

APPENDIX D

CRIME INCIDENCE DATA SHEET:

POLICE CODE:

MONTH:

NEIGHBOURHOOD:

IDENTIFYING STREETS:

DAYS	PROPERTY	VIOLENCE	DISORDER	TOTAL

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

CRIME AND NORMLESSNESS

AN ATTEMPT TO ISOLATE CONDITIONS OF ANOMIE

James Midgley M.Soc.Sc. (Cape Town), M.Sc. (London).

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology and Administration
University of Cape Town

[97]

The copyright of this thesis is held by the
University of Cape Town.
Reproduction of the whole or any part
may be made for study purposes only, and
not for publication.

CONTENTS

Introduction	page	iii
Acknowledgements		iv
PART I: THEORY		
1. Meaning and Measurement in Crime		1
2. The Explanation of Crime, The Sociological Perspective and the Theory of Anomie.		18
3. The Anomie Concept in Sociological Theory and Research.		40
4. The Problem of the Definition and Measurement of Anomie and Some Propositions.		69
PART II: RESEARCH		
5. An attempt to Isolate Anomie : The Setting		82
6. An attempt to Isolate Anomie : Research Methods		96
7. An attempt to Isolate Anomie : Findings and Conclusions.		120
Bibliography		141
Appendix		148

INTRODUCTION

The work presented here is an original contribution to an established theory of crime and deviant behaviour - the theory of anomie.

It begins by discussing some fundamental problems in the study of crime and proceeds to argue that the sociological interpretation is one of the most comprehensive and useful approaches in modern criminology. While the theory of anomie has considerable status among sociological theories of crime, it is suggested that one of its most serious drawbacks is the way in which terms and meaning have been confused and inadequately operationalized for the purposes of research.

The work presented here makes a contribution to the theory of anomie and research into it, by attempting to analyse and clarify theoretical meanings and operational definitions; by formulating a theoretical conception and suitable operational measure of anomie; by applying this measure in an empirical setting and demonstrating that conditions of anomie may be isolated; by subjecting the main propositions of Robert Merton's theory to empirical test. It is, therefore, a contribution to both theory and research into anomie.

It is possible that the use of the Coloured population of Cape Town as research subjects may mislead the reader. The research reported here is not an attempt to explain high rates of crime and deviance in the Coloured population. It is not even attempting to suggest that the theory of anomie is a suitable model for explaining crime and deviance in South African society. From another perspective the research attempted to demonstrate that the concept of anomie might be empirically operationalized, that conditions of anomie might be isolated in the real world and that the theory of anomie might be subjected to empirical test. In this way it constituted an original contribution to knowledge.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge, with much appreciation the advice and assistance of all who contributed to this research.

I am indebted to my supervisor, Professor Edward Batson, Head of the Department of Sociology and Administration in the University of Cape Town for his advice and encouragement. In this way especially, he inspired and promoted my endeavour.

I am grateful to the Human Sciences Research Council who financed the greater part of the study.

I am also grateful to the Commissioner of the South African Police, to Colonel I. Kriek and especially Warrant Officer Bernado who either gave permission to peruse official police records or advice about the interpretation of these records.

I am grateful to my wife who assisted so willingly, to my mother and other members of my family - especially Althea and George, who gave of their time so freely.

I am also grateful to my friends who criticized, advised or assisted with the research. To Professor Brunhilde Helm who checked the draft report and gave much assistance in other ways. To Dr. David Downes of the London School of Economics who gave helpful and constructive criticism; to my team of interviewers, especially Mike Adendorf; to Stanley Kahn who assisted with the computations; to Lydia Rinquest and Eunice Kruger who typed the manuscript and to Dan Vaughan who supervised its reproduction; I owe a great debt.

PART I

THEORY

CHAPTER I
MEANING AND MEASUREMENT IN CRIME

While the concept of "crime" is naturally the focal point of modern criminology, it is one of the most poorly defined and controversial concepts of the young science. Criminologists may have a pretty good idea of the state of criminal statistics in various countries of the world; they may have examined at great length the influence of television or comic books on the genesis of criminal behaviour; they may have adequately documented the intricacies of gang structure - but they have not reached consensus about the meaning of the term "crime".¹

There have been polemics between certain criminologists who favour a more legal definition of the central concept and others who favour a more sociological one. While the former school look to the legal code for their frame of reference, the latter group examine the normative definitions of human behaviour in the social system. While the legal definitions incorporate the notion of a contravention of the criminal law, the more sociological definitions examine norms, roles and societal reactions. While the former group tend to be more absolute in their definition of what constitutes a crime, the latter have a more relative approach and are more cognizant of variations in the seriousness of social reactions to such law violations.

The need to resolve this polarization of intellectual opinion is obvious, for it is only in terms of an adequate definition of crime that the subject matter of the science of criminology may be delineated. Without a working definition of the fundamental concept of the field, criminology can hardly proceed to seek generalizations and principles. It seems paradoxical, therefore, that a considerable amount of literature - both theoretical and empirical - has been produced without a real convergence of ideas on this fundamental issue.

The legal school has an older and more established tradition which is based on the simple premise that crime is a transgression of the criminal law. This concept of crime implies that elements of "harm", "intent", "penalty" and other related legal notions are present or underlie those actions designated as criminal. Before any behaviour is defined as criminal, it must comply with certain criteria or "differentiae" that distinguish criminal from non-criminal conduct. These notions have been criticized by the sociologically oriented criminologists for being so legalistic as entirely to overlook the social element in criminal behaviour.

behaviour is pursued.

Another element in the legal definitions of crime is that criminal intent or "mens rea" must be present for any action to be construed as a criminal offence. Thus, only those acts which were intentional, wanton or malicious may be defined as criminal by the judiciary. This is an exceedingly complex issue, the norms of which only the legal scholar may be fully able to comprehend for the variations and complexities of the relevant rules are considerable.

Intent is understandably assumed to be present in the case of premeditated murder or a planned robbery or deliberate theft, but it is also said to be present in cases where a death occurred during a robbery or theft, even if the robber had no weapon, no plans to kill anyone nor even the opportunity for doing so. Thus a hypothetical housebreaker re-emerging from an enterprising venture may find that an accomplice left guard outside, has killed a watchman who came upon the scene. If he knows his law he will realize that, if apprehended, he may not only be charged with housebreaking but jointly for the murder of the watchman. The same mens rea would apply if the housebreaker found that the police, on attempting to arrest his accomplice on guard, accidentally shot and killed an innocent bystander. The housebreaker and his accomplice, and not the policeman who fired the gun, would be legally responsible for the death of this third party. They could be convicted on a charge of murder. Under the same "felony-murder" rule, as it is known in the United States, someone who sets fire to a building in which a fireman perishes while attempting to extinguish the blaze, can be held responsible for his death.

Similarly, the concept of mens rea applied, until fairly recently in what the Americans called "statutory rape". Sexual intercourse with a girl under a specified age even if her full consent has been given, constitutes an offence. The accused could not usefully lead evidence to show that he had been misled about the girl's age, for mens rea was automatically assumed to be present. He may carefully have questioned her and ascertained that she was above the legally prescribed minimum age but this would not diminish his guilt. Even though it might seem clear to the layman that the accused had, by his very action, not intended to commit a crime, mens rea would nevertheless be deemed to have been present by virtue of the wantonness of the offence. This has now been changed in the American legal code and does not exist in our own criminal law³, but the lay person

would have found it difficult to comprehend the intricacies of the legal mind when it was considered no defence for an accused person to demonstrate the very anti-thesis of criminal intent by attempting to ascertain the age of his sexual partner.

The notion of "penalty" or "penal sanction" is another important differentiae of crime. If there is no shared definition that any act will result in the application of penal sanction, then the act can hardly be defined as criminal.

Sociologists accept the broad principles underlying this idea but are critical of the differentials and anomalies which exist in the application of penalties.

It is a fundamental principle of law that different penalties should be prescribed for different crimes, with a relationship between severity of offences and severity of penalty being apparent. Thus treason and murder result in the application of the most severe sanctions of all, while crimes such as minor infringements of local authority regulations and especially traffic offences result in less stringent penalties. Or so it seems in principle.

It is, however, true that while an offender of means finds it relatively easy to pay the price for a violation for which the prescribed penalty is a fine, the poorer sections of the community do not. Consequently the law exacts a period of imprisonment as an alternative form of punishment for what may have been a relatively minor offence. This is particularly true in our country where a large proportion of the population who do not have the means adequately to feed themselves find imprisonment the only possible way of paying the price for transgressing the law. It is a fact that a sizeable proportion of the prison population are incarcerated for periods of less than one month in this country. Many for what are termed "law infringements". The latest report of the Prisons Department issued on 6th August, 1970 for the year 1968/69 showed that of a prison population of 496,000, 222,000 Bantu, nearly 15,000 Coloured and 4,000 Whites were sentenced to prison for less than one month. ⁴

The sociological school is greatly interested in the effects of imprisonment on the future of the ex-prisoner who may find it difficult to regain his status as a law-abiding citizen in a society that refuses to validate his attempts at playing this role. The hard facts of total unemployment, or of "being found out" by one's employer, of stigma and social ostracism, make it difficult for the ex-prisoner to return to a life of respectability. For many, recidivism is inevitable and the

consequent criminal role career has its origin in what may have been a minor offence. Imprisonment for such short periods are indicative of minor offences and there is growing criticism of this form of punishment which has such serious consequences. For those who manage not to relapse into crime, the damage to their dignity and self respect is considerable and sometimes long-lasting.

The law may thus legitimately intend to deal equitably with all law violators, but the implications and repercussions of legal action are not borne equally by all members of society. The social consequence of what may appear to be a fair and reasonable sentence is frequently overlooked by those who employ a rigidly legalistic definition of crime.

The most obvious and fundamental element in the definition of crime, however, is not that it constitutes harm, nor that the behaviour should be intentional or even that a notion of punishment should be present, but rather that the behaviour in question should contravene the criminal law. Most legal scholars attach great importance to this aspect of the definition of crime, maintaining that crime is behaviour that violates specific legal norms. Crime is conduct that is proscribed by law. It is on this fundamental premise that the legal school base their definition of crime as behaviour that violates the law.

There is widespread agreement about this and about some of the corollaries of this definition; notably that specificity with regard to, not only proscribed conduct, but to relevant penal sanction must be apparent. Sutherland and Cressey⁵ in fact point out that criminal law may be characterized not only by specificity but also by its politicality and uniformity. By this is meant that the criminal law has its genesis and source in the polity and not in any other institutionalized structure.

The church, the family, the business organization, the military, the trade union all, it is true, have their norms of conduct and these may be specifically defined and rigorously implemented, but they are enforceable only within the relevant system and not generally, and usually carry limited sanction. The rules enacted by the polity, however, diffuse throughout the society and have the supportive institutions of law and social control to maintain them. In the same way the common law is enforced through the actions of the polity. Only those rules known as law, therefore, and not the numerous other rules of conduct and action in our society, have politicality.

Uniformity is another identifying characteristic of the criminal law and it refers to the notion of equitable implementation of the law without regard to position or social standing. "This means that no exceptions are made to criminal liability because of a person's social status; an act described as a crime is crime no matter who perpetrates it. Also, uniformity means that the law enforcement process shall be administered without regard for the status of the persons who have committed crimes or are accused of committing crimes".⁶

The apparent consensus among legal scholars and those criminologists who subscribe to the legal viewpoint is not generally shared, however, by the more sociologically oriented criminologist who quickly points out that the simple concept of crime as a violation of the criminal law is so nebulous and diffuse as to be meaningless for any analytical purpose. To speak of crime merely as a contravention of the criminal code does not differentiate between those violations that carry extreme penalties or great stigma, and those that are so slight as hardly to merit public attention.

A murder or theft or an illegally parked car or even a minor sexual offence may in absolute terms, be contraventions of the law. Yet enormous differentials exist both in terms of the severity of the penalty and the amount of attention these events attract. The sociological school point out that far more than a contravention of the law is involved. A crime may imply legal transgression but the way in which society reacts to this transgression is far more crucial than the transgression itself. Consequently, the sociological school examine the social structure with its values and norms in an effort to isolate those factors which significantly differentiate one law violation from another.

To say that a crime is simply a violation of the law, is an inadequate definition because it fails to take cognizance of the differentials that exist in the application of the law and in the selection of those offenders who will eventually become "career criminals". The social reactions to the transgressor rather than the transgression itself is the really significant analytical focus of the sociologically inclined criminologist. To examine only a violation of the law does not necessarily imply that we have any information about the criminal act, let alone the criminal. Of all the violations that occur, only a limited number are brought to the attention of the authorities and a smaller number still result in apprehension and conviction. To base one's whole conception of criminology on law violations only, means that a very substantial area of one's disciplinary subject-matter remains un-

known and undiscovered. While this may not be unique in the history of science, the sociologist-criminologist points out that the emphasis on law violations rather than on societal reactions, detracts from the study of those individuals who are selected to become criminals in our society, and moreover, from the mechanisms of selection. Are we really interested in the dynamics of petty violations? Are we really concerned with the aetiology of parking offences or the violation of minor local authority regulations? We may be, but our knowledge of serious crime and of criminal role careers and of society and its reactions to criminals remains so inadequate as to prohibit the expenditure of energy and resources on such research. It may, in fact, be precisely by focusing on such "non-criminal crimes" that our energies may be diverted from what the legal criminologist stresses as the focal point of criminology - law violations.

The legal definition of crime merely as a contravention of the criminal code fails, also, to take broader social and political factors into consideration. Sociologically oriented criminologists point to the very complex and serious problem of laws that are motivated by political ideology. By violating a law to which he cannot, because of conscience subscribe, the individual becomes a criminal in the eyes of the State. Humanity may, however, judge his actions as correct rather than criminal. Who is the violator? The individual who breaks the ideological law or the State that passes it?

In Hitler's Germany the crime of dissension or disobedience to the dictates of the Nazi State was severely punished and those who complied, rather than overtly revolted, were perhaps inwardly at variance with the law. Yet, as subsequent events at Nuremberg showed, compliance and obedience constituted complicity and was punishable in terms of universal and moral criteria. Obedience to the regime constituted a crime in the eyes of humanity while disobedience, a crime against the State. Here indeed was a dilemma.

One is reminded of events nearer home at this juncture. With the country on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Republic there have been calls for amnesty for political prisoners. The State maintains that there are no political prisoners in South Africa. Those incarcerated for what are popularly construed as "political offences" are merely criminals who have conspired and connived to perpetuate crimes of violence which, were they not uncovered, would have resulted in great public disorder. The "political offender" is an ordinary criminal in the eyes of the State even though he may have been acting at the dictates of conscience and out

of a real and genuine commitment to reform and the creation of a more equitable society.

The absolutist notion of crime, purely as a violation of the law, is perplexed by these issues and dilemmas, while the sociologist who examines the social milieu within which such events occur, has a more useful analytical scheme.

To introduce the notion of natural law at this point only serves to confuse the issue further, for the age old philosophic discourse on natural law has not shed much clarity on these issues. This is a topic so extensive and substantial in content as to prohibit any serious discussion here, save to say that despite the contribution of some of history's greatest thinkers - Aristotle, Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Ockham, Hugo Grotius, Pufendorf and more recently Rudolf Stamler, the natural law school has not really demonstrated the existence of a higher moral order from which an absolute and universal measure of human conduct may be derived.⁷

One of the most forcible arguments against the formal legalistic definition of crime as a violation of the criminal law is made by those criminologists who, being concerned with aetiology, find the legal definition of crime too restrictive for the purposes of research.

A theory of the causation of criminal behaviour cannot examine only those acts which result in court appearances. The law may be an extrinsic factor in crime causation but it is able to define certain acts as criminal. Thus if the law is changed certain behaviour may cease to be of relevance to the criminologist. Conversely, behaviour that was of no relevance previously may now be subject to analysis. Aetiological research cannot operate within so variable a frame and so some criminologists have called not for a science of criminal behaviour only, but for a science of deviant behaviour generally, whether these actions are proscribed by law or not.

D.J. West of the Cambridge Institute of Criminology has put this most succinctly: "Unfortunately nature takes no heed of academic or legal convenience, and to find out about the causes of delinquency one has to go further than court procedures. For instance, one cannot hope to elucidate how absence of a father, or mental dullness may contribute to delinquent behaviour without also examining fatherless and mentally dull children who do not break the law".⁸

Thorsten Sellin,⁹ in many ways represents in his writings the interests of those criminologists who support the notion of a science of deviance rather than criminology. In his Culture Conflict and Crime, Sellin calls for a study not of officially or legally defined criminal behaviour, but of the violation of "conduct norms". Contravention of such conduct norms, he suggests, rather than of legally defined criminal behaviour, should constitute the subject matter of criminology. Sellin argues that the rules that govern our behaviour are not only or even essentially those rules which are legally defined. Ordinances, laws and regulations, it is true, control our actions to a considerable extent but the informal norms of everyday life which do not appear in codified form on the statute book, are even more important. The acceptable ways of acting in social situations, the customs and practices, the usages and conventions of all the many groups and organizations of which we are a part, are more numerous and more relevant for understanding our day to day behaviour. The mores of society transmitted by the family and other institutions both church and school are probably, Sellin maintains, more important for understanding the dynamics of social behaviour. As such, these "conduct norms", as he calls them, are more relevant to the science of criminology.

Crime as a contravention of the criminal law is a definition which is based on arbitrary and artificial criteria and the criminologist should have as his subject matter not only these elements but all those antisocial actions which are in conflict with social interests. The criminologist should concern himself not only with law violations but with transgressions of the established conduct norms of society.

Tappan vehemently criticized this view and suggested that if the legal concept of crime be abandoned, criminology would be without any real definition of injurious behaviour. All that would remain would be the subjective interpretation of the sociologist. Tappan maintained that the notion of antisocial conduct cannot be adequately defined for analytical purposes, especially research purposes, without the use of a legal frame. Criticizing the sociological approach he suggests that : "It sets no standards. It does not discriminate cases but merely invited the subjective value judgements of the investigator. Until it is structurally embodied with distinct criteria or norms - as is now the case in the legal system - the notion of anti-social conduct is useless for purposes of research, even for the rawest empiricism".¹⁰

This is, of course, due in part, to the difficulties which criminologists have had in defining crime, but even if crime is defined legalistically as a contravention of the criminal law, problems not directly associated with definitions arise.

There is, for instance, the problem of "reporting" which is particularly perplexing in the United States. Like many other Western societies, the United States does not have a national Police Force, although a central police authority, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, acts as one for certain categories of offences. All local police agencies are required to submit returns of the incidence of crime in their areas to this central bureau, but the extent to which they do, and the accuracy with which such reporting occurs, varies considerably. Even though attempts at measuring the extent of crime in the United States of America are made, therefore, the incompetence or disinterest of the various police authorities results in the production of very inaccurate and questionable estimates of the extent of crime in that country. The example is often given of the city of Philadelphia which experienced a startling increase of 70% in the incidence of violent crime between the years 1951 and 1953. The reason for this was not that violence had suddenly become a Philadelphian norm but that one of the more important police districts had failed to report approximately 5,000 complaints in 1951. As one American sociologist was prompted to say: "Crime statistics are as reliable as a woman giving her age".¹²

It appears that the first attempts at measuring crime began during the nineteenth century when the French judicial authorities began recording crime statistics in 1825.¹³ These were first published two years later in 1827 and it was on these statistics that Adolphe Quételet and Michael Guerry based their pioneering ideas on the causation of crime.

There is evidence that some crime statistics were being collected earlier in Europe but these could have been no more than a haphazard and ad hoc representation of certain inaccurate numerical facts to the governmental authorities of the day. Jeremy Bentham, that eccentric genius of University College, London, was calling on the courts to collate and disseminate statistical information on crime during the late eighteenth century for the purposes of remedial action. He argued that such statistics could serve as an index of the extent of lawlessness among the general population and that such a "political barometer", as he called it, would determine the need for governmental intervention and action.

It was not, however, until the 1850's that England adopted the practice of recording the incidence of crime, and then only after certain other European countries such as Sweden had followed the French example. England, it should be noted, was one of the first countries to record crimes which had been reported to the police authorities, whether these reported crimes resulted in arrests or convictions or not. Most other countries based their crime statistics only on court convictions and there was considerable commendation and subsequent emulation of the English example by certain countries of the European Continent. This is interesting in the light of the fact that some British authorities were against this practice, favouring the publication of information on court convictions only. It was, in fact, largely due to the efforts and opinions of those two giants of British criminology, Leon Radzinowicz and Herman Mannheim, that publication of the incidence of reported crime was finally and permanently entrenched in the British Home Office's well known blue covered annual report; Criminal Statistics for England and Wales.

The organized collection of national crime statistics in the United States of America came somewhat later, when the American Association of Police Chiefs constituted a committee to undertake this task in 1929. Although earlier attempts at collecting national statistics had been made, it was only as a result of this decision that a central authority was created for this specific purpose. From this body emerged the well known series of Uniform Crime Reports now published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Crime statistics in South Africa come from several sources, including the annual Report of the Commissioner of Police, reviews of judicial and criminal statistics in the South African Statistical Yearbook, in special reports compiled by the Department of Statistics and the Human Sciences Research Council as it is now known, and also from information supplied by the Minister of Justice, particularly during parliamentary sessions.

The problem with crime statistics is very largely that they represent only a small proportion of the actual number of crimes that occur. There is, as it were, an iceberg of the incidence of crime of which only a minor proportion is visible and known and of which only a smaller proportion still results in convictions in the courts. Although much criminological theorizing is based on such statistics, the accuracy of the data may be a telling determinant of the validity of these theories.

Another victim may feel that the offence was so slight in its extent in injury that it seems a preferable alternative to bear its momentary discomfort than report it to the law enforcement agencies. This is a common reaction, for the expenditure in time and energy of giving statements, of swearing affidavits and of attending court hearings frequently outweighs the costs of the crime as experienced by the victim. For the same reason there is a general reluctance to volunteer evidence and information to the police among the public and those who witnessed or in other ways became aware of the occurrence of a criminal offence. Others again may have a negative view of the competence of the police authorities and will decide that to report a crime is being optimistic and that the best course of action is simply to adapt and make adjustments to one's loss or injury. In certain cases this is well founded and also perhaps when the nature of the offence is taken into consideration. The possibility of recovering a small article stolen from a parked car in the centre of a large city is somewhat remote. Most people who fall victim to such crimes are consequently reluctant to report their loss, simply because they are doubtful of their action producing positive results.

Where crimes without victims have occurred, reports to the police are similarly infrequent. Two adult homosexuals will seldom surrender themselves to the police, nor will a drug addict or someone who has gratefully managed to procure an abortion. Such crimes usually come to the attention of the law enforcement agencies through the efforts of third parties motivated either by a concern for public welfare or by the hope of reward or by other, more personal reasons. It is a fact, however, that the seriousness of the purported offence correlates significantly with the rate of reporting so that a greater majority of murders, but a small proportion of minor thefts and insignificant frauds are reported to the police.

Crimes, may, finally, never be reported to the police because the offender and the victim reach some private settlement. This is frequently so in motor car accidents which are, of course, not criminal offences unless the police are satisfied that criminal negligence or some contravention of the traffic regulations occurred. Often the drivers of the respective vehicles reach a private settlement before the police are notified and this naturally precludes the authorities from examining the extent to which a violation of the criminal law was evident. A slightly more hypothetical but pointed example is that of the management of a business organization which settles a case of fraud by requiring the offender

to repay the loss sustained by the firm. Again the gravity of the offence will probably be the telling factor in deciding whether the police are notified or not.

Of those crimes that are reported to the police (and we have seen that a significant number are not) only a proportion result in arrests, prosecutions and convictions. Of the convictions only a proportion again result in imprisonment and in the emergence of what some modern criminologists are calling "criminal role careers"¹⁴ The extent to which any offender is transported through the developmental stages of crime, as it were, is then a deciding factor in his future career, for the pain and deprivation of imprisonment with its concomitant frustration and bitterness, coupled with the enormity of social stigma, is in itself likely to produce a hardened criminal.

There are many reasons why all reported crimes do not result in successful prosecutions and convictions. Some reasons, such as the lack of available evidence or the clarity or accuracy of such evidence in obtaining a prosecution are obvious. The police cannot merely apprehend in the hope that every arrest will somehow result in a conviction. These points are only too obvious and do not merit discussion but there are not subtle and even more sinister reasons why a reported crime does not result in a conviction. It may be a function of what we have already called the biased selection of certain categories of persons for apprehension and prosecution rather than others. As a result of screening the policeman on the beat is likely to base his perception of a "criminal" on certain external cues, or characteristics. Thus, a well dressed, articulate man of respectable demeanour is less likely to be suspected of having committed an offence than a shoddily dressed, unkempt, inarticulate individual. The existence of such biases are sometimes determined purely by necessity. Police departments are, as the aphorism has it, usually understaffed, underpaid but overworked. They are consequently unable to give attention to all cases and in an effort to cope, operate with an intrinsic bias toward certain categories of people. Because the lower classes are less likely to obtain legal representation in criminal cases, the bias, it is suggested, operates against them because the police are more readily able to obtain a conviction and clear such cases. To obtain a conviction against a wealthy man is more difficult and requires a considerable amount of time, energy and financial expense as a recent sensational murder trial in Cape Town showed. The selective bias of screening thus operates in favour of the upper and upper-middle classes. It is for this reason that considerable controversy has arisen among criminologists. Those who have proposed

certain class-oriented theories of crime which rest on the assumption of differential incidence are understandably loathe to admit that such a bias exists. The extent to which screening distorts the true incidence of crime is unclear but its existence even if recognized only to have limited effect, should not be overlooked. In the same way screening is brought into operation to select certain categories of crimes for investigation and it is usually the more sensational events that stimulate exhaustive police inquiry. The implications of screening for the accurate measurement of crime should not be neglected, therefore, in a discussion of this nature.

Another weakness of official judicial statistics is that the quality and accuracy of police records are sometimes questionable. Even though this probably accounts for a very small percentage of error, mistakes in the processing of police data may occur and falsely represent the incidence of any particular aspect of crime. There is also the problem of the expedient manipulation of criminal statistics for political purposes. In a highly decentralized socio-political system such anomalies are particularly possible, for any governmental authority elected by democratic vote, fears the effect that high crime rates may have on the voting behaviour of the constituents. One way of coping with the problem is to manipulate the data and distort it rather than modify criminogenic factors. While such conditions prevail, it is difficult to rely on the accuracy of crime statistics.

One is able, therefore, to devise a sequential model in which information about the true incidence of crime becomes decreasingly available. The official rate of reported crime (subject to qualification) will be greater than the rate of arrest and prosecution. Similarly, the official conviction rate will be smaller than these two figures, as will be evident in the present statistics. There are, as Edward Batson, Professor of Sociology and Administration at the University of Cape Town said at the 1971 University Summer School, a series of "stations of crime" beginning with the commission of the offence and culminating in a conviction. Our available knowledge of the actual number of offences that are committed is greatly limited, and conviction rates, similarly, represent only a small proportion of those offences that were actually committed.

One is thus faced with the problem of devising a useful index of crime in society. Should this index be based on the number of crimes reported to the police or on the number of arrests or the number of prosecutions or even on the number of convictions obtained in the courts. There is no clear consensus on this

issue. The earliest statistics, as we have already pointed out, were derived from the collection of conviction rates in the 19th century French courts and the practice of using such statistics as an index of crime is still widespread. Other criminologists favour the use of reported crime as an index of the extent of criminal behaviour and their arguments in favour of this practice are widely supported by many criminologists, particularly those of a more sociological orientation. It depends largely on the way in which the various available indices lend support to one's own theoretical leaning. The legal school, for instance, favour conviction rates rather than reported crime largely because this complies with their conception of crime as behaviour that is legally defined and adjudicated as such by the courts. Is there an alternative means of discovering the true extent of crime and delinquency in modern societies? If so it has not yet been discovered. Attempts at employing survey research techniques in an effort to discover the extent of hidden crime, have been contradictory, methodologically inadequate and generally unsuccessful.¹⁵

Our knowledge of the true incidence of crime in society remains severely limited and inadequate. All criminological investigation is severely hampered, therefore, not only because it has failed adequately to measure the true extent of crime, but because it has no uniform and entirely accepted definition of the concept of crime. As such, these may well prove to be the most serious drawbacks and limitations of our present study.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. In addition to the standard references in Criminology, for a more detailed discussion of the legal and sociological issues involved, see: Gurvich, G.: Sociology of Law. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1960. Lansdowne, C.W. and Gardner, F.G.: South African Criminal Law and Procedure. Cape Town: Juta, 1957. Radzinowicz, L.: A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration since 1750. London: Stevens, 1948. Timasheff, N.S.: An Introduction to the Sociology of Law. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Williams, G.: Criminal Law - The General Part. London: Stevens, 1961.
2. Under the English Criminal Justice Act of 1948, for instance, the court may, when making a probation order or any other conditional discharge, require the offender to pay compensation to the victim of not more than £100.
3. Act no. 23 of 1957; section 14(2)c.
4. South Africa: Department of Prisons: Report of the Department of Prisons. 1968/69. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1970.
5. Sutherland, E.H. and Cressey, D.R.: Principles of Criminology. New York: Lippincott, 1966: pp. 7-9.
6. Ibid.: p. 7.
7. Mannheim, H.: Comparative Criminology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965: pp. 42-50.
8. West, D.J.: The Young Offender. Harmondsworth: Pellican Books, 1967: pp. 11-12.
9. Sellin, T.: Culture Conflict and Crime. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938.
10. Tappan, P.W.: "Who is the Criminal?". American Sociological Review, Vol. 12, 1947: p. 97.
11. Mannheim, op. cit.: p. 31.
12. Bell, D.: "The Myth of Crime Waves". in Bell, D.: The End of Ideology, New York: Collier, 1961.
13. See Sellin, T. and Wolfgang, M.: The Measurement of Delinquency. New York: Wiley, 1964: pp. 7-24.
14. See Gibbons, D.C.: Society, Crime and Criminal Careers. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1968.
15. See for example: Wallerstein, J.S. and Wyle, C.J.: "Our Law-Abiding Law-Breakers". Probation, Vol. 25, 1947: pp. 107-112. Porterfield, A.: Youth in Trouble. Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946. Murphy, E.J. et al.: "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency". American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 16, 1946: pp. 686-696.

and even psychological fields but people balk at the notion that research is needed in the social sphere, especially in the fields of crime and correction.

We are still gripped, it seems, by the belief that each man controls his destiny and that the commission of a criminal offence is a rational decision made by those who freely choose a life of crime and waywardness rather than a law-abiding existence. Each man, the doctrine maintains, is free to do as he chooses and those who choose crime rather than conformity must be sufficiently punished to deter them from making such a choice. This very logical formula (which simply does not work out in practice) was first suggested by Césaire Beccaria (1738-1794) in Italy and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) in England. The classical approach, as it came to be known, merely reflected the emphasis placed on rationalism and hedonism at the time and, in fact, gave rise to the review of penal policies in many European countries.¹

But it is an explanation of crime that most modern criminologists reject primarily on the grounds of historical experience. It has not been demonstrated that the principle of deterrence has any real validity and criminologists frequently refer in this regard to the fact that the thieves and pickpockets of London were usually most active among the crowds attending the executions of their hapless colleagues who had been caught.

Criminology has accepted as a working premise that there are objective causes of criminal behaviour and it has, by the application of scientific method, sought to isolate and identify them. Their ideas about the causes of crime have been nurtured and have matured into fully fledged theories. These, in turn, have been subjected to empirical investigation and analysis and a considerable body of knowledge has been developed. This is perhaps one of the most serious difficulties facing modern criminology, for there has been no paucity of theorizing and there are today not only a wide variety of theories but many schools, orientations and traditions in the aetiological study of crime.

It is a major undertaking to classify these many interpretations but criminologists frequently group the various theories in terms of the relative stress they place on the role of biological, psychological or sociological factors in the aetiology of crime. This sort of classification is admittedly broad but it helps to a certain extent to organise and structure criminological thinking about the causes of crime. It should also be stressed that in spite of all this theory and research, the many books, journals, conferences and other elements available to the science of criminology,

limited progress has been made in identifying the origins of crime. The sociological school suffers from a lack of precision in research and consequent scientific validation, although its ideas are the broadest, most comprehensive and perhaps most plausible. The sociologically oriented criminologist has the broadest view. He is able to take into consideration factors which the psychologist and biologist may not see. His training is geared to an understanding of the relevance of factors at the widest level of interpretation - the social - which the biologist and psychologist are not able, by virtue of a more focused training, fully to appreciate.

The biological and psychological schools have claimed far greater precision and have, at some length, endeavoured to introduce quantitative measurement of a high order into their investigations. Such precision has not, however, been uniformly experienced. Lombroso's² measurements of the anatomical features of criminals were not replicated by the English prison doctor, Charles Goring.³ The intelligence quotients to which Goddard referred in his work were really varying estimates of the criminal population who were feeble-minded, and were not generally supported by other criminologists who undertook studies of this nature. In more recent times criminologists working in the field of psychometrics have employed even more sophisticated techniques such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory but here again replications and reviews of the work done have not entirely confirmed the previous findings. Many of the psycho-diagnostic tests which have been developed rely to a considerable extent on the interpretation of the tester. How else is it possible to diagnose and predict that a little boy who scores a high on, for instance, a measure of aggression will become a murderer rather than a professional soldier in later life. The tests overlook, it seems, the fact that many behavioural traits which may be intrinsically interpreted as unacceptable, are in fact necessary in the competitive society in which we live. It should also be pointed out that the sociological approach has not relied entirely on intuition. The criminologist with a sociological orientation has at his disposal a considerable variety of empiric measures and tools which he frequently employs in his study of the causes of crime.

But it is not only on the grounds of empirical measurement and precision in research that the sociological and the bio-psychological explanations differ. These latter approaches have been obsessed with interpreting crime as a manifestation of individual pathology. Whether these theories stress physiological or psychiatric pathology, their view of the criminal is one which sees him as an abnormal or sick person who carries in his very nature the seeds of crime and deviance.

These sentiments have been expressed in many ways by such criminologists. In the Lombrosian view they were the manifestation of the atavistic nature of certain individuals whose criminal leanings could be readily identified by a number of anatomical stigmata such as prognathism, high cheek-bones, receding forehead, large ears, bushy eyebrows and the like. For Goddard⁴ the clue lay in the mental processes of cognition for the criminal was essentially a species of that broader pathology, mental deficiency. Sheldon⁵, under the guise of scientific objectivity and scientific precision saw the causes of crime in the germ plasm which were overtly manifested in the somatotype. Mesomorphy was a criminogenic physique because it reflected somatically the seeds of crime carried in the genetic structure. The Freudian view, although extremely popular, is another form of aetiological absolutism which sees the criminal as a pathological or disturbed individual. The psychoanalysts, however, differ considerably in their interpretation, for while the other schools stressing pathological factors, are coherent in their theorization, psychoanalysis is not. This may, of course, be partly due to the diffused meaning of the term "psychoanalysis", but whereas one psychoanalytic criminologist attributes the cause of crime to one factor, another sees it in some other factor. There is, it seems, no real consensus within this school about which aspect of psycho-social life is most meaningfully related to the cause of crime.

While Alexander and Staub⁶ in an orthodox Freudian interpretation saw all individuals as basically criminal because of the influence of the id, Hewitt and Jenkins⁷ suggests that it is not simply the factor of super-ego strength that is important for controlling id drives. In a typology they suggest that not only may the criminal super-ego be too weak but that it may also be excessively strong or even full of holes or lacunae that allow certain deviant responses to be manifested. Other psychoanalysts talk of the antisocial type of delinquent whose personality is basically undeveloped⁸ or of the relevance of fixation at a particular stage of psycho-sexual development for the understanding of the causes of crime. One such interpretation suggests that car theft is a regression to the early oral stage, while armed robbery is a regression to the anal stage.⁹

There are many more examples of this approach but they are all at variance with the contemporary sociological stress on crime as "normal behaviour". Criminologists of the sociological school reject the notion that the criminal is an essentially pathological type and they produce evidence to show that clinical assessments of criminals made by psychiatric diagnosticians themselves, do not support the view that the criminal is a pathologically abnormal person. The contemporary criminologist with

a sociological leaning sees crime as an expected response to certain social situations. There are even sociologists who are currently suggesting that crime is not only an expected response but, in fact, a desired response. In a highly functionalist interpretation Dentler and Erikson¹⁰ maintain that a society cannot manage without criminals for if there were no criminals no one would know where the boundaries of conformity-deviance are located. Thus society uses the criminal as a pointer to the limits of acceptable behaviour. The criminal clarifies the rules and is used as a standard against which performance may be rated. Without the criminal, the functionalists maintain, deviance could not be identified and society is dependent on such persons to illuminate the extent to which devious action may be taken. It is, of course, only within a sociological frame of conceptualization that such theories could emerge.

The term "school" is however misleading when applied to criminologists with a sociological leaning for within this amorphous category there is a wide variety of interpretations. There are Marxists, functionalists and ecologists as well as those who give emphasis to psycho-social factors as there are those who give emphasis to broader sociological factors.

It is primarily because of the large number of possible aetiological factors and causes that criminology has had such a plethora of theorization. One is now faced with the immense task of selecting the theories or, as some criminologists have suggested, of developing a notion of multiple causation. This has been an extremely popular notion in criminology but one which has not been particularly helpful for, in suggesting that a wide variety of factors may be causally relevant for the understanding of crime, the criminologist has a decreased predictive ability as the number of possible aetiological factors increase. This has happened for the proponents of multifactorial analysis have with such enthusiasm carried out research to relate statistically a large number of discrete factors (such as comic books, broken homes, poor street lighting, truancy and the like) to crime that a veritable lexicon of possible aetiological factors has emerged. Thus while Sir Cyril Burt¹¹ maintained that juvenile delinquency could be attributed to no less than 170 factors, Healy¹² saw each delinquent as an individual whose background should be screened for any possible relevant factors. The problem is aggravated by the fact that the proponents of multifactorial analysis do not say how these factors cause delinquency. There is a total lack of theory in their work and many criminologists fail to see how crime and delinquency can be understood from a mere list of possible causes without any

specificity as to how and under what circumstances these causes operate to cause crime and delinquency. The emphasis in contemporary criminology is on developing a clear theoretical model of the causes of crime.

The sociological approach in criminology is a complex mixture of several theoretical dispositions and orientations to the study of crime and to review them all here in detail would not really be pertinent to the study reported in this thesis. It is however interesting that, although different and autonomous, the criminological theories which have been labelled and identified as sociological all draw much inspiration from each other and even have a common ancestry. Some criminologists point to the sociology-explosion at the University of Chicago during the early decades of this century as a starting point, for it was here that both macro- and micro-sociological orientations were being hatched. It was on the Park-Burgess model of the spatial distribution of social relationships in the urban setting that the ecological theory of Shaw and McKay¹³ were based. This approach in sociological criminology, often referred to as the social disorganization school, led to a subsequent formulation of subcultural theory with reference to delinquent gangs and paved the way for the development of the Cloward and Ohlin¹⁴ anomie model. The anomie approach in criminology today represents, in many respects, the crystallization of the ideas set out in this sequence of theorization even though its origins are, as we shall see, somewhat older.

The ideas of George Herbert Mead, who was working at Chicago at about this time were to be the foundation on which another currently important perspective in sociological criminology was to be based. Drawing inspiration from Sutherland and Cressey's notion of the transmission of deviance through social roles, the interactionist school today stresses the importance of social learning, of self concepts, of labelling, of societal reactions and of role playing in the understanding of crime and deviant behaviour.

As such, these two approaches represent the two most important contemporary sociological perspectives in the scientific study of crime (although there are other sociological approaches which have their adherents as well). The two schools, it has been suggested, should complement rather than compete against each other for both have an important contribution to make in spite of their radically different approaches.¹⁵ Anomie theory is sociologicistic while the interactionists are more psycho-sociological in leaning. Consequently the interactionists are critical of

the anomie theorists because they overlook the individual and his responses, roles and self-concept. The anomie theorists claim that the contribution of the interactionists is aetiologically limited, for while they specify how one becomes a criminal, they do not meaningfully answer the question "why". However, as the research reported in this thesis is concerned primarily with the theory and concept of anomie, it is to a discussion of this theory that we must now turn, for to evaluate the relative usefulness or validity of this or that theory would be outside the scope of the present study. Our research is about the theory and concept of anomie which has emerged as one of the most significant of the sociological theories of crime to date.

There are several identifying features of this theoretical orientation. It is, firstly, sociological in nature in that it focuses not on biological or psychological causes but examines aetiologically the role of social factors. Secondly it is a theory which views crime not as a manifestation of individual pathology but sees crime as an expected or "normal" response to certain predisposing social conditions. It is, thirdly, concerned with an analysis of macro-sociological factors and uses terminology and concepts related more to macro- than micro-sociology. It is fourthly a group of specific theories which are collectively known as "anomie", since they are close in content and in meaning. At the outset, however, it should be stressed that while the contribution of the anomie approach has been significant, it has had limited success in exposing the sources of criminal behaviour for its main concepts and terms have been poorly defined and have consequently been vaguely interpreted. This has meant, unfortunately, that the main premises of the anomie approach have not been subjected to adequate empirical investigation and validation. It is with this aspect of the theory that the research reported here is concerned, for if the anomie approach has no empirical meaning, its usefulness is severely restricted.

The theory of anomie was first formulated by the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) in a study of the causes of suicide¹⁶ and reconceptualized in a far broader analytic model by the American Robert Merton.¹⁷

Durkheim's theory of suicide is obviously not a criminological theory in any sense but it is extremely important for understanding the emergence of Merton's subsequent influential paper. It is essentially a typology of the causes and manifestations of suicide. Durkheim's interpretation focuses on the social milieu in which the individual takes his life and suggests that social factors are responsible for suicide.

Durkheim's theory may, in an analytical sense, be seen not as a single theoretical interpretation but as three theories of three types of suicide, types which he labelled egoism, altruism and anomie. Durkheim's treatise on suicide marked a milestone in modern sociology for here was one of the first examples of the application of empirical data to the explanation of interpretation of social behaviour. Making an exhaustive analysis of official statistics of suicide, Durkheim was able to base his generalizations on real events in society as reflected in these statistics. This idea was not, however, the invention of Durkheim. It was, of course originally Comte who wanted a positive philosophy - a social physics employing the empiricism and rigorous scientific objectivity of the natural sciences. But while Comte advocated such ideas and practices he failed to set the example by actually doing any empirical research and it was left to his countryman Frederick Le Play and the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quételet to embark on research employing empirical data. It was from Quételet that Durkheim drew his inspiration and he was able to show that, statistically, suicide was more common among those people whose lives were typified by autonomy and isolation. Egoistic suicide then occurred in social situations in which individual independence was stressed. A disintegrative social order frees the personality from culture and group life and the individual is more likely to end his life in such a situation if faced with personal problems or difficulties. There is no group to turn to, no one to comfort and reassure. The more malintegrated commit egoistic suicide because they face the problems of life alone. In a social situation of increased personal autonomy and isolation and decreased solidarity, egoistic suicide will be common. Because marriage provides a bond of solidarity and firm group attachments, suicide rates tend to be lower among the married while they are higher among the single, the widowed and the divorced. Again Durkheim noted, suicide rates tend to be far higher among Protestants while Roman Catholics whose religion demands loyalty and integration by the very nature of its dogma, have a lower suicide rate. In an integrated setting where strong identification with others is evident lower rates of suicide will be found.

The converse of this particular form of suicide is what Durkheim labelled altruistic suicide - a form of self destruction typified not by conditions of disintegration but rather by condition of intense cohesion, solidarity and strong identification with the group. In certain social settings individuals are so lost in group existence, so engulfed by group consciousness, that they may on certain occasions kill themselves in order best to serve the interests of the group. Individualism is lost, personal identity immersed in a group climate so strong, that at the call to self sacrifice, the

group member obeys. If self-destruction is necessary for group welfare and survival the member willingly gives his very existence.

This form of suicide also occurs if the extremely integrated member has in some way disgraced the group. Suicide now becomes an acceptable means of redemption. Durkheim gave an example of this form of suicide by referring to small preliterate societies marked by mechanistic solidarity. Here the aged or infirm take their lives for the welfare of the group. Here the violator of norms and custom kills himself rather than face disgrace and ostracism. Altruistic suicide occurs also in modern societies, however, particularly in the military and other highly disciplined groups and organizations. Had he lived that long, Durkheim would surely have found the fanatic Kamikaze, an ideal typus of altruistic suicide. This is certainly one of the best illustrations of contemporary altruistic suicide available.

The third type, anomic suicide, occurs under somewhat different social conditions - conditions typified by a breakdown of the social norms which prevail in societies that restrain and limit the personal aspirations and ambitions of their members.

Individual aspirations emanate from human needs which Durkheim classified as either biological or social. Physical or biological needs are controlled and regulated by the very physiological nature of the human organism. If the individual has inbibed excessively, his body reacts against it. Biological needs are, in other words, controlled and determined by the human physiology and are regulated by physical limitations. Social needs are not, however, curtailed by such physiological factors. Man's need for wealth, prestige, respect, fame and power are limitless and his capacity for these elements of social life are insatiable. The more he has, the more he wants, or so the popular aphorism has it and it succinctly expresses what Durkheim is saying. The human being's desire for wealth and social position is never satisfied unless controlled by external restraints. Society, therefore, prescribes limitations on human aspirations. Society defines social position and places its members at different points on the social hierarchy specifying and limiting individual ambition. The ideal result is that each individual is more or less content with his lot and more or less happy to achieve only what is realistically possible for him to achieve. The stable society is typified then by a widespread consensus about the legitimacy of social position and the allocation of rewards. In a situation where people accept their status and have controlled and regulated social aspirations, social order and cohesion are possible. The norms of the social order possess legitimacy and restrain and regulate individual aspiration and ambition.

Suicide occurs when this regulation disintegrates. People now no longer accept their prescribed station in life. Resignation is replaced by greed and since social needs are limitless, human aspirations escalate and ambition, desire and selfishness override regulated and ordered human action. In such a situation the human mind aspires to reach unattainable levels and social activity becomes geared to grasping for goals which are beyond reach. Suicide is the inevitable result.

"Nothing gives satisfaction and all this agitation is uninterruptedly maintained without appeasement. Above all, since this race for an unattainable goal can give no other pleasure but that of the race itself, if it is one, once it is interrupted the participants are left empty-handed. At the same time the struggle grows more violent and painful, both from being less controlled and because competition is greater. All classes contend among themselves because no established classification any longer exists. Effort grows, just when it becomes less productive. How could the desire to live not be weakened under such conditions?"¹⁸

This condition of deregulation Durkheim called *anomie*, a condition of normlessness because the norms which previously limited human desire have now broken down and are consequently incapable of controlling ambition and aspiration. In such a social situation of normlessness the individual, failing to find a point of reference in a turbulent world, solves the problem by committing suicide.

Durkheim was vague about the causes of this condition of *anomie* or normlessness but suggested that socio-economic factors such as rapid technological change, economic development, industrialization and boom might be aetiologically linked with it. It was, in fact, on his analysis of the association between suicide and economic trends that the notion of *anomic* suicide emerged, for Durkheim noticed an upsurge in suicide not only during times of depression but during boom and in periods of rapid economic growth. Economic crises disorientate the individual and affluence and surplus cause him to believe that the acquisition of wealth and of material objects is relatively simple. At the same time, however, Durkheim suggests that *anomie* is an inherent condition of industrial society - the industrial world is constantly marked by a generalized belief that high aspirations are legitimate and acceptable. It is in the industrial sector that conditions of *anomie* may be found.

The key to Durkheim's theory of suicide or perhaps theories of suicide is the emphasis he places on the social situation in which suicide occurs. Suicide varies

both quantitatively and qualitatively in terms of the social milieu and it is by examining the social system that we may understand the really significant factors in its aetiology. Suicide is best interpreted with reference to sociological rather than psychiatric or psychological causes. The suicide rate may then best be understood sociologically, for it is the social constitution of a society that determines the incidence of this form of deviant behaviour.

It was from Durkheim's idea of a disintegration of normative order that Robert Merton first formulated in 1938, and subsequently revised in 1947 and republished in 1957 with subsequent extensions, his paper on "Social Structure and Anomie". It is obvious that Merton draws his inspiration from Durkheim because of the clear emphasis that he places on the relevance of sociological factors for the understanding of crime. Merton's theory is, in many respects, a far more ambitious attempt, for it is concerned not only with one form of deviance but simultaneously with several, of which the contribution to the aetiological study of crime is perhaps the most important. As such, Merton's theory of the causes of crime is one of the best examples of the sociological contribution to the understanding of the origins of criminal behaviour. As in Durkheim's analysis, Merton's theory is primarily sociological, for its concern is not with the deviant personality or other potentially relevant psychological factors, but with the social milieu itself. In his analysis Merton suggests that the causes of crime are to be found in the structure of modern industrial society - in society itself. While the basic tenets of Merton's theory are fairly clear and readily understandable, its more subtle implications and the more penetrating questions it evokes, are less easily dealt with.

Merton begins by stating clearly and explicitly two fundamental propositions in his orientation towards the understanding of crime. They are, firstly, that crime must be viewed as a normal or expected response to certain situations and that, secondly, "some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming conduct"¹⁹. But the way in which this occurs in modern societies is the main concern of his paper, for if it can be shown that society with its culture is itself creating conditions that are conducive to the commission of criminal offences, then it may be said that those who break the law do so because of a normal or expected response to such conditions and not primarily because they are themselves biologically or psychologically pathological.

In any social situation there are, Merton suggests, normative definitions of behaviour. These are formulated in the culture of any group, be they large or small. The normative definitions are essentially of two kinds; those that define the ends or the socially approved goals of the system and those that define acceptable institutional means for reaching or orientating the individual's behaviour toward the realization of such goals.

Turning this paradigm to fit an analysis of society, Merton identifies the defined goals in what he calls the culture structure and approved means in what he calls the social structure. Although this distinction is admittedly arbitrary, it is useful for analytical purposes, for Merton proceeds to suggest that the two structures of social definition operate somewhat independently of each other. The emphasis placed on institutionalized means may at any point in time, be greater than the emphasis placed on goals and the converse is also true. The patterns of cultural goals and institutionalized norms do not, therefore, always synchronise. A stable society is a society that is able more or less satisfactorily to co-ordinate the relative emphasis placed on these two elements. This, of course is not always so and one is aware of the neophobic tradition-bound society which places a disproportionate stress on ritualistic and slavish adherence to the accepted ways of acting and behaving. Conformity is stressed at the expense of progress and development and although temporary stability is ensured, stagnation and sterility set in.

The polar opposite of this extreme example is the society which place an emphasis on goals and goal achievement without providing the means by which members are expected to reach such goals. This situation also is a result of a malintegration of the two structures.

Working with this set of theoretical propositions Merton begins to argue and demonstrate that "contemporary American culture appears to approximate the polar type in which great emphasis upon certain success goals occurs without equivalent emphasis upon institutional means"²⁰. Quoting widely from sociological analyses, from literary sources and from an American business magazine, he shows clearly how the goal of monetary and material success is stressed in contemporary American culture. The emphasis is on achieving, on getting to the top, on the realization of the American dream. Coupled with this, is the obligation on all members of the society to keep on striving for the goals irrespective of the possibility of attaining them. "Americans are admonished 'not to be a quitter',

for in the dictionary of American culture, as in the lexicon of youth, there is no such word as fail."²¹

It is precisely here that the culture and social structures of contemporary American society are malintegrated, for while the success goal is equally prescribed for all members of the society irrespective of their position in the hierarchy, the institutional means by which members are supposed to realize the success goal, are not equally available to all. Those at the bottom end of the class continuum are most disadvantaged for, being economically, educationally and socially deprived, the availability of institutional means to the success goal are limited and restricted. How does one prescribe success and all its material symbols to a migrant poverty-stricken Negro family? How do the poor of America's rural areas attain the goal of success on a meagre income? How does the ghetto welfare recipient claim the means to wealth and material possession? There is more than sufficient evidence to show that the American dream remains no more than a dream for a very significant number of Americans.²²

Those in the lower classes are thus faced with a paradoxical and anomalous situation, a situation which in any logical interpretation of the theory (although this is not clearly and explicitly stated by Merton) results in a high degree of anomie or normlessness among the lower classes so effected. The norms, which under normal circumstances prescribe and control behaviour now lose their legitimacy and regulative property, for it is demonstrably clear that the norms of legitimate action are quite unable to provide the means by which the cultural goals are to be reached. This widespread deregulation of the norms among lower class people may be identified as a situation of normlessness or anomie. It is with an analysis of actual conditions of normlessness or anomie that the research reported here is primarily concerned.

Merton proceeds to discuss at considerable length the reactions of those in the lower classes to this situation of anomie. He suggests that a number of alternatives based on the way in which the individual emphasises the relative significance of the means and the cultural goals occur. There are five possible combinations of reaction to the goals and means which he labels "the modes of individual adaptation".²³

Conformity is the first mode which hardly comprises an adaptation for it is the normal and socially approved response of those who accept the emphasis of the cultural goal and who are similarly committed to the institutional means.

Innovation is another mode of adaptation which has most meaning for criminology, for it consists of a commitment to the cultural goal but a rejection of the institutionalized means. In a society with a malintegration of the social and cultural structures considerable opportunities exist for the expression of innovative behaviour and people adapt, therefore, by making use of illegitimate and illegal means of reaching the prescribed goals of success. Innovation has been most commonly found among the lower classes where, in terms of the theory, it should be primarily located. Merton refers to the fact that as far as official statistics show, crime rates are far higher among the lower than among the middle or higher classes of society. It is precisely those groups who are least able to realize the success goal who engage in criminal behaviour. Thus the theory helps to elaborate the misleading and debatable contention that poverty causes crime. It is not merely a condition of economic deprivation that is aetiologically significant for the understanding of crime but a complex social situation in which a premium on culturally prescribed goals is not accompanied by an availability of legitimate means of reaching such goals.

Society and the emphasis it places on the success goal, without providing the means by which all its members can reach this goal thus it self produces certain conditions which are highly conducive to the occurrence and manifestation of criminal behaviour.

Ritualism is the antithesis of innovation and occurs when individuals, faced with the dilemma of prescribed but unattainable goals, decide to adhere firmly and unquestionably to the institutional norms of the social structure but to ignore and to reject the goals. In a situation of malintegration of the social and culture structures where emphasis is placed on goals, high levels of competitive behaviour may be expected. Such competitiveness in turn produces considerable anxiety, particularly among those who are least able to meet the demands of the culture structure. One solution is simply to withdraw one's commitment to attaining the goals but slavishly to adhere to the institutional means.

Merton suggests that those of the lower middle classes are more likely to make this particular adaptation. A general severity in childhood training is common and the discipline it engenders usually precludes the possibility of such persons making the innovative adaptation. The only useful alternative is ritualism.

Retreatism, Merton suggests, is the least common adaptation and it is the deviant response of those persons who, to put it colloquially, decide to "drop out of the rat race" entirely. They are the true aliens and while retaining perhaps a position in society in a demographic sense, they are not members of it. They are the tramps, drunks, drug addicts, psychotics and possibly even suicides who reject not only the emphasis placed on goals and on goal attainment but reject also the institutionalized means.

Retreatism usually occurs after the individual has thoroughly assimilated both elements of the structure of society but having failed to realize any modicum of success, he withdraws completely into the retreatist world. The solution is to escape as far as possible from the demands of the culture dominated society.

Rebellion is the name given to the fifth adaptive mode and it is one that "leads men outside the enviroing social structure to envisage and seek to bring into being a new, that is to say, a greatly modified social structure".²⁴ Merton takes pains to point out, however, that rebellion should not be confused with the Nietzchian notion of "ressentiment" which implies a feeling of hate and hostility without the possibility of expressing outwardly such feelings. Rebellion, as a form of adaptive behaviour is a far more active set of attitudes in which the individual positively rejects both the prescribed goals and institutional norms and desires to replace them with a totally new set of goals and means.

The notion of the adaptive modes Merton expresses schematically in a little diagram in which notation such as "+" signifies "acceptance", "-" signifies "rejection", and "+" signifies "replacement" as in rebellion.²⁵ Few charts or schematic representations in sociology have been as popular as this one for it is hardly possible to open an introductory text book to sociology or any reference work in criminology, without finding Merton's well known typology reproduced there. At the risk of being repetitious, therefore, it is again reproduced here:

A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

<u>Modes of Adaptation</u>	<u>Culture Goals</u>	<u>Institutionalized Means</u>
I Conformity	+	+
II Innovation	+	-
III Ritualism	-	+
IV Retreatism	-	-
V Rebellion	±	±

Merton suggests that his theory of the causes and consequences of anomie is not to be regarded as the "final word on the subject." It is only a prelude, not only in the sense that it is brief and without detail, but also in the sense that other models of the causes of anomie may well be found. Merton seems to end his paper by extending an invitation to the student of crime and deviant behaviour to add his own contribution.

Numerous contributions were forthcoming but it is useful to concentrate here on the most important of those that extended or reformulated significantly some of Merton's ideas. As the term anomie increased in popularity it became used irrespective of accuracy or precision in meaning. The result was that the original Durkheimian notion of anomie as "normlessness" became greatly modified. Unfortunately there was little consensus about meaning in this modification of the term with the result that the concept anomie acquired several interpretations. This led to a considerable weakening of the theory, for if concepts and terms that comprise a theory are poorly defined, the theory itself loses much of its analytical clarity. This is an important point to which attention will be given later, particularly in Chapter three.

Parsons,²⁶ together with other members of the Harvard School have extended the Mertonian model to fit a broader paradigm of interaction analysis in which the relationship between conformity and deviance becomes an important aspect of the theory of social action. Parsons' model is also essentially typological in character, for drawing on Merton's ideas, Parsons developed a paradigm of three variables instead of two and ends up with eight types of deviant behaviour. There is in the typology, an activity-passivity axis and a set of two orientations, alienative need-dispositions and conformative need-dispositions. Within each are a focus either on norms or on social objects. Types of deviance may now be readily isolated. The Mertonian retreatist falls at the point where alienation and passivity meet with the focus on norms rather than objects. The ritualist falls in the conformity-passivity cell with the focus again on the norms. In the same way the sick role and religious sects, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, are similarly accommodated.

Dubin's concern is with the inadequacies of the Mertonian typology which, he feels, does not fully or comprehensively define the outcomes of a structural malintegration, such as that which Merton describes. For Dubin an important addition is the fact that the concept of institutional norms may be divided into two elements - prescribed norms and the actual behaviour or means used by people in a normative milieu. Thus Dubin distinguishes between ideal and actual behaviour and develops a far more

lengthy and comprehensive typology of the adaptive modes. While retreatism and rebellion are not developed any further, Dubin distinguishes between behavioural innovation and value innovation as well as between behavioural ritualism and value ritualism. One of the significant aspects of innovation, Dubin suggests, is its long-term implication for the normal processes of social change.

Cloward's addition to the theory was in many ways more meaningful, not only because it led to the subsequent development of the anomie theory of juvenile delinquency but because it departed somewhat from the concern with classification inherent in Parsons' and Dubin's reformulations.²⁷ Cloward suggests that Merton's concern with the availability of defined means caused him to neglect the importance of the availability of illegitimate means in the understanding of deviant behaviour. Differentials may exist in the availability of sanctioned means, but they exist also in the availability of illegitimate means. Different social strata and groups have varying opportunities for learning, acquiring and manifesting deviant behaviour. Developing this, Cloward suggests that the term "means" implies that opportunity for learning social roles and putting them into effect must prevail.

Turning to the modes of adaptive behaviour, Cloward postulates the well known double-failure hypothesis which suggests that retreatist behaviour is the result of a failure to use both legitimate and illegitimate means. Retreatists are people "who are failures in both worlds, conventional and illegitimate alike".²⁸ This, may however, be affected by the social position and status of the retreatist. Merton's notion of retreatism may be more common, Cloward suggests, among higher social statuses, whereas lower class retreatism is often a consequence of unsuccessful innovation.

Reviewing both Dubin and Cloward's contribution, Merton criticized Dubin for making an erroneous distinction between norms and actions, but welcomes Cloward's notion of the importance of the availability of illegitimate means for the understanding of deviant behaviour.²⁹

Together with Lloyd Ohlin, Cloward subsequently developed a more comprehensive and significant reformulation of the anomie approach by linking the Mertonian theory with cultural transmission and subcultural theories of juvenile delinquency.³⁰

Known as the theory of differential opportunity, their work suggests that the modes of

adaptive behaviour to a situation of anomie are often collectively, rather than individually experienced. The adaptive modes become the delinquent solution - the sub-cultural adaptation to a malintegrated social and cultural structure in society. Delinquent subcultures arise when the availability of legitimate means to the realization of the success goal are blocked. This occurs, usually, through a situation of economic or educational deprivation and faced with a condition of anomie, as described by Merton, lower-class youths make collective adaptations based on the opportunities they experience for doing so.

8 As a knowledge of the aspiration of lower class youth is essential for a study of this nature, Cloward and Ohlin proceed to develop a typology of orientations of lower class youth to improved monetary success and membership of the middle class. In this typology, types I and II are the "college boys" described by writers such as William Foote Whyte³¹ who aspire either towards membership of the middle class and economic improvement, or to membership of the middle class alone.

Types III and IV are those on which Cloward and Ohlin focus in their theory for they aspire only to improve financial position and not to membership of the middle class, or, as in type IV, to neither. Referring to this typology they suggest: "The members of certain esoteric adolescent cults, such as the 'hipster' groups which emphasize jazz and sex, may also be frustrated aspirants for middle-class status; although not specifically delinquent, these cults are on the borderline between tolerated and illegal behaviour. However, we do not think that the seriously delinquent constituents of the criminal, conflict, and retreatist subcultures are drawn from types I and II. It is our view that they are more likely to be from type III, and that the process by which such persons become delinquent has less to do with reaction-formation than with the selective withdrawal or qualification of sentiments supporting the legitimacy of institutional norms... These symbols of success, framed primarily in economic terms rather than in terms of middle-class life-styles, suggest to us that the participants in delinquent subcultures are seeking higher status within their own cultural milieu. If legitimate paths to higher status become restricted, then the delinquent subculture provides alternative (albeit illegal) avenues. Our discussion in the remaining chapters of this book is therefore concerned primarily with type III youth, for these, we believe are the principal constituents of delinquent subcultures."³²

The important question to which the authors of Delinquency and Opportunity now give attention, is how such delinquent subcultures emerge. The important factors, they suggest, are the extent to which such boys, when faced with the alienative and

and frustrating anomaly of blocked legitimate opportunity, explore non-conforming alternatives and the extent to which such alternatives exist. Taking cognizance of factors, such as the process of alienation, the notion of collective problem solving and techniques of defence against feelings of guilt, Cloward and Ohlin hypothesized that the social organization of different lower-class areas affects the delinquent's choice of a solution to the dilemma of prescribed but inaccessible goals.

Cloward and Ohlin posit the existence of three types of delinquent subcultures which will be found in different neighbourhoods, depending on the social organization and integration of such neighbourhoods.

The criminal subculture flourishes in a social environment that supports a criminal style of life by "the integration of offenders at various age levels and close integration of the carriers of conventional and illegitimate values."³³ By integrating different age levels of offenders in this way, the criminal subculture confronts the working class boy with a clearly articulated and potentially successful solution. The expertise and example of adult offenders are readily available within the immediate milieu and the subcultural solution of innovative behaviour is manifestly possible in a social environment where illegitimate opportunity structures are readily available.

The conflict subculture is a product of the unintegrated slum marked by transiency and high rates of spatial mobility because of the deprivation of alternative illegitimate opportunity structures in such areas. These factors simply preclude the emergence of illegitimate structures, although it must be stressed that a certain amount of petty and less significant crime does occur. The youth in such areas experience double frustration. Not only are they unable to employ legitimate opportunities, but they find also that illegitimate opportunities are blocked. Consequently, they fall back on their own initiative to create status and do so through acts of non-utilitarian violence and vandalism.

The retreatist subculture may be identified in areas where, because the young delinquent has neither, as Downes puts it: "The expertise or the wit to qualify for the criminal subculture, or the 'guts' and 'heart' to 'run with' a conflict group",³⁴ and alternative to these is found in drug-taking and other sensuous experiences. The retreatist subculture is composed of youth who are "double failures" - of boys who have been failures not only in attempting to employ legitimate opportunities, but in attempting to use illegitimate opportunities as well. The retreatist subculture

is a loosely structured and poorly organized entity which engages in criminal acts (such as drug taking) which are essentially non-utilitarian. It is the delinquent solution that is least successful.

Responses to the theory of anomie have not, however, been only concerned with attempting to extend and develop its basic premises. There have been several critical analyses as well which have highlighted its more serious drawbacks and inadequacies.

Several critics of the anomie approach have, for instance, drawn attention to the fact that Merton bases all his ideas firmly on the assumption that the incidence of deviance is not uniformly distributed throughout the social system. Merton makes reference in his paper to official statistics which seem to indicate that differentials in the class distribution of the rate of deviant behaviour do exist, but this is a dubious contention. This criticism is raised by Edwin Lemert³⁵ and by Warren Dunham³⁶ who point out that epidemiological research on the class relationship with mental disorder, especially of schizophrenia has been most inadequate. Lindesmith and Gagnon³⁷ disagree strongly with the Mertonian and Cloward and Ohlin interpretation of drug taking and drug addiction. There have been variations in the class distribution of drug addiction which, they maintain, were not at all associated with lower class youths until fairly recently.

Lemert also criticized Merton's notion that it is possible to separate so clearly the two dichotomous elements of the culture and social structure. He is also critical, and this is more important, of Merton's suggestion that there is a uniformity of cultural values throughout the social structure. Human beings participate in so many groups and frequently the values held in one group, differ considerably from the values of another. Modern industrial societies are so complex and large and so highly differentiated that to suggest that a "contemporary, urban, secular, technologically based society such as our own has a common value hierarchy, either culturally transmitted or structurally induced, strains credulity"³⁸.

Albert Cohen whose name has often been cited along with other anomie theorists (but who disdains the label) is critical of the notion that a cause, such as a malintegrated structure, produces suddenly, without any real discussion of the processes involved, a set of highly differentiated end-results, as in Merton's five adaptive modes. He argues that Merton fails to specify in any detail how the disjunction between goals and means leads to the individual making one of the deviant adaptations.

There is no consideration of the complex psycho-social factors and processes at play - no discussion of the mechanisms which lead to one individual choosing innovation and another rebellion as an adaptation to anomie. Calling this lack of microsociological analysis the "assumption of discontinuity", Cohen in an important paper for deviant behaviour theory maintains that : "Deviant behaviour is something that typically develops and grows in a tentative, groping, advancing, backtracking sounding out process".³⁹ Anomie theory has not paid much attention to this important observation. Similarly Lemert suggests that anomie theory has not taken cognizance of the role of social control, for it neglects to point out how some deviants are labelled by society, while others are not. Anomie theory has not been concerned with the imputation of stigma and in a general way it groups together in one category a large number of different role playing deviants.⁴⁰

The theory of anomie is in many respects an inadequate and over-simplified explanation of the complex mechanisms and processes which cause deviant behaviour. Lindesmith and Gagnon make this point rather forcibly in their criticism of anomie as an oversimplified theory of drug addiction by pointing out that not only may it be observed that the position of drug takers in the social structure changes historically, but that drug taking has not always been considered deviant. There is evidence to show that addicts are not people who have abandoned goals and means, but people who are very much involved in the quest for success. Similarly they reject the double failure hypothesis of Cloward and Ohlin by saying, that firstly, the addict who is also a physician, cannot be considered a failure; that it is, because of their tender years, too early to say that the adolescent drug taker is a failure in the world of crime; and that where it may be shown that addicts have been failures, it is largely because they are addicts that they have failed and not that they have become addicts because they have failed.⁴¹

Another serious criticism which may be made of the Mertonian theory of anomie and of its subsequent extensions is one that has not generally been expressed or formulated and it refers to the loose and imprecise way in which terms, concepts and meanings are bandied about within the theory. It is surprising that while Durkheim offers some interpretation of the word anomie as normlessness, Merton employs it in a sense that is even more vague and loosely applied, referring only for purposes of definition to Durkheim: "As this process of attenuation continues, the society becomes unstable and there develops what Durkheim called 'anomie' (or normlessness)".⁴² Merton seems to be so concerned with identifying sources of structural strain and

developing typologies of individual adaptation that, instead of clarifying the confusion in Durkheim's writings about the meaning of the term anomie, he confuses us further. Both writers implicitly suggest in their work that anomie is a generally pervasive condition of society which occurs when normative expectations lose their ability to restrain and regulate behaviour. ("Anomie is then conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them".⁴³) But Merton is imprecise and unspecific, for as his model develops it is clear that a state of anomie in society does not affect all the members of the social system but only those of the lower classes. Yet nowhere does Merton explicitly suggest that normlessness or anomie is to be found among those at the bottom end of the class continuum. Yet in a suggested empirical research design Merton maintains that data not only be obtained about the exposure to the cultural goals and means and the acceptance of such goals and means, but about "the degree of anomie" as well.⁴⁴ In order to measure the incidence of normlessness it is imperative that we have a defined social system to investigate, for, as Merton points out: "Anomie refers to a property of a social system".⁴⁵ It is difficult to see how it is possible to make an assessment of the degree of anomie without any specific description of the social environment within which it should theoretically occur.

The lack of explicit and precise definition in Merton's early writings resulted in severe setbacks for the theory of anomie, for while no clear definitive statement about the exact meaning of the term existed, it acquired several very different interpretations. There is, consequently, no real consensus among criminologists, sociologists and other behavioural scientists about the meaning of this word anomie. This state of affairs has greatly retarded the empirical investigation of anomie in modern societies and has caused the theory to lose some of its vitality and even usefulness. It is important, therefore, that attention be given to the meaning of the sociological concept of anomie, for it is only with a clear understanding of the way the concept has been used in sociological theory and research that certain propositions about its meaning and application can be made.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Radzinowicz, L.: A History of English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750. London: Stevens, 1948.
2. See Vold, G.B.: Theoretical Criminology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.
3. Goring, C.: The English Convict. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1913.
4. Goddard, H.: Feeble-mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences. New York: McMillan, 1914.
5. Sheldon, W. et al.: Varieties of Delinquent Youth. New York: Harper and Row, 1949.
6. Alexander, F. and Staub, H.: The Criminal, the Judge and the Public. New York: The Free Press, 1956.
7. See Cohen, A.K.: Deviance and Control. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966: pp. 54-56.
8. Friedlander, K.: The Psychoanalytic Approach to Juvenile Delinquency. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1947.
9. Fox, A.: "A Classification of the Criminotic Individual". in Lindler, R. (Ed.): Handbook of Correctional Psychology, New York: Philosophical Library, 1947.
10. Dentler, B.A. and Erikson, K.T.: "The Functions of Deviance in Groups". Social Problems, Vol. 7, 1959: pp. 98-107.
11. Burt, C.: The Young Delinquent. London: University of London Press, 1938.
12. Healy, W.: The Individual Delinquent. Boston: Little Brown, 1915.
13. Shaw, C.R. and McKay, H.D.: Delinquent Areas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.
14. Cloward, R.A. and Ohlin, L.E.: Delinquency and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press, 1960.
15. Cohen, op. cit.
16. Durkheim, E.: Suicide. (Translated by Spaulding, J.A. and Simpson, G.) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.
17. Merton, R.K.: "Social Structure and Anomie". American Sociological Review, Vol. 3, 1938: pp. 672-682.
18. Durkheim, op. cit.: p. 253.
19. Merton, R.K.: "Social Structure and Anomie". in Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: The Free Press, 1957: p. 132.

20. Ibid.: p. 136.
21. Ibid.: p. 139.
22. See Harrington, M.: The Other America: Poverty in the United States. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962.
23. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie", op. cit.: p. 140.
24. Ibid.: p. 155.
25. Ibid.: p. 140.
26. Parsons, T.: The Social System. New York: The Free Press, 1951.
27. Cloward, R.A.: "Illegitimate Means, Anomie and Deviant Behaviour". American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959: pp. 164-176.
28. Ibid.: p. 175.
29. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie", op. cit.
30. Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit.
31. Whyte, W.F.: Street Corner Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.
32. Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit.: pp. 95-96.
33. Ibid.: p. 162.
34. Downes, D.: The Delinquent Solution. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966: p. 53.
35. Lemert, E.: "Social Structure, Social Control and Deviation". in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964.
36. Dunham, H.W.: "Anomie and Mental Disorder". in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964.
37. Lindesmith, A.R. and Gagnon, J.H.: "Anomie and Drug Addiction". in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964.
38. Lemert, op. cit.: p. 66.
39. Cohen, A.K.: "The Sociology of Deviant Act. Anomie Theory and Beyond". American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, 1965: p.8.
40. Lemert, op. cit.
41. Lindesmith and Gagnon, op. cit.
42. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie", op. cit.: p. 135.

43. Merton, R.K.: "Continuities in the Theory of Anomie and Social Structure". in Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: The Free Press, 1957: p. 162.
44. Ibid.: p. 175.
45. Merton, R.K.: "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction". in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964: p. 226.

CHAPTER 3

THE ANOMIE CONCEPT IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

The word anomie it seems, first appeared in the English language in 1591, in the work of the historian Lambarde, who wrote: "To set an anomie and to bring disorder, doubt and uncertaintie over all". The word apparently became popular during the 17th century as a theological concept, meaning a disregard for divine law, and it is now used, although not frequently, in a more secular sense to denote "lawlessness".¹ "Nomos", the Greek root of the word anomie, has apparently been interpreted in several ways, of which the terms "custom", "practice", and "law" are a few that have been suggested. The prefix "a" suggests the antithesis of "law", that is to say "lawlessness". Sociologists familiar with the writings of William G. Sumner, will be aware that the Latin "mos" (derived from the Greek "nomos") is the source of his well known sociological concept of the mores. This lends further support for the interpretation of the word anomie, as "normlessness".

It was, however, and this concerns us more, first introduced into sociological literature by the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, in his Division of Labour in Society², where it referred to a condition of normlessness in society. Admittedly, Durkheim did not consider it to be a widespread phenomenon, but it meant that governing the relationships between people, there were no clear rules of conduct. In Suicide³ Durkheim used it in a far more specific sense. In times of economic crisis or sudden change, the rules governing behaviour lose their ability to restrain individual aspirations. The result is an escalation of goals with the individual grasping at the unattainable. This condition, which Durkheim called anomie, could, for some be resolved only through suicide.

In the years after Durkheim the concept remained largely neglected. Some of the anthologies of sociological theories of the day - Serokin (1928),⁴ Parsons (1937)⁵ and Barnes and Becker (1938)⁶ merely reproduced the work of Durkheim on the concept, although some attempted to incorporate it into contemporary theory, as did Elton Mayo, who in his 1933 The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization, spoke of anomie as typifying American Industrial cities.⁷

The greatest impetus to the development of the theory came as we have seen, with the publication of a short paper by Robert Merton, in the 1938 volume of the American Sociological Review.⁸ Here Merton wrote of American society as being the cause of much of the deviant behaviour with which it was faced. By stressing material success but

without creating opportunities for its realisation, American society was pressuring those in the lower classes into making use of illegitimate opportunities to attain the success goal.

The Merton model remained rather neglected however, even though it received some interest from empirical studies. Three factors revived interest in the concept and are probably responsible for the current anomie explosion. One of these has been the interpretation of the concept as a psychological state. Another lay in Merton's republication of his paper with extensions in his Social Theory and Social Structure in 1957.⁹ Thirdly, in 1956 Leo Srole presented to the sociological world an instrument which would ostensibly operationalize anomie.¹⁰ It has found application in countless research studies and has made the concept a more popular one. Today, most introductory texts make reference to the concept although an enormous amount of confusion exists as to its meaning and precise definition. People talk about anomie in many senses; they accept that the Srole scale indeed measures anomie; they confuse its psychological and sociological interpretations; they emphasise Merton's work to the exclusion of any other; and the vast majority fail to define the concept specifically. Many of the interpretations of the theory give very different meanings to the word anomie.

In an attempt to clarify the confusion which has occurred about the meaning of the term anomie, it may be useful to examine analytically the ways in which the word anomie has been employed by criminologists, sociologists and other behavioural scientists since the writings of Durkheim. There are at least four interpretations which may be abstracted from the literature. These overlap considerably, and are so vaguely employed by behavioural scientists, that to provide a precise description of these meanings becomes arduous, if not impossible. It may, nevertheless be profitable to examine, even at the risk of oversimplification the divergent uses to which the term anomie has been put.

The term anomie has firstly come to denote a specific sociological approach to the study of deviant behaviour, a tradition of thought which examines deviant behaviour from a particularly sociological standpoint. Those sociologists and criminologists who are concerned with, and who consequently stress the role of macrosociological factors in the aetiology of deviant behaviour are frequently seen as being associated with this tradition. The anomie approach is one of the best examples of this and may as such, be contrasted with other theoretical orientations, both sociological and non-sociological in leaning. The latter non-sociological approaches, may be identified as those that stress biological, medical, psychometric or psychiatric factors, while the former may be represented by the interactionist school, as it is now generally known. These deviant behaviour theorists, are becoming prominent for the stress they place on the relevance and importance of societal reactions, labelling, roles,

self concepts and other psychosociological factors for the understanding of deviant behaviour. The anomie tradition has conversely sought to identify and study those sociological or sociologistic factors, as they have been called which may have relevance for the understanding of crime and deviance. As such, its chief theorists have examined the social structure with its norms and values and have sought the causes of crime in society itself and not in the biology or psychology of the individual.

Both Durkheim's and Merton's models are sociologistic. Both have generally subscribed to the principle of *sui generis* - that there are phenomena which are essentially social in nature and irreducible to non-social, psychological or biological phenomena.

Durkheim's position on this issue was quite clear and he was probably its first real proponent in the history of modern sociological theory, even though elements of sociology are to be found in earlier social thought. As Sorokin points out in Contemporary Sociological Theories: "The bulk of the old Indian philosophy and ethics (especially that of Buddhism) is based on the idea that our 'I' or 'self' with its empirical properties, sufferings and joys, is a product of social contact, and exists as long as the contact exists."¹¹

Durkheim's search was geared to isolating those phenomena which were entirely social. Such phenomena he labelled "social facts" and he saw them as being characterized by ways of acting, feeling and thinking, external to the individual, endowed with powers of constraint and coercion. These could not be confused with biological phenomena since they consisted of social actions and relationships, nor with psychological phenomena which are located only in individual consciousness. They constitute a new category of phenomena which may be seen as being entirely and absolutely social. These "facts" were the proper subject matter for the science of sociology. The explanation of such social facts, moreover, involves other social facts and never conditions or phenomena belonging to the disciplinary orders of psychology or biology. Indeed society itself is a social fact, an entity *sui generis*, something real in itself and not merely the sum of the individuals that compose it. These notions are reflected clearly in Durkheim's writings: "The third trait that characterizes our method is that it is exclusively sociological. It has often appeared that these phenomena because of their extreme complexity, were either inhospitable to science, or should be subject to it only when reduced to their elemental condition, either psychic or organic, that is stripped of their proper nature. We have on the contrary, undertaken to establish that it is possible to treat them scientifically without removing any of their distinctive characteristics ... We have shown that a social fact can only be explained by another social fact; and, at the same time, we have shown how this type of explanation is possible by

pointing out, in the internal social milieu, the principal factor in collective evolution. Sociology is, then, not an auxiliary of any other science; it is itself a distinct and autonomous science, and the feeling of the specificity of social reality is indeed so necessary to the sociologist that only distinctly sociological training can prepare him to grasp social facts intelligently." ¹²

The Durkheimian example has not been universally accepted in sociological thinking nor in the field of criminology and deviant behaviour but it has become an important influence. Its methodological stance has prompted certain criminologists and deviant behaviour theorists to examine the role of purely social phenomena - phenomena sui generis - in the aetiological study of crime and deviance. As this particular sociological orientation has become generally associated with those criminologists working with the concept of anomie it has consequently been called the anomie approach, or more commonly, the anomie tradition in the study of deviant behaviour.

Other students of deviance and crime who have not explicitly employed the concept of anomie in their work but who nevertheless reflect a strong sociological inclination are also frequently classified and identified with the anomie school. In a broad and even vague sense, the term anomie has then, come to identify a methodological approach or tradition of thought in the study of crime and deviant behaviour - a tradition with which the names of Durkheim and Merton are most commonly linked.

Durkheim's analysis of suicide and Merton's writings on the disjunction between goals and means in modern industrial societies are the two prototypic examples of this approach to the study of deviance. Both rely on an interpretation based squarely on social phenomena even though in the final analysis the social cause has an individual or psychological outcome. This is evident in the act of suicide or in Merton's individual deviant adaptations to the condition of anomie. As we have already seen, it is on this ground that strong criticism has been levelled at the anomie approach for its fails to specify how the purely social cause results in a deviant frame of mind or in individual action. The contributions of Durkheim and Merton have nevertheless proved to be the most outstanding examples of the sociological anomie approach. Merton admits that he was, in part, motivated to look for the causes of crime and deviance in the social structure itself because of the dogmatic prevalence of psychoanalytic thought at the time. He reacted unkindly to the Freudian image of man by calling it more of a caricature than a portrait. ¹³

Because of his strong sociologism Merton's work has been called "radically sociological" ¹⁴

by Albert Cohen, himself associated with the anomie tradition, and Merton's more recent writings have shown that he has not modified his views. In response to the widespread use of the Srole scale in empirical research and the current psychological interpretation of the anomie concept, he said : "The first thing to note about the sociological concept of anomie is that it is - sociological. Anomie refers to a property of a social system, not to the state of mind of this or that individual within the system. It refers to a break-down of social standards governing behaviour and it also signifies little social cohesion".¹⁵

The term anomie has, secondly been used to denote a number of specific criminological theories of deviant behaviour which have developed within this methodological frame. Thus Durkheim's theory of one of the causes of suicide and the more general theory of crime and deviance as phrased by Robert Merton, as well as Cloward and Ohlin's theory of juvenile delinquency, are all described and identified by the term anomie. All are anomie theories, even though they differ somewhat in content and form. However, since these theories, their extensions, reformulations and criticisms have already been discussed, they need not be repeated here.

The term anomie has not only been used to denote and identify these theories of deviant behaviour, (although it is certainly true to say that they are all referred to as anomie theories) but it has been used in a somewhat different sense to describe a condition or event in the real world of phenomena. It has been particularly so employed by those concerned with empirical research. As such, anomie is not a label given to a theory or even a methodological approach in the study of crime and deviance but it is a concept describing and alluding to actual events in the social universe. Anomie is a condition or objective fact, a social phenomenon which may be identified by empirical research. As such, the term anomie denotes a widely used concept in sociological theory, although there has been, as we shall see, considerable disagreement about the exact definition of this concept. There has also been considerable disagreement about the exact meaning of the word concept among sociologists and behavioural scientists but it has been broadly interpreted as implying certain "ideas" or "notions" or "thoughts" which have a designative function and which exist in the minds of scientists helping them to deal abstractly with events, situations, or conditions in the real world. It is only by employing concepts that the scientist is able to deal conceptually with phenomena in the objective world.

Anomie is a good example of a poorly defined concept in the social sciences even though it is the cornerstone of Durkheim's theory of a particular form of suicide and a fundamental variable in Merton's analysis of the causes of deviant behaviour. Yet both fail

specifically to describe the characteristics of the state or condition of normlessness as it exists in social groups.

Apart from seeing anomie as a general condition of societies, Durkheim was of the opinion that anomie or normlessness typified the ways in which modern industrial societies carried on their trade and business. Here, in the adaptive sector, as Parsons has called it, anomie could be readily identified, for industrial progress has succeeded in destroying the built-in regulative mechanism which had previously determined the ways in which commercial transactions were conducted. But Durkheim says little more than this and allows the student of deviant behaviour to reach his own conclusions.

Merton speaks of anomie as an objective condition in at least three ways in his first paper on the subject. He mentions firstly, as did Durkheim, the general pervasiveness of anomie in modern societies. Any society which causes the defined relationship between means and ends to deteriorate or become unstructured, can expect to have anomie. As this disjunction becomes marked "the society becomes unstable and there develops what Durkheim called 'anomie' (or normlessness)".¹⁶ (His footnote designed ostensibly to elaborate this point further is not however particularly helpful.) Somewhat later Merton suggests in his discussion of the modes of individual adaptation that it is the lower classes that are primarily affected by conditions of anomie. The disjunction of the culture and social structures throw people into a state of anomie, as it were, to which they make these well known adaptations. Thirdly, Merton speaks of the "strain toward anomie"¹⁷ which he suggests does not exist or operate throughout the social system. This is yet another objective usage of the term which is not specifically defined.

In Merton's subsequent writings on the subject he becomes more lucid. He speaks of the disjunction of societal goals and the prescribed means as giving rise to "a strain toward the breakdown of norms, toward normlessness".¹⁸ In the list of the components of the analytical elements in the anomie theory, Merton goes on to say that differentials in "the degree of anomie", among others, would have to be determined. But Merton does not provide much more information about this "degree of anomie". In Marshall Clinard's book, Merton¹⁹ suggests that anomie is a condition of a social system only. It is a condition which may be identified by little social cohesion, by a loss of the legitimacy of the norms, by a lack of consensus about which norms apply in specified social situations and by a widespread mistrust among group members. It is pity that Merton uses so many descriptive terms to define one concept - terms that are not synonyms. Although a definition is proffered, it remains vague and imprecise.

Cloward and Ohlin, however, do offer an explicit definition. Referring to Durkheim they say : "We shall be especially concerned with his use of the concept "anomie" - which means lawlessness or normlessness. According to Durkheim, anomie results from a breakdown in the regulation of goals such that men's aspirations become unlimited. Unlimited aspirations create a constant pressure for deviant behaviour - that is, for behaviour that departs from social norms. Anomie thus refers to a state in which social norms no longer control men's actions."²⁰

It is nevertheless interesting that the concept of anomie does not really feature prominently in their discussion of the causes of gang delinquency. It does not, in fact, occur in their most important chapters in which the anomie theory of delinquency is propounded. The Cloward and Ohlin theory may be an anomie theory but it is not concerned with anomie as an important variable in the theory per se.

Further confusion exists because as a concept, the term anomie has been employed in more than one sense. It has been used, as Durkheim and Merton used it, to describe a breakdown of norms governing human behaviour in social groups but it has also in recent times been employed to denote a psychological or subjective condition of the human personality.

Sebastian de Grazia seems to have been one of the first writers to have given the word anomie this interpretation. In his book, The Political Community, de Grazia suggests that the psychological manifestations of anomie are far more interesting than the sociological. While Durkheim saw anomie as "the disordered condition of a society that possessed a weak conscience collective",²¹ de Grazia was critical (as we have also been) of a lack of definition and description of the state of anomie as he put it, with reference to Durkheim's work on suicide "but a complete and concrete portrayal of their suffering is not to be found."²² de Grazia now sets about abstracting a definition of his own by joining together, by his own admission, discontinuous phrases and sentences from Durkheim's Suicide. He concludes that anomie is a personal, psychological condition of individuals which may be identified by symptoms of anxiety, isolation and purposelessness. This interpretation of anomie has become extremely popular in sociological theory and research for it was by applying this subjective meaning of anomie to research designs that many sociologists believed that they had successfully operationalized the anomie concept.

This subjective interpretation is very different from the one which sees anomie as a social state or condition of human groups and not as a condition of the individual psyche. This, we believe, is the conceptual frame within which Durkheim meant the concept to be

interpreted. There is evidence for this not only in Durkheim's vague descriptions, but in his determined sociologism. Merton, as we have already seen, is quite clear on this issue. "Anomie refers to a property of a social system, not to the state of mind of this or that individual within the system."²³ Nevertheless, confusion typifies the attempts of sociologists to bring precision not only to definition but to the empirical uses of the term as well. The concept of anomie exists, therefore, with dual meaning in the theory for it denotes not only a breakdown of norms in social groups, but a subjective condition of individuals who feel anxious, pessimistic and alienated.

These are the third and fourth meanings of the term anomie, as it has been used by behavioural scientists. It is not only a designative term describing a methodological tradition or a label identifying certain theories of deviance and crime, but is also a concept used by some sociologists to describe a personal and subjectively experienced malaise and by others to describe an objective group occurrence - the disintegration of normative control.

It is with the concept of anomie that the research reported in this thesis is primarily concerned. This research was undertaken in an attempt to isolate empirically objective conditions of anomie. It is necessary then to examine, if only briefly, the two meanings given to the concept of anomie and to the ways in which they have been operationalized in social research. A clear understanding of the concept and of its definition as a social reality is an obvious prerequisite to an attempt to isolate empirical conditions of normlessness or anomie in our society.

To avoid repetition, and since it is in any case impossible to divorce theory from research, it seems useful to discuss the theoretical notions and interpretations of the concept of anomie simultaneously with a commentary on the empirical research that has been undertaken. A discussion of the work of de Grazia and the many other theorists who have interpreted the concept of anomie as a psychological state should therefore accompany a discussion of the empirical applications of this particular interpretation. Similarly, a discussion of the more sociological interpretations of the term should accompany a review of the sociological studies of anomie undertaken thus far.

As we shall see, the attempts of criminologists, sociologists and other behavioural scientists to measure anomie have not been particularly successful. This is not really surprising when one considers the many meanings which the term anomie has already been given.

Empirical research is obviously dependent upon a firm theoretical foundation for it is only

when the theory is sound that concepts being applied in research studies may be usefully operationalized. The theory on which research in anomie is based, is not conceptually sound or even coherent. This is, alas, an only too frequent occurrence in sociology.

Although the social sciences are far from reaching the level of sophistication and precision of measurement that the physical sciences have, there has been no lack of trying. Faced with a host of methodological problems that simply do not exist in the physical sciences, the Quételets, Binets, Thurstones, Stouffers, and Lazarsfelds of the social sciences have paved the way to more accurate, valid and standardised measurement. Their task has been immense, for obstacles to success exist not only in the technical difficulties of measurement, but in the operationalization of relevant sociological and psychological concepts.

When one considers the difficulties involved in defining operationally seemingly uncomplicated concepts such as for instance crime, one wonders how certain sociologists have been able to measure "personal adjustment"²⁴, "group morale"²⁵, "class"²⁶ and so on. Many attempts at operationalizing sociological concepts have been pretty unsuccessful. Simon relates how an American sociologist, Bradburn, attempted to measure "happiness" by asking respondents to check off the appropriate category after asking the question "Taking all things together, how would you say you are these days - would you say you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy", Bradburn believed that he had successfully operationalized this entity.²⁷ Yet another example is the definition of maternal love as the number of kisses a mother gives her child during a fixed observation period. As we shall hope to show, attempts to measure anomie have been fraught with similar naiveties.

What briefly is the rationale underlying sociological measurement? Methodologists would probably delineate the following steps; phenomena of interest to the social scientist exists in his mind and in his literature as concepts. These poorly defined entities are, as the Dictionary of the Social Sciences tells us, "ideas", or "notions", "terms", or "units of thought" having a designative function by which he describes and abstractly deals with the real world.²⁸

Known also as "terms", or "definitions", sociological concepts are, as Lazarsfeld points out, generally of two kinds.²⁹ Those having a classificatory function and those that do not. The former, which he also sometimes calls "traits", have a connotation of magnitude or degree. Thus one may distinguish between the concept "role", and "role performance" the latter implying a continuum. In the same sense intelligence, aggressiveness, size of a family and so on are classificatory concepts, while "culture", "reference group" and

and "society" are not. Although the distinction may not be this easy to make, it seems generally to serve a useful function by differentiating between those concepts which we hope to measure (traits or variables) and those which we do not.

The first step is quite simply to translate this concept or variable, as it will be known in research language, into a valid and useful operational definition by which it becomes amenable to measurement. This involves, however, the controversial process of operationalization which although practiced for some time, became the source of bitter polemics with the over-statement of its meaning by the Nobel prizewinning physicist P.W. Bridgman. He argued that concepts could only be useful if they were defined not in terms of synonyms or of their properties or content but "in terms of actual operations".³⁰ The neo-positivists generally accepted this view. Dodd³¹ in a paper entitled "Operational Definitions Operationally Defined", argued the case while Lundberg spoke of "definitions which consist as far as possible of words clearly designating performable and observable operations subject to corroboration"³².

These issues have been so controversial³³ that some authors, as for instance Selltiz and her colleagues have, in their Research Methods in Social Relations,³⁴ preferred the term "working definition". It should, however, be stressed that there is a difference between operationalism - the Bridgman view that all concepts can only be useful if operationalized, and the term "operational definition", - a synonym for Selltiz's "working definition".

It is precisely in making a concept operational - in translating it into a working definition that difficulties arise. While some social scientists might feel that the number of kisses given by mothers to their children during a fixed observation period constitutes love, others may not. There does not seem to be any simple formula for solving this problem - no set rules to follow to obtain an adequate working definition.

It does, however, seem clear that in the body of theory a fairly acceptable and consistent theoretical definition of the concept should exist. Sociologists using concepts such as "acculturation" or "urbanization" should have shared conceptions of their meaning. This is not as easy as it seems. Sociologists have been notorious in using different words to designate exactly the same idea. But there also is a limit to the extent to which sociologists can define their concepts. At some point they have to rely upon what Cicourel calls a "common body of understanding". But this is complicated by the fact that the sociologist as a part of society uses language that is, in itself, full of cultural meaning.³⁵

Secondly, methodologists maintain, the operational definition should "logically" relate to

the theoretical concept. This is the problem of validity and can only really be achieved at the outset, as Simon puts it, through "judgement and scientific wisdom".³⁶

In their study of the authoritarian personality, Adorno and his colleagues spoke of seeking indicators which would be accurate "giveaways of underlying trends in the personality".³⁷ Such indicators, which comprised their operational definition of authoritarianism had to be logically related to the theoretical conception of this entity. The validity of the working definition may eventually, however, be tested more reliably by making reference to its predictive ability.

Standardization is the final step in developing a satisfactory operational definition, once problems of validity have been dealt with. Widespread application of an operational definition, even if it may have low validity, is the dream of most research workers. There is considerable demand for simple operational definitions among research students and the "publish or perish band", so that once a working definition has been accorded popularity, its validity becomes very difficult to question.

Physical scientists have been very successful in standardizing their concepts. Speed, time, distance and so forth are operationalized by making use of the unit - an agreed upon standard of measurement by which the concepts themselves can be understood and applied. Thus as every school boy knows, distance is defined in terms of the metre which (and of this he may not be aware), was after a 1960 convention of natural scientists defined exactly as 1,650,763.73 vacuum wavelengths of orange radiation of Krypton-86.

The aphorism, "Intelligence is what is measured by an intelligence test", and the widespread application of attitude scaling techniques brings the notion of standardization well into present social science methodology.

The term measurement then is taken here in its simplest sense to denote the study of quantitative relations - the determination of the prevalence or magnitude of any phenomenon. In this sense phenomena are described in terms of concepts which by becoming variables render themselves subject to measurement. This metamorphosis is attained by translating the abstract concept into a valid operational definition.

We are thus concerned here with those uses of the word *anomie*, that apply it as a concept. It is only as a concept - an abstract notion of a state or condition that exists in the real world - that we can employ the term measurement.³⁸ Clearly we cannot measure

"the anomie tradition", nor indeed can we measure anomie as a theory. Theories, such as Merton's, may indeed be subjected to empirical validation but we cannot measure "anomie theory". It is only after the concepts or variables employed in a theory are satisfactorily measured, that it becomes possible to subject the theory to empirical test through an experimental design, for theories are essentially composed of concepts related to each other in a hypothesised manner.

There will, therefore, be little mention of the empirical work that has been undertaken to test specific anomie theories, such as those of Durkheim, Merton or Cloward and Ohlin. As we have already pointed out, the work of Durkheim, Merton and Cloward and Ohlin do not clearly define the concept of anomie. If anything, the concept is neglected in their writings even though it is a fundamental component of their respective theories.

Some of the research undertaken specifically to test the propositions of Cloward and Ohlin have similarly neglected to study anomie as an empirical variable. In his analysis of delinquent gangs in Stepney and Poplar in London, David Downes makes little use of the concept of anomie.³⁹ His focus is rather on the study of subcultural adaptations - the delinquent solution - than on anomie as an objective condition. This is of course, the main focus of the Cloward and Ohlin model and Downes working within this frame, will naturally orientate his research toward a study of its basic premises, but it should be remembered that the deviant adaptations on which the notion of subcultural adaptations is based, are essentially a means of coping with a situation of anomie. As Merton points out: "It should be plain by now that the theory under review sees the conflict between culturally defined goals and institutionalized norms as one source of anomie; it does not equate value conflict and anomie".⁴⁰ It is surprising, therefore, that Cloward and Ohlin pay little attention to the concept itself.

In a book⁴¹ which set out rather unsuccessfully to provide empirical support for the Cloward and Ohlin Theory, Spergel makes similar omissions. The actual patterns of behaviour in Slumtown, Haulberg and Racketville may lend support to the existence of the three delinquent "solutions", but they give little insight into actual conditions of anomie. Since we are concerned here with a study of the concept of anomie as a real event in the social universe, we cannot review the limited empirical research undertaken thus far to test the anomie theories of Durkheim, Merton and Cloward and Ohlin.

These theories put little emphasis on anomie as a real condition and there is a lack of consensus about how their authors view anomie as a concept, since they seem to be con-

cerned with causes and outcomes and not primarily with anomic states. Our focus is on anomie as a variable in itself and only with research that has explicitly studied this variable.

Following the dichotomy that arose in the 1940's in the theoretical definitions of anomie, measurement attempts have followed two lines - the one stressing an essentially psychological interpretation, the other a sociological one. The former has been enormously popular and the techniques developed have been widely applied in empirical work. Attempts to find non-psychological indices of anomie have, on the other hand, been less successful and have been somewhat eclipsed by the popularity of the psychologically oriented measurement techniques.

In the following review of the various attempts at measurement that have been made so far, attention must be given firstly to the validity of the various operational definitions that have been employed, and then to the adequacy, statistical and otherwise, of the various techniques themselves. The result is more a critique than a review for it becomes obvious that the operational definitions are generally incompatible with even the inconsistent theoretical conceptions.

In spite of volumes of empirical research, anomie does not enjoy a standardized operational definition. This is partly a result of the inadequacies of the various theoretical definitions that have been suggested, but instead of seeking consensus, the operational definitions have confused its meaning even further.

The Study of the Concept of Anomie as a Subjective and Personal Condition.

Underlying every measurement is an operational definition and underlying the operational definition is a theoretical conception of the phenomenon being measured. The measurement of anomie as a subjective state rests on the view that it is essentially a psychological, a personal and a subjective experience. This was suggested as we have seen by de Grazia who maintained that it involved at least three psychic dimensions: (a) a painful feeling of uneasiness or anxiety, (b) a feeling of separation from the group and (c) a feeling of pointlessness or goallessness.⁴²

Within a short time this interpretation became popular. R.M. Maclver, in an otherwise obscure book entitled The Ramparts We Guard, described anomie in similar, although more decorative terms. It is "The state of mind of one who has been pulled up by his moral roots . . . who no longer has any sense of continuity, of folk, of obligation".

According to Maclver such a person has become "spiritually sterile". As to causation Maclver maintained that it resulted from the "breakdown of the individual's sense of belonging to society".⁴³

Another political scientist, Harold Lasswell, had similar ideas, although he phrased them in psychoanalytic terms. In an essay called "The Threat to Privacy" Lasswell spoke of "the lack of identification on the part of the primary ego of the individual, with a "self" that includes others".⁴⁴ In a similar sense, Riesman in The Lonely Crowd considers anomic man to be "malintegrated".⁴⁵

In this sense anomie is very much like a far older concept known as alienation. Only being historically rediscovered now, the concept seemed to have come from Hegel, who spoke of man as being alienated from the "Absolute Mind". Feuerbach rejected Hegel's view of religious alienation saying that although it existed, it was not man who was alienated from God but rather God who was alienated from man. Man becomes self alienated when he creates an idol - an imagined high alien being before whom he bows and willingly becomes its slave.⁴⁶

The name of Marx is, however, most commonly associated with the concept of alienation, and justly so, for he did more than many to analyse and coherently formulate the concept. In his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 Marx suggests that alienation is a multifaceted condition experienced primarily by those of the working classes for in an industrial, capitalist society it is not only that the worker is alienated from others, but also from himself, from the process of production and from the products of production.

As a result of the increased value placed on goods and industrial production in capitalist societies and the consequent devaluation of man, the worker himself becomes a commodity. The worker has no way of controlling the means of production or the destiny of the results of his labour - the object of production. He does not experience satisfaction in his work or fulfilment and he becomes miserable and physically, as well as spiritually debased.

The mental anguish experienced by the worker Marx saw as self-alienation - a form of alienation somewhat different from alienation from the "thing" or the object of production.

Erich Fromm who has become one of the main interpreters of Marx's ideas on alienation, suggests that at least four forms of alienation may be identified in his writing. These include alienation from the product, alienation from the means of production, alienation from the self and alienation from others. As Fromm puts it: "Each man is alienated from others and each is likewise alienated from human life".⁴⁷

In his own writings Fromm has been specifically interested in self-alienation and suggests in an almost psychiatric analysis that: "The alienated person is out of touch with himself as he is out of touch with any person".⁴⁸

Alienation has also been discussed in conjunction or almost synonymously with other philosophical concepts. In their book The Reconstruction of Reality, Berger and Luckman for instance, devote some space to a consideration of the concept of reification or agelicism. Marxian in origin (verdinglichung) it implies the "fetishism of commodities - the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were things, that is, in non-human or possibly supra-human terms".⁴⁹ As such, it is closely related to alienation but contemporary sociological views have not really incorporated into their interpretations, this important aspect of the alienation concept.

Alienation has, however, not been confined to learned discussions in the rarified atmosphere of the academic world. In literature, politics and the student movement it has become a popular theme. In the world of modern literature, Albert Camus' The Outsider is probably one of the best known contemporary works which has alienation as its focal concern.⁵⁰

One of the more recent sociological attempts to formulate the alienation concept is that of Melvin Seeman⁵¹ who in a penetrating examination of the concept distinguishes analytically no less than five components of alienation. Seen from the viewpoint of the individual, alienation implies a feeling of powerlessness, a feeling of meaninglessness, a feeling of normlessness, a degree of isolation and a sense of self-estrangement.

While Seeman's article has been frequently quoted by behavioural scientists, the differences between these meanings are not entirely clear. Seeman, for instance, defined "isolation" almost as a disdain for the institutionalized norms and goals of modern societies but the difference between this and "normlessness" which is defined as "a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve given goals",⁵² is unclear. It is largely because of this that Browning and others have criticized Seeman's paper as "ambiguous".⁵³

The real problem, though, lies in Seeman's meaning of normlessness or anomie. While he makes acknowledgment to Merton, Seeman persists in his view that normlessness is a subjectively experienced condition, in fact a sub-category of alienation. The student of Durkheim and Merton cannot fail to disagree with Seeman's contention. Normlessness is not a property of the psyche - it is only a property of the group. Norms may exist in the minds of group members but they have no meaning apart from the social context. The norms are a property of the conscience collective - of the behavioural culture of the social system - and the individual can feel the results or implications of a breakdown of these norms. He may well be able to perceive a breakdown of the norms of the social system. But, we contend, he cannot himself feel "normless". If Seeman and the many other writers who have adopted this interpretation had more carefully analysed the meaning of their concept of anomie, much confusion would have been obviated. It would have been more acceptable to the sociological mind had they suggested that individuals could feel estranged from the norms rather than intrapsychically anomic. It would be more useful to equate anomia with alienation for in content at least, the two concepts seem to be almost identical in meaning. There has in fact, been a tendency to equate the subjective interpretation of anomie with alienation. There is good ground for doing so not only because their interpretations in the theory are interchangeable, but because of their empirical similarity. But this is precisely where considerable confusion has arisen, for while some writers equate the two concepts, others do not. Some have distinguished between alienation and anomie but with a sociological and not subjective interpretation in mind. Others have differentiated between subjective anomie and alienation maintaining that anomie as a condition of personal normlessness is a component of a greater experience of alienation. While these distinctions appear to be very analytical, they are not, in fact, easy to make, nor is it easy to describe a feeling of normlessness as distinct from a feeling of alienation. Other writers again, have differentiated between subjective and social anomie, ignoring alienation and have maintained that the study of subjectively experienced feelings of anomie may provide us with an index of social conditions. In terms of empirical usage the two terms could also be meaningfully synthesised for, although measures of alienation and subjective measures of "anomie", or "anomia" are, as we shall see, extremely close in many respects, they remain disparate and autonomous.

It seems a great pity that there was no attempt to clarify these various usages and terms during the 1950's for the failure to do so perpetuated the confusion which was unfortunately to extend well into the realm of empirical research.

The first attempt at measuring anomie as a subjective psychological condition came from

a Cornell Medical College sociologist, Leo Srole. Srole developed the Anomia scale as he called it for the purposes of a massive study of mental health in New York and presented the measure at a meeting of the American Sociological Association in 1951. It was, however, first published in 1956 even though it had been used prior to that date. Although Srole's paper is considerably confused, his basic underlying theoretical conceptions of anomie seem fairly clear. Anomie was to be seen as a continuum and Srole introduces terms to designate the polar types: eunomia versus anomia. Eunomia referred to "the individual's generalized pervasive sense of 'self - to - others belongingness' at one extreme, compared to 'self - to - others distance' and 'self - to - others alienation' at the other pole of the continuum".⁵⁴

The five items on the scale each represented a component of the anomie concept including, for instance, perceptions that the social order was fickle and unpredictable, a belief that social relations with others were no longer supportive and that goals were becoming increasingly distant and meaningless. As Srole concedes, his inspiration is drawn largely from Maclver, Lasswell and others, although he attempts to include an item "perhaps most closely approximating Durkheim's particular definition of anomie". The one item - this supposed measure of normlessness reads: "Its hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future".⁵⁵

Reading Srole's article one cannot help seeing his conception of anomie and the content of his empirical measure as an equation with alienation. Certainly, it is a measure of a personal subjective state and even though he defines anomia as self - to - others alienation, he makes reference to Durkheim and Merton and to the fact that originally the term denoted a "condition in society or state".⁵⁶

Such evidence of confused thinking did not deter the empirically minded. Validity aside, a measure had been found and anomie was now quite simply a high score on the Srole scale. As a quantifiable entity, it became one that could be correlated and associated with scores on a variety of other tests.

Srole was one of the first to realize this. In a study in Springfield Mass., he employed other measures, notably the California F Scale, and finding a correlation he maintained that anomia and prejudice were related. Just how this was to fit into established theories of anomie, such as Merton's, no one ventured to guess. After a short lived controversy over the nature of the anomie, prejudice and class relationship,⁵⁷ sociologists began seeking other correlates. A number of these were suggested. Anomia

was related to authoritarianism,⁵⁸ religious orthodoxy,⁵⁹ readiness for desegregation,⁶⁰ urbanism,⁶¹ religious affiliation,⁶² race⁶³ and so on.

Srole had found a class correlate but Bell was one of the first to suggest that this "supported Merton's contention that differential access to economic success goals combined with a generally uniform expectation for economic success will result in anomie amongst those persons with the least opportunity to achieve such success".⁶⁴

In a later paper Bell and his co-worker, Meiri, produced further evidence to substantiate this argument, again making the assumption that scores on the Srole scale were an index to sociological states of anomie even though they were subjectively experienced.⁶⁵ Mizuchi in a carefully planned study to test the Mertonian theory with the Srole scale, was adamant that this was, in fact, the case. The scale was to be used as "an index to social structural strain and not as a means for the understanding of personality dynamics".⁶⁶ But it was in the empirical field that he ran into difficulties. Using the Srole scale, Mizuchi found that while 66.3% of lower class individuals have high anomia scores, 36% of middle class and 27.6% of upper class individuals have similarly high scores. How, using the Mertonian model, can such high scores among higher class persons be explained? Mizuchi suggests that another type of anomie, more frequent among higher classes exists, and he proceeds to argue that it is not so much due to disparities between aspiration and achievement but to unsatisfied aspiration - the original explanation of anomie as given by Durkheim. Appropriately Mizuchi labels this form of anomie "boundlessness" and maintains that it is associated with poor social integration.⁶⁷ But such an elaborate argument is difficult to support empirically. Both types of anomie register on the Srole scale and can only be differentiated in terms of class position. Although Mizuchi stresses the sociological nature of anomie, his interpretation is nevertheless an essentially psychological one. Nor is the search for the unattainable a new theme in American society. The driving spirit of the frontier settlers with their dream of not only achievement, success and money but equality, freedom, justice and happiness has persisted. It is with the unattainable - the American dream - that Arthur Miller's Willy Loman so tragically grapples in Death of a Salesman⁶⁸ as it is with the false notion of 'everybody having what he wants', that Albee ends his provocative "The American Dream".⁶⁹ Mizuchi's theoretical attempt to cope with these two manifestations of anomia is not really satisfactory. The difference between "bondlessness" and "boundlessness" is not really clear.

It seems that, although sociologists claimed to have a measure of anomie, no one really knew what it was measuring. In spite of contradictions in research reports and much confusion, no one stopped to examine the whole question of the validity of the Srole scale. Was it really a measure of anomie? As an instrument tapping psychological states, could it be used as an index to social conditions? In spite of the confusion these were the sort of questions that were simply not asked.

The nature of the Srole scale can probably be better understood by examining the development of empirical measures of alienation. One of the first to use the concept in this way was a Harvard psychologist, Anthony Davids, who found that the alienation syndrome, as he called it, included dispositions of egocentricity, distrust, pessimism, anxiety and resentment. "Our findings", he wrote, "indicate that the alienated subjects are 'lone wolves' with grievances, distrustful of their fellow-men, apprehensive and gloomy in their anticipation of their future".⁷⁰

Nettler's 1957 scale of seventeen items seems to measure similar dimensions. Using the scale on a sample of 515 individuals Nettler suggests that, among other, more acceptable traits, alienation is related to emotional disorder, a proclivity to suicide, drug addiction and so on.⁷¹ Nettler, however, maintains a theoretical distinction between alienation and Srole's conception of anomia. This seems surprising in the light of Srole's definition of anomia as "self - to - others alienation". Using 345 of the sample as subjects, Nettler finds a correlation of +.309 between the Srole scale and his alienation measure. (They are, nevertheless, and he fails to point this out, significantly related.)⁷²

Dean's view is somewhat different.⁷³ He sees anomie as a component of alienation and includes in his alienation measure a sub-scale to measure "normlessness". This, however, Dean finds difficult to define suggesting that it could denote purposelessness but perhaps also an intra-psychic conflict such as when an individual is both a Christian and a materialist at the same time.

This notion of personal feelings of normlessness as crystalized here by Dean, is a difficult one to maintain. Can an individual feel normless? Are norms a property of the psyche and thus a psychological and not a sociological concept? While sociologists agree that norms may be internalized they seem, at the same time, to suggest that this involves a long process of norm learning and that norms remain basically a property of the group. How then, following the Durkheimian argument, can an essentially group or social property be understood at an individual or sub-

jective level?

Perhaps greater clarity would have ensued had Dean seen normlessness in this sense, as an alienation from the norms, rather than a vaguely defined psychic breakdown. This seems consistent with both his, Nettler's and David's conceptions of alienation. The individual who is estranged from society will not only manifest hostility to its goals and values but also to its norms which would, together with other manifestations of purposeless, anxiety, hostility and so forth, comprise the alienation syndrome.

The purpose of discussing these scales is not, however, to question their validity but to show their similarity to the Srole scale. Compare Nettler's scale item: "Most people live lives of quiet desperation", with Dean's "The only thing that one can be sure of is that one can be sure of nothing", with Srole's "It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future". While these have been chosen for their difference in content, (although a number of items are, in fact, similar in this regard) the fatalism, the pessimism and the despair are evident in each one.

While there may be ambiguity about the definition of anomie, there seems, therefore, little reason to remain in doubt over the nature of the Srole scale. The contention that it is a measure of alienation finds support not only in Srole's own writings about the nature of his scale, or in its similarity with other alienation scales, but in a factor analysis examination of its content undertaken in 1965.

Streuning and Richardson were interested in the relationship between the Srole scale, the Davids Alienation measure and the California F Scale. Using factor analysis they found that the Srole scale was unidimensional, loading heavily on "alienation via rejection", (one of the 9 factors found to underly the three scales) and "quite congruent with David's conception of alienation".⁷⁴ A similar factor analysis was undertaken in South Africa.⁷⁵

If anomia is really a synonym for alienation, it seems rather pointless to retain it and far better to reverse the original "anomie" to denote a condition of social "normlessness". It is to the definition of this concept of social normlessness that we must turn - but there remains still the question of the application of the Srole scale. Can the Srole and other alienation scales be used to detect conditions of social anomie? This was the assumption made by Dean and Reeves⁷⁶ in their comparison of 'anomie'

among religious groups and as we have already pointed out, by Mizruchi.

One answer to this question comes from the work of McClosky and Schaar, who, using a scale similar to the Srole and other alienation scales, maintained that scores were distributed independently of social conditions. In contradiction to most of the other studies undertaken, McClosky and Schaar argued on the basis of empirical findings that feelings of "anomy", as they called it, were a function of psychological and personality factors rather than of social influences and conditions. As they put it: "The overall results are clear: When high and low anomics are simultaneously matched on the seven social characteristics, high anomics continue to differ from low anomics in the same psychological variables as we have been analysing. Furthermore, the differences remain in every instance large enough to leave no doubt that personality factors determine anomy independently of social influences".⁷⁷

Again the McClosky and Schaar conception of anomy, (spelt incidentally after Maclver) is similar to the theoretical and empirical definition of alienation previously described. Their 'anomics' have high scores on indices of pessimism, bewilderment and anxiety, and on feelings of political hostility. These findings are certainly reminiscent of the findings of both Davids and Nettler.

This finding throws doubt on the view that measures of alienation such as the Srole scale, can be used to detect conditions of sociological anomie. Alienation seems, as Davids puts it, to be a clinical syndrome which may in fact be more psychological in nature than sociologists would care to admit.

The Study of the Concept of Anomie as a Social State or Condition.

The one thing that detracts from the value of the writings of Durkheim and Merton is that both fail to provide the reader with an explicit definition of the state or condition of anomie. Explicit, for while the meaning is there, analytical clarity is absent.

In an article in the *British Journal of Sociology*, Gordon Rose⁷⁸ experiences something of this too and suggests that clear distinction between the causes of anomie, the results of anomie and the actual condition or state of anomie be made. For Merton, the causes are the disjunction between goals and means. The results are the five well known adaptations : (1) conformity, (2) innovation, (3) ritualism,

(4) retreatism and (5) rebellion. For Durkheim the causes are rapid economic change or crisis. The end results are suicide. The actual condition of normlessness is not described in any detail except that Durkheim tells us how the norms no longer restrain the individual's aspirations and that Merton tells us that the disjunction of goals and means produces instability. "As this process of attenuation continues, the society becomes unstable and there develops what Durkheim called anomie (or normlessness)".⁷⁹ But Merton does not go into this in any more detail.

Just who or what is anomic? Those emphasising the subjective aspects of anomie see it as a property of the individual psyche. Horton⁸⁰ maintains that a society is anomic when there is a disjunction between goals and means. Merton saw anomie in a similar light although implicit in his writing is the notion that anomie is primarily a condition of the lower classes who are pressured into deviance as a result of the disjunction of goals and means. Others, such as the Gouldners,⁸¹ failing to make the analytical distinction between causes and results, identify anomie in the deviant adaptations, suggesting that each adaptation represents a different type of anomie.

In response to the confusion and stress on subjectivism in the interpretation of anomie at the time, Merton came out with what should have been a definitive pronouncement on what anomie was all about. Merton saw anomie as an essentially sociological concept that: "refers to a breakdown of social standards governing behaviour. When a high degree of anomie has set in the rules governing conduct have lost their savor and their force. Above all, they are deprived of legitimacy. There is no longer a widely shared sense of what is justly allowed by way of behaviour and what is justly prohibited".⁸² He also provided some examples: Anomie has set in when the crowds on the New York subway begin to fear that they will be attacked by other passengers. It has set in when people no longer frequent parks for fear of assault. It has set in when people no longer trust business partners for fear of being swindled. It has set in when people no longer accept their prescribed station in the class system and devise new but illegitimate means to improve their position.⁸³

Johnson is another author who sees anomie as a social state but he is careful to maintain the distinction between the concepts of anomie and deviance. Feeling that notions of normative breakdown simply imply deviance, he suggests that anomie has a connotation of normative ambivalence. The norms are present, or, as he puts it: "They are clear enough but the orientation on the part of many is ambivalent, it either leans toward conformity but with misgivings, or leans toward

deviation but with misgivings".⁸⁴ In this sense it implies, for Johnson, a social condition in which many people in the group have a weakened respect for the norms.

Rose, whose paper on anomie has been cited earlier, has similar ideas. Anomie may, he believes, be due to norm weakness when people lose their respect for the norms, or due to norm conflict when "respectable and deviant norms exist and it is not clear to which the subject should adhere".⁸⁵ Another possible cause, and he acknowledges the ideas of Albert Cohen in this regard,⁸⁶ may be due to an imperfect knowledge of the norms.

Rose prefers the term "legitimacy loss" to anomie for anomie is, he maintains, a condition in which the norms have lost their legitimacy. This will result in avoidance behaviour, for faced with a condition where norms have lost their legitimacy, individuals will begin to avoid those areas where it occurred.

While the theorists mentioned above seem to argue that anomie is a property of a social system or group, and not of the individual psyche, they seem, however, to have different ideas about its nature and causes. Even Merton's clarification is somewhat confused, for while he begins by defining anomie as a breakdown of normative standards, he ends up by describing it as a condition which "is indicated by the extent to which there is a lack of consensus on norms judged to be legitimate.."⁸⁷ These differences in definition will be considered in greater detail in chapter four.

Such differences in theoretical definition have not, however, prevented research workers from attempting to measure anomie as a social state or condition, although the methodological procedure has been somewhat different from those discussed earlier. Not wishing to employ scaling techniques which might tap psychological dimensions, certain sociologists have sought to identify and locate sociological indices of anomie. In the few cases where such indices have been sought, the procedure has generally been to define anomie operationally as the presence of some or other social condition in the group, and then simply to measure its extent. (Merton has, however, suggested that it would be possible to aggregate scale score to obtain an index of normative breakdown in a social group, but this has not yet been successfully attempted.)

Thus, while a study undertaken by Bernard Lander⁸⁸ came to the conclusion that

anomie could be measured by the degree to which geographic areas were racially heterogeneous, Davies,⁸⁹ using a very different rationale comes to the conclusion that anomie could be measured by the prevalence of immigrant minorities in the community.

Lander's use of racial heterogeneity as an index of anomie was derived through a complex factor analysis of the incidence of juvenile delinquency in 155 census tract areas in Baltimore. 8,464 cases were studied over the four year period, 1939 - 1942.

While the mean delinquency rate per census tract in the period of study was found to be 13.4 per 1,000 of population, considerable variations in incidence were noted. Lander was thus interested in isolating factors which seemed to be associated with such variations in the incidence of delinquency. It should be noted, however, that his study was not originally designed to measure anomie, but to examine factors associated with the aetiology of delinquency.

Lander concentrated on a number of characteristics for which data were available for the census tract areas being studied. These included incidence of substandard housing, amount of rent being paid, overcrowding, school attendance records, proximity of the area to the city centre, numbers of immigrants and racial heterogeneity.

In his interpretation of the results of the factor analysis Lander was struck by the fact that the nature of the association between a number of these variables and delinquency rates did not suggest a "fundamental or substantive relationship". As he points out, "The correlation and the regression analyses suggest that the association between delinquency and poverty, bad housing, room density, propinquity to the city centre, etc. are only surface relationships".⁹⁰ This group of variables Lander had called the socio-economic factor and they were contrasted with more significant correlations obtained with a cluster of two variables he called the anomic factor. These two variables were racial heterogeneity and home ownership. While Census tracts with populations which were predominantly Negro or White, were relatively free of delinquency, those areas with mixed Negro and White populations were not. Similarly, tract areas in which the majority of homes were rented and not owned, were characterized by high delinquency rates.

How does Lander come to define these two variables as an "anomic" factor?

The rationale seems to be based on Lander's definition of anomie as the condition in which "the group norms are no longer binding or valid in an area or for a population or subgroup...."⁹¹ This, Lander maintains, implies instability and the two variables comprising the anomic factor are seen essentially as measures of instability. Lander, however, questions the universal applicability of home ownership as an index of instability, for "in a city like New York with many apartment houses areas, home ownership may not be ... significant."⁹²

Juvenile delinquency is, therefore, related to the presence of the anomic factor - little home ownership and much racial heterogeneity, although Lander places more emphasis on the former.

In all fairness to Lander's work, it should be noted, however, that he saw the two items comprising the anomic factor as only tentative indices and suggested that others may well exist. Also his main conclusion is not that anomie may be measured by factor x or y, but that conditions of anomie, however measured, are a better means of understanding delinquency than an analysis of socio-economic variables. As he puts it: "The factor analysis indicates, and this finding is supported by our correlation analysis, that the delinquency rate is fundamentally related only to the anomic and not specifically to the socio-economic conditions of an area. The delinquency rate in a stable community will be low in spite of its being characterized by bad housing, poverty and propinquity to the city centre. On the other hand one would expect a high delinquency rate in an area characterized by normlessness and social instability."⁹³

While Lander's work was essentially confirmed by Bordua⁹⁴ in a study in Detroit and questioned on the basis of another study undertaken by Chilton⁹⁵ in Indianapolis, there seems little purpose in considering the merits of their arguments, for Lander's work has been discussed here primarily as an illustration of the approach used by those seeking to operationalize anomie in terms of sociological, rather than psychological criteria.

Another attempt to operationalize anomie in this way came from Davies, who in an empirical study of variations in local authority social services in England and Wales, sought to examine the impact of social conditions on the standards of such services. He suggested that conditions of anomie would create great demands for services, particularly those providing child care.

But how could anomic communities be identified? Using principal components analysis on data for 83 English and Welsh County Boroughs for 1961, Davies suggests a 9 variable index of anomie with three variables denoting the proportion of the population who are immigrants. As he puts it: "The proportion of the population who are immigrant either from other parts of the country or from abroad and who would, therefore, lack family or friends' help in time of crisis, could be identified with the degree of anomie in the community".⁹⁶

Other components of the index included migration rates, unemployment and the number of rooms in boarding houses and hostels per 1,000 of population.

Davies, rather like Lander, distinguishes between his anomie index and a cluster of other variables, (including class, mortality, population density, industrialization and widowhood) which he labels the social conditions index. His hypothesis is simply that conditions of anomie are far more likely to create needs for service than bad social conditions. As he puts it: "Of the two, the absence of family care and a stable society implied in an anomic community would be more likely to create a need for services than bad social conditions".⁹⁷

Using a sample of twenty boroughs, Davies finds some support for his hypothesis but feels that: "The pattern is too complex for one or two indices to be taken as representing the most important aspects of standards without further analysis".⁹⁸

It is not, however, the hypothetical relationship between anomie and standards of local authority services that are of interest to us, but rather Davies' conception of anomie as a multifaceted condition involving social isolation, social change, unemployment and instability. Davies makes no mention of any theory underlying this operational definition. There is, further, no mention of normlessness, no notion of a breakdown of behavioural controls, and while his statistical presentation is technically superb, one feels that the theory of anomie has been largely ignored.

While Lander's⁹⁹ index of anomie seems, at face value, to be an arbitrary one, it is possible, by following a somewhat elaborate argument, to see how his operational definition was derived. In Davies' presentation such considerations are almost entirely absent.

One final measurement attempt needs to be briefly considered. Labelling their work

the "Tri-Ethnic Project", research workers at the University of Colorado, under the direction of Richard Jessor, made studies of differential rates of deviance in three local ethnic groups - the Anglosaxon whites, the Spanish American and the Indian Utes.¹⁰⁰

Jessor and his co-workers define anomie as a sociological concept and although they recognize its psychological implications, they prefer to speak rather of alienation than anomia. Their definition of anomie is a generally more complex one, for they identify not one, but several types of anomie. The first of these they label "dominant culture anomie" - the anomie that results from the disjunction between societal goals and means. It is not, therefore, limited to any specific community or geographical area but is a tendency to normlessness in society at large. Secondly, Jessor and his co-workers identify a local variety of anomie - one they call "community anomie". This refers to a condition of normlessness within the local community cultural context largely in terms of the norms of the dominant Anglosaxon group. Finally, at the most specific level, Jessor and his co-workers identify what they call "subculture anomie", the tendency to normlessness within each of the ethnic groups.

In terms of measurement, which is of particular interest to us, Jessor et al developed different operational definitions for each type of anomie. The techniques employed in measuring community and subcultural anomie are, however, practically identical. Dominant culture anomie is defined operationally as the extent to which the use of deviant means for reaching the success goal are regarded as legitimate by the three ethnic groups. This is correlated with the incidence of actual rates of deviance, particularly alcohol abuse.

Community anomie is measured in terms of a somewhat different technique, but again involving the use of questionnaires. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree to a series of questionnaire items, each of which represented a behavioural norm in terms of the normative system of the Anglosaxon whites. Calculating a coefficient of variance of responses for each norm item, they were able to measure the expressed lack of consensus about the applicability of the norms of the community to each group's behaviour system.

Using the same technique the researchers were able to compute the relative lack of consensus about the applicability of the norms of each group's own culture system to their behaviour. The amount of expressed variance in each group was taken as

an index of subcultural anomie.

The research seemed to indicate that the group with the greatest deviance (the Utes) were also the group with the least consensus about norms judged to be applicable to them : in other words, the group manifesting the greatest indices of both community and subcultural anomie.

The Tri-Ethnic Project has been accorded recognition for what has probably been one of the most penetrating studies of sociological anomie undertaken so far. Its interpretation of anomie as a social state and its consistent emphasis on the norms and on anomie as a condition of the norms is laudable. Their exploratory study of the relationship between deviance, particularly excessive drinking and anomie is, as Snyders puts it, such as to "suppose that in the near future considerable light will be shed on the fruitfulness of the anomie approach to inebriety and alcoholism".¹⁰¹

Among their definitions, however, is one which sees anomie as a lack of consensus among group members about the appropriateness of normative standards. Merton at one point expressed similar ideas.¹⁰² But is this the same as a breakdown in normative control? Johnson, for instance, envisaged a situation in which, as he puts it: "the norms are clear enough"¹⁰³, but many in the group nevertheless engage in deviant acts with deeply rooted ambivalent feelings about their non-conforming behaviour. In this case the issue seems to be not a lack of consensus about the norms but rather a breakdown in social control - hence feelings of ambivalence and guilt.

The Colorado group have not adequately distinguished between dissensus and normative breakdown and, as their study was undertaken in a culturally plural setting, this interpretation of anomie as a lack of consensus might be confused with the notion of culture conflict. The use of the concept of dominant culture anomie further clouds the issue, for defined as the acceptance of illegitimate means for the realization of the success goal, it seems synonymous with Merton's innovation adaptation and thus with the concept of deviance. To equate anomie with deviance does little for analytical clarity.

Lack of clarity has been symptomatic of most attempts to measure anomie but more so of those which have interpreted it as a social condition. Problems of validity aside, the psychologically oriented definitions of anomie have had a far more consistent operational interpretation and, of course, far more popular appeal.

However, the widespread acceptance of the Srole scale has limited the number of sociologists who have sought to develop sociologically-oriented operational definitions. This, hopefully, will become a reversed trend.

This analysis has attempted to demonstrate that there is an urgent need for some very basic re-thinking of the anomie concept. There is, indeed, on the grounds of an almost total lack of consensus in its interpretation, good reason for suggesting that the anomie concept be abandoned. Yet, this is a suggestion that few sociologists would welcome for, not only has the term become extremely popular in sociology, but it has, as we have seen, given rise to a vast body of empirical research and has even in recent times become popular in journalistic usage.

Sociologists feel that in spite of the confusion the concept of anomie is a useful one. But how to make it viable? One thing seems certain however, unless the criminologist and student of deviant behaviour can disentangle the strands of confusion and conceptual chaos, the concept of anomie is doomed to oblivion and redundancy. There is already some evidence that this is occurring, even if only to a limited extent. With the ascendancy of the interactionist school the anomie approach has become less popular in certain quarters.

Is there no ground for optimism? Is there no way in which the "anomie" of the anomie concept may be reduced? It is primarily in an effort to shed some clarity on these issues that the research reported in this thesis was undertaken. As such, considerable and seemingly insurmountable obstacles have been encountered of which the state of the theory has been the most problematic. Without clarity in the theory the research worker stumbles and gropes in a world of conceptual vagueness.

It seems ironical that in spite of all our journals, increasing application of the computer and other technical statistical knowledge, our many conferences and voluminous research output, we remain unable to arrive at some consensus about the meanings of our terms. This lack of consensus accounts, unfortunately, for our failure to measure not only anomie but many other important concepts besides.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Murray, J. et al. (Eds.): The Oxford English Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press, 1933: p.347.
2. Durkheim, E.: Division of Labour in Society. (Translated by Simpson, G.) Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.
3. Durkheim, E.: Suicide. (Translated by Spaulding, J.A. and Simpson, G.) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.
4. Sorokin, P.: Contemporary Sociological Theories. New York: Harper, 1928.
5. Parsons, T.: The Structure of Social Action. New York: McGraw Hill, 1937.
6. Barnes, H.E. and Becker, H.P.: Social Thought from Lore to Science. Boston: Heath, 1938.
7. Mayo, E.: The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization. New York: MacMillan, 1933.
8. Merton, R.K.: "Social Structure and Anomie". American Sociological Review, Vol. 3, 1938: pp. 672-682.
9. Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
10. Srole, L.: "Social Integration and Certain Corrolaries". American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, 1956: pp. 709-716.
11. Sorokin, op. cit.: p. 435.
12. Durkheim, E.: The Rules of Sociological Method. (Translated by Solovay, S.A. and Mueller, J.H.) Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957: p.131.
13. Merton, R.K.: "Social Structure and Anomie". in Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: The Free Press, 1957: p. 77.
14. Cohen, A.K.: Deviance and Control. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966: p.77.
15. Merton, R.K.: "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction". in Clinard, M.B.(Ed): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964: p. 226.
16. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie", op. cit.: p. 135.
17. Ibid: p. 157.
18. Merton, R.K.: "Continuities in the Theory of Anomie and Social Structure". in Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: The Free Press, 1957: p. 163.
19. Merton, "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", op. cit.
20. Cloward, R.A. and Ohlin, L.E.: Delinquency and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press, 1960: p. 78.

21. de Grazia, S.: The Political Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948: p. 4.
22. Ibid.: p. 5.
23. Merton, "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", op. cit.: p. 226.
24. Stouffer, S. et al.: The American Soldier. Vol. I. Princeton: University Press, 1949.
25. Inkeles, A.: What is Sociology? Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1964.
26. See for example: Kahan, M. et al.: "On the Analytical Division of Social Class". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17, 1966: pp. 122-131.
27. Simon, J.: Basic Research Methods in Social Science. New York: Random House, 1969.
28. Gould, J. and Kolb, W. (Eds.): Dictionary of the Social Sciences. London: Tavistock, 1964.
29. Lazarsfeld, P.: "Problems in Methodology". in Merton, R.K., et al. (Eds.): Sociology Today, New York: Basic Books, 1959.
30. Bridgman, P.W.: The Logic of Modern Physics. New York: MacMillan, 1949.
31. Dodd, S.: "Operational Definitions Operationally Defined". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 48, 1942: pp. 482-489.
32. Lundberg, G.A.: Social Research. New York: Longmans Green, 1949.
33. Kaplan, A.: The Conduct of Inquiry. San Francisco: Chandler, 1964: p. 39.
34. Selltitz, C. et al.: Research Methods in Social Relations. New York: Dryen Press, 1951: p. 43.
35. Cicourel, A.V.: Method and Measurement in Sociology. New York: The Free Press, 1964: p.23.
36. Simon, op. cit.: p. 25.
37. Adorno, T.W. et al.: The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper, 1950: p. 223.
38. Lazarsfeld, op. cit.: p. 46.
39. Downes, D.: The Delinquent Solution. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966: p. 241.
40. Merton, "Continuities in the Theory of Anomie and Social Structure", op. cit.: p. 190.
41. Spergel, I.: Racketville, Slumtown, Haulberg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
42. de Grazia, op. cit.
43. Maclver, R.M.: The Ramparts We Guard. New York: MacMillan, 1950: p. 48.

44. Lasswell, H.D.: "The Threat to Privacy". in MacIver, R.M. (Ed.): Conflict of Loyalties, New York: Harper and Row, 1952: p. 132.
45. Riesman, D.: The Lonely Crowd. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950: p. 287.
46. Petrovic, G.: "Alienation". in Edwards, P. (Ed.): Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, New York: MacMillan and the Free Press, 1967: pp. 76-81.
47. Fromm, E.: Marx's Concept of Man. New York: Ungar, 1962: p. 103.
48. Fromm, E.: The Sane Society. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955: p. 121.
49. Berger, P. and Luckman, T.: The Social Construction of Reality. London: Allen Lane, 1967: p. 106.
50. Camus, A.: The Outsider. (Translated by Gilbert S.) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961.
51. Seeman, M.: "On the Meaning of Alienation". American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959: pp. 783-791.
52. Ibid.: p. 788.
53. Browning, C. et al.: "On the Meaning of Alienation". American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1961: pp. 780-781.
54. Srole, op. cit.: p. 711.
55. Ibid.: p. 713.
56. Ibid.: p. 710.
57. Roberts, A. and Rokeach, M.: "Anomie, Authoritarianism and Prejudice: A Replication". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61, 1956: pp. 355-358.
58. Ibid.
59. Keedy, T.C.: "Anomie and Religious Orthodoxy". Sociology and Social Research Vol. 43, 1958: pp. 34-37.
60. Tumin, M. and Collins, R.: "Status Mobility and Anomie: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 10, 1959: pp. 253-267.
61. Grigg, C.M. and Lewis, M.: "Urbanism, Race and Anomia". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67, 1962: pp. 661-665.
62. Dean, D. and Reeves, J.: "Anomie: A Comparison of a Catholic and a Protestant Sample". Sociometry, Vol. 25, 1962: pp. 209-212.
63. Grigg, and Lewis, op. cit.
64. Bell, W.: "Anomie, Social Isolation and the Class Structure". Sociometry, Vol. 20, 1957: p. 114.
65. Meir, D. and Bell, W.: "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals". American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959: pp. 189-202.

66. Mizruchi, E.H.: Success and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
67. Ibid.: p. 127.
68. Miller, A.: "Death of a Salesman". in Miller, A.: Collected Plays, London: Cresset Press, 1958.
69. Albee, E.: "The American Dream". in Albee, E.: Zoo Story and Other Plays, London: Jonathan Cape, 1960.
70. Davids, A.: "Alienation, Social Perception and Ego Structure". Journal of Consulting Psychology, Vol. 19, 1955: pp. 27.
71. Nettler, G.: "A Measure of Alienation". American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, 1957: pp. 670-677.
72. See Cole, S. and Zuckerman, H.: "An Inventory of Empirical and Theoretical Studies of Anomie". in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964: p. 255.
73. Dean, D.: "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement". American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1961: pp. 753-758.
74. Streuning, E. and Richardson, A.: "A Factor Analytic Exploration of the Alienation, Anomia and Authoritarian Domain". American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, 1965: p. 771.
75. Lever, H. and Wagner, O.J.: "A Factor Analysis of Anomie". Journal for Social Research, Vol. 16, 1967: pp. 1-6.
76. Dean and Reeves, op. cit.: pp. 209-212.
77. McClosky, H. and Schaar, J.: "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy". American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, 1965: p. 36.
78. Rose, G.: "Anomie and Deviation". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17, 1966: pp. 29-45.
79. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie", op. cit.: p. 135.
80. Horton, J.: "The Dehumanization of Man in the Anomie and Alienation Concepts". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 15, 1964: pp. 283-299.
81. Gouldner, A.W. and Gouldner, H.P.: Modern Sociology. London: Hart-Davis, 1963: p. 573.
82. Merton, "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", op. cit.: p. 226.
83. Ibid.: p. 227.
84. Johnson, H.M.: Sociology: A Systematic Introduction. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961: p. 557.
85. Rose, op. cit.: p. 32.
86. Cohen, A.: "The Study of Social Disorganization and Deviant Behaviour". in Merton, R.K. et al. (Eds.): Sociology Today, New York: Basic Books, 1959.
87. Merton, "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", op. cit.: p. 227.

88. Lander, B.: Toward an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.
89. Davies, B.P.: Social Needs and Resources in Local Services. London: Michael Joseph, 1968.
90. Lander, op. cit.: p. 88.
91. Ibid.: p. 89.
92. Ibid.: p. 88.
93. Ibid.: p. 89.
94. Bordua, D.J.: "Juvenile Delinquency and 'Anomie': An Attempt at Replication". Social Problems, Vol. 6, 1958/59: pp. 230-238.
95. Chilton, R.: "Continuity in Delinquency Area Research: A Comparison of Studies for Baltimore, Detroit and Indianapolis". American Sociological Review. Vol. 29, 1964: pp. 71-83.
96. Davies, op. cit.: p. 252.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.: p. 259.
99. Lander, op. cit.
100. Jessor, R. et al.: Society, Personality and Deviant Behaviour. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
101. Snyder, C.: "Inebriety, Alcoholism and Anomie". in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964: p. 207.
102. Merton, "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", op. cit.: p. 227.
103. Johnson, op. cit.: p. 557.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT OF ANOMIE AND SOME PROPOSITIONS

Although widely referred to in sociological discussion, in journals, and in scholarly texts, the theory of anomie as propounded by Robert Merton (with its various extensions and reformulations) has not been adequately subjected to empirical validation. While this may be a not uncommon occurrence in the science of sociology, it is nevertheless strange that a theory of crime and deviant behaviour is so firmly adhered to although not adequately verified or supported by scientific research. Merton is, of course, not to be blamed for this state of affairs. He has developed the theory and has nurtured its growth and maturation in the world of sociological ideas but has not set out to test its main generalizations in an empirical setting. He has, however, been keenly interested in the research that has been undertaken within the framework of the theory of anomie or cognate to it. In his own writings he suggests what steps should be taken to test the theory, and, where applicable, he makes reference to various research findings that offer support for its fundamental propositions.

Nevertheless, it remains true that the theory of anomie has not been subjected to any really significant empirical test. The findings of those working with the Srole Anomia Scale have been disappointing - primarily because these research workers have accepted without question that the Srole scale may be used as an index of conditions of normlessness in social groups. We have already contended that their research is based on an invalid operational definition of the concept of anomie. Their findings have consequently been muddled and contradictory.

Srole's own research supported Merton's contention that anomie is more prevalent among the lower socio-economic classes of American society.¹ This was, as we have already seen, confirmed by Bell,² and again by Bell and Dorothy Meir³ but refuted by Roberts and Rokeach, who, when holding education constant, found no significant relationship between socio-economic class and anomie as measured on the Srole scale.⁴ Mizruchi's study which has already been reviewed was designed specifically to test the Mertonian model. He employed the Srole scale as an index to sociological conditions of anomie, for, as he put it: "In this study we shall use scores on Srole's anomia scale, a subjective measure, as

Durkheim used statistics on rates of suicide".⁵ But Mizruchi's arguments on how this subjective measure, this measure of psychological feelings and properties, can be used as an index to conditions or situations in social groups is not convincing. Few if any sociologists today accept the idea that a group is merely the sum of the psychological characteristics of its members. In his study anomie was found to exist in the lower classes but it was also prevalent among the middle class. Mizruchi's attempt to formulate a model incorporating elements of Mertonian "bondlessness" and Durkheimian "boundlessness" is not particularly successful; and his conclusions are rather confused.

Merton has himself had mixed feelings about the validity and application of the Srole scale, although he does not question its technical adequacy. Nevertheless, he suggests that, in spite of its limitations and inadequacies, it might point the way to the development of better measures of anomie "as perceived and experienced by individuals in a group or community".⁶ In a subsequent paper he admits that the Srole scale has in fact stunted research on sociological interpretations of anomie. As he puts it: "Curiously enough, the advances represented by Srole's preliminary scale designed to measure anomia - a condition of the individual - seems to have had an adverse effect on systematic studies of anomie - a condition of the social system".⁷

Those working with objective definitions of anomie have not generally fared much better. Reference has already been made to the pioneering work of Bernard Lander and to the writings of Davies and those of Jessor and his colleagues. While their approaches have been more sociological in orientation and more to the point, they nevertheless suffer from certain drawbacks. Merton hails Lander's work as an important step in the right direction but suggests that it is symptomatic rather than definitive. As he puts it: "Its decisive limitation derives from a circumstance which regularly confronts sociologists seeking to devise measures of theoretical concepts by drawing upon the array of social data which happened to be recorded in the statistical series established by agencies of the society - namely, the circumstance that these data or social bookkeeping which happen to be on hand are not necessarily the data which best measure the concept".⁸

Attention has already been drawn to the extremely useful work undertaken by Jessor and his co-workers at the University of Colorado. Although they are concerned with developing an index of anomie, the several ways in which they use

the concept clouds the clarity of their analysis. Their equation of anomia and alienation is laudible but it has not, generally, been adopted by other sociologists. Anomie, it seems, is increasingly being engulfed by the alienation concept - so much so that Melvin Seeman's analysis may yet prove to be a self-fulfilling prophesy. The Colorado group have also failed to distinguish adequately between norm dissensus and the loss of norm legitimacy, both of which are used as indices of anomie. Nor have they succeeded in offering specific support for the theory of anomie and social structure. They seem, in fact, to be more concerned with a psycho-social frame of reference stressing Rotter's social learning theory of personality, which in a complex way is juxtaposed with their socio-cultural findings as well as those of their investigation of the socialization of the individual. The contribution of Jessor et al suffers in many respects from sheer obesity, for they have attempted to construct a single model incorporating behaviourist, social psychological, developmental and sociological elements. It is very difficult, indeed, to incorporate within one theoretical model a number of theoretical orientations.⁹

The Cloward and Ohlin model which is an extension of Merton's ideas to delinquency sub-cultural theorization has also been subjected to somewhat tenuous experimental designs. Spergel's investigation of the types of delinquent adaptation in three neighbourhoods of a large Eastern American city suffers from methodological weaknesses. The use of participant observation in social research may be extremely valuable as a tool for collecting data, but is inadequate as a procedure for testing important hypotheses. While his study clearly supports the Cloward and Ohlin theory of delinquency and opportunity, it may be invalidated by his dependency on such techniques. The use of informal observation to measure complex concepts (as, for instance, neighbourhood integration and the availability of illegitimate means) must be criticized.¹⁰

David Downe's theoretical review of sub-cultural theories of juvenile delinquency has been favourably received by criminologists and sociologists generally, but his own research methods are also dependent on what Downe calls "informal observation".¹¹ The important thing, however, is that Downe does not, on the basis of his research and knowledge and experience of gangs in England, support the Cloward and Ohlin theory of juvenile delinquency. This is so not only because of a limited availability of illegitimate opportunity structures in England but also because of the traditional conservatism of the English working class. This conservatism, with its limited emphasis on achievement and success counteracts the growth

of delinquent sub-cultures. The working-class boy in English society is able, it seems, to overcome the problem of a poor education and inadequate job opportunities by simply reaffirming traditional working-class values.

Anomie has neither in its "purer" Mertonian form, nor in the Cloward and Ohlin interpretation, therefore, been satisfactorily subjected to empirical validation. This is primarily because of the inadequate way in which the concept has been used by those research workers who have attempted to employ the theory in an empirical setting. The concept of anomie has not been successfully operationalized for research purposes. It has not been adequately translated into research language for the purpose of measurement and scientific investigation. This very deficiency has largely accounted for the growing sterility of the theory, for without the possibility of some empirical application the normal growth and further evolution of theoretical formulation is stunted. Anomie theory must as it were, "sort itself out" if it is to survive as a useful perspective in the interpretation of crime and deviant behaviour.

The problem is where to begin. Considerable attention has already been given above to a brief and relatively superficial review of the uses of the concept alone. There is, as we have seen, a plethora of theorizing, of speculation, and of research, some of which is trivial and some of which is meaningful. There has been such an excess of documentation and publication as well as ritualistic reproduction of the theory in the standard textbooks of sociology that the contemporary student of anomie hardly knows where and at which point in the history of the concept to begin to suggest clarification and reformulation.

It may, as a start, be useful to suggest that the notion of a subjective experience of anomie be divorced from sociological analysis. The idea that subjectively experienced psychological conditions (referred to as "anomia" by Srole and many others or as "anomy" by McIver as well as McClosky and Schaar) be equated with the alienation concept is supported here. There is, as we have already seen, adequate ground for making a recommendation of this nature. Not only do the terms correlate closely in meaning and interpretation, but correlations in an empirical setting have also been demonstrated. The fact that the dual meanings of anomie as both a group and a psychological property have not really been segregated in the theory has resulted in considerable confusion and has retarded potentially meaningful research. There is, to put it strongly, no

need for the concept of anomia as a subjective condition of "self-to-others alienation", pessimism, despair and helplessness, while a more established concept describing exactly the same psychological properties exists in the literature. Anomie, subjectively interpreted as anomia, could be usefully absorbed into the theory of alienation and the research already undertaken should be used to shed further light on alienation rather than anomie. The interpretation of anomie reported in the present work is a strictly sociological one - one which sees anomie as a condition of a social system and not of the mind or personality of individual members of the system.

But this is only an initial step. If the student of anomie with a strictly sociological orientation is able to discard the concept of anomia, he must then be able to offer an alternative definition of anomie as an objective reality. This will not be easy, for even within the limited sociological theory available the concept of anomie has various interpretations. Unlike the concept of anomia, which has been operationally used in a fairly consistent way with the application of the Srole scale, available sociological definitions of anomie have not been adequately applied in empirical research. They have remained largely confined to the world of ideas; the operational definitions which have been suggested have tended to proceed outside the framework of the theory. It is a relatively simple matter to suggest a solution to this situation. An agreed upon and final definition of anomie must be formulated and this must be satisfactorily operationalized for the purpose of scientific analysis. But it is easier to suggest solutions than to implement them. Not only must the science of sociology reach sufficient maturity for its members to agree on most issues, but a formidable barrier to consensus currently exists because of the divergent definitions of anomie already available.

It may, as a starting point, be useful again to stress two fundamental points about the nature of the social condition of anomie as defined by Merton and other sociologists.

They are, firstly, that anomie is essentially a property of social groups. Anomie is a condition which exists not in the psyche or the personality but in the social system. To study anomie the research worker must study the group itself and its normative structure - not the minds of the individuals who comprise it. Anomie is, therefore, a property of specific social systems, of social classes, of "neighbourhoods, clubs, gangs, formal organizations and the like".¹² Rose also is aware of

this, for he suggests that "a definition involving norms must necessarily also imply a definition of . . . the social system to which they refer . . ." ¹³

The second fundamental point about the concept of anomie is that it is a condition of the norms of a social system. In the Durkheimian sense, anomie is a condition of "breakdown" of the norms so that a situation of "normlessness" prevails within the system. On this issue Merton is not as lucid as Durkheim and, unfortunately, not as definitive as he could be. While his writings are clear on the situational location of anomie, he gives several interpretations of the nature of the normative structure of a group which is experiencing anomie. He suggests that "it refers to a breakdown of social standards governing behaviour and so also signifies little cohesion." ¹⁴ Becoming more precise, he goes on to say that "when a high degree of anomie has set in the rules once governing behaviour have lost their savor and their force. Above all they are deprived of legitimacy." ¹⁵ Merton appears then suddenly to change his meaning somewhat, for he proceeds to suggest further that: "in a word the degree of anomie in a social system is indicated by the extent to which there is a lack of consensus on norms judged to be legitimate, with its attendant uncertainty and insecurity in social relations. For if norms are not shared, then one cannot know what to expect of the other, and this is a social condition admirably suited for producing insecure relations with others". ¹⁶

Analytically, however, it is clear that a "loss of norm legitimacy" - a "breakdown in standards governing behaviour" - is not the same as a state of norm dissensus. Dissensus implies a conflicting situation where some members of the social system subscribe to the norms while others do not. This is not the same as a situation where the norms lose their power to control and regulate behaviour. Within the scope of two pages Merton succeeds in confusing the reader entirely. By suggesting that a measure of social cohesion may be used as an operational definition of anomie he fails to take cognizance of the fact that, in the sociometric sense at any rate, cohesion may be determined by several very different factors. By employing these terms loosely Merton contradicts his own emphasis on clarity of definition when he insists that the interpretation of anomie is: "more, much more, than a 'merely' terminological matter. It cuts deep into basic problems of extending the theory of anomie and of initiating a new phase in empirical research on anomie". ¹⁷

The student of anomie is thus left with no more than two explicit points and a wide general implicit meaning to guide his research. This is, nevertheless, valuable and these two points will be used as fundamental theoretical propositions in our attempt to isolate conditions of anomie. It is possible, within the framework of these two fundamental notions, to abstract from the literature several interpretations of anomie which will now be critically considered.

1. It may, firstly, be suggested that anomie is no more than a widespread condition of deviance within a social system. This was in part suggested by the Colorado researchers in the Tri-Ethnic Project; but, while the meanings are close, an analytical distinction must be maintained. This is in some respects a terminological problem, for merely to equate anomie with deviance implies a duplication of concepts and either "anomie" or "deviance" must be discarded as sociological terms. To see anomie as no more than a statistical consequence of many individual deviations which, as Johnson suggests, may have a "multitude of heterogeneous causes"¹⁸ is simplistic. It is also true to say that, while anomie produces deviance, the notion that all deviance is caused by conditions of anomie is erroneous. Deviance may be caused by psychopathological or clinical factors. It may be the result of conflict. It may be the product of an erroneously imputed label which, as it is more stringently applied, results in a self-fulfilling prophesy in which the individual becomes a role-playing deviant without having deviated initially. The notion that anomie is merely a condition of widespread deviance is an inadequate interpretation.

2. Anomie may secondly be interpreted as a condition of social ambivalence, in which group members become ambivalent about the norms and about conformity to the norms. This is a relatively unexplored interpretation. Johnson, for instance, makes certain suggestions about anomie as a condition of ambivalence but these are not consistent with his own definition of anomie as a condition of norm legitimacy loss; he does not specify whether ambivalence is the consequence of legitimacy loss or merely a synonym for it.¹⁹

While Merton has himself been interested in the notion of sociological ambivalence, it has not, however, been adequately defined or formulated in the theory.²⁰ This is a pity, for the concept has been usefully employed especially in the aetiological study of alcoholism. It has been notably applied in the writings of Ullman,²¹ who suggests that when normative definitions about drinking behaviour are clearly specified and unequivocal,

alcoholism rates will be low. Conversely, when normative prescriptions are ambiguous or ambivalent, alcoholism rates will be high. Our understanding of these issues is as yet insufficiently developed to be incorporated into a definition of the concept of anomie.

3. Anomie has also been defined as a situation of norm dissensus in which the members of the group are divided about their allegiance to the norms. Merton, as has been pointed out, used a notion of dissensus in conjunction with certain other ideas for the purposes of his definition of anomie. So too do the authors of the Tri-Ethnic Project in their definition of community anomie, although this is not consistent with their other definition of dominant culture anomie.

It has already been suggested that a lack of normative consensus implies a certain element of conflict, either overtly or covertly, and in such a situation it becomes difficult to distinguish between the deviants and the conformers. It, in fact, becomes difficult to use the concept of deviance in this situation. It may further be argued that a lack of consensus involves a notion of social change rather than anomie, in which those who manifest "cultural lag" come into conflict with those who modify their actions in compliance with the demands of change. Such a situation could conceivably result in a condition of lessened consensus about the applicability of social norms in the system.

4. Anomie may also be defined in a somewhat different sense as an ideal type which has no empirical reference in the real world but which may be conceptually useful for purposes of theoretical analysis. This notion is based on the observation that a situation of total normlessness is clearly impossible, for a complete disintegration of social order and patterned interaction would follow. A calamity of this nature would mark the end of social living and the annihilation of human civilization. Anomie, therefore, does not exist except in the world of ideas.

It is clear, however, that this is not what Durkheim meant by normlessness. Anomie was not a condition of the absence of norms, but rather a condition of weakened norms and weakened social control. In support of this it may be observed that certain writers use phrases such as "the tendency to anomie" or "a high degree of anomie having set in" when describing conditions of anomie in social groups. If anomie was meant to be no more than an ideal type, why is there this need to measure and study it empirically? The ideal type is a mental construct, not generally an event

in the phenomenal world. Research into anomie has sought not to explicitly compare certain events to an ideal typus but to measure and identify conditions of anomie in the real world.

5. Fifthly, anomie may be defined as a condition of a social system in which the norms of the system lose their ability to control and regulate the behaviour of its members. Because of certain factors, the norms which have previously defined and structured social behaviour now begin to lose their power of coercion and restraint. The group member begins to ignore the norms and they become weak and lose their meaning as well as their power to influence and control his actions. The result of this situation is a widespread increase in the incidence of deviant behaviour. As such, anomie is not merely to be equated with a high rate of deviant behaviour, for it is clear that, while anomie results in deviance, not all deviance has its source and origin in situations of anomie.

This fifth meaning, it is suggested, is the meaning implicit in the writings of Durkheim in both Suicide and The Division of Labour. It is also the meaning which Merton, in spite of his sometimes less careful use of synonyms, imputes to the word. The theoretical definition of anomie is an objective social reality, employed for the purposes of this research, thus conforms closely in meaning to Merton's own, which, to reiterate, suggests that : "When a high degree of anomie has set in, the rules once governing behaviour have lost their savor and their force".²²

It is also consistent with that of Johnson : "Anomie, then, is a social condition in which many persons in a social system have a weakened respect for some social norm or norms, and this loss of legitimacy is traceable in part to something about the social structure itself".²³ It complies too with a definition provided by Gordon Rose who pointed out that : "In my view the term is defective in failing to indicate clearly what it means and it has in any case been so loosely used as to become debased, and I would prefer the term legitimacy loss as a shorthand (for anomie)".²⁴

Our definition of anomie is based on this theoretical conception. Anomie is a condition in which the norms lose their power to regulate behaviour. It is not an ideal type, or merely a synonym for deviance, or even a condition of norm conflict and dissensus. In a situation of anomie there is subscription to the norms but lessened conformity to the norms. The norms exist clearly enough in the cultural system but fail to exert power, influence, or control. Any attempt to measure anomie must, therefore, demonstrate subscription to the norms. If subscription to the norms of the dominant culture cannot be empirically demonstrated, a situation

of culture conflict rather than anomie may well exist.

Our definition of anomie is also based on the notion that explicit reference to the normative system of specific groups must be made. Anomie is a property of the norms of a social system, and to examine normative deregulation properly it is surely necessary to examine the norms of the system. This point has already been made but it is important enough to warrant reiteration. In the present study explicit reference to anomie as a condition of neighbourhood groups was made to facilitate analysis.

To recapitulate, anomie is a condition of normative deregulation in social groups - a condition in which the norms lose their power to control, direct, and regulate behaviour.

This interpretation of anomie is, then the one that will be used for the purposes of the research reported in this study. It is only possible to develop an empirical measure if a clear definition of the concept is available. Before we are able to isolate and empirically identify conditions of anomie in our society, a sound theoretical conception and description of the concept must be arrived at.

By sifting the various usages and meanings of anomie and by formulating a workable theoretical definition it is possible to make certain propositions about the nature of anomie, for a suitable and workable definition of the concept has important implications for the development of the theory. Not only will it then be possible to attempt to measure what Merton has called "the degree of anomie" in social groups, but it will be possible to subject the broader generalizations of the theory to empirical validation. Research undertaken thus far has not satisfactorily dealt with either of these two issues. This is largely due to the dependence of research workers on the Srole scale as a measure of the degree of anomie in social groups. A sound theoretical conception of the state of anomie as a condition of social groups will then permit a more accurate analysis of the theory and its empirical application. It will also permit a closer theoretical examination of the various elements or components of the theory. It will be possible to distinguish more clearly between causes of anomie, the condition of anomie, and the consequences of anomie. Up to now these elements of the theory have been greatly confused. As Rose tells us: "It is important to be clear what one is talking about. It is very easy to confuse the causes of anomie and the results of anomie with the meaning of anomie itself".²⁵ A clear definition of the meaning

of anomie itself permits the criminologist and the student of deviant behaviour to be specific about the relationship between the various components of the anomie model.

This is the third major proposal we wish to make. It is not only necessary that the concept of anomia be incorporated into the theory of alienation and that a precise definition of anomie as a condition of the norms of social groups be formulated. It is also necessary that a clear distinction between the various elements of the Mertonian system be made. A model based on Merton's theory, which clearly differentiates between causes, conditions, and results, must be constructed. A three-stage model is required which will distinguish clearly the various elements of the theory of anomie. This will not only provide clarity in the theoretical area but will permit the development of a well-structured research design which would examine empirically the relationship between the various aspects of the theory. Merton's hypothesis about the causes of anomie could then be related to actual conditions of anomie in social groups.

It may be argued that it is not possible to make a rigid analytical distinction between the various elements, or that this would lead to an oversimplification of the theory. But this is rejected on the findings of our survey of the uses and meanings of the term anomie. We are in agreement with Rose who, similarly finding much confusion about the meaning given to the various aspects of the theory of anomie, suggests that a clear distinction between these various elements should be made for purposes of research. If the researcher is able to distinguish analytically between cause, condition, and result, he is better able to measure these elements and to proceed then to examine the relationship between them.

The theory of anomie within which we are working in this study, suggests that the causes of anomie lie in the malintegration of the culture and social structures of modern industrial societies. It is, however, true that its author, Merton, admits that other causes may be identified through further research. It is conceivable that a condition of normlessness could be the consequence of natural disaster or prevalent in times of great social upheaval when, if only temporarily, the norms lose their ability to regulate and control behaviour. But we are primarily concerned with conditions endemic to modern industrial societies in which a premium is placed on achievement without the equal availability of opportunity to achieve.

The intermedial component of the theory of anomie is what Merton calls "the

degree of anomie,"²⁶ and we have defined this with reference to Merton's own writings after carefully and critically sifting various other interpretations of anomie as a social condition. It has already been noted that most theoretical uses and applications of the theory neglect this important element in the Mertonian model - an element we have identified as the condition of anomie. In the empirical field the condition of anomie has been poorly measured, primarily because of its inadequate theoretical formulation. We have explicitly argued that the Srole scale is not a useful measure of objective conditions of anomie.

It is finally necessary to identify the results or consequences of anomie. Merton has postulated a very popular typology which has been criticized by some but developed further by others. It should be noted, however, that not all the adaptive modes in the typology can be properly called deviant. Conformity is without question a non-deviant adaptation, but Merton does not specify whether this mode is to be found among lower-class individuals or primarily among those classes least affected by conditions of anomie. The notion that the ritualist adaptation is a deviant one may also be criticised, for there is little evidence to show that the ritualist, labelled as deviant by Merton, is stigmatised or rejected as a deviant by others in society. The deviant label is not imputed to the ritualist as it is to the innovator or the retreatist. Similarly, little has been said about rebellion as a deviant adaptive mode.

Cloward and Ohlin have made a very valuable contribution to the theory with their ideas on the availability of illegitimate opportunity structures and their concept of collective subcultural adaptation. Perhaps the theory of anomie would be more useful if it were limited in scope to an analysis of the innovative and retreatist adaptations. This was broadly the strategy employed by Cloward and Ohlin whose theory was limited to the investigation of adaptations which are clearly defined by society as deviant. More fruitful results may be obtained in this way. However, and this is an important point, reviews of the potential of the theory of anomie as an explanation of retreatist behaviour have not been encouraging.²⁷ Dunham as well as Lindesmith and Gagnon are plainly sceptical while Snyder has been fairly cautious about the possibilities of the theory. It seems as if the most meaningful research about anomie undertaken so far has been in the field of crime and delinquency. A "grand theory" of deviant behaviour is not only difficult to maintain theoretically but becomes unwieldy for the purposes of research and validation. Too many variables need to be considered simultaneously and there is good ground for suggesting that anomie as a

general theory of deviant behaviour should adapt itself to the critical environment by shedding some of its more tenuous propositions. It may be useful to argue that the theory of anomie become geared essentially to the explanation of crime - that it become a specifically criminological theory. This is our fourth major proposal.

The research reported here is based on these four propositions. Anomie will not be used in a subjective or psychological sense but will be defined as a specific condition of social groups. We will also attempt to distinguish clearly between the various elements and components of the currently popular anomie model - between causes, the condition of anomie, and its results. The research will also be concerned primarily with the study of crime as social deviance and it will attempt to test the adequacy of the anomie approach as an aetiological interpretation of crime. By investigating aspects of the social structure of South African society, the research will, finally, attempt to demonstrate that conditions of anomie may be empirically isolated. As such, it will be attempting to isolate a major factor in the genesis of deviance in our society.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Srole, L.: "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries". American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, 1956: pp. 709-716.
2. Bell, W.: "Anomie, Social Isolation and the Class Structure". Sociometry, Vol. 20, 1957: pp. 105-116.
3. Meir, D. and Bell, W.: "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals". American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959: pp. 189-202.
4. Roberts, A. and Rokeach, M.: "Anomie, Authoritarianism and Prejudice: A Replication". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61, 1956: pp. 355-358.
5. Mizruchi, E.H.: Success and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
6. Merton, R.K.: "Continuities in the Theory of Anomie and Social Structure". in Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: The Free Press, 1957: p. 165.
7. Merton, R.K.: "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction". in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964: p. 228.
8. Merton, "Continuities in the Theory of Anomie and Social Structure", op. cit.: p. 165.
9. Jessor, R. et al.: Society, Personality and Deviant Behaviour. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
10. Spergel, I.: Racketville, Slumtown, Haulberg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
11. Downes, D.: The Delinquent Solution. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966: p. 195.
12. Merton, "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", op. cit.: p. 229.
13. Rose, G.: "Anomie and Deviation". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17, 1966: p. 32.
14. Merton, "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", op. cit.: p. 226.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.: p. 227.
17. Ibid.
18. Johnson, H.M.: Sociology: A Systematic Introduction. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961: p. 557.
19. Ibid.
20. Merton, R.K. and Barber, E.: "Sociological Ambivalence". in Tiryakian, E.A. (Ed.): Sociological Theory, Values and Sociocultural Change, New York: The Free Press, 1963: pp. 91-121.

21. Ullman, A.D.: "Sociocultural Backgrounds to Alcoholism". Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 315, 1958: pp. 48-54.
22. Merton, "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", op. cit.: p. 226.
23. Johnson, op. cit.: p. 557.
24. Rose, op. cit.: pp. 31-32.
25. Ibid.: p. 30.
26. Merton, "Continuities in the Theory of Anomie and Social Structure", op. cit.: p. 166.
27. See Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour. New York: The Free Press, 1964.

PART II

RESEARCH

CHAPTER 5

AN ATTEMPT TO ISOLATE ANOMIE : THE SETTING

Just who or what is anomic? Where may conditions of anomie be found? In terms of Merton's theory, conditions of anomie should exist in a society that places great emphasis on achievement and success but which fails to provide opportunities for the realization of the success goal. He suggests that American society is a good example of such structural malintegration. But research undertaken to test the Mertonian theory and to isolate conditions of anomie in the United States has generally been unsuccessful. This is largely because meanings and terms have been so confused as to inhibit the development of valid operational measures. To test any theory it is necessary to subject all the relevant variables to scientific examination. The various constituent parts of the theory of anomie have not only been conceptually confused but inadequately operationalized. This has been particularly true of the degree of anomie as a research variable. Some attempts to measure anomie have already been critically examined and the suggestion that anomie exists to a high degree in American society has not been conclusively demonstrated.

We are of the opinion that conditions of anomie may well be isolated in South African society. We are of the opinion that South African society represents an extreme example of structural malintegration. Because of its essentially capitalistic nature, the economy places a premium on success through the acquisition of material symbols and wealth, but the polity, through restrictive legislation, prevents upward mobility. This is not only so with regard to mobility in the system as a whole, but to mobility within the structural boundaries of each "racial category". We are of the opinion that conditions of anomie may be found among those groups¹ located in the lower strata of the social structure of South African society.

Because of its pluralistic nature it is difficult to analyse South Africa sociologically. Its very diversity confounds simple description². In recent decades rapid urbanization has further complicated sociological analysis because it has blurred the boundaries between the traditional and the modern, between the city and the tribe. It has become more difficult to delineate the cultures of the various peoples. Within the urban environment there are both those who have fully assimilated the culture of the West and those who adhere firmly to traditional values.

This has added further to the complexity of the situation.

It is neither our intention to attempt here a sociological description of South Africa, nor our wish to suggest that the theory of anomie as formulated by Robert Merton can explain crime and deviance in South Africa. We are merely of the opinion that the South African situation presents a good opportunity for research into anomie. Because of the malintegration of its social and culture structures it is an excellent experimental environment in which to isolate conditions of anomie and to test the Mertonian theory. The emphasis in our research is not on explaining conditions or events in South Africa, but on isolating anomie. It is nevertheless necessary to state briefly why we believe that conditions of anomie exist in South African society.

As formulated by Robert Merton, the theory of Social Structure and Anomie maintains that conditions of anomie will exist in a society that places great emphasis on the Western goal of success without providing equal opportunities for its members to realize this goal. This gives rise to anomie or normlessness among those groups who internalize the success goal but who have no means of reaching it. High rates of crime and deviance may consequently be expected among these groups. It is necessary, therefore, to pay attention to those aspects of the structure that create demands; to those that prevent upward mobility; to those groups that internalize the success goal; and to the incidence of crime and deviance.

The South African economy has experienced considerable growth in the post war decades. Government pamphlets describe it as spectacular and even the more cautious concede that a rapid increase in national income has occurred. Several graphs in Hobart Houghton's standard work indicate a rapid acceleration in growth. He notes that: "Between 1912 and 1962 average per capita real income more than doubled, rising by over 2 per cent per annum. Between 1962 and 1965 average real income per head increased by over 4 per cent per annum".³ The contribution of the manufacturing sector has been very important. It surpassed that of mining in 1952 and has increased to the extent that it must, as Hobart Houghton puts it: "be the cornerstone of future expansion".⁴ This is greatly dependent on increased domestic consumption. "The limited domestic market is, however, also due to the fact that a majority of the South African population has only a very low level of consumption. The three and a half million Whites have on average a relatively high standard of living but the fourteen million Non-Whites live for the most part very little above the bare minimum standard. If the average

level of consumption could be raised to the present level of the Whites this would lead to at least a threefold increase in the South African domestic market".⁵

The world of business is not, however, prepared to wait for a noticeable increase in income among the lower-paid population groups before it markets and advertises its products. Through the medium of song and jingle the Bantu programmes of the South African Broadcasting Corporation currently transmit the brandnames of the products favoured by the modern and successful Bantu housewife. The African newspapers advertise success in pictorial form. Various lotions and ointments which lighten the skin are advertised with explicit reference to the fact that the lighter one's skin the more attractive, important, and successful one is likely to be. The marketing world realizes only too well that there is a huge market for such commodities and devises means of American-style advertising to sell them.

Cheap comic strips depict the adventures of successful African "law men" who drive flashy cars and wear expensive suits. An advertisement in a weekly magazine exhorts the reader to subscribe to a correspondence course through which he will be able quickly to raise his position in the structure. Cinema advertisements similarly depict graphically how the successful characters on the screen use this hair shampoo or smoke that brand of cigarette or brush their teeth with a particular type of toothpaste. Geared adequately to the sophistication of the relevant population group, the marketing men sell their products through advertising "success". By stressing the importance of acquiring such commodities for the realization of success and upward mobility, the manufacturing industry taps the market. Why else does one purchase skin lotions and hair straighteners and large second-hand American motor cars? Because of its industrial nature and capitalistic economy South African society lays emphasis on the Western success goal. The fact that the State frequently "interferes" in the running of the economy (particularly with regard to matters of race) and that there are several very large State-owned corporations does not detract from its essential capitalistic nature. The emphasis on the success goal in South African society is not limited only to those of the privileged classes but to all its members. It is not only the three-and-a-half million ruling Whites who are exposed to the emphasis of success. The economy is not designed to provide only for the privileged, but grows and gains impetus as consumption among those at the lower end of the structure increases.

In South Africa, great differentials exist in the availability of means and opportunities for the realization of the Western success goal. By its legislation South African society forcibly prevents and purposely blocks opportunities for advancement. Through its policies of job reservation, of unequal pay for equal work, its Industrial Relations Laws, its separate educational facilities (to name but a few) opportunities for upward mobility are restricted. Not only do these policies make mobility between the race "categories" impossible, but they restrict movement within the group. These policies are so disadvantageous to the Non-Whites that opportunities for advancement are limited even within the framework of legitimate structures.

Job reservation is a South African practice which is based on the belief that certain jobs in the trades and semi- or unskilled occupations should be exclusively reserved for White people. The principle is presently embodied in the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956, although it had its origins in the Mines and Works Act of 1911. This Act denied certificates of competency to African and Asian miners largely because some of the White trade unions successfully agitated for segregated and reserved employment.

Because the economy has expanded rapidly in recent times, the desirability of such legislation has been questioned by industrialists and opposition parties on the grounds that there are simply not enough White people to fill the reserved occupations. The Government refuses to rescind this legislation but manages to circumvent some of the ensuing difficulties by issuing permits which allow Non-Whites temporarily to fill the vacant jobs. (A permit is, however, no guarantee of permanency or security). Exemptions currently exist in a number of industries including, among others, the motor industry, the building trade, the engineering industry, and the railways.

A considerable number of South Africans are thus prevented by law from competing openly on the labour market. Their skills are not taken into consideration and their abilities are not fully utilized. It is not even entirely a matter of law, as the following extract from a publication of the Institute of Race Relations shows:

"During March a leading commercial bank in Cape Town provisionally recruited twenty Coloured girls, some of them holding matriculation certificates, for work as clerks and machine operators. Difficulty had been experienced in finding suitable White girls. An official of the bank telephoned the local office of the Department of Labour for approval

of the appointments. He was told to submit the request in writing.

Eventually a discussion was arranged with the Divisional Inspector of Labour. The latter said there was no legislation prohibiting the employment of Coloured girls. However White women were available, registered as unemployed. (Some of these had only Std. VI certificates). The Inspector stated that he would have to submit a report to his head office. At this stage the bank informed the Coloured women that their services would not be needed.

Questioned on this matter in the Assembly, the Minister of Labour commented that 'job reservation is implemented not only in a statutory way, but also in an administrative way'.⁶

Designed ostensibly to prevent Non-Whites from infiltrating certain racially exclusive jobs, job reservation not only prevents competition between White and Non-White but limits opportunities for better employment among Non-Whites.

Although she is exposed at every turn to the demands of material success, the young Coloured girl is denied the opportunity of finding lucrative employment. Although she may be very competent she is denied work that she is able to do. The polity does not merely fail to create opportunities. It purposely prevents the development of legitimate opportunity structures.

For the majority of South Africans, however, the means are blocked primarily through the limitations that arise from a small income. Because of the vast income differentials that exist, the majority of South Africans have no chance of realizing the success goal.

Surveys undertaken through the years by the Social Survey of Cape Town, under the direction of Professor Edward Batson, Head of the Department of Sociology and Administration at the University of Cape Town, have shown that a large proportion of the Non-White population of the city live below the physical minima of the poverty datum line. The 1960 Census similarly showed that there were large gaps between the incomes of the various population groups. Working from Census figures, Cilliers calculated that while the median income for Whites was R1,538.8 per annum, the medians for Asians and Coloureds were R424.4 and R198.9 respectively.⁷ While no information for Africans was available, research

undertaken by various organizations has shown that incomes among the Africans are very small. A Commercial Market Research Organization found that the Africans, who constitute 67.9% of the population, receive no more than 18.8% of its income.⁸ Incomes for those Africans resident in the tribal areas are extremely low. Many find that it is impossible to purchase even the basic necessities, let alone the symbols of success prescribed by the expanding economy. In the urban areas incomes tend to be higher and the market more lucrative. Nevertheless, harsh poverty prevents the acquisition of commodities defined as important or necessary for success.

This is aggravated by the practice of unequal salaries for equal work. A highly skilled black South African is denied a competitive wage because of the colour of his skin. Perhaps the most glaring examples of this harsh reality are to be found in the professions. The Non-White teacher is paid less than his White counterpart. The Non-White doctor in Government employment is paid less than his White colleague. Nevertheless, the Non-White teacher and doctor must conform to the demands and standards of respectability of a Western society.

A recent example of unequal pay for equal work came to light in the dispute that arose between Non-White doctors in the employ of the Provincial Authority of Natal. The Administration of the Province decided to raise the salaries of its White doctors but not those of its Non-White doctors. At the time of the dispute an Asian intern was being paid 52% of the salary paid to a White intern, while an African intern was receiving 47% of the salary paid to a White intern. After negotiations the Administration revised its salaries for Non-White doctors. Coloured and Asian interns were now to be paid 72% of the salary paid to White interns and Africans 64% of the salaries paid to White interns. Established Non-White consultants and medical officers did not fare much better. They were paid at the rate of 79% (for Coloured and Asians) and 70% for Africans, of the salary paid to White consultants.⁹ This is a pattern which typifies much of the employment situation in South Africa.

Industrial relations in South Africa also impede collective bargaining for better wages and opportunities. It is, for instance, illegal for African workers to strike. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 prohibits racially "mixed" trade unions from recruiting further members and requires that the remaining members of such unions refrain from attending mixed gatherings. It also prevents

Non-White members from holding executive office. African trade unions are not registrable under the Act. The effect of this legislation was to splinter membership and greatly to weaken the trade union movement in South Africa. "Although African Unions cannot be registered, they are not illegal. There is little information about their present numbers, but some 15 are thought to exist, with about 12,260 members".¹⁰

Variations which limit opportunities differentially also exist in education. There is no compulsory schooling for the great majority of Coloured children and the drop-out rate consequently increases sharply as the children move into higher grades. While 33.8% of all White children are in high schools, only 9.2% of Coloured children, and 3.6% of African children are in these grades.¹¹ Although great advances have been made in the field of African education, it remains true that the amount spent on it by the State is considerably smaller than that spent on White education. As Marquard puts it: "Parliament, elected by the White electorate, agrees to the expenditure of R252 million on White children, but with difficulty approves of spending R29 million on 2,000,000 African pupils. The different between R325 and R14 per White and African pupil respectively, is some measure of the superiority of White education over African".¹²

Sociologists generally agree that education provides one of the best means of upward mobility in a Western society. By creating inequalities within the educational system, South African society limits and blocks opportunities for the realization of the success goal.

It is our contention that South African society is not simply a society which rigidly defines statuses and which seeks to maintain its various population groups differentially located in the structure. Not simply, because the issue is somewhat more complex. While the polity desires rigidly to limit opportunities for upward mobility, the economy is malintegrated with the polity in the sense that it can only continue to develop in a free market situation while there is a premium on the success goal through the acquisition of commodities. Thus the economy places an equal demand on achievement for all, while the polity limits, as far as it is able, the mobility of the Non-Whites. This creates an extreme form of structural disjunction and (in terms of the Mertonian theory) a condition ripe for the manifestation of anomie.

In our examination of the theory and concept of anomie we were critical of those who used the term anomie in a vague and imprecise way to describe general conditions in society. Our discussion of the structure of South African society has been similarly general in that it has not stated in which sectors of the South African population conditions of anomie may be found. Defined in the theory as a condition of the lower classes in industrialized societies, anomie should be found primarily among those located in the lower strata of modern societies.

In terms of economic, occupational, and educational criteria, the Bantu peoples of South Africa are unquestionably ranked at the bottom of the social system. Whether South Africa is viewed as a caste, class, or mixed stratification system, the Africans remain at the bottom of the structure. They are the most economically, politically, educationally, and socially deprived and have little power and little prestige in the eyes of the other population groups. If the Bantu people have the lowest status-rank in the system, the Whites are unquestionably at the top. They have supreme political power and effectively control the economy even though the economy is dependent on Non-White labour. Located somewhere in between these two groups are the Asians and the mulatto Coloureds. Although their incomes are larger than that of the Bantu, both these population groups are faced with similar deprivations of opportunity when compared with norms for Whites.

We may reasonably therefore expect to find conditions of anomie among the Non-White peoples of South Africa. The extent to which such conditions exist will, however, be determined by the extent to which the success goal is internalized by these groups. This, in turn, will be dependent on factors such as modernization, the communication of cultural goals through mass media, and the perception of the goal as being relatively important for the group.

There can be little doubt that traditionalism and tribalism are still powerful forces in the social life of the African people. About 3,500,000 of the total 11,000,000 Africans in South Africa at the time of the 1960 Census were living in towns.¹³ Although there is evidence to suggest that the urban African population has increased, the ruthless application of the apartheid laws has meant that the African has little permanency in the White man's city. Traditionalism has its hold even in the urban areas and it would be difficult to argue that the Africans have a culture that is now essentially Western in orientation.¹⁴

Many who are exposed to the success goal simply do not perceive it as such. Many who work in the city do so only to supplement subsistence living in the reserves. Many accept their place in the tribal structure, and in the society as a whole, without question. This is an important reason why the State encourages and fosters tribalism rather than modernism. For a significant number of the African population the success goal has no meaning.

There are, of course, many Africans who do not live within the tribal system. The township dweller who is particularly exposed to the symbols of success, perceives the inaccessibility of prescribed goals more readily. The African in the reserve is relatively cloistered from the world of competition, achievement, and success.

The theory of anomie must not be confused with situations in which cultural alternatives exist. Anomie will be found only in situations in which the Western goal of success prevails. The theory of anomie applies only to those who function within the dominant culture. An attempt to isolate conditions of anomie would not be fruitful in a situation in which cultural alternatives exist. Such alternatives may well confuse the emphasis placed on success goals.

It becomes difficult to argue that conditions of anomie will be widespread among the Bantu people of South Africa. Within limits the same may be said of the Indian people of South Africa.¹⁵ Not only are there cultural differences between them and the Whites, but a number of Indian people are wealthy and very successful in the world of business.

It would be very difficult to attempt to isolate conditions of anomie among these groups. While there are, no doubt, many in these two population groups who have become very Western in orientation, it is possible that cultural differences within such groups may devalue the impact of the Western success goal. An attempt to isolate conditions of anomie in South Africa should be undertaken among those population groups that have no cultural alternatives to the goal of success.

The Coloured people¹⁶ of South Africa are fully Western in orientation. They had their biological origins in the local melting pots of Hottentot, European, Malayan, Arab, Indian, Turkish, Negroid and other backgrounds. They have no culture distinct from that of the dominant culture which they themselves

helped to found. This is a Western, Christian culture. (A small proportion of Coloured people are Muslims, known as the Cape Malays,¹⁷ but they too are primarily Western in dress, language and education.¹⁸ They have made a considerable contribution to the development of the Afrikaans language and the growth of Afrikaans culture.¹⁹ For the rest, the Coloured people are overwhelmingly Christian). The Coloured people have no cultural alternatives to the Western goals of material and monetary success. Such tribal backgrounds or origins as they ancestrally may have had are now entirely obliterated. At the time of the 1960 Census about 70% were urban and thus more directly exposed to Western goals of success.²⁰

Because they are classed as Non-Whites, the Coloured people have deprivations similar to other Non-White population groups in South Africa. The polity manages severely to limit their opportunities for upward mobility, not only in the structure as a whole, but within the limitations of existing possibilities in the "caste". Examples of these blocked opportunities have already been given. There is also a generally low standard of living among them, particularly in the rural areas. It is expected, therefore, that conditions of anomie may be isolated among the Coloured population of South Africa. Because they are exposed to the dominant success goal but are prevented from experiencing upward mobility, the Coloureds of South Africa may be expected to be anomic.

Another pointer to the possibility that conditions of anomie exist among the Coloured people is the high incidence of deviance among them. This is particularly true of their contribution to the net crime rate but is also reflected in a high illegitimacy rate and a high incidence of excessive drinking and in marital instability.

Although the Coloured people are the third largest ethnic group in South Africa, they have the highest crime rate per 1,000 of population. The most recent crime figures, which are provided by the Statistical Yearbook, 1968 indicate that South Africa has an overall conviction rate of 29.33 per 1,000 of population (over the age of seven years). However, the crime rate is not evenly distributed among the various population groups, as Table 1 shows:²¹

Table 1Distribution of Crime Rates

ETHNIC GROUP	CONVICTION RATE PER 1,000 OF POPULATION
WHITE	15.61
COLOURED	83.07
ASIAN	17.98
AFRICAN	26.30
ALL GROUPS	29.33

The crime rate, expressed as the number of convictions per 1,000 of population is very high among the Coloured people. Their rate is higher than that of any other group and of the national average. Significantly higher than other categories are the number of convictions obtained for drunkenness and theft. A conviction rate of 37.81 per 1,000 for drunkenness and of 12.24 per 1,000 for theft was recorded for Coloured people. The next highest rate for drunkenness was 2.66 per 1,000 of population for the Africans. This is infinitesimal in comparison with the rate for Coloureds. The Coloured people similarly contribute more to the overall rate of convictions for theft than do any other group.

Similar findings have been recorded with regard to drinking behaviour. A survey undertaken by the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Cape Town and Groote Schuur Hospital investigated the extent of mental disorder and excessive drinking among the Coloured people. It was found that the incidence of mental disorder was not excessive when compared with epidemiological findings elsewhere, but that the rate of alcoholism was very high. It is interesting to refer to the report of the survey:

"With regard to alcoholism the situation is alarming. At a conservative estimate 4% of the population or more than 8,000 persons over the age of 20 in the Cape Peninsula are addictive alcoholics. These are mostly men (85%), of whom only a few are Malays (5%). Even this minimum estimate is high compared to estimates in other countries, although caution

must be exercised in making such comparisons. Moreover, addictive alcoholism, otherwise called chronic alcoholism, is only one variety of excessive drinking, and the survey revealed an almost equal number of persons (all men) who are pre-addictive or near addictive drinkers (3.2%), or heavy drinkers without symptoms of addiction (3.2%). Since alcoholism is a chronic disease which develops after years of excessive drinking, many of these persons can be regarded as potential chronic alcoholics. In all therefore, 22% of Coloured men could be called excessive drinkers, and of these about a third were addictive alcoholics".²²

There is also evidence to suggest that a considerable number of births among the Coloured population are illegitimate. Cilliers went into this question in some detail in his study of the Coloured people. He points out that: "It should be noted that a very high proportion of Coloured births are officially registered as ex-nuptial . . . Furthermore, pre-nuptial pregnancies and births are fairly common amongst the working-class section of the Coloured population. The significance of this is shown by the fact that 6,496 out of a total of 8,204 Coloured births in 1958 for mothers under the age of twenty were ex-nuptial births. This means that 79.18% of all births to mothers under twenty years of age in 1958 were ex-nuptial".²³

Divorce rates are commonly used as an index of marital instability among a population. Although divorce rates among the Coloured people are lower than those among the Whites, it is thought that this is merely a reflection of the prohibitive costs of a legal divorce. There are, however, other indices of marital instability than divorce rates. Desertion is a more frequent occurrence among the Coloured people than among Whites. Although no official information is available on desertion, the criminal statistics provide data on the number of convictions obtained for non-support. It is a criminal offence for a father to fail to support his children even if he is not legally married to their mother. The conviction rate for this category of offence is far higher among Coloureds than among any other population group. While 11 convictions per 1,000 of population were obtained for Coloureds, only 1.5 convictions per 1,000 of population for Whites, and 2.5 per 1,000 of population for Asians and Afrians were obtained.²⁴ This is indicative of a comparatively high rate of marital instability, although it may be partly related to the high illegitimacy rate.

There is thus, considerable factual evidence to indicate that disproportionately higher rates of crime and deviance exist among the Coloured people. Although our study is concerned primarily with crime, these factors, we believe, provide further support for our contention that conditions of anomie may be isolated among the Coloureds of South Africa. Following these arguments our study focused on the Coloured people and attempted to isolate conditions of anomie among them. Our actual research was, however, confined to a study of the Coloured people of the city of Cape Town. Not only were the costs of a national study beyond our scope, but it is also true that the great majority of the Coloured people are resident in the city and in its environs.²⁵ It is, in fact, here that any study of the Coloured people should be concentrated.

Our attempt to isolate conditions of anomie among the Coloured people was also guided by our analysis of the theoretical uses and applications of the anomie concept. Our definition of anomie is essentially sociological. It is a definition in which the norms of specific groups need to be examined. In our attempt to isolate conditions of anomie among the Coloured people it was, therefore, necessary for us to specify in which groups conditions of anomie could be found. Our definition requires that the normative structures of specific social groups be analysed. To speak of anomie in society is therefore not very useful. Nor is it meaningful to speak vaguely of anomie in a particular ethnic group or population. These are complex and nebulous and while it may be correct to refer to conditions of anomie among the Cape Coloured people, it does not provide an exact unit for empirical analysis. For this reason it was decided to examine normative conditions in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. The neighbourhood is small enough for the purposes of detailed empirical investigation but it is also a component of the larger structure. By obtaining information about social conditions in the neighbourhood it is also possible to obtain information about communities. An analysis of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods will also provide information about anomie among the Coloured population of the city as a whole. Also, the neighbourhood is a phenomenon in which the city dweller spends a lot of time. It is an important social unit for it not only locates the individual spatially, but structurally within the system. It is, above all, most relevant for our study because it is an important determinant of norms and social control. The aphorism, "what will the neighbours think?" has much sociological validity.²⁶

The setting for our attempt to isolate anomie is broadly the Coloured people of South Africa and more specifically, Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. It is to a discussion of the methods that were employed to isolate conditions of anomie in these neighbourhoods that we now turn.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. While not sociologically accurate in this context, the term "group" is currently used in South Africa in an administrative and legislative sense to denote ethnic categories. For a good analysis of the meanings and uses of terms such as "White", "Coloured", "Asian", "African", "Bantu" see: Helm, B.: "A Note on Terminology". in Helm, B.: Social Work in a South African City, Cape Town: Board of Sociological Research, University of Cape Town, 1962: pp. 11-12.
2. The diversity of the South African population is shown in the Census. Preliminary information about the 1970 Census was given by the Minister of Statistics in a release to the Press (undated). The country's population was estimated to be 21,447,270 of which 15,057,559 were classified as Bantu; 3,750,716 as White; 2,018,533 as Coloured and 620,422 as Asian. Commentaries on South African society have nevertheless been attempted. Some of these include Brookes, E.H.: Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968. Horrell, M.: A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.: Annual. Marquard, L.: The Peoples and Policies of South Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969. Rhodie, N. and Venter, H.J.: Apartheid. Pretoria: HAUM, 1960. Van den Berghe, P.: South Africa, A Study in Conflict. Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1965.
3. Houghton H.H.: The South African Economy. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1967: pp. 40-42.
4. Ibid.: p. 128.
5. Ibid.: p. 129-130.
6. Horrell, M.: A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1969. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970: p. 89.
7. Cilliers, S.P.: The Coloureds of South Africa. Cape Town: Banier, 1963: p. 47.
8. Quoted in Horrell, op. cit.: p. 83.
9. Ibid.: p. 236.
10. Horrell, M.: Introduction to South Africa. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968: p. 36.
11. Ibid.: p. 48.
12. Marquard, L.: The Peoples and Policies of South Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969: p. 205.
13. South Africa, Bureau of Statistics: Population Census 1960. Vol. 9, "Miscellaneous Categories", Pretoria: Government Printer, 1968: p. 441.
14. See for example Mayer, P.: Townsmen and Tribesmen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961. Wilson, M. and Mafeje, A.: Langa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1963.

15. See for example Meer, F.: Portrait of the Indians of South Africa. Durban: Avon House, 1969.
16. See for example Cilliers, S.P.: The Coloureds of South Africa. Cape Town: Banier, 1963. Dickie-Clark, H.F.: The Marginal Situation - A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966. Marais, J.S.: The Cape Coloured People. 1652-1937. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1962. Patterson, S.: Colour and Culture in South Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953. Theron, E. en Swart, M. (Eds.) Die Kleurlingbevolking van Suid Afrika. Stellenbosch: Universiteits Uitgewers, 1964.
17. De Plessis, I.D.: The Cape Malays. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1947.
18. Midgley, J.: "Conformity and Control in the Cape Malay Group". Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of Sociology and Administration, University of Cape Town, 1967.
19. Du Plessis, I.D.: Die Bydrae van die Kaapse Maleier tot die Afrikaanse Volkslied. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers, 1935.
20. South Africa, Bureau of Statistics, op. cit.: p. 275.
21. South Africa, Bureau of Census and Statistics: Statistical Yearbook, 1968. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1968: p. G-6.
22. Gillis, L.S. et al.: Psychiatric Disturbance and Alcoholism in the Coloured People of the Cape Peninsula. Cape Town: Department of Psychiatry, Groote Schuur Hospital and University of Cape Town, 1965: p. 4.
23. Cilliers, op. cit.: pp. 20-21.
24. South Africa, Bureau of Census and Statistics, op. cit.: p. G-6.
25. Ibid.
26. See for example Dennis, N.: "The Popularity of the Neighbourhood Community Idea". in Pahl, R.E. (Ed.): Readings in Urban Sociology, London: Pergamon, 1968. Greer, S.: "Neighbourhood". in Sills, D.L. (Ed.): Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, New York: MacMillan, 1968: pp. 121-125. Lee, T.: "Urban Neighbourhood as a Socio-Spatial System". Human Relations, Vol. 21, 1968: pp. 241-267. Mann, P.H.: "The Concept of Neighbourliness". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 60, 1954: pp. 163-168.

CHAPTER 6

AN ATTEMPT TO ISOLATE ANOMIE: RESEARCH METHODS

Within the theoretical frame of the Mertonian model and with reference to certain propositions made previously about the nature of anomie, an attempt was made in 1969 to isolate conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods in the city of Cape Town.

The purpose of this research was to demonstrate that anomie could, as a condition of the normative structure of social groups, be empirically isolated. If conditions of anomie could be identified, causal relationships and possible consequences could be examined.

There is currently, in the world of social science research methodology, considerable controversy about the correct application of scientific procedures in the study of social phenomena. Some believe that it is correct and proper first to gather as much empirical data as possible about social events in the real world and then to develop explanations and theories drawing from this reservoir of information. Other methodologists believe that research must be guided by formulated ideas and theories. There is no tabula rasa in scientific investigation and the social scientist who wishes to study any aspect of the phenomenal world must do so within the conceptual framework of theory.

Our research is of the variety that operates in terms of and is guided by theory, especially the anomie theory of Robert Merton.

Our attempt to isolate conditions of anomie in South African society has been guided also by the belief that such conditions exist. We have already argued that South African society provides a setting that is conducive to research into anomie, and that conditions of anomie are most widespread among the Coloured people. Actually to demonstrate the existence of such conditions is, however, another matter. This was the chief objective of the research here described.

Following standard procedures a research design was constructed that would, by subjecting these ideas to scientific test, be critical in nature. For this purpose our research was guided by a number of hypotheses which could be tested through the application of reliable and valid empirical measures. Specifically, our

research was geared to testing five hypotheses about anomie. These should be stated clearly and unequivocally at the outset; an account of the procedures and the measures devised to test these hypotheses may then be more meaningfully given.

The five hypotheses were :

- 1) The Coloured people of Cape Town subscribe to the norms of the dominant culture
- 2) Conditions of anomie may be isolated in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town
- 3) Conditions of anomie will be predominantly found among poorer, "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town
- 4) Conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods will be related to a perception that opportunities for the realization of the success goal are blocked
- 5) Conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods will be related to a high incidence of crime.

In order to apply and test these hypotheses our research progressed through four major stages. (1) The first stage involved the construction of certain research instruments or measures which would obtain information about the variables pertinent to the study. The measures were of two kinds. Several were employed in a sample survey, but one was differently applied. This was a measure of crime in the neighbourhood and could not be used in an interview situation. (2) The second stage involved the design of a suitable sample that would not only provide a basis for random selection but which would permit the researchers to investigate a number of Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. The neighbourhood was to be employed as the social unit within which conditions of anomie could hypothetically be found. (3) The third stage involved actual data collection. (4) In the fourth stage the data were coded and processed and certain computations were undertaken. Each stage will now be discussed in turn; findings will be enumerated in the final chapter.

I. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RELEVANT MEASURES

To test the research hypotheses about anomie and about its causes and consequences, several measures were required. These included measures of neighbourhood characteristics, a measure of crime, measures of blocked opportunity, a measure of norm subscription and, of course, a measure of anomie. Through measuring all the components and variables of a theory, it may be adequately tested. It was for this reason that measures of actual conditions of anomie as well as the causes and the consequences of anomie were devised.

In addition, it was necessary to control certain external variables. It was, for instance, of crucial importance for the study to demonstrate that the Coloured people subscribe to the norms of the dominant culture. In this sense, subscription is defined differently from conformity. It is possible to have subscription without conformity and it is essential to demonstrate subscription to the norms when applying the theory of anomie. The anomie model would not be applicable if it was shown that cultural variations and conflict exist. It must, therefore, be demonstrated that the Coloured people are culturally Western to the extent that they subscribe ideally to the norms of the dominant culture. This is a fundamental point, for it may be argued that cultural conflict rather than anomie accounts for the high incidence of deviance in the Coloured population.

Measures of neighbourhood characteristics were also devised. It was thought useful to develop various measures which would provide information about the sociographic characteristics of the neighbourhoods in which interviewing was undertaken. Questions about income, housing, overcrowding, religion, occupation, and several other matters were included in the interview schedule.

The measures of anomie, neighbourhood characteristics, norm subscription, and blocked opportunities were grouped together and incorporated into a comprehensive interview schedule. This schedule was then employed in a sample survey of 15 Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. In all, 225 families were interviewed in these neighbourhoods. In addition, interviewing was undertaken in a middle-class White area of Cape Town to provide comparative data. Three White neighbourhoods, containing 45 households, were sampled.

The other measure required was a measure of the extent of crime in these neighbourhoods. To employ interview methods to obtain data on crime was not thought feasible. For this reason co-operation of the police was sought. Crime rates for the fifteen Coloured neighbourhoods as well as the White "control sample" were obtained from police records. All in all, however, most of the data were collected in the sample survey and most of the measures referred to were applied in an interview situation.

(1) A Measure of Conditions of Anomie in the Group

Although the Srole scale is widely accepted as a measure of anomie, we have argued that it is a measure of alienation. It could be usefully employed in empirical research into alienation. The indices of anomie that have been developed have also been critically examined. These indices define anomie operation-

ally as the presence of some or other statistic or factor in a social group or population. This approach suffers from the weakness of not translating a prior theoretical conception of anomie into an operational definition. It merely applies available indices.

We have defined anomie as a social situation in which the norms of the group lose their ability to control and regulate behaviour. It is a situation in which the norms lose their regulative power. It is a condition of social groups and not of the individual psyche. To translate this conceptual definition into operational terms, scaling techniques were employed.

The rationale of our scale was simply that since no acceptable index of anomie could be obtained and since the Srole scale measures subjective feelings, it might be useful to obtain information about the extent of normative deregulation by measuring the group members' perception of deregulation. A nine item-scale was constructed according to the Likert method and it was called the Perception of Anomie Scale. It was designed to discriminate quantitatively between perceptions of a high or low degree of anomie in the group. A high score was interpreted as a perception of much normative deregulation. A low score was, conversely interpreted as a perception of little normative deregulation. By aggregating the scores of the various group members, an index to the degree of anomie in the group was obtained.¹

When the scale was constructed it was thought necessary first to define the social unit to be measured. Perceptions of anomie, it has been argued, must relate to a specified social group. In terms of our hypotheses about conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods, the scale was designed to measure the respondent's perceptions of anomie in the neighbourhood. The items of the scale were, therefore, phrased to make reference to events "around here" or to events "in the neighbourhood". It should also be noted that the scale may easily be modified to measure perceptions of anomie in, say, a social organization. The scale consisted of 9 items interspersed with 4 "dummy" questions which were included to help isolate response error. The scale is reproduced, together with the "dummy" items, in Appendix A. The scale, as it was actually employed in the interview schedule, is reproduced together with the interview schedule in Appendix C. The "dummy" items (unnumbered items) were included, since distortion or response error could be suspected if the interviewer consis-

tently obtained "agree" responses to these and to the scale items.

It is very important to take cognizance of response error which, if not controlled, may invalidate results. Acquiescence is particularly problematic as acquiescent responses are inherent in all scales. There is little the researcher can do save to control as far as possible the extent to which acquiescence may be manifested. Apart from the "dummy" items one item was reversed because of its particular tendency to produce acquiescence. This was item 9. The research, however, relied greatly on the skill and expertise of the interviewers who had been made aware of the dangers of response error. The interviewers were well-educated young Coloured men with considerable experience of commercial market-research interviewing. They were extensively schooled to deal with acquiescence and social desirability. Although interviewing techniques will be dealt with later, it should be stressed that the research relied greatly on their skills to cope with problems of response error. All spoke the colloquial Afrikaans dialect fluently and were able to communicate adequately with the respondents. After some practice and rehearsal they were able to translate all the questions on the schedule, including the scale items, into the local patois. This could not have been done with White interviewers. One item, for instance, proved difficult because of the different ways in which the word "law" is used among lower-class urban Coloured people. The Afrikaans word "wet" is the correct translation but "law" is commonly used among the Coloured people of the city. However, it was found that the word had gradually begun to take on a new meaning in which it referred not to the statutes but to the police. In a number of test interviews it was found that respondents were misinterpreting scale item 9. Translated into the local patois as "Die mense hier rond het nie respect vir die law nie", it was found that this was being interpreted as a lack of respect for the police. The interviewers then substituted the correct Afrikaans word, "wet", which subsequently proved to be satisfactory. The interviewers were guided, where necessary, by standardized Afrikaans translations of some of the more difficult phrases or words of the scale items. These translations are reproduced together with the scale items in the interview schedule (Appendix C). The role of interviewer skill in overcoming the problems of response error should not be underestimated. At regular "post-mortem" meetings with interviewers, manifestations of response error and other sources of distortion were discussed. The interviewers reported that they were, in a number of cases, dubious of the reliability of the interviews. The relevant schedules were examined and a number were discarded as unsuitable. Replacement interviews were then undertaken.

In the administration of the scale certain techniques were also employed to facilitate response accuracy. The scale items were read to the respondent who was shown a card clearly displaying five possible responses. He was told that he was to participate in a "true or false game". Few respondents had any difficulty in orientating to the test situation in which they were merely asked to state whether they considered the statement to be "true" or "false", or "partly true" or "partly false". For those who could not decide a response with a middle-value was scored. Even the least educated were generally able to play the "true or false game".

The scale was scored in the usual way by assigning 5 units to the equivalent of the "strongly agree" response and 1 unit to the equivalent of the "strongly disagree" response. (Scoring was reversed for item 9.) A maximum score of 45 units and a minimum score of 9 units was possible. A high score was interpreted as a perception of much anomie in the neighbourhood while a low score was interpreted as a perception of little anomie. Means and standard deviations for each neighbourhood were then calculated.

An item analysis of our scale produced evidence of unidimensionality. For a test group of 105 persons the following item correlations were obtained :

Table 1

Item Analysis of the Perception of Anomie Scale

Item	Coefficient	Item	Coefficient
1	+.736	6	+.629
2	+.802	7	+.871
3	+.830	8	+.832
4	+.813	9	+.678
5	+.835		

An attempt was made to validate the scale by correlating scale scores with scores obtained on an independent criterion measure. For this purpose, a rating scale known as the Community Reactions Index was devised. It consisted of ten open-ended questions (including one "dummy" item to test the respondent's under-

standing of the questions). The rating scale attempted to measure the extent to which the residents of the neighbourhood took steps to control manifestations of deviance in their neighbourhood. It is clear that a high degree of anomie in a neighbourhood would produce few negative community reactions to deviance. The ten questions were ten examples of deviant behaviour and the respondent's were asked what the neighbours do to curb such forms of deviance. The responses to these questions ranged from calling the police to doing nothing about the occurrence of deviance. Each response was rated from the one extreme of taking concrete action to the other where no action whatsoever is taken. For a test group of 105 persons, each set of ten responses was summated and a total rating obtained. The items of the Community Reactions Index are reproduced in Appendix B.

A correlation coefficient of $-.754$ between the scores of the Perception of Anomie Scale and the Community Reactions Index was obtained. (N=105).

Further evidence of validity was demonstrated in our findings about the distribution of anomie scores in the sample. As we shall see, the scale discriminated highly between different neighbourhoods in the sample. Whatever the scale was measuring was occurring differentially in the fifteen neighbourhoods. It is our contention that these differences were indeed differences in the degree of anomie in the various neighbourhoods and that the differential readings themselves provide further evidence of the validity and usefulness of the scale.

The reliability of the scale was determined by the "split-half" method in which a correlation between summated values of two sets of items of the scale is obtained. A reliability coefficient of $+.857$ was obtained. On the basis of the reliability and validity measures, the scale was considered suitable for use and it was incorporated into the structure of the interview schedule.

Since self-criticism is always desirable in research, it may be useful to discuss some of the weaknesses of our measure of anomie, whether these be specific or common to all scaling generally. It is true that scaling techniques, first developed in the study of attitudes, provide relatively crude measures of social variables. This is, however, a problem common to all types and levels of measurement in the social sciences. The social sciences have not been able to keep pace with the high degree of sophistication of measurement in the natural sciences. Scaling

techniques are also faced with the problem of response error and bias. The scale is particularly amenable to acquiescent and socially desirable responses. We have taken the necessary precautions, and our faith in the skills of the interviewers is, we believe, well-founded. Our measure may also be criticized, however, because it is based on the perceptions of individual members of events in the social system. It may be argued that such perceptions may be erroneous or clouded by psychological factors. This is another problem inherent in scaling sociological variables, but we believe that the differentials in the scores provide evidence that perceptions were based on objective events and not determined by intrinsic psychological factors. In terms of content, too, the scale has been structured specifically to measure events in the external world. The Srole scale was not designed in this way and consequently tapped psychological attitudes and sentiments. But this problem will persist while scaling techniques are employed to measure anomie. The only alternative measures are those that employ available indicators, demographic or otherwise, as operational definitions of anomie. These have generally done so without reference to the theory and have been largely unsuccessful. Their weakness derives, as Merton puts it, "from a circumstance that regularly confronts sociologists seeking to devise measures of theoretical concepts by drawing upon the array of social data which happen to be recorded in the statistical series established by agencies of the society..."² The Perception of Anomie Scale is an attempt to operationalize a concept by working explicitly from the established body of theory.

(2) A Measure of Subscription to the Norms of the Dominant Culture

It was necessary at the very outset of our study to test the applicability of the anomie model. It was necessary for us to investigate the norms of the culture of the Coloured people and to demonstrate that they correspond closely with the norm of the dominant culture. It would have been fruitless to attempt an analysis of anomie in a situation of culture conflict.

It has already been argued that the Coloured people are entirely Western in orientation. It was nevertheless necessary for us to subject this argument to empirical test, for those who believe that cultural differences between the Whites and Coloureds exist would have been critical of our attempt to isolate anomie among the Coloured people of South Africa. The theory of anomie is applicable in a situation in which there is, as we have seen, subscription to the norms but lessened conformity to the norms.

For this purpose a technique, developed originally by Jessor and his colleagues, was modified to suit the requirements of our research.³ In their study of the Tri-Ethnic community Jessor et al read a number of statements to their respondents who were asked to agree or disagree with each statement. Each statement represented a cultural norm. A lack of consensus among the respondents about these items was defined as anomie. In order further to refine their attempt to isolate sub-cultural anomie, as they called it, a statistical test of variance was employed to measure norm dissensus. We have rejected Jessor's definition of anomie as a lack of consensus about the norms and would suggest that anomie could only be said to be present if there was consensus about the ideal validity of the norm. If the norm were rejected, anomie could not be said to be present. In a situation of anomie the group members do not reject the norms but they fail to control and regulate behaviour. There is, in other words, a discrepancy between subscription to the norms and conformity to the norms. An incident illustrating this took place in an informal conversation during practice sessions between one of our interviewers and an old Coloured man. The old man deplored drinking and the high degree of alcohol abuse among the Coloured people. As they parted, our interviewer noticed a bulge in the old man's pocket. It was a bottle of brandy.

To measure subscription to the norms of the culture, respondents were read a number of statements which referred to proscribed behaviour in terms of the dominant culture. Each respondent was asked to say whether he believed that the behaviour referred to was "very bad" or "just bad" or "not so bad" or "not bad at all". For those who could not decide, a "don't know" was recorded. Each response was represented by an alphabetical letter in which, for instance, "very bad" scored "A" and "not at all bad" scored "E". The interviewer checked one of 5 such responses for each norm item. A number of "dummy" items were also included to test the respondent's understanding of the instructions.

The relevant items of the measure of subscription to the norms of the dominant culture are reproduced on the following page. The five response categories are also provided. Item 1 is an example of one of the "dummy" items of the measure.

A MEASURE OF SUBSCRIPTION TO THE NORMS OF THE DOMINANT CULTURE

We know that certain things like murder are considered to be very wrong (bad) BUT that other things such as travelling 10 miles over the speed limit or smoking are not really as wrong (bad).

I would like you to say whether you think the following things are VERY, VERY BAD or JUST BAD or NOT REALLY SO BAD or NOT BAD. PLEASE THINK carefully and give your OWN opinion - what you think personally - irrespective of what others think.

How wrong, how bad is it if:

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------|
| 1. | A mother hits her children when they are naughty? | A B C D E |
| 2. | A man has had too much to drink? | A B C D E |
| 3. | A girl has a baby before she is married? | A B C D E |
| 4. | People around here gamble? | A B C D E |
| 5. | A man appears in court for stealing? | A B C D E |
| 6. | A child plays truant from school? | A B C D E |
| 7. | A man stays out of work for no reason? | A B C D E |

The measure was scored by summing each category response for each neighbourhood which was visited. Categories were also aggregated for all "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods, for all "middle-class" Coloured neighbourhoods and for the White "control" neighbourhoods. If ideal subscription to the norms of the dominant culture was present, a significant number of respondents should have checked the "very bad" or "just bad" responses. If these descriptions, which refer to the norms of the dominant culture, were generally considered to be acceptable, no subscription could be demonstrated. For illustration we may examine item 2. This refers to the prohibition of excessive drinking in the dominant culture. If a significant number of respondents find no fault with a man who has had too much to drink, subscription to this norm cannot be demonstrated. The responses of the Coloured respondents could be compared to those of the middle-class White sample. It was expected that these responses would generally correspond.

(3) A Measure of Perceived Blocked Opportunities

Our study was designed primarily to measure conditions of anomie in social groups. In an effort to extend the scope of the study, however, certain hypo-

theses about the causes and consequences of conditions of anomie were included in the research design. To test these hypotheses operational measures were required. These were measures of blocked opportunities and of the incidence of crime in the neighbourhood.

Hypothesis 4 suggested that conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods would be related to a perception, that opportunities for the realization of the success goal are blocked. In order to measure perceptions of blocked opportunities, certain questions were included in the interview schedule. Two of the questions were simple statements designed to elicit attitudes. A three-point response mode ("agree", "not sure" and "disagree") accompanied each statement. The two statements were:

- (1) "To keep on working seems futile since it can never bring me the things I want".
- (2) "Through working week after week one really achieves little".

In addition to the two attitude statements a third question about actual experience and aspiration was included. This was a forced choice question and in each case the interviewer provided the respondent with three possible responses. Respondents had to select one of the answers. The question with the three responses was:

- (3) "Why do you work? What does it bring you?"

I work only for reasons of income.

I work for reasons of income but also because of the satisfaction I derive from my employment.

I work to "get to the top".

The interpretation of the three responses is obvious. The first response was interpreted as a perception that opportunities are entirely blocked and, feeling the frustrating impact of this, the individual regards working merely as a means to earn a living. The second response is indicative also of blocked opportunities but the individual is able to cope to an extent with this situation by deriving some satisfaction from his employment. In this instance he does not see his employment as providing a means for upward mobility but, nevertheless, derives some satisfaction from his job. The third response was interpreted as a perception that opportunities for realizing the Western success goal are blocked. Although this question may have been awkwardly phrased, it was chosen because

its meaning was readily communicated and easily understood among the Cape Coloured people. To "get to the top" means being successful largely in terms of acquiring the necessary symbols of success. The person who has got "to the top" may not have become a member of respectable White society, but he has achieved within the framework of legitimate structures by acquiring the necessary commodities and style of life associated with success. The person who has got "to the top" is one who has money, a well fitted and furnished private home, a large recently purchased motor car, and a large wardrobe.

The inspiration for these questions came from Mizruchi's study with the Srole scale. In a somewhat direct fashion Mizruchi asked his respondents "realistically speaking, how good are your chances of getting ahead? Would you say they are excellent; pretty fair; somewhat limited; there's not much chance (of your getting ahead)?"⁴. In this study of anomie Mizruchi statistically associated responses to this question with scores on the Srole scale.

The problem of validity was constantly in our minds when the Perception of Anomie Scale and the interview schedule were devised and tested. To have put Mizruchi's question to our largely uneducated sample seemed unrealistic. The interviewers supported the suggestion that a simpler measure was required. For this reason these simple statements reflecting attitudes and actual experience were drawn up. The last question particularly, was carefully chosen. The questions do not compare precisely with Mizruchi's, but they were more readily understood by our respondents.

(4) A Measure of the Incidence of Crime in the Neighbourhood

Conditions of anomie, theoretically, give rise to high rates of deviance. However, attempts to explain retreatist forms of deviance have not been very successful. It seems as if the most useful application of the theory has been in the aetiological study of crime. It has been suggested that the theory of anomie could make most progress if it became a criminological rather than a general theory of deviance. In this research we have attempted to relate conditions of anomie with crime only; following our hypothesis, no attempt was made to investigate the relationship between anomie and other forms of deviant behaviour.

Hypothesis 5 stated that conditions of anomie in the neighbourhoods studied, would be related to a high incidence of crime. The measurement of anomie having already been discussed, it now becomes necessary to consider possible

measures of crime in the neighbourhood. To test this hypothesis and to relate it to conditions of anomie it was necessary to devise a measure of the incidence of crime in the neighbourhood. The scores of the two measures could then be related.

Information about the incidence of crime could have been obtained in several ways. A self-report questionnaire could have been employed in which the residents of the neighbourhood were asked to recall the number of times they had been involved in criminal offences. Alternatively, the residents could have been asked to rate their neighbourhoods as being very criminal or not at all criminal. These and similar techniques were, however, rejected because of their poor reliability. It was decided to make use of official records in an attempt to obtain some index of the incidence of crime in the neighbourhoods which were studied.

While the Department of Statistics provides considerable information about the incidence of crime in South Africa, it does not provide incidence rates for neighbourhoods. The same is true of other official reports, including those of the Commissioner of Police. It was realized that a considerable amount of work would be required to overcome this difficulty, for all addresses at which crime occurred would have had to be obtained. These addresses would have had to be scrutinized and those which were from the neighbourhoods studied, would have had to be recorded. The task became even greater when it was decided to use crimes reported to the police, rather than court convictions, as units of analysis. Only a small number of reported crimes result in conviction. Analysing all reported crimes in each of our neighbourhoods considerably increased the bulk of the work.

The South African Police kindly gave permission for us to peruse their records. Reported crimes for the months June, July and August, 1969 were examined. All crimes which occurred in the fifteen Coloured and three White neighbourhoods were recorded. In this way an index of crime for each neighbourhood was obtained. The reported crimes were further classified as crimes of violence, crimes against property, or crimes of public disorder. It was now possible to examine further the proclivity of any neighbourhood for certain categories of criminal offence.

(5) Measures of Neighbourhood Characteristics and Social Position

In addition to the scale and the other measures which were designed to obtain information about specific variables in the study, a number of items about the social characteristics of the neighbourhoods were included in the interview schedule. These items referred not only to the biographic details of the individual respondents but to housing conditions and social relationships in the neighbourhoods as well. Questions of this nature are commonly found in interview studies.

Information about the characteristics of the respondents is often very important. In our study, information about incomes, occupations, work record, number of earners, family composition, housing facilities, overcrowding, rent paid, length of residence, religious affiliation, religiosity and similar variables was sought. These sociographic details were important to the study, for the social characteristics of "high" anomie neighbourhoods could be compared with the characteristics of "low" anomie neighbourhoods. These questions were phrased carefully to conform with standards of interview schedule construction and to ensure accuracy of response.

This information was, however, also valuable because it provided data from which various indices of conditions in the neighbourhoods could be computed. By aggregating scores or individual characteristics, information about the neighbourhood as a whole was obtained. One of the most important of these was a measure of the social position of the neighbourhood. Based on criteria of occupation and income, a rough measure of social position was developed by which each neighbourhood could be classified. The relative crudity of this measure is attributable in part to the lack of sociological study of the stratification of the Coloured people.⁵ This is so, not only with regard to stratification among the Coloured people, but to the positioning of the Coloured people in the social structure of South African society as a whole. We have developed a measure of intra-group status rank based on a theoretical conception of stratification of the Coloured people of Cape Town. This is a classification in which the urban Coloured population is divided into two strata. The stratum commonly referred to as "working class" may be divided into two sections. The first, predominantly comprises a semi- and unskilled labour force of factory workers, construction workers, service workers, cleaners and the like. The second section is a smaller class of artisans who are highly skilled in a number of trades. The second stratum in the classification is an

even smaller "middle class" of professional people, clerical staff and businessmen. They differ considerably from the "working class" in attitude and in some respects in style of life and are commonly referred to as the "respectable Coloureds" by the Whites. Increasingly, however, the artisan group is identifying and orientating toward this "middle class". This is becoming more evident as large numbers of Coloured people have been moved from the homogeneous slums around the city core. The artisan family has tended to move into a more "respectable" home in a home-ownership estate, while the labourer has had no alternative but to accept low cost Municipal housing. This has also occurred because artisans frequently have larger incomes than "middle-class" professional people - especially Coloured school teachers. It is, consequently difficult to identify neighbourhoods that are predominantly artisan.

Since this somewhat confuses our tripartite model of the intra-status stratification of urban Coloured neighbourhoods, it was decided merely to classify the sampled neighbourhoods as "middle class" or "working class". The items of the interview schedule about the social characteristics of the neighbourhoods sampled provided information which permitted us to classify them as predominantly "middle" or "working class". For this reason the mean income and modal occupational category of each neighbourhood was computed.

While our research may be criticized for using terms such as "class" to describe groups within a racial category in South Africa - a category that some call a "class" and others a "caste" - we have done so merely to facilitate an analysis of the structural location of conditions of anomie. Our use of these terms is not definitive. We are only too aware of the gap that exists in the available sociological literature and of the difficulties of building a suitable model of the stratification of South African society. To have attempted a theoretical investigation of the stratification of South African society would certainly have been outside the scope of this study. Our measure of social position is, therefore, no more than an approximation of the intra-group stratification of the Coloured population of the city.

The "neighbourhood characteristics" items on the schedule also provided information about social relationships in the neighbourhoods. Respondents were asked a number of questions about their subjective reactions to the neighbourhoods in which they lived. They were asked to say whether they liked or disliked living there. They were also asked whether the neighbours were on good

terms with each other and whether the neighbours could rely on each other for help in time of trouble. These questions provided some information about the nature and quality of social relationships in the neighbourhoods. Consequently, it was possible to compare social interaction in neighbourhoods with varying degrees of anomie.

The items referring to neighbourhood characteristics sought also to obtain information about housing facilities and conditions in the neighbourhoods. Information about overcrowding was also important, for overcrowding could influence the structure of social relationships and the extent of family controls in these neighbourhoods. Information about the number of households in any particular dwelling sampled, as well as data on rents paid, were also obtained.

Questions about religious affiliation and religiosity were also included in the schedule, for similar reasons. It was possible, for instance, to examine the influence of religiosity on the degree of anomie. It was possible to compare religious affiliations in different neighbourhoods with the degree of anomie in these neighbourhoods. A religiosity score for each respondent was calculated by asking the respondent to state, on the average, the frequency with which he attended religious services. All responses were rated between zero and 152 (representing an attendance rate of three times per week). Mean scores for each neighbourhood were calculated and compared with the anomie scores as measured on the Perception of Anomie Scale.

In this way, comprehensive "profiles" of the social characteristics and conditions of each neighbourhood were obtained. On the basis of this information, consequently, meaningful comparisons between neighbourhoods with varying degrees of anomie could be made.

II. THE DESIGN OF THE SAMPLE

Our attempt to isolate conditions of anomie was dependent on a definition of the social unit - the social system - in which such conditions could be found. Our review of the setting in which our research was undertaken suggested that the most fruitful results would be obtained if conditions and events in neighbourhoods were examined. Following this suggestion, our research attempted to investigate a number of neighbourhoods in which Coloured people in Cape Town reside. It was necessary, therefore, that the sample be designed to select

neighbourhood units rather than individual households for study. This somewhat complicated the sample design but the same principles as in simple random selection were, nevertheless, applied. It was essential that our sample be based on random methods of selection since this would permit us to generalize our findings.

The first step was to obtain some estimate of the size and distribution of the Coloured population in the area being sampled. Since the research was undertaken in 1969, the 1960 Census was of limited value. This was because many new Coloured housing estates have been completed on the Cape Flats since that time. The area sampled consisted of the Cape Town and Wynberg Magisterial Districts. Fortunately the Department of Coloured Affairs had, in 1968, published estimates of the Coloured population of the Western Cape, including the two Magisterial Districts referred to. The Report estimated that the total Coloured population of the Greater Cape Town area numbered some 502,000 people or 51% of the total population of 981,813 in 1967.⁶ Rough estimates of the distribution of the Coloured population in the various suburbs of the city were also provided. District Six was estimated to have a population of 34,000. The Athlone complex, including the many Coloured housing estates was estimated to number about 133,000. The population of Kensington was estimated to number about 8,000; that of Retreat and Grassy Park about 46,000; that of Wynberg about 10,000; and that of Lansdowne about 10,000. Estimates for Bellville-South, Elsies River, Parow, Simonstown and the Hout Bay area were also supplied but these have been excluded here because they fall outside the Cape Town and Wynberg Magisterial Districts. The total Coloured population in the area in which interviewing was undertaken, therefore, numbered some 241,000 persons. These figures are, however, no more than estimates. As the Departmental Report put it: "Onderstaande syfers is, omdat dit ontmoontlik is om op 'n spesifieke tyd die presiese getal aan te dui, slegs benaderde getalle en moet as sulks hanteer word". Nevertheless, these figures provide some estimate of the size and distribution of the Coloured population of the area and are extremely valuable to the research.

It was necessary to introduce some spatial or geographic element into the sample frame. For this purpose, the areas in which Coloured people predominantly reside were clearly demarcated on a map of the Cape Peninsula. Our interest in neighbourhoods made it possible to sample clusters of households rather than individual households throughout the sampling area. A cluster of households at a point sampled from the map was taken to represent the immediate neighbourhood. Interviewers selected alternate dwellings at this point until 15 households had been interviewed. This

flexible definition of the neighbourhood permitted the respondent to interpret his social surround without imposing a rigid spatial frame on his perceptions. It also obviated the need for a physical definition of the neighbourhood. A detailed analysis of the theoretical and empirical uses of the neighbourhood concept would have been superfluous for the purposes of the present study. Since in any case the theory is greatly confused about the spatial dimension of the neighbourhood concept little benefit would have been derived from defining the neighbourhood in terms of yards or square feet. A simple operational definition of the neighbourhood as the dwellings about the point sampled was then applied and found to be suitable for the purposes of the study. Simple random selection techniques would have made it impossible to study neighbourhoods and would have been difficult to apply, since there was no comprehensive sampling frame. As Moser puts it: "Another good reason for clustering arises where no satisfactory sampling frame for the whole population exists so that a listing of some kind has to be made specially. It is then obviously advantageous to be able to confine the special listing to a few areas or groups. This is a vital consideration in "under-developed areas" where there are rarely satisfactory sample frames."⁸ Cluster sampling, therefore, provided a tailor-made solution to our problem. Fifteen points were sampled from the map and at each point fifteen households were interviewed. This reduced the interviewer's load considerably, for it permitted interviewing within confined areas. The fifteen neighbourhoods sampled were:

1. Hyde and Heath Road, Parkwood,
2. 11th Avenue and Consort Road, Retreat
3. Boyd Avenue and Lawrence Road, Athlone
4. 7th Avenue and Bunny Street, Windermere
5. Pontac and Reform Streets, District Six
6. Primrose and Caledon Streets, District Six
7. Foundry and London Roads, Salt River
8. 6th Avenue and Bokmakierie Street, Bokmakierie
9. Netreg Road and Oleander Street, Netreg
10. Stormsriver Walk and Seine Road, Manenberg
11. Waamemersplein and Typhoon Street, Facreton
12. Orrel Avenue and Tenth Avenue, Steenberg
13. Blue Bell Sq. and Valk Road, Bridgetown
14. Lyndon Crescent, Pinatie Estate, Lansdowne
15. Swartdam and Koring Roads, Crawford

Our sample of the Coloured population of Cape Town, therefore, consisted of 225 households in 15 neighbourhoods. Most of the neighbourhoods were surprisingly homogeneous in terms of housing characteristics. Two consisted predominantly of "pondokkie" or tin shanty dwellings. Another two were newly built private residential neighbourhoods in which the owners privately purchased the land and had their own homes built. Six of the neighbourhoods were Municipal Housing Estates catering primarily for lower-class families at either an economic, or sub-economic rent. Three of the neighbourhoods that were sampled, were located in the deteriorated areas around the city core and comprised predominantly dilapidated single storey or tenement buildings. Only two of the neighbourhoods were not homogeneous. They were difficult to classify as they consisted of a mixture of tin shanty dwellings, dilapidated single storey homes and one or two new privately-owned dwellings. The geographic distribution of the neighbourhoods corresponded approximately with the distribution of the population in the sampling area. Most of the neighbourhoods were, for instance, located in the Athlone area which is demographically the largest of the Coloured areas in the Peninsula. The only obviously over-represented area was Windermere/Factreton in which two points were drawn in the sample. The types of housing represented also correspond generally with the actual distribution of such housing in the sampling area. The majority of Coloured people are now accommodated in some form of municipal housing while a minority still live in tin shanty dwellings.⁹

Support for the accuracy and representativeness of the sample came from the 1960 Census enumeration of the Coloured population of Cape Town. By comparing some statistic in a sample with a known population parameter the representativeness of any sample may be tested. The 1960 Census provides information about the religious affiliations of the Coloured people in the City. The distribution of religious affiliations in the sample may, therefore, be compared with that of the Census enumeration.¹⁰

These comparisons are tabulated in Table 2 on the following page.

Table 2The Accuracy of the Sample

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	SAMPLE %	1960 CENSUS %
Anglican	32.0	30.0
Muslim	19.5	17.5
Dutch Reformed	8.0	11.0
Catholic	10.2	7.8
Methodist	4.8	6.8
Christian Sects	10.2	10.6
Other Christian	15.3	16.3

In addition to the sample of Coloured people on which our attempt to isolate conditions would be based, it was thought useful to be able to refer for certain purposes to conditions in white middle-class neighbourhoods in the City. These theoretically represent the source of the norms and values of the dominant culture. Some information about conditions in these neighbourhoods could be extremely useful, for this would provide some frame of reference to which our findings about the Coloured neighbourhoods could be orientated. It should be stressed, however, that definite and final comparisons between the White and Coloured neighbourhoods could not be drawn. The first sample was designed as a sample of the Coloured population. The White neighbourhoods did not represent a sample of the White population of the City. It was merely our intention to provide some rough basis for comparison. A small sample of middle-class White neighbourhoods in a predominantly White middle-class area of the city, it was thought, would usefully serve this purpose.

This smaller sample was drawn by the same procedures and techniques. A middle-class White area of the city was demarcated and from the map three points were sampled. At each point fifteen housing units were sampled. The same interview procedures and schedule as well as the Perception of Anomie Scale were employed. White interviewers were, however, used to do the interviewing. The three White neighbourhoods sampled in the Gardens/Oranjezicht area were:

1. Culver Road and Buitenkant Street
2. Yeoville and Mellish Roads
3. Deerpark Drive and Fitzherbert Road

In all, two samples comprising 225 and 45 households respectively, were drawn. These households were located in 15 Coloured and 3 White neighbourhoods of the city of Cape Town. Our research was, to reiterate, concerned primarily and essentially with an analysis of conditions in Coloured neighbourhoods. Some of our findings were, however, compared to events and conditions in the "control" sample of White middle-class neighbourhoods.

III. THE COLLECTION OF DATA:

The bulk of the data for the research reported here, was obtained by interviewing a sample of 225 Coloured households in 15 neighbourhoods in Cape Town. Most of the measures used in the research were incorporated into a comprehensive interview schedule and applied in the sample survey. One measure was not, however, employed in the interview study. This was the measure of the incidence of crime in the neighbourhoods sampled. In order to measure the extent of crime in these neighbourhoods, data was obtained from official Police records. Our data collection stage of the research, therefore comprised an analysis of Police records as well as a sample survey of Coloured and a smaller survey of White neighbourhoods in the city.

Reference to the collection of data from the Police records has already been made. This was a lengthy and exacting task and the assistance of a number of volunteer helpers must be gratefully acknowledged. To extract figures for the neighbourhoods interviewed meant that all the records of reported crime for the period under scrutiny had to be perused. This period was defined as the period in which the interview study was undertaken, and meant an analysis of records for the months of June, July and August, 1969. As the police records were filed in strict chronological order, without reference to area, each crime reported for each day of the relevant months had to be scrutinized. In all, three months were required to complete the analysis of the police records.

The data sheets which were designed to record this information made provision for three categories of offence (Crimes of violence, property and public disorder) to be recorded. In all 54 data sheets were completed. Each data sheet provided information about the incidence of crime in one neighbourhood for one month.

The interviewing also required three months to complete. Prior to starting work in the field the six interviewers, who were all well-educated young Coloured men,

underwent a period of training which familiarised them with the schedule and the research. It was thought essential that they should be adequately prepared for the task. The interviewers all had the advantage of considerable experience of commercial market-research interviewing. The training period was nevertheless, very useful, not only because it exposed the interviewers to the problems of a different kind of interviewing, but because it brought certain flaws in the interview schedule to light. The interviewers were then able to practise by testing the research instruments. The first draft of the interview schedule was, consequently, considerably modified, to meet the problems of practical application. The scale was also tested in this way. This was even more crucial, since acceptable and standardized translations of some of the items had to be determined. A number of meetings with the interviewers were held at which the weaknesses of the schedule and particularly the scale were discussed. These meetings were extremely useful as they provided an opportunity for the interviewers to give their opinions and critically to assess the applicability of the schedule and scale. It was expected that the most fruitful comments about the research instruments would come from those who had actually been using them.

After the interview schedule had been tested, the actual interviewing was begun. Most of the interviews were undertaken in the early evenings. This reduced the necessity for re-calls since most respondents were home at about that time. The use of cluster sampling also reduced the time spent in the field because the interviewers were able to undertake their visits within confined areas. The interviewers did not provide too much background information about the survey as it was feared that if it were known that the University was associated with the study, response error, particularly social desirability might ensue. The interviewers also employed a number of "visual aids" which made communication somewhat easier. Cards with the more important items of the schedule clearly displayed, were shown to the respondents. This facilitated comprehension of these items. With a few exceptions, the interviewers were satisfied that the respondents were able to comprehend all the questions on the schedule. Non-response was particularly low. Only two refusals were encountered in the Coloured survey. This is probably attributable to the fact that highly skilled Coloured interviewers were employed to undertake the work.

As each point in the sample design was completed, the interviewers met to discuss problems and difficulties they had encountered. Problems of acquiescence

particularly were discussed and in a few cases interviews were rejected because the interviewers themselves were not satisfied with the accuracy of the responses obtained. These problems were not really manifested in the smaller White sample, although the three interviewers who undertook the work were asked to be on their guard for such problems. These interviewers were all finalist students in Sociology at the University, with experience and training, and all well aware of the problems and difficulties of this form of social research.

We were highly satisfied with the standards of interviewing in both samples and encouraged by the obvious enthusiasm of the interviewers.

IV CODING AND COMPUTATIONS

The final stage of our research concerned coding and computation. Because of the routine nature of this task it would be superfluous to recount in any detail how the interview schedule was coded and processed. Some attention should however, be given to the coding and processing of some of the more important measures that were devised.

Our measure of subscription to the norms, was for instance, separately coded from the interview schedules. Special coding sheets were designed and the relevant information was transferred from the interview schedules to the coding sheets. This was done to facilitate diagrammatic representation of the distribution of the scores. From the coding sheets the necessary data for computation was extracted.

The crime figures were also separately recorded on data sheets which were specifically designed for the purpose. Information from the Police records was directly recorded on these sheets by merely placing a mark in the relevant category. Each data sheet contained the total number of reported crimes in a particular neighbourhood for one month. An example of the data sheets that were designed to record crimes in the neighbourhoods, is reproduced in Appendix D. By aggregating the various crime categories, it was possible to obtain scores for each category of offence in the neighbourhoods that were studied. In all, 54 of these data sheets were filled.

All the other information obtained by the interview study and recorded on the interview schedules was coded into numerical form and transferred to computer

code forms for processing at the University Computer Centre. Using various statistical tests, for our sample was selected by random methods, statements about anomie and about its causes and consequences among the Coloured people of Cape Town, could be made.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Merton, R.K.: "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction". in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour, New York: The Free Press, 1964: p. 229.
2. Merton, R.K.: "Continuities in the Theory of Anomie and Social Structure". in Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: The Free Press, 1957 : p. 165.
3. Jessor, R. et al.: Society, Personality and Deviant Behaviour. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1968.
4. Mizruchi, E.H. : Success and Opportunity. Glencoe : The Free Press 1964: p. 179.
5. See Patterson, S. : Colour and Culture in South Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953. Van der Merwe, H.W.: "Social Stratification in a Cape Coloured Community". Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1957.
6. Suid Afrika, Departement van Kleurlingsake: Inligtingstuk ten Opsigte van Kleurlinge. Kaapstad: Departement van Kleurlingsake, 1968.
7. Ibid.: p. 19.
8. Moser, C.A.: Survey Methods in Social Investigation. London : Heineman, 1958.
9. Whisson, M.G. and Kahn, S.: Coloured Housing in Cape Town. Cape Town: Board of Social Responsibility, Diocese of Cape Town, 1969: p. 19.
10. This procedure was adopted after Gillis, L.S. et al: Psychiatric Disturbance and Alcoholism in the Coloured People of the Cape Peninsula. Cape Town: Department of Psychiatry, Groote Schuur Hospital and University of Cape Town, 1965: p. 16. See also South Africa, Bureau of Statistics: "Report on the Metropolitan area of Cape Town. : Population Census, 1960, Vol. II , no. 1 , Pretoria; Government Printer, 1966.

CHAPTER 7

AN ATTEMPT TO ISOLATE ANOMIE : FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The research attempted to deal with two interrelated yet analytically distinct issues. First, it sought to develop a suitable theoretical conception of anomie that would permit the construction of a valid empirical measure, which measure was then to be applied in a research project designed to isolate conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. Second, it sought to measure a number of other variables through which support for Merton's theory of anomie might be found.

Certain preliminary steps were taken to demonstrate that the choice of the Coloured people of Cape Town as experimental subjects was justified. It was necessary to demonstrate that the Coloured people subscribed to the norms of the dominant culture and that an attempt to measure anomie among them would theoretically be possible. This is an important point and one which cannot be dealt with only by argument, for the entire project is dependent on its validity. Our attempt to isolate conditions of anomie would be fruitless unless it could be shown that the Coloured people identify with the dominant culture. It was, therefore, necessary to test the first hypothesis: The Coloured people of Cape Town subscribe to the norms of the dominant culture.

To test this hypothesis, responses to the measure of norm subscription were examined. The following table summarizes the subscription of Coloured respondents to six norms of the dominant culture. The degree of subscription to each of these norms is expressed as a percentage of the sample who subscribed, rejected, or were undecided about the norm. The six norms examined were prohibitions on excessive drinking, illegitimacy, gambling, theft, truancy, and absenteeism from work.

Table 1.

Degree of Norm Subscription among Coloured Respondents

Norm	% Subscribe	% Undecided	% Reject
Drinking	89	2	9
Illegitimacy	54	9	37
Gambling	78	2	20
Theft	96	1	3
Truancy	97	1	2
Absenteeism	84	12	4

In all neighbourhoods the majority of the respondents subscribed to the six norms of the dominant culture that were examined, while a minority rejected these norms. With one exception, more than two-thirds of the respondents subscribed to all the norms. This one exception was most interesting. Questioned about their reactions to the dominant culture's prohibition on premarital sexual relations and illegitimacy, it was found that over a third of the respondents did not consider this behaviour to be "bad" or unacceptable. More than a third, therefore, rejected the norm. When compared with the middle-class White respondents, a noticeable difference in reaction to this norm was observed. The responses of the middle-class White sample, which theoretically represent the norm of the dominant culture, are tabulated in Table 2.

Table 2

Degree of Norm Subscription among White respondents

Norm	% Subscribe	% Undecided	% Reject
Drinking	98	0	2
Illegitimacy	82	3	15
Gambling	62	14	24
Theft	94	2	4
Truancy	89	0	11
Absenteeism	93	0	7

While 82% of the respondents in the middle-class White sample subscribed to the prohibition on illegitimacy, only 54% of the Coloured respondents did. The degree to which the two groups subscribed to the other norms of the measure was generally similar, although another noticeable difference was the degree of subscription to the prohibition on gambling. 78% of the Coloured respondents and 62% of the middle-class White respondents subscribed to this norm. The important question, however, was not whether more Coloured than White respondents (or vice versa) subscribed to any particular norm, but whether the difference in the degree of norm subscription between the two groups was statistically significant. To examine this question X^2 was employed. Wherever possible, X^2 values were computed for the responses of the two sets of respondents to each norm item. As the reactions of the middle-class White respondents are representative of the norms of the dominant culture, significant X^2 values for the majority of the norms would have to be obtained to reject our hypothesis. As a test of the Coloured

sample's subscription to the norms of the dominant culture, comparisons of responses were made. These are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

A Comparison of the Degree of Subscription to the Norms of the Coloured and White Respondents

Norms	% Subscribe		% Undecided		% Reject		X ²
	W	C	W	C	W	C	
Drinking	98	89	0	2	2	9	n.a.
Illegitimacy	82	54	3	9	15	37	19.84*
Gambling	62	78	14	2	24	20	1.41
Theft	94	96	2	1	4	3	n.a.
Truancy	89	97	0	1	11	2	n.a.
Absenteeism	93	84	0	12	7	4	n.a.

* $p < .01$

Only one significant X² association was obtained and, as expected, it referred to the norm proscribing premarital sex and illegitimacy. Even where X² values could not be computed, it was possible, by inspection, to see that there was no significant association.¹ The one significant association does not provide sufficient evidence to suggest that the Coloured people have a cultural system that differs from that of the Whites. The dissensus among the Coloured respondents may in any case be only a partial explanation of the high illegitimacy rate. High rates of crime and of excessive drinking also exist, but there is consensus rather than dissensus in orientation to these norms. Further research into the causes of illegitimacy among the Coloured people will have to be undertaken to explore this observation in greater depth. There is reason to believe that very interesting results might be produced.

When the scores for all the norm items were aggregated, no significant X² relationship could be found (See Table 4). On the basis of these findings it would be difficult to argue that there are significant differences in subscription to norms between the White and Coloured samples.

When the responses of the Coloured sample were associated with social position, no significant differences between "middle" and "working-class" neighbourhoods could be demonstrated. Wherever possible, X² values were computed for the res-

ponses of the two classes to each norm item. No significant associations were found.

Table 4

A Comparison of the Degree of Subscription to the Norms of the Coloured and White Respondents as Illustrated by Summated Responses.

Respondents	Subscribe responses	Undecided responses	Reject responses
WHITE	518	19	63
COLOURED	498	27	75

$X^2 = 2.47$ (not significant)

Reactions to the proscription on illegitimacy were surprisingly similar for the two types of neighbourhood. These findings are tabulated in Table 5.

Table 5

A Comparison of the Degree of Subscription to the Norms of the "Middle" and "Working Class" Coloured Neighbourhoods

Norm	% Subscribe		% Undecided		% Reject		X^2
	MC	WC	MC	WC	MC	WC	
Drinking	94	85	3	1	3	14	n.a.
Illegitimacy	53	56	10	8	37	36	0.31
Gambling	77	79	0	3	23	18	0.69
Theft	97	95	0	1	3	4	n.a.
Truancy	100	97	0	1	0	2	n.a.
Absenteeism	87	82	13	10	0	8	n.a.

It was not possible, on the basis of these findings, to reject the first hypothesis. The Coloured people of Cape Town do subscribe to the norms of the dominant culture. Although a significant number reject one of the dominant culture's prohibitions, this does not suggest that the Coloured people have a different or separate culture system. Within the Coloured sample, differences between the responses of "middle" and "working-class" neighbourhoods could not be identified. There is no class variation in subscription to norms. The Coloured people, irrespective of social position, are Western in orientation and subscribe to the norms of the dominant culture. On the basis of this finding it is possible to attempt to isolate conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town.

The second hypothesis which was examined stated that: Conditions of anomie may be isolated in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. This hypothesis is the most important of all, for the research reported here is primarily concerned with demonstrating that anomie is a condition of the normative system of social groups and that it may be empirically isolated.

Our measure of anomie has already been discussed and criticized. We are of the opinion that the Perception of Anomie Scale is a reliable and valid measure of anomie in social groups. Applied to fifteen Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town a distribution of scores approximating a normal distribution was obtained. (This distribution was not classically normal but, nevertheless, generally symmetrical or bell-shaped and suitable for inferential analysis. The distribution of scores had an overall mean of 30.3467 and a standard deviation of 10.3594.) It should be stressed that our concern was not with the distribution as a whole but with the scores obtained in the various neighbourhoods which were sampled. The possible range of scores was between 9 and 45 units. A high score was interpreted as a perception of "much" anomie, and a low score as a perception of "little" anomie. For the fifteen neighbourhoods mean scores and standard deviations were obtained. These are shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Mean Anomie Scores : All Coloured Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhood	\bar{x}	S.D.	Neighbourhood	\bar{x}	S.D.
Parkwood	40.47	5.42	Manenberg	30.73	9.66
Retreat	38.13	4.48	Factreton	29.60	10.00
Netreg	37.20	7.37	Athlone	29.60	8.39
Primrose St.	36.13	6.07	Steenberg	27.60	10.36
Bokmakierie	34.33	9.73	Bridgetown	24.47	8.53
Salt River	32.20	7.95	Crawford	14.33	4.99
Pontac St.	31.90	9.31	Pinatie Est.	10.20	1.61
Windermere	30.80	6.40			

A considerable range of scores from very low to very high perceptions of anomie has been recorded. Some of the standard deviations tend to be somewhat large, especially about the distribution mean. Smaller standard deviations were observed in those neighbourhoods with very high or very low mean scores.

The different neighbourhoods had very different perceptions of anomie. Mean anomie scores vary substantially. The scores in neighbourhoods such as Parkwood, Netreg, and Retreat are very different from the scores in Crawford and Pinatie Estate. There is a cluster of seven neighbourhoods at about 30 units on the scale continuum. Operationally defined as a high score on the Perception of Anomie Scale, conditions of anomie may be said to exist in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. The extent to which such conditions exist, however, varies considerably among the neighbourhoods. High degrees of anomie exist in neighbourhoods such as Parkwood, Retreat, Netreg, Primrose, Bokmakierie, and Salt River, while conditions of little anomie are to be found in Pinatie Estate and Crawford.

When compared with the middle-class White "control" sample, Coloured neighbourhoods were found to have generally higher mean scores. The mean anomie scores of the middle-class White neighbourhoods are summarized in Table 7.

Table 7

Mean Anomie Scores : All Middle-Class White Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhood	\bar{x}	S.D.
Culver Road	11.00	2.77
Yeoville Road	10.93	1.75
Deerpark Drive	9.93	2.02

The mean scores in the White neighbourhoods are low and, in fact, close to the mean score obtained in Pinatie Estate and not too far removed from the mean score obtained in Crawford. The difference between the White neighbourhoods and the majority of Coloured neighbourhoods is considerable and significant. The difference between the mean of the White neighbourhoods and the mean for Pinatie Estate and Crawford is not however statistically significant. These findings are tabulated in Table 8.

Conditions of anomie have therefore been isolated in certain Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. The scale discriminated between the various neighbourhoods and produced mean scores that were considerably different. In terms of the rationale and validity of the scale, these differences may be attributed to objective differences in the degree of anomie in these neighbourhoods.

Table 8

Comparisons of Mean Anomie Scores of Certain Coloured Neighbourhoods with White Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods Compared to White Neighbourhoods	\bar{x}	t value
All Coloured Neighbourhoods	30.34	10.09*
Pinatie Estate and Crawford	12.26	2.18
Tin Shanty	39.30	33.68*

Had a similar set of scores been obtained for all neighbourhoods, the existence of conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town could not have been claimed.

The third hypothesis stated: Conditions of anomie will be found predominantly among poorer "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town.

What social characteristics of 'high' anomie neighbourhoods differ significantly from 'low' anomie neighbourhoods? Our third hypothesis suggested that these differences were primarily differences of income and occupational status. They were, in other words, differences of social position. We hypothesized that, if isolated, conditions of anomie would typify neighbourhoods comprised predominantly of low paid "working-class" households.

Superficially, there is clear evidence to support this contention. It is only necessary to glance at the housing characteristics of the two 'low' anomie neighbourhoods and to compare them with housing conditions in the two neighbourhoods with the highest anomie scores. Pinatie Estate and Crawford are bright and fairly recently developed residential areas in which the privately-owned detached homes stand on ground surrounded by neat gardens. Conversely, the housing conditions in the two neighbourhoods with the highest anomie scores are very poor. They are impoverished, overcrowded, unhygienic tin shanty towns, in which the residents erect their own shacks on rented ground. When analysed, it was found that the majority of heads of households in these tin shanty neighbourhoods had low-paid "working-class" occupations. Conversely, the majority of households in the two private residential neighbourhoods were headed by "middle-class" professionals, clerical workers, or businessmen.

* $p < .01$

When anomie scores in the neighbourhoods located in the Municipal Housing Estates were compared with those of Pinatie Estate and Crawford, further support for this hypothesis was found. The Municipal Housing Estates were very largely composed of "working-class" Coloured households. When the mean anomie score of these neighbourhoods was compared with the mean of Crawford and Pinatie Estate, a significant difference was found. This finding is tabulated in Table 9.

Table 9

Comparisons of Mean Anomie Scores of Certain Coloured Neighbourhoods with Crawford and Pinatie Estate.

Neighbourhoods Compared with Crawford and Pinatie Estate	\bar{x}	t value
Tin Shanty	39.30	7.40*
Municipal Housing	30.60	9.69*

* $p < .01$

There is, therefore, prima facie evidence to suggest that the neighbourhoods with the lowest anomie scores are "middle-class", while those with the highest scores are the poorest, ranking at the lower end of the social structure.

Our model of the intra-group stratification of the sample was a general classification of neighbourhoods as either "working-class" or "middle-class". In order to classify each neighbourhood, the mean income and modal occupational category was computed. Table 10 is a summary of the mean incomes and occupational categories of the Coloured neighbourhoods that were sampled. The modal occupational category in each neighbourhood is underlined.

Using the occupational categories listed on the following page, it was relatively easy to classify the neighbourhoods of the sample as "middle-class" or "working-class". Of the fifteen Coloured neighbourhoods sampled, only two may be classified as "middle-class" and the remaining thirteen as "working-class". The "middle-class" neighbourhoods were Crawford and Pinatie Estate. Although several "working-class" neighbourhoods contained a number of artisan households, no attempt was made to separate or to classify them as anything but "working-class". We have already discussed the problems of

Table 10

Mean Income and Occupational Categories of the Coloured Neighbourhoods Sampled.

Neighbourhood	\bar{x} R Income p.a.	Professional Clerical Business	Artisan	Semi- & Un- skilled labour
Retreat	466	0	0	<u>15</u>
Parkwood	670	0	1	<u>14</u>
Netreg	1,026	1	1	<u>13</u>
Manenberg	1,320	2	1	<u>12</u>
Salt River	1,559	1	1	<u>13</u>
Steenberg	1,712	4*	1	<u>10</u>
Athlone	1,718	1	.6	<u>8</u>
Bokmakierie	1,769	1	.2	<u>12</u>
Windermere	1,777	0	.6	<u>9</u>
Bridgetown	1,819	1	3	<u>11</u>
Primrose St.	1,883	4*	4	<u>7</u>
Pontac St.	2,080	5*	3	<u>7</u>
Factreton	2,399	1	3	<u>11</u>
Crawford	3,603	<u>7</u>	6	<u>2</u>
Pinatie Est.	4,426	<u>9</u>	5	<u>1</u>

Income Distribution $\bar{x} = R1,881.80$

*These were predominantly street merchants and hawkers.

devising a suitable model of social stratification and suggested that a distinction between "middle" and "working-class" neighbourhoods could be useful as a rough index to the intra-status stratification of the Coloured population of the city.

In terms of this dichotomy it seemed fairly evident that conditions of anomie were concentrated in the "working-class" neighbourhoods. The mean anomie scores in these neighbourhoods were compared and found to be significantly different.

These findings are tabulated in Table 11 on the following page.

Table 11

A Comparison of Mean Anomie Scores of "Middle-Class" and "Working-Class" Coloured Neighbourhoods

Social Position	Number	\bar{x}	t value
"Middle Class"	2	12.26	12.02*
"Working Class"	13	32.52	

*p < .01

There is thus clear support for the third hypothesis. Anomie is exclusively a property of the "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods of our sample, when these are defined in terms of occupational status. When incomes are examined, a similar pattern emerges. The highest incomes were recorded in Crawford and Pinatie Estate. The lowest were recorded in Retreat and Parkwood where the average household income was below R1,000 per annum. The mean annual income in Parkwood was R670 or approximately R56 per month. In Retreat it was even lower, at R466 per annum or R39 per month. The neighbourhood with the next lowest income was Netreg, a Municipal Housing Estate, where the mean household income was R1,026 per annum. It is significant that these three neighbourhoods have the highest anomie scores and the lowest incomes, while the two neighbourhoods with the lowest anomie scores have the highest incomes. This finding is tabulated in Table 12.

Table 12

Comparison of Incomes and Anomie Scores in Certain Coloured Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods	\bar{x} Anomie Scale	\bar{x} Income per annum
Parkwood		
Retreat	38.60	R720
Netreg		
Crawford		
Pinatie	12.26	R4,014
t value	20.98*	9.328*

*p < .01

This finding further supported the hypothesis that anomie would be isolated predominantly in poorer "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. The distribution of anomie scores in the sample supported the hypothesis that anomie was "class" linked. It was therefore not possible to reject the third hypothesis.

Since our research was limited to a study of the Coloured population of Cape Town, no generalizations about the degree of anomie in other communities or in the structure as a whole, could be made. No anomie could be found in the middle-class White "control" sample. Perceptions of anomie in the two "middle-class" Coloured neighbourhoods were also low. Conditions of anomie were a feature of "working-class" neighbourhoods of the Coloured sample. This was generally so whether these neighbourhoods were identified by their housing characteristics, occupational status, or household income.

Within the thirteen Coloured Neighbourhoods, however, considerable variation in the degree of anomie was observed. Some "working-class" neighbourhoods had higher mean anomie scores than others. The lowest mean anomie score in the "working-class" neighbourhoods was found in Bridgetown. ($\bar{x} = 24.47$, S.D. = 8.53) This score was, nevertheless, significantly higher than the next lowest score which was found in Crawford. ($\bar{x} = 14.33$, S.D. = 4.99) The difference between these scores was found to be significant. ($t = 5.33$, $p < .01$) The variation in mean anomie score between the various "working-class" neighbourhoods will be examined when causal factors in the Mertonian theory of anomie are discussed.

Having thus identified conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town and having found that anomie is a feature of "lower-class" Coloured neighbourhoods, an attempt was made to relate other aspects of the model to the dependent variable. In terms of Merton's theory conditions of anomie will occur when there is an emphasis on success without the concomitant means by which the success goal may be realized. Applying the theory to our study, "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods are anomic because their members are expected to be successful while no opportunities for the realization of the success goal exist. An examination of the success goal and a perception of the inaccessibility of this goal is therefore basic to our study of the causes of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town.

It was therefore hypothesized that: Conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods will be related to a perception that opportunities for the realization of the

success goal are blocked. To measure perceived blocked opportunities, three carefully phrased questions were included in the interview schedule. Together with the responses obtained, these items are tabulated in Tables 13, 14 and 15 below.

Table 13

Responses to the Statement: "To keep on working seems futile since it can never bring me the things I want"

Neighbourhoods	% Agree	% Not Sure	% Disagree
"Working-Class"	27	1	72
"Middle-Class"	0	0	100

Table 14

Responses to the Statement: "Through working week after week one really achieves little"

Neighbourhoods	% Agree	%-Not Sure	% Disagree
"Working-Class"	28	0	72
"Middle-Class"	7	0	93

Table 15

Responses to the Question: "Why do you work? What does it bring you?"

Neighbourhoods	income only		Income & satisfaction		To get to the top	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
"Working-Class"	91	47	78	40	26	13
"Middle-Class"	4	13	16	54	10	33

$$X^2 = 14.44, p < .01$$

For each of the three items, "middle-class" respondents perceived opportunities to be more open, while "working-class" respondents perceived them to be more closed. Although the majority of "working-class" respondents disagreed with the two attitudinal statements, considerably more "working-class" than "middle-class" respondents agreed with the statements. The pattern is more striking, however, when the third item of the measure (Table 15) is analysed. In response to this question the majority of "working-class" respondents said that they worked only to make a living. Among the "middle-class" neighbourhoods the majority of the respondents said that they worked for reasons of income as well as job satisfaction. Fully a third stated, however, that they worked to "get to the top". When X^2 was employed to test the significance of this relationship, a statistically significant value was obtained.

Class differences in perceptions were however, observed. More of the Coloured respondents from "working-class" neighbourhoods perceived opportunities to be blocked than did respondents from "middle-class" Coloured neighbourhoods. This is a pattern similar to the distribution of anomie scores in these neighbourhoods. The respondents from the "middle-class" neighbourhoods with their low anomie scores perceive opportunities to be more available. The respondents from the "working-class" neighbourhoods (which had higher anomie scores) perceived opportunities to be blocked.

The responses of the "middle-class" Coloured neighbourhoods generally approximated those of the White middle-class "control" sample.

Within the thirteen Coloured "working-class" neighbourhoods of the sample, a considerable variation in perceptions of blocked opportunities was observed. Some "working-class" neighbourhoods perceived opportunities to be more blocked than others. Using item 3 of our measure of perceived blocked opportunities - for this item discriminated most successfully between the neighbourhoods - it was possible to examine the extent to which each neighbourhood perceived opportunities to be blocked. The neighbourhoods have been ranked in Table 16, beginning with those neighbourhoods that have the greatest perception of blocked opportunities. This was defined as the highest score in the first response to item 3.

Table 16

Perceptions of Blocked Opportunities as Measured by Item 3 : Responses of "Working-Class" Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods	Responses to Item 3			Ranked by Anomie Score
	1	2	3	
Netreg	12	3	0	3
Parkwood	10	4	1	1
Retreat	9	4	2	2
Primrose St.	8	6	1	4
Factreton	8	6	1	10
Athlone	8	4	3	11
Manenberg	7	7	1	9
Bokmakierie	6	6	3	5
Bridgetown	6	7	2	13
Windermere	5	9	1	8
Steenberg	5	8	2	12
Pontac St.	4	5	6	7
Salt River	3	9	3	6

1 = Income only 2 = Income and job satisfaction 3 = "To get to the top"

The variations in perceived blocked opportunities between "working-class" neighbourhoods is not easily explained. Although each of the neighbourhoods listed above is "working-class", and although each differs significantly from the perception of blocked opportunities in the "middle-class" neighbourhoods, the large differences between the scores of the various "working-class" neighbourhoods is perplexing. Are opportunities actually more available to the people who live, say, in Pontac Street, District Six, than to the people who live in Primrose Street, District Six? When the mean anomie scores of the "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods, were compared with perceptions of blocked opportunities, correspondence was only evident at one end of the continuum. The three neighbourhoods that had the most anomie were also the neighbourhoods that perceived opportunities to be the most blocked. Discrepancies occur at the other levels, however. Salt River has the lowest perception of blocked opportunities but it is ranked as the neighbourhood with the sixth highest mean anomie score. Bridgetown which had the lowest mean anomie score, does not have the lowest perception of blocked

opportunities. While our study has, therefore, demonstrated a clear association between anomie and perceptions of blocked opportunities in all the Coloured neighbourhoods sampled, it has not explained variations within the "working-class" neighbourhoods alone. This problem will be considered again when the association between anomie, perceived opportunities, and the incidence of crime is discussed.

The fifth hypothesis stated that: Conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods will be related to a high incidence of crime. This hypothesis was concerned with the consequences of anomie. It was also concerned especially with the relationship between anomie and crime, since this particular form of deviant behaviour has been most successfully explained by anomie theory. To investigate the relationship between anomie and crime, the incidence of reported crime in each of the Coloured neighbourhoods was examined.

In all, 434 offences in the fifteen neighbourhoods of the Coloured sample were reported to the police during the three months of June, July and August, 1969. Of these reported crimes, only one came from the "middle-class" Coloured neighbourhoods in the sample. The remaining 433 were reported from the "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods.

Regarding the three neighbourhoods of the White middle-class "control" sample, it was found that only 7 crimes were reported in these neighbourhoods - 4 were "less serious" offences, such as disturbance of the peace. The differences in the incidence of reported crime is tabulated in Table 17.

Table 17

Incidence of Reported Crime in Coloured and White Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods	All Crimes	Category of Offence		
		Violence	Property	Public Disorder
"Working-Class" Coloured	433	94	111	228
"Middle-Class" Coloured	1	0	0	1
Middle-Class White	7	0	3	4

Following the pattern discerned already in our analysis of the differences between "working" and "middle-class" Coloured neighbourhoods, it was found that the neighbourhoods with the least anomie also had the least crime. Conditions of anomie were found in "working-class" neighbourhoods and this, as the police statistics show, was a pattern similar to the distribution of reported crime.

This finding is tabulated in Table 18.

Table 18

Incidence of Reported Crime and Mean Anomie Scores in "Middle Class" and "Working-Class" Coloured Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods	Reported Crime	\bar{x} Anomie Score *
"Working-Class"	433	32.52
"Middle-Class"	1	12.26

* $t = 12.02, p < .01$

Within the thirteen Coloured "working-class" neighbourhoods of the sample, considerable variations in the incidence of crime were observed. Some "working-class" neighbourhoods experienced far more crime than others. Some neighbourhoods had crime rates that were exceedingly high, while the rate of reported crime in other neighbourhoods was quite low. The rate of reported crime for each "working-class" Coloured neighbourhood is represented in Table 19. The neighbourhoods have been ranked beginning with those "working-class" neighbourhoods that have the highest rate of reported crime. The number of offences in each category (crimes of property, violence, and public disorder) are also provided.

Again it will be seen that the distribution of anomie scores among the "working-class" neighbourhoods does not correspond directly with the incidence of reported crime. Some neighbourhoods that had high crime rates were ranked lower on the distribution of anomie scores. Some neighbourhoods that had low crime rates had higher anomie scores. While our study, therefore, demonstrated clear differences in the incidence of crime between "middle" and "working-class" neighbourhoods, it has not explained variations in the incidence of crime among "working-class" neighbourhoods alone.

Table 19

Incidence of Reported Crime in Coloured "Working-Class" Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods	All Crimes	Category of Offence			Ranked by Anomie Score
		Violence	Property	Disorder	
Retreat	56	20	14	22	2
Pontac St.	55	8	17	30	7
Primrose St.	54	10	13	31	4
Salt River	49	8	20	21	6
Windemere	42	8	16	18	8
Parkwood	41	11	8	22	1
Bokmakierie	38	6	4	28	5
Netreg	33	6	4	23	3
Athlone	19	3	1	15	11
Manenberg	15	6	4	5	9
Factreton	12	3	3	6	10
Steenberg	9	3	2	4	12
Bridgetown	9	2	4	3	13

The three components of the Mertonian theory of anomie are thus related when social position is the interpretive factor. When the neighbourhoods of the Coloured sample are defined as either "middle" or "working-class", clear associations between the three elements of the theory are observed. The mean anomie score of the "working-class" neighbourhoods is significantly different from the mean score obtained in the "middle-class" neighbourhoods. There is similarly, a greater perception of blocked opportunities in the "working-class" neighbourhoods. The crime rate in "working-class" neighbourhoods is also far higher than in "middle-class" neighbourhoods.

When "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods are analysed, however, no clear pattern emerges. Some neighbourhoods with very high anomie scores had low crime rates. Others that had lower anomie scores had high crime rates. The same discrepancies were found when anomie and perceived blocked opportunities were compared. The association between the causes, condition, and consequences of anomie - so clear when differences between "middle" and "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods are analysed - is simply not evident when only "working-class" neighbourhoods are examined. There are three possible

explanations of these variations between "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods.

- (1) The variations between the elements of the anomie model among "working-class" neighbourhoods may be due to extraneous factors which have not been adequately controlled in the research. There may well be certain factors which, for instance, inhibit the manifestation of high anomie scores and which have not been taken into consideration. There may be an extrinsic factor which, if identified, could explain the variations in the distribution of anomie scores in the "working-class" neighbourhoods.

The interview schedule contained a number of questions from which information about the social, economic, and physical characteristics of the neighbourhoods sampled was obtained. These questions were included in our measure of "neighbourhood characteristics and social position".

Neighbourhood characteristics were analysed in an attempt to find common denominators in the distribution of anomie scores in the thirteen "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods. Incomes were examined, for instance, but no direct association was found. Certainly, neighbourhoods with the highest anomie scores had the lowest incomes, but the association did not hold throughout the distribution as a whole. In certain cases income tended to distort rather than interpret these variations. Factreton, for instance, had the highest mean income as well as a high anomie score. The high mean income for Factreton, however, resulted from one very unusual household in the sample; one with eleven earners. The apparent wealth of the neighbourhood was not evenly distributed among the residents sampled but located in one household.

Poor housing conditions were also examined as a possible explanatory factor. Such conditions certainly typified the two neighbourhoods with the highest anomie scores. One interstitial neighbourhood, however, with very bad housing conditions indeed, had a fairly high mean anomie score. On 23rd February, 1971, a Municipal Health Inspector ordered six families to vacate a house in the neighbourhood that had been sampled in Salt River. The Press reported that the house was in great danger of collapsing as the walls were cracked and sagging. Commenting on the facilities

within the house, the Press reported that: "The four rooms, two kitchens and 'back pondokkie' have been used for generations and yesterday 35 people were living there. The floors are rotting, there is no toilet and no internal doors"(sic).² High anomie scores were also, however, found in some of the Municipal Estates where housing conditions are much improved.

Other factors such as religiosity were examined but no association could be found. Religiosity scores between the neighbourhoods did not vary greatly and such differences, where found, were not related to anomie.

When social relationships among neighbourhoods were analysed, no significant patterns emerged. The majority of the respondents in the tin shanty neighbourhoods said that they could not rely on their neighbours to help them in time of trouble. This pattern only typified the tin shanty neighbourhoods with their extremely low incomes. In other neighbourhoods with high anomie scores interdependence between neighbours was evident. While most of the respondents in the Coloured sample stated that the residents in their neighbourhoods got on well together, the respondents from the two tin shanty neighbourhoods did not think so. This could not definitely be related to anomie, however, for the majority of respondents in the White middle-class sample did not think that the residents in their neighbourhoods got on exceptionally well either.

Although the characteristics of the various neighbourhoods were thoroughly analysed, no single underlying interpretive factor could be found. The variation in anomie scores in the "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods could not be explained by examining their social characteristics.

- (2) Another possible reason for the discrepancies in the scores obtained in the "working-class" neighbourhoods was the possibility of measurement error. The relatively unrefined character of our measures could have contributed to the variations and fluctuations of the scores. The efficiency of police statistics as a measure of crime has already been discussed, and the variations in reported crime between neighbourhoods could have been caused by factors of this kind. Our measures of anomie and perceived blocked opportunity are also subject to error. The Perception of Anomie Scale relied, as did the measure of blocked opportunity, on the perceptions of the individual residents of the neighbourhoods. Although these problems have already been discussed, the lack of sophistication of the two measures

could have contributed to variations in scores among the "working-class" neighbourhoods.

- (3) The third possible explanation of the variations in scores in the "working-class" neighbourhoods refers to the adequacy of the anomie model as a theory of crime and deviance. The theory of anomie as formulated by Robert Merton is essentially sociologicistic. It is concerned not with psychological factors but with events in society. It is concerned with developing an explanation of crime based on the malintegration of the cultural and social structures of modern industrialized societies. It is this very sociologism that has been criticized; for, it is said, the Mertonian theory does not explain why one member of the lower class exposed to the disjunction of goals and means becomes criminal while another does not. The theory of anomie may explain class variations in the official crime statistics but it does not explain behaviour at the micro-level of analysis.

The ability of anomie theory to explain differences between "middle" and "working-class" neighbourhoods has been demonstrated. It does not, however, explain why one neighbourhood with a high perception of blocked opportunities has a lower anomie score than another. It does not explain why a neighbourhood with a high crime rate has a lower anomie score than another.

Cloward and Ohlin's theory of delinquency and opportunity is the only theoretical work which may have some relevance for our study. In postulating the existence of delinquent subcultures in certain areas or neighbourhoods they have a frame of reference similar in some respects to our own. The Cloward and Ohlin theory does not, however, shed much light on the variation of anomie in our sample of "working-class" neighbourhoods. This is so because it does not attempt to deal with anomie as a variable per se. Nor does an examination of the categories of offences recorded by our measure of crime in the neighbourhoods clearly demonstrate the existence of subcultures. If these are defined as the prevalence of any particular type of offence, no neighbourhood was found to have a purely "retreatist", "violent" or "criminal" subculture. No neighbourhood had more crimes of violence or property than crimes of public disorder. The high incidence of crimes of violence in some neighbourhoods and crimes of property in others seems a random occurrence. It was certainly outside the scope of our study to venture too far into an empirical examination of the

Cloward and Ohlin model.

Our study has been successful in some respects but unsuccessful in others. It has attained its first objective in developing a suitable theoretical conception which permitted the construction of a measure of systematic anomie. Using this measure in a sample of Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town, it has demonstrated that conditions of anomie may be isolated in social groups.

Its second objective was to find support for Merton's theory of anomie. This was attempted by developing measures of the causes and consequences of anomie and relating these to actual conditions of anomie in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. Hypotheses referring specifically to Merton's theory were formulated and subjected to empirical test. When "working-class" and "middle-class" Coloured neighbourhoods were compared, these hypotheses were supported. The anomie model did not, however, explain the variations that occurred among the "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods of the sample. Nor could these variations be explained by referring to other factors such as social and economic neighbourhood characteristics.

It is necessary to be cautious about our findings and conclusions. As measured by the Perception of Anomie Scale, conditions of anomie may be said to exist and to typify "working-class" Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. The research has not, however, demonstrated that variations in the degree of anomie in these neighbourhoods is necessarily due to factors described in Social Structure and Anomie. By attempting to deal with those problems that have thus far prevented meaningful research into anomie, this thesis has, however, it is hoped, paved the way for more fruitful analyses.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. χ^2 values could only be computed if at least 80% of the cells in the contingency table have expected frequencies equal to five or more. See Roscoe, J.T.: Fundamental Research Statistics New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969 : p. 203
2. Cape Times. 24 February, 1971

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adorno, T.W. et al.: The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper, 1950.
- Albee, E.: "The American Dream", in Albee, E.: Zoo Story and Other Plays. London: Jonathan Cape, 1960.
- Alexander, F. and Staub, H.: The Criminal, the Judge, and the Public. New York: The Free Press, 1956.
- Barnes, H.E. and Becker, H.P.: Social Thought from Lore to Science. Boston: Heath, 1938.
- Bell, D.: "The Myth of Crime Waves", in Bell, D.: The End of Ideology. New York: Collier, 1961.
- Bell, W.: "Anomie, Social Isolation and the Class Structure". Sociometry, Vol. 20, 1957: pp. 105 - 116.
- Berger, P. and Luckman, T.: The Social Construction of Reality. London: Allen Lane, 1967.
- Bordua, D.J.: "Juvenile Delinquency and Anomie: An Attempt at Replication". Social Problems Vol. 6, 1958/59: pp. 230 - 238.
- Bridgman, P.W.: The Logic of Modern Physics. New York: Macmillan, 1949.
- Brookes, E.H.: Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Browning, C. et al.: "On the Meaning of Alienation". American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1961: pp. 780 - 781.
- Burt, C.: The Young Delinquent. London: University of London Press, 1938.
- Camus, A.: The Outsider. (Translated by Gilbert, S.) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961.
- Cape Times: 24 February, 1971.
- Chilton, R.: "Continuity in Delinquency Area Research: A Comparison of Studies for Baltimore, Detroit and Indianapolis". American Sociological Review, Vol. 29, 1964: pp. 71 - 83.
- Cicourel, A.V.: Method and Measurement in Sociology. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Cilliers, S.P.: The Coloureds of South Africa. Cape Town: Banier, 1963.
- Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Cloward, R.A. and Ohlin, L.E.: Delinquency and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press, 1960.
- Cloward, R.A.: "Illegitimate Means, Anomie and Deviant Behaviour". American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959: pp. 164 - 176.
- Cohen, A.K.: Deviance and Control. Englewood Cliffs (N.J.): Prentice-Hall, 1966.
- Cohen, A.K.: "The Sociology of the Deviant Act: Anomie Theory and Beyond". American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, 1965: pp. 5 - 14.

- Cohen, A.K.: "The Study of Social Disorganization and Deviant Behaviour", in Merton, R.K. et al. (Eds.): Sociology Today. New York: Basic Books, 1959.
- Cole, S. and Zuckerman, H.: "An Inventory of Empirical and Theoretical Studies of Anomie", in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Davids, A.: "Alienation, Social Aperception, and Ego Structure". Journal of Consulting Psychology, Vol. 19, 1955: pp. 21 - 27.
- Davies, B.P.: Social Needs and Resources in Local Services. London: Michael Joseph, 1968.
- Dean, D.: "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement". American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1961: pp. 753 - 758.
- Dean, D. and Reeves, J.: "Anomie: A Comparison of a Catholic and Protestant Sample". Sociometry, Vol. 25, 1962: pp. 209 - 212.
- de Grazia, S.: The Political Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Dennis, N.: "The Popularity of the Neighbourhood Community Idea", in Pahl, R.E. (Ed.): Readings in Urban Sociology. London: Pergamon, 1968.
- Dentler, B.A. and Erikson, K.T.: "The Functions of Deviance in Groups". Social Problems, Vol. 7, 1959: pp. 98 - 107.
- Dickie-Clark, H.F.: The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Dodd, S.: "Operational Definitions: Operationally Defined". American Sociological Review, Vol. 48, 1942: pp. 482 - 489.
- Downes, D.: The Delinquent Solution. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Dubin, R.: "Deviant Behaviour and Social Structure: Continuities in Social Theory". American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959: pp. 147 - 164.
- Dunham, H.W.: "Anomie and Mental Disorder", in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Du Plessis, I.D.: Die Bydrae van die Kaapse Maleier tot die Afrikaanse Volkslied. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers, 1935.
- Du Plessis, I.D.: The Cape Malays. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1947.
- Durkheim, E.: Division of Labour in Society. (Translated by Simpson, G.) Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.
- Durkheim, E.: Rules of Sociological Method. (Translated by Solovay, S.A., and Mueller, J.H.) Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957.
- Durkheim, E.: Suicide. (Translated by Spaulding, J.A., and Simpson, G.) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.
- Fox, A.: "A Classification of the Criminotic Individual", in Lindler, E. (Ed.): Handbook of Correctional Psychology. New York: Philosophical Library, 1947.
- Friedlander, K.: The Psychoanalytic Approach to Juvenile Delinquency. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1947.

- Fromm, E.: Marx's Concept of Man. New York: Ungar, 1962.
- Fromm, E.: The Sane Society. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955.
- Gibbons, D.C.: Society, Crime and Criminal Careers. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1968.
- Gillis, L.S. et al.: Psychiatric Disturbance and Alcoholism in the Coloured People of the Cape Peninsula. Cape Town: Department of Psychiatry, Groote Schuur Hospital and University of Cape Town, 1965.
- Goddard, H.: Feeble-mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences. New York: Macmillan, 1914.
- Goring, C.: The English Convict. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1913.
- Gould, J. and Kolb, W. (Eds.): Dictionary of the Social Sciences. London: Tavistock, 1964.
- Gouldner, A.W. and Gouldner, H.P.: Modern Sociology. London: Hart-Davis, 1963.
- Greer, S.: "Neighbourhood", in Sills, D.L. (Ed.): Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. New York: Macmillan, 1968: pp. 121 - 125.
- Grigg, C.M. and Lewis, M.: "Urbanism, Race and Anomia". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67, 1962: pp. 661 - 665.
- Gurvich, G.: Sociology of Law. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1960.
- Harrington, M.: The Other America: Poverty in the United States. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962.
- Healy, W.: The Individual Delinquent. Boston: Little Brown, 1915.
- Helm, B.: Social Work in a South African City. Cape Town: Board of Sociological Research, University of Cape Town, 1962.
- Horrell, M.: Introduction to South Africa. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968.
- Horrell, M.: A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1969. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations Annual.
- Horton, J.: "The Dehumanization of Man in the Anomie and Alienation Concepts". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 15, 1964: pp. 283 - 299.
- Houghton, H.H.: The South African Economy. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Inkeles, A.: What is Sociology? Englewood Cliffs (N.J.): Prentice-Hall, 1964.
- Jessor, R. et al.: Society, Personality and Deviant Behaviour. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
- Johnson, H.M.: Sociology: A Systematic Introduction. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.
- Kahan, M. et al.: "On the Analytical Division of Social Class". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17, 1966: pp. 122 - 131.
- Kaplan, A.: The Conduct of Inquiry. San Francisco, Chandler, 1964.

- Keedy, T.C.: "Anomie and Religious Orthodoxy". Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 43, 1958: pp. 34 - 37.
- Lander, B.: Toward an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.
- Lansdowne, C.W. and Gardner, F.G.: South African Criminal Law and Procedure. Cape Town: Juta, 1957.
- Lasswell, H.D.: "The Threat to Privacy", in MacIver, R.M. (Ed.): Conflict of Loyalties. New York: Harper and Row, 1952.
- Lazarsfeld, P.: "Problems in Methodology", in Merton, R.K. et al. (Eds.): Sociology Today. New York: Basic Books, 1959.
- Lee, T.: "Urban Neighbourhood as a Socio-Spatial System". Human Relations, Vol. 21, 1968: pp. 241 - 267.
- Lemert, E.: "Social Structure, Social Control and Deviation", in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Lever, H. and Wagner, O.J.: "A Factor Analysis of Anomie". Journal for Social Research, Vol. 16, 1967: pp. 1 - 6.
- Lindesmith, A.R. and Gagnon, J.H.: "Anomie and Drug Addiction", in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Lundberg, G.A.: Social Research. New York: Longmans Green, 1949.
- MacIver, R.M.: The Ramparts we Guard. New York: Macmillan, 1950.
- Mann, P.H.: "The Concept of Neighbourliness". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 60, 1954: pp. 163 - 168.
- Mannheim, H.: Comparative Criminology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Marais, J.S.: The Cape Coloured People, 1652 - 1937. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1962.
- Marquard, L.: The Peoples and Policies of South Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Mayer, P.: Townsmen and Tribesmen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Mayo, E.: The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization. New York: Macmillan, 1933.
- McClosky, H. and Schaar, J.: "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy". American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, 1965: pp. 14 - 40.
- Meer, F.: Portrait of the Indians of South Africa. Durban: Avon House, 1969.
- Meir, D. and Bell, W.: "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals". American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959: pp. 189 - 202.
- Merton, R.K.: "Anomie, Anomia and Social Interaction", in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Merton, R.K.: "Social Structure and Anomie". American Sociological Review, Vol. 3, 1938: pp. 672 - 682.

- Merton, R.K.: "Social Structure and Anomie", in Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Merton, R.K.: "Continuities in the Theory of Social Structure and Anomie", in Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Merton, R.K. and Barber, E.: "Sociological Ambivalence", in Tiryakian, E.A. (Ed.): Sociological Theory, Values and Sociocultural Change. New York: The Free Press, 1963.
- Midgley, J.: "Conformity and Control in the Cape Malay Group". Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of Sociology and Administration, University of Cape Town, 1967.
- Miller, A.: "Death of a Salesman", in Miller, A.: Collected Plays. London: Cresset Press, 1958.
- Mizruchi, E.H.: Success and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Moser, C.A.: Survey Methods in Social Investigation. London: Heineman, 1958.
- Murphy, E.J. et al.: "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency". American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 16, 1946: pp. 686 - 696.
- Murray, J. et al. (Eds.): The Oxford English Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press, 1933: p. 347.
- Nettler, G.: "A Measure of Alienation". American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, 1957: pp. 670 - 677.
- Parsons, T.: The Social System. New York: The Free Press, 1951.
- Parsons, T.: The Structure of Social Action. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937.
- Patterson, S.: Colour and Culture in South Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953.
- Petrovic, G.: "Alienation", in Edwards, P. (Ed.): Encyclopaedia of Philosophy. New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1967: pp. 76 - 81.
- Porterfield, A.: Youth in Trouble. Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946.
- Radzinowicz, L.: A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration Since 1750. London: Stevens, 1948.
- Rhodie, N. and Venter, H.J.: Apartheid. Pretoria: HAUM, 1960.
- Riesman, D.: The Lonely Crowd. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.
- Roberts, A. and Rokeach, M.: "Anomie, Authoritarianism and Prejudice: A Replication". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61, 1956: pp. 355 - 358.
- Roscoe, J.T.: Fundamental Research Statistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.
- Rose, G.: "Anomie and Deviation". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17, 1966: pp. 29 - 45.

- Seeman, M.: "On the Meaning of Alienation". American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959: pp. 783 - 791.
- Sellin, T. and Wolfgang, M.: The Measurement of Delinquency. New York: Wiley, 1964.
- Sellin, T.: Culture Conflict and Crime. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938.
- Selltiz, C. et al.: Research Methods in Social Relations. New York: Dryden Press, 1951.
- Shaw, C.R. and McKay, H.D.: Delinquent Areas. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929.
- Sheldon, W. et al.: Varieties of Delinquent Youth. New York: Harper and Row, 1949.
- Simon, J.: Basic Research Methods in Social Science. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Snyder, C.: "Inebriety, Alcoholism and Anomie", in Clinard, M.B. (Ed.): Anomie and Deviant Behaviour. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Sorokin, P.: Contemporary Sociological Theories. New York: Harper, 1928.
- South Africa, Bureau of Census and Statistics: Statistical Yearbook 1968. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1968.
- South Africa, Bureau of Statistics: Population Census, 1960. Vol. 9, "Miscellaneous Categories", Pretoria: Government Printer, 1968.
- South Africa, Bureau of Statistics: Population Census, 1960. Vol. II, No. 1. "Report on the Metropolitan Area of Cape Town". Pretoria: Government Printer, 1966.
- South Africa, Department of Prisons: Report of the Department of Prisons 1968/69. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1970.
- South Africa: Statute. Act No. 23 of 1957.
- Spergel, I.: Racketville, Slumtown Haulberg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Srole, L.: "Social Integration and Certain Corrolaries". American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, 1956: pp. 709 - 716.
- Stouffer, S. et al.: The American Soldier. Princeton: University Press, 1949.
- Streuning, E. and Richardson, A.: "A Factor Analytic Exploration of the Alienations, Anomia and Authoritarian Domain". American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, 1965: pp. 768 - 776.
- Suid Afrika, Departement van Kleurlingsake: Inligtingstuk ten Opsigte van Kleurlinge. Kaapstad: Departement van Kleurlingsake, 1968.
- Sutherland, E.H. and Cressey, D.R.: Principles of Criminology. New York: Lippincott, 1966.
- Tappan, P.W.: "Who is the Criminal?". American Sociological Review, Vol. 12, 1947: pp. 96 - 102.
- Theron, E. and Swart, M. (Reds.): Die Kleurlingbevolking van Suid Afrika. Stellenbosch: Universiteits Uitgewers, 1964.

- Timasheff, N.S.: An Introduction to the Sociology of Law. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.
- Tumin, M. and Collins, R.: "Status Mobility and Anomie: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation". British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 16, 1959: pp. 253 - 267.
- Ullman, A.D.: "Socio-cultural Backgrounds to Alcoholism". Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 315, 1958: pp. 48 - 54.
- Wallerstein, J.S. and Wyle, C.J.: "Our Law Abiding Law Breakers". Probation, Vol. 25, 1947: pp. 107 - 112.
- Whisson, M.G. and Kahn, S.: Coloured Housing in Cape Town. Cape Town: Board of Social Responsibility, Diocese of Cape Town, 1969.
- Williams, G.: Criminal Law - The General Part. London: Stevens, 1961.
- Wilson, M. and Mafeje, A.: Langa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- van den Berghe, P.: South Africa, A Study in Conflict. Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1965.
- van der Merwe, H.W.: "Social Stratification in a Cape Coloured Community". Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1957.
- Vold, G.B.: Theoretical Criminology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- West, D.J.: The Young Offender. Harmondsworth: Pellican Books, 1967.
- Whyte, W.F.: Street Corner Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

APPENDIX A

THE PERCEPTION OF ANOMIE SCALE

("Dummy" items are not numbered)

Now (SHOW CARD) I want you to play a "true or false" game. I will read you a number of statements; please say whether you think these statements are TRUE or FALSE or PARTLY TRUE or PARTLY FALSE.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|
| People around here don't get upset if the children throw stones at dogs. | | | | | | | | | | | | T | F |
| 1. People around here don't show that they know the difference between right and wrong. | A | B | C | D | E | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Things around here are such that anything can happen. | A | B | C | D | E | | | | | | | | |
| The children that stay around here are well-behaved. | | | | | | | | | | | | T | F |
| 3. Because there is no real code of conduct here one doesn't know what to expect next. | A | B | C | D | E | | | | | | | | |
| 4. All the customs of this community have just disappeared. | A | B | C | D | E | | | | | | | | |
| The old people around here keep to themselves. | | | | | | | | | | | | T | F |
| 5. People around here don't care if they do things that are wrong. | A | B | C | D | E | | | | | | | | |
| 6. People around here have respect for the law. | E | D | C | B | A | | | | | | | | |
| 7. With things in such a state of disorder around here one sometimes doesn't know if one is coming or going. | A | B | C | D | E | | | | | | | | |
| 8. It seems as if the people around here have just forgotten the things their parents taught them. | A | B | C | D | E | | | | | | | | |
| People around here are very religious. | | | | | | | | | | | | T | F |
| 9. There is little order in this neighbourhood. | A | B | C | D | E | | | | | | | | |

TOTAL (9 - 45)

SCORES:

--	--	--	--	--

SCORING CODE:

TRUE	A
PARTLY TRUE	B
DON'T KNOW	C
PARTLY FALSE	D
FALSE	E

APPENDIX B

THE COMMUNITY REACTIONS INDEX

Now I would like you to tell me what would happen around here if certain things were to happen.

What would the neighbours do and what would they say:

- 1. If a teenage boy living in the neighbourhood smoked? A B C D E

- 2. If a girl in the neighbourhood becomes pregnant? A B C D E

- 3. If there was a shebeen in the area? A B C D E

- 4. If a man living around here came home drunk quite often? A B C D E

- 5. And if he swore, and made a nuisance of himself? A B C D E

- 6. If some boys living around here smoked dagga? A B C D E

- 7. If there was a fight in the street and a knife appeared? A B C D E

- 8. If a house down the road is used for gambling? A B C D E

- 9. If older children swear at each other? A B C D E

- 10. If a child plays truant for a week? A B C D E

- 11. If a boy gets out of hand -- sleeps out, doesn't listen to his mother, becomes a skolly? A B C D E

(10 - 50) C R =

SCORE

--	--	--	--	--

(Interviewer's code:

- A = Take concrete action.
- B = Expression of much shock and indignation. Rejection, avoidance, Ostracism.
- C = Really can't say. (Try to avoid this one)
- D = Gossiping
- E = No steps taken whatsoever.)

APPENDIX C

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

COMMUNITY SURVEY PROJECT

Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

Area: _____ No. () Type: _____ No. ()

Street: _____ No.: _____

We are doing a survey of the facilities in this area, and about the people's feelings about staying in them. This study is being conducted throughout the Peninsula and we hope to compare our findings with those in other areas. We would like to ask you a few questions about this area and how you feel about staying here. We undertake to treat all information as strictly confidential. Also, you need not give your name - - you may remain completely anonymous. We are not interested in individuals, only in the general properties of these areas.

1. Would you say that there are enough shops around here? yes no
 and street lights? yes no
 transport facilities? yes no
 recreational facilities? yes no
2. Do they get on well together, or is there any bad feeling
 among neighbours?
 Get on well () Get on () Don't get on () ()
3. Can you rely upon your neighbours to help you in time of trouble?
 Yes () No () ()
4. How do you personally feel about staying in this area?
 Like it lots () Like it some () Like little () Dislike ()

Now (SHOW CARD) I want you to play a true or false game. I will read you a number of statements; please say whether you think these statements are TRUE or PARTLY TRUE or PARTLY FALSE.

5. People around here don't get upset if the children throw stones at dogs. T F
6. People around here don't show that they know the difference between right and wrong. (Weet nie wat reg en verkeerd is nie.) A B C D E
7. Things around here are such that anything can happen. (Dinge hier is so.) A B C D E
8. The children that stay around here are well behaved. T F
9. Because there is no real code of conduct here one doesn't know what to expect next. (Mense weet nie wat reg en verkeerd is nie.) A B C D E
10. All the customs of this community have just disappeared. (Al die gewoontes en gebruike van die ou mense.) (Only if necessary: going to church, greeting others, respect for elders.) A B C D E
11. The old people around here keep to themselves. T F
12. People around here don't care if they do things that are wrong. A B C D E
13. People around here have respect for the law. (Oortree nie die wet nie.) E D C B A
14. With things in such a state of disorder around here one sometimes doesn't know if one is coming or going. A B C D E
15. It seems as if the people around here have just forgotten the things their parents taught them. (Rules) A B C D E
16. There is little order in this neighbourhood. A B C D E

TOTAL (9 - 45)

SCORES:

--	--	--	--	--

SCORING CODE:

TRUE	A
PARTLY TRUE	B
DON'T KNOW	C
PARTLY FALSE	D
FALSE	E

17. Your occupation: _____
18. With present employer: _____ years.
19. Where: (factory, office, etc.) _____
20. How much do you like your job?
Dislike () Like partially () like lots () ()
21. How often have you been away from work this year?
Often () A few times () Once or twice () ()
22. Have you changed jobs in the last two years?
A few times () Once or less () ()
23. Why do you work? What does it bring you?
Income only () Income and some satisfaction ()
() Way to the top () ()
24. Do you agree with this statement?
"To keep on working seems futile since it can never
bring me the things I want." ()
25. Would you agree with this statement?
"Through working week after week one really achieves little". ()
26. How many earners: _____
27. Are they paid: Weekly _____ Monthly _____

No.	Sex	Age	Occupation	Income less transport
Other income, including kind:				R
Total family income:				R per

28. Do you share this house with another family: Yes No
29. Do you cook separately: Yes No
30. How many households in building: 1 2 3 4 5
31. Type of house: _____ Floors: 1 2 3
 Walls: _____ Roof: _____
32. Age of house: _____ years.
33. Condition: _____
34. Rent paid by you: R _____ per _____
35. Number of rooms in house (not bath): _____ rooms.
36. Number of people in YOUR FAMILY: _____ people.
37. How many:

Babies under 2 years

2 to 5 years

6 to 12 years

13 to 16 years

17 to 64 years

65 and over

MALES	FEMALES	PEOPLE

38. How many rooms:

Cooking only

Sleeping only

Living only

Sleeping and living

All of these

OWN	SHARED

39. How long have you stayed here: _____ years.
40. Where previously: _____
41. How long: _____ years.
42. Birthplace: Urban Rural
43. When did you come to the city: 19 ____.
44. From where: _____

We know that certain things like murder are considered to be very wrong (bad) BUT that other things such as travelling 10 miles over the speed limit or smoking are not really as wrong (bad). I would like you to say whether you think the following things are VERY, VERY BAD or NOT REALLY SO BAD or NOT BAD. PLEASE THINK carefully and give your OWN opinion - - what you think personally - - irrespective of what others think. (SHOW CARD.)

How wrong, how bad, is it if:

45. A mother hits her children when they are naughty? A B C D E
46. A man has had too much to drink? A B C D E
47. A girl has a baby before she is married? A B C D E
48. People around here gamble? A B C D E
49. A man appears in court for stealing? A B C D E
50. A man doesn't stop his car properly at a stop street? A B C D E
51. A child plays truant from school? A B C D E
52. A man stays out of work for no reason? A B C D E
53. Your religion: _____
54. Nominal () Active ()
55. Previous: _____
56. When: 19 _____
57. Attendance: Times _____ per _____
58. Are you a working member: (details) _____
-
59. Length of attendance at Sunday School: _____ years.
60. Would you class yourself as:
- Very religious () Quite religious ()
- Not very religious () Not at all religious ()

Interviewer's Comments: