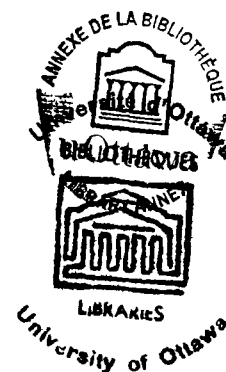


INDIVIDUAL AND ANOMIE

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of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

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Introduction

One of the most important dilemmas in human history is the relationship between the individual and society. This relationship determines what is acceptable behaviour and what is not. Developments in pure and social sciences have affected this relationship and consequently affected not only the definitions of delinquency and crime but also the approaches to them. The criminal law, assuming equality in humans, looks upon crime as a specific act, and to some, the only acceptable definition of crime is an act in violation of the criminal law notwithstanding the fact that the act could be criminal at one time and not criminal at another. This fact makes the individual a criminal not because he committed the act but because the act he committed was defined as criminal. To behavioural scientists, crime is a social phenomenon, whose extent and character varies with the 'metabolism' of the larger society, but whose occurrence is a matter of individual peculiarity. Theories of deviant behaviour usually explain the collective or the individual aspects but seldom both and in consequence fail as a valid explanation.

Anomie represents a bold attempt to link the individual and collective by relating the goals to which the individual aspires to the regulations and controls exercised by society regarding acceptable modes of reaching them. Yet, as the review of the literature presented in Chapter II indicates, in the sociologists' attempt to make sociology an

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objective science in its own right, the significant role played by the individual has not been adequately acknowledged. Throughout, research on anomie has focussed on the individual as the unit of analysis more often than the group, and, also the major variables have often been psychological ones. But the hypothesis assumes that all individuals are permitted to aspire to the same lofty goals and explains delinquency in terms of failure of the social structure to allow equal opportunities to achieve these goals. The hypothesis fails to consider what the differential distribution of ability in the form of intelligence, knowledge acquired, adaptability and the like, does to the achievement of similar aspirations. It is this aspect that this study seeks to explore.

Aspiration is not a fixed quantum, taken from the culture and swallowed whole, to lodge unchanged within individual psyches. It is subject of constant evaluation and change according to the experience of the individual. Success and achievement lead to escalation of aspirations while failure and non-achievement to de-escalation. Non-adaptation and non-adjustment of aspirational levels in the light of one's life experience leads to an inner conflict producing a state of psychological anomie commensurate perhaps with the sociological anomie of the environment in which the individual lives and operates. The critical point of inquiry would be an investigation of the reasons why some persons living in an anomic environment become psychologically

anomic while others under the same circumstances do not.

The interpretation of anomie adopted in this study is essentially that of a disjuncture between goals and means. However, instead of viewing this disjuncture as one existing in society as perceived by Merton or one stemming from a conflict between the individual's aspirations and the means made available to him as conceived by Cohen, in this study the disjuncture is lodged fairly and squarely within the individual. It is seen as a conflict stemming from the individual's perception of what society wants him to do and his perception what he could do in the existing social structure - a disjuncture that stems from the individual's failure to adjust his aspirations in view of his total experience in society.

In designing the model of research many problems were encountered regarding the definition of a delinquent. These problems are discussed in Chapter I. For the purpose of this study, mainly because it was conceived to be nearer the factual situation, the delinquent was seen not as one different in a dichotomous way from the non-delinquent but different as a matter of degree. The delinquent and non-delinquent were conceived as being capable of location on a continuum which identified the individual's readiness to act in a delinquent fashion and consequently the degree or state of his delinquency. For the measurement of delinquency the Nye scale seemed appropriate and was used. Also used, however, were two additional measures - previous convictions and previous incarcerations.

As a measure of psychological anomie the Srole scale was considered for this study. The Elmore scale of psychological anomie seemed more relevant as it could measure various facets of anomie. Both these scales were used in this study and the scores were correlated to each other. These tests were given to the total population of 40 of an Ontario Adult Training Centre. Two of the residents did not fill out the questionnaire. One of them did not want to participate and the other had difficulty in reading and writing. Proper instructions were read to them before the test. One instruction was added to Nye scale as participants were advised to answer the questions as they were applicable to their 16th birthday considering legal age for driving and drinking.

INSTRUCTIONS

Name.....Date.....
Last First

On the following pages are listed a number of statements which express certain personal attitudes or feelings. Following each item is a scale such as this:

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

You are to indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with what the statement says by circling the x above one of the five possible answers.

The following examples are given to give you an idea of how you are to mark your answers. For instance if you definitely agree or are sure you agree with a statement you should circle the x as follows:

(x)	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

If you only slightly agree with a statement but not very much, you would circle an x this way:

x	(x)	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

If you have an extremely hard time trying to decide whether you agree or disagree and are undecided you should circle the x as follows:

x	x	(x)	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

vi.

To show that you slightly disagree with a statement you may circle an x in this manner:

x	x	x	(x)	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

If you are rather sure of your disagreement or definitely disagree with a statement, circle the x as shown here:

x	x	x	x	(x)
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

For each statement circle only one x. Don't skip any statements. There are no right or wrong answers. You are simply to carefully read each statement and then indicate your reaction by circling one of the x's above the five possible answers.

For practice, give your response to this statement:

Eighteen-year-old men should be allowed to vote.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

1. Life is a rat race where more is expected of a man than he is able to accomplish.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

2. To avoid trouble, things would be better off if people of different colors didn't mix.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

3. Nothing seems to turn out right any more so why even try?

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

4. Now that there are better means of transportation, it appears very probable that almost all men will come to agree with each other over important matters.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

5. In order for us to do good work, our bosses should outline carefully what is to be done and exactly how to go about it.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

6. It's getting more difficult all the time to have a happy family.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

7. It seems to me that people are acting more and more like animals.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

8. In getting ahead today you sometimes must use foul means as well as fair ones.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

9. In one sense, I feel that all men are my brothers.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

10. My family has stuck by me through thick and thin.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

11. People are too busy to help each other today.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

12. Since the future is predictable it is possible to plan ahead.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

13. You have to be a schemer in business in order to make a profit.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

14. Getting a good job depends mainly on being lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

15. Everything worthwhile is slipping away.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

16. It's hard to see that anything is worthwhile nowadays.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

17. I frequently find that two of my thoughts are at war with each other.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

18. If a man will work hard and study today, he can be pretty assured that a job will be open for him later.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

x.

19. With the group of young men coming along today our country will be in safe hands.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely Agree	Slightly Agree	Very Undecided	Slightly Disagree	Definitely Disagree

20. In order to get along in the world it's best to always follow orders and do exactly what people expect of you.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely Agree	Slightly Agree	Very Undecided	Slightly Disagree	Definitely Disagree

21. I feel that the skids have been knocked out from under me.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely Agree	Slightly Agree	Very Undecided	Slightly Disagree	Definitely Disagree

22. I've always wanted to work to provide my family with the better things of life, but it seems that somebody has always beat me out of the good jobs.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely Agree	Slightly Agree	Very Undecided	Slightly Disagree	Definitely Disagree

23. My life has been barren and meaningless.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely Agree	Slightly Agree	Very Undecided	Slightly Disagree	Definitely Disagree

24. A person's future is largely a matter of what fate has in store for him.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely Agree	Slightly Agree	Very Undecided	Slightly Disagree	Definitely Disagree

25. There have been many times when I would have been glad to get sick just so I could get away from the rush of the everyday world.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

26. As time goes by I feel that my family and friends have become more unconcerned about me.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

27. People of different races should not be allowed to own homes in the same neighbourhood

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

28. Most people have so much trouble of their own that they aren't concerned about mine.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

29. Luckily, most people are able to get most of the good things in life today.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

30. As I see it now I don't owe my family anything.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

31. I feel that most of the things I do would make my family feel proud of me.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

32. Those men who are in power are concerned with assisting the individual man.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

33. When I hurt inside, most people are concerned about how I feel.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

34. I feel that I'm losing everything I've gained in life.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

35. The world is becoming more and more civilized.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

36. I feel that people understand each other more nowadays than in the past.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

37. People with strange religions should not be allowed to build churches in our good Christian communities.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

38. Sometimes it's all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

39. My parents felt that I was an important member of the family.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

40. I often feel as if it would be good to get away from it all.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

41. I care what people think about me so much that I wouldn't do anything to go against their wishes.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

42. It seems that with every step I take forward that I slip two steps backward.

Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

43. It bothers me because I am often torn between love and hate for members of my family.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

44. When people tell you they will do something nowadays you can usually depend on it.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

45. Most of the unhappy things in my life have been due to bad luck.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

46. With the great increase in crime and juvenile delinquency, it looks like the present generation of young people is getting completely out of control.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

47. In most respects, life seems worthwhile.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

48. A person's life is largely determined by what people expect him to do, so he might as well try not to disappoint them.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

49. You just can't win for losing.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

50. Our government and courts are being so strengthened today that in the years ahead people will have a better chance to be heard and to receive a square deal.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

51. Most people love themselves rather than their neighbor.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

52. When your family is expecting a good living, you can't let them down no matter what you have to do to make a dollar.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

53. People ignore my feelings and don't pay any attention to me.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

54. Our country is on an even keel.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

55. I used to know what was what, but now I don't know which way to turn.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

56. In the future a man will probably have a much better opportunity to provide for his family.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

57. Although there is much to be done, some way will be found to do it.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

58. As time has gone by, so many old ideas have fallen by the wayside that finding the right way to live is easier today.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

59. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over what happens to me.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

60. Some races of men obviously are superior to others.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

61. Leaders are more concerned with serving themselves than with serving others.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

62. Considering the shape that our country and the world is in right now, it is not right to bring children into the world.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

63. I was never allowed to express my opinions when I was a child.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

64. If you want to be liked, the best thing to do is to go along with the crowd.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

65. I seem to be getting nowhere fast.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

66. There appears to be no rhyme nor reason to living today.

x	x	x	x	x
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

67. As I see it now, the future looks pretty empty for me.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

68. Much of the time I have the feeling that no one really cares about me.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

69. Nobody will help you out of the ditch today.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

70. There is so much to be done and no way to do it.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

71. I feel that I'm winning the battle of life.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

72. The Golden Rule is all right, but if you always try to follow it in real life, people will take advantage of you.

X	X	X	X	X
Definitely	Slightly	Very	Slightly	Definitely
Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree

ELMORE SCALE OF ANOMIE

Name _____

G. Meaning- lessness		I. Value- lessness		II. Hope- lessness		III. Power- lessness		IV. Alone- ness		V. Close- mindedness	
+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
1	☐	4	☒	1	☐	5	☐	3	☐	2	☐
6	☐	7	☐	6	☐	6	☐	6	☐	8	☐
11	☐	12	☒	11	☐	10	☒	9	☒	10	☒
15	☐	19	☒	13	☐	11	☐	15	☐	14	☐
16	☐	21	☐	18	☒	14	☐	24	☐	17	☐
23	☐	26	☒	24	☐	22	☐	28	☐	20	☐
33	☒	29	☒	26	☒	24	☐	33	☒	27	☐
34	☐	32	☒	30	☐	25	☐	35	☒	31	☒
38	☐	41	☐	40	☐	33	☒	38	☐	36	☒
42	☐	42	☐	42	☐	40	☐	39	☒	37	☐
49	☐	44	☒	47	☒	45	☐	51	☐	40	☐
54	☒	46	☐	50	☒	49	☐	53	☐	41	☐
60	☐	49	☐	53	☐	57	☒	58	☒	43	☐
62	☐	54	☒	56	☒	63	☐	63	☐	48	☐
65	☐	55	☐	64	☐	68	☐	70	☐	52	☐
69	☐	61	☐	66	☐	71	☒			59	☐
				72	☐					67	☐

Σ Σ

Σ Σ

Σ Σ

Σ Σ

Σ Σ

Σ Σ

SUBTEST

Σ Col. 1

minus

Σ Col. 2

=

Raw Score

G. Meaninglessness

-

=

_____ (G)

I. Valuelessness

-

=

_____ (I)

II. Hopelessness

-

=

_____ (II)

III. Powerlessness

-

=

_____ (III)

IV. Aloneness

-

=

_____ (IV)

V. Closedmindedness

-

=

_____ (V)

SROLE'S ANOMIA SCALE

In spite of what some people way, the lot of the average man is getting worse.

x	x	x	x	x
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

x	x	x	x	x
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

x	x	x	x	x
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.

x	x	x	x	x
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

x	x	x	x	x
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

SCORING SHEET

SROLE'S ANOMIA SCALE

- (I) In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.
- (2) Strongly agree and agree
- (0) Undecided, disagree and strongly disagree.
- (II) It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
- (2) Strongly agree and agree
- (0) Undecided, disagree, strongly disagree.
- (III) Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
- (2) Strongly agree, agree, and undecided
- (1) Disagree
- (0) Strongly disagree.
- (IV) These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.
- (2) Strongly agree and agree
- (0) Undecided, disagree and strongly disagree.
- (V) There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
- (2) Strongly agree and agree
- (1) Undecided and disagree
- (0) Strongly disagree

NYE SCALE

Circle the appropriate x indicating the answer applicable on your 16th birthday.

Driven a car without a driver's license or permit? (Do not include driver training courses)

x	x	x	x
Very Often	Several times	Once or twice	No

Taken little things (worth less than \$2) that did not belong to you?

x	x	x	x
No	Once or twice	Several times	Very Often

Bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor? (Include drinking at home)

x	x	x	x
No	Once or twice	Several times	Very Often

Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you?

x	x	x	x
Very Often	Several times	Once or twice	No

Skipped school without a legitimate excuse?

x	x	x	x
No	Once or twice	Several times	Very Often

Had sex relations with a person of the opposite sex?

x	x	x	x	x	x
No	Once or twice	3 or 4 times	5 or 6 times	7 or 8 times	nine times or more

xxiii.

Defied your parents' authority (to their face)?

x	x	x	x
No	Once or twice	Several times	Very Often

SCORING SHEET

NYE'S DELINQUENCY SCALE

- Question I: Driven a car without a driver's license or permit (Do not include driver training courses).
- Question II: Taken little things (worth less than \$2) that did not belong to you.
- Question III: Bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor? (Include drinking at home)
- Question IV: Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you?
- Question V: Skipped school without a legitimate excuse?
- (0) No
- (1) Once or twice
- (2) Several times, very often.
-
- Question VI: Had sex relations with a person of the opposite sex?
- (0) No
- (1) Once or twice, 3 or 4 times
- (2) 5 or 6 times, 7 or 8 times, nine times or more.
-
- Question VII; Defied your parents' authority (to their face)?
- (0) No
- (1) Once or twice
- (2) Several times, very often

MASTER DATA SHEET

ITEM SUBJECT	AGE	E.L.	P.C.	P.I.	NYE	SROLE	E.G.	E.1	E.2	E.3	E.4	E.5	E.T.	I.Q.
1	22	10	4	0	7	2	30	28	4	15	14	9	100	69
2	18	11	1	0	12	8	25	26	1	17	10	13	92	76
3	20	8	5	1	7	6	21	22	15	8	13	21	100	76
4	17	10	13	2	11	10	43	19	4	16	2	15	99	104
5	16	10	2	0	12	8	45	39	10	10	9	11	124	96
6	16	8	3	0	12	10	24	26	8	14	13	12	97	92
7	18	10	7	0	8	3	17	20	11	16	10	19	93	91
8	19	10	1	0	11	6	30	22	12	17	11	10	102	105
9	17	8	5	1	10	8	29	22	15	7	4	8	85	60
10	18	9	3	0	9	3	29	19	2	14	2	20	86	101
11	18	8	0	0	10	4	30	13	12	12	4	14	85	75
12	16	8	0	0	8	8	30	19	2	22	8	30	111	79
13	17	9	9	7	13	8	25	25	30	16	21	5	105	97
14	21	10	2	0	6	6	27	30	9	15	15	20	116	59
15	20	10	0	0	11	3	32	19	10	22	7	9	99	109
16	16	10	0	0	8	7	24	24	5	12	7	20	92	89
17	17	9	4	0	6	4	21	22	1	14	12	13	83	98
18	21	10	3	0	9	8	25	21	3	21	13	16	99	74

ITEM SUBJECT	AGE	E.L.	P.C.	P.I.	NYE	SROLE	E.G.	E.1	E.2	E.3	E.4	E.5	E.T.	I.Q.
19	22	13	0	0	3	2	9	22	11	16	6	10	74	110
20	17	9	1	0	9	8	23	24	6	11	10	12	86	102
21	18	10	6	0	11	3	18	28	7	12	12	9	86	105
22	17	9	4	1	8	5	39	18	11	17	5	10	100	90
23	18	11	0	0	11	6	22	22	10	13	11	10	88	119
24	19	9	4	0	9	6	19	20	4	14	17	17	91	75
25	18	8	7	3	10	8	28	32	9	19	2	5	95	87
26	19	10	2	0	9	3	22	21	9	14	10	11	87	104
27	23	11	6	4	12	7	30	27	-5	14	19	18	103	107
28	18	13	7	0	12	3	30	19	1	12	5	15	82	89
29	19	10	5	3	7	2	22	30	11	13	12	19	107	90
30	17	9	2	2	10	7	36	13	7	10	7	10	83	88
31	17	9	5	2	7	3	22	19	6	18	9	21	95	79
32	17	10	1	0	13	10	44	27	11	8	11	19	120	113
33	18	8	3	1	11	8	34	27	7	15	10	17	110	113
34	16	9	1	0	13	6	38	25	12	5	3	15	98	71
35	18	9	2	0	12	9	28	24	3	10	11	16	92	79
36	17	10	1	0	8	8	34	21	5	21	17	23	121	84

ITEM SUBJECT	AGE	E.L.	P.C.	P.I.	NTE	SHOLE	E.G.	E.1	E.2	E.3	E.4	E.5	E.T.	I.Q.
37	19	10	3	1	3	6	26	20	11	23	8	6	94	95
38	19	11	7	1	9	4	29	24	-2	10	3	12	76	101

CHAPTER I
DELINQUENCY AND THE DELINQUENT

Legally a crime is any act or omission prohibited by public law for the protection of the public, and made punishable by the state in a judicial proceeding in its own name. Legal definition has been used in most of the studies as it seems more practical and handily provides experimental and control groups, i.e., delinquents and non-delinquents. A criminal offence involves a violation which the community disapproves sufficiently to require or demand that some action be taken against the person who violates the law. Most of the researchers utilize data collected directly from persons defined as criminal, alcoholic, from broken homes, etc. But such data as are collected rarely treat the basic dependent variables under consideration, i.e., crime, alcoholism, broken home, etc. Rather, they are concerned with etiological variables and processes, having accepted the definitions of subjects as criminal, alcoholic, from broken home, etc. The continuous distribution is ignored. For example, the major concern of the studies dealing with family pathologies has been broken home, i.e., a home with one parent missing due to death, divorce or desertion. Sociological literature is full of studies which have demonstrated positive relationship between delinquency and the broken home. Monahan (14) affirms it. Toby (21) states that broken home acts as a criminal influence. Shaw and McKay (16) felt that proper socialization was not possible in a broken home when they compared

the incidence of broken homes among Chicago schoolboys and male juvenile delinquents, but they could not establish significant impact of broken home on delinquency. Short and Nye (17) have suggested that the utilization of data on reported behaviour is a more reliable measure of social deviance. Nye (15) used reported behaviour techniques to study the relative happiness of broken and unbroken homes. He found that children from unhappy unbroken homes reported a "higher" incidence of delinquent behaviour and of psychosomatic symptoms, and greater parent-child adjustment problems, than did children from homes broken by divorce.

Gold (6) attempted to measure delinquency among teenagers in Flint, Michigan, and found only about 3 percent of all the chargeable offences reported by the youngsters in the sample resulted in police apprehension of the offender, and, if the offender came from a higher status family, police were more likely to handle the matter themselves without referring it to the courts. It is further pointed out that the majority of even the most delinquent boys are unknown to the police and the courts. Researchers who generalize about delinquents from apprehended or adjudged delinquents should be cautioned by these data.

Criminal statistics do not contain information about the criminal conduct that actually occurs as they are based on the recorded criminality. This recorded criminality is only a "sample" of the total criminality, the later being unknown quantity. If we accept violation of law as the basis then it seems safe to say that almost all have been

delinquent at some time. We can distribute the population as follows:

- (i) Those who did not violate any law at any time (insignificant minority);
- (ii) Those who violated but are not caught (the significant majority);
- (iii) Those who violated and were caught (significant minority).

This last category filters through our criminal justice system and the end result is adjudged (caught, charged and found guilty) as delinquent.

Tennenbaum (20) pointed out that the process of making the criminal is a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious; it becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing, and evolving the very traits that are complained of. This perspective on deviance suggests that it is not the actor alone, but more prominently the "reactors", or the agents of social control, who are responsible for the problems of crime and related forms of deviance.

Wheeler and Cattrell (22) feel that unless a person has been defined and put into a clear category, societal response to that person is informal and unorganized. The official labelling of a misbehaving youth as delinquent has the effect of placing him in such a category. This official stamp may help to organize responses different from those that would have arisen without the official action. The result is that

the label has an important effect upon how the individual is regarded by others. If official processing results in an individual's being segregated with others so labelled, an additional push toward deviant may result.

Kitsus (11) contends that deviance may be conceived as a process by which the members of a group, community, or society (i) interpret behaviour as deviant, (ii) define persons who so behave as a certain kind of deviant, and (iii) accord them the treatment considered appropriate to such deviants. A sociological theory of deviance must explicitly take into account the variety and range of conceptions held by persons, groups, and agencies within the society concerning any form of behaviour. It must focus specifically upon the interactions which not only define behaviours as deviant but also organize and activate the application of sanctions by individuals, groups, or agencies.

Classification of the incarcerated offenders is considered as one of the cornerstones of any progressive correctional system as it allows the proper utilization of treatment resources but Grygier (7) warns against the possible dangers involved: The mere process of sorting and labelling cannot, of itself, improve the effectiveness of treatment. . On the contrary it contains inherent dangers and unleashes powerful forces which are likely to work against, rather than for the therapeutic goal. Becker (1) has popularized the notion that deviance is created in part by the social groups making and applying the rules

whose infraction constitutes deviance. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender. The deviant is the one to whom that label has successfully been applied, deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label. Whether an act is deviant depends on how other people react to it and this reaction varies greatly. The same behaviour may be an infraction of the rules at one time and not another; may be an infraction when committed by one person but not when committed by another; some rules are broken with impunity, others are not.

Cohen and Short (4) contend that delinquency cannot be assumed to be a potentiality of human nature which automatically erupts when the lid is off. Matza (13) feels that there is a missing element, an element in the nature of an impetus - by which the possibility of delinquency is realized. He suggests that this missing element is "will". The will to repeat old infractions requires nothing very dramatic or forceful. Once the bind of the law has been neutralized and the delinquent put in drift, all that seems necessary to provide the will to repeat old infractions is preparation. Neutralization makes the offences morally feasible since it seems to obliterate, or put out of mind, the dereliction implicit in it.

Delinquency like most things can be done badly, and thus those who do it very badly may choose not to - unless they are compelled,

committed, or otherwise coerced. As Cloward (2) has persuasively argued, failure in the legitimate order does not guarantee success on the illegitimate side. The will to crime is encouraged when the predictable counteracting efforts of official authority are not seen as so menacing and thwarting that the potential offender is immobilized and the culmination of drift forestalled.

According to Matza (13) drift stands midway between freedom and control. Its basis is an area of the social structure in which control has been loosened, coupled with the abortiveness of adolescent endeavor to organize an autonomous subculture, and thus an independent source of control, around illegal action. The delinquent "transiently" exists in a limbo between convention and crime, responding in turn to the demands of each, flirting now with one, now the other, but postponing commitment, evading decision. Thus, he drifts between criminal and conventional action.

Drift is motion guided gently by underlying influences. The guidance is gentle and not constraining. Drift is a gradual process of movement, unperceived by the actor, in which the first stage may be accidental or unpredictable and the delinquent path may be similarly accidental or unpredictable. Some men are freer than others. Most men including delinquents, are neither wholly free nor completely constrained but fall somewhere between. The general conditions underlying various positions along a continuum from freedom to constraint may be described.

The delinquent is an actor neither compelled nor committed to deeds nor freely choosing them; neither different in any simple or fundamental sense from the law abiding, nor the same; conforming to certain traditions in life while partially unreceptive to other more conventional traditions; and finally, an actor whose motivational system may be explored along lines explicitly commended by classical criminology - his peculiar relation to legal institutions.

It is now largely agreed that delinquent behaviour, like most social behaviour, is learned in the process of social interactions. Sutherland's (18) theory of differential association asserts that criminal or delinquent behaviour involves the learning of (a) techniques of committing crimes and (b) motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes favorable to the violation of law. According to Sykes and Matza (19) the basic characteristic of the delinquent subculture is a system of values that represents an inversion of the values held by respectable, law-abiding society. The world of the delinquent is the world of the law-abiding upside down and its norms constitute a countervailing force directed against the conforming social order. Cohen (3) sees the process of developing a delinquent subculture as a matter of building, maintaining, and reinforcing a code for behaviour which exists by opposition, which stands in point by point contradiction to dominant values, particularly those of the middle class.

Norms may be violated without surrendering allegiance to them.

Norms, especially legal norms, may be neutralized. Criminal law is especially susceptible of neutralization because the conditions of applicability, and thus inapplicability, are explicitly stated. Most if not all norms in society are conditional. Rarely, if ever, are they categorically imperative. However, most norms, due to lesser codification and lesser rationalization, are stated generally. The criminal law, more so than any comparable system of norms, acknowledges and states the principled grounds under which an actor may claim exemption. The law contains the seeds of its own neutralization. The idea of neutralization suggests that modern legal systems recognize the conditions under which misdeeds may not be penally sanctioned.

The subcultural delinquent unwittingly extends the conditions of inapplicability considerably beyond the point conceded in law, but in so doing he extends them along the same general lines already indicated in legal principles. The delinquent's extension and thus neutralization proceed along the lines of the negation of responsibility, the sense of injustice, the assertion of tort, and the primacy of custom. Sykes and Matza (19) contend that much delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognized extension of defenses to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviance that are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large.

Lemert's (12) development of the secondary deviance concept is the classic statement of the hypothesis that others' reaction to

subject intensifies subject's behaviour. The sequence of interaction leading to secondary deviance is roughly as follows: (i) primary deviance; (ii) social penalties, (iii) further primary deviance, (iv) stronger penalties and rejection, (v) further deviance, perhaps with hostilities and resentment beginning to focus upon those doing the penalizing, (vi) crisis reached in the tolerance quotient, expressed in formal action by the community stigmatizing of the deviant, (vii) strengthening of deviant conduct as a reaction to the stigmatizing and penalties, (viii) ultimate acceptance of deviant social status and efforts at adjustment on the basis of the associated role.

Concerns of this perspective on deviance include (a) locating the social origins of stigmatic labels, (b) documenting the application of these labels to selected populations, and (c) assessing the consequences of the labelling process for the recipients' future conduct. The first two concerns focus on labelling rather than the behaviour of the person labelled. From this view of the problem, deviance is simply "defined" as those persons and acts that get caught and labelled as deviant. Labelling is taken as the dependent variable, and the search is for sociological variables that may casually influence this labelling process. A test of Lemert's version of the labelling argument would involve the rejection of the hypothesis that social labels accurately identify persistent behavioural differences whose variance is independent of societal response.

Hackler (8) provides supportive research of the "reactions hypothesis" in the area of juvenile delinquency. The model presented in this study is that children who are in a recognizable status (lower class, for example) are expected to behave in a predicted way. These predictions or anticipations on the part of the adult world are perceived by the child and are important to the development of his self concept. The perceived responses constantly indicate to the child the type of person he is and what is expected of him. "This leads to self-categorizations and, along with the perceived expectations, influences the roles he will seek to play in an effort to behave in ways compatible with his imagined characteristics and capacities" (8, p. 512).

Hackler (8) operationalizes the above conceptual statement and his sample is 221 9th grader boys in a medium sized U.S. city. There are 36 separate tests but the major theme is: the perception of other's anticipation is the crucial variable in predicting delinquent behaviour. His conclusion is: "...the model approximates reality to some degree." The problematic assumption is the presumed absence of pre-existent behavioural tendencies among the potentially deviant. The question thus revolves around the problem of "how much" "other's reaction to subject" and/or "perceptions of other's expectations" adds to the subject's already established behavioural tendencies.

A more recent study that moves some distance toward this goal is reported by Fisher (5). The design of this investigation involves

comparisons between groups of youth placed on probation (an experimental group) and others without such experience (a control group); the criteria of comparison are academic and non-academic performance in school. The theoretical basis of the test comparisons is stated as: "If definition as a deviant leads to increased imputation of negative attributes, and thus to increased deviance, this should be reflected in a comparison of performance of 'deviants' and 'non-deviants' in the school system."

Fisher uses 'before' and 'after' probation data and concludes: "...the essential differences between the two groups may not begin with the label but may have to do with school adaptation prior to the label" (5, p. 82).

To solve the problem of deviance, "reactions hypothesis" leads to therapy: If we will react with positive expectations to the deviant, he will respond with behaviour that conforms to these expectations. In its most extreme form, such therapies may be imposed upon subjects whose psychological make-up obviates the possibilities of responding with the desired behaviour. Hackler (9) reports the results of an Opportunity for Youth project conducted in Seattle in 1964. The main theme of the program was: boys were placed in positions where it would be difficult for them to fail, success was practically guaranteed. It was hoped that those boys would begin to see themselves as capable and adequate. The findings of this project were: "The control group seemed to show more change in a favourable direction than the four experimental groups. The differences are not large, but they show, clearly and painfully, that

the action program had no impact on the boys" (9 p. 160).

What the data from this study may indicate is the 'good boys' (as evaluated by school counselling records) are more easily influenced by the manipulation of others' reactions to them, than are 'bad boys'. This interpretation of the findings is consistent with the approach that label must, at least some of the time, correctly identify consistent behavioural tendencies that are resistant to alteration through optimistic redefinition. Hagan (10) after reviewing literature concerning labelling and deviance asks the crucial question. Others' reactions to subject may indeed influence subject's behaviour, but the more pressing question is "how much"? Part of the answer to this question insists on the fact that labels do often correctly identify consistent and enduring behavioural differences. To answer the question in full, the labelling perspective must be associated with a taxonomy that locates those subjects and situations where social redefinition can make a lasting behavioural difference. Among factors relevant to the development of such a taxonomy, are those psychological differences associated with criminality. Psychogenic factors are characterized in terms of their 'contributing' influence to criminality, forming a context in which labelling effects may occur. The challenge involves the development of a 'treatment taxonomy' that is grounded, where relevant, in psychological characteristics distinctive of particular offender roles.

Labelling hypothesis explains what happens after the first

act of delinquency. It does not act before. Remaining unanswered is the question what prompted the first act. Matza (13) postulates drift - a sort of random commission of deviant acts. Cohen (3) on the other hand postulates a different mechanism. According to him the delinquent act is a reaction to the failure of society to provide the individual with adequate legitimate means to achieve the goals he is to achieve. Though the theory is one of subculture, the basic mechanism is one of anomie.

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CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF ANOMIE

Durkheim used the term anomie in his first work, *The Division of Labor in Society* (10), published in 1893. This book attempted to study cohesion in a society with a high degree of social differentiation, such as the France of his day. It was his view, as had been that of Comte (7), that an increasingly complex division of labor would make social relationships so unstable that society could only be held together by some external mechanism such as the state. Anomie was the state produced when the division of labor failed to produce sufficiently effective contact between its members and adequate regulation of social relationships. It was in his classic study of *Suicide* (11), which appeared four years later, that the concept of anomie took on importance in Durkheim's theoretical presentation but in a considerably revised form. A body of facts was available to Durkheim to guide him in his formulation of the relation of anomie to suicide. From statistical data available to him it seemed clear that the great variations in the rate of suicide were concomitants of the business cycle. During an economic depression there was a high incidence of suicide, there was also an increase in suicide during periods of unusual prosperity. Durkheim explained both sets of facts as the result of large numbers of people suddenly being thrown out of adjustment with their typical ways of life, sudden economic prosperity being as disastrous as sudden loss. In both

there is a sense of confusion and people become disoriented from their world.

Parsons (18) has pointed out, in commenting on Durkheim, that sudden prosperity results in a situation where a sense of security, of progress toward ends depends not only on adequate command over means, but on a clear definition of the ends themselves. When a considerable number of persons achieve sudden prosperity, which they had thought impossible to achieve, they tend no longer to believe in the impossibility of anything. Thus, the breakdown of controls over man's desires in a society and of socially approved norms and standards, particularly when the change is abrupt, gives rise to situations which can be described as anomie.

Durkheim (11) also saw the situation of anomie as a product of the failure of some restraints on what might be termed over-weening ambitions. According to him human activity naturally aspires beyond assignable limits and sets itself unattainable goals. Man's 'natural' needs must be regulated by the moral needs defined and regulated by the collective order. The utilitarians (24) believed that human happiness could be increased by a continuous increase in the size and number of individual lots of pleasures. It seemed to Durkheim that, far from this being the case, human happiness could only be assured if the pleasures of the individual were limited by social approved norms. In circumstances in which these norms collapsed, the individual found himself in

the state of personal disorganization. What is needed to overcome anomie and reintegrate the social order is the organization of men into occupational groups, whose professional ethics will not merely integrate each group within itself, but also relate it to the other groups in the larger society.

Durkheim's concept of anomie, thus, while being essentially a description of a social condition where there is a disjuncture between goals and means, contains the psychological element of the individual's perception of these goals and means. What is wrong in the anomie condition is not in society alone, nor in the individual but in the individual's existence in society. The basic factor may be the absence in society of adequate means. It may be the presence of the individual of unattainable goals. But these factors are potent only when the structure of society becomes inadequate for the satisfaction of the needs of the individual.

According to the Freudian approach the structure of society primarily restrains the free expression of man's fixed native impulses (12). It is this restraint that socialises the individual and makes him civilized. According to this view, there are man's biological impulses which seek full expression and there is the social order, essentially an apparatus for the management of impulses, for the social processing of tensions, for the renunciation of instinctual gratifications, which seeks to limit this full expression. Depending on the strength of

restraints man may periodically break into rebellion against these restraints to achieve freedom. Occasionally, the rebellion results in behaviour considered detrimental to society, and tagged as criminal, or pathological, or socially dangerous. Nonconformity with the demands of social structure is thus assumed to be anchored in original nature. Variation of both the quantity and quality of deviant behaviour in different social structures, social groups and social strata becomes a random phenomenon.

In contrast to this approach functional analysis conceives of the social structure as active, as producing fresh motivations which cannot be predicted on the basis of knowledge about man's native drives. The functional approach, therefore, abandons the position, held by various individualistic theories, that different rates of deviant behaviour in diverse groups and social strata are the result of an accidental variation in the proportions of pathological personalities found in these groups and strata. It attempts instead to determine how the social and cultural structure generates pressures for socially deviant behaviour upon people variously located in that structure.

Among the several elements of social and cultural structures, two are of immediate importance and it was Merton (16), who stressed their relevance toward understanding of human behaviour. The first consists of culturally defined goals, purposes, and interests, held out as legitimate objectives for all or for diversely located members of the

society. The goals are more or less integrated and roughly ordered in some hierarchy of values. Involving various degrees of sentiment and significance the prevailing goals comprise a frame of aspirational reference. They are things "worth striving for". The second element of the cultural structure defines, regulates and controls the acceptable modes of reaching out for these goals. Every social group invariably couples its cultural objectives with regulations, rooted in the mores or institutions, of allowable procedures for moving toward these objectives.

An effective equilibrium between these two phases of the social structure is maintained so long as satisfactions occur to individuals conforming to both cultural constraints, viz; satisfaction from the achievement of goals and satisfactions emerging directly from the institutionally canalized modes of striving to attain them. It is reckoned in terms of the product and in terms of the process, in terms of the outcome and in terms of the activities. Referring to the situation in the United States of America, Merton (16) contends that contemporary American culture continues to be characterized by a heavy emphasis on wealth as a basic symbol of success, without a corresponding emphasis upon the legitimate avenues on which to march toward this goal. The malintegration of culture and social structure, one preventing what the other encourages, can lead to a breakdown of the norms and the development of a situation of normlessness.

Variations in the rates of deviant behaviour within a given

society by social class, ethnic or racial status, and other characteristics, he contends, are the consequences of the reaction of people variously situated in a social structure of a culture in which the emphasis on dominant success goals has become increasingly separated from an equivalent emphasis on institutionalized procedures for seeking these goals. Merton (16) puts forward a typology explaining five different ways in which a person can adapt to situations where "legitimate" means to reach a goal are not available to him. There is first conformity to both cultural goals and institutional means - the most common adaptation. Were this not so, the stability and continuity of the society could not be maintained. Second is innovation which occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally integrating the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment. The use of such illegitimate means as crime to achieve culturally prescribed goals of success, power and wealth, therefore, becomes common. Such form of adaptation, Merton contends, presupposes an inadequate socialization with respect to cultural goals emphasizing success aspiration.

Some researchers have shown that the unlawful behaviour such as delinquency and crime which appears to predominate in the lower strata of society is a 'normal' response to a situation where the cultural emphasis upon pecuniary success has been absorbed, but where there is little access to conventional and legitimate means for becoming successful. From the psychological point-of-view, great emotional investment in an

objective may be expected to produce a readiness to take risks, and this attitude may be adopted by people in all social strata. The predominance of this type of behaviour in certain group raises the question of the features of the social structure which predispose toward this type of adaptation, thus producing greater frequencies of deviant behaviour in one social stratum than in another. Merton states, "in societies such as our own, then, the greater cultural emphasis on pecuniary success for all and a social structure which unduly limits practical recourse to approved means for many set up a tension toward innovative practices which depart from institutional norms" (16, p. 203).

A third reaction is ritualism which means the abandoning or scaling down of the lofty goals of pecuniary success and rapid social mobility to the point where aspirations can be satisfied. According to Merton (16) if we should expect 'lower-class' Americans to exhibit 'innovation' to the frustrations enjoined by the prevailing emphasis on large cultural goals and the fact of small social opportunities, we should expect 'lower-middle-class' Americans to exhibit 'ritualism'. "For it is in the lower middle class that parents typically exert continuous pressure upon children to abide by the moral mandates of the society, and where the social climb upward is less likely to meet with success than among the upper middle class" (16, p. 205).

Fourth is retreatism where there is a rejection of cultural goals and institutional means and is probably the least common. The

individual has fully internalized the cultural goals of success but finds inaccessible the institutionalized means to obtain them. He does not renounce the success goals but instead adapts escape mechanisms such as "defeatism, quietism and resignation." The retreatist form of adaptation is condemned by conventional society because it is non-productive, nonstriving, attaches no value to the success-goals of a society and does not use institutional means. Finally, there is rebellion which leads men outside the environing social structure to envisage and seek to bring into being a new and greatly modified social structure. This form of adaptation arises "when the institutional system is regarded as a barrier to the satisfaction of legitimized goals" (16, p. 210). It is then that the stage is set for rebellion as an adaptive response.

The concept of anomie has resulted in many critical essays (2) and it has been used, with various formulations, to explain not only suicide as Durkheim (11) did originally, but also crime (26, 27), delinquency (1, 13, 15, 22), mental disorder (9, 25), alcoholism (23) and drug addiction (14). The most significant contributions have been made by Talcott Parsons (18, 19), Robert Dubin (8), Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (4) and Albert Cohen (5, 6).

Parsons (19) has extended Merton's formulation of anomie and incorporated it into a broader theory of inter-actional analysis. Whereas Merton refers only to the "strain" between institutionalized

means and goals, Parsons develops several other forms, including the strain that occurs when the person is unable to make institutionally accepted object-attachments with, for example, the opposite sex, or when the person fails to reconcile his expectations of himself to the expectations which others have of him.

Parson's typology of the directions of deviant behaviour, while arising from Merton, goes beyond it. He uses a set of three variables instead of two and ends with eight types of deviant behaviour. His typology is not confined to the recognition of cultural and social structures alone, but attempts to characterize types of motivational response in terms of active and passive orientations, alienative or conformative need dispositions within the motivational structure, and the relation of the person to social objects and to the normative patterns. Parsons and Shils (20) express similar formulation in another work. From this point-of-view, deviant behaviour can involve the active control of a situation or passively fall short of expectations.

Dubin (8) has challenged Merton's theory as not completely defining the outcomes of its operation. He emphasized that deviant behaviour is not necessarily dysfunctional for a society, and proceeded to make modifications in Merton's design. While Merton (16) analyzed the person's actions in relation to cultural goals and institutionally prescribed means, Dubin considers also the person's relation to the group. While Merton defined institutional means as legitimate behaviour,

Dubin subdivided this category into institutional norms which are the boundaries between prescribed and proscribed behaviour in a particular institutional setting, and means, which are the actual behaviour of people, the things they do in carrying out functions in the institutional setting in which they are acting. Thus, he distinguished behaviour from the values by which preferential choices are made among alternatives, and behaviour from the institutional norms.

People, through their attitudes, Dubin (8) contends, can observe a norm in different ways, and express it in different ways. It may be seen either positively or negatively, and it may be expressed privately or publicly. This is seen and expressed in terms of the extent to which the moral expectations become known to members of a group. On these bases, Dubin (8) then proceeded to extend Merton's typology to fourteen adaptations. In the case of innovation and ritualism, he makes a sharp distinction between the actual behaviour of the actor and the value guiding his selection of particular behaviour. Dubin (8) points out that innovation - the search for new means - involves an active rejection of institutional or existing means, stressing the necessity of considering both the actual behaviour and the values guiding the selection of that behaviour. Dubin's scheme, therefore, subdivides innovation in Merton's model into behavioural and value innovation. These, in turn, are subdivided into institutional, normative and operating inventions, intellectual and organization invention, and social movements.

In this way, Dubin (8) gives prominence in his classification to innovation as part of normal social change, and emphasizes the long-term consequences of innovation.

While he recognizes several significant contributions of Dubin's analysis, Merton (17) has taken exception to it on several points. He maintained, for example, that the distinction which Dubin makes is not between norm and behaviour but between attitude toward a norm and behaviour. Moreover, Dubin does not sufficiently recognize the importance of social position as it bears on the ability to follow goals and institutional means or norms and he does not consider the comparative rate of deviant adaptations he has identified. Merton holds that Dubin's revision turns out to be more a typology of conformity than one of deviant behaviour.

Cloward's (3) attempt to reformulate Merton's theory was more substantive than typological. In Merton's (16) theoretical statement deviant behaviour is a product of patterned differentials in the access to goals of success, by the use of legitimate or sanctioned institutional means. But Cloward points out that there are also differentials in access to illegitimate means, and this differential opportunity plays a large part in the distribution of deviant adaptations. Different social strata provide varying opportunities for the acquisition of deviant roles largely through access to deviant subcultures and the opportunity for carrying out such deviant social roles once they have been acquired. The access

to such opportunities will vary by the same set of variables which account for differential access to legitimate means. Cloward points out that two things are implied when we refer to the term "means", legitimate or illegitimate. "First, that there are appropriate learning environments for the acquisition of the values and skills associated with the performance of a particular role; and second, that the individual has opportunities to discharge the role once he has been prepared. The term subsumes, therefore, both 'learning structures' and 'opportunity structures'" (3, p. 168).

In Cloward's view, retreatist individuals more often are those who fail in the use of both legitimate and illegitimate means. "If illegitimate means are unavailable, if efforts at innovation fail, then retreatist adaptations may still be the consequence, and the 'escape' mechanisms chosen by the defeated individual may perhaps be all the more deviant because of his 'double failure'" (3, p. 175). Merton considers Cloward's theory to be a clarification and substantial extension of this theory of the social distribution of pressures by the social structure. He says Cloward, "thus generalizes the notion of social-cultural differences in ease or difficulty of role-performance, to hold for both socially legitimate and illegitimate roles. Pressures for deviant behaviour are construed as a function of access to both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity-structures" (17, p. 188).

In collaboration with Ohlin, Cloward (4) has developed a more

complete statement of this reformulation in explaining delinquent subcultures. According to them, delinquent subcultures arise when access to legitimate means to the attainment of the success goals of the larger society, such as economic and higher educational opportunities, are blocked. They contend "the disparity between what lower-class youth are led to want and what is actually available to them is the source of a major problem of adjustment. Adolescents who form delinquent subcultures, we suggest, have internalized an emphasis upon conventional goals. Faced with limitations on legitimate avenues of access to these goals, and unable to revise their aspirations downward, they experience intense frustrations; the exploration of nonconformist alternatives may be the result" (4, p. 86).

The work of Cloward and Ohlin has linked Merton's formulation of anomie to the cultural transmission and differential association theory of Edwin H. Sutherland, Clifford Shaw, Henry McKay, Solomon Kobrin and others of the Chicago School, and has added a new concept, that of "differential opportunity".

Cohen (5) has presented a theory that delinquent gangs arise as a result of the class structure of American Society. According to Cohen's theory, lower class boys resent predominantly middle class values, largely because these are not a part of their own world. They are forced to internalise these values only to be shown that they are not a part of that system. The reaction to this process is the formation of a sub-

culture. The subculture which is thus formed represents opposition to middle class values, characterized largely by malice toward things virtuous, a versatility in types of delinquent behaviour, short-run hedonism, nonutilitarian types of "fun" rather than long-range goals, and, lastly, group autonomy and opposition to social control, other than by the group itself.

On the surface, this attempt of Cohen's to link social structure to gang delinquency seems an indirect application of the theory of anomie¹. Cohen (6) seems to disagree with this and maintains that though anomie is highly plausible as an explanation for adult professional crime and for the property delinquency of some older and semi-professional juvenile thieves, it has serious limitations as an explanation of sub-cultural delinquency much of which is nonutilitarian in character. Cohen (6) introduced reference group theory and claims that Merton accepts it but has done little to deal with the complications that it creates for anomie theory. Cohen also argues that a more complete union of anomie theory, role theory, and theory of self is necessary. In anomie theory, roles are the positions in the social structure which come to be related to goals, norms, and means; roles are where disjunctions and adaptations come to be located. Some roles involve a disjunction between goals and

¹ Merton seems to imply this when he states that in his theoretical formulation "Cohen does, in fact, examine the social and cultural sources of these pressures in much the same terms as we have been considering", Merton (17, p. 179).

means, and much deviant behaviour arises as a method of dealing with this disjunction, as anomie theory has indicated. Cohen (6) goes on to point out that much deviant behaviour cannot readily be formulated in these terms at all. Some of it, for example, is directly expressive of the roles. A tough and bellicose posture, the case of obscene language, participation in illicit sexual activity, the immoderate consumption of alcohol, the deliberate flouting of legality and authority, a generalized disrespect for the sacred symbols of the 'square' world, a taste of marihuana, even suicide - all of these may have the primary function of affirming, in the language of gesture and deed, that one is a certain kind of person. The relationship, message and symbol, seem to fit this behaviour better than the relationship, ends and means.

Cohen (6) also challenges the assumption of discontinuity in which the occurrence of the deviant act is treated as though it were an abrupt change of state, a leap from a state of strain or anomie to a state of deviance. He feels that the anomie theory is formulated in terms of variables describing initial states and outcomes, rather than in terms of processes whereby acts and complex structures of action are built, elaborated, and transformed.

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CHAPTER III

ANOMIE AND DELINQUENCY

Classically the anomie hypothesis explains delinquency in terms of failure of the social structure and fails to acknowledge that individuals play the most significant role. The anomie hypothesis assumes that all individuals are permitted to aspire to the same lofty goals - a basic assumption of occidental society. It also assumes that the social structure must allow equal opportunities to all to achieve these goals. If we accept this position, the only solution to the crime problem would be to change the social structure, a solution many criminologists would rather not attempt. If, however, we look upon social structure in a more realistic fashion with its hierarchical divisions which forces society to make differential demands on individuals and bestow differential rewards on them, then the logical question is: are the individual's aspirations greater than his ability to achieve?

If opportunity does not exist for the individual to achieve his aspiration there is then an obvious disjuncture between goals and means and the anomic situation prevails. The same situation can prevail if opportunities do exist but if these opportunities are not available to the individual concerned either because of shortcomings in the social structure or because of shortcomings in the biological and cultural heritage of the individual.

Society is structured in such a way that for its adequate

functioning a number of tasks must be performed. In any and every society these tasks could be placed in an hierarchical system according to the importance attached and rewards paid by the society. Consequently, these tasks are seen differently by different people and some of them may be seen as success goals while others not, although all of them are success goals for different people. The problem that society has to face and solve is the assignment of the proper individual to the proper task and this with the individual viewing the task he is called upon to perform, however lousy it may be, as a success task. Plato (18) who recognized this as the main problem has suggested a rigid stratification of society in which the accident of birth is utilized to categorize individuals, train and educate them in different ways and exhort them to aspire to the achievement of different goals. The egalitarian concept which forms the basis of modern society, suggests the adoption of an entirely different approach. All individuals are treated as equal, they are all to achieve the same goals, but they all being unable to do so, are forced to consider themselves at some point in their lives as a success or a failure.

The conditions which may effect the individual's conception of himself as a success or failure has been seen differently by different theorists. Merton (16) feels that there is a disjuncture between the socially structured goals and socially sanctioned means to achieve them. According to Cohen (6) the disjuncture does not exist between goals and means but between aspirations of the individual and means provided by

society. Conflict does not exist in the social structure but between the structure of society on the one hand and the individual, on the other. The real conflict, however, lies within the individual himself. If the individual's perception of goals and means is unrealistic or if he ignores the fact that the power needed to reach the aspired goals is differentially distributed, it could result into him aspiring for some goals for which he is not qualified.

Within the framework of goals, norms, and opportunities, the process of deviance was conceptualized in the anomie hypothesis as though each individual were in a box by himself. He has internalized goals and normative, regulatory rules; he assesses the opportunity structure; he experiences strain; and he selects one or another mode of adaptation. The bearing of others' experience - their strains, their conformity and deviance, their success and failure - on ego's strain and consequent adaptations is comparatively neglected.

Aspiration is not a fixed quantum, taken from the culture and swallowed whole, to lodge unchanged within individual psyches. It is subject to constant evaluation and change according to the experience of the individual. Success and achievement leads to escalation of aspirations while failure and non-achievement to de-escalation. Both processes can occur only within limits. Human action, deviant or otherwise, is something that typically develops and grows in a tentative, groping, advancing, back-tracking, sounding-out process. The history of an act is

a history of an interaction process. The antecedents of the act are unfolding sequence of acts contributed by a set of actors. Normative rules regulate the individual's response to the intervention of control agents. How the control agent responds to the individual depends on the agency's perception of the legitimacy of the individual's response to the agency, and not only on the nature of the original act. For example, this perceived legitimacy plays an important part in police dispositions of cases coming to their attention.

The disjuncture between goals and means and the choice of adaptations depend on the opportunity structure. The opportunity structure consists in or is the result of the actions of other people. These in turn are in part reactions to ego's behaviour and may undergo change in response to that behaviour. One starting point for a theory of deviant behaviour grows out of the social theory of George Herbert Mead (15). This starting point is the actor engaged in an ongoing process of finding, building, testing, validating and expressing a self. The self is linked to roles, but not primarily in a locational sense. Roles enter, in a very integral and dynamic way, into the very structure of the self. Cohen (6) observes that disorganization arises (i) when the situation that the participants confront cannot be defined as system events or when there is no clear definition of the possibilities of action, and (ii) when participants are not motivated, when their values, interests, and aims are not integrated with the requirements for continuity of the

interaction system. Thus, "in the absence of instructions, the situation and behaviour it calls for from each participant cannot be defined". The result is a general state of anomie. According to Cohen (6) anomie arises when an individual is confronted by a situation (i) where there are no relevant rules, (ii) where there is vagueness or ambiguity of rules, or (iii) where there is lack of consensus on which rules are relevant and on the interpretation of rules.

Cohen (6) conceives of delinquency as a mode of adaptation adopted by the individual to escape the conflict accompanying failure in the face of cultural expectations. The degree of internalization of cultural goals and means together with the availability of the alternative goals and means determines the extent of the conflict and the type of adaptation.

Anomie is the inability of the individual to reconstruct his own ends from the concepts presented to him by the culture. It is not the destruction of ends or the quest for infinitely receding goals. According to Powell (17), action is not only a matter of fitting means to ends but of selecting ends, and selection presupposes critical analysis. Whenever the person lives by the unexamined directives of the culture, he may develop a sense of being totally controlled by forces outside himself.

The recent adaptation of the term anomie as a psychological construct may be viewed as part of the growing interest in the areas of

existential psychology. If one takes Davol and Reimanis' (7) definition of psychological anomie as a referent, anomie may be conceived as an individual's perception of the social order as lacking meaningfulness or usefulness, his withdrawal from society or his perception of constant conflict between the basic goals of life. Maslow (13) holds valuelessness to be the prime disease of our times. By this he means the state variously described as amorality, rootlessness, emptiness, alienation and hopelessness. It is the lack of something to believe in and be devoted to. When an individual perceives the social order as lacking in meaningfulness he may likewise come to feel that there is no meaning in his existence. Under such circumstances, it is likely that he may suffer from what Viktor Frankl (9) terms "existential neurosis", the consequence being an overwhelming sense of hopelessness and despair. According to Frankl, (9) a person is adjusted or maladjusted to the extent he feels that there is some meaning in his life. He theorizes that meaning is primarily found in the achieving of certain tasks and a personal relationship with others.

Research efforts to relate anomie to deviant behaviour are growing in number. Lander (11) utilized objective measurements in his study of delinquency. Using factor and correlation analysis, he studied 8,464 cases of delinquency in Baltimore in the years 1939-42. With factor analysis it became apparent that these were two correlated but distinct clusters of variables, which he designated as the "socio-economic"

and the "anomic". The socio-economic cluster consisted of the more conventional factors of substandard housing, the percentage of overcrowding, and the median years of education completed. The cluster he termed anomic consisted of the delinquency rate, the percentage of non-white population in the local area, and the percentage of homes owner occupied. The last set of variables he hypothesized as anomic, since some areas are characterized by "normlessness", the breakdown or weakening of the regulatory structure of society. He characterized as indicating anomie the presence of delinquency; the presence of many Negroes in an area previously white, the evidence of an area in transition and unstable; and the lack of home ownership, a measure of family instability.

After analyzing the data he found that delinquency was essentially related to the instability of an area and was not a function of, nor associated basically with, economic characteristics. What was important was that as the proportion of Negro population increased to 50 percent, and created an area with maximum racial heterogeneity, the rate of delinquency increased. In areas entirely occupied by Negroes the delinquency rate was no higher than that in similar areas totally occupied by whites. Similarly, delinquency was found not to be related to the physical aspects of housing or the rental charged, but to home ownership; those areas with a low percentage of home ownership had a high rate of delinquency. In a replication made some years later in Detroit, Bordua (3) essentially confirmed Lander's (11) findings.

It seems that the crucial issue with regard to psychological anomie is the fact that not all persons who live in an anomic society or sub-society become personally disoriented. Some individuals are capable of withstanding the social pressures, ambiguities, and change without becoming psychologically anomic. The individual in internal psychological states is not necessarily a perfect reflection of his social environment. He is only affected by it. As Gordon Allport (2) maintains personality is not just the subjective side of culture nor is it "a puppet at the mercy of changing situations". This is the "culturalistic fallacy". On the other hand, to hold that personality is a unit in isolation from the social environment is the "individualistic fallacy". Allport (2) concludes that for most persons the changes within the personality are not proportional to changes in the culture or situation. The individual may retain a kind of "stubborn integrity" even in the face of change. He feels that a person manages to retain his personality system more or less intact under conditions of social anomie. But beyond a certain point it cannot be done. A person, however intense his efforts, cannot permanently withstand complete collapse of his social supports.

The critical point of inquiry, it seems, would be an investigation of the reasons why some persons living in an anomic environment become psychologically anomic while others under the same circumstances do not. Is it due to the nature of the "inside structure" of the person involved? Is an individual's ability to withstand social disorganization

due to certain beliefs or values which he holds? What is the role of one's religion, tolerance for ambiguity, self-concept and education in decision-making? One of the chief emphases of such existential psychologists as Viktor Frankl (9) is that man has the unique freedom to choose an attitude toward vicissitudes of life that impinge upon him and not be overwhelmed by them. Perhaps it is the attitude that one takes toward environmental chaos that prevents his becoming personally anomic.

Throughout research on anomie the individual has been more often the unit of analysis than the group and, also the major variables have often been psychological one. The psychological conception of anomie has been developed particularly by David Reisman (19) and Robert MacIver (14). Reisman (19) divides society into three groups or universal types: the adjusted, the autonomous, and the anomic. The adjusted are the people who respond in their character structure to the demands of their society or social class. They reflect their society with the least distortion. The autonomous are those who on the whole are capable of conforming to the behavioural norms of their society, but who are free to choose whether to conform or not. The anomic are constitutionally and psychologically lacking in capacity to conform to or feel comfortable in, the roles a society demands. Reisman's use of the word anomie is virtually synonymous with "maladjusted", covering a wider range than ruleless or ungoverned as Durkheim used the word. He considers the anomic person to be a socio-psychological misfit, a characterological

nonconformist who is frequently neurotic and who outwardly conforms only at the expense of his mental health.

MacIver (14) does not accept what he feels is Merton's (16) rather exclusive association of anomie with capitalistic competitiveness, but views it as being more broadly responsive to (i) culture clash in modern society with its accompanying discrimination of group against group and (ii) the violence of change, especially when the mobility and insecurity of modern man turns into disorientation under conditions of crisis or war. Psychologically he believes that anomie results when the detached ego of the group and the detached egoism of the individual undermine the free consensus. Anomie, he views as the fulfillment of the process of desocialization, the retreat of the individual into his own ego, the skeptical rejection of all social goals. It is a state of mind in which the individual's sense of social cohesion - the mainspring of morale - is broken or fatally wounded. In this detachment of the anomic individual from social obligation his whole personality is injured. He has lost the dynamic unity of personality.

Continuing, MacIver (14) delineates three psychological types of anomic individuals in which the above state of mind is revealed. The purposeless have lost altogether any system of values that might give purpose and direction to their lives. Having lost the values to direct their cause of behaviour toward the future, they abandon themselves to a present which is emptied of significance. The aggressive, having lost

intrinsic or socialized values turns to extrinsic values. He pursues means or power for its own sake instead of pursuing the ends beyond them. These persons tend to be domineering, sadistic, ruthless, irascible, vain, inherently destructive. The isolated and insecure are hopelessly disoriented. Having lost their former values, environment, connections, social place, and economic support, they are dissociated from their community.

Brooks (4) hypothesizes two major variables accounting for anomie: (i) dissociation, the weakening of the individual's sense of cohesion (the position of MacIver and Fromm) and (ii) value-conflict (the position of Merton, DeGrazia and Mannheim). Dissociation, explains Brooks, is a feature of industrial society where impersonal organizations dwarf the individual, when men are herded together in cities, factories, and offices without knowing their neighbours and without a sense of belonging. In such an environment personal relationships are vitiated by the spirit of manipulation and instrumentality of capitalism until one regards even his own personality for sale.

Brooks (5) interprets Merton as believing that anomie behaviour consists of alternative reactions to a situation in which the use of socially approved means fails to achieve the desired socially approved ends. The values of means and ends are inconsistent. Mannheim (12) however, emphasizes not so much the internal inconsistencies in a single value system as the coexistence of different value systems in the society.

DeGrazia (8) traces anomie to the coexistence of conflicting value systems within the individual himself. Powell's (17) theory is that when the ends of actions become contradictory, inaccessible, or insignificant, a condition of anomie arises. Characterized by a general loss of orientation and accompanied by feelings of "emptiness" and apathy, anomie, according to Powell, can be simply conceived of as a meaninglessness.

Horney (10) claims that in every neurosis there are contradictory tendencies which the neurotic is unable to reconcile. First, there is the contradiction between competition and success on the one hand and brotherly love and humility on the other. It is frequently a matter of having to choose between getting ahead in life economically or socially and developing close interpersonal ties with others. Regardless of the individual's decision, he loses and with the loss may come feelings akin to psychological anomie. A second contradiction is the stimulation toward a constantly higher material standard of living versus the practical denial of high standard for many people. Finally, a contradiction may exist between the alleged freedom of the individual and all the factual limitations on his behaviour. This may cause the individual to feel that the discrepancy is not reconcilable. Adler's (1) description of failures in life as the outcome of lack of social interest bears a striking similarity to both MacIver's (14) and Reisman's (19) description of the anomic person. Also, Reisman's (19) autonomous person seems quite synonymous to the mentally healthy person whom

Adler (1) sees as courageous, striving and self-reliant.

The interpretation of anomie adopted in the present study is essentially that of a disjuncture between goals and means. However, instead of viewing this disjuncture as are existing in society as Merton (16) did, or one stemming from a conflict between the individual's aspirations and the means made available to him as Cohen (6) did in this study the disjuncture lodged fairly and squarely within the individual. It is seen as a conflict stemming from the individual's perception of what society wants him to do and his perception what he could do in the existing social structure, a disjuncture that stems from the individual's failure to adjust his aspirations in view of his total experience in society. It is a disjuncture which will result in a sense of frustration but more importantly, because the individual has misinterpreted the areas for adjustment that he received from experience, it is seen as a disjuncture that promotes feelings of anomie. These feelings of anomie, however, could be, as it has been contended, feelings of powerlessness, of valuelessness, of uselessness, or of meaninglessness. It is further postulated that the exact dimension that the anomic feeling takes, determines the form of reaction to it. Feelings of powerlessness would engender a fatalistic attitude and promote a form of deviant behaviour indulged in by the homeless vagrant, or valuelessness a sort of missionary zeal and indulged in by hippies, uselessness a despair that would promote suicide while feelings of meaninglessness would antagonize

and promote behaviour that promotes behaviour designated criminal or delinquent.

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CHAPTER IV

AN EMPIRICAL TEST OF THE ANOMIE HYPOTHESIS

This study is essentially an empirical test of the anomie hypothesis. However, as has been pointed out in Chapter III, the interpretation adopted here of anomie is a state of mind stemming from an unresolved conflict between the individual's perception of what society wants him to do and his perception of what he can do in society. If this unresolved conflict leads to feelings of meaninglessness it is hypothesised the individual would become delinquent. Basically what is proposed to be done is to relate the individual's feeling of meaninglessness to his state of delinquency.

The attempt to measure anomie was first made by Srole (27). The scale constructed by him contains items that purport to measure the individual's perception of the degree to which he feels (a) that he is loosing or retrogressing from previously attained goals; (b) life is no longer worth living due to the loss of the meaning of the goals and internalised group norms; (c) the future is unpredictable due to the unstable social order; (d) no help can be obtained from others because immediate personal relationships are non-supportive, and (e) community leaders are detached from and indifferent to the person's needs.

Srole's (27) measure has been used to study the relationship between anomie and authoritarianism and prejudice by Srole (28), Roberts and Rokeach (23), McDill (11), Tumin and Collins (30), Simpson (26),

Rhodes (22), between anomie and dogmatism by Rokeach (24), between anomie and social isolationism by Bell (1) and Mizruchi (15), between anomie and urbanism by Mizruchi (15) Greer and Kube (6) and Meier and Bell (12), between anomie and religion by Bell (1), between anomie and attitude towards cultural norms and values by Reimanis (21) between anomie and differential access to achievement of life goals by Meier and Bell (12) between anomie and occupation, social status and suicide by Powell (19), between anomie and achievement motivation by James (7) and Kerckhoff (9), between anomie, self image of competence and peer relations by Lackie (10), between anomie, illegitimacy and cultural penetration by Goode (5) and between anomie and ethical relativism by Putney and Middleton (20). The sum total of all these studies is that Srole has, with his scale, isolated important variable but that it is primarily a measure of interpersonal alienation rather than an alienation from norms.

This scale is the one most used to measure anomie. It is perhaps adequate as a quick measure of Srole's personal concept of anomie but it appears to fall short in several respects. (i) The inclusion of only five items seems a limiting factor. If a respondent because of his own unique frame of reference reads meaning into an item which Srole did not intend and has no other opportunity to respond to similar but differently worded item, then his response may be misleading. (ii) There is no evidence that Srole's scale was subjected to any recognized scale construction procedure. (iii) Not included in the Srole scale are items

relating to the conflict in belief systems dilemma emphasized by DeGrazia (3) nor items relating to the means-ends problem considered crucial by Merton (13). (iv) Davol and Reimanis (2) have found that when the Srole scale is administered to groups that a strong acquiescent response set tends to spuriously raise the anomie score unless precautionary measures are taken.

Davol and Reimanis (2) have extended the Srole scale by adding five equivalent items scored in the opposite direction. This has pretty well solved the acquiescent set problem but their scale is still subject to other limitations of the Srole scale previously mentioned. Putney and Middleton (20) have taken a positive step toward measuring anomie as alienation from cultural norms by using indexes such as indecisiveness to indicate the degree of subjective confusion attendant to a felt conflict in directives, something Srole fails to do. But the merits of the Srole's scale are absent from their scale. The determination of anomie by the use of non-psychological variables, such as the number of letters sent and received and the number of visitors involves many tenuous assumptions. Often lacking is the person's subjective reactions to these phenomena and the unknown variables surrounding them. For instance, the use of rates of illegitimacy as a measure of social normlessness or anomie does not take into consideration such subcultural morals as common law marriages. The fact is that anomie tends to rise out of the interplay of both social and personality factors.

Elmore (4) feels that a comprehensive measure of anomie needs to be constructed which could tap many different factors of the phenomenon. He states that specifically what is needed is a test of psychological anomie which intimately relates subjective feeling to situational aspects in society. In this connection he developed a conception of psycho-social anomie in terms of eight broad dimensions. He used a self-description paper and pencil test enabling the respondent to indicate the extent of his feeling with regard to each test item. Since there are different variations or aspects of each broad dimension, each sub-aspect was taken as a separate dimension making a total of seventeen sub-tests. He has identified them as follows:

1. Feeling that there is a conflict between life goals and the means to their attainment.
2. Feeling that belief systems in society are in conflict.
3. Feeling that one's personal beliefs or values contradict each other.
4. Feeling that one's environment is disorganized or unstable.
5. Feeling of personal decline or that one's own personal world is disintegrating.
6. Feeling that the future is uncertain.
7. Feeling of personal incompetence to overcome existing circumstances.
8. Feeling that one is in the clutch of fate.

9. Feeling that people in general cannot be relied on for help.
10. Feeling that persons in authority are unconcerned and unwilling to help.
11. Feeling of isolation, alienation, or estrangement from one's fellowman.
12. Feeling of a lack of love and acceptance by one's family.
13. Feeling of frustrated despair, that life has no meaning.
14. Feeling that it is best to conform.
15. Feeling that one should rebel.
16. Feeling that one should escape.
17. Feeling that one should direct one's hostile feelings toward minority groups.

In these subtests one may see the commonly agreed upon aspects of anomie, the subjective feelings of the individual with regard to the social demands which are inconsistent with existing means, the incongruity of beliefs and values in society, the lack of social cohesion, the lack of predictability in society, the impersonalization of a non-supportive society, the segmentation and isolation of peoples in society, the lack of common values and interpersonal relationships to give meaning and purpose to one's life, and the lack of differential means by which differing individuals may achieve the fulfillment of their own unique needs.

Elmore (4) found that his test measures a general factor which he classified as a feeling of meaninglessness in the light of personal deterioration. Marked by indecisiveness, the individual feels that he is in a state of decline and all that is worth living for is slipping away. There is a feeling of valuelessness reflected by individual's perception of a disorganized environment wherein the standards for behaviour are contradictory and where authority figures as a source of directives cannot be counted on to stabilize the rules and lend support. This supports DeGrazia's (4) position that a value chaos or normlessness where the basis for prediction and decision making is lacking, results in personal feelings of aimlessness. This supports the idea that a confusion in personal values accompanies incongruities in belief system in a society. This condition is brought about by rapid change in an activistic, materialistic, competitive society.

There is a feeling of hopelessness. In view of the individual's feelings of personal decline and the improbability that the state of affairs will improve in the future, life seems purposeless and hopeless. There is a feeling of powerlessness. The person senses being controlled by forces outside himself and experiences the reaction of flight as described by Powell. The feeling of aloneness denotes feelings of isolation, estrangement, and dissociation from one's fellow-man. The person feels unloved and unwanted, and is devoid of feelings of belongingness. The feeling of closed-mindedness. There is both resignation and a narrowing

of one's cognitive field in order to exclude possible threat or in order to broadly project one's frustration on some disliked object. Consisting of a big general factor and five sub-general factors, psychological anomie seems to be constituted to a large degree by personal feelings of meaninglessness, valuelessness, hopelessness, powerlessness, aloneness and closed-mindedness.

In this study we have sought to measure anomie utilising the Srole Scale (27) and Elmore Scale (4). This multiple measurement of anomie is important for this study. The scales as has been pointed out earlier, measure different aspects of anomie. In this study it has been hypothesised that it is the "meaninglessness" feeling type of anomie that is related to delinquency and all that appears necessary is to measure this type of anomie and relate it to delinquency. Our hypothesis, however, goes a little further. It contends that the other forms or aspects of anomie are not related to delinquency. Our contention is essentially that anomie takes various forms and that the reaction to anomie depends on the type or form the anomie takes. In consequence it becomes essential that we demonstrate

- (1) The existence of different forms of anomie
- (2) The relationship between the "meaninglessness" form of anomie to delinquency and
- (3) The non-relationship between the other forms of anomie to delinquency.

In order to test our hypothesis we could have measured anomie of a sample of delinquents and of a matched sample of non-delinquents and compared the two measures. This technique assumes dichotomous division of the population dependent on the commission of a single act that has been defined as delinquent. If even this assumption was correct our samples would not have been pure because the delinquent sample which should contain only those who have committed the act, could conceivably have contained those who did not commit any of those acts but nonetheless have been adjudicated as having committed them, and our non delinquent sample which should contain only those who have not committed the act, could conceivably have contained those who did commit them but were not discovered committing them. More important in this connection, however, is our concept of delinquency as one not constituting a specific category distinct and distinguishable from the non delinquent but as one constituting a continuum along which the individual could move but along which the individual occupies a distinct and definite position at any given time. In consequence we chose to relate the degree of anomie to the degree of delinquency and posed ourselves a second problem of measuring delinquency.

The classical measure of the degree of delinquency is the number of previous convictions. The recidivist is generally thought to be a worse delinquent than the first timer. The former is thought to have displayed his covert attitude and tendency by his repeated delinquent acts. The first timer is more generously thought of. He has not displayed

a covert attitude or tendency but has only displayed a predisposition to possessing this covert attitude or tendency. The difficulty in utilising previous convictions as a measure of the degree of delinquency stems from the fact that the adjudication of the individual as a delinquent is dependent upon a number of variables which are independent of his delinquent state (18), thus giving us a measure of delinquency which is far removed from what we really seek to measure. A second possible measure is the number of previous incarcerations. The justification for this measure of delinquency is that commitment to an institution is a procedure that is adopted as a more or less last resort by judges for those considered by them to be incorrigible (8). In this respect, the number of previous incarcerations appears to be a better measure of delinquency than the number of previous convictions, but nonetheless it does contain the same deficiencies as the number of convictions.

Researchers in the field of delinquency face the problem of identification and measurement of the very basic variable. Delinquency has been generally treated not as a variable but as an attribute. The dichotomy of delinquents and non-delinquents is provided by official judgment. The socio-economic and other biases are inherent in this approach. Nye and Short (17, 25) point out the merits of using reported behaviour as a criterion of deviant behaviour and developed such a measure which eliminates socio-economic biases related to differential punishment procedures by police and courts, and minimizes the effect of

criterion variable on the independent variables. They take exception to Tappan's (29) position that only those adjudicated as criminals and delinquents are properly the subject of criminological study.

In this study we have used the Nye scale of delinquency to measure the degree of delinquency. We have also used the number of previous convictions and the number of previous incarcerations. This, however, we have done to determine whether there is a relationship between each of these scales. Our hypothesis demands our correlation of delinquency as measured by the Nye Scale and anomie as measured in terms of meaninglessness. From the practical point of view, however, the correlation between the Nye Scale on the one hand and the recidivism scales on the other are important. If the findings of this study are to have any practical use, therapeutic or rehabilitative measures based on them cannot be used with the degree of delinquency measured by a scale that has no bearing. The major reason for this multiple measurement of delinquency is to determine the relevance of the scale based on official adjudication to the problem at hand. In consequence we have sought to correlate (i) delinquency as measured by the Nye Scale, the number of previous convictions and the number of previous incarcerations to each other and (ii) the degree of delinquency as measured by these scales to the degree of anomie as measured by the various scales of anomie.

Our concept of anomie involving an adjustment between the ideal

and the real postulates the interplay of three intervening variables. These variables are age, education and intelligence. The older an individual gets, the more education he acquires and the more intelligent he is, the more able he is, it is hypothesised, to make this adjustment. Taken by themselves we would have to concede that older individuals, more educated individuals and more intelligent individuals are less anomic and less delinquent. But these three intervening variables do not act independently. They act in conjunction with each other, in some instances abnegating the action of the other and in some instances accentuating it. In view of this we would hypothesise that

- (I) none of them are related to either anomie and delinquency when they are considered by themselves and
- (II) considered together they alter the relationship between anomie and delinquency.

For the testing of our hypothesis the statistical techniques of regression analysis has been chosen. The nature of our data makes this the best technique to be utilized in the analysis (14).

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CHAPTER V

RESULTS, CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

As has been pointed out earlier, two scales have been used to measure anomie. These are scales that have been constructed by Srole (3) and by Elmore (1). Srole's scale is an eumomia-anomia continuum denoting a generalized pervasive sense of self to others belongingness at one end and a self to others alienation at the other. He uses five items but comes up with a composite score which is a measure of anomie in a sort of global sense. Elmore too attempts to make this sort of measurement and gives us an Elmore Total Score which is a measure of anomie in a global sense. In the process of measuring anomie in this global sense he has identified six different elements or aspects - a general factor classified as a feeling of meaninglessness in the light of personal deterioration, a feeling of valuelessness in the sense of value incongruity, a feeling of hopelessness, a feeling of powerlessness, a feeling of aloneness denoting feeling of isolation, estrangement and dissociation from one's fellow men and a type of close mindedness. Each one of these elements or aspects of anomie he attempts to measure separately giving six distinct scores - E G, E 1, E 2, E 3, E 4, and E 5, - all of which he summated to give his anomie score E T.

In our attempt to measure anomie our subjects were given both the Srole test and the Elmore test providing us with seven different scores of anomie. Actually we have only two - Srole and E T - if we

consider the other Elmore scores not as measures of anomie but component parts of a measure of anomie. Elmore (1) himself found a high correlation between the different scores suggesting a unity among the hypothesized dimensions but nonetheless proceeded to name the various scores as measuring separate phenomena within the global anomie. As we have pointed out earlier the component parts of anomie has significance not so much in the contribution that it makes to the total anomie but in the direction that it gives to reach into the anomic situation. If this were so, we should find that the scores of the different forms of anomie are not significantly correlated to each other. If they were they could not give this specific direction and to speak about different forms or types of anomie would amount to a meaningless academic exercise.

Regression analysis conducted with the different scores of anomie gave correlation coefficients between the different scales. These coefficients are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Correlation coefficients between the different measures of anomie.

	SROLE	EG	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	ET
SROLE	1.000	.455*	.200	.045	-.062	.141	.073	.429*
EG		1.000	.103	-.040	-.147	-.265	.034	.531*
E1			1.000	.047	-.189	.263	-.122	.471*
E2				1.000	-.095	.120	-.377	.186
E3					1.000	.145	.031	.195
E4						1.000	.136	.418*
E5							1.000	.368
ET								1.000

*: Significant at 1% level.

This table shows that E T is significantly related to Srole, E G, E 1 and E 4 at the 1% level. These scales could hence be seen as measuring more or less the same thing. Not related significantly to E T and hence presumably measuring some other aspect of anomie are E 2, E 3 and E 5. E 2 and E 5 are related negatively to each other but not at the 1% level of significance. Hence we could say that the seven scores we have measure four distinct and different forms or aspects of anomie.

There is first the global aspect of anomie as measured by either Srole or E T. There is then the feeling of hopelessness as measured by E 2. Thirdly, there is the feeling of powerlessness as measured by E 3, and finally the type of closemindedness as measured by E 5. Though E T correlates significantly with E G, E 1 and E 4, none of them correlates significantly with each other. They all stand out as distinct and different measures. And again it is only E G that is significantly correlated to Srole. The correlations lead us to the conclusion that Srole and E T measure more or less the same thing and that E G, E 1 and E 4 are the significant components of E T with E G playing more or less the dominant role.

In this study data has been gathered to measure the degree of delinquency in three different ways - two of which are commonly used and involve legal evaluation. This data was collected in spite of the fact that only one - that not involving legal evaluation - was considered

pertinent as a measure of the degree of delinquency for the purpose of this study. They were collected specifically for the purpose of correlating the three measures of delinquency so as to establish what is exactly meant by the degree of delinquency in this study. The delinquency which is sought to be explained in this study is measured by the Nye Scale (2) and involves self report - a sort of self perception of the individual concerned. The evaluation of the degree of delinquency utilising elements of the legal process is so common that it was deemed necessary to determine whether a relationship did exist between the three measures. Regression analysis gave correlation coefficients between delinquency as measured by (i) previous convictions (ii) previous incarceration and (iii) the Nye delinquency scale. These correlations are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Correlations between the different measures of delinquency.

	Nye	Previous Incarcerations	Previous Convictions
Nye	1.000	.158	.111
Previous Incarcerations		1.000	.581*
Previous Convictions			1.000

*: Significant at 1% level.

From table 2 it will be seen that previous incarcerations and previous convictions are significantly related at 1% level. They could hence be considered as measuring the same aspect of delinquency. None of them is related significantly to the Nye scale. Hence the degree of delinquency measured by the Nye Scale is different from the degree of delinquency as measured by either previous incarcerations or previous convictions. In other words the individual's self evaluation of his degree of delinquency is different from the legal evaluation. The coefficient of correlation is positive so that the difference stems from the differential detection of delinquent acts.

Table 3. Correlations between scales of anomie and scales of delinquency.

	SROLE	ET	EG	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5
Previous Convictions	.002	-.85	.038	.070	.032	-.018	-.010	-.156
Nye	.461 [*]	.186	.489 [*]	.193	.049	-.365	.028	-.122

*: Significant at 1% level.

Table 3 shows the relationship between anomie scales and delinquency scales. As previous incarcerations and previous convictions are significantly related at 1% level and measure more or less the same thing, only one of these two scales - previous convictions - was used for further correlations. As the table shows there is no significant relationship between previous convictions and any of the anomie scales. This means that delinquency as is commonly measured involving the elements of legal adjudications is unrelated to anomie in any of its forms. Delinquency as measured by the Nye Scale, however, is related at a statistically significant level to anomie measured by the Srole Scale and by E G. The coefficient of correlation is greater in the case of E G and in the case of Srole Scale. As the Srole Scale and EG were related to each other at a statistically significant level, if the one is related to delinquency we could expect the other too to be so related. Surprising, however, is the fact that the relationship between E T and Nye is not statistically significant. With E T significantly related to E G and Srole we would expect it to be related to Nye as well. If E G measures what it purports - the feeling of meaninglessness aspect of anomie, the correlation supports our hypothesis.

In our theoretical formulation we have suggested that three other variables, age, intelligence and educational level, may play an important part. These play an important part because of the way anomie has been conceived - in terms of the individual's ability to adjust his

aspirational level so that he could actualize his aspirations. As far as these variables are concerned there is a possibility that each is a function of the other. Table 4 shows correlations of these variables with each other. We find that age and educational level are significantly related to each other at 1% level, indicating that educational level, as far as our delinquents are concerned, is a function of age, leaving us with the two intervening variables of age and I.Q. to consider.

Table 4. Correlations between Age, I.Q. and Educational Level.

	Age	I.Q.	Educational Level
Age	1.000	.004	.429*
I.Q.		1.000	.333
Edu. Level			1.000

*: Significant at 1% level.

A second problem we have with the intervening variables of age and I.Q. is the effect they have on the dependent and independent variables of delinquency and anomie. There is considerable empirical evidence that indicates these two are related to delinquency. The weight of the evidence shows a negative relationship between I.Q. and delinquency and in the case of age the belief is that the older delinquent is a worse delinquent though the empirical evidence relates to the age at first delinquency rather than the age of the delinquent. Evidence of a relationship between age and I.Q. on the one hand and anomie on the other also exists. Correlation coefficients (Table 5) obtained from regression analysis conducted on our data, however, does not show that either age or I.Q. has any bearing on either delinquency or anomie. The level of delinquency and the degree of anomie are uninfluenced by either the age or the intelligence of the individual.

Table 5. Correlations between the intervening variables of I.Q. and age and the Delinquency and Anomie Scales.

	Age	I.Q.
Nye	-.341	.167
Prev. Convictions	.028	.024
Srole	.349	-.053
E G	-.344	.020

Our final problem is to determine the effect that the intervening variables of age and I.Q. have on the relationship that exists between delinquency and anomie. This we have tried to do through multiple regression. The correlation coefficient here is 0.546, significant at the 1% level - indicating an increase from 23.9% to 29.8% in the explanation of the variation of the one in terms of variation of the other by the introduction of these variables.

The position that has been taken by us in this study is that the anomie hypothesis is a good explanation for delinquency provided anomie is seen as a psychological state stemming from an individual's failure to adjust his aspirational level in terms of the reality of his experience so as to permit him to achieve the goals he aspires to achieve. This failure to adjust we have seen producing a feeling of meaninglessness of society because in the individual's conception society expects him to achieve certain goals while it fails to provide him with the means to achieve those goals. The disjuncture between goals and means, we have agreed, produces anomie, but, we have averred that this anomie takes various forms such as a feeling of meaninglessness, a feeling of powerlessness, a feeling of valuelessness, a feeling of carelessness and the like. What determines the exact form anomie takes, we have not ventured to discuss. It is outside the preview of this study and is left for other research.

The importance or relevance of the form of anomie lies in the

direction that the reaction to it takes. Here we have contended that the feeling of meaninglessness promotes crime and delinquency, the feeling of powerlessness an apathetic fatalism, vagrancy, chronic alcoholism and the like, the feeling of valuelessness a missionary zeal to change the existing order as displayed by radical youths and the feeling of uselessness, suicide. Our interest here is with delinquency and we have attempted to test our hypothesis in this connection alone. In the process, however, we undertook to establish the existence of different types of anomie. Utilising existing measures of anomie and the components of these measures we have reasonably demonstrated that the feelings that promote anomie are not general but particular. The individual could be anomic with a feeling of powerlessness but with no feeling of meaninglessness or uselessness.

Regression analysis has indicated a positive correlation at a statistically significant level between anomie as measured by the Srole Scale and E G (which measures the feeling of meaninglessness) and the level of delinquency as measured by the Nye Scale, providing evidence in support of our hypothesis. The relationship is expressed by the equation $Y = 1.4828 X - 13.9641$ where Y is the level of delinquency as measured by the Nye Scale and X the level of anomie as measured by E G. When the effect of age and I.Q. are considered through multiple regression the equation becomes $Y = 0.1376 X - 0.2810 R - 0.266 S + 8.2676$ where R is age and S is I.Q. This equation suggests that with the same level

of anomie older persons tend to be less delinquent and more intelligent persons more delinquent.

The impact of rapid changes in the contemporary social, economic and occupational structures upon persons seeking counselling presents a challenge to counsellors. An understanding of the personal internal characteristics which are relevant to a person's becoming anomic and of the outside forces which set the stage for its development seems critical in counselor education and could help establish goals of counselling. Identification of anomic persons in institutional settings could lead to improved treatment procedures.

In a counselling situation it seems very crucial to tap strengths and weaknesses of the client. The most important question is what is available as a basis to build something on? Realistic appraisal and understanding of one's perception what he could and should aim as his goals and aspirations, could be a very sound ground to work on. Maybe the client needs to scale down his aspirations to make them more realistic considering what he possesses. This is what the findings of this study imply.

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SUMMARY

Our theoretical formulation was that anomie was a good explanation of delinquency and we sought to translate anomie into psychological rather than sociological terms. Regular conception of anomie involves ability of the individual to achieve his aspirations and anomie situations having been defined as those in which the individual is not permitted, for some reason or other, from achieving these goals. The alternative way to look at anomie, as we have pointed out, is to look from individual point of view.

Though originally anomie referred to the state of the social environment attempts to understand how it influenced the behaviour of individuals have led to the identification of psychological components. Thus individuals are seen as anomic rather than being seen as operating in an anomic situation. The theoretical framework of this study within this interpretation and hypothesis is the degree of delinquency of the individual is a function of the degree of anomie and correlate the two as a test of the anomie hypothesis.

Measuring anomie presents a multitude of difficulties. Anomie has been defined in different ways and subjected to numerous interpretations, and numerous measures of anomie have been devised. There are two of these measures that are generally considered to be good. They are the ones constructed by Srole and Elmore. Srole's measure is considered adequate as a quick measure of anomie. It has, however,

some shortcomings. There are only five items and is not reasonably comprehensive to cover the many facets of anomie. Elmore has attempted to overcome these shortcomings but in doing so has had to rely on a series of measures, Elmore General, Elmore 1, Elmore 2, Elmore 3, Elmore 4 and Elmore 5 - all of which are summated to give a total - Elmore Total. With all these measures of anomie there is a fundamental question to be answered: which one of these measures anomie? An alternative to look at the problem is to view anomie as comprising various dimensions, each of which is measured by a different scale. To resolve the question the scores on the various measures have been correlated to each other. A correlation that is statistically significant indicates that the scales are measuring more or less the same aspect whereas a correlation that is not statistically significant indicates the scales measuring aspects that are not similar.

The measurement of delinquency also presents difficulties. To measure delinquency we could use previous incarcerations. There are some socio-economic biases which are inherent in these measures. Nye and Short have attempted to eliminate these problems by proposing that self-reported behaviour is a better criterion of delinquent behaviour than traditional dichotomous groups of delinquents and non-delinquents provided by official judgment. In this study previous incarcerations, previous convictions and Nye scale have been used. Adopting the same stance as we did in the case of anomie these three measures have been

correlated with one another.

The interpretation of anomie adopted in this study is essentially that of a disjuncture between goals and means. However, instead of viewing this disjuncture as existing in society as Merton did or one stemming from a conflict between the individual's aspirations and the means made available to him as Cohen did, in this study, the disjuncture lodged within the individual. It is seen as a conflict stemming from the individual's failure to adjust his aspirations in view of his total experience in society. It is a disjuncture which will result in a sense of frustration but more importantly, because the individual has misinterpreted the areas for adjustment that he perceived from experience, it is seen as a disjuncture that promotes feelings of anomie.

In this study we have sought to measure anomie utilizing the Srole scale and Elmore scale. It has been hypothesised that it is the "meaninglessness" feeling type of anomie that is related to delinquency. Our hypothesis, however, goes a little further. It contends that the other forms or aspects of anomie are not related to delinquency. Our contention is essentially that anomie takes various forms and that the reaction to anomie depends on the type or form the anomie takes. In consequence it becomes essential that we demonstrate

- 1) The existence of different forms of anomie
- 2) The relationship between the "meaninglessness" form of anomie to delinquency and

3) The non-relationship between the other forms of anomie to delinquency.

We have sought to correlate i) delinquency as measured by Nye scale, the number of previous convictions and the number of previous incarcerations to each other and ii) the degree of delinquency as measured by these scales to the degree of anomie as measured by the various scales of anomie.

Regression analysis has indicated a positive correlation at a statistically significant level between anomie as measured by the Srole scale and E.G. (which measures the feeling of meaninglessness) and the level of delinquency as measured by the Nye scale, providing evidence in support of our hypothesis.