically and imagine new possibilities.

Imagination therefore can be broadly two kinds, primary imagination is the first category, followed by secondary imagination. Every person has the ability to create pictures, scenarios and thoughts and give them a structure as far as primary imagination is concerned. This can be related to a criminal whose thoughts are immediate to their environment. On the other hand, secondary imagination is an unconscious talent that is only acquired by great poets and is not a quality shared by all people. It is a developed form of simple imagination. Via secondary imagination, a writer not only conjures up images, settings and characters and gives them specific forms, but also, via those images and settings, a poet conjures up a brandnew universe. Hence in the case of a poet and a criminal the power of imagination plays a vital role in their behaviour. This adds to prove how both their behaviours are learned prowess. The concept of imagination is very briefly discussed in this paper, while the concept of learned behaviour is given ample importance.

While poets and criminals may seem like contrasting figures, it is possible to identify certain characteristics that could be common to both in terms of creativity, transgression of norms, intensity of emotions, nonconformity and expression of personal thoughts. Both poets and criminals can possess a creative mindset. Poets channel their creativity into crafting verses, metaphors and imagery, while criminals may exhibit creativity in devising strategies to commit unlawful acts. When it comes to the transgression of norms, poets often challenge societal conventions and norms through their art, pushing boundaries and questioning established beliefs. Similarly, criminals break legal and ethical boundaries, challenging the norms of acceptable behaviour. The understanding of intensity of emotions in poets and criminals can be differentiated as poets often delve into the depths of human emotions, exploring the full spectrum of joy, pain, love and despair. Criminals, too, may experience intense emotions that drive their actions, such as anger, desperation or greed. The notion of nonconformity states that poets frequently reject societal expectations and refuse to conform to traditional structures or norms. Criminals, likewise, reject the laws and regulations imposed by society, opting for their own set of rules. Both poets and criminals do express personal truths, poets strive to express their innermost thoughts, feelings and experiences through their work, seeking authenticity and individuality. Criminals may also act out their personal truths, albeit through illegal means, driven by personal motives or circumstances. So it is important to note that while there may be similarities in certain aspects, the overall nature and purpose of their actions differ greatly. Poets contribute to artistic expression, emotional exploration and cultural enrichment, while criminals engage in activities that harm others and society.

Now taking the concept of learned behaviour, it refers to any behaviour or action that an individual acquires through experience, observation or interaction with their environment. It is the opposite of innate or instinctive behaviour, which is present at birth. Learned

behaviour is shaped by various external factors, including social interactions, cultural influences, education and personal experiences. So, the dissertation tries to prove that the element of learned behaviour is visible in a poet as well as a criminal in a different way but concludes to be the reason for their deeds or works. This learned behaviour in poets and criminals is given a comparative study in this dissertation by using various research methodologies. Comparative research methodology is an approach used extensively in this study to analyse similarities and differences between different entities, such as cultures, organizations and individuals. It involves examining these entities in order to identify patterns, relationships and variations across different dimensions or variables. Comparative research methodology can be applied in various disciplines, including social sciences, political science, anthropology and economics, among others. Qualitative Research methodology is another methodology that is being chosen to prove the study. This methodology focuses on obtaining in-depth insights and understanding of the subjective experiences and perspectives of criminals as well as poets. Qualitative methods used in criminal research include participant observations and case studies. These methods aim to explore the motivations, thought processes and contextual factors surrounding criminal behaviour. Also the same methodology is used to observe a poet in the point of their motivations and their surroundings that led him to write a poetry thereby showcase his poetic behaviour.

The theory of differential association in criminology by Edwin Sutherland is taken here to show that both the poet and criminal adapt learned behaviours. This is therefore done using a comparative study on both, by choosing a criminal from a film and a poet with his poetry work. Therefore, to substantiate the theory of differential association the dissertation uses a poem and a film to study a poet and a criminal. The protagonist Georgekutty (played by Mohanlal) in the movie *Drishyam 2* directed by Jeethu Joseph and the poet in the poem

Daddy by Sylvia Plath. In both the references we could see how a criminal and a poet emerged as a form of learned behaviour by the influence of their interpersonal communication and social interaction. A criminal who expresses his intense love for his family, who had to commit a murder due to situational pressure and throughout his life he paves ways to escape the legal punishment by consistently committing crimes. Similarly, a poet who addresses her relationship with her father, who has an oppressive power over her is shared with those oppressive memories and her struggle to break his influence through her poetry. Hence builds the imaginative power in both that makes their learned behaviour.

Interpersonal communication and social interaction among criminals can vary depending on the specific context and individuals involved. Criminals, like any other group, can exhibit a range of communication patterns and social dynamics. This can often be seen when they keep criminal networks or groups engaged in illegal activities. These networks can have hierarchical structures, with leaders, subordinates and different roles assigned to each member. Communication within these networks can be strategic and secretive, as criminals try to protect their activities from law enforcement. It's essential to approach the topic of criminals and criminal behaviour with sensitivity and recognize that these observations are generalizations. Criminals, like all individuals, have diverse backgrounds and motivations and their communication and social interaction can vary significantly.

Interpersonal communication and social interaction play significant roles in the lives of poets as well. Poetry, as a form of expression, often emerges from personal experiences and observations of the world. Poets use language to connect with others, evoke emotions, and share their perspectives on various aspects of life. Poets aim to establish a connection with their readers through their words. Poets often reflect the social and cultural milieu in which they live. Then is the inspiration from interpersonal relationships that is poets draw

inspiration from their interactions with others and many more. Overall, interpersonal communication and social interaction are essential components of a poet's life too.

At the end of the study it can be concluded that like a poet, criminal behaviour is learned. Thereby the relevance of the research is that the role of socializing process and peer influence can be learned through a poet and a criminal. It highlights the right and wrong perspective in human minds that instantly judge others by their behaviours. It puts forward criminalistic behaviour as poetic behaviour is transmitted across generations through a cultural process that is the impact of cultural norms, values and beliefs. And finally, both the criminal and poetic behaviour is influenced by the social and physical environment.

While the significance of the project is learned, it is not out of limitations. It does have few limitations like ignoring individual differences, that is it neglects personal factors of a criminal or a poet rather than giving importance to their interpersonal communication and social interaction. Socialization is given prime consideration while ignoring personal characteristics. Another limitation that can be pointed out is therefore the overemphasis on social factors.

In conclusion, the differential association theory, developed by Edwin Sutherland in the 1940s, offers valuable insights into the formation of criminal behaviour and deviance. And the application of the same theory on the formation of a poet would prove the same insights as a criminal in a different aspect. The theory emphasizes that individuals learn criminal behaviour through their interactions with others within their social environment. Similarly, a poet who learns poetic behaviour through their interaction with others within their social environment is proven through this research paper. The central premise is that criminal behaviour and poetic behaviour is not innate but is acquired through a process of social learning and social interaction.

The main objective of this study is to show how a poet and a criminal can be measured under the same category when it comes to learned behaviour. This is done by dividing the project into five chapters. The first chapter gives a brief idea of the whole project, the second chapter discusses the theory applied in the project, the third and fourth chapter shows the application of the same in a criminal and a poet with the brief idea of the film and poem chosen and the final fifth chapter sums up the whole project conclusions with its relevance and limitations in detail. This project follows MLA 9 format.

Chapter 2

The Theory of Differential Association

Edwin H. Sutherland (August 13, 1883 – October 11, 1950) was an American sociologist and criminologist, often called the "Dean of Criminology" for his pioneering work in this area. He is considered one of the most influential criminologists of the twentieth century, probably best known for defining "differential association" a general theory of crime that explains how deviants come to learn the motivations and the technical knowledge for criminal activity and his definition of the "white-collar crime." (New World Encyclopedia)

He obtained his undergraduate degree from Grand Island College and later pursued graduate studies at the University of Chicago. It was during his time at the University of Chicago that Sutherland began his influential work in criminology. He earned his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago in 1913 and went on to have a distinguished academic career. Edwin Sutherland died on October 11, 1950, in Bloomington, Indiana, but his ideas and contributions continue to shape the field of criminology to this day. One of Sutherland's most influential works is his book *Principles of Criminology* published in 1939. In this book, he introduced the concept of white-collar crime, which refers to nonviolent crimes committed by individuals or organizations in positions of authority, typically for financial gain. Sutherland argued that white-collar crimes are often overlooked and underpunished in society. He is best known for his theory of differential association, which explains how individuals learn criminal behaviour through social interactions.

Differential association theory is when one learns criminal attitudes and behaviours through those around them. It is suggested that individuals learn to become criminals by

associating with criminals. Edwin Sutherland devised the differential association theory to provide guidelines to measure criminal behaviour. He also called this theory a learning theory.

Sutherland's theory of differential association challenged the prevailing notion that criminal behaviour is primarily a result of individual characteristics or traits. He argued that criminal behaviour is learned through interactions with others, particularly in intimate personal groups. According to his theory, individuals become delinquent or criminal when their exposure to definitions favourable to law-breaking exceeds their exposure to definitions unfavourable to such behaviour. Therefore the theory is stated as,

Sutherland's theory, differential association theory, maintains that criminal behaviour is learned, and it is learned the same way any other behaviour is learned: through interpersonal communication and social interaction in small, intimate groups.

(Kurtz 12)

Sutherland's work had a significant impact in the field of criminology, shifting the focus from individual traits to social processes and interactions. He emphasised the importance of studying white-collar crime and advocated for the inclusion of sociological perspectives in the study of criminal behaviour. One of Sutherland's key contributions, the development of the differential association theory, suggests that criminal behaviour is learned through interactions with others in social groups. According to Sutherland, individuals are more likely to engage in criminal activities if they associate with others who engage in criminal behaviour and they acquire attitudes, values and techniques of committing crimes through this association. Sutherland emphasised that differential association occurs within intimate personal groups such as families, peers or close friends. He argued that criminal

behaviour is not solely a result of individual traits but is instead a social learning process influenced by the norms, values and behaviours observed and internalised from others. This theory challenged earlier biological and psychological explanations of crime and placed a greater emphasis on the role of social interactions. Sutherland's work had a profound influence on criminology and shifted the focus from individual characteristics to social processes and interactions. His theories continue to be widely studied and applied in contemporary criminology and he is considered one of the founding figures of the discipline. Edwin Sutherland's contributions helped shape our understanding of the social dynamics of crime and continue to inform research and policy efforts aimed at preventing and addressing criminal behaviour.

It is important to note that the theory of differential association does not suggest that everyone who is exposed to deviant or criminal behaviour will necessarily engage in such behaviour. The theory emphasises the importance of social interactions, learning processes and individual choices in shaping behaviour. Hence, the theory of differential association provides a framework for understanding how social interactions and learning processes contribute to the acquisition of deviant or criminal behaviour in individuals.

Edwin Sutherland's differential association theory is a sociological theory that seeks to explain criminal behaviour in terms of social learning. According to Sutherland, criminal behaviour is learned through interactions with others, particularly in intimate personal groups, where individuals are exposed to favourable or unfavourable definitions of lawbreaking behaviour. Here are the nine postulates of Sutherland's differential association theory. The first one states that criminal behaviour is learned. Sutherland argues that criminal behaviour is not innate but is acquired through a process of social learning. Individuals learn criminal behaviour through interaction with others, primarily within their immediate social

environment. Second postulate put forward that criminal behaviour is learned through communication. The learning of criminal behaviour occurs through the process of communication. It involves the transmission of ideas, values, attitudes and techniques that support or justify criminal actions. The third states, criminal behaviour is learned within intimate personal groups. Sutherland emphasises that criminal behaviour is most effectively learned within small, intimate groups, such as family, peers or close friends. These groups serve as the primary source of exposure to criminal values and behaviours. Next postulate shows that learning includes techniques and motives. In addition to learning specific criminal techniques, individuals also learn the motives, rationalisations and attitudes that justify and support criminal behaviour. Criminal acts are seen as acceptable or even desirable under certain circumstances. Fifth postulates express the definitions favourable or unfavourable to law-breaking. Through the process of differential association, individuals acquire definitions of behaviour that are either favourable or unfavourable to law-breaking. The more an individual associates with those who support criminal behaviour, the more likely they are to adopt those definitions. The next postulate of differential association states that it may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity. The influence of differential associations can vary in terms of how often they occur, how long they last, the importance individuals attach to them and the emotional intensity involved. These factors affect the strength of the learning process. Seventh postulate phrase the process of learning criminal behaviour that involves the same mechanisms as any other learning. Sutherland argues that the learning of criminal behaviour follows the same basic principles as any other form of learning. Reinforcement, punishment and imitation play important roles in shaping an individual's behaviour. Another postulate is that criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values. Sutherland suggests that criminal behaviour arises from general human needs and values, such as the desire for money, status, excitement or social approval. Criminal acts are viewed as

alternative means of achieving these goals. The final postulate discloses that criminal behaviour is not explained by general needs and values alone. While general needs and values provide the motivations for criminal behaviour, they are not sufficient to explain why some individuals engage in criminal acts while others do not. Differential association and learning processes are necessary to understand individual variation in criminal behaviour.

Here are some key points regarding the relevance of the theory of differential association in understanding criminal behaviour. The first one is the aspect of social learning that is the theory of differential association that emphasises that individuals learn criminal behaviour through interactions with others. This learning occurs within primary groups such as family, friends, peers and subcultures. Criminal behaviour is seen as a learned behaviour that is transmitted through socialisation processes. The norms and values, according to which individuals acquire criminal behaviour when their exposure to definitions favourable to law violation exceeds their exposure to definitions unfavourable to law violation. In other words, if an individual is surrounded by peers who engage in criminal activities and endorse deviant values, they are more likely to adopt similar beliefs and engage in criminal behaviour themselves. Subcultures and Criminal Networks is another relevance that the theory highlights, the role of subcultures and criminal networks in shaping an individual's propensity for criminal behaviour. Being part of a subculture that glorifies criminal activities, normalises law breaking or provides opportunities for criminal involvement can significantly influence an individual's likelihood of engaging in criminal behaviour. In the processes of reinforcement and imitation, the theory posits that individuals are more likely to engage in criminal behaviour when they receive positive reinforcement or rewards for such actions. This can include gaining status, respect or material benefits within their social circles. Understanding the theory of differential association helps explain why some individuals are more likely to become involved in criminal activities. It emphasises the social context and the importance of interpersonal relationships in shaping behaviour. By considering the influence of socialisation processes, peer groups and subcultures, the theory provides valuable insights into the development of criminal behaviour and the importance of social interventions, rehabilitation and prevention programs.

So now looking into the aspect of poetry and the theory of differential association on which this paper discusses, helps to understand that the theory of differential association, primarily applied to the study of crime and delinquency, is possible to explore the relevance of this theory in the context of poetry and literature too. The application of the differential association theory to a poet can be an interesting exercise in understanding the influence of social interactions and associations on the development of their artistic expression.

Differential association theory, developed by Edwin Sutherland, suggests that criminal behaviour is learned through social interactions with others. While primarily focused on criminal behaviour, the theory can be adapted to analyse the development of any behaviour or skill, including poetry.

Looking into the influences on poetic style of a poet, the theory suggests that individuals learn behaviour and attitudes from their social environment, including the people they interact with. In the realm of poetry, poets may be influenced by the literary traditions, movements and styles that they are exposed to. Through associations with other poets or exposure to their works, a poet can absorb techniques, themes and perspectives, which can shape their own poetic style. The cultural context is also taken in respect to the theory Differential association that emphasises the role of cultural context in shaping behaviour. Similarly, poets are influenced by the cultural milieu in which they operate. They may draw inspiration from their surroundings, social norms, historical events and prevailing ideologies. By associating with other artists, poets may engage in conversations about these cultural

elements, which can inform and influence their poetry. Collaborative Creativity is another aspect considered. Differential association theory recognizes that learning and behaviour are often acquired through social interaction. Poets may engage in collaborative endeavours, such as poetry workshops, literary circles or spoken word events. These interactions allow for the exchange of ideas, feedback and techniques among poets. Through these associations, poets can refine their craft, explore new poetic forms and challenge conventional norms. Differential association theory acknowledges that individuals acquire attitudes and values from their social contacts. This can extend to the subject matter and themes explored in poetry. Poets may be drawn to certain topics or issues based on their interactions with others who share similar concerns or perspectives. The theory suggests that poets may gravitate toward themes that reflect their associations and collective experiences. The theory also recognizes the possibility of deviant or nonconformist behaviour. In the context of poetry, this can manifest in subversive or countercultural works that challenge societal norms and conventions. Poets who associate with non-traditional or marginalised communities may express dissenting viewpoints, addressing social injustices or advocating for change through their poetry.

While the theory of differential association was not explicitly formulated for analysing poetry, its underlying principles of social learning and influence can be applied to understand the ways in which poets are shaped by their associations and social environments. By examining the various influences on poets, we can gain insight into the development of their unique artistic voices and the broader cultural and social contexts that shape their work.

In conclusion, the theory of differential association provides valuable insights into the process of how individuals learn and develop behaviours, including criminal behaviour.

Developed by Edwin Sutherland, this theory emphasises that behaviour is acquired through

social interactions and associations. While primarily focused on explaining criminal behaviour, the theory can be applied to various aspects of human behaviour, including artistic expression such as poetry. Differential association theory highlights the importance of learning from others, the influence of peer groups, the role of reinforcement and reward, the power of imitation and modelling, and the impact of social and cultural context. These factors shape an individual's behaviour by exposing them to specific ideas, values, skills and norms.

However, it is essential to recognize that the theory has its limitations. It does not fully account for individual agency, personal experiences or internal psychological factors that may also contribute to behaviour. Additionally, the theory assumes that individuals have equal access to various social interactions and associations, which may not always be the case in reality.

Nonetheless, the theory of differential association remains a valuable framework for understanding the influence of social interactions on behaviour, including the development of a poet's artistic expression. By analysing the poet's associations, learning experiences and the cultural and social context in which they operate, we can gain insights into the factors that shape their creative choices and contribute to their unique poetic voice.

Chapter 3

The Criminal

Drishyam 2: The Resumption, or simply Drishyam 2 is a 2021 Indian Malayalam-language crime thriller film written and directed by Jeethu Joseph and produced by Antony Perumbavoor through the company Aashirvad Cinemas. A sequel to their 2013 film Drishyam and the second part to the series, the film stars Mohanlal, Meena, Ansiba Hassan, Esther Anil. The story takes place six years after the events of Drishyam. (Wikipedia) .The movie was a huge success and went on to become one of the highest-grossing Malayalam films of all time. Due to its popularity, it was subsequently remade in several other languages, including Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, and Kannada.

Drishyam is the first part which revolves around the life of Georgekutty, played by Mohanlal, who is a cable TV operator and a family man residing in a village. Georgekutty's wife, Rani (played by Meena) and his two daughters lead a peaceful life. However, their lives take an unexpected turn when their eldest daughter, Anju, accidentally kills the son of a police inspector, Varun, in an act of self-defence. Fearing the repercussions that could ruin their family, Georgekutty devises an intricate plan to protect his daughter and his family from the law. He meticulously cleans up the crime scene and begins to build an airtight alibi to establish that his family was not involved in the incident. As the police investigation intensifies, Georgekutty's clever manipulations and quick thinking make it increasingly difficult for the police to find any evidence against him or his family. The film delves into themes of family bonds, sacrifice and the lengths a person can go to protect their loved ones. It keeps the audience engaged with its gripping narrative and clever twists and turns. Mohanlal's brilliant performance as Georgekutty garnered critical acclaim and is considered one of his finest roles. Drishyam is known for its tight screenplay, well-executed suspense

and the way it explores moral dilemmas and ethical choices. It stands out as a well-crafted thriller that keeps viewers on the edge of their seats, with an unexpected climax that leaves a lasting impact. Overall, *Drishyam* is an engaging and thought-provoking film that has been widely appreciated for its strong storyline, excellent performances and expert direction.

Drishyam 2 is the sequel to the Malayalam film Drishyam released in 2021 with the same cast of *Drishyam*. The story of *Drishyam 2* takes place six years after the events of the first film and continues the saga of Georgekutty and his family. The film begins with Georgekutty, now a successful businessman, trying to lead a normal life with his wife Rani and their two daughters. Despite the passage of time, the traumatic events from the past still haunt them. Georgekutty's family continues to live with the secret of the accidental killing of Varun, the son of the police inspector. The story takes a dramatic turn when new evidence related to the incident emerges, putting Georgekutty and his family in jeopardy once again. The police reopen the case and intensify their investigation, determined to uncover the truth. Georgekutty must now use all his wits and intelligence to outsmart the police and protect his family. As the narrative unfolds, *Drishyam 2* explores the moral dilemmas faced by Georgekutty and the consequences of his actions in the first film. The film delves into themes of guilt, redemption and the lengths one will go to protect their loved ones. Throughout the movie, Georgekutty meticulously plans his moves, manipulates evidence and outsmarts the police at every turn. The tension builds as the investigation closes in on him, leading to a thrilling climax that keeps the audience on the edge of their seats. Drishyam 2 received positive reviews for its gripping storyline, Mohanlal's captivating performance and the way it continues the narrative of the first film while offering new twists and surprises. The film effectively explores the consequences of Georgekutty's actions and poses thought-provoking questions about the nature of truth, justice and the lengths one can go to protect their family. Overall, *Drishyam 2* is a compelling sequel that successfully builds upon the suspenseful and

morally complex world established in the first film, providing an engaging and satisfying continuation of the story.

The theory of differential association by Edwin Sutherland can be easily spotted in the protagonist of *Drishyam 2*, Georgekutty, played by Mohanlal. Even when Georgekutty is portrayed as a family man who is trying to protect his loved ones, his actions in the film can be considered criminal or morally questionable. Here are some traits and actions of Georgekutty that can be seen as criminal. The obstruction of justice when Georgekutty actively interferes with the investigation into his family's involvement in a crime, withholding crucial evidence and misleading the police. He creates false alibis and manipulates the crime scene to cover up the truth. The destruction of evidence by Georgekutty, potentially links his family to the crime, such as the murder weapon and other incriminating objects. This act is illegal and can be considered tampering with evidence. Then Georgekutty involves his family members in his plan to hide the truth, engaging them in a conspiracy to protect themselves. This conspiracy involves lying to the police and collaborating to create a false narrative can be considered another criminal trait in him. Georgekutty also encourages his family members to provide false testimony to mislead the investigation and create an alternative version of events. This is a criminal act, as perjury is punishable by law. Bribery can also be seen in the movie that Georgekutty does in order to manipulate certain individuals involved in the case, Georgekutty resorts to bribing them or using his influence to gain their support. Offering or accepting bribes are illegal and considered a criminal offence.

So now looking deeply into the traits of the protagonist as a criminal we can easily trace the influence of interpersonal communication and social interaction that led to the commitment of criminal activities as stated by the criminologist Edwin Sutherland. So for the same, taking each postulate in the theory of Differential Association helps in easy

understanding. The first postulate claims that ,Criminal behaviour is learned. This means that criminal behaviour is not inherited, as such; also the person who is not already trained in crime does not invent criminal behaviour. (Nickerson). Criminal behaviour is learned as a process of social learning. According to Sutherland, criminal behaviour is learned through social learning rather than being innate. People pick up criminal behaviours through social interaction, mainly in their immediate social surroundings. Georgekutty, attains certain aspects of criminal behaviour in order to protect his family and his desire to shield them from harm. In the film, Georgekutty's family becomes entangled in a crime when his daughter accidentally kills the son of a powerful and influential police officer. In order to protect his family from the consequences of this accidental death, Georgekutty devises an elaborate plan through various social interactions to cover up the incident and mislead the police investigation. According to this postulate, individuals learn criminal behaviour through their social interactions and experiences. This learning process occurs within social groups and involves observing, imitating, and communicating with others who engage in criminal activities. Here Georgekutty doesn't get involved with criminals directly but the very first birth of his criminalistic behaviour starts from the keen interest of Georgekutty in watching movies; this is evident in the first part of the movie. He watched movies with great observation skill which is evident when he glimpses through various movies during the process of manipulating evidence. The movies he watched gave him that immediate idea to manipulate evidence like he removes traces of the crime; he wipes off fingerprints, bloodstains, car used and other incriminating evidence. Georgekutty creates a false alibi for his family during the time of the crime. To ensure things go smoothly, Georgekutty takes his family out on a trip to Thodupuzha to pray in a church, watch a movie and eat at a restaurant. Georgekutty also presents the bill of the restaurant, the movie tickets and the bus tickets as proof of their alibi (Vandana). Georgekutty fabricates a story of their absence during the

crime. The story is again narrated in the second part during the final investigation as, "We went for a retreat at Thodupuzha on August 2nd. We got back only on 3rd night. Since we were tired after the trip, all of us slept soon after." (*Drishyam 2* 01:54:22 – 01:54:22). In the second part we could see him publishing a book of the story he has written for sake of the copyright issues and burning the original skeleton of the victim. Georgekutty's actions in Drishyam involve manipulating evidence with the involvement of various other characters for creating false alibis and strategically misleading the police through deceptive means.

We could also see Georgekutty interacting with some fellows in Sulaiman's tea shop, having healthy debates about law and order. He is much aware of the laws that he mentions about Habeas Corpus to others. So such interactions in which police officers are also involved make a network of social interaction. Hence this justifies that Georgekutty has built criminal behaviour by a process of social learning and social interaction. Therefore the first postulate of differential association theory emphasises that criminal behaviour is not innate but learned through social interactions. It highlights the importance of social learning processes, communication, and the influence of social contexts in shaping individuals' engagement in criminal activities.

The next postulate according to Edwin Sutherland is that the learning of criminal behaviour occurs through the process of communication. It involves the transmission of ideas, values, attitudes and techniques that support or justify criminal actions. Georgekutty learns about forensic investigation procedures through the character Vinayachandran played by the actor Saikumar who played the role of a screenwriter. Georgekutty approaches Vinayachandran for the sake of a movie direction that Georgekutty desires to produce. He tricks Vinayachandran to find possibilities of his escape by narrating his own past as an investigation thriller he wrote. It is through him Georgekutty collects details of forensic

procedures as well as investigation procedures by the police department. Georgekutty enquires to Vinayachandran, "If such a skeleton is actually found from there, can you find out what the police procedures would be". (Drishyam 2 02:16:17 – 02:16:24). With this collected ideas, he gets in interaction with the forensic office security Rajan played by the actor Dinesh Rajan, with the same false purpose of directing a movie and Rajan being fond of acting gets close into strong communication with Georgekutty. Georgekutty uses Rajan's knowledge to anticipate and counteract the police's efforts. Next character with whom Georgekutty befriends with is a gravedigger Pathrose played by the actor Jayashankar. Georgekutty gets in with a close interaction with Pathrose to collect the dead remains of a person of same age and sex, who had died owing to similar injuries like that of the villain by befriending the gravedigger of the cemetery . Through the communication with him, Georgekutty collects the details of the time a dead body takes to decay and what changes happen to such a body. The incidents in the *Drishyam 2: The Resumption happens* six years after Drishyam and Georgekutty kept a frequent touch with all these characters in order to have constant communication. We could easily spot the revisiting of Georgekutty to Vinayachandran's place, gravedigger's home and Rajan's forensic office.

According to the third postulate, the learning of criminal behaviour is most likely to occur within close-knit and intimate groups. This could be a group of friends, a gang, or a family unit where individuals have frequent and prolonged contact with each other. These organisations are the main conduits via which criminal values and practises are exposed. Here Georgekutty, the protagonist, keeps a close interaction with a group of people in order to devise his plans. The same list of people in the above postulate justification shows how the learning of criminal behaviour occurred within close-knit and intimate groups with frequent and prolonged contact with each other. The intimate connection with the screenwriter is seen when Georgekutty is treated decently by Vinayachandran's daughter also when he isn't

treated just as a director and producer. Similarly his close connection with the gravedigger Pathrose that includes helping him financially for Pathrose's daughter's future and Pathrose's medical treatments .When Georgekutty and family met with gravedigger , Pathrose states "I am happy anyway .I could see you all , right?, My family survived only because of your father .My daughter came here recently, she asked me to convey her regards to you sir. It was sir who educated her and got her married" (*Drishyam 2* 00:58:00 – 00:58:25).

Georgekutty became the provider of that family that made Pathrose to not deny Georgekutty's need for a youngster's skeleton. Even in Sulaiman's tea shop, he keeps a friendly chat with frequent customers there to get the common man's thought process in order to devise his plans. Through this frequent and prolonged contact he could also gain a good image of him among most of them. In summary, the third postulate of differential association theory underscores the significance of intimate personal groups in the learning of criminal behaviour.

The fourth postulate states that learning involves techniques, motives, rationalisations and attitudes. When individuals learn criminal behaviour, they also learn the techniques, motives, rationalisations and attitudes associated with such behaviour. This includes learning how to commit crimes, understanding the motivations behind criminal acts, justifying or rationalising their actions and adopting attitudes favourable to criminal behaviour. This behaviour of Georgekutty is seen throughout the film, making a favourable situation to justify his criminal acts. Learning criminal behaviour involves acquiring the specific techniques and skills necessary to commit a crime. This includes practical knowledge about how to carry out criminal acts. So in this movie Georgekutty gains his practical knowledge mostly from films he watched as he is fond of watching movies keenly. The screen writer Vinayachandran makes statement about Georgekutty's love for films to the police officers that, "Georgekutty

was someone with a great cinematic sense"(*Drishyam 2* 02:09:59 - 02:10:00). Criminal behaviour is motivated by various factors and here the intense family love .When individuals engage in criminal behaviour, they often develop rationalisations or justifications to make their actions seem acceptable or morally justified. These rationalisations may include minimising the harm caused by the crime, blaming others for their actions, or believing that the victim deserved it. It is well evident when Georgekutty talks with the victim's family, where he indirectly informs his father about the helpless situation to provide them with the body remains for rites of salvation as well as in the tale end.

Please don't sir. It's not because I don't trust you . Though I wish to help you , I can't do it. Please don't come to meet me again . Don't take us back to those memories we are trying to forget. No sir, I am helpless. I will never be able to help you. (*Drishyam* 2 00:20:23 – 00:20:49)

He justifies his deed morally correct though legally unacceptable. Attitudes plays a crucial role in the learning of criminal behaviour. Individuals develop favourable attitudes towards crime through repeated exposure to criminal acts and interactions with others who engage in criminal behaviour. These attitudes may involve beliefs that breaking the law is justified under certain circumstances, that criminal behaviour is a means to achieve personal goals or that law enforcement and authority should be resisted or undermined. Here Georgekutty thoroughly knows that only clear stand evidence could punish him, so he blocks all possible ways to hide his criminal deeds. It can be seen when he makes sure to get the body remains of a youngster of the same age and similar injuries of the victim to swap the skeleton remains. Overall, the fourth postulate of differential association theory highlights the multifaceted nature of learning criminal behaviour. It emphasises that individuals not only

acquire the practical skills to commit crimes but also learn the underlying motives, rationalisations and attitudes that support and justify their involvement in criminal activities.

The fifth postulate states, the direction of motives and drives towards criminal behaviour is learned through the interpretation of legal codes in one's geographical area as favourable or unfavourable.(Nickerson). Intensity of interactions with individuals who engage in criminal behaviour influence the degree of association and the extent to which criminal behaviour is learned. According to this postulate of differential association theory, individuals acquire their understanding of legal codes and societal norms through a process of cultural transmission. They learn the values, beliefs and rules of their community, including how the legal system defines and categorises criminal behaviour. Individuals interpret legal codes based on the cultural messages they receive from their immediate social environment, such as family, peers and other influential groups. These interpretations are shaped by the prevailing attitudes, opinions and norms surrounding criminal behaviour within their geographical area. Favourable or unfavourable interpretation is based on their social interactions and exposure to differing perspectives, individuals form subjective interpretations of legal codes as either favourable or unfavourable with regard to engaging in criminal behaviour. Here in the case of Georgekutty, we could easily determine his keen interest in watching movies, the portrayal of heroes in the movies as morally correct even when they commit a mistake might have influenced Georgekutty largely, this comes similar to a cultural transmission, transmission of ideas and beliefs through movies. Most of the legal formalities and procedures are known to Georgekutty through the screenwriter, who truly would be aware of those as he is involved in writing realistic crime movies. We could also see Georgekutty presenting a couple of climax scenes to the screenwriter after a great research; all these prove that he had great associations with legal codes. Georgekutty and Vinayachandran had differing ideas and perspectives that helped him to learn different

possibilities of the escape. It is also seen that Georgekutty has a friendly relationship with Santhipriya as Advocate Renuka – a defence lawyer appearing for Georgekutty. She helps him to face the police questioning by providing him with possible questions that would be asked to the criminal and also provide the defence statements that he should make. The differential association theory emphasises that the social context, including the geographical area, is crucial in shaping individuals' interpretations of legal codes. Legal codes and their enforcement can vary across different regions, influencing individuals' perception of the favourability or unfavorability of engaging in criminal behaviour. Georgekutty's cable office is situated near the police station and most of the time he gets into the conversation with the police officers frequently, which creates a social interaction that builds interpretations of legal codes. So here Georgekutty gets those criminalistic perspectives from people in legal background as well as those connected with that through a kind of cultural transmission. In short, within the framework of differential association theory, the statement suggests that individuals learn to interpret legal codes within their geographical area as favourable or unfavourable through social interactions and cultural transmission.

Sixth postulate of differential association is that differential association can vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity. The postulate acknowledges that not all social interactions have the same impact on the learning of criminal behaviour. The frequency, duration, priority and intensity of interactions with individuals who engage in criminal behaviour influence the degree of association and the extent to which criminal behaviour is learned. Individuals who have frequent, prolonged, prioritised and intense interactions with individuals involved in criminal behaviour are more likely to develop a stronger association and learn criminal behaviour to a greater extent. The more frequent the interactions, the greater the opportunity for learning criminal behaviour. Regular and repeated exposure to such individuals increases the likelihood of acquiring their attitudes, beliefs and behaviours

duration of interactions refers to the length of time individuals spend with those who engage in criminal behaviour. Prolonged contact provides more extensive exposure to criminal influences and increases the chances of learning criminal behaviour. The priority of interactions refers to the importance or significance individuals assign to their relationships with those who engage in criminal behaviour. The intensity of interactions refers to the strength, depth and emotional involvement individuals experience during their interactions with individuals engaged in criminal behaviour. In the case of Georgekutty, he gets in close interaction with people in the legal backgrounds or those connected to it as stated in the above postulate like advocate Renuka. It is through these individuals, with whom he has frequent, prolonged, prioritised, and intense interactions makes more likely to develop a stronger association and learn criminal behaviour to a greater extent.

The seventh postulate is that the process of learning criminal behaviour involves the same mechanisms as any other learning process. Sutherland argued that the learning process of criminal behaviour is similar to learning other types of behaviours. It involves reinforcement, rewards, punishments and observational learning. Individuals are more likely to engage in criminal behaviour if they observe others being rewarded or experiencing positive outcomes as a result of their criminal acts. Reinforcement refers to the consequences that follow behaviour and influence the likelihood of that behaviour recurring in the future. In the context of learning criminal behaviour, individuals are more likely to engage in criminal acts if they perceive that such behaviour is rewarded or reinforced. Here a different aspect of reinforcement happens. We are aware that he does all these criminalistic deeds to protect his family. He is a strong family person who has taken a stern pledge to take care of his family and therefore that is the ultimate reward he could get. After the successful escape from the punishment in the first part, he gained confidence to do further criminalistic deeds to protect the family in his hope that he would be successful again and reward his family protection. His

strong confidence is seen when he tells his wife that, "No one is going to find it. Trust me". (Drishyam 2 01:28:21- 01:28:23). Punishment refers to the consequences that follow a behaviour and deter individuals from engaging in that behaviour again. They may observe or experience the negative consequences or punishments associated with criminal activities, such as imprisonment, financial loss or damaged relationships. This punishment weakens the association between criminal behaviour and positive outcomes, reducing the likelihood of its repetition. Here Georgekutty faces a detachment from his neighbours, his native people etc. because everyone treats him as a brilliant criminal who has been tricking the entire police force for a long time. The police itself compliments him as "That man is a classic criminal". (Drishyam 2 02:26:09 – 02:26:10). The family also gets a false image through gossip about Georgekutty's elder daughter Anju George. He constantly faces abuses from the police department as his case has brought a very bad impact to the entire department. So all these have negative consequences and after each escape he is trying to frame another escape for the future. Imitation is a fundamental learning process where individuals observe and replicate the behaviours of others. Through observation, they acquire knowledge about the techniques, strategies and attitudes associated with criminal behaviour. Imitation plays a significant role in the acquisition and reproduction of criminal behaviours, as individuals learn from the actions of others and incorporate them into their own behavioural repertoire. Georgekutty has a great observational skill. It has been repeatedly told by his wife Rani that Georgekutty is illiterate so if at all he becomes this brilliant then it means he has great observational talent. It is well evident when he devises a plan to keenly watch the movements of police as well as not fall to people's trick on him. Hence, the seventh postulate is evident in Georgekutty.

Eighth postulate states, Criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values. This postulate states that criminal behaviour is not driven by specific needs or values but rather by general needs and values that are shared within a particular social group.

Criminal behaviour fulfils the same needs for individuals as non-criminal behaviour but is learned as an alternative means to achieve those ends. The postulate suggests that criminal behaviour is not motivated by unique or distinct needs and values but is rather an expression of general needs and values that are common among individuals within a particular social group. According to this perspective in differential association theory, individuals engage in criminal behaviour to fulfil the same fundamental needs and values as they would through non-criminal behaviour. However, they have learned that engaging in criminal acts provides an alternative means to achieve those ends. Here is a detailed explanation of this concept. The postulate recognizes that individuals have universal human needs and values that drive their behaviour. These needs may include physical and emotional well-being, social acceptance, economic security and the pursuit of personal goals. Similarly, the values individuals hold, such as success, respect, autonomy and fulfilment, are shared among members of society. As mentioned, for a family man like Georgekutty, the greatest human need that drives him is love, his emotional connection with his family that he would go to any extent to make them safe from the law. The statement made by Georgekutty to IG Geetha is repeated by her in the second part showing his need, "Six years back, he told us that to protect his family, he would do anything. And that he has only fair decisions before him". (Drishyam 2 02:03:09-02:03:17). So to achieve this he engaged in criminal behaviour and learned that committing illegal acts can be an alternative means to satisfy his general needs and values. This becomes his justification to rationalise his actions as necessary or justified in their specific circumstances.

The last and the ninth postulate states that criminal behaviour cannot be solely explained by general needs and values. While general needs and values may provide the underlying motivations for criminal behaviour, they are not sufficient to explain why certain individuals choose to engage in criminal acts while others do not. Instead, the postulate

emphasises that understanding individual variation in criminal behaviour requires considering the role of differential association and learning processes. Here's a detailed explanation of this concept. General needs and values refer to universal human desires and principles that guide individuals' behaviour. These needs may include physical and emotional well-being, social acceptance, economic security and personal fulfilment. Similarly, values such as success, respect, autonomy and fairness are shared among members of society. For instance, an individual may engage in criminal acts to fulfil their need for financial security, social status, power or personal satisfaction. Criminal behaviour is seen as a means to achieve these desired outcomes, albeit through illegal or deviant means. Here Georgekutty aims for the peaceful security for his family, that he is even ready to be the culprit for the sake of his daughter's accidental mistake. All he wants is to safeguard his daughter and keep up the reputation of his family. The final step he does to save his family from getting beaten by the police is confessing he has done the crime. "Sir, I killed that boy. I buried his body at the police station".(*Drishyam 2* 01:58:42 – 01:58:46). So his strong desire to save his family became the underlying need of Georgekutty. However, many individuals with similar needs and values choose legal and socially acceptable means to fulfil them. Therefore, additional factors must be considered to understand why certain individuals are more inclined towards criminal behaviour. Here Georgekutty does this illegally because he wants to safeguard his daughter's future. She is being sexually tortured by the villain with her bath scene, so if the public gets aware of it, she might get tortured by society too. So the ultimate motivation becomes the safety of his daughter. So if at all he goes with things legally it would certainly affect his daughter and family. In summary, the final postulate of differential association theory highlights that criminal behaviour cannot be solely explained by general needs and values.

Overall, the application of the theory of differential association to a specific criminal allows us to understand how their social interactions and associations have contributed to their criminal behaviour. By identifying and analysing these associations, it becomes possible to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that shape an individual's involvement in criminal activities. However, it is essential to consider that the theory of differential association does not discount other factors that may contribute to criminal behaviour, such as individual characteristics, psychological factors or structural inequalities. It should be viewed as one piece of the puzzle when comprehending why someone may have become involved in criminal activities. In conclusion, the theory of differential association provides valuable insights into understanding the development of criminal behaviour in individuals. When applied to a specific criminal, this theory suggests that their engagement in criminal activities is primarily influenced by the social interactions and associations they have had throughout their life.

Chapter 4

The Differential Association and The Poet

Sylvia Plath, one of the most dynamic and admired poets of the 20th century. By the time she took her life at the age of 30, Plath already had a following in the literary community. In the ensuing years her work attracted the attention of a multitude of readers, who saw in her singular verse an attempt to catalogue despair, violent emotion, and obsession with death. (Poetry foundation). She tragically passed away on February 11, 1963, at the age of 30.

Her poem *Daddy*, reflects the complicated relationship she had with her father, who died when she was young. Plath's emotional trauma and inner conflicts are evident in many of her poems, making her work a window into the mind of a poet dealing with mental illness. Plath's life and work have become inseparably intertwined, with her personal experiences heavily influenced her writing. Her willingness to address subjects such as mental illness, death and existential struggles in her poetry has made her a significant figure in the literary world. Despite the tragic aspects of her life, Sylvia Plath's legacy endures and her contributions to literature continue to be studied and appreciated by readers and scholars around the world

Plath is considered one of the pioneers of confessional poetry and has a poetic style that delves into deeply personal and sometimes dark subject matter. Her poems often explore her own emotional turmoil, struggles with depression and traumatic experiences, providing readers with intimate insights into her psyche that even led many literary critics and scholars to interpret her work through a psychological lens. Plath made several suicide attempts during her life, which adds to the differential association theory in the formation of the poet. Her suicide attempt occurred in 1953, when she overdosed on sleeping pills and was found

unconscious in a crawlspace later became the basis for her semi-autobiographical novel *The Bell Jar*. Throughout her life, Plath battled with depression, anxiety and other mental health issues. Her emotional instability and frequent bouts of severe depression are evident in her poetry, which often delves into her innermost struggles and pain. Plath's marriage to the poet Ted Hughes was characterised by intense highs and lows. They had a passionate relationship, but it was also tumultuous and fraught with conflicts. The breakdown of their marriage and subsequent separation took a toll on Plath's mental health. One of the earliest tragedies in Plath's life was the death of her father, Otto Plath, when she was just eight years old. His death had a profound impact on her emotional well-being and influenced much of her later writing, particularly in her famous poem *Daddy*. And the final tragedy happened on February 11, 1963, Sylvia Plath tragically took her own life at the age of 30 by inhaling gas from her kitchen oven. This shocking event left her family, friends and the literary community devastated.

Like the claims of the theory of differential association by Edwin Sutherland, we could examine the poet Sylvia Plath as a poet who could make a lot of her works as a result of her interpersonal communication and social interaction. The concept of differential association theory, as applied to poets, would focus on how their social interactions and associations influence their artistic expressions, themes and perspectives in their work. While this theory is primarily used to understand criminal behaviour, it can be adapted to explore how social interactions shape the creative output of poets.

Daddy by Sylvia Plath is a deeply personal and emotionally charged poem that explores the poet's complex feelings towards her deceased father and her tumultuous relationship with her husband. Her conflict with husband is also addressed by describing husband as "A man in black with a Meinkampf look //And a love of the rack and the screw."

(Plath, line 65-66). The poem was written in 1962 and published posthumously in 1965. In Daddy, Plath addresses her father directly, using vivid and controversial imagery to express her unresolved emotions and psychological struggles. The poem begins with the speaker addressing her father, who died when she was young, using metaphors that depict her fear and unease towards him. Plath portrays her father as a dominating and oppressive figure, comparing him to a Nazi and herself to a persecuted Jew. These metaphors symbolise the psychological impact of her father's death on her identity and her feelings of being trapped by his memory. In the later stanzas, the poem shifts to address the speaker's husband, Ted Hughes, whom she describes as a "Panzer-man, panzer-man, O You" (Plath, line 45) with a domineering presence similar to her father. Plath expresses a sense of entrapment and struggles for independence within her marital relationship. The poem then takes on a confrontational tone, with the speaker expressing her anger and frustration towards both her father and her husband. Plath uses the poem as a means to confront her unresolved feelings and to seek catharsis for her emotional struggles. Throughout *Daddy*, Plath employs powerful and controversial imagery, reflecting her intense emotions and psychological turmoil. The poem is known for its raw and unapologetic expression of anger and has been widely analysed for its exploration of themes such as father-daughter relationships, trauma, identity and the psychological impact of oppressive figures. In summary, Daddy is a deeply personal and emotionally charged poem in which Sylvia Plath confronts her complex feelings towards her deceased father and her troubled relationship with her husband. The poem delves into themes of fear, oppression, anger and the psychological struggles of the speaker, making it a significant and impactful work in Plath's body of poetry.

When applying the Differential Association Theory to Sylvia Plath's poem *Daddy*, we can draw interesting parallels in terms of the influence of social relationships on emotions, identity and behaviour etc. So, looking deeply into the theory with each of its postulates and

examining it with Sylvia Plath's poetic work *Daddy*, we could easily spot the birth of her work *Daddy* as a result of interpersonal communication and social interaction as per differential association theory.

Applying the first postulate, we modify the concept to focus on how a poet's creative tendencies and inclinations towards writing and art are learned and influenced through social interactions and environmental factors. A poet's family, community and early social interactions play a significant role in shaping their interests, values, and exposure to language and storytelling. Growing up in an environment that values literature, arts, and creative expression may foster a poet's interest in writing. So, Daddy expresses Sylvia Plath's emotions and perceptions of her father are shaped by her social interactions with him during her formative years. Her feelings of fear and oppression are products of her experiences and associations with her father. Additionally, the poem touches on the idea of definitions in the differential association theory, as Plath uses metaphors and vivid imagery to redefine her father in her mind as a menacing figure, "Marble-heavy, a bag full of God" (Plath, line 8). Moreover, Plath's emotions and attitudes towards her father can be seen as learned through her family dynamics and social environment. The loss of her father at a young age and the subsequent absence of his presence may have influenced her perceptions of him and contributed to the complex emotions she expresses in the poem. Societal and cultural influences make social interaction. The broader societal and cultural context in which a poet is born and raised can impact their choice of themes, language and writing style. Cultural norms, historical events and prevailing literary trends can shape a poet's creative expression. The 1960s was a period when traditional gender roles were still prevalent in society. The poem implies that such a world subjects women to repressive rules and violence at the hands of men, limiting their autonomy, self-expression and freedom.(Mottram) Plath's portrayal of her father as a dominating and oppressive figure can be seen as a reflection of the patriarchal

norms of the time. The imagery of Nazis, "Not God but a swastika" (Plath, line 46) and concentration camps in the poem can be linked to the aftermath of World War II and the Holocaust, which had a profound impact on collective consciousness during the 1960s. The memory of the war and its atrocities lingered in people's minds, influencing their perceptions and creative expressions. The early 1960s was marked by the height of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. The poem's reference to "the brute heart of a brute like you" (Plath, line 50) and the speaker's feelings of entrapment and oppression can be seen as symbolic of the political tensions and fear of authoritarianism during this period. The 1960s was a crucial time for the feminist movement, and Plath herself was an influential figure in feminist literature. The poem can be interpreted as a response to the constraints imposed on women and the struggle for self-liberation and empowerment. The poem serves as an emotional and artistic exploration of the effects of social learning on an individual's psyche and emotions.

The second postulate of differential association in the context of Sylvia Plath's poem *Daddy*, the learning of criminal behaviour through the process of communication refers to the idea that individuals can acquire harmful or destructive tendencies from their interactions with others, particularly influential figures like parents or authority figures. In *Daddy*, Sylvia Plath explores complex themes related to her troubled relationship with her father, who passed away when she was young. The poem delves into the psychological impact of this relationship and how it affected her life and creativity. Plath's father is depicted as a dominant and oppressive figure, and she expresses a mixture of fear, anger and longing in her portrayal. She even fears her father's "Aryan eye, bright blue." (Plath, line 44), the use of "eye" refers more to a watchful, authoritarian presence than to a literal pair of eyes. The poem suggests that the communication and interactions with her father have deeply affected her psyche, leading to emotional turmoil and an intense desire for independence and freedom. The

learning process here is not one of acquiring criminal behaviour, but rather the emotional and psychological burden passed on from her father. The poem portrays how communication and interaction within a family dynamic can shape a person's emotions, thoughts and even their creative expression. It highlights the way experiences and interactions within the family dynamic can leave lasting imprints on a person's psyche, leading them to grapple with complex emotions and themes in their artistic expressions.

The next postulate is of the idea that the learning of criminal behaviour is most likely to occur within close-knit and intimate groups can be applied to Sylvia Plath's poem Daddy in an allegorical sense. It does explore the notion of emotional and psychological oppression within a family dynamic, which can be seen as a metaphorical representation of the harmful influences that can arise in such close-knit groups. Plath's use of intense imagery, including references to the Holocaust and Nazi Germany, underscores the severity of the emotional burden she carries from her father's influence. The speaker continues by drawing parallels between her connection with her father and that of Jews and Nazis during the Holocaust. Her own struggle is highlighted by this analogy, which also demonstrates how authority and power are subject to public perception. "I have always been scared of you,// With your Luftwaffe, your gobbledygoo.// And your neat mustache" (Plath, lines 41-43). The speaker talks about being terrified of her father's "Luftwaffe" and "gobbledygoo"—on the one hand, the very real physical force that the Luftwaffe (the German air force) represented, and on the other hand, the mythology that their propaganda system spread, a mythology that, when looked at closely, was nothing but gobbledygoo (nonsense). The poem suggests that the cycle of emotional pain and oppression can be perpetuated within the intimate group, creating a toxic environment that affects the individual's emotional well-being and self-expression.

The fourth postulate of Edwin H. Sutherland's differential association theory states that learning criminal behaviour involves techniques, motives, rationalisations and attitudes, which are acquired through interactions with others, particularly within close-knit and intimate groups. When applied to Sylvia Plath's poem *Daddy*, we can draw connections to this postulate in the metaphorical sense. In the context of the poem, the techniques could refer to the methods or strategies used by Plath's father to exert control or dominance over her. This might be depicted through the metaphorical imagery and language in the poem, where she portrays herself as a victim under the oppressive influence of her father. The motives in the poem could pertain to the underlying reasons or intentions behind the father's behaviour and the impact it had on Plath's emotional development. Plath explores her feelings of fear, anger and longing, highlighting the complex motives that drive their interactions and shape her emotions. Its seen when she addresses her daddy as, "But no less a devil" (Plath, line 54) In Daddy, rationalisations could be seen as the justifications or excuses used by both the father and Plath herself to make sense of their actions and emotions. Plath wrestles with conflicting emotions towards her father, trying to rationalise the complex feelings she has towards him and her desire for independence. The attitudes in the poem refer to the predispositions and belief systems shaped by the interactions within the family group. Plath's portrayal of her father's oppressive and dominant attitude, along with her own struggle to break free, exemplifies how attitudes can be learned and internalised through such intimate interactions.

The fifth postulate of differential association theory states that the direction of motives and drives towards criminal behaviour is learned through the interpretation of legal codes in one's geographical area as favourable or unfavourable. When applied to Sylvia Plath's poem *Daddy*, we can draw connections to this postulate in a metaphorical sense, exploring the impact of emotional trauma and the struggle for liberation. In the context of the

poem, the legal codes can be seen as societal norms, expectations, and values that govern relationships and family dynamics. Plath's portrayal of her father as a dominant and oppressive figure can represent the unfavourable interpretation of these societal norms within her geographical area or cultural context. This interpretation may lead to emotional distress and trauma, as she feels confined and restricted by the traditional roles and expectations imposed upon her. Plath's intense emotions of fear, anger, and longing are indicative of the internal struggle she faces in navigating these norms and expectations. Furthermore, the interpretation of legal codes as unfavourable within the geographical area may influence Plath's attitude towards her father, herself and her place in society. This unfavourable interpretation could contribute to feelings of resentment and a desire for liberation, symbolised by her attempts to break free from the shadows of her father's dominance. "Bit my pretty red heart in two.//I was ten when they buried you.//At twenty I tried to die" (Plath , lines 56-58). Her suicide try at the age of twenty is itself her attempt to get liberation from father's dominance and get reunited with him.

The sixth postulate of differential association theory states that differential association can vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity. When applied to Sylvia Plath's poem *Daddy*, we can interpret how this variation in interactions and experiences with her father influences her emotional response and psychological impact. The frequency of interactions between Sylvia Plath and her father may have played a crucial role in shaping her emotional experiences and perceptions. If she had frequent and intense interactions with her father, the emotional impact of his dominant and oppressive presence would likely be more pronounced. The duration of Sylvia Plath's experiences with her father, both during her childhood and after his death, can affect the lasting impact of their relationship on her psyche. Long-term exposure to his influence may have contributed to the depth of her emotional struggles depicted in the poem. The priority given to her father's dominant presence in her life and the

significance of their relationship in shaping her identity may have influenced the intensity of her emotional response towards him. Plath's portrayal of her father as a larger-than-life figure in the poem suggests the high priority she placed on their relationship. Similarly was her relationship with her husband. She created a model of her father, a man dressed in all black who resembled a Nazi, whom she addressed as a dominant figure. The long nine years of marital life also intensified her emotions. "If I've killed one man, I've killed two // The vampire who said he was you//And drank my blood for a year,//Seven years, if you want to know." (Plath, lines 71-74). The intensity of the emotional experiences and interactions with her father, as depicted in the poem, could have contributed to the profound emotional trauma and feelings of entrapment that Plath expresses. Intense emotional experiences are more likely to leave lasting imprints on an individual's psyche. By considering the variations in frequency, duration, priority and intensity of the interactions between Sylvia Plath and her father in the poem Daddy, we can gain insight into how these factors shape the emotional and psychological impact of their relationship. The postulate allows us to understand how the dynamics of differential association, even within the context of family relationships, can play a significant role in shaping an individual's emotional experiences and responses.

The seventh postulate of differential association theory states that the process of learning criminal behaviour involves the same mechanisms as any other learning process. Edwin H. Sutherland argued that learning criminal behaviour is similar to learning other types of behaviours. It includes reinforcement, rewards, punishments and observational learning. When applied to Sylvia Plath's poem *Daddy*, we can explore how the mechanisms of learning and emotional experiences contribute to her portrayal of the father-daughter relationship. In the context of the poem, the reinforcement in the poem could be seen in how Plath's father's dominant and oppressive behaviour reinforces her feelings of fear and entrapment. The emotional impact of his actions and words might have influenced her

perception of herself and her role within the family dynamic. The concept of rewards in the poem may be represented by the emotional validation and sense of belonging Plath sought from her father, despite the difficulties in their relationship. The desire for acceptance and love from a parental figure can serve as a reward for certain behaviours. This is seen when she tries to kill herself at the age of twenty so that she can reunite with her father. "At twenty I tried to die//And get back, back, back to you." (Plath, lines 58-59). The punishments in the poem may not be explicit, but the emotional distress and feelings of oppression Plath experiences can be interpreted as a form of punishment. The fear of her father's dominating presence and her struggle to break free from it can be viewed as a response to the potential negative consequences of opposing his influence. Observational learning is evident in the poem through Plath's depiction of how her interactions with her father have influenced her emotional responses and psychological struggles. She observes the dominant behaviour of her father and experiences the impact it has on her emotions and sense of self.

The eighth postulate states that criminal behaviour is not driven by specific needs or values but rather by general needs and values that are shared within a particular social group. Criminal behaviour fulfils the same needs for individuals as non-criminal behaviour but is learned as an alternative means to achieve those ends. The poem *Daddy* by Sylvia Plath is an exploration of emotional struggles and psychological trauma aligns with her urge for an escape from the oppressive and dominating figure, her father. This becomes her general need. The poem centres around the speaker's relationship with her father, who died when she was young. Despite his absence, the father's influence looms large in the speaker's life. The poem suggests that even though the father is no longer physically present, his influence persists, impacting the speaker's emotional and psychological state.

The last and the ninth postulate states that criminal behaviour cannot be solely explained by general needs and values. So here in the poem, we see the female urge to get free from the clutches of patriarchy. The poem, written in 1962, is a powerful and deeply personal work that delves into themes of patriarchy, female oppression, and the complexities of gender roles. Plath's portrayal of her father as a dominant and oppressive figure can be interpreted as a representation of the patriarchal society in which she lived. During the mid-20th century, women often faced significant limitations in terms of education, career opportunities and personal freedoms. The poem reflects the frustration and sense of entrapment that many women experienced due to societal norms and expectations. Plath's emotional turmoil and her struggle to break free from her father's shadow can symbolise the larger fight for women's independence and liberation during that time. Women were increasingly challenging traditional gender roles and seeking greater agency in their lives. Daddy is a highly charged and angry poem, reflecting the frustration and rage that many women felt in a society that suppressed their voices and ambitions. It serves as an empowering work that confronts the male-dominated culture and seeks to reclaim female identity and autonomy.

In conclusion, interpersonal communication and social interactions in Sylvia Plath's *Daddy* significantly impact the speaker's emotions, self-perception, and psychological struggles. The poem explores complex relationships, especially the influence of the father figure and the broader social context in shaping the speaker's emotional experiences. Through vivid imagery and cathartic expression, the poem delves into the deep emotional impact of interpersonal communication within familial relationships.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The relevance of differential association theory lies in its contribution to the understanding of the social and environmental factors that influence criminal behaviour and deviance. Developed by Edwin H. Sutherland in the 1930s, the theory remains significant in criminology and sociology for several reasons. Differential association theory highlights the importance of social learning in shaping individuals' behaviour. It emphasises that criminal behaviour is not innate but learned through interactions with others, particularly within closeknit groups. This focus on socialisation and learning processes offers valuable insights into the development of criminal tendencies. The theory introduces the concept of cultural transmission, where values, norms, and behaviours are passed down from one generation to another within social groups. This perspective helps us understand how criminal subcultures can emerge and persist over time, perpetuating criminal behaviour within certain communities. Differential association theory recognizes that individuals' behaviours are influenced by the contexts in which they live and interact. It highlights the significance of family, peers and other social groups in shaping an individual's propensity for criminal behaviour. This contextual focus helps explain why crime rates may vary across different neighbourhoods and communities. Unlike some earlier theories that focused solely on individual traits or biological factors, Differential association theory highlights the social and environmental factors that contribute to criminal behaviour. It shifts the focus from a "born criminal" perspective to understanding how criminal tendencies are developed and reinforced within social environments. The theory's emphasis on social learning and cultural transmission has important implications for crime prevention and intervention programs. It suggests that efforts to reduce criminal behaviour should target the social environments and

interactions that contribute to the learning of deviant behaviour. By addressing underlying social factors, policymakers can design more effective crime prevention strategies.

Differential association theory continues to be relevant in contemporary times, as it provides a framework for understanding the influence of peer groups, media and digital interactions on criminal behaviour. In the age of social media and widespread communication, the theory's principles remain applicable in studying how individuals can be influenced by their online communities.

In summary, the Differential association theory remains a significant and influential perspective in criminology and sociology due to its focus on social learning, cultural transmission and the importance of social contexts in shaping criminal behaviour. The theory of differential association is one of the most important criminological theories in the lastsixty years (Maloku). Its emphasis on the role of socialisation and environmental influences provides valuable insights for understanding crime and developing effective strategies for crime prevention and intervention. Differential association predicts that an individual will choose the criminal path when the balance of definitions for law-breaking exceeds those for law-abiding. This tendency will be reinforced if social association provides active people in the persons life (Anand).

The application of the differential association theory to a criminal character in a movie can provide valuable insights into their behaviour, motivations and development as a character. By analysing the character's interactions, social influences and learned behaviours, we can gain a deeper understanding of their criminal actions and the factors that led them down that path. The theory highlights that criminal behaviour is learned through interactions with others. In the context of a movie, the character's upbringing, family background and social environment can influence one's choices and actions. By examining the character's

associations helps to understand how their criminal tendencies may have developed through the influence of their close social groups. The movie depicts how the character's interactions with others have normalised criminal behaviour and desensitised them to the consequences of their actions. Through repeated exposure to criminal values and rationalisations, the character may come to view criminal acts as acceptable or justified. According to the theory, individuals may develop rationalisations to justify their criminal behaviour. In the movie, the character may use such rationalisations to convince themselves and others that their actions are reasonable or necessary. The character's social interactions may have a profound emotional and psychological impact, contributing to their criminal tendencies. By applying the theory, it's possible to contextualise the character's criminal behaviour within their social environment. Understanding the character's associations and social influences can help the audience see how external factors have contributed to their criminal choices. Overall, applying the differential association theory to a criminal character in a movie provides a lens through which to understand the complexities of their actions. It can shed light on the social dynamics and influences that contribute to their criminality, making the character more nuanced and multi-dimensional within the context of the film's storyline.

The application of the differential association theory to poets can provide valuable insights into the poet's work, personal experiences and the development of their poetic themes and style. Poets often draw from their own life experiences, emotions and relationships, making the application of this criminological theory especially relevant in understanding how their poetry reflects the influence of social interactions and learned behaviours.

Poets often explore their relationships with family members, friends, partners and mentors in their work. By applying the theory, Its easy to analyse how these personal relationships shaped the poet's values, emotions and perspectives. Close associations with

influential individuals may have contributed to the poet's writing style, themes and poetic voice. The poet's social environment and upbringing play a significant role in shaping their identity and worldviews. Applying the differential association theory allows to understand how the poet's interactions with their social groups influenced the formation of their artistic identity and the autobiographical elements in their poetry. Poets often explore themes related to their personal struggles, emotions and life experiences. The theory can help identify the learned behaviours and values that are reflected in the poet's chosen themes and the ways in which their poetry addresses complex emotions, traumas or conflicts.

Poets may have literary role models who inspire and influence their writing style and content. These role models can be considered as part of their social associations, and the theory can help examine the impact of these influences on the poet's poetic expression and development.

They often draw from emotional experiences in their work. Applying the theory can help identify how emotional learning and rationalisations shaped their perceptions of the world, their personal struggles and their poetic exploration of emotions. By applying the theory, it is possible to contextualise a poet's work within the broader social and emotional context of their life. Understanding their social associations and experiences can provide a deeper appreciation of the nuances and meanings embedded in their poetry. Poets use their work as a means of self-reflection and catharsis. The application of the differential association theory can help reveal how the poet's poetry serves as a medium for processing and expressing their life experiences and emotions.

In conclusion, Differential Association theory was a game-changer in the field of criminology (Vinney). Applying the differential association theory to a poet can offer valuable insights into the influences of personal relationships, social environment, learned behaviours

and emotional experiences in their work. By understanding these factors, it is made possible to gain a deeper appreciation for the poet's artistic expression and the autobiographical elements that shape their poetry.

The differential association theory is relevant in daily life as it helps to understand how people learn behaviours and attitudes through their interactions and associations with others. Here are some ways in which the theory is applicable in daily lives. It constantly learns from the people one interacts with, including family members, friends, colleagues and acquaintances. The theory highlights that individuals can adopt behaviours, values and beliefs by observing and interacting with others. For example, children learn from their parents, and employees can pick up work habits from their coworkers. Peer groups have a significant impact on behaviour formation and decision-making. The theory emphasises that the more time one spends with certain individuals, the more likely to adopt their behaviours and attitudes. This is particularly relevant during adolescence when peer influence can shape choices related to lifestyle, fashion, hobbies and even risky behaviours. The theory also underscores the role of cultural norms and values in shaping behaviour. The exposure to social groups with different norms can lead to the adoption of certain practices. For instance, someone moving to a new city or country may gradually adopt the local customs and traditions. In the digital age, social media and online platforms play a significant role in daily lives. The theory is relevant in understanding how exposure to certain ideas, opinions and trends on these platforms can influence one's beliefs and behaviours. In educational settings, students are exposed to teachers, professors and classmates who can serve as role models. The theory helps us recognize that positive role models can inspire individuals to adopt constructive behaviours, while negative role models may influence individuals to engage in harmful actions. The theory is applicable to health-related behaviours. For example, if individuals are surrounded by friends who exercise regularly and prioritise healthy eating,

they are more likely to adopt similar habits. The theory's primary application is in understanding criminal behaviour. It helps to comprehend how individuals may be influenced by delinquent peers or exposed to criminal values, leading them to engage in illegal activities. The theory also explains how one tend to self-select social circles based on their interests and values. When surrounded with like-minded individuals, one reinforces and validate their beliefs and behaviours. In summary, the differential association theory provides valuable insights into how social interactions shape one's behaviours, attitudes and values. It is relevant in various aspects of daily life, helping to understand the influences that surrounds and the ways in which one learn and adapt from the social environment in which they are immersed.

While poets and criminals may seem like vastly different individuals, the application of the differential association theory reveals certain similarities in how social interactions and learned behaviours shape their respective lives. Both poets and criminals can be influenced by their social environment. Poets learn from interactions with family, friends, mentors and literary influences, which shape their artistic expression. Criminals, on the other hand, may learn criminal behaviour from close associates and peer groups who engage in illegal activities. Both poets and criminals can be influenced by role models in their lives. Poets may be inspired by literary figures and mentors who have a significant impact on their creative development. Criminals may look up to older criminals or delinquent peers as role models, adopting their behaviours and rationalisations. The theory highlights that emotions and psychological experiences can be shaped by social interactions. For poets, emotional experiences and personal struggles may inform their poetry, providing a medium for self-expression and catharsis. Similarly, criminals' emotions and unresolved traumas can contribute to their criminal tendencies and actions. Both poets and criminals are influenced by the social groups they belong to. Poets may be part of artistic communities where they

exchange ideas and creative insights. Criminals may belong to groups that engage in illegal activities, leading to the normalisation and acceptance of criminal behaviour. The differential association theory allows to contextualise the behaviours of both poets and criminals within their social environments. It helps to understand the impact of social associations and interactions on their respective actions and expressions. Both poets and criminals tend to self-select social circles based on their interests and values. Poets may gravitate towards fellow artists who share their passion for creativity, while criminals may form associations with like-minded individuals engaging in criminal activities. The theory underscores that behaviours and attitudes are learned through interactions with others. Poets learn from exposure to different artistic styles and literary traditions, shaping their creative approach. Criminals may adopt criminal values, techniques and rationalisations through their associations with delinquent individuals.

In summary, while poets and criminals occupy different ends of the behavioural spectrum, the application of the differential association theory reveals striking similarities in how social interactions and learned behaviours shape their lives. This emphasises the importance of considering the influence of social environments and associations on individuals, regardless of their chosen path in life. In conclusion, the application of the differential association theory to a poet and a criminal provides distinct insights into their respective behaviours and creative expressions. For the poet, the theory helps to understand how a poet's personal experiences, social interactions and associations shape their poetic themes, style and artistic identity. It highlights the influence of family, friends, mentors and literary role models in the poet's development as an artist. The theory reveals how emotional learning and social context contribute to the depth and authenticity of the poet's work. It emphasises the role of self-reflection and catharsis in the poet's use of poetry to process and express their emotions and life experiences.

For the criminal, the theory sheds light on how criminal behaviour is learned through interactions with others and influenced by close social groups. It helps to understand the impact of family, peers and role models in shaping the criminal's values, motivations and rationalisations for their actions. The theory reveals how criminal tendencies can be normalised within certain social contexts and influence the individual's perception of criminal acts. It provides a framework to contextualise the criminal's actions within their social environment and understand the factors contributing to their criminal choices.

In both cases, the Differential Association Theory underscores the significance of social interactions in shaping behaviour and identity. For the poet, these interactions contribute to the richness and authenticity of their artistic expression. For the criminal, the theory elucidates the social factors that influence their criminality, offering a deeper understanding of their choices and motivations. Overall, the application of the Differential Association Theory in these contexts serves to demonstrate the complexities of human behaviour, the influence of social interactions on individuals, and the relevance of considering social environments in understanding both artistic creation and criminal conduct.

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