

SOCIAL CLASS, ANOMIE
AND DELINQUENCY

L. Wilcox, 1969

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SOCIAL CLASS, ANOMIE AND DELINQUENCY.

Colorado State University, Ph.D., 1969
Sociology, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

THESIS

SOCIAL CLASS, ANOMIE AND DELINQUENCY

Submitted by
Leslie D. Wilcox

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Colorado State University
Fort Collins, Colorado
June, 1969

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2 1969

WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER OUR
SUPERVISION BY Leslie David Wilcox
ENTITLED SOCIAL CLASS, ANOMIE AND DELINQUENCY
BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF Doctor of Philosophy.

Committee on Graduate Work

<u>Glenn C. Dillies</u>	<u>W. B. Baily</u>
<u>Robert R. Kehnberg</u>	
<u>Ernest F. Sharp</u> Adviser	<u>Ernest L. Eldredge</u> Head of Department

Examination Satisfactory

Committee on Final Examination

<u>W. B. Baily</u>	<u>Glenn C. Dillies</u>
	<u>Robert R. Kehnberg</u>
	<u>Ernest F. Sharp</u> Adviser

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

SOCIAL CLASS, ANOMIE AND DELINQUENCY

During the past three decades, the theory of anomie has become one of the leading explanations of deviant behavior in contemporary theory. Sociological interest in the theory has been great because it offers an explanation of deviant behavior within the context of the larger society and its social structure, rather than as a product of biological or individual psychological factors. As is often the case with seminal ideas of this nature, there has been a tendency to reify the relation of anomie to deviant behavior as something given, without subjecting it adequately to empirical investigation required to test it.

The present investigation has focused on the relation of social class to anomie and delinquent behavior, with the hope that some light might be shed on two important theoretical issues surrounding anomic theory. The first issue involves the investigation of the extent of the empirical support of Robert Merton's thesis that the unequal distribution of opportunity to reach culturally prescribed success goals leads to greater anomic strains and pressures toward deviant behavior in the lower strata of society. The second issue concerns the criticism that anomic theory may explain utilitarian adult crime, but is unable to explain most juvenile delinquency, which is often viewed as primarily nonutilitarian in nature.

In part, at least, this study is a replication of earlier studies that have treated these issues. However, in this study we have attempted to go beyond most earlier studies by performing simultaneous measurements of social class, success values, anomie and delinquent behavior, which apparently has not been previously undertaken.

From our analysis of the responses of 403 eleventh grade students in the Rocky Mountain area to our questionnaire, we found: 1) fairly strong support for Merton's thesis that the inculcation of success values are patterned characteristics which cross-cut subgroup differences; 2) strong support for the hypothesis that discrepancies between aspirations for success and means to success are negatively related to social status; 3) no support for the hypothesis that either anomie as a subjective experience or delinquency are more common in the lower strata of society; 4) no relationship between our measurement of discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility and subjective anomie or delinquent behavior; 5) a moderate relationship between both utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquency and subjective anomie. Hence, the conclusions of this research are that anomie and delinquent behavior are not class linked phenomena, and that there is a significant relationship between subjective anomie and both utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

Leslie David Wilcox
Sociology Department
Colorado State University
Ft. Collins, Colorado 80521
June, 1969

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the planning and preparation of this paper, I acknowledge with pleasure many direct and indirect contributions. Throughout the early development of the research, Professor Manuel Alers-Montalvo generously contributed time and counsel in refinement of both the theory and methods underlying this study. His commitment to high standards in scientific inquiry has made the preparation of this report a profound learning experience. The data of this study are a by-product of a larger study sponsored by the Colorado Cooperative Extension Service of which Dr. Alers-Montalvo was project director.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor Emmet Sharp whose advice and direction in the latter stages of the preparation of this study rendered it possible to bring it to completion. His supervision of the final writing of this report took long hours and greatly strengthened the methodological procedure and analysis.

The study has also benefited from the reaction and guidance of a number of the Colorado State University faculty. Among the many who lent constructive advice at various stages in the development of this study, special considerations were offered by Carl Birky, Glen Dildine, Loyal Hartman and Rex Rehnberg.

This study has also benefited from the early influence and inspiration of Professor Charles E. Ramsey who was especially instrumental in stimulating the original interest in the subject of this research.

I wish especially to thank my wife, Maureen, for assistance in all phases of this study.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM

This research is a regional study in the American society aimed at exploring the relation between social class, anomie and delinquent behavior among high school youth.

THE THEORETICAL IMPORTANCE

During the past three decades, the theory of anomie has become one of the leading explanations of deviant behavior in contemporary theory. Considerable interest has been shown in the concept of anomie by sociologists because it offers an explanation of deviant behavior within the context of the larger society and its social structure, rather than as a product of biological or individual psychological factors and psychiatric complexes. Robert Merton's theoretical treatment of anomie, particularly, was one of a number of theories of deviant behavior developed in the past half century in opposition to biologically and psychoanalytically oriented positions.¹ In the Mertonian sense, the theory of anomie focuses attention on the social

¹Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," American Sociological Review, 3:672-682, October, 1938; "Social Structure and Anomie: Revisions and Extensions," in Ruth Nanda Anshem, The Family: Its Function and Destiny (New York: Harper and Row, 1949), pp. 275-312; "Social Structure and Anomie," pp. 161-194, in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Rev. ed.; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957).

structure of society for explanations of deviant behavior. He considers deviant behavior to be the result of malintegration of society which produces a strain toward anomie and deviant behavior.²

The influence of this theory on contemporary sociology has been great. For instance, Albert Cohen asserts that, "Without any doubt, this body of ideas, which has come to be known as 'anomic theory,' has been the most influential single formulation in the sociology of deviance in the last 25 years, and Merton's paper, in its original or revised versions, is possibly the most frequently quoted single paper in modern sociology."³ As with many sociological theories, however, there has often been a tendency to reify the relation of anomie to deviant behavior as something given, without subjecting it adequately to the findings of research on deviant behavior, or thoroughly analyzing the theoretical assumptions on which it is based. As is often the case with seminal ideas of this nature, the logical elaboration of this theory has considerably outdistanced the empirical investigations required to test it.

In recent literature, some questions have arisen concerning the empirical support of Merton's hypothesis that

²Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, op cit., p. 162.

³Albert Cohen, "Toward a Theory of Deviant Behavior: Continuities Continued," paper presented to session on deviant behavior, American Sociological Association meeting, August 28, 1963.

differential access to the various means of achieving success in the American society leads to greater strains toward anomie and deviant behavior in the lower classes. Previous studies designed to test this hypothesis have produced inconclusive and often contradictory results.⁴ Sociologists generally recognize the need for more research to clarify the relationship between social class, anomie and deviant behavior. In part, the present research is a replication of these earlier studies using standardized measures of the sociologically significant variables. This study also proposes to measure a wider range of variables than have normally been undertaken in previous studies.

There has also been some questions raised concerning the applicability of this theory to juvenile delinquent behavior. Cohen, for example has suggested that the theory

⁴For a more detailed statement of this problem see; Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 21:709-716, December, 1956; Alan H. Roberts and Milton Rokeach, "Anomie Authoritarianism, and Prejudice: A Replication," American Journal of Sociology, 61:355-358, January, 1956; Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Interaction, and the Class Structure," Sociometry, 20:105-106, June, 1957; Dorothy Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, 24:189-208, April 1959; Harold Mizruchi, "Social Structure and Anomie in a Small City," American Sociological Review, 25:645-654, October, 1960. See also his Success and Opportunity: A Critical Examination of Class Structure and Anomie in American Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 49-50.

of anomie provides a plausible explanation of the utilitarian criminal behavior of the professional adult criminal, but does not apply to most juvenile delinquent behavior which tends to be more nonutilitarian in nature.⁵ A review of previous research in delinquent behavior clearly indicates a need for more thorough investigation of the relation between anomie and juvenile deviancy. The present study is focused on high school youth from various socio-economic backgrounds with the hope that some light may be shed on these theoretical contradictions.

PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE

Sociologists have long recognized that the growth of urban-industrial societies has normally been accompanied by increasing rates of social deviation such as delinquency, crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental illness, suicide and social unrest. These features of the Gesellschaft type society were recognized and treated by early sociologists such as Toennies, Durkheim, Weber, Marx and Simmel as social pathologies resulting from the malintegration of complex societies. No matter what their source may be, there is no doubt that these social problems are very much a part of modern societies, including the United States. One needs only to take note of the social criticisms being raised by the many and varied social movements which have

⁵Albert Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955), p.30.

arisen in recent years to validate the claim that contemporary American society is characterized by a tendency toward general social unrest and mass dissatisfaction with current social processes and social institutions.

So much of this lack of commitment and alienation from societal standards seems to be expressed by youthful members of society. Social and political leaders, recognizing the sometimes explosive nature of this discontent have responded, sometimes grudgingly and sometimes frantically, by pouring more and more money into poorly planned programs that hedge on the problem but rarely make meaningful progress in resolving these strains toward deviance. To a great extent the failure to effectively treat these problems has resulted from a general lack of understanding of the true source of the problem on the part of both social and political leaders. Social Scientists have offered little help in these areas of concern because of the lack of any integrated and tested theory that can lay claim to being a sociology of deviant behavior. There have been many theoretical formulations that, like anomie theory, attempt to explain causal factors in deviant behavior, but very often these are conflicting evaluations that present a confused picture to persons responsible for the treatment of deviant behavior.

The theory of anomie is one theoretical attempt to explain deviancy by using sociological concepts. It has a great deal of appeal to students of modern society because

anomie is assumed to be largely a phenomenon of the complex industrial society. Before it can be accepted as a meaningful and reliable guide to social programs aimed at treatment of social deviation of any type it must be put to the test of experience and, either validated and refined, or discarded on the basis of empirical evidence. This research is aimed at generating some evidence which we hope will throw some new light on the reliability of the theory of anomie as a guide to action programs in the treatment of juvenile delinquency.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The aim of this chapter is to review briefly the historical development and current status of the theory of anomie. The meaning of 'anomie,' like that of so many other sociological concepts, has undergone many changes at the hands of different authors. In this chapter, we will make no attempt to review the total confused history of the term, but will concentrate primarily on the main line of development of anomic theory, namely, the work of Durkheim, Merton, and other recent contributors, who have extended and modified these earlier statements of the theory.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The concept of anomie was first introduced into sociological literature by Emile Durkheim in 1893, when he made passing allusion to anomie in The Divisions of Labor in Society.¹ The concept played a relatively small part in his total theory of the divisions of labor. It was in his classic study of suicide, which appeared four years later, that the concept of anomie took on its great importance in

¹Emile Durkheim, The Divisions of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1947).

Durkheim's theoretical presentation, but in a considerably revised form.²

The term *anomie* apparently had been in use in the English language prior to Durkheim's adoption of it for his theoretical writings. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the term entered the English language during the sixteenth century and was used by William Lambarde in his historical writings to refer to conditions that bring "disorder, doubt and uncertainty." It was also used by seventeenth century theologians to describe a "life without law."³

The term *anomie* is, apparently, borrowed from the Greek language. The Greek word anomos is normally translated "lawlessness."⁴ Mizruchi has noted an interesting sidelight to the term *anomie* pointing out that the Greek root nomos meaning "custom," "way," "practice," and "law," became the Latin *mos*, the singular of "mores" or "norm" in the work of William Sumner. The prefix a is the Greek word meaning "no," and converts the term to its opposite,

²Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951).

³Oxford English Dictionary, (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).

⁴Henry Liddell and Robert Scott. A Greek English Lexicon, rev. Henry S. Jones (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 146-147; Joseph H. Thayer, Greek-English Lexicon (New York: American Book Co., 1886), pp. 48-49.

"lawlessness." In this sense, it seems quite reasonable that Durkheim would use the term *anomie* in his work to refer to a state of normlessness.

One interesting aspect of the historical development of the concept of *anomie* in sociological literature is the slowness with which it was adopted into common usage after its first introduction. Merton points out that a period of nearly thirty years elapsed after its first introduction before Pitirim Sorokin called attention to Durkheim's usage in his Contemporary Sociological Theories, originally published in 1928.⁵ Talcott Parsons was the next to give Durkheim's concept extensive treatment in The Structure of Social Action in 1937.⁶ The concept did not really take hold in sociology, however, until the publication of Merton's now famous paper "Social Structure and Anomie," published in 1938.⁷ Since 1938, approximately one hundred

⁵Robert K. Merton, "Anomia, and Social Interaction: Contexts of Deviant Behavior," in Marshall Clinard, ed., Anomie and Deviant Behavior: A Discussion and Critique (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 214-215; Pitirim A. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York: Harper Press, 1928).

⁶Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937).

⁷Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," American Sociological Review, 3:672-682, October, 1938; revised and extended in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, revised and enlarged edition (Glencoe, Ill.; The Free Press, 1957), Chaps. 4 and 5, pp. 131-194.

significant theoretical and empirical treatises of anomie have been published showing the growing interest in the concept in recent years.⁸

It is because of this growing interest in the concept of anomie, spawned by Merton's original and revised papers, that Albert Cohen asserts that the essay, "Social Structure and Anomie," has been "the most influential single formulation in the sociology of deviance in the last 25 years."⁹ A great deal of the subsequent works have been theoretical extensions and revisions of Merton's original formulation. The most noteworthy contribution spawned by Merton's earlier work is the theoretical extension of Merton's concept by Cloward and Ohlin, in which they have attempted to reformulate his theory into a more comprehensive treatment of delinquent behavior.¹⁰ A number of studies have also applied the concept to an ever widening inventory of deviant behavior, extending it far beyond the scope of suicide and criminality.

⁸Merton, "Anomie, Anomia, and Social Interaction," op cit., pp. 215-216.

⁹Albert K. Cohen, "Toward a Theory of Deviant Behavior: Continuities Continued," A paper presented to sessions on deviant behavior, American Sociological Association meeting, August 28, 1963.

¹⁰Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, 24:164-176, April, 1959; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity; A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960).

DURKHEIM'S CONCEPT OF ANOMIE

So much of the work of Emile Durkheim was concerned with investigation of the problem of social cohesion. He was especially interested in the modern industrial society with high degrees of social differentiation, and how such complex societies maintain some sort of cohesion. The divisions of labor and specialization of interests in complex societies, he felt, contributed greatly to social differentiation. It was in relation to these problems of differentiation brought about by industrialism that Durkheim first used the term anomie. He used the term in his first major work, The Divisions of Labor in Society, to refer to malintegration growing out of industrial crises, conflicts between labor and capital, and the increasing specialization of science.¹¹ He saw anomie arising because the complex divisions of labor of industrial societies prevent effective and meaningful contacts between its members, and thereby, weaken the regulation of social relationships.

The pathological forms and consequences of the divisions of labor in industrial societies, which Durkheim associated with a state of anomie, occur when those who perform the various specialized functions in the divisions of labor are not in sufficiently intimate and continuous

¹¹Durkheim, The Divisions of Labor in Society, op cit., Book 3, Chapter 1, pp. 353-373.

interaction with one another to permit the gradual development of a system of common rules and understandings. In the absence of such rules, unpredictability and uncertainty are magnified. Hence the body of common rules which he believed to be the principal mechanism for the regulation of the relationships among the elements of the social system, are broken down. It was this condition that Durkheim called "anomic divisions of labor."

The concept of anomie played a relatively small part in The Divisions of Labor in Society. The term was used more in a descriptive sense to describe one of the abnormal forms which results in imperfect organic solidarity in industrial societies. It was in his study of suicide that the concept took on its great importance in his treatment of complex society. In his treatise on suicide Durkheim distinguished three principal types of suicide, one of which was suicide anomique.¹² From the statistical data available to him he observed that suicide rates varied concomitant with the business cycle. He observed that suicide increased not only in times of depression, but also in times of rapidly increasing prosperity. Durkheim explained both of these trends as the result of persons suddenly being thrown out of adjustment with their typical pattern of life. In times of depression people's customary standard of living can no

¹²Durkheim, Suicide, op cit., Book 2, Chapter 5, pp. 241-276. Quotations and references in this section are primarily from pp. 247-257.

longer be met, resulting frequently in shame, frustration, desperation and futility. It seems reasonable to assume that such conditions might produce high suicide rates, but why should prosperity produce similar results? It was in his attempt to answer this puzzling question that Durkheim formulated his theory of anomie.¹³

According to Durkheim, human wants are in principle infinitely expandable.¹⁴ There is no "natural" limit to what men might crave. The limits to men's desires are, therefore, not set by biology, as in the case of lower animals, but by social rules that define what one is legitimately entitled to have. These regulatory norms are incorporated into the individual conscience where they regulate and discipline men's natural appetites. It is only when men's desires are so regulated, according to Durkheim, that it is possible for men to have a sense of satisfaction and fulfillment. However, an abrupt growth of power and wealth upsets, for many people, these customary definitions of socially acceptable levels of aspirations. When a considerable number of persons achieve sudden prosperity which they thought impossible to achieve, Durkheim asserted, they tend to no longer believe in the impossibility of anything. Thus, the breakdown of controls over man's desires in a society and of socially approved norms and

¹³Ibid., pp. 245-246

¹⁴Ibid., p. 253.

standards, particularly when the change is abrupt, gives rise to situations which may lead to suicide. It was to this type of suicide that Durkheim gave the name "anomic suicide."¹⁵ He showed empirically that there was a high rate of such suicide among those who are wealthy as well as among those who have experienced social disruption such as divorce. A sudden upward change in the standard of living or the breakup of a marriage puts norms in flux. Such conditions become functionally equivalent to depressions, in which the regulatory function of the collective order is no longer meaningful.

In the Durkheimian sense, then, anomie results from a breakdown in the regulation of goals such that men's aspirations become unlimited.¹⁶ Unlimited aspirations, he believed create a constant pressure for deviant behavior. Anomie, therefore, refers to a state in which social norms no longer control men's actions. This state of anomie, Durkheim pointed out, is particularly characteristic of the industrial world which is marked by a tendency toward unlimited goals brought about by rapid technological developments and the existence of vast unexploited markets which excite the imagination by presenting apparently infinite possibilities for the accumulation of wealth.¹⁷

¹⁵Ibid., p. 253: pp. 264 276.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 247.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 253 257

Durkheim also suggests that the expanding possibilities for the acquisition of wealth, characteristic of burgeoning industrialism, is reinforced in many western societies by ideologies that place emphasis on acquisitiveness and ambition.¹⁸ It is precisely these cultural emphases upon infinite or "receding goals" that, in Durkheim's opinion, put a strain upon the regulatory apparatus of the society. For if men are never satisfied with their position in the social hierarchy, if they are driven by unrealistic desires to improve their lot in life, then they may cease to be bound by the prevailing rules of the society, in which case a state of anomie or normlessness exists.

Durkheim seems to view social life in industrial societies as a paradox. The very cultural emphases on achievement and high aspirations that underly the social order of industrial societies also result in disorder.¹⁹ He argues that the cultural emphasis on unlimited success-goals tends to solve some problems of motivation in the industrial situation, but it also creates new problems. The constant pressures to achieve increasingly higher aspirations result in a pervasive feeling of position discontent producing acute pressures for deviant behavior. Thus, unlimited or unregulated aspirations of the industrial order

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 250-251.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 251.

exerts intense pressures toward disorder because they are, by definition, unachievable, and thereby, a source of "uninterrupted agitation." Anomie, in the Durkheimian sense, can then be defined as a state of normlessness which arises when disruption of the collective order allows man's aspirations to arise beyond all possibility of their fulfillment.²⁰ Discipline and regulation is not imposed by society. There are no social norms to define the ends of action which are meaningful to people in anomic situations. Persons aspire to goals which they either cannot attain or find difficult to reach, producing strains toward deviation.

MERTON'S CONCEPT OF ANOMIE

Durkheim's use of anomie was far from precise and has produced considerable confusion. His pioneering work on the conditions that contribute to a breakdown in social control was greatly advanced by Robert Merton in his paper, "Social Structure and Anomie."²¹ Merton's treatment of anomie has been derived directly from Durkheim's earlier work, but is broader in orientation and more specific in application. Like Durkheim, Merton was concerned with the task of accounting for the emergence of deviant behavior. He, however, expanded Durkheim's view, that a situation of normlessness may arise from a malintegration of aspirations and a breakdown of regulatory norms, into a general principle that the

²⁰Ibid., p. 253.

²¹Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op cit.

social structure exerts a definite pressure upon certain persons in a society to engage in deviant behavior.²² Merton broadened the application of anomie beyond suicide, in an effort to explain not only suicide, but crime, delinquency, mental disorder, alcoholism, drug addiction, and many other disorders in normative behavior.

In explaining anomie and deviant behavior, Merton concentrated on the social order rather than on the individual. He rejected earlier tendencies, partly characteristic of Durkheim's work, to consider man's innate desires as the source of motivation toward unattainable goals, arguing instead, that men's aspirations are induced by the social structure.²³ In outlining how social structure induces deviations, Merton distinguishes between the cultural structure and the social structure of society. The cultural structure, he asserts, consists of values and norms, which define the approved ends toward which men orient themselves and the approved ways in which they reach out for these ends.²⁴ The social structure, on the other hand, consists of the patterned sets of relationships in which people are involved, such as the differentiation of people into social classes on the basis of wealth, power or prestige. The social structure determines the actual

²²Ibid., pp. 131-132.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., p. 162.

distribution of the facilities and opportunities for achieving the cultural goals in a manner compatible with the regulatory norms. These are what Merton refers to as the "institutionalized means."²⁵

Anomie, therefore, is not, in the Mertonian sense, merely the result of unregulated goals, as Durkheim asserts, but arises as a result of a breakdown in the relationship between goals and legitimate avenues of access to them.²⁶ A stable society is one in which goals and institutionalized means are fairly well integrated. An unstable society, in contrast, is one in which these two elements are out of balance. This disjunction between goals and means leads, in turn, to a weakening of men's commitment to either the culturally prescribed goals or institutionalized means. In either case, the resultant situation is what Merton refers to as a state of anomie, or a state of normlessness: anomie is "conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them."²⁷ Merton, like Durkheim, sees a paradox in the social life of modern societies, for he adds that "cultural values may help to produce behavior which is at odds with the

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 162.

mandates of the values themselves."²⁸ For malintegration of cultural goals and institutionalized means, in which social structure prevents what the cultural structure encourages, can lead to a breakdown of the normative system, and the development of a situation of normlessness.

ADAPTATION TO ANOMIE

The aspect of Merton's formulation of the theory of anomie that has, perhaps, stimulated the most interest in recent sociological literature is his discussion of ways in which persons adapt to a situation where legitimate means to reach goals are not readily available to him. This brings us to his treatment of the modes of adaptation to anomic situations which often result in deviant behavior.

Anomie, according to Merton, is a condition which exerts acute pressures toward deviant behavior. Deviant behavior, in turn, is to be viewed as a predictable consequence of anomic situations: "Aberrant behavior may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues of realizing these aspirations."²⁹ A condition of anomie is characterized by a disjunction between cultural goals and institutionalized means. This disjunction, according to Merton, produces social psychological strains

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

on the individual resulting in a weakening of men's commitment to either, or both, the culturally prescribed goals or the institutionalized means.³⁰ Thus, when confronted with an anomic situation, a person can either accept or reject the institutionalized means, or they may either accept or reject the cultural goals. The acceptance or rejection of one apparently does not necessarily influence what one does in regard to the other. We have, therefore, two variables, each of which has both a positive or negative value signifying the acceptance (+) or rejection (-) of the prevailing value. This results in the following paradigm of modes of adaptation to a state of anomie:³¹

TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

MODES OF ADAPTATION*CULTURAL GOALS*INSTITUTIONALIZED MEANS

CONFORMITY	+		+
INNOVATION	+		-
RITUALISM	-		+
RETREATISM	-		-
**REBELLION	+		+
	-		-

**The symbol (+) indicates rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new values.

The first of these adaptations, conformity, is the most common mode of adaptation in any society. Conformity to both cultural goals and institutional means is necessary for the majority of a society's population if social order is to be maintained. The remaining modes of adaptation are

³⁰Ibid., pp. 139-140; p. 162.

³¹Ibid., p. 140.

all varieties of deviant behavior. Ritualists (e.g., bureaucrats who slavishly follow the rules without regard for the mission or ends for which they were designed) make a virtue of overconformity to the institutionalized norms at the price of underconformity to the culturally prescribed goals. Retreatists (e.g., tramps, chronic drunkards, and drug addicts) withdraw from the drive to "get ahead" by abandoning both goals and means. The Rebels (e.g., members of revolutionary social movements) withdraw allegiance to the cultural and social system they consider undesirable or unjust and seek to reconstitute the society with a new set of goals and prescriptions for attaining them. The last mode of adaptation, the innovators (e.g., professional thieves, white-collar criminals, cheaters, juvenile delinquents) adhere to the goals but reject the normatively prescribed means.³²

In this research our attention is focused primarily on this latter type of adaptation as it may be expressed in delinquent behavior. Such a form of adaptation presupposes that individuals have been inadequately socialized with respect to cultural goals emphasizing success-aspirations:

"Great cultural emphasis upon the success goal invites this mode of adaptation through the use of institutionally proscribed but often effective means of attaining at least the simulacrum of success, wealth and power. This

³²Ibid., pp. 141-157.

response occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment.³³

Thus, innovative behavior takes place when men are overly committed to culturally prescribed success goals, and, at the same time, the social structure limits their access to these lofty aspirations. The strain produced by this disjunction results in a weakening of men's commitment to the institutional norms, producing acute pressures toward deviant behavior. Merton further suggests that deviant behavior, such as crime and juvenile delinquency, is "a normal response to a situation where the cultural emphasis upon pecuniary success has been absorbed, but where there is little access to conventional and legitimate means for becoming successful."³⁴ These pressures tend to result in the gradual reduction in efforts to use legitimate means and the increased experimentation and implimentation of means that are not institutionally prescribed, and often illegitimate. Hence, Merton's formulation directs the investigator's attention toward a search for those points in the social structure where malintegration of culturally goals and institutional means are most acute.

It should be noted that Merton does not attempt to explain all types of delinquent behavior by anomie. In his

³³Ibid., p. 141.

³⁴Ibid., p. 145.

revision of his original paper, he clearly recognized that various types of behavior are included in the legal rubrics of delinquency and crime, and therefore, that "the foregoing theory of anomie is designed to account for some, not all, forms of deviant behavior customarily described as criminal or delinquent.³⁵ It should also be recognized that not all forms of innovation are to be considered illegitimate. Many innovations are functional contributions to society. Entrepreneurial behavior, for example, is very often innovative in character, and also, important in a society's economic growth.

SOCIAL CLASS AND ANOMIE

In his writings, Merton confines his analysis of social structure and anomie to societies like America where certain success-goals tend to be stressed without a similar emphasis on institutional means to obtain them. He especially asserts that American culture places heavy emphasis on the desirability of accumulating great wealth as a symbol of success without a corresponding emphasis on using legitimate means to reach these goals.³⁶ The discrepancy between the social emphasis on material success and failure to emphasize the appropriate means of attaining this goal is, according to Merton, greater for those social strata with the least access to legitimate means for achieving them.³⁷ Hence, by

³⁵Ibid., p. 178.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 166-176.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 144-149.

focusing attention primarily on the class structure, Merton is led logically to hypothesize that the impact of anomie is greater among the lower classes in American society than among the higher classes.³⁸

Correspondingly, Merton further assumes that rates of deviant behavior within a given society vary by social class and by racial and ethnic groups, concentrating more heavily in the lower strata of society. The support for this assumption, of course, rests primarily on the validity of the proposition that the strain toward anomie will be differentially distributed through the social system, becoming more heavily concentrated in the lower strata. For, Merton asserts that:

"It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale."³⁹

It is in the lower strata where, according to Merton that the greatest restrictions on opportunities to achieve success are experienced. The opportunities of the lower class seem to be largely restricted to manual labor, and this is often stigmatized in the American society. Thus, "the status of unskilled labor and the consequently low

³⁸Ibid., p. 144.

³⁹Ibid., p. 146.

income cannot readily compete in terms of established standards of worth with the promise of power and high income from organized vice, rackets and crime."⁴⁰ It is because of this, that Merton argues that crime and delinquency are normal responses to lower class situations.⁴¹

It is important to note, however, that from Merton's analysis, high frequency of deviant behavior among certain classes in American society cannot be explained by a lack of opportunity alone, or by exaggerated emphasis on high success goals alone. But, rather, it is the discrepancy between aspirations and accessibility of these culturally induced goals, resulting in a state of anomie, that produce extreme pressures toward deviation. In the American society, Merton argues, this condition is strengthened by a cultural emphasis on equality of opportunity which places a "high premium on economic affluence and social ascent for all its members," coupled with the limitations imposed by the social class structure.⁴²

It is also important to recognize that Merton does not maintain that the idealized goal of economic affluence and social ascent is internalized by all persons in the society irrespective of their social class or ethnic position. His theory only suggests that a substantial number or "a number

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 145.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 145.

⁴²Ibid., p. 146.

sufficiently large to result in a more frequent disjunction between goals and opportunity among the lower class strata than among the upper class strata" need to be oriented toward these idealized goals.⁴³ Thus, from the empirical point of view, it is important to distinguish between absolute numbers of persons oriented toward these high goals and the relative proportion of each class. Merton believes that the relative proportion of persons in the lower strata oriented to the high success-goals of the American society is great enough to produce a higher frequency of deviant behavior in the lower strata.

The logic of Merton's argument, that the "greatest pressures toward deviation are exerted upon the lower strata," can be summarized as follows:⁴⁴

1. "Incentives for success are provided (for all classes) by the established values of the culture... (providing) certain common success-goals for the population at large."
2. "The avenues available for moving toward this goal are largely limited by the class structure."
3. It is the disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them or an anomic condition that produces acute pressures for deviation.
4. "Of those located in the lower reaches of the social structure, the culture makes incompatible demands. On the one hand,

⁴³Ibid., p. 174.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 144-146.

they are asked to orient their conduct toward the prospects of large wealth... and on the other, they are largely denied effective opportunities to do so institutionally."

5. Therefore, "The greatest pressures toward deviation are exerted upon the lower strata."

THE THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Merton's reformulation of Durkheim's concept of anomie has offered several important contributions to the development of the theory of anomie. In their discussion of Merton's theory, Cloward and Ohlin have pointed out three major contributions that are of importance to the problem of this research.⁴⁵ First, Merton's conceptual refinements "enable us to expand our inquiry to include the results of striving for limited goals when the possibilities of achieving them legitimately are also limited."⁴⁶ Durkheim emphasized the unlimited nature of aspirations in a burgeoning industrial society as the source of anomie. The available evidence provided by previous studies of aspirations in the American society tend to indicate that people rarely aspire to reach for the top of the class hierarchy from relatively low socio-economic background. Rather, they seem to aim at improving their position one step at a time. From this data it seems safe to conclude that for

⁴⁵Cloward and Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, op cit., pp. 83-85.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 83.

most people their immediate aspirations are limited. However, even limited aspirations can be a source of anomie if the discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility are acute.

Merton's formulation also allows us to account for anomie in "the normal functioning of society."⁴⁷ Durkheim stressed causal factors such as economic crisis or social disruption brought about by rapidly expanding industrialism as causal factors in the breakdown of the regulation of aspirations. However, in Merton's formulation, discrepancies between ambition and accessibility of goals can occur and exert pressures toward deviance without the conditions of economic crises or social crisis. Merton's refinement directs the attention of the investigator toward the relationship between these components of the cultural structure rather than toward exogenous pressures on the normative system.

And finally, Merton's theory provides a conceptual formulation which allows the observer to make "distinctions regarding the severity of pressures toward deviant behavior which originates at different points in the social structure."⁴⁸ It is this aspect of Merton's theory that is of special interest to this study. For it is generally recognized that the actual distribution of facilities and

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 84.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 85.

opportunities vary throughout the social structure, becoming increasingly more restricted in the lower strata of society and among certain ethnic and racial groups. Thus, there is rather strong evidence that persons variously located in the social structure of modern societies do have rather different chances of reaching common success-goals, despite the prevailing ideology of equal opportunity that often underlies the social life of industrial societies. The empirical application of Merton's theory should stress identification of points in the social structure where the disjunction between aspirations and institutional means are especially acute.

MODIFICATIONS AND EXTENSIONS OF ANOMIC THEORY

There have been a number of extensions and reformulations of anomic theory in recent years. A complete overview of the history and development of anomic theory would not be complete without making some mention of more recent contributions. In this section a few of the major contributions to this theory of deviant behavior will be briefly discussed.

Sebastian De Grazia: An Extension of Durkheim's Theory.

Sebastian De Grazia, in one of the first systematic studies of anomie to appear in the social-scientific literature, extended Durkheim's concept of anomie to account for nearly all of the difficulties of contemporary society. He defined anomie as "the disintegrated state of a society that

possesses no body of common values or morals which effectively govern conduct...The study of anomie is the study of the ideological factors that weaken or destroy the bonds of allegiance which make the political community."⁴⁹ He attributed much of the ills of modern society to anomie, including such phenomena as infertility and mental illness. In his studies of anomie he distinguished between simple and acute anomie in a society. Merton later made a similar distinction.⁵⁰ Simple anomie is seen, for instance, in contemporary art and literature, in the alienation of the worker as he reacts against impersonality and competition. Acute anomie is expressed by more extreme types of adaptation such as mental disorders, crime, suicide, and mass movements.

Talcott Parsons: An Extension of Merton's Theory

Talcott Parsons has dealt with the concept of anomie in a number of his major works and has extended Merton's formulation of anomic theory to incorporate it into a broader theory of social action.⁵¹ The relation of

⁴⁹Sebastian De Grazia, The Political Community: A Study of Anomie (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. XII-IX.

⁵⁰Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, *op cit.*, p. 163; De Grazia, *op cit.*, p. 46.

⁵¹Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951); and Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, Eds., Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).

deviation to conformity is an important aspect of his overall theory of society. Parsons goes beyond Merton's definition that anomie is the disjunction between institutionalized means and cultural goals, to include strains that occur when persons are unable to make institutionally accepted object-attachments. This includes a wide range of situations such as attachments to the opposite sex, self acceptance, attachments to collective organizations such as Churches, and so on. His typology of anomic adaptations goes beyond Merton's. He uses a set of three variables with eight types of deviant behavior. His typology is based on various types of motivational responses in terms of active and passive orientations, alienative or conformative need dispositions within the motivational structure, and the relation of the person to social objects and to the normative patterns.⁵²

Cloward and Ohlin: Illegitimate Means

Perhaps the most important single contribution to anomic theory in recent years has been the extension of Merton's theory by Cloward and Ohlin. They have attempted to reformulate Merton's theory to include a wider range of phenomena. In Merton's theory of anomie, deviant behavior is viewed as a product of patterned differentials in the access to goals of success by the use of legitimate institutional means. Cloward, in an earlier paper, and Cloward and Ohlin in a later paper, point out that there are

⁵²Parsons, The Social System, op cit., pp.169f; pp.321

also differentials in access to illegitimate means, and this differential opportunity plays a large part in the distribution of deviant adaptations.⁵³ They assume that deviant responses to anomie take a subcultural form and that whether or not a deviant subculture will arise and what form it will take depends on the position of those who are subject to strains relative to the structure of opportunities. Different social strata provide varying opportunities for the acquisition of deviant roles, largely through access to deviant subcultures and the opportunity for carrying out such deviant social roles once they have been acquired. The access to illegitimate means vary by the same set of variables which account for differential access to legitimate means.

The structure of illegitimate opportunities consist largely of the opportunity to learn, to practice, and to perform deviant roles. More specifically, it implies a milieu which contains models of successful deviance, opportunities to associate with and enjoy the tutelage of such models, and a setting which provides the agents and facilities necessary to make the deviance practicable and rewarding. The kind of illegitimate opportunity and their distribution will determine the content of the deviant subculture. In this formulation Merton's theory of anomie

⁵³Cloward and Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, op cit.; Cloward "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," op cit.

is linked up to the traditional emphasis of Edwin Sutherland, Clifford Shaw, and Henry McKay's theories of cultural transmission and differential association.

This formulation is held to be an improvement on Merton's theory, for Merton's view that innovating behavior may result from imperfect socialization implies that illegitimate means are available. Actually, illegitimate means are not equally available to all persons in a society. There can be structurally imposed barriers to illegitimate means just as there is in the case of legitimate means.

By means, Cloward has two things in mind. First, that there are appropriate learning environments for the acquisition of the values and skills associated with the performance of a particular role; and second, that the individual has opportunities to discharge the role once he has been prepared. Thus, by means he is referring to both the learning and the opportunity structures, while Merton primarily focuses on the opportunity structure.⁵⁴

Delinquent subcultures, according to Cloward and Ohlin, typically take one of three forms: the criminal, the conflict, and the retreatist.⁵⁵ The first emphasized orderly, disciplined, rational activity oriented to economic gain. This type of delinquent subculture arises in communities where organized adult crime is well established, providing

⁵⁴Ibid., Ch. 6, especially pp. 145-148.

⁵⁵Ibid., Ch. 7, pp. 161-186.

both illegitimate learning and opportunity structures for youth. The second emphasizes violence, gang fighting and destruction of property, and arises in communities where adult crime is unorganized and lacking in both illegitimate learning and opportunity structures. In the absence of good illegitimate, as well as legitimate avenues to success-goals, the young people compete for status through violence and toughness. Both of these types of adaptations are innovative in nature. The third subculture emphasizes drug use and other "kicks." This type of adaptation arises in communities where there are no illegitimate avenues to success-goals. Individuals denied access to criminal and conflict opportunities tend to withdraw into their own world and become, in a real sense, retreatist subcultures emphasizing the "cool" life, and seeking intense and immediate experiences such as drug use provides. In other words, retreatist subcultures are frequently composed of those "who are failures in both worlds, conventional and illegitimate alike," and may be conceived as "double failures."

Marshall Clinard has criticized Cloward and Ohlin's theory of illegitimate means in much the same way as others have criticized Merton's formulation. These include:⁵⁶

⁵⁶Marshall B. Clinard, "The Theoretical Implications of Anomie and Deviant Behavior," in Marshall B. Clinard, ed., Anomie and Deviant Behavior: A Discussion and Critique (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 30.

1. "being largely culture-bound and restricted to the ethnic and minority situation existing in large urban areas in the United States today;
2. assuming that such success goals are appreciated in all segments of society;
3. not stating clearly the success-goal aspirations of slum boys, except the economic and educational goals;
4. barely recognizing the extensive violation of ethical and legal norms in the general adult society among all classes."

Albert Cohen: A Criticism of Merton's Theory

Albert Cohen has formulated a theory of delinquent gangs that resembles anomic theory. He asserts that delinquent gangs arise as a result of the class structure of the American society.⁵⁷ He suggests that delinquent gang behavior is a product of group solutions to status problems and frustrations of the lower class youth who live in a world dominated by middle class values. The inaccessibility of middle class values produces frustration and ultimately resentment toward everything considered virtuous by the middle class. Lower class youth are drawn together into delinquent gangs because of this common hostility. The subculture which is thus formed represents opposition to middle class values, characterized largely by malice toward middle class morality, and emphasized hedonistic, nonutilitarian type of fun rather than long term success goals.

⁵⁷Cohen, Delinquent Boys, op cit.

Even though there is some similarity between Cohen's value conflict theory and anomie, the two are not identical. In fact, Cohen has registered a number of objections to Merton's formulation which are indicative of the need for more research to better understand the nature of delinquency. His first objection to Merton's theory is that Merton's analysis stresses too heavily the utilitarian nature of juvenile delinquency which he feels is more often a non-utilitarian, hedonistic and negativistic seeking for kicks. Because of this he suggests that anomie is "highly plausible as an explanation for adult professional crime and for the property delinquency of some older and semi-professional juvenile thieves," but has serious limitations as an explanation of subcultural delinquency of a non-utilitarian nature.⁵⁸

Like Cloward and Ohlin, Cohen also assumes the sub-cultural nature of gang delinquency and criticizes Merton for a failure to adequately take into account social interaction as a factor in deviant behavior.⁵⁹ He suggests that Merton, by failing to take into account the social milieu of delinquent youth, "leaves them in a social vacuum totally motivated and controlled within a general framework of goals, institutional norms, and legitimate opportunities."⁶⁰ In

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 36.

⁵⁹Cohen, "Deviant Behavior," op cit.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 2.

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part, the influence of reference groups is taken into account in the more recent formulation of Cloward and Ohlin, but Cohen asserts that an adequate theory of juvenile delinquency must give more consideration to social interaction. Theoretically, he argues, the relation of the goals of the culture and the goals of actual role incumbents must consider the "level of goal attainment that will seem just and reasonable to concrete actors, and therefore, the sufficiency of their means, will be relative to the attainments of others who, for those actors, serve as reference objects."⁶¹

Cohen also objects to what he calls the discontinuity of Merton's theory, in which "the occurrence of the deviant act is treated as though it were an abrupt change of state, a leap from a state of strain or anomie to a state of deviance."⁶² He argues further, that in this sense, the theory of anomie is formulated in terms of "variables describing initial states and outcomes, rather than in terms of processes whereby acts and complex structures of action are built, elaborated, and transformed."⁶³ This failure, Cohen again attributes to a failure to adequately take into account the process of interaction between several actors which may produce a deviant act. Hence, he maintains that a complete theory of delinquent behavior necessitates a union

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., p. 7.

⁶³Ibid.

of anomie theory, role theory, and theory of the self. Until this is accomplished, Cohen holds that anomic theory can be no more than a partial theory of deviant behavior, and perhaps, inadequate to explain juvenile deviance.

SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE ANOMIE

The current usage of the term anomie in the social sciences falls generally into two broad categories; objective, sociological definitions and subjective, social psychological definitions. Durkheim's conception of anomie is clearly sociological, as is also Merton's refinement of the earlier usage. "Anomie" as Merton uses the term means "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."⁶⁴ Even though Merton suggests that this special application of Durkheim's usage is only one source of anomie, it is clearly a social structural strain that he has in mind, and thereby, entirely sociological in nature.

Actually there is little difference between Durkheim's and Merton's usage of anomie. Both involve social and cultural phenomenon distinct from personal processes. Social psychological definitions, on the other hand, are clearly of another nature. As with alienation, the subjective involves

⁶⁴Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure,
op cit., p. 162.

conditions of the whole or part of society.

Sebastian De Grazia was one of the first to stress both the subjective and objective aspects of anomie. The presence of these two conceptualizations of anomie can be seen in the following statement:⁶⁵

"Being a sociologist, Durkheim was more properly concerned with depicting anomie as a sociological state. For him, anomie was most often the disorder condition of a society that possessed a weak conscience collective, the phrase he used to refer to the ensemble of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same community. If there are no shared rules or norms of conduct in a community, or if the goals defined by these rules are not attainable, as in depression or unusual prosperity, then men suffer. But a complete and concrete portrayal of their suffering is not to be found...Happily, it is possible to piece together the puzzle somewhat, by taking discontinuous sentences or phrases from Le Suicide...After some study it becomes apparent that anomie as Durkheim conceived it in the subjective sense had three characteristics: a painful uneasiness or anxiety, a feeling of separation from the group or of isolation from group standards, a feeling of pointlessness or that no certain goals exist.

Robert MacIver also suggested a subjective aspect of anomie. Using the English spelling, "anomy," he writes:⁶⁶

"Let us look next at anomy, the other malady of democratic man that becomes most virulent in times of crisis and turbulent change, the breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society, to all society. Anomy is not simply lawlessness. A gangster or a pirate or a mere law-

⁶⁵DeGrazia, The Political Community, op cit., pp.4-5.

⁶⁶Robert Mac Iver, The Ramparts We Guard (New York: The Mac Millan Co., 1950), p. 84.

evading rogue is not as such, indeed is not likely to be, anomic. He has his own code of law against law and is under strong sanctions to obey it. He need not be that victim of inner detachment of that cleavage between the real self and the projected self, of that total rejection of indoctrinated values that characterizes the anomic person. Anomy signifies the state of mind of one who has been pulled up from his moral roots, who has no longer any standards but only disconnected urges, who has no longer any sense of continuity, of folk, of obligation. The anomic man has become spiritually sterile, responsive only to himself, responsible to no one. He derides the values of other men. His only faith is the philosophy of denial. He lives on the thin line of sensation between no future and no past.

In a more recent paper, Harold D. Lasswell has also attempted to define anomie in the subjective sense. He defines anomie as "lack of identification on the part of the primary ego of the individual with a "self" that includes other. In a word, modern man appears to be suffering from psychic isolation. He felt alone, cut off, unwanted, unloved, unvalued."⁶⁷

The subjective aspects of anomie were not entirely unrecognized by Durkheim or by Merton. For even though not all of these subjective definitions stress the same elements they all seem to have corollaries in Durkheim's treatment of anomic suicide. Merton has also acknowledged the presence of subjective anomie, but is careful to point out, "The psychological is a counterpart of the sociological concept

⁶⁷Harold D. Lasswell, "The Threat to Privacy," in Robert Mac Iver, ed., Conflicts of Loyalties (New York: Harper and Row, 1952), p. 132.

of anomie, and not a substitute for it."⁶⁸

In the present study our primary interest is to explore the objective features of social structure that give rise to anomie. Subjective anomie, on the other hand, constitutes a symptom of objective anomie and the measurement of this phenomenon is one index of objective anomie that has frequently been employed in contemporary research.

There have been some attempts to measure objective anomie. The best known of these attempts is the often quoted study of Bernard Lander.⁶⁹ Lander used two sets of correlated but distinct clusters of variables, which he designated as the "socio-economic" and the "anomic." The socio-economic cluster consisted of factors such as sub-standard housing, the percentage of overcrowding, level of education and so on. The anomic cluster consisted of the delinquency rate, the percentage of nonwhite population in the area, and the percentage of home owners. He characterized such factors as the presence of delinquency, the evidence of an area in transition and instability, and the breakdown of the family as anomic, because such factors represent the breakdown or weakening of the regulatory structure of society.⁷⁰ His data substantiated his

⁶⁸Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op cit., p. 162.

⁶⁹Bernard Lander, Towards an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 55.

hypothesis that instability of an area is related to delinquency.

In commenting on Lander's study, Merton made favorable comment, but has carefully pointed out that these factors are really measurements of symptoms of anomie rather than a measure of anomie itself.⁷¹ More effort needs to be directed toward developing techniques to measure anomie objectively. At present there seems to be no adequate techniques available.

Most attempts to measure anomie in contemporary research center on personal reactions to anomie. Because subjective anomie is a counterpart to objective anomie, most social scientists are willing to accept adequate measures of subjective anomie as an index or indicator of anomie in the social structure.

The most widely used index of anomie is the scale developed in 1956 by Leo Srole. This scale consists of five items which purport to measure the individual's perception of his social environment. Srole describes the construction of the scale in these words.⁷²

"We set down the ideational states or components that on theoretical grounds would represent internalized counterparts or reflections, in the individual's life situation, of conditions of social

⁷¹Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op. cit. p. 166.

⁷²Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review 21: 709-716, December 1956.

dysfunction...The first of these postulated components was the individual's sense that community leaders are detached from and indifferent to his needs, reflecting severance of the interdependent bond within the social system between leaders and those they should represent and serve... 'There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.' The second hypothesized element of anomia was the individual's perception of the social order as essentially fickle and unpredictable, i.e., orderless, inducing the sense that under such conditions he can accomplish little toward realizing future life goals... 'Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.'

Closely related to this aspect of anomia was a third element: the individual's view, beyond abdication of future life goals, that he and people like him are retrogressing from the goals that they have already reached. The item chosen to represent this component was the statement rejecting the American Creed doctrine of progress: 'In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.'

The fourth component postulated, and the one perhaps most closely approximating Durkheim's particular definition of anomie was the deflation or loss of internalized social norms and values, reflected in extreme form in the individual's sense of the meaninglessness of life itself... 'It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.' The final anomia component was hypothesized as the individual's perception that his framework of immediate personal relationships, the very rock of his social existence was no longer predictive or supportive... 'These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.'

Most attempts to measure anomie as a subjective experience have been based on this five item scale. Following Srole's usage subjective anomie has come to be known as anomia.⁷³ Anomia, as an index of anomie, is empirically

⁷³Harold Mizruchi, Success and Opportunity: A Critical Examination of Class Structure and Anomie in American Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1954), pp. 49-50

viewed as a dependent variable, while anomie is an independent variable. In using this subjective index to test Merton's theory, it must be understood that anomia is only an index and the major concern is with structural dynamics. The extent to which Srole's scale is an adequate index to the phenomena that interested Durkheim and Merton depends upon how consistent the observed distributions are with the original theory of anomie.

ANOMIE, ANOMIA, AND ALIENATION

The distinction between anomia as the subjective aspect of what Merton called anomie and the term 'alienation' is not clear. Some sociologists seem to use the two terms interchangeably, while others attempt to make a distinction between them. Gwynn Nettler, for instance distinguishes between the two concepts by suggesting that an alienated person is:⁷⁴

"One who has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward, his society and the culture it carries. Alienation and anomie are undoubtedly correlated; at least it is difficult to conceive of any notable degree of anomie that would not result in alienation, but this seems poor reason for confusing the two. Nor should these concepts be equated, as they so often are, with personal disorganization defined as intrapersonal conflict, personal goallessness, or lack of 'internal coherence,' and which is used synonymously with psychopathology. Behaviors commonly selected as symptoms of anomie such as white collar crime or juvenile gang activity

⁷⁴Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 22:672, December, 1957.

are often exhibited by individuals who are themselves well integrated. How alienated such people feel, as compared with those whose behaviors seem less indicative of anomie, is a matter for investigation rather than assumption. Similarly one may conceivably be alienated with or without personal disorganization and with or without participating in behaviors that are ordinarily used as indexes of an anomie.

Perhaps, one of the most comprehensive and most widely cited study of the meaning of alienation is the paper by Melvin Seeman in which he attempts to clarify what he believes to be the most frequent uses of the term.⁷⁵ He distinguishes five types of usage in terms of expectations with regard to goals" (1) powerlessness, "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements he seeks;"⁷⁶ (2) meaninglessness, occurring when "the individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe- when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met;"⁷⁷ (3) normlessness, a condition in which "there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals;"⁷⁸ (4) isolation, the belief that goals highly regarded in

⁷⁵Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24:783-791.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 784.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 786.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 788.

society are of low reward value;"⁷⁹ (5) self-estrangement, "the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards."⁸⁰

Of these five usages cited by Seeman, normlessness comes closest to anomie in the Merton-Durkheim sense. Seemans states further that "it is clear that the general idea of anomie, is both an integral part of the alienation literature, and that it bears upon our expectancy notions."⁸¹ He, however, cautions that confusion has been generated, in part, because the "idea of normlessness has been overextended to include a variety of both social conditions and psychic states: personal disorganization, cultural breakdown, reciprocal distrust, and so on."⁸² In general, considerably more work needs to be done to refine these concepts into more clear-cut empirical tools.

SUMMARY

In this chapter a review of some of the more significant theoretical developments in anomic theory have been discussed. Even though there have been elaborate extensions of anomic theory in recent years, the Durkheim-Merton formulation continue to be the primary reference point underlying current controversy and development of anomic theory. Recent developments of this theory have primarily been at the theoretical

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 789.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 790.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 787.

⁸²Ibid.

level. It is generally recognized that these theoretical extensions have far outstripped the empirical investigation necessary to validate the underlying assumptions. In most cases the extensions of Merton's theory have been theoretical elaborations framed at a high level of generality as part of a larger theoretical system. With few exceptions, these recent theoretical activities have aided little the task of conceptualization and operationalization of anomic theory in such a way that the basic assumptions upon which the theory rests can be tested and validated.

Recent discussion of anomic theory has had significant impact on current attitude toward this theory of deviant behavior. Three significant aspects of these recent discussions are worthy of reiteration. First, we have noted a growing tendency to raise questions concerning the adequacy and validity of this theory as an explanation of deviant behavior. Accompanying these questions has been a growing concern for more research to validate the claims of anomic theory in its various formulations. Secondly, recent developments have suggested that anomie may be related to a wider range of phenomena than are treated in Merton's formulation of the theory. These criticisms have especially been concerned with the value of taking into account interactive processes involved in human behavioral responses. Thirdly, these recent developments have advanced the concept of anomie by clarifying the subjective and objective aspects of anomic conditions. The treatment of subjective anomie as

a corollary phenomena with the objective condition has aided the development of measuring anomie through individual responses.

Even though there have been recent extensions of anomic theory, Merton's formulation continues to be the primary focus of concern in current social thought. Despite the extensive theoretical treatment of his ideas, little has been done to empirically validate Merton's theory. If meaningful progress is to be made in testing anomic theory, it would appear that Merton's formulation should be of prime empirical concern, for it not only has had the greatest impact on current thinking but also is framed in such a way that it offers possibilities of operationalization and measurement. The following discussion and measurements will primarily focus on Merton's formulation in an attempt to measure the extent of the empirical support for certain aspects of his theory.

CHAPTER THREE

ANOMIC THEORY IN PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Even though the major interest in the theory of anomie has been theoretical, there has been an increasing empirical interest in the theory generated in recent years. In general, the theoretical development of the theory has outstripped the empirical investigations so that the empirical support for the theory is weak in many respects. In this chapter we plan to examine some of the studies which have attempted to test the basic assumptions underlying Merton's formulation of anomic theory as it relates to social class and delinquent behavior.

SOCIAL CLASS AND ANOMIE

In Merton's formulation, anomie is defined 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."¹ In the American society, he asserts there is a discrepancy between the social emphasis on material success and the legitimate means available to attain these goals. By focusing primarily on the class structure, Merton hypothesizes that the effect of this strain will be greatest for those classes with the

¹Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Rev. ed.; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957).

least access to legitimate means for achieving these goals. The impact of anomie, he believes, will be greatest in the lower classes of society where access to culturally prescribed goals will be most restricted.² Several attempts have been made to test this hypothesis with conflicting results.

Leo Srole, using his anomia scale, was one of the earlier sociologists to attempt to test the relation between anomie and social class. His data generally supported Merton's hypothesis.³ Several other attempts have been made to replicate Srole's findings using the same scale. In 1956, Allan Roberts and Milton Rokeach, published data which tended to reject Srole's earlier claims and showed little variation in the frequency of anomie characteristic of the various social classes.⁴ In another paper, published soon after the Roberts-Rokeach paper, Srole again presented evidence which reiterated the Merton thesis which had been supported in his earlier study.⁵

The inconclusiveness of these earlier studies stimulated similar tests by other writers. Wendell Bell, also

²Ibid., p. 143-147.

³Leo Srole's first study using his anomia scale was reported in a paper presented to the American Sociological meeting and later reported in Roberts and Rokeach, "Anomie Authoritarian and Prejudice: A Replication," American Journal of Sociology, 61:355-358, January, 1956.

⁴Roberts and Rokeach, "Anomie, Authoritarianism and Prejudice, op cit.

⁵Srole, "Social Integration," op cit.

using Srole's scale, found that anomie is inversely related to economic status when the latter is measured by individual or neighborhood factors.⁶ This added more weight to Srole's earlier findings in support of the Mertonian hypothesis. In a later study, Meier and Bell again produced data supportive of Merton's hypothesis. They found that the less accessibility of means, the greater the anomia scores, as measured by socioeconomic status, class identification, age, social isolation, occupational mobility, and religious preference.⁷ From their data they conclude that people become anomic because of their inability to achieve life goals due to low status.

Meier and Bell also attempted to determine the relationship between status inconsistency and anomia within status levels. Here they found no evidence that inconsistent statuses lead to anomie or that differential failure to achieve life goals explain variations in anomia within status levels. They attempt to explain this by suggesting that those with more past exposure to anomic attitudes will be more anomic. If true, of course, this would raise some question concerning the adequacy of Merton's theory as an explanation of deviant behavior and lend support to Cohen's

⁶Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Isolation and the Class Structure," Sociometry, 20:105-106, June, 1957.

⁷Dorothy Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, 24:189-208, April, 1959.

objection that more attention should be given to interaction and reference group contacts.

Ephraim Muzruchi also employed Srole's scale to test Merton's hypothesis in small cities in upper New York State.⁸ He reported significant positive relations between anomia and social class, and between class identification and formal and informal social participation. He concluded by suggesting that the lower class have a greater tendency to anomia because of the socially structured, differential access to supportive subsystems, as well as the inaccessibility of means to achieve socially desired ends.

In a study of attitudes toward desegregation, Melvin Tumin and Ray Collins found that "in general, the higher the status, the lower the anomie; and the lower the anomie, the higher the readiness of desegregation."⁹ Their findings concerning the relationship between anomie and desegregation have been challenged, but their data does lend support to Merton's hypothesis. They conclude from their data that, "It is position in the social structure of either type of community, rather than urban or rural residence, that is most likely to be associated with differences on anomia."

⁸Muzruchi, "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City," American Sociological Review, 25:645-654, Oct., 1960.

⁹Melvin M. Tumin and Ray C. Collins, Jr., "Status, Mobility and Anomie: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation," British Journal of Sociology, 10:253-267, September, 1959.

In general, the data from previous studies seems to be supportive of Merton's hypothesis that anomie and social class are inversely related even though this support has not been universal. A review of previous research does, however, indicate a need for further inquiry into this question.

SOCIAL CLASS AND SUCCESS VALUES

A second major assumption underlying Merton's theory of anomie that has stimulated a great deal of theoretical and empirical attention is the proposition that society is based on a common system of values that prescribe "certain common success-goals for the population at large."¹⁰ Perhaps no other aspect of this theory has been so heavily criticized as this basic assumption. For this reason, no doubt, Merton has singled out this question as a crucial issue in contemporary social research when he states that "among the problems calling for further research (is) the following: the extent to which Americans in different social strata have in fact assimilated the same culturally induced goals and values..."¹¹

In his first paper, in which he set forth the theory of anomie, Merton seems to hold unequivocally to the view

¹⁰Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op cit., p. 146.

¹¹Ibid., p. 170.

that society is based on a system of values common to all social classes within the society when he states:¹²

"It is...only because behavior is typically oriented toward the basic values of the society that we speak of a human aggregate as comprising a society. Unless there is a deposit of values shared by interacting individuals, there exists social relations, if the disorderly interactions may be so called, but no society."

In his reformulation of Durkheim's concept of anomie, Merton clearly assumes that the American culture is one that stresses heavily a success theme for all persons irrespective of their socio-economic background: "But what makes American culture relatively distinctive in this regard and what was taken as central to the analysis of this case... is that this is 'a society which places a high premium on economic affluence and social ascent for all its members.'"¹³ The distinctive nature of this culturally doctrine to American people is twofold:¹⁴

1. "...striving for success is not a matter of individuals happening to have acquisitive impulses, rooted in human nature, but it is a socially-defined expectation.
2. "...this patterned expectation is regarded as appropriate for everyone, irrespective of his initial lot or station in life."

The nature of this value system is embraced in the concept of the American Dream which makes morally legitimate the

¹²Ibid., p. 141.

¹³Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 167.

striving for lofty success-goals. Merton writes: "The cultural manifesto is clear: one must not quit, must not cease striving, must not lessen his goals, for not failure but low aim is crime."¹⁵

Merton is not alone in this emphasis on a common value system. Value consensus has been an integral theme in the functional theories since the time of Durkheim and has found its most ardent spokesman in the writings of Talcott Parsons. Parsons stresses the importance of value consensus throughout his writings. In Social Structure and Personality he clearly assumes that the American society is based on a common value system by arguing in favor of two principle theses:¹⁶

"The first is that there is, and for some time has been, a single relatively well integrated and fully institutionalized system of values in American society, and second, that at this most general level the value-system has not undergone a fundamental change in recent times."

This value system, he argues, has been derived primarily from the society's religious heritage, centering on "ascetic" Protestantism and represents what he has termed an orientation of "instrumental activism."¹⁷ Instrumental activism, in turn is an orientation which positively

¹⁵Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁶Talcott Parsons, Social Structure and Personality (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1905), p. 195.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 196.

evaluates everything which increases capacity to achieve.¹⁸ Thus, like Merton, Parsons sees the American society primarily oriented around a value system that prescribes certain high success-goals as morally legitimate.

In fairness to Merton it should be noted that his position on this issue is somewhat softened in his second paper. Here he refrains from asserting that members of the various strata have equally internalized this cultural mandate:¹⁹

"But if the communications addressed to generations of Americans continue to reiterate the gospel of success, it does not follow that all Americans in all groups, regions, and class strata have uniformly assimilated this set of values...We should take note, then, that the hypothesis... requires that an appreciable minority, not all or most, of those in the lower social strata will have assimilated the cultural mandate for monetary success, and that it presupposes affectively assimilation of this value rather than merely verbal acquiescence with it."

Even with these qualifications it seems quite clear that Merton's formulation rests on the assumption that culturally induced high success goals are shared by a highly significant proportion of the members of all social classes.

A number of objections have been raised against this assumption by researchers and theorists alike. One of the most extensive criticisms of Merton's theory has been

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 234-235.

¹⁹Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op cit., pp. 170-172.

advanced by Edwin Lemert. Lemert particularly criticized Merton at two related points relative to the present issue. He first feels that the dichotomy that Merton draws between cultural goals and institutional means is artificial and meaningless for both are so closely linked in reality.²⁰ Secondly, he argues that the stress on a universal value system is questionable because it is nearly impossible to identify a set of values or cultural goals which could be considered universal in modern industrial societies.²¹

In a secondary analysis of survey data measuring levels of educational, income and occupational aspirations of the different classes, Herbert Hyman was presented data which supports Lemert's objections.²² He found significant differences in the aspirations and goals of the various classes with success-goals inversely related to social class position. From his data he concludes that the value system of the lower class "involves less emphasis upon the traditional high success-goals, increased awareness of the lack of opportunity to achieve success, and less emphasis upon the achievement of goals which in turn would be instrumental

²⁰Edwin M. Lemert, "Social Structure, Social Control, and Deviation," in Marshall B. Clinard, Ed., Anomie and Deviant Behavior (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 60.

²¹Ibid., p. 64.

²²Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1953), pp. 426-441.

for success."²³ This value system, Hyman asserts, arises out of a "realistic appraisal of reality and in turn softens for the individual the impact of low status."

On the surface, Hyman's data presents quite a different picture of the lower class than Merton's theory suggests. Rather than a dicotomy developing between aspirations and institutional means producing anomic strains, Hyman's data indicates that these two aspects of culture are kept in balance as the lower class reduce their aspirations in the face of restricted opportunity resulting in a distinctive lower class value system.

A number of other writers have come to similar conclusions. For instance, Allison Davis, a long time exponent of the view that the American Society is based on a class-differentiated value system, asserts that individuals of different classes are "reacting to different realistic situations...Therefore, their values and their social goals are different."²⁴ Like Hyman, Davis emphasizes the differential values that are found within societies, particularly as exemplified by lower class persons who have adapted their values to their deprived circumstances.

A closer examination of Hyman's data, however, has caused several writers to question his interpretation.

²³Ibid., p. 427.

²⁴Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker," in William Foote Whyte, editor, Industry and Society (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946), p. 104.

Hyman focused attention primarily on absolute levels of aspirations without taking into account the background position of individuals. In the absolute sense lower class individuals generally aspired for lower educational, income and occupational goals than members of higher social classes. However, when these aspirations were related to the level of attainment of their parents it was found that the lower class individual aspired to improve their position in society by a greater increment than those persons in higher class positions.²⁵ Hence, it would appear that the lower class individuals place relatively high value on social ascent producing relatively greater position discontent in the lower strata of society.

Other research has found similar results. In a study of high school seniors, La Mar Empey found that lower class high school seniors aspired to improve their position over that of their father's by a greater margin than upper classes even though by absolute standards their goals were not as high.²⁶ Rosiland Gould suggests, from her study of lower class youth, that "the feeling of success and failure

²⁵Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," op cit.

²⁶La Mar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement," American Sociological Review, 21:706, December, 1956.

does not depend upon an absolute level of achievement, but upon a variety of factors, and that the lower class may be more strongly motivated to achieve than are those on strata above them"²⁷ Her findings in this study are similar to Empey's which is to suggest that the lower class may, in many cases, endorse culturally prescribed achievement values but articulate them into their own goals for striving in ways appropriate to their life situation. Very similar results were found in Ralph Turner's study of high school seniors in Los Angeles.²⁸

In a study of ninth grade students, Richard Stephenson added a new dimension to the study of aspirations.²⁹ He hypothesized that a common cultural emphasis on success might produce unrealistic or idealistic aspirations among youth which are inaccessible to lower class individuals. He, therefore, not only measured the level of aspirations of his high school sample, but also measured the level of education, income and occupation they expected to attain. His findings reveal that students do make a distinction

²⁷Rosiland Gould, "Some Sociological Determinants of Goal Striving," Journal of Social Psychology, 13:461-473, May, 1941.

²⁸Ralph H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964).

²⁹Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22:204-212, April, 1957.

between aspirations and expectations. In general, the students demonstrated a fairly high degree of concensus in respect to aspirations, but their expectations were very much influenced by position on the social class ladder. In this case, he found that the lower the socio-economic status, the lower the level of expectations. He concluded that the common outlook on aspirations results from a common cultural orientation which cuts across social class groups while expectations are more of a realistic view determined in large part by the respondent's life experiences.

Research has not been entirely consistent with Stephenson's findings. Frances Holladay and Dorothy Jones, in a study of aspirations in a southern town produced supportive data for Stephenson's interpretation.³⁰ However, Turner and Empey did not find any significant tendency for youth of any social class level to reduce their expectations. In general, they found that youth from all classes prefer and anticipate significantly higher social status than their fathers.

Generally speaking, the research cited above seems to lend support to Merton's claim that the value on "getting ahead" and on "social ascent" is rather universally characteristic of American society even though the data has not, always been consistent. Stephenson's data which showed discrepancies between the aspirations and expectations of

³⁰Holladay, Frances and Dorothy Jones, "Occupational Aspirations and Expectations in a Southern Textile Town" Alpha Kappa Deltan, 29:32-35, Spring, 1959.

lower-class youth tends to support Merton's hypothesis that the structural strains or anomie is greater in the lower strata.

Several investigators have gone beyond the measurement of aspirations to discover the social context of ambition. Bernard Rosen, for instance, hypothesized that social mobility is a function of three variables: achievement motivation, cultural value orientations and aspirations.³¹ His studies indicated class variations in all three factors. He concluded from his data that middle class children are more likely to be taught both the motives and values which lead to achievement than lower class children. Ralph Turner, on the other hand, has found little difference between the various classes in the extent to which they endorse values which might lead to achievement.³²

In general, previous research has been, at best, a partial test of Merton's hypothesis that the strain toward anomie is greater in the lower class, because of a general failure to study both the distribution of values and the distribution of anomie simultaneously. Studies by Bell and others have attempted to test Merton's hypothesis by relating anomie to social class. Those studies assumed that the desire

³¹Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, 21:203-211, April, 1956.

³²Turner, The Social Content of Ambition, op cit., p. 213-215.

to "get ahead" in American society was uniformly distributed throughout the American class structure. Hyman, on the other hand, attempted to assess Merton's hypothesis by relating various types of values to social class. Hyman's study did not demonstrate whether or not the distribution of success values was related to anomie. Muzruchi's study of anomie and social class in small cities of New York did attempt to measure these phenomena simultaneously and his data generally supported Merton's thesis. There is however, a need for more research in this area.

ANOMIE AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

The theory of anomie, as presented by Robert Merton, by no means is limited to delinquent or criminal behavior. The subsequent research sponed by Merton's typology of modes of adaptation to anomic situations has stimulated research in which attempts have been made to relate anomie to a wide range of deviant behavior. In this research our concern is with juvenile delinquency which most closely fits Merton's innovative mode of adaptation. For this reason the following discussion of previous research of deviant behavior will focus entirely on research in delinquent behavior.

It is interesting to note that both Merton and Durkheim were more concerned with adult deviations. The early statements of Merton's theory made extensive reference to adult crime. And yet, the major thrust of anomie theory in the past quarter of a century has come with respect to juvenile delinquency rather than adult crime. Much of the work

relating anomie to juvenile delinquency has, however, been of a theoretical nature and the empirical research has not kept pace with these theoretical developments. When one considers the amount of theoretical attention anomic theory has been given it is somewhat surprising how little has really been done empirically in this area.

Perhaps the best known empirical works concerning juvenile delinquency and anomie are the ecological study by Lander in Baltimore and its replication in Detroit by Bordua.³³ Lander's attempt to measure anomie objectively was mentioned earlier in this paper.³⁴ For Lander, the concept of anomie refers to an empirical condition characterized by social instability and normlessness. The empirical nature of this condition he interprets as a high percent of nonwhite residents and low percent of homes owner-occupied. By a factor analysis he found some relationship between objective anomie and delinquency. Bordua's replication of this study found support for Lander's hypothesis that delinquent rates are associated with social instability.³⁵

³³Bernard Lander, Toward an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); David J. Bordua, "Juvenile Delinquency and 'Anomie: ' An Attempt at Replication," Social Problems, 6:230-238, Winter, 1958.

³⁴Ibid., p. 35.

³⁵Bordua, "Juvenile Delinquency and 'Anomie,'" op cit.

More recently Roland Chilton made another replication of Lander's study in Indianapolis.³⁶ His data led him to challenge the findings of these earlier studies that delinquent behavior is related to an anomic condition characterized by instability. He found delinquency to be more closely related to economic conditions such as overcrowding, income, education and so on. In general, Chilton's study points to the weakness of labeling empirical conditions as anomic. Hence, these studies seem to add little to the establishment of a causal relationship between anomie and delinquency. These objective conditions are what Merton has referred to as a "symptomatic advance" toward a "measure of anomie, as an objective condition of group life."³⁷

Merton's formulation of anomic theory suggests that the anomic pressures toward deviant behavior are greatest in the lower strata of the American society. Basing his analysis largely on official crime statistics, he further suggests that pressures toward delinquency and crime seem also to center in the lower strata.³⁸ This basic assumption has also been a source of heavy criticism. Lemert, for example, raises three objections relative to this aspect of

³⁶Roland J. Chilton, "Delinquency Area Research: Baltimore, Detroit, and Indianapolis," American Sociological Review, 29:71-83, 1964.

³⁷Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op cit. p. 165.

³⁸Ibid., p. 134

Merton's theory.³⁹ He argues: (1) that there is doubt that deviant behavior is disproportionately more common in the lower class as the theory of anomie maintains. He especially attacks the reliability of official crime statistics as a measure of delinquency rates. (2) He further argues that even if it is assumed that there is a higher rate of deviation in the lower class, some other explanation must be given for the question of why the bulk of the lower class uses conformity to achieve prescribed goals. This is not explained by the theory of anomie. (3) The theory stresses the importance of position in the social structure and ability to reach cultural goals, and yet, some research has found that delinquent youth, while appreciative of middle class values, are more concerned with status which is linked with the more immediate situation.

There have been a few studies which have attempted to measure social class variations in the distribution of anomie and delinquent behavior although more often the socio-economic background is overlooked. A great deal more attention needs to be given to this type of relationship.

In addition to the Lander-Bordua studies, Arthur Wood was an earlier contributor to the study of crime and anomie using socio-economic variables.⁴⁰ His interest was not

³⁹Lemert, "Social Structure, Social Control, and Deviation," op cit.

⁴⁰Arthur L. Wood, "Social Organization and Crime in Small Wisconsin Communities," American Sociological Review, 7:40-46, February, 1942.

directly related to social class, but more with the socio-economic characteristics of the community. In this study he did find some relationship between "demoralization," resulting from inadequate availability of institutional means for achieving goals, and crime rates. Richard Cloward found very similar results in his study of anomie and deviation in prison. His data showed that even under prison conditions a disjunction between institutionalized goals and means leads to deviant behavior.⁴¹

Martin Haskell was perhaps the first to focus attention entirely on delinquency. His data showed:⁴² (1) that delinquent gangs gave satisfaction to juveniles unable to obtain success goals by legitimate means; (2) acceptance of former deviants by conforming reference groups reduced recidivism and (3) conforming roles that provide satisfaction tended to take the place of deviant roles. In general, he found reference group participation more important as a source of delinquency than anomie, which again lends support to Cohen's claim that anomie theory is inadequate without this type of consideration.

⁴¹Richard A. Cloward, et. al., "Social Control in the Prison," Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison (New York: Social Science Research Council, March, 1960).

⁴²Martin R. Haskell, "Toward a Reference Group Theory of Juvenile Delinquency," Social Problems, 8:220-230, 1961.

Some support for Merton's theory has been provided by Clark and Wenniger, in a study of the effect of socio-economic status on juvenile delinquency rates among high school seniors, however in general their data is contrary to Merton's theory.⁴³ He found that delinquency was inversely related to socio-economic conditions in the community but not related to social class. Angell's study in Detroit also tended to suggest little relationship between social class and deviancy.⁴⁴ Similarly, Karachi and Tody studied the relation of objective and relative deprivation to gang delinquency and strongly rejected the socio-economic explanations of delinquency for no relationship was found between social class and delinquent behavior.⁴⁵

Contrary to these studies, several researchers have found a relationship between anomie and delinquent behavior, as well as, between delinquent behavior and social class. Landis, Dinitz, and Reckless found strong support for the Cloward-Ohlin theory of limited opportunity among lower

⁴³John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenniger, "Socio-Economic Class and Area as Correlates of Illegal Behavior Among Juveniles," American Sociological Review, 27:826-834, 1962.

⁴⁴Robert C. Angell, "Preferences for Moral Norms in Three Areas," American Journal of Sociology, 67:650-660, 1962.

⁴⁵Larry Karacki and Jackson Tody, "The Uncommitted Adolescent: Candidate for Gang Socialization," Sociological Inquiry, 32:203-215, 1962.

class youth.⁴⁶ They found that delinquent youth tend to reject middle class values as Hyman suggests but also found that delinquency was positively correlated with greater perception of limited opportunity. Liu and Fahey also found a relationship between anomie and delinquency, however, they feel that perception of limited opportunity is perhaps more nearly the result rather than the cause of delinquency.⁴⁷ They also found, delinquency is related to lower occupational aspirations and unfavorable self-concept.

There have been other studies which have attempted to measure anomic adaptations among minority groups. Jessor, et. al. for instance, found that deviation among minority groups were explained by anomie.⁴⁸ They concluded that their data supports, in part at least, both the learning theory of deviant behavior as well as anomic theory. Similarly, Hanson and Graves studied anomic responses but, in part, rejected Jessor's findings.⁴⁹ They found that Anglos

⁴⁶Judson R. Landis, Simon Dinitz, Walter C. Reckless, "Implementing Two Theories of Delinquency: Value Orientation and Awareness of Limited Opportunity," Sociology and Social Research, 47:408-416, 1963.

⁴⁷William T. Liu, and Frank Fahey, "Delinquency, Self-Esteem, and Social Control: A Retroductive Analysis," American Catholic Sociological Review, 24:3-12, 1963.

⁴⁸Richard Jessor, et., al., Tri-Ethnic Project, (unpublished research report: University of Colorado, Boulder, 1960).

⁴⁹Robert C. Hanson, and Theodore D. Graves, "Objective Access, Anomie, and Deviance in a Tri-Ethnic Community," paper presented at the meeting of the American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, August, 1963.

have less anomie than the Spanish American and Ute subgroups, but also found that anomie was positively related to deviance in the dominant culture but not in the minority group cultures. Hence, it would appear that the Mertonian theory of anomie may be more effective in explaining deviant behavior in the dominant American culture than in more traditionally oriented cultures.

James Short's study of originating factors in gang delinquency has shown some important relationships between means and goals as a dynamic pressure toward deviant behavior.⁵⁰ He hypothesized that anomic situations would be symptomized by discrepancies in occupational aspirations and actual expectations of achievement. The aspiration level being an indicator of position discontent, he further argued that discrepancies between the youth's aspirations and the parent's level of achievement would also be an indicator of anomic strains. He found that (1) the greater the occupational aspirations and expectation discrepancy, the greater the delinquency; (2) high delinquency rates were associated with failure in school adaptation; (3) those with low educational aspirations were the most delinquent if they perceived educational opportunities closed; (4) delinquency was created as an alternative status system. These findings seem to support the Mertonian theory. Most of the youth studied in this research were members of the lower and

⁵⁰James F. Short, "Gang Delinquency and Anomie," in Marshall B. Clinard, ed., *Anomie and Deviant Behavior* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, pp. 98-127.

middle classes with both gang and nongang boys included in the sample. The frequency of delinquency as well as the degree of discrepancies were negatively related to social class position.

Focusing largely on neighborhood background, Irving Spergel studied delinquent subcultural patterns.⁵¹ Selecting three different neighborhoods he set out to determine the type of delinquent adaptation to each neighborhood. He found that: (1) high aspirations with an absence of legitimate means in the Mertonian sense led to delinquency; (2) in the highly integrated neighborhood delinquent adaptations were preparations for a career in the rackets; (3) in poorly integrated neighborhoods, where legitimate means were not available, gang fighting became the prime mode of adaptation; (4) in the neighborhood which contained high socio-economic groups, theft was the adaptation used to obtain middle class status; and (5) the delinquents in all three areas, not being able to make the transition to adulthood, had higher rates of drug addiction. He concludes by suggesting that his data strongly supports the Cloward and Ohlin theory of delinquent subcultures.

In summary, it should be noted that previous data, while supporting the Mertonian theory of anomie in many instances, has not been conclusive on this issue. In some cases delinquency was found to be related to some measurement

⁵¹Irving Spergel, Racketville, Slumtown, Haulberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

of anomie and in other cases it was not. Similarly in some studies a significant relationship was found between social class and delinquent behavior. In most of these studies the social class distribution of anomie and delinquent behavior was not measured simultaneously. More research is needed in which the relationship between these three variables are measured together before an adequate measure of Merton's theory of anomie and delinquent behavior can be accomplished.

CURRENT STATUS OF THE THEORY

Sociologists generally recognize that anomic theory has had extensive and deep impact on contemporary social theory. There has been increasing interest in the concept both theoretically and empirically since the publication of Merton's first paper in 1938. Many critics of the theory feel, however, that the theoretical treatment of anomie has outstripped the empirical investigation necessary to validate the concept as a causal factor in deviant behavior. In turn, the empirical inquiries that have undertaken attempts to test certain aspects of the theory have been too few and often contradictory. This is not to say that anomic theory has proven to be sterile by previous research efforts. On the contrary, there has been some significant studies made which strongly support the claims of the theory. Enough support has been produced to at least indicate that anomic theory is a worthy object for further research.

In the foregoing discussion, we have noted a number of objections that have been raised by critics of anomic theory. These criticisms can be roughly outlined as follows:

1. Some theorists feel that the theory atomizes society into individualistic actors who adapt to the social system without due regard for reference group influences and interaction processes.
2. Deviant behavior is seen as an abrupt change from a strain of anomie to deviant behavior, rather than a gradual process of interaction and group change.
3. Cultural transmission theorists argue that many deviant acts can be explained more adequately as a part of the group's role expectations for individual actors rather than disjunction between goals and means.
4. A number of social scientists have criticized the sharp dichotomy that Merton draws between cultural goals and institutional means. They argue that these phenomena are linked in reality and that such a dichotomy is artificial and unrealistic.
5. One of the most common criticisms of anomic theory is aimed at the assumption of common values. Many social scientists feel that it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify a set of values or cultural goals which can be considered universal in industrial societies.
6. Similarly it is argued that the concept of anomie, at best, can explain deviation in societies in which status is achieved. In ascriptive societies some other explanation is needed.
7. The assumption that deviant behavior is disproportionately more common in the lower classes has also received unfavorable comment by various writers.
8. Correspondingly, should it be found that there is a higher rate of deviation in

the lower class, the theory of anomie does not explain why most lower class uses conformity to achieve prescribed goals.

THEORETICAL FOCUS

It is clearly evident from the above discussion that many questions have been raised concerning anomic theory that call for further research. The breadth of these issues are too great to attempt to treat in one study. In the present study our attention will be focused on only one aspect of anomic theory, namely, Merton's theorem that differential access to the various means of achieving success in American society leads to greater anomie and pressures toward deviant behavior in the lower classes. As we have noted several times in the above discussion, the simultaneous measurement of social class distributions of anomie, success values and delinquent behavior is yet to be carried out. Most of the previous research in anomic theory have measured social class distribution of one or two variables, but none have attempted to measure all three simultaneously. It is toward this end that the present research is directed.

As a theoretical background to our inquiry of the social class distribution of these variables our interest will focus on Merton's discussion of the innovative mode of adaptation as it is expressed in delinquent behavior. The basic essence of Merton's formulation of innovative adaptation is contained in the following statements and definitions:

1. "Anomie is 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." (p. 162).
2. The innovative response to anomie "occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goals without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing the ways and means for its attainment." (p. 141).
3. "Aberrant behavior as one form of innovative adaptation occurs as a normal response to anomic situations, characterized by "dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations." To expand: Aberrant behavior occurs "when a system of cultural values extols virtually above all else, certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population." (p.146)
4. The greatest pressures toward deviation are exerted upon the lower strata of stratified, industrial societies, whose situations exhibit two salient features: (1) "Incentives for success are provided by the established values of the culture." and (2) "the avenues available for moving toward this goal are largely limited by the class structure to those of deviant behavior." (pp. 145-146)
5. "Contemporary American culture appears to approximate the polar type in which great emphasis upon certain success goals occurs without equivalent emphasis upon institutional means," for American society places a "high premium on economic affluence and social ascent for all its members." (pp. 136 and 167)⁵²

⁵²Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op cit., pp. 121-194.

GENERAL HYPOTHESES

From these theoretical statements taken from Merton's theory of anomie, several relational propositions can be derived. This research will be concerned with seven propositions and general hypotheses derived from Merton's thesis which will underly the investigation in the remainder of this paper.

Proposition: The greater the discrepancies between culturally defined success goals and values and their accessibility the greater the anomie.

Hypothesis: Discrepancies between success goals and their accessibility are positively related to anomie.

Proposition: The greater the discrepancies between culturally defined success-goals and values and their accessibility the greater the deviant behavior.

Hypothesis: Discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to deviant behavior.

Proposition: The greater the anomie the greater the pressures toward deviant behavior.

Hypothesis: Anomie is positively related to deviant behavior.

Proposition: The lower the social status the greater the discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility.

Hypothesis: Discrepancies between success goals and their accessibility are negatively related to social class.

Proposition: The lower the social status the greater the anomie.

Hypothesis: Social class is negatively related to anomie.

Proposition: The lower the social status the higher the pressures toward deviant behavior.

Hypothesis: Social class is negatively related to deviant behavior.

In formulating his theory of anomie, Merton was primarily concerned with conditions in the American society. From his treatment of the American society as a unique entity, two additional propositions can be formulated.

Proposition: The inculcation of high success goals are patterned characteristics common to all social classes in the American society.

Hypothesis: Success goals and values are not related to social class.

Proposition: The lower the social status in the American society the lower the socially structured opportunity to reach high success goals.

Therefore, the lower the social status in the American society the greater should be the discrepancies between high success-goals and opportunity to reach these goals. Thus, propositions one through six, with their corresponding hypotheses, should hold true in the American society and in the direction hypothesized.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The specific task in this chapter is to outline the methodological procedures to test the general hypotheses outlined in the previous chapter. The nature and content of the tests outlined in this chapter will be guided by certain theoretical and research objectives which underly this inquiry.

THEORETICAL OBJECTIVES

The scope of this research is focused on two theoretical issues surrounding anomic theory which were discussed in chapter one. The first issue concerns the efficiency and applicability of anomic theory as an explanation of juvenile delinquency. Some questions have arisen in recent literature concerning the value of anomic theory as an explanation of juvenile delinquency. Cohen, for instance, has suggested that anomic theory may have some utility as an explanation of most juvenile delinquency, which he believes is non-utilitarian in nature. The objective of this research is to explore the relation of anomie to delinquent behavior among youth in the latter years of high school. Hence, the scope of this inquiry will be limited to high school youth and to frequencies of delinquent acts as one form of deviant adaptation to anomic situations.

The second concern will focus on the relation of anomie to social status. In recent literature, some questions have arisen concerning Merton's theorem that differential opportunity to achieve success in the American society leads to greater strains toward anomie and deviant behavior in the lower strata. In this inquiry we hope to provide some new data which may help to shed light on this theoretical issue.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

To test the hypotheses derivative from his theorem, Merton has suggested that data are necessary on "socially patterned differentials in:"¹

1. "Exposure to the cultural goals and norms regulating behavior oriented toward that goal;
2. Acceptance of the goal and norms as moral mandates and internalized values;
3. Relative accessibility to the goals: life-changes in the opportunity structure;
4. The extent of discrepancy between the accepted goals and its accessibility;
5. The degree of anomie; and
6. The rates of deviant behavior of the various kinds set out in the typology of modes of adaptation."

In this study an effort is made to provide data on most of these factors. However, as Merton indicates,

¹Robert K. Merton, "Continuities in the Theory of Social Structure and Anomie," in Robert K. Merton, ed., Social Theory and Social Structure Rev. ed.; (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957) p. 175.

methodological tools are not available to systematically test all of these phenomena. It is possible to make an adequate test of many aspects of this theory with existing methods.

In the present study, data is not available to measure the differentials in exposure to success-goals and norms for the attainment of success. Nor is it possible to establish differentials in rates of deviant behavior for all of the various typologies set out in Merton's theory of modes of adaptation. Our concern in this study will center on the innovative mode of adaptation as it is expressed in delinquent behavior.

In an attempt to test as many of the important variables underlying Merton's theorem as possible, the following objectives will form the basis of the following investigation. An attempt will be made to explore differentials in:

1. Acceptance of the success-goals and associated values through objective value responses;
2. Relative accessibility to means of success through social class differentials;
3. The degrees of discrepancy between goals and their accessibility through class differences in aspirations and expectations of success;
4. Social class differentials in degrees of anomie through distribution of anomie scores;
5. Social class differentials in delinquent behavior through distribution of delinquent acts.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES

Merton's theory "Social Structure and Anomie" is, for the most part, formulated in sweeping generalizations and abstract relationships, creating serious problems to empirical investigation of anomic theory. The task of operationalizing his concepts and relationships into workable empirical measurements constitutes a real challenge to empirical research. In many instances only indirect measurement of crucial variables is currently possible. In the present research we attempt to formulate a variety of indices aimed at measuring important variables. For the most part, our measurements must be viewed as exploratory in nature as we attempt to shed new light on key variables by a variety of empirical techniques.

The first task in outlining the methodological procedures for this inquiry, is to operationally define the major variables under consideration in this study in terms of theoretical and research objectives, and to formulate specific hypotheses. In the following sections we will attempt to operationally define success values, discrepancies, anomie and deviant behavior.

SUCCESS-GOALS AND VALUES

The concepts of success-goals and values play an integral role in Merton's formulation of Anomic theory. He, however, is not very explicit in specifying the nature of success-goals and values which he conceives as a patterned characteristic that cross-cuts subgroup

differences in the American society. The crucial problem, therefore, confronting any investigation of anomic theory is to conceptualize and operationalize these concepts in such a way that the true theoretical meaning of these terms are represented, and, at the same time, provide a workable empirical tool.

For illustrative purposes, Merton has strongly stressed a general orientation toward material and monetary success in the American society, however, he is careful to point out that other success-goals are also a part of this pattern value system.²

It does seem clear, however, after a careful review of his work, that Merton is not so concerned with the concrete nature of goals toward which persons strive as he is with a general orientation that makes morally legitimate a universal desire to "get ahead," or to improve one's social position. In this sense, then, our attention is focused more on a general achievement orientation directed toward social ascent or social mobility rather than specific levels of aspirations or achievement.³

It is true, however, that success in any realm is dependent upon two factors; the possession of both the necessary ability and the motivation to reach the goal. Ability is, of course, limited by socially imposed barriers

²Ibid., p. 167.

³Ibid.

to training and lack of channels to given types of positions as Merton's theory suggests. On the other hand, ability may also be limited by lack of individual striving to obtain whatever training that might be instrumental to success. It follows, therefore, that motivation to advance to higher social position constitutes more than simply choosing concrete goals. It also involves certain psychocultural dimensions of mobility striving. Bernard Rosen has referred to this type of achievement orientation as an achievement syndrome made up of a psychological dimension he calls achievement motivation; a cultural dimension consisting of appropriate value orientations; and a social dimension measured in terms of levels of aspiration.⁴

In operationalizing Merton's concept of success values and goals we attempt to capture these three dimensions of mobility orientations. The psychological concept of achievement motivation will be somewhat altered in this study. In Rosen's work, this concept refers to a psychological need disposition often referred to as need achievement, and measured by the Thematic Apperception Test. In this study we will be more concerned with mobility strivings as an indicator of the achievement motivation. In this sense we will be concerned with the extent to which young people aspire to improve their social standing over

⁴Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review. 21:203-211, April, 1956.

their family of origin. This we will refer to as mobility aspirations.

The second component, cultural value-orientations will be defined largely in terms of the American spirit that has variously been referred to as the Protestant Ethic, the Spirit of Capitalism, and the American Dream. Before the achievement motive can be expressed in culturally defined success behavior, there needs to be more than a desire to achieve success; there must also be some awareness of and willingness to undertake the steps necessary for achievement. Such steps involve, among other things, the willingness to plan, to work and to sacrifice. In this study we shall refer to this system of value orientations as the entrepreneurial orientation.

Thirdly, a good indicator of the extent of achievement motivation can be measured in terms of the difficulty of the task one outlines for themselves expressed in the level of concrete goals one aspires to achieve. This component of success values will be referred to as the absolute levels of aspirations.

The generalized concept of success goals and values will, therefore, be operationalized as a generalized achievement orientation consisting of three component parts.

1. Absolute levels of aspirations
2. Mobility aspirations
3. Entrepreneurial value orientations.

CONTINUED

2 OF 5

ANOMIE

In this study we will attempt to define anomie by two dimensions: subjective anomie as expressed in Srole's concept of anomia, and more objectively by the discrepancies that exist between success-goals and their accessibility.

Anomia

The development and usage of the concept of anomia was discussed in detail in chapter two so no extensive treatment of the concept will be undertaken at this point. It is clear, however, that Merton's formulation of anomic theory centered on objective anomie as a social structural strain. In the present study our basic concern is to explore the objective features of social structure that gives rise to anomie. Anomia will be viewed as a symptom of objective anomie and the frequency and degree of anomia will constitute an index or indicator of the objective social structural strain. Hence, in this research anomia will be viewed as the dependent variable, the individual response, while anomie will be viewed as the independent variable. As corollary phenomena, high correlations should be found between these two aspects of social reality.

Discrepancies

In order to gain a better perspective of objective factors or symptoms related to anomic strains this inquiry will also be concerned with the extent of the discrepancies between goals and their accessibility. Merton defines anomie 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."⁵ Hence, one approach to the measurement of anomie can come by way of identifying the discrepancies that individuals variously located in the social structure experience between their desired success goals and the channels available to them to achieve these goals.

To measure discrepancies of this type is, of course, quite difficult and, perhaps, beyond the immediate reach of sociological inquiry. Any adequate measure of discrepancies of this type would necessitate a complete appraisal of the life chances of individuals differentially located in the social structure. There has been, however, considerable evidence generated in recent years which indicates that mobility at any level is difficult and that the majority of persons from the lower strata will not achieve social positions much higher than their fathers. This implies that there are real social structural limitations to success, in the mobility sense, imposed upon all social strata which may be even greater in the lower strata. At least, available evidence indicates that these barriers are no less limiting to those of lower status. It, therefore, follows that one measure of discrepancies between goals and means is the extent to which persons aspire to improve

⁵Merton, op cit., p. 161.

their social position relative to their family of origin. Those persons who aspire to improve their position by the greatest margin will also have to overcome the greatest obstacles or barriers to the fulfillment of these high mobility aspirations. Thus, the increment by which high school students aspire to improve their position over the achievement level of the family breadwinner can serve as an indicator of the degree of discrepancy between their goals and their accessibility. This type of measure has been employed in previous research with some degree of success by James Short.⁶

One other aspect of discrepancies that may produce anomic strains will also be taken into account in this inquiry, and that is the matter of the individuals awareness of such limitations to means of reaching his goals. The objective disjunction between culturally prescribed goals and institutional means may occur without individual awareness of such socio-cultural discrepancies. Herbert Hyman has pointed out this aspect of anomie:⁷

"It is clear that Merton's analysis assumes that the cultural goals of success is in actuality internalized by lower class individuals. Perhaps it also requires that the

⁶James F. Short, "Gang Delinquency and Anomie," in Marshall B. Clinard, ed., Anomie and Deviant Behavior (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 98-127.

⁷Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1953), p. 427.

lower class individual recognize that the means to success are not available to him. It is certainly true at a given point in time that an individual frustrated in his goal because access to means is not open to him, will experience the incident as frustrating whether or not he realizes that the means are beyond his grasp. But it seems also true in the larger time perspective that if he continues to think that the means for a future success are available to him that the frustration will be milder and that deviance might not occur. Conversely, if the individual regarded his chances to achieve his goals of success as negligible, when in reality they were good, there would be a psychologically produced strain toward deviance."

It is evident, therefore, that what we need is evidence of both the extent to which there are disjunctions between cultural goals and institutional means in the objective sense, and the extent to which the respondent believes his opportunities are limited.

Previous research has indicated that lower status youth often aspire to higher positions than they actually expect to achieve. This seems to indicate that there is a tendency to lower one's expectations below the desired level of achievement when confronted with structural limitations on means to achieve higher goals. This, in turn, is indicative of situations where there are discrepancies between goals and means of which the individual is aware. Whether their perceived limitations are real or imaginary does not matter, for, as Hyman points out, when a person believes or feels his opportunities are limited, when in reality they are not, he will

experience the same frustration as one who is facing real limitations. Therefore, we can define a situation characterized by a disjunction between goals and means as a situation in which a person perceives his chances of reaching desired goals as limited and, thereby, expects to achieve something less than he would like to achieve. Thus we may assume that another indicator of anomic conditions are situations characterized by acute disjunctions between success aspirations and expectations.

In this study, therefore, three indices of anomic situations will be used:

1. Degree and frequency of anomia
2. Discrepancies between aspirations and expectations
3. Discrepancies between aspiration and levels of achievement of the family breadwinner. This we shall refer to as discrepancies between aspirations and family background.

DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

Merton's theoretical formulation of the theory of anomie suggests that anomic strains produce acute pressures toward deviant behavior. Even though anomic theory was originally formulated to explain adult deviation, it has had its greatest influence on the theory of juvenile delinquent behavior. Here it has also received some of its strongest criticism. In this research our concern with anomic theory is limited primarily to measuring the utility of this theory as an explanation of delinquent behavior.

Juvenile delinquency is a term that is difficult to define because of the wide variations in legal definitions that have developed in recent years. Generally speaking, the legal definitions tend to be ambiguous and difficult to operationalize. Rather than attempting to develop an operation definition of delinquency as a generalized concept, we will be concerned with specific types of delinquency that constitute clear violations of legal or institutional norms. There will, therefore, be no attempt to generalize to the total range of delinquent behavior in this study.

In criticizing Merton's theory, Cohen has taken issue with Merton's tendency to stress the utilitarian nature of criminal behavior. He suggests that anomie is "highly plausible as an explanation for adult professional crime and for the property delinquency of some older and semi-professional juvenile thieves. He asserts, however, that it has serious limitations as an explanation of sub-cultural delinquency, much of which he feels is non-utilitarian in nature. He goes on to point out that "this destructiveness the versatility, the zest and the wholesale negativism which characterizes this delinquent subculture are beyond the purview of this theory (of anomie)."⁸

⁸Albert K. Cohen, "Toward a Theory of Deviant Behavior: Continuities Continued," a paper presented to session on deviant behavior, American Sociological Association meeting, August 28, 1963.

In reply to Cohen's criticism, Merton argues:

"...in exploring this matter further, it should be remembered, for purposes of theoretical clarity, that this theory does not maintain that the resulting deviant behavior is rationally calculated and utilitarian. Instead, it centers on the acute pressures created by the discrepancy between culturally induced goals and socially structured opportunities. The response to these pressures with the consequent strains upon individuals subject to them may involve a considerable degree of frustration and of nonrational or of irrational behavior. 'Destructiveness' has often been psychologically identified as one form of response to continued frustration. So, too, it would appear that 'wholesale negativism' can be construed, without enlarging the theory to incorporate new ad hoc variables, as a sustained repudiation of the authorities which exemplify the contradiction between legitimized cultural aspirations and socially restricted opportunities."⁹

Thus, it would appear that Merton views anomic theory as a possible explanation of both utilitarian and non-utilitarian delinquency.

The disagreement over the adequacy of anomie seems to center around the question of whether it can explain non-utilitarian types of delinquency. Cohen seems to feel that it may be an acceptable explanation of delinquent acts that are engaged in for purposes of monetary gain but not as an explanation of deviant acts that are not aimed at utilitarian goals. Merton agrees that this theory can explain only certain types of delinquent behavior but

⁹Merton, op cit. p. 178.

is not ready to admit its inadequacy to explain much of nonutilitarian and nonrational behavior.

Because of these theoretical inconsistencies it seems important to determine the relation of anomie to both utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquency.

In this research, we will refer to delinquent acts that involve illegal appropriation of property that may bring monetary gain to the actor as utilitarian delinquency. Juvenile deviant or illegal behavior that involve conflict, destruction of property, hostile acts, and behavior that is entered into for "kicks" rather than monetary gain will be referred to as nonutilitarian delinquency.

SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES

With these general operational definitions of crucial variables as the epistemic link between the abstract theoretical level and the more specific objectives of this research, it is possible to formulate the specific hypotheses that will underly the empirical phase of this inquiry. In doing so, the general theoretical hypotheses will be presented accompanied by the specific research hypotheses which will be used to measure these relationships.

General Hypothesis 1: Success-goals and values are not related to social class.

Specific Hypothesis 1A: Absolute levels of aspirations are not related to social class.

Specific Hypothesis 1B: Mobility aspirations are not related to social class.

Specific Hypothesis 1C: Entrepreneurial value orientations are not related to social class.

General Hypothesis 2: Discrepancies between success goals and values and their accessibility are negatively related to social class.

Specific Hypothesis 2A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are negatively related to social class.

Specific Hypothesis 2B: Discrepancies between the individual's success aspirations and expectations are negatively related to social class.

General Hypothesis 3: Discrepancies between success goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to anomie.

Specific Hypothesis 3A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to anomia.

Specific Hypothesis 3B: Discrepancies between the individual's success aspirations and expectations are positively related to anomia.

General Hypothesis 4: Discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to deviant behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 4A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to utilitarian delinquent behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 4B: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 4C: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and expectations are positively related to utilitarian delinquent behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 4D: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and expectations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

General Hypothesis 5: Anomie is negatively related to social class.

Specific Hypothesis 5A: Anomia is negatively related to social class.

General Hypothesis 6: Anomie is positively related to deviant behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 6A: Anomia is positively related to utilitarian delinquent behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 6B: Anomia is positively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

General Hypothesis 7: Social Class is negatively related to deviant behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 7A: Social Class is negatively related to utilitarian delinquent behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 7B: Social Class is negatively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

The Universe

This research is one part of a larger study sponsored by the Colorado Cooperative Extension Service at Colorado State University under the direction of Dr. Manuel Alers-Montalvo. The purpose of the larger study is to explore educational needs of people living under varying socio-economic and community conditions. The larger study was conducted in three Colorado counties selected because they were characterized by varying socio-economic conditions that were representative of larger regions in the Rocky Mountain area.

Jefferson County was selected for the larger study because it is quite representative of rapidly growing

suburban metropolitan areas of the southwest. Jefferson County is a suburban county in the Denver Metropolitan area and is primarily characterized by urban conditions. The county has been experiencing rapid growth throughout the past three decades due to the general western migration characteristic of recent United States history, as well as, the decentralization trend of metropolitan regions. The county has some industry but, in the main, is more of a bedroom county for the larger Denver commercial and industrial area.

Washington County was selected for the larger study because it is representative of the rural agricultural areas of the Rocky Mountain region. The county is primarily a dry land farming region characterized by large farming operations and sparse population. The population composition is classified in the 1960 U. S. census as totally rural farm and nonfarm, with no urban areas in the county. Like so much of the rural areas of America, Washington County has experienced substantial loss of population to the larger urban areas, as well as, a great deal of its commercial trade.

Huerfano County was selected for the larger study because it represents the generally poor socio-economic conditions of the bicultural counties of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. Huerfano County was at one time a dynamic coal mining area, but, as the coal industry declined during the 1930's, the county was unable to draw new industries to replace the losses in mining. As a result,

the county is now characterized by heavy unemployment and low incomes and is generally an economically depressed area. Prior to the development of the coal industry, Huerfano County had been primarily an agrarian Spanish-American settlement. The coal industry drew large numbers of European immigrants, as well as, Mexican immigrants to the coal fields. After the decline of the coal industry many of the European settlers moved out of the county leaving the county's population compositions approximately one half Spanish surnamed.

The larger study was conducted by administration of interview schedules to a random sample of adult male and female members of each county. The present study was aimed at the youth in the county and the data obtained by administering questionnaires to high school students in each county. The universe from which the sample for this study is drawn is the eleventh grade class of five high schools in the three counties selected for the larger study. Two high schools were selected from Jefferson County. The schools were chosen because more than any other schools they most closely represented the general social and economic conditions of the county.

Alameda High School is located in southern Jefferson County in the midst of several new housing developments. Some of the housing developments from which it draws its constituency are primarily working class houses, while others

appeal to higher income and professional people. Thus, the student body comes from families which range across the total spectrum of social class backgrounds.

The second school, Jefferson High School, is located in an older, more established neighborhood. However, like Alameda High School, it is located in an unincorporated suburban area of high population density. The population serviced by this school range from very poor families to very wealthy families. Hence, the student body represents a fairly good cross-section of this suburban region. The school is located in central Jefferson County approximately three miles west of the Denver city limits.

In Washington County, one school was selected. This school is located in Akron, Colorado, a small town and county seat of Washington County. This school was chosen because it offers the best sampling of rural farm and nonfarm students available in the county. The other high schools are almost exclusively composed of farm youth. Even though the school is located in Akron, it draws large numbers of students from the surrounding farm areas. Thus, the composition of the student body is approximately 50% farm and 50% nonfarm.

In Huerfano County, two high schools were chosen. Both schools are located in Walsenburg, the county seat. The two Walsenburg High Schools are the only secondary schools so the student body represents the entire socio-economic and ethnic composition of the area. One high school is a public school,

while the other is a Catholic school. Both schools were included in the sample because so much of the Spanish population is Catholic and send their children to the Catholic school. By sampling both schools, a better ethnic balance is obtained.

Sample

The sample for this research consists of 208 girls and 201 boys from the junior class (eleventh grade) of the five high schools described above. The plan of the research was originally designed to use a simple random sample, but this was found to be impractical so other sampling techniques were used that would give the best randomization possible. It was decided to sample entire classrooms of students that were taking courses which were both required of eleventh grade students and limited to only eleventh graders. The policies of the five schools were to distribute students into the various subsections of each course on a chance basis so the composition of each classroom was quite randomized at the time of this study. The courses chosen for this study were the eleventh grade English, history and social science classes. Since the several sections of each class were distributed throughout the day it was decided to restrict the administration of questionnaires to students meeting in any of these three courses at the same hour, to avoid the chance of administering the questionnaires to the same students twice.

This sampling technique resulted in the administration of questionnaires to almost the entire eleventh grade classes of the two Walsenburg schools and the Akron High School. The total samples for these three schools are:

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Walsenburg Public High School	25	38
Walsenburg Catholic High School	50	25
Akron Public High School	16	25

In Jefferson County the schools are larger and the samples obtained from these schools represent approximately 35% of the junior classes. At Alameda High School the sample included 44 boys and 59 girls. At Jefferson High School the sample totaled 66 boys and 61 girls.

Field Procedure

The data for this study was obtained through the use of questionnaires administered to large groups. One of the crucial problems underlying research of this type is to stimulate cooperation and objective responses from respondents in areas of behavior that are often sensitive to the individual. In this inquiry considerable information is needed concerning both the types and frequencies of delinquent behavior engaged in by individuals.

In order to illicit the best cooperation possible it was decided to use anonymous questionnaires administered under controlled conditions to large groups of respondents so that no association could be made between responses and the individual respondent. Care was taken to explain the importance of accurate information, as well as, to emphasize

the confidential and anonymous nature of the information. In this way it is hoped that the data is an accurate presentation of actual behavior.

The procedure followed in administering the questionnaires was to distribute them in the classrooms to the students selected for the sample. All students in each room were asked to fill out a questionnaire. In most cases there were several members of the research project in each room to assist students with questions or problems that arose during the testing period.

The nature of the questionnaire was primarily objective. Open ended questions were rarely used, and then only in cases when it was necessary for some elaboration of the objective response. The overall questionnaire embraced questions pertaining to a wide range of behavior. The present study employs only a small part of the total information gleaned through this survey.

MEASUREMENT OF VARIABLES

In this section we will present the procedures used to measure the variables underlying the specific hypotheses outlined above. In most cases indices have been developed to measure crucial variables. The nature of these indices and their relationship to variables will be presented in the following discussion.

SOCIAL CLASS INDEX

In this investigation Hollingshead's two factor index of social position is utilized in the analysis of social

class background.¹⁰ This index is based upon the weighted occupational and educational attainment of the family head or principal wage earner. Both occupational and educational attainment are ranked according to Hollingshead's seven point scales. Occupational rankings are given the weight of seven and education a weight of four, providing a socio-economic index with possible scores ranging from 11 to 77. The social class distribution of the sample used in this investigation is shown in Table I.

ETHNICITY

One of the major criticisms of Merton's formulation of anomic theory is that it may be applicable to societies that place heavy emphasis on achieved status, but may have little relevance to societies that emphasize ascribed status. Previous research has provided some empirical support for this objection within the American society especially as applied to Spanish American and other traditionally oriented subgroups. This criticism has particular relevance to this inquiry because of the large number of Spanish American peoples embraced by this sample.

It is true that Merton's hypothetical relationship between social class, anomie and deviant behavior draws heavily upon the assumed value system of the dominant American culture. In order to control for value distortions

¹⁰August B. Hollingshead, "Index of Social Position," New Haven, Connecticut, mimeographed, 1957.

TABLE I: SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE BY SCHOOL

Social Class	Total	COUNTY				
		Jefferson		Huerfano		Washington
		Jefferson	Alameda	Public	Catholic	Akron
I 11 to 17	5.1% N-21	8.0% N-10	7.8% N-8	1.5% N-1	1.8% N-1	2.4% N-1
II 18 to 27	4.1% N-17	6.4 N-8	5.8 N-6	N-0	1.3 N-1	4.8 N-2
III 28 to 43	25.6 N-104	29.6 N-37	30.3 N-31	12.6 N-8	21.3 N-16	29.2 N-12
IV 44 to 60	43.3 N-173	47.2 N-59	44.1 N-45	39.6 N-25	25.3 N-19	60.9 N-25
V 61 to 77	22.4 N-91	8.8 N-11	11.7 N-12	46.0 N-29	50.6 N-38	2.4 N-1
Number	406	125	102	63	75	41
NA	3	2	1	0	0	0
TOTAL	409	127	103	63	75	41

that may be related to subcultural value variations, the analysis of data in this study will not only measure the relationship between these variables in the total sample, but will also make similar evaluations on subgroups delimited by sex and ethnicity. We will delineate two ethnic subgroups, namely, the Spanish American and Anglo American subgroups.

Because of the difficulty of delimiting Spanish American and Mexican persons by objective criteria it was decided to have each respondent identify their own ethnic origin. To determine the student's own sense of ethnic identity the following question was asked:

What is your family's national origin?

	<u>Mother's Family</u>	<u>Father's Family</u>
Japanese	_____	_____
German	_____	_____
English	_____	_____
Mexican	_____	_____
Latin American	_____	_____
Italian	_____	_____
Scandinavian	_____	_____
Spanish	_____	_____
Indian	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____

All persons identifying their mother's family, father's family, or both parental families as Spanish or Mexican were identified as Spanish American. In the present sample no respondent identified as Spanish American had a mixed family background. All other respondents were grouped under the rubric of Anglo American. The sex-ethnic composition of this sample by social class is shown in Table II. No

other nationality or racial group appeared in the sample with great enough frequency to become a significant variable.

MEASUREMENT OF VALUES

The concept of success values as employed by Merton in his theory of "Social Structure and Anomie" has been operationally defined as a general emphasis on success and social ascent characterized by high levels of absolute aspirations, mobility aspirations and a system of entrepreneurial value orientations which are embodied in the American Dream precept. In the present section our task is to outline the technique used in this research to test these variables.

Absolute Aspirations

One of the important indicators of the value placed on success is the difficulty of the task human beings set for themselves, measured in terms of levels of aspirations and goals for individual striving. To illustrate how emphasis on high success-goals in the lower strata can produce anomic strains, Merton has concentrated largely on the goal of monetary success. There are, however, other success-goals that may be instrumental to monetary success that are more applicable to studies of high school youth due to the basic pressures and needs characteristic of youth culture in American society. Young people in the latter years of high school are culminating a period of involvement in the adolescent peer group, and are preparing to go their separate ways. This period is a major transition point in the individual's life cycle, in which

TABLE II: SEX-ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS

Class	Anglo-American		Spanish-American	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1.	6.0% N-9	6.5% N-11	1.9% N-1	N-0
2.	2.0% N-3	7.6% N-13	1.9% N-1	N-0
3.	29.5 N-44	31.9 N-54	5.7 N-3	7.6% N-3
4.	48.9 N-73	40.2 N-68	36.5 N-19	33.3 N-13
5.	12.7 N-19	12.4 N-21	53.8 N-28	58.9 N-23
NA	1	2	0	0
TOTAL	149	169	52	39

both boys and girls are confronted by choices of occupation and future education that are relatively inescapable. The problem of monetary success which plays such an important role in Merton's anomic theory is, no doubt, also important at this time in life, but of even more immediate importance are the choices to be made about college and future occupations. But, these two factors are also important in monetary success. The choices young people make here will in many instances predetermine their future life conditions. With the decline of individual ownership of business enterprises, occupation has become the main avenue to social ascent and economic affluence open to American youth. Education, in turn, will largely determine the position in the occupational structure one will ultimately achieve. So what we attempt to determine in this investigation is the extent to which there is social class acceptance of occupational and educational goals, and in turn, the belief in the accessibility of such goals. Secondly, we seek to determine whether these aspirations represent a desire on the part of students to improve on the social position of their family of origin.

To determine the level of educational aspirations, three questions are designed to allow the student to express their most desired goals. These questions are:

1. Do you plan to graduate from high school?
If no, why not?

2. If you were free to choose would you like to continue your education beyond high school?
3. If yes, in what manner?
 - Junior college
 - Four year college
 - Technical training school
 - Trade School
 - Other, specify

To develop a standardized scale of educational aspirations, the responses of each student are ranked on Hollingshead's seven point scale of educational position.

This scale is:

1. Graduate Professional Training
2. Standard College Education (college degree)
3. Partial College Training
4. High School Graduate
5. Partial High School
6. Junior High School (7-9 yrs completed)
7. Less than 7 years of school

To determine the level of occupational aspirations each respondent is asked:

"If you were completely free to choose what occupation would you like to follow?"

The responses to this open ended question are ranked numerically on Hollingshead's seven point scale of occupational position. This scale is:

1. Higher executive, proprietors of large concerns and major professionals.
2. Business managers, proprietors of medium-sized business, and lesser professionals.
3. Administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals.

4. Clerical and sales workers, technicians and owners of little businesses.
5. Skilled manual employees
6. Machine operators and semi-skilled employees.
7. Unskilled employees.

Aspiration Index

The measures of educational and occupational aspiration are important in determining aspiration levels in these two respective areas of activity. It is possible, however, that there may be some incongruence or lack of consistency between an individual's level of aspiration in these two areas of behavior. For instance, it is possible that an individual may aspire to high occupational attainment without equally emphasizing the need to take the requisite education steps that would lead to this goal. In which case, of course, the overall level of aspiration, in the realistic sense, would be much lower.

To develop a more refined measure of aspirations we have developed an aspiration index based on the combined weighted score of educational and occupational aspirations. This index was developed by Arthur Turner in a study of aspirations of youth in the Los Angeles Area.¹¹ In this study, Turner's index of ambition is slightly altered to adapt it to our data. The aspiration index is developed by assigning weights from zero to three to the occupational

¹¹Arthur Turner, The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), Ch. 2.

and educational aspiration levels of each respondent and combining the numerical scores into a new index scale ranging in numerical value from zero to six. Points are assigned for occupation as follows:

Unskilled, semi-skilled labor	0
Skilled labor, clerical	1
Small business, semi-professional, business agents, managers	2
Professional, large business owners, officials	3

Points are assigned for schooling as follows:

No schooling, grade school and other	0
High school graduate	1
Partial college, trade school, etc.	2
College graduate, post-graduate training	3

To measure levels of aspirations, we now have three indices which will be employed in our analysis. They are: absolute level of occupational aspiration; absolute level of education aspiration; the aspiration index. These measures will form an integral part of the measurement of mobility aspirations toward which we now focus our attention.

Mobility Aspirations

To measure mobility aspirations we will focus on the concept of relative aspirations which was projected into prominence in sociological inquiry by LaMar Empey in his study of social class differences in aspirations. Relative aspiration measurements are aimed at determining the extent to which a person's aspirations reflect a desire to improve

their social standings relative to their father's or family breadwinner's level of achievement.

To determine the relative aspiration levels, which we refer to in this study as mobility aspirations, each respondent is asked the education and occupation of their father or of the family breadwinner. The breadwinner's level of achievement is then ranked on Hollingshead's seven point indices of educational and occupational position in the same manner as the students aspirations. The mobility aspiration score represents the difference between the students aspiration scores and the breadwinner's achievement scores.

Since it is possible that a student may aspire toward lower educational and occupational levels than their father, we have developed a mobility aspiration scale ranging from zero to nine. The scale for educational mobility aspirations and occupational mobility aspirations have the same numerical values which are expressed in terms of the direction of change (upward or downward) and the degree of change (number of positions on the seven point scale.) This scale is:

0	downward 3 to 5 positions
1	downward 2 positions
2	downward 1 position
3	no change
4	upward 1 position
5	upward 2 positions
6	upward 3 positions
7	upward 4 positions
8	upward 5 positions
9	upward 6 positions

Mobility Index

A more refined index of mobility aspirations is employed by making use of the aspiration index discussed above. The first step in developing the mobility index is to construct a background index comparable to the aspiration index for each student. The background index is constructed in the same way as the aspiration index except that the breadwinner's level of achievement is used. The mobility index for each student represents the difference between the aspiration and background indices. The mobility index is a nine point scale and is categorized in the same way as the occupational and educational mobility aspiration indices described in the previous section.

Value Orientations

A third measure of motivation toward success is the culturally defined value orientations. Merton places considerable stress on the American Dream as a common motivational factor in the American society.¹² The American Dream is a precept which affirms the right or, often, the duty of retaining the goal of success even in the face of repeated frustrations. This precept teaches that, through hard work and enterprise in one's daily activities, that success can be realized by anyone who has the requisite abilities.

¹²Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 136-140; 166-176.

To determine the extent to which the American Dream is shared by the various classes, several value orientations derived directly from this precept have been operationalized and measured along with several values that may reflect an antithetical ideology. Values derived from the American Dream are the orientations toward achievement, hard work, efficiency and practicality, belief in science, individualism, and universalism. The group of antithetical value orientations which have often been attributed to the lower class are the orientations toward security, familism, material comfort, external conformity, traditionalism, and religiosity.¹³

PARADIGM OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS

American Dream	Traditional Orientation
Achievement	Security
Hard work	Material comfort
Efficiency and Practicality	Traditionalism
Individualism	External conformity
Universalism	Familism
Belief in science	Religiosity

Value Scales: The scales used to measure the value orientations in this study are an adaptation of a technique

¹³S.M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "The Working Class Subculture: A New View," Social Problems, 9:86-97 Summer, 1961.

used by C. Ramsey, R. Polson, and G. Spencer in a study of adoption of farm practices in New York.¹⁴ The revised scales were standardized and reported in an earlier study using internal criteria to determine scaleability.¹⁵ Each scale is composed of seven interchangeable items arranged into interval scales. The method of measurement is that of forced choice between items reflecting various value orientations. By forced choice it is assumed that deeper values will be tapped than questions in which the statements were selected for each value on independent ratings. The response consists of selecting the most desirable items in each question. An illustrative question is:

In rearing children, which of the following is most important?

1. Provide them with a good education.
(achievement)
2. Provide them with all the things they want.
(material comfort)
3. Protect them from the problems of life as long as possible.
(security)
4. Give them careful religious training in your faith.
(religiosity)

The total battery of 84 items are arranged into 21 questions with no two items reflecting the same value

¹⁴Charles E. Ramsey, Robert A. Polson, and George E. Spencer, "Values and the Adoption of Practices," Rural Sociology, 24:35-47, March, 1959.

¹⁵Leslie D. Wilcox, Standardization of Value Scales, unpublished Masters Thesis, Colorado State University, 1964.

competing against each other in any single question. Since only 21 items can be selected by each respondent, the numerical scores for each scale range from zero to seven, with the expected frequency of individual value orientations being 1.75, providing all values are equal.

The relationship between values and other variables are analyzed by the coefficient of correlation (Pearson's product moment).

Entrepreneurial Index: In order to determine the relative emphasis placed on the achievement motif of the American Dream precept, an entrepreneurial index is used. This index is constructed by combining the numerical score of the six value orientations derived from the American Dream ideology. This results in a scale of entrepreneurial values ranging from 0 to 21.

MEASUREMENT OF DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN ASPIRATIONS AND THEIR ACCESSIBILITY

For the purposes of this study we have operationally defined discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility in two ways:

1. Discrepancies between levels of aspirations and background. By background we refer to the family breadwinner's achievement level which corresponds to the type of aspiration under consideration.
2. Discrepancies between levels of aspiration and expectations.

In this section our task is to outline the procedures for measuring discrepancies using these two dimensions.

Aspirations and Expectations

The discrepancies between success-goals and their accessibility is difficult to measure with the available techniques. In recent years there has been a growing body of data which indicates widely ranging differentials in opportunity and life chances of the various strata of society. The data of the present research is not applicable to an objective evaluation of the life chances characteristic of the various classes. We do, however, have data to test possible discrepancies that may be indicative of strains toward anomie and deviant behavior, using techniques developed in previous research.

James Short has employed the concept of position discontent as an indicator of pressures toward deviant behavior.¹⁶ The concept of social mobility and discontent with one's present position seems to be implicit in Merton's theory, and also, hypothesized by Cohen and by Cloward and Ohlin, as a principal component of pressures toward both anomie and deviant behavior. However, the desire to get ahead is not in itself an adequate measure of the strain toward anomie, for as Hyman suggests, there must be some awareness or at least a belief or feeling on the part of the individual that means to success are not available to him. Short has hypothesized that this perceived limitation on means to success will show up in a

¹⁶Short., op cit.

discrepancy between the individual's aspirations and their expectations of success.

To measure the discrepancy between aspirations and expectations of success, the students are not only asked to indicate the occupational and educational level they would choose if they were free to do so, but are also asked a second question designed to measure their realistic expectations of success.

The educational expectations of students are measured by the following question:

Do you actually plan to continue your education beyond high school?

If yes, in what way?

1. Junior college
2. Four year college
3. Technical training school
4. Trade school
5. Other, specify

To determine the discrepancies between the student's occupational aspirations and expectations they are asked:

"What occupation do you actually plan to follow?"

By ranking educational and occupational expectations on Hollingshead's indices of educational and occupational position, the discrepancies are easily determined by simply subtracting the numerical expectation score from the numerical aspiration score.

Expectation Index: An expectation index is constructed in the same way as the aspiration and background indices, using the combined and weighted educational and occupational expectations of each student. The refined

discrepancy value is determined by subtracting the expectation index from the aspiration index. The class-expectation index is the mean score of all students for each respective social class background.

Background Discrepancies: A more indirect measurement of the strain toward deviant behavior and anomie exerted upon the individual by their aspirations has also been suggested by James Short. This measurement involves the discrepancies between aspiration and background. In utilizing this type of measurement the following discrepancies will be used:

1. The discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations.
2. The discrepancies between the family breadwinner's educational level and the student's aspirations.
3. The discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index.
4. The discrepancies between the student's background index and their expectation index.

It should be noted that the first three measures of background discrepancies are the exact same measures previously discussed under the titles of occupational and educational mobility aspirations and the mobility index. Even though their concepts constitute the same measures, they are being employed in this research as separate analytic tools to measure two different theoretical concepts and are, therefore, given different titles so as not to confuse the theoretical significance of the measures. This can be done effectively for analytic purposes as long as it

is clearly understood that they constitute in reality the same measures.

In the former usage we are concerned with the extent to which aspirations represent mobility orientations. In the present sense we are concerned with the impact of high mobility aspirations on other variables. Underlying this usage is the assumption that great discrepancies between aspirations and background will produce structural strains that influence the social and psychological responses and behavior of the individual. Most specifically these discrepancies are being explored as possible symptoms of anomic strains.

The procedures for measuring these variables will be the same as the techniques described in the previous section on methods for measuring success values. The fourth background discrepancy will be based on the difference between the student's aspiration index and the expectation index discussed earlier in this section.

ANOMIA

To measure the degree of anomia characteristic of each social class, an adapted form of Srole's anomia scale is used. Srole's scale is designed more for adult populations than for adolescents. To make the scale more meaningful for high school students the basic components of Srole's scale are restated to make them more meaningful to the population embraced by this inquiry. The five items comprising Srole's scale refer to (1) the perception that

community leaders are indifferent to one's needs; (2) the perception that little can be accomplished in the society which is seen as basically unpredictable and lacking order; (3) the perception that life-goals are receding rather than being realized; (4) a sense of futility; and (5) the conviction that one cannot count on personal associates for social and psychological support.¹⁷

The items developed to reflect these components are:

Component 1:

1. It does no good to talk to teachers when a student is in danger of getting a low grade.
2. There are practically no adults who help the teenager with his problems these days.

Component 2:

3. A teenager should live for today, because it does him no good to worry about the future.
4. A person should always obey the law, even though it means failure to achieve one's goals. (stated opposite to expected anomic response)

Component 3:

5. Hardwork is not enough to get ahead; it's all a matter of luck.
6. Everyone has an equal opportunity to achieve. (stated opposite to expected anomic response)

Component 4:

7. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
8. In this city, it is not important how much you know, but who you know.

¹⁷Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 21:709-716, December, 1956.

Component 5:

9. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
10. Often, a teenager is forced to do things he would not do if it were left up to him.

Each item in the battery of items is scored on the Likert scale with a value of one given to the least anomic response, and ranging upward to 5 for the highest anomic response. The numerical score of the ten items combine into an anomia index with a possible value range from 10 to 50.

MEASUREMENT OF DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

The final variable to be measured in this study is delinquent behavior. In the discussion above, we have operationally defined two types of delinquency which are objects of concern to this study. These two types are referred to as utilitarian (delinquent acts involving possible personal monetary gain) and nonutilitarian (delinquent acts that do not involve any seeking for monetary or personal gain).

To measure the frequency and types of delinquent acts of a utilitarian and nonutilitarian nature, a battery of items was developed which clearly reflected these two forms of delinquency. The utilitarian items selected are stealing (including both petty theft and serious acts of theft), burglary, forged checks, receiving stolen property, car theft, shoplifting and gas syphoning. The nonutilitarian items include destruction of property, sexual offenses, disrespect to teachers, fighting, truancy,

physical violence to teachers, using profane or obscene language, using narcotics, drinking intoxicants, joyriding and glue sniffing.

To measure the frequency of involvement in each delinquent act, the respondents are asked to indicate whether they had committed this act "never," "once," "more than once," or "frequently" during the past year. These items are then given weights ranging from zero to three as follows:

Never	0
Once	1
More than once	2
Frequently	3

To develop scales of delinquency which can be related to anomie and other variable two indices are employed. An index of utilitarian delinquency is constructed by combining the raw score of the eight utilitarian delinquent acts, making a scale of numerical values ranging from a possible zero to 24. The nonutilitarian delinquency index is the combined raw score of the 11 nonutilitarian delinquent acts, making a scale of numerical values ranging from a possible zero to 33.

EMPIRICAL HYPOTHESIS

The above measures provide the epistemic linkage from the theoretical to the empirical level of analysis. It is at this level that the empirical tests of relationships are conducted. This section provides a summary at the empirical level of the several hypothesis that have been generated at

the theoretical level with the corollary empirical relationships.

General Hypothesis 1: Success-goals and values are not related to social class.

Specific Hypothesis 1A: Absolute levels of aspirations are not related to social class.

Empirical Hypothesis 1A1: Absolute levels of occupational aspirations are not related to social class.

Empirical Hypothesis 1A2: Absolute levels of educational aspirations are not related to socio-economic status.

Empirical Hypothesis 1A3: The individual's aspiration index is not related to socio-economic status.

Specific Hypothesis 1B: Mobility aspirations are not related to social class.

Empirical Hypothesis 1B1: Occupational mobility aspirations are not related to socio-economic status.

Empirical Hypothesis 1B2: Educational aspirations are not related to socio-economic status.

Empirical Hypothesis 1B3: The individual's mobility aspiration index is not related to socio-economic status.

Specific and Empirical Hypothesis 1C: Entrepreneurial value orientations are not related to social class (socio-economic status).

General Hypothesis 2: Discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are negatively related to social class.

Specific Hypothesis 2A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are negatively related to social class.

Empirical Hypothesis 2A1: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations are negatively related to socio-economic status.

Empirical Hypothesis 2A2: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's educational level and the student's educational aspirations are negatively related to socio-economic status.

Empirical Hypothesis 2A3: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index are negatively related to socio-economic status.

Empirical Hypothesis 2A4: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their expectation index are negatively related to socio-economic status.

Specific Hypothesis 2B: Discrepancies between the individual's success aspirations and expectations are negatively related to social class.

Empirical Hypothesis 2B1: Discrepancies between student's occupational aspirations and occupational expectations are negatively related to socio-economic status.

Empirical Hypothesis 2B2: Discrepancies between student's educational aspirations and educational expectations are negatively related to socio-economic status.

Empirical Hypothesis 2B3: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are negatively related to socio-economic status.

General Hypothesis 3: Discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to anomie.

Specific Hypothesis 3A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to anomia.

Empirical Hypothesis 3A1: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations are positively related to anomia.

Empirical Hypothesis 3A2: Discrepancies between family breadwinner's educational level and

student's educational aspirations are positively related to anomia.

Empirical Hypothesis 3A3: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index are positively related to anomia.

Empirical Hypothesis 3A4: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their expectation index are positively related to anomia.

Specific Hypothesis 3B: Discrepancies between the individual's success aspirations and expectations are positively related to anomia.

Empirical Hypothesis 3B1: Discrepancies between student's occupational expectations are positively related to anomia.

Empirical Hypothesis 3B2: Discrepancies between student's educational aspirations and expectations are positively related to anomia.

Empirical Hypothesis 3B3: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are positively related to anomia.

General Hypothesis 4: Discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to deviant behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 4A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to utilitarian delinquent behavior.

Empirical Hypothesis 4A1: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4A2: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's educational level and the student's educational level and the student's educational aspirations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4A3: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4A4: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their expectation index are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

Special Hypothesis 4B: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

Empirical Hypothesis 4B1: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4B2: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's educational level and the student's educational level and the student's educational aspirations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4B3: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4B4: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are positively related to non-utilitarian delinquency.

Specific Hypothesis 4C: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and expectations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4C1: Discrepancies between student's occupational aspirations and expectations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4C2: Discrepancies between student's educational aspirations and expectations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4C3: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

Specific Hypothesis 4D: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and expectations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

Empirical Hypothesis 4D1: Discrepancies between student's occupational aspirations and expectations are positively related to non-utilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4D2: Discrepancies between student's educational aspirations and expectations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

Empirical Hypothesis 4D3: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are positively related to non-utilitarian delinquency.

General Hypothesis 5: Anomie is negatively related to social class.

Specific and Empirical Hypothesis 5A: Anomia is negatively related to social class (socio-economic status).

General Hypothesis 6: Anomie is positively related to deviant behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 6A: Anomia is positively related to utilitarian delinquent behavior.

Specific Hypothesis 6B: Anomia is positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

General Hypothesis 7: Social class is negatively related to deviant behavior.

Specific and Empirical Hypothesis 7A: Social class is negatively related to utilitarian delinquent behavior.

Specific and Empirical Hypothesis 7B: Social Class is negatively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

STATISTICAL PROCEDURE

The method of analysis to be undertaken in the following chapter will be essentially the same for each hypothesis. To test the empirical relationships stated by each hypotheses simple product-moment correlations will be used. This is a measure of association designed to measure the amount of spread or distribution about a linear least-squares line. Dynamically considered it measures the rate of change in one variable relative to the other. Viewed in this way, the correlation coefficient "r" is primarily a predictive device. It enables the researcher to expect a level of one variable by observation of another.

Certain assumptions are associated with product-moment correlations. The key assumptions are that the variables have bivariate normal distribution, and that the relationship between the variables is linear. Correlation measures only linear association. Also, as with most statistics, it must be assumed that the variables were measured without error, that randomness was maintained in sample procedure, and that the individual sample units are independent.

It is acknowledged that not all of the data in this study conforms to the criteria of these assumptions. In most cases, the indices designed to measure variables are formed into continuous ordinal scales, the nature of which,

of course, raises some crucial questions concerning the assumption of linearity. In making the statistical tests, however, the assumptions necessary to apply these tests are made. The following reasons provide some justification for this treatment.

First, as much as possible, all units of the sample were drawn on the basis of random selection.

Second, most of the variables used in this study by actual observation exhibit a fair degree of normality and homogeneity.

Finally, though these assumptions seem to represent the general feeling expressed in most statistics books a number of statisticians have taken exception to them under certain conditions. For instance, William T. Hayes in his text, Statistics for Psychologists, suggests that regression and correlation are often used as descriptive statistics and as such:¹⁸

"...it is not necessary to make any assumption at all about the form of the distribution, the variability of Y scores within X columns or 'arrays,' or the true level of measurement represented by the scores in order to employ linear regression and correlation indices to describe a given set of data. So long as there are N distinct cases each having two numerical scores, X and Y, then the descriptive statistic of correlation and regression may be used...and this is a perfectly adequate way to talk about the tendency for these numerical scores to associate or 'go together' in a linear way..."

¹⁸William T. Hayes, Statistics for Psychologists (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963). p. 510.

In the present study we are primarily interested in correlation measurements as descriptive statistics showing association of data or relational tendencies within the sample, rather than a precise measurement of the degree of correlation. In general, neither the theory of anomie, nor the available techniques to measure concepts and relationships within the theory have been advanced to the point that precise directional relationships can be stated nor the degree and quality of that relationship be measured with precision. Hence, even though the ordinal scales employed in this research do not assure perfect linearity they do provide continuous numerical scales that can be related through the product-moment correlation to show relational tendencies in this descriptive sense. For this reason, in the following analysis less emphasis will be placed on the actual numerical coefficient while more stress will be placed on the direction of the relationship and the relative magnitude of the coefficients.

The critical region for rejection of the null hypothesis is arbitrarily preset at the .05 level of significance. With the exception of general hypothesis one, all hypotheses are stated directionally so a one-tail test of significance will be used. Hypothesis one is a non-directional hypothesis so a two-tail test of significance will be employed in this instance. The probability factor for "r" varies with size of sample, so the level of correlation which is significant at the .05 level will vary

by subgroup. In the total sample of 409, and a one-tail test, an "r" of .090 or greater will reject the null hypothesis at the .05 level of significance. The rejection level of "r" for one and two tailed tests by total sample and subgroup are:

UNIT	SAMPLE SIZE	ONE-TAIL	TWO-TAIL
TOTAL SAMPLE	409	.090	.098
ANGLO MALE	149	.140	.162
ANGLO FEMALE	169	.130	.150
SPANISH MALE	52	.230	.322
SPANISH FEMALE	39	.260	.381

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

The task of this chapter is to undertake the empirical exploration of Merton's thesis that differential access to the various means of achieving success in American society leads to greater anomie, and greater pressures toward deviant behavior in the lower classes as compared to the relatively high classes. In the previous discussion we have suggested that a study of both the distribution of values and the simultaneous distribution of anomie and delinquent behavior by social class is yet to be carried out. This is the task of our present analysis. In the following discussion, the data which has been generated to test the hypotheses outlined in the previous chapter will be presented in an effort to determine the extent of the empirical support for Merton's thesis.

The order of presentation of the hypotheses will follow the same sequence as outlined in the previous section. In each case, the test of hypotheses will follow the same general formate, which will have three objectives:

1. to present a restatement of the hypotheses;
2. to present the results of the statistical tests as they relate to each empirical hypothesis;
3. to draw inferences from the test at the empirical level to the more abstract theoretical level of analysis.

Merton's theory is formulated into universal propositions which assume persons exposed to the same socio-cultural pressures will respond in similar manner, irregardless of subgroup differences. Thus, in testing hypotheses we will be primarily concerned with measuring relationships between variables within the total heterogeneous sample to determine the extent of the support for each hypothesis. It must be recognized, however, that the phenomena under consideration in this study is of such a nature that sub-cultural differences may exist within the complex American society. This is especially true of success values and aspirations. To determine the nature and extent of subgroup variation, the sample has been subdivided into subsamples delineated on the basis of sex and ethnicity. The subgroups used in this investigation are: Spanish American male, Spanish American female, Anglo American male, and Anglo American female.

The procedure to be followed in testing hypotheses will be to present the data and relationships measured within the total sample, followed by data concerning the relationships between variables in each subsample, to determine the extent of the support for Merton's thesis within each subgroup.

To simplify the process of presenting hypotheses being tested, symbols will be used to identify hypotheses. The symbol "G.H." refers to "general hypothesis;" "S.H." refers to "specific hypothesis;" "E.H." refers to "empirical hypothesis."

CONTINUED

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HYPOTHESIS ONE

G.H. 1: Success values are not related to social class.

S.H. 1A: Absolute levels of aspirations are not related to social class.

E.H. 1A1: Absolute levels of occupational aspirations are not related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is .152. The coefficient is significant at the .01 level, which is within the preset critical region. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. Since the empirical hypothesis is the null hypothesis, this data tends to refute the original hypothesis, although the degree of correlation is small. This suggests slightly higher occupational aspirations among the upper socio-economic strata, however, the difference in absolute occupational aspirations of persons variously located in the social structure appears to be small.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	.186	.05	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	.107	N.S.*	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.665	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.437	.05	REJECTED

*All correlations that are not significant at the .05 level are identified by the symbol "N.S." meaning "not significant."

These data suggest that there is a positive relationship between socio-economic status and occupational goals among

boys of both ethnic groups. Among girls the relationship changes. Here there is no significant relationship between these variables among Anglo girls, and a significant negative relationship among Spanish girls. Sex appears to be an important intervening variable, influencing the extent of the social class variations in occupational aspirations. With the exception of Spanish boys, these data do not indicate any strong tendency toward lower aspirations among the lower strata, as has been frequently suggested in previous literature. Though the relationship between these variables are not consistent throughout the subsamples, the evidence does appear to refute the empirical hypothesis and to indicate a slight but general tendency toward a positive relationship between social class and absolute occupational aspirations.

E.H. 1A2: Absolute levels of educational aspirations are not related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is .190. The coefficient is significant at the .01 level which is within the preset critical region. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. Since the empirical hypothesis is also the null hypothesis, these data appear to refute the original hypothesis, although the degree of correlation is small. The data suggest slightly higher educational aspirations among the upper socio-economic strata, however, the difference in absolute educational aspirations of persons differentially located in the social structure seems to be small.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	.186	.05	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	.221	.01	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	.204	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.160	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The data for Spanish boys and girls supports the null hypotheses and thus the empirical hypothesis which is also the null hypothesis. The data for Anglo boys and girls tend to refute the empirical hypothesis, suggesting higher educational aspirations among higher status youth, although, once again, the relationship is at a low level of correlation. In general, these data point to a tendency toward a positive relationship between these variables rather than a clear cut or strong relationship.

E. H. 1A3: The individual's aspiration index is not related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is .133. The coefficient is significant at the .01 level which is within the preset critical region. Since the empirical hypothesis is also the null hypothesis, these data appear to refute the original hypothesis, although the degree of correlation is small. The data suggests slightly higher aspirations among the upper socio-economic strata,

however, the differences in absolute aspirations of persons differentially located in the social structure seems to be small.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	.062	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	.108	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.146	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.277	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients for all subgroups are not significant at the .05 level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. Thus, the empirical hypothesis, which is also the null hypothesis, is supported for each subgroup. The lack of agreement between the test for the total sample and the subsamples is, no doubt, due to the fact that the smaller the sample the higher the correlation necessary to be statistically significant at the preset critical region. The correlations, however, are small in all cases, suggesting that there is very little relationship between social class and levels of aspirations. The direction of the relationship seems to suggest slightly higher aspirations in the higher classes which has been noted in other studies. Even though there is some inconsistency in the data, the small degree of correlation seems to suggest some support for the general hypothesis under consideration.

Summary: In general, the tests of absolute levels of aspiration presented in this section indicate slightly higher absolute aspirations in the upper strata of the American society as compared to the relatively lower classes. The degree of difference between persons of various socio-economic status is surprisingly small. The correlation between success-goals and socio-economic background is so small that one can infer common strivings toward high success-goals among persons of all socio-economic levels. Even though absolute aspirations do seem to be positively related to social class background among the young people in this sample, the variations appear rather unimpressive when compared to the wide socio-economic variations in the family backgrounds of these students. Thus, these data, in part at least, support the assumption of common success values in the American society.

S. H. 1B: Mobility Aspirations are not related to social class.

E.H. 1B1: Occupational mobility aspirations are not related to socio-economic status.

The calculated coefficient for the total sample is $-.520$. The coefficient is significant at the $.001$ level, which is within the preset critical region. Thus the null hypothesis is rejected. Since the original hypothesis is also the null hypothesis, the data do not support this empirical hypothesis. The correlation is a fairly high negative correlation, indicating considerably higher mobility aspirations in the lower strata as compared to the higher strata.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.462	.001	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.698	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	-.244	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.512	.001	REJECTED

The null hypothesis is refuted in all subgroups except the Spanish males. The specific hypothesis is supported in the case of the Spanish boys where there is no statistically significant relationship between occupational mobility aspirations. In the other three groups there is a significant negative relationship between these variables, indicating that occupational mobility aspirations are higher in the relatively lower strata.

E.H. 1B2: Educational aspirations are not related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.538$. The coefficient is significant at the .001 level, which is within the preset critical region. The null hypothesis is rejected. Since the original hypothesis is also the null hypothesis, the data do not support this empirical hypothesis. The correlation is a relatively high negative correlation, indicating much higher mobility aspirations among the lower strata youth in this sample.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.596	.001	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.559	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	-.260	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.086	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The correlation coefficients are significant at the .05 level for the Anglo subsamples. The data for these subgroups do not support the empirical hypothesis. In the case of Spanish male and female subgroups, the coefficients are not significant so the null hypothesis is accepted in both cases. Thus, the empirical hypothesis which is also the null hypothesis, is supported in these two subgroups. High mobility aspirations seem to be related to ethnicity with the desire to improve one's position in society becoming more acute in the Anglo subgroups. Even though the level of correlation among Spanish youth is lower than among the Anglo youth, the direction of correlation is also negative, indicating a general tendency toward greater position discontent among lower strata youth in all four subgroups.

E.H. 1B3: The mobility aspiration index is negatively related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.573. The coefficient is significant at the .001 level, which is within the preset critical region. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. Since the empirical hypothesis is also the null hypothesis, the data do not support the original hypothesis. The correlation is a

relatively high negative correlation, indicating much higher mobility aspirations among the lower strata youth.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are;

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.568	.001	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.654	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	-.308	.05	REJECTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.413	.01	REJECTED

The calculated correlation coefficients in all subsamples are significant within the preset critical region, so the null hypothesis is rejected in all cases. The coefficients are relatively high negative correlations, indicating much higher mobility aspirations in the lower strata of all subgroups.

Summary: The data presented in this section, clearly indicate greater position discontent among the lower strata youth of this sample. Mobility aspirations, when considered in terms of occupational, educational, or a combined index of occupational and educational aspirations, tend to be consistently higher in the lower strata. These findings tend to suggest that the lower classes are, perhaps, more ambitious than the higher strata. Care, however, must be taken in drawing conclusions from this type of measurement for there are certain inherent weaknesses in this type of measurement that place in question such inferences. Students in the lower strata, due to their lower starting position,

can improve their position over their father substantially more than students whose fathers fill occupational positions near the top of the hierarchy of occupational status. It is safe to conclude, from these data, however, that the emphasis on success and social ascent is no less characteristic of the lower classes compared to higher classes, and, in fact, may be more acute in the lower strata.

S.H. and E.H. 1C: Entrepreneurial value orientations are not related to social class (socio-economic status).

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is .061. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted. The empirical hypothesis is also the null hypothesis so the data support the original hypothesis. These findings indicate insignificant variations in entrepreneurial values by socio-economic background.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the action taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	.029	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.024	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.063	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.010	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The findings among all subgroups are consistent with the findings in the total sample. The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level so

the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. Hence, these data support the empirical hypothesis and the theoretical proposition under consideration.

SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESIS I

In the previous discussion, data were presented to test the general hypothesis that success values do not vary with social class background. Three indices of success values were used in the analysis. Absolute aspirations were found to be generally related in a positive direction to socio-economic background of students. Some subgroup variation from this trend occurred in our analysis, especially among Spanish girls. The relationships between social class and levels of aspirations were found to be generally weak in nearly all cases, indicating more of a tendency toward higher aspirations in the higher socio-economic levels rather than the wide variations which might be expected in the light of the wide range of socio-economic backgrounds of students in this sample.

Mobility aspirations were clearly related to social class, however, in the negative direction. Lower status youth indicated a much higher desire to improve their position over that of their family of origin than was found among higher status youth. This was found to be true in the case of both educational and occupational aspirations. Lower class Anglo youth were generally found to aspire toward social mobility more than Spanish youth, especially when we focus on educational mobility. However,

when a combined index of educational and occupational aspirations was used, lower status Spanish youth indicated a substantially higher desire to improve their status in society than their higher status neighbors. Thus, our analysis reveals a strong negative relation of success values to socio-economic status.

On the surface, these two measures of success values seem to refute the general hypothesis that success values are not related to social class. A closer examination, however, suggests more support for this assumption than a superficial examination might indicate. These findings indicate high aspirations among all socio-economic status groups. Even though higher status youth tend to aspire for higher goals than lower status youth, the youth of all social levels seem to have high aspirations that are indicative of a success theme. The extent of lower class acceptance of high aspirations is especially revealed when their aspirations are related to family background. Here, lower class youth aspire to improve their status by several social increments over that of their parents, pointing to an acute emphasis on success and social ascent in the lower strata. These two measures, when viewed together, seem to indicate a universal emphasis on success and social ascent shared by all status groups. In this sense, our data may be taken as generally supportive of the general theoretical hypothesis under consideration in this section that success values are not related to social class.

This analysis is reinforced by our measurements of social class variations in more abstract cultural value orientations. Entrepreneurial value orientations were found to be unrelated to social class, no matter whether we focused upon the total sample or upon subgroups within the sample. These findings suggest that the various socio-economic levels not only share a similar emphasis on success and social ascent, but also, they share more abstract values that may be instrumentally important in realizing these success-goals. Thus, in general, the data presented above provides rather strong support for Merton's assumption of a common success emphasis in the American society.

HYPOTHESIS II

G.H. 2: Discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are negatively related to social class.

S.H. 2A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are negatively related to social class.

E.H. 2A1: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations are negatively related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.520$. The coefficient is significant at the $.001$ level, which is within the preset critical region, so the null hypothesis is refuted. The direction of the relationship is as hypothesized, so the data support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.462	.001	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.698	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	-.244	.05	REJECTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.512	.001	REJECTED

The null hypothesis is rejected for all subgroups. The direction of the relationship is as hypothesized, so the empirical hypothesis is supported in all cases.

E.S. 2A2: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's educational level of achievement and the student's educational aspirations are negatively related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.538$. The coefficient is significant at the $.001$ level, which is within the preset critical region, so the null hypothesis is refuted. The direction of the relationship is as hypothesized so the original proposition is supported.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.596	.001	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.559	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	-.260	.05	REJECTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.086	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The null hypothesis is refuted in both Anglo American subsamples. In these two subgroups the direction of the relationship between these variables are as hypothesized so the empirical hypothesis is supported. Among Spanish American youth the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized, however, the level of correlation is not significant at the .05 level among Spanish girls. Even though the null hypothesis is not refuted among Spanish girls, the negative correlation between these variables does suggest at least a tendency toward greater position discontent among the lower strata of all subgroups in this sample. Thus, the empirical hypothesis is generally supported in this research.

E.H. 2A3: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index are negatively related to socioeconomic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.573$. The coefficient is significant at the .001 level, which is within the preset critical region, so the null hypothesis is refuted. The direction of the relationship is as hypothesized, so the empirical hypothesis is supported.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the action taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.569$	.001	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.654$	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.308$	.05	REJECTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.413$	.01	REJECTED

The null hypothesis is refuted in all cases, and the direction of relationship is as hypothesized, so the data from each subsample supports the empirical hypothesis.

E.H. 2A4: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their expectation index is negatively related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.321$. The coefficient is significant at the $.001$ level, which is within the preset critical region, so the null hypothesis is refuted. The direction of relationship is as hypothesized, so the data supports the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the action taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.388$	$.001$	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.385$	$.001$	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.093$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.274$	$.05$	REJECTED

The null hypothesis is rejected in all cases, except for Spanish males, and the direction of relationship is as hypothesized, so the original proposition is supported among Anglo American students and Spanish girls. The relationship between these variables are not significant at the $.05$ level in the Spanish male subgroup so the null hypothesis is not refuted. Even though these correlations

are not significant, the direction of relationship is as hypothesized, indicating a tendency toward greater discrepancies in lower strata of all subgroups.

Summary of S.H.2A:

The data presented in this section provided fairly strong and consistent support for the specific hypothesis that discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are negatively related to social class. In this sense, these findings seem to support Merton's belief that aspirations are more inaccessible in the lower strata of society. Two exceptions were noted. Spanish girls indicated no relationship between educational discrepancies and social class background. This suggests that strains brought about by high educational aspirations are no greater in the lower class than in the relatively higher classes. The other exception was the relationship between social class and discrepancies between background and expectations among Spanish boys. This finding indicates that lower class Spanish boys do tend to lower their expectations more than other groups, and thereby, minimize possible strains that may result from such discrepancies. The same tendency is found in other groups, but not to the same extent as we found among the Spanish boys. In all subgroups we observed a tendency to reduce discrepancies by lowering expectations among lower class youth, but not to the extent that these discrepancies are entirely eliminated. Thus, by

all four measurements of background discrepancies used in this study, we find rather strong support for the assumption that discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility are greater in the lower class, a finding which generally supports Merton's thesis.

S.H. 2B: Discrepancies between the individual's success aspirations and expectations are negatively related to social class.

E.H. 2B1: Discrepancies between student's occupational aspirations and occupational expectations are negatively related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.097$. The coefficient is significant at the preset $.05$ level of significance, so the null hypothesis is rejected. The level of correlation is very low so the data do not provide strong support for the empirical hypothesis, suggesting, on the other hand, that there is little relationship between social class and discrepancies between occupational aspirations and expectations.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.091$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.088$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.179$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.159$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level in any of the four subsamples, so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. The data does not support the hypothesis under consideration, indicating no significant relationship between occupational expectation discrepancies and social class.

E.H. 2B2: Discrepancies between student's educational aspirations and expectations are negatively related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.167$. The coefficient is significant at the .01 level, which is within the preset critical region, so the null hypothesis is refuted. The direction of the relationship is as hypothesized so the empirical hypothesis is supported, but at a low level of correlation.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the level of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.289$	.01	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.126$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.180$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.051$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The correlation coefficients are not significant for any subsample except in the case of Anglo American boys, so the null hypothesis is not refuted in the Anglo female and Spanish subgroups. The correlation coefficient is significant at the .01 level for Anglo boys, so the null

hypothesis is rejected. The direction of relationship is as hypothesized, so the empirical hypothesis is supported in the Anglo male subgroup. The low level of correlation in cases where the hypothesis is supported statistically, however, indicates that the extent of the relationship between these variables is extremely weak. At best, one could assert that there is a tendency toward a negative relationship between these variables, rather than a clear-cut negative relationship. In general, these findings indicate that the relationship between educational expectation discrepancies and social class background is weak.

E.H. 2B3: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are negatively related to socio-economic status.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.107$. The coefficient is significant at the $.05$ level, which is within the preset critical region, so the null hypothesis is refuted. The relationship is in the direction hypothesized so the empirical hypothesis is supported. The level of correlation between these variables indicate that expectation discrepancies are only weakly related to social class.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.144	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.041	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	-.167	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.197	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The correlation coefficients for all subgroups are not significant at the .05 level, therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted in each case. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis, indicating no relationship between expectation discrepancies and social class background.

Summary of S.H. 2B:

The support for the hypothesis that discrepancies between aspirations and expectations are negatively related to social class has been found to be weak in the data presented above. Our analysis of these data indicate only a slight tendency for discrepancies between aspirations and expectations to be higher in the lower socio-economic levels. On the basis of this analysis only a tentative acceptance of the specific hypothesis under consideration in this section is warranted.

Summary of Hypothesis II

In this section data has been presented to test the relationship between socio-cultural discrepancies and social class. The general hypothesis tested, states that discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are negatively related to social class. To test this relationship two indices were used. The first index was a measure of the discrepancies between the

student's level of aspiration and the family socio-economic background. Here, the data generated to test this relationship indicated significantly greater discrepancies in the lower strata, which strongly supports the original hypothesis.

The second index used was a measure of the discrepancies between the student's success aspirations and expectations. The data generated to test this relationship suggested a slight tendency toward a variation in the hypothesized direction, however, the statistical support for the original hypothesis proved to be extremely weak.

These findings seem to indicate greater position discontent among lower class youth. Youth from the lower socio-economic backgrounds consistently aspired to improve their position over that of their father by a greater increment than youth in the higher socio-economic levels. Since social mobility is, no doubt, no less difficult in the lower strata than in the higher strata, it follows logically that the more acute position discontent of the lower classes may very well produce objective social situations where success-goals are realistically less accessible.

On the other hand, the data do not indicate significantly greater awareness or belief on the part of lower status youth that their goals are more inaccessible. The discrepancies between the success-goals toward which individuals aspire and the actual goals they expect to attain are actually not greatly more common in the lower

strata. This indicates that lower class youth expect to reach their aspired goals about as frequently as higher status youth. In other words, this analysis points to little social class variation in the extent to which individual's perceive a discrepancy between their aspirations and their accessibility. In the social psychological sense then, the original hypothesis is not supported. Youth in the lower classes may actually be exposed to circumstances where their aspirations are, in a realistic sense, less accessible, but, at the same time, youth at this level of high school do not appear to be any more aware, or at least, do not perceive that their goals are less accessible than higher status youth. Therefore, these data provide only partial support for the general proposition that discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility are greater in the lower strata.

HYPOTHESIS III

G. H. 3: Discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to anomie.

S.H. 3A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to anomia.

E.H. 3A1: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations are positively related to anomia.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.040$. The coefficient is not significant at the $.05$ level of significance, so the null hypothesis is

not refuted. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.120	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.008	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	-.163	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.186	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level for any of the subsamples, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. The empirical hypothesis is not supported by these data for any of the four subgroups.

E.H. 3A2: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's educational aspirations are positively related to anomia.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is .054. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. The data does not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.060	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	.013	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.057	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.344	.05	REJECTED

The calculated correlation coefficients for all subsamples except Spanish female are not significant at the .05 level, so the null hypotheses are not refuted in these subgroups. The correlation coefficient among Spanish girls is significant but in the reverse direction to the direction hypothesized. The empirical hypothesis is not supported in any of the four subgroups.

E.H. 3A3: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index are positively related to anomia.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.024. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is not refuted. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the calculated correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.124	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.0003	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	-.190	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.213	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level for any subsample, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. The empirical hypothesis is not supported by these data for any subgroup.

E.H. 3A4: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their expectation index are positively related to anomia.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.097$. The coefficient is not significant at the $.05$ level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.213$	$.05$	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.005$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.030$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.304$	$.05$	REJECTED

The calculated correlation coefficients for Anglo girls, and Spanish boys are not significant at the $.05$ level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. Anglo boys and Spanish girls show a negative relationship between these variables at a level of significance within the preset critical region so the null hypothesis is rejected for this subgroup. The direction of the relationship is inverse to the hypothesized direction so the data in all cases fail to support the empirical hypothesis. The data suggest, in the case of Anglo boys and Spanish girls, that the greater the discrepancies between the background index and the expectation index the lower the anomia score.

Summary of Specific Hypothesis 3A: The data presented in this study in general does not support the specific hypothesis that discrepancies between the family breadwinner's level of achievement and the student's success

aspirations are positively related to anomia. The above findings indicate that there is no statistically significant relationship between these variables. Therefore, these data do not support the original theoretical hypothesis.

S.H. 3B: Discrepancies between the individual's success aspirations and expectations are positively related to anomia.

E.H. 3B1: Discrepancies between student's occupational aspirations and occupational expectations are positively related to anomia.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.058$. The coefficient is not significant at the $.05$ level so the null hypothesis is accepted. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.137$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.016$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$.110$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.193$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the $.05$ level so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis in any subsample.

E.H. 3B2: Discrepancies between student's educational aspirations and educational expectations are positively related to anomia.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is .079. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted. The data do not support the original hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.052	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	.044	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.282	.05	REJECTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.023	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level except in the Spanish male subgroup, so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. The data for these subgroups do not support the original hypothesis. The empirical hypothesis is given some support among Spanish boys although at a low level of correlation.

E.H. 3B3: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are positively related to anomia.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.028. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted.

By subsample the correlation coefficient, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.094	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.009	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.131	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	-.121	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. The data do not support the original hypothesis in any subsample.

Summary of Specific Hypothesis 3B:

The data generated to test the specific hypothesis that discrepancies between the individual's success aspirations and expectations are positively related to anomia provided no support for the hypothesized relationship. The findings indicate that there is no statistically significant relationship between these variables.

Summary of Hypothesis III:

In this section data were presented to test the relationship between socio-cultural discrepancies and anomia. The general theoretical hypothesis under consideration states that "discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to anomia." To test this relationship, discrepancies were operationally defined in two different ways. The first defined the disjunction between success-goals and their accessibility in terms of the discrepancies between the student's aspirations and their family background. Four indices were used to measure background discrepancies.

None were significantly related to anomia. The second definition of disjunction between goals and their accessibility was defined in terms of the individual's perception of limited opportunity, expressed in discrepancies between aspirations and expectations of success. Three indices were used to measure expectation discrepancies. None was significantly related to anomia. Hence, the general proposition, assuming these indices provide valid measurements, is not supported. These data indicate no statistically significant relationship of discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility to anomia.

HYPOTHESIS IV

G.H. 4: Discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to deviant behavior.

S.H. 4A: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

E.H. 4A1: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.158$. The coefficient is significant at the .01 level of significance which is within the preset critical region so the null hypothesis is refuted. The direction of relationship is inverse to the hypothesized direction, so the data do not support the empirical hypothesis. Rather, the data indicate a negative relationship between utilitarian delinquency and occupational discrepancies.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.238	.01	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.127	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.038	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.146	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The correlation coefficient for Anglo males is significant at the .01 level, so the null hypothesis is refuted in this subgroup. The direction of relationship is inverse to the hypothesized relationship, so the data do not support the empirical hypothesis. Rather, among Anglo boys, occupational discrepancies are negatively related to utilitarian delinquency. For the other three subgroups, the coefficients are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is not refuted, suggesting that these variables are not related. Hence, the empirical hypothesis is not supported in any of the subgroups, with some tendency toward a negative relationship between utilitarian delinquency and occupational discrepancies occurring among Anglo American youth, especially among Anglo boys.

E.H. 4A2: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's educational level and the student's educational aspirations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.087. The coefficient is not significant at

the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted, indicating no relationship between educational discrepancies and utilitarian delinquency.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.194	.05	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.064	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.187	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.023	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The correlation coefficient for Anglo Males is significant at the .05 level which is within the preset critical region. The coefficient indicates a negative relationship which is inverse to the hypothesized relationship so the data do not support the empirical hypothesis. The correlation coefficients for the other three subsamples are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted. Hence, the data for the four subsamples do not support the empirical hypothesis.

E.H. 4A3: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.127. The coefficient is significant at the .05 level which is within the preset critical region so the null hypothesis is rejected. The direction of the relationship is inverse to the hypothesized direction so

the data do not support the empirical hypothesis. The data indicate a tendency for utilitarian delinquency to be negatively related to background discrepancies.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.223	.01	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.114	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	-.053	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.058	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficient for Anglo boys is significant at the .01 level which is within the preset critical region so the null hypothesis is rejected. The direction of the relationship is inverse to the hypothesized relationship, indicating that utilitarian delinquency is inversely related to background discrepancies. The correlation coefficient for the other three subsamples are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted. The empirical hypothesis is not supported in any of the subsamples.

E.H. 4A4: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their expectation index are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.107. The coefficient is significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is rejected. The direction of the relationship is inverse to the hypothesized

relationship indicating a negative relationship between expectation discrepancies and utilitarian delinquency. Thus, the data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the level of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.208	.01	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.015	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	-.102	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.290	.05	REJECTED

The calculated correlation coefficients for Anglo males and Spanish females are significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is rejected. The direction of relationships is inverse to the hypothesized relationship. The coefficients in the other two subsamples are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted. The empirical hypothesis is not supported in any subgroup.

Summary of Specific Hypothesis 4A: The data presented in this section indicates no support for the specific hypothesis that discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to utilitarian delinquency. For the most part the findings showed no statistically significant relationship between these variables. The only significant relationships were found among the Anglo

boys where the significance relationships were consistently inverse to the hypothesized relationship, indicating that utilitarian delinquency tends to be negatively related to background discrepancies.

S.H. 4B: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and the family breadwinner's level of achievement are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

E.H. 4B1: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's occupational level and the student's occupational aspirations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquent behavior.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.140$. The coefficient is significant at the $.05$ level so the null hypothesis is rejected. The direction of the relationship is inverse to the hypothesized relationship indicating that occupational discrepancies are negatively related to nonutilitarian delinquency. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.256$	$.01$	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.049$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.021$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.049$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficient for Anglo males is significant at the $.01$ level so the null hypothesis

is rejected. The direction of relationship is inverse to the hypothesized relationship. The coefficients for the other three subsamples are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted in each case. The empirical hypothesis is not supported in any subsample.

E.H. 4B2: Discrepancies between the family breadwinner's educational level and the student's educational aspirations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.068$. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is not refuted. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.115$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.097$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$.019$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.318$	.05	REJECTED

The calculated coefficients for all subsamples except the Spanish girls are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. Spanish girls show a significant correlation but in a direction inverse to that hypothesized. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis in any subsample.

E.H. 4B3: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their aspiration index are positively related to non-utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.088$. The coefficient is not significant at the $.05$ level so the null hypothesis is not refuted. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the coefficients of correlation, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.153$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.070$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.109$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.181$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlations are not significant at the $.05$ level for any subsample so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis in any subgroup.

E.H. 4B4: Discrepancies between the student's background index and their expectation index are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.125$. The coefficient is significant at the $.01$ level which is within the preset critical region so the null hypothesis is refuted. The direction of relationship is inverse to the hypothesized relationship so the data do not support the empirical hypothesis. These data indicate a negative relationship between nonutilitarian delinquency

and expectation discrepancies.

Summary of E.H. 4B4: The data presented in this section indicate no support for the specific hypothesis that discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and family headwinner's level of achievement are positively related to utilitarian delinquency. For the most part the findings showed no statistically significant relationship between these variables. The most significant relationships between these variables were found among the Anglo boys, where the significant relationships were consistently inverse to the hypothesized relationship, indicating that nonutilitarian delinquency tends to be negatively related to background discrepancies.

S.H. 4C: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and expectations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

E.H. 4C1: Discrepancies between student's occupational aspirations and expectations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.059$. The coefficient is not significant at the $.05$ level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted, indicating no relationship between occupational aspirations-expectation discrepancies and utilitarian delinquency. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.090	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.009	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	-.135	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.141	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level for any of the subsamples, so the null hypothesis is not refuted for any subgroup. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis in any subsample.

E.H. 4C2: Discrepancies between student's educational aspirations and expectations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.065. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted, indicating no relationship between educational aspiration-expectation discrepancies and utilitarian delinquency.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.065	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	.094	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	-.226	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.062	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level for any of the subsamples, so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. The data indicates no relationship between educational aspiration-

expectation discrepancies and utilitarian delinquency in all subsamples. The empirical hypothesis is not supported in any subgroup.

E.H. 4C3: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.067$. The coefficient is not significant at the $.05$ level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. These findings indicate no relationship between aspiration-expectation discrepancies and utilitarian delinquency. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.097$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.034$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.154$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$.193$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant, in any subsample, at the $.05$ level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. These findings indicate there is no relationship between aspiration-expectation discrepancies and utilitarian delinquency. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

Summary of E.H. 4C: The data presented in this section provide no support for the specific hypothesis that

discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and expectations are positively related to utilitarian delinquency. The findings presented indicate no relationship between these variables.

S.H. 4D: Discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and expectations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

E.H. 4D1: Discrepancies between student's occupational aspirations and expectations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.134$. The coefficient is significant at the $.05$ level so the null hypothesis is refuted, but at a low level of correlation. These findings indicate a slight negative relationship between occupational aspiration-expectation discrepancies and nonutilitarian delinquency. The direction of the relationship is inverse to the hypothesized relationship, so the data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.132$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.166$	$.05$	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.157$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$-.061$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level for any subsample except Anglo females, so the null hypothesis is not refuted in these cases. Anglo females show a significant correlation but inverse to the hypothesized relation. These findings indicate no support for the empirical hypothesis in any subgroup.

E.H. 4D2: Discrepancies between student's educational aspirations and expectations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.022. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is not refuted. These findings indicate no relationship between educational aspiration-expectation discrepancies and nonutilitarian delinquency. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.060	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.068	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	-.143	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.086	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level for any subsample, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. These data indicate no

relationship between educational aspiration-expectation discrepancies and nonutilitarian delinquency among any subgroup. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 4D3: Discrepancies between student's aspiration index and expectation index are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.124$. The coefficient is significant at the $.05$ level, so the null hypothesis is refuted, but at a low level of correlation. These findings indicate a slightly negative relationship between aspiration-expectation discrepancies and nonutilitarian delinquency. The direction of the relationship is inverse to the hypothesized relationship, so the data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.138$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.184$	$.05$	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	$-.129$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$.059$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated coefficients are not significant at the $.05$ level for any of the subsamples except Anglo females so the null hypothesis is not refuted in these cases. Anglo females show a significant correlation but inverse to the hypothesized direction. The data do not support the empirical hypothesis.

Summary of S.H. 4D: The data presented in this section provide no support for the specific hypothesis that discrepancies between the individual's aspirations and expectations are positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency. The above analyses indicate no relationship between these variables.

Summary of Hypothesis IV:

In this section data were presented to test the relationship between socio-cultural discrepancies and delinquency. The general theoretical hypothesis states that discrepancies between success-goals and values and their accessibility are positively related to deviant behavior. Deviant behavior has been operationally defined in terms of two types of juvenile delinquency: utilitarian and nonutilitarian. Discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility were also defined in two ways. The first defined the disjunction between success-goals and their accessibility in terms of the discrepancies between the student's aspirations and their family background. The second, defined these discrepancies in terms of the individual's perception of limited opportunity, expressed in discrepancies between aspirations and expectations of success. The data generated to measure these variables provide no support for the general hypothesis. In nearly all cases no relationship was found between either non-utilitarian or utilitarian delinquency and discrepancies between goals and their accessibility. Significant

relationships that did appear between these variables were few and consistently in the inverse direction to that hypothesized. Thus the data of this research provide no support for the general hypothesis.

HYPOTHESIS FIVE

G.H. 5: Anomie is negatively related to social class.

S.H. and E.H. 5A: Anomia is negatively related to social class (socio-economic status).

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is $-.088$. The correlation coefficient is not significant at the $.05$ level, so the null hypothesis is not refuted. These findings indicate no relationship between anomia and socio-economic status. The data do not support the specific hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the action taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	$-.004$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	$-.094$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	$.070$	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	$.074$	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The correlation coefficients are not significant at the $.05$ level for any subgroup so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. These findings indicate that there is no relationship between anomia and socio-economic status in any subgroup. The data of this research do not support the

general hypothesis that anomie is negatively related to social class.

HYPOTHESIS VI

G.H. 6: Anomie is positively related to deviant behavior.

S.H. and E.H. 6A: Anomie is positively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is .306. The coefficient is significant at the .001 level which is within the preset critical region so the null hypothesis is rejected. The direction of the relationship is in the direction hypothesized, and at a moderate level of correlation so the data support the empirical hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the action taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	.415	.001	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	.242	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	.035	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.086	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients for Spanish American male and female subsamples are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted in these cases. These findings indicate no relationship between anomie and utilitarian delinquency among Spanish youth. The calculated correlation coefficients for Anglo American male and female subsamples are significant at the .001

level of significance which is within the preset critical region so the null hypothesis is rejected in these cases. The direction of the relationships are in the direction hypothesized so the data is supportive of the empirical hypothesis in the case of Anglo youth. Hence, the data of this research support the general hypothesis that anomie is positively related to delinquent behavior among Anglo American youth but not among Spanish youth.

S.H. and E.H. 6B: Anomia is positively related to nonutilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is .350. The coefficient is significant at the .05 level which is within the preset critical region so the null hypothesis is rejected. The direction of the relationship is in the hypothesized direction so the data supports the specific hypothesis.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the action taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	.384	.001	REJECTED
ANGLO FEMALE	.325	.001	REJECTED
SPANISH MALE	.066	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.254	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients for Spanish American male and female subsamples are not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted. These findings indicate no relationship between anomie and

nonutilitarian delinquency among Spanish youth. The calculated correlation coefficients for Anglo American male and female subsamples are significant at the .001 level which is within the present critical region so the null hypothesis is rejected. The direction of the relationship is consistent with the hypothesized relationship so the data from subsamples support the empirical hypothesis. Hence, the hypothesis that anomia is positively related to non-utilitarian delinquency is supported among Anglo youth but not Spanish youth.

Summary of G.H. 6: The data presented in this section indicate statistically significant support for the hypothesis that both utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquency are positively related to anomia among Anglo American youth. Spanish American youth, however, indicate no relationship between anomia and either utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquency. Hence, anomie seems to be a better predictor of delinquency among persons of dominant cultural background than among persons from subcultural backgrounds.

HYPOTHESIS VII

G.H. 7: Social Class is negatively related to deviant behavior.

S.H. and E.H. 7A: Social Class (socio-economic status) is negatively related to utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.002. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level so the null hypothesis is accepted. These

findings indicate no relationship between utilitarian delinquency and social class. The specific hypothesis is not supported.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance and the actions taken on the null hypothesis are:

SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.001	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.054	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.024	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.081	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level for any subsample so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. These findings indicated no relationship between utilitarian delinquency and social class for any subgroup so the empirical hypothesis is not supported.

S.H. and E.H. 7B: Social Class (socio-economic status) is negatively related to non-utilitarian delinquency.

The calculated correlation coefficient for the total sample is -.037. The coefficient is not significant at the .05 level so the null is accepted. These findings indicate there is no relationship between socio-economic status and nonutilitarian delinquency. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

By subsample, the correlation coefficients, the levels of significance, and the action taken on the null hypothesis are:

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SAMPLE	CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE	NULL HYPOTHESIS
ANGLO MALE	-.083	N.S.	ACCEPTED
ANGLO FEMALE	-.067	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH MALE	.095	N.S.	ACCEPTED
SPANISH FEMALE	.178	N.S.	ACCEPTED

The calculated correlation coefficients are not significant at the .05 level for any subsample so the null hypothesis is accepted in all cases. These findings indicate that there is no relationship between socio-economic status and nonutilitarian delinquency in any subgroup so the empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Summary of G.H. 7: The data of this research provide no support for the general theoretical hypothesis that social class is negatively related to deviant behavior. Neither utilitarian or nonutilitarian delinquency was statistically related negatively to socio-economic status. The findings indicate no relationship between social class and rates of delinquency.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has centered upon an empirical investigation of the theory of anomie as an explanation of deviant behavior in complex societies. Underlying this inquiry have been two major theoretical controversies, surrounding anomic theory of deviancy, that have been the major focus of this inquiry. The first theoretical objective has been to explore the utility of anomie as an explanation of juvenile delinquent behavior. There have been rather strong criticisms of anomic theory which have raised question concerning its applicability to juvenile delinquent behavior. The second theoretical concern has focused on the relation of social class to anomie and delinquent behavior. Some questions have been raised in recent research concerning Merton's thesis that differential access to the various means of achieving success in American society leads to greater anomie, and greater pressures toward deviant behavior in the lower classes as compared to the relatively high classes. The second theoretical objective was to explore the extent of the empirical support for this thesis.

In order to implement an investigation of these theoretical issues, several specific objectives were formulated. These specific objectives constituted an attempt to explore differentials in:

1. Acceptance of the success-goals and associated norms through objective value responses;
2. Relative accessibility to means of success through social class differentials;
3. The degrees of discrepancy between goals and their accessibility through class differences in aspirations and expectations of success;
4. Social class differentials in degrees of anomie through distribution of anomie scores;
5. Social class differentials in delinquent behavior through distribution of delinquent acts.

The pursuance of these objectives lead directly to the simultaneous measurement of social class variations in success values, anomie and delinquent behavior, which had not previously been undertaken in the same study. Underlying these measurements were seven general hypotheses which were derived directly from Merton's theoretical formulation of anomic theory. They are:

1. Success goals and values are not related to social class.
2. Discrepancies between success-goals and their accessibility are negatively related to social class.
3. Discrepancies between success-goals and their accessibility are positively related to anomie.
4. Discrepancies between success-goals and their accessibility are positively related to deviant behavior.
5. Anomie is negatively related to social class.
6. Anomie is positively related to deviant behavior.
7. Social class is negatively related to deviant behavior.

Each of these general hypotheses yielded a number of interrelated subhypotheses. After operationalization of concepts, the hypotheses were moved to the empirical level for test. The data of this research provided strong support for some aspects of Merton's thesis. In other instances, little or no support was found. In the following discussion we will attempt to evaluate and interpret the theoretical significance of these findings to the theory of anomie. The early part of this chapter will be devoted to an interpretation of our simultaneous measurements of social class variations in success values, anomie and delinquent behavior. The latter part of the chapter will explore the theoretical significance of these findings to our major research objectives. In this part of the discussion we will attempt to interpret the extent to which our data supports Merton's thesis of lower class anomie, and the utility of anomic theory as an explanation of delinquent behavior.

SOCIAL CLASS AND SUCCESS VALUES

A crucial element in Merton's theoretical formulation of the theory of anomie and deviant behavior is the assumption that the inculcation of high success values are patterned characteristics which cross-cuts subgroup and social class differences in the American society. To test the extent of social class acceptance of success values, the concept success value was operationalized in three different ways, providing several different measures of the value placed on success and social ascent. These definitions of

success values were: (1) the level of aspiration measured in terms of absolute educational and occupational goals of eleventh grade youth; (2) the mobility orientation measure in terms of the extent to which these aspirations reflect a desire to improve the individual's social standing over the position of their fathers; (3) the cultural value orientations embodied in the American Dream precept which we refer to in this study as the entrepreneurial orientation.

Aspirations: The findings presented in the previous chapter indicated a slight positive relationship between high success-goals and social class. The social class variations in absolute levels of aspirations, however, were found to be surprisingly small when compared to wide variations in family background represented in this sample. Even though success-goals do appear to be somewhat related to social class, the degree of relationship is so small that it seems untenable to conclude, as some sociologists have in recent literature, that lower class values are intervening variables which "reduce the very voluntary actions which would ameliorate their low position."¹ The levels of aspirations of the various classes have not been found, in this inquiry, to be greatly different and

¹Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964) p. 60.

represent quite high ambition at all levels. In general then, the findings related to levels of aspirations seem to be supportive of Merton's assumption of a universal system of success values even though the absolute level may in some instances be higher among the higher classes.

These same trends seem to hold in subgroups delimited by ethnicity and sex. When a combined index of educational and occupational aspirations was used, no significant relationship between social class background and the levels of aspiration were found in any of the subgroups employed in our analysis. These findings suggest a greater degree of consensus concerning desired style of life among American youth of diverse backgrounds than have previously been recognized which, in turn, is supportive of Merton's original assumptions.

Mobility Orientation: The data in this research indicated a fairly consistent and strongly negative relationship between social class background and mobility aspirations. Youth from the lower strata aspire to improve their position over that of their father by a greater increment than do youth from the higher strata. Even though the absolute level of aspiration may be lower on the average, these findings suggest greater position discontent on the part of lower class youth. In this sense, the data of this research supports the findings of earlier studies that seem to indicate that the value placed on success is no less strongly

held in the lower classes than in the higher classes, and may be experienced more acutely at this level due to more limited opportunity.

In the previous discussion we have cautioned several times concerning weaknesses in relative measurements of aspirations. For when comparisons are made between levels of youth aspirations and family background, lower strata youth can aspire to improve their position in society by a greater increment than the upper strata youth who start near the top of the hierarchy. When relative and absolute aspirations are taken into account simultaneously, however, a fairly clear picture of the emphasis placed on success and social ascent is provided. In the present study, the lower strata of the hierarchy aspire toward slightly lower levels of occupation and education than the higher strata, however, these aspirations represent a strong emphasis on relative success and social ascent. The higher strata aspire toward positions more similar to their father's level of achievement, suggesting less mobility strivings than lower strata youth. On the other hand, the occupational and educational levels toward which they aspire are quite high and suggest a strong emphasis on success in these areas of activity. Hence, together these findings support the assertion of a common value system which emphasizes success and social ascent for persons of all socio-economic backgrounds.

Entrepreneurial Value Orientations: To provide a more generalized measure of value standards that emphasize success and the importance of appropriate steps which may lead to success, a measurement of cultural value orientations was undertaken. In this sense, a measurement of a set of values implicit in the American Dream precept were developed. Two basic properties of this precept have been employed in this investigation. The first is the precept which defines achievement and monetary success as morally legitimate ends of man, and a realistic possibility to anyone who is properly motivated and endowed with the innate potentialities. The second is the spirit that has often been referred to as the Protestant Ethic, which involves a strong emphasis on hard work, self-discipline and rationalism as the appropriate and desirable mode of behavior in man's socio-economic activities. The value index employed in this inquiry to test the American Dream precept has been referred to in this study as the entrepreneurial value orientation, and has been designed as an attempt to capture the basic value system that makes morally legitimate any activity which increases the capacity to achieve.

These broader and more generalized measure of values were considered desirable in this study because of the general recognition that something more than aspirations are necessary as an index of the type of

success values, which Merton seems to have in mind, that are of such a magnitude that they drive an individual toward deviant behavior in situations where access is blocked or limited.

It is at this more general level that a number of writers feel the influence of social class is most acute. By taking a subcultural approach to the study of social class, these writers tend to view each class as a self-contained universe, developing a distinctive style of life and a distinctive system of subcultural values. The lower class, in turn, is frequently described as more traditional, less achievement oriented, more concerned with physical security and more familial in orientation, as opposed to the entrepreneurial-achievement oriented middle class. For instance, some have suggested that the lower class individuals do not take risk to achieve because they cannot face the possibility of failure or of becoming poorer. It has further been argued, that the lower class individual "doesn't want as much success, knows he couldn't get it even if he wanted to, and doesn't want what might help him get success."² This is to suggest that lower strata individuals have been socialized into a value pattern that is not only inappropriate to success in industrial society, but also, is not

²Ibid., p. 427.

conducive to the taking of appropriate steps necessary to reach these goals, a process often referred to as anticipatory socialization.

Merton's thesis does not deny social class differences in values. It does, however, suggest that the American Dream precept tends to be a universal feature of the American society. This precept is perhaps most universally associated with the emphasis on monetary success, but also, it involves an emphasis on other success symbols that may increase one's capacity to achieve monetary success. This type of value system, he believes, is widely enough characteristic of the lower strata to be a significant pressure toward deviant behavior in circumstances where avenues to these success symbols are not open.

The findings of this research seem to support Merton's thesis. The entrepreneurial value orientation index was not found to be related to social class. Our analysis suggests a strong orientation toward entrepreneurial values at all social class levels with little variation in the intensity with which they appear from one class to another. What is perhaps equally important is the fact that entrepreneurial value orientations appear more frequently at all class levels and among both Spanish and Anglo American youth than the antithetical value system emphasizing more traditional and security oriented values.

These three measures of success values tend to support Merton's hypothesis that the American society is a society in which there is a heavy emphasis placed on the importance of success and social ascent for all its members.

Theoretical Importance: The ongoing debate about whether society is based on a common or class differentiated value system has been fanned into a strong theoretical controversy in recent years through the renewed interest in social conflict theory. Functional theorists, especially the Parsonian school, have long asserted the importance of value consensus as a crucial element in social stability and social coherence. Other theorists have rejected the value consensus theory as inadequate to explain the social realities of complex social systems. These theorists emphasize conflict of interests and conflict of values as explanations of social change and social deviation.

In the area of juvenile delinquency, heavy stress has been given to value conflict as an explanation of lower class delinquency. The emergence of delinquent and criminal subcultures have often been attributed to value conflicts. This point of view asserts that societies often contain several value systems, most notably class-linked value systems, which vary in their relative dominance so that conformity with a subordinate value system evokes sanctions from the agents of the dominant

system. In explaining social class variations in delinquency, Walter B. Miller has advanced the thesis that: (1) The lower class is characterized by distinctive values. (2) These vary markedly from the middle-class values which undergird the legal codes. (3) The result is that conformity with certain lower-class values may automatically result in violation of the law.³

Miller's thesis is quite generalized and involves a wide range of values so that value conflicts can exist beyond the narrow range of success values. The present data, however, do indicate that social class value conflict in the areas of occupational and economic aspirations and motivations are not very meaningful among this group of high school students.

These findings do suggest that the traditional belief in wide variations in class values that grew out of research in the earlier years of this century may not hold true as readily in contemporary American society as they did earlier. Miller and Swanson have attempted to explain this growing similarity in social class values in terms of a change in middle class values.⁴ They argue that a

³W. C. Kvaraceus and Walter B. Miller, Delinquent Behavior: Culture and the Individual (Washington D. C.: National Education Association, 1959), pp. 68-69.

⁴Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent (New York: John Wiley, 1958).

bureaucratic orientation which emphasize security and cooperative activities over risk-taking and individual achievement has developed in the middle class in recent years. This new value system embraces a set of values quite similar to the traditional lower class value patterns resulting in a growing similarity or consensus. The findings of this research does not support this thesis, however, for the entrepreneurial values seem to be consistently stronger in verbal expression among members of all social classes than the more bureaucratic values.

Other theorists have explained the growing similarity of economic values as a result of the growth of a national economy and increased functional interdependence in industrial societies. Talcott Parsons, for instance, has argued in favor of the value consensus theory and has suggested that the "field of the most direct institutionalization of our paramount value system is that of occupational roles."⁵ Most Americans are influenced in some way by occupational role requirements in the routine process of making a living. The value standards underlying economic activities at all levels become increasingly more common as the national economy becomes more integrated and functionally interdependent through time.

⁵Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 115.

Hence, Parsons argues that, rather than the achievement motive in the American Dream and the work ethic becoming weaker through time they persist and form the core themes of the dominant American value system.⁶ The data of this research lends some support to this notion.

It is clear, however, that an adequate explanation of delinquency and crime must take into account the general consensus of success values and perhaps deemphasize value conflict. Edwin Sutherland pointed this out several years ago when he wrote: "While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those needs and values since non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values."⁷ The theory of anomie is an attempt to explain the emergent of deviant subcultures in terms of common values. The possession of high success values is not enough, however to explain deviancy according to this thesis. It is the disjunction between high aspirations and their accessibility that produce anomic strains. Data is needed to measure the extent of these discrepancies. It is to the discussion of our findings of social class variations in such discrepancies that we turn in the next section.

⁶Talcott Parsons, Social Structure and Personality (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1965), pp. 195-235.

⁷Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology (New York: Lippincott, 1960.), p. 79.

SOCIAL CLASS AND ANOMIE

In this research we have operationalized anomie in two different ways. The first definition of anomie attempted to measure socio-cultural discrepancies that may produce anomic strains. Here we were concerned with discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility, for Merton's formulation of anomic theory defines anomie 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."⁸ The second definition of anomie was that of anomia as a subjective response to anomic strain. In the following section we will discuss our findings and interpretations of the relationship between social class status and anomie.

Socio-Cultural Discrepancies

Two different measures were used in this study to measure discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility. The first was the discrepancies between the student's aspirations and their socio-economic background. The assumption underlying this measurement was that social mobility is no less difficult in the lower strata than in the relatively higher classes, and, perhaps, the

⁸Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Rev. ed.; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957). p. 152.

opportunities for mobility may be relatively more restricted in the lower classes. Hence, it follows that persons aspiring to improve their social standing over that of their family of origin by the greatest margin will also find these aspirations least accessible in the long run. Background discrepancies of this type are assumed to be, at least, symptomatic of objective anomic conditions.

The second measurement of discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility used in this study was the discrepancies between the student's aspirations of success and the expectations of success. The assumption underlying this measurement was that individual's confronted with circumstances where their aspirations are inaccessible because of social and cultural limitations will realistically lower their expectations in the light of their social realities, thus, minimizing the strain of aspiring for goals realistically beyond their reach. This measure of anomic strain is more subjective because it measures the individual response to anomic conditions but it does offer another indicator or symptoms of objective anomic conditions.

The findings of this research indicated a very strong and consistently negative relationship between social class and background discrepancies. This negative relationship was found to be more strongly characteristic of the Anglo American youth, although it was also characteristic of Spanish American students.

In part, the difference between these two groups is a function of their respective socio-economic distribution in the sample. Spanish American youths in this sample were primarily from the lower strata so that only a weak comparison can be made between the aspirations of the extremes in the status hierarchy. Since the greatest mobility orientation seems to be characteristic of the lower strata, the heavy concentration of Spanish persons at this level tends to minimize the correlation between these variables. The position discontent of the lower strata Spanish youth seems to be about as high as lower strata Anglo youth. Hence, these findings tend to support Merton's belief in greater disjunction between aspirations and means to reach these goals in the lower classes than in the relatively higher classes.

When we look at the data measuring the extent to which young people from the various classes lower their expectations, it does not appear that lower strata youth view their chances of reaching their goals to be much more restricted than the higher strata youth. The analysis of our measurements of discrepancies between aspirations and expectations generally indicate a slightly negative relationship with socio-economic status, but not at a level that is statistically significant for the present sample size. There seems to be a slightly higher tendency for lower class youth to lower their expectations than is true of higher status youth, but

the degree of difference is so small that it does not seem that lower status youth consider their aspirations as much more inaccessible than higher status youth. What may be even more interesting is the fact that only a small minority of the students at all social levels changed their aspirations when asked what they actually expect to accomplish. Thus, the overall results of these tests seem to indicate not only high aspirations for all subgroups, but also a fairly consistent belief, on the part of all socio-economic and ethnic subgroups, that these aspirations are within their power to reach.

This generally optimistic attitude toward the possibility of future fulfillment of aspirations may be, at least in part, due to the educational status of the sample in this research. The sample is composed entirely of eleventh grade high school students, which is an age group very near to the time when decisions must be made concerning future occupational and educational goals. On the other hand, these decisions are not as immediate in the life experience of eleventh graders as they are for high school seniors or college students. They have not, as yet, been confronted with a situation in which they must make these crucial decisions which will effect their immediate activities. For this reason, this optimism expressed in this research may reflect unrealistic

expectations and aspirations that may change significantly when the real decision making time comes in their lives.

The aspirations and expectations of these students do not appear, however, to be entirely fantasy. In most cases, there is a convergence of occupational and educational aspirations which indicate that students with high occupational aspirations also realize the importance of emphasizing the means that will allow them to accomplish these ends. Those that desire high occupational positions also aspire toward high educational attainment. In this sense, it appears that students from all socio-economic backgrounds tend to realistically plan their educational experience in such a way that it will lead them to their desired occupation. Thus, we may conclude that there is meaningful anticipatory socialization taking place in the life experience of these students that suggest their optimism is, in part at least, based on a realistic appraisal of their chances of reaching their occupational goals through appropriate educational programs.

It is interesting to note that the measurement of anomia also indicated no relationship between socio-economic status and subjective anomie. The relationship between anomia and socio-economic status was not statistically significant in any subgroup, suggesting no relationship between these variables. Thus, in the subjective sense, the findings of this research do not support Merton's thesis that differential access to the various

means of achieving success in American society leads to greater anomie in the relatively lower strata. If subjective anomie is a reliable measure or indicator of anomic conditions, it would appear from our data that anomie may be slightly higher in the lower classes, but not greater enough to produce substantially higher rates of deviancy in the lower class, as Merton's thesis assumes.

Anomie and Discrepancies:

If anomie is to be conceived as the disjunction between goals and means available to reach these goals, as Merton's thesis suggests, we should expect to find a high relationship between discrepancy scores and anomia scores. Interestingly, this was not found to be the case in this research. The analysis of our data indicated a statistically significant positive relationship between anomia and any of our discrepancy measurements. In general, the findings indicated a negative relationship between these variables whenever a statistically significant relationship occurred, although, generally speaking, our analysis indicated no relationship between these variables.

These findings, of course, place in question either Merton's definition of anomie, or the techniques used to measure this concept, or perhaps, both of these factors. In any case it seems clear that a great deal of effort needs to be given to refinement of methods to measure both subjective and objective anomie as conceived by Merton, and, perhaps, at the same time more attention should be

directed toward a refinement and operationalization of anomie as a research tool. The data of this research does not support the notion that anomie is a class linked phenomena, at least among high school youth in the Rocky Mountain area. Nor does our analysis suggest that discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility are a meaningful source of structural strain leading toward anomic pressures among youth in this sample. This seems to indicate the need to look for other sources of strain within the social structure to explain the relatively high anomie scores among youth of all socio-economic backgrounds that appeared in this study.

Parsons' elaboration of anomic theory may offer research possibilities, for he broadens the concept of anomie to include a wider range of experiences related to the inability of individuals to make institutionally accepted object attachments.⁹ This conceptualization of anomie suggests a wide range of experiences applicable to the study of anomie among high school youth. Interpersonal relation and conformity pressures are especially acute among youth in American culture, producing expectations and demands that are frequently in conflict with the established institutional requirements of the dominant

⁹Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951).

culture. In this area is a seemingly rich and almost virgin area for further research in the nature of anomie and its relation to deviant behavior.

SOCIAL CLASS AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

One criticism frequently raised against Merton's formulation of anomic theory is his assumption that deviant behavior is greater in the lower classes. This assumption is implicit in his theory and stems from the belief that differential access to the various means of achieving success in American society leads to greater anomie in the lower strata. Deviant behavior, in turn, is viewed as one mode of adaptation to anomic strains. Since anomie is considered more characteristic of the lower strata, deviant behavior would also be expected to be greater in the lower classes.

Official crime statistics have proven unreliable in testing assumptions such as this. Even though statistics maintained by police officials indicate higher rates of delinquency in the lower classes, there has been a growing body of data that have placed in question this assumption. In order to provide a more reliable indication of social class variations in delinquency rates, we have attempted to measure a selected list of delinquent acts objectively. The specific delinquent acts used in this study were chosen to reflect both utilitarian (profit oriented) delinquency and nonutilitarian (nonprofit oriented)

delinquency. Delinquency was categorized as utilitarian and nonutilitarian because Merton's theory of anomie has been criticized on the basis that it may be applicable as an explanation of utilitarian delinquency, but not non-utilitarian delinquency.

Turning now to the results of this research, we find no support for the assumption that either utilitarian or nonutilitarian delinquency is more common in the lower class. The analysis of our data revealed no relationship between either type of delinquency and socio-economic status. This held true no matter whether our analysis included the total sample or subgroups delimited by sex and ethnicity. Thus, it would appear that delinquency in this sample is not a function of social class. Therefore, this research offers no support for the Mertonian thesis that unequal opportunities to achieve success leads to greater anomie and greater pressures toward delinquent behavior in the lower strata.

There is a consistent pattern in our data, however, that suggests that anomie may be characteristic of all socio-economic levels and that deviant behavior may be related to anomie. Our analysis seemed to indicate consistently high success aspirations among all socio-economic levels that resulted in wide background discrepancies in the lower class, which may be interpreted as acute position discontent. Secondly, our analysis suggested a general optimism among students of all

socio-economic levels that their goals are within their reach. This was suggested by the fact that most students indicated that they expected to reach their aspired goals. This seems to imply that the lower strata youth do not view their opportunity system as being excessively more restricted than the higher socio-economic levels. Thirdly, our analysis found no relationship between anomie and socio-economic status, which suggests that students from lower class do not perceive any greater anomic strain than the relatively higher status youth. Fourthly, our data does not indicate greater frequencies of delinquent behavior in the lower strata. Thus, we have little support for Merton's thesis that anomie and delinquent behavior are functions of social class status. This, however, does not necessarily indicate that there is no relationship between delinquency and anomie. Our findings concerning the relationship between these variables will be discussed in the next section.

ANOMIE AND DELINQUENCY

Merton's theory of anomie as an explanation of juvenile delinquency has come under severe attack in recent years. One of our major concerns in this research is Cohen's claim that anomic theory may explain adult criminal behavior or older juvenile delinquency of a utilitarian nature, but it is inadequate to explain non-utilitarian juvenile delinquency which he feels is more common among adolescent Americans. To determine the

relationship between anomie and these two types of delinquency, we measured the correlation of utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquency to background discrepancies, expectation discrepancies and anomia. The use of these three measures as indices of anomie has been discussed above so we will not treat this subject in this section.

The analysis of our data revealed little relationship between background discrepancies and either utilitarian or nonutilitarian delinquency. Statistically significant relations were found between these variables among Anglo American boys, but the direction of relationship was found to be inverse to the hypothesized relationship. These findings suggest that the lower the discrepancies between Anglo boys aspirations and their family background the greater the tendency toward deviant behavior. This same tendency was found among other subgroups but not at a statistically significant level. These findings point to a relationship exactly opposite to Merton's thesis.

Very little significant relationship was found in our analysis between expectation discrepancies and delinquency of either a utilitarian or nonutilitarian nature. Again, relationships that were statistically significant were in the opposite direction to the hypothesized relationship. Our data indicates that to a slight degree the lower the discrepancy between a student's aspirations and expectations the lower will be the frequency of

delinquent behavior of either a utilitarian or nonutilitarian nature. In the main, however, these two variables were not significantly related. Hence, our data does not support the thesis that pressures toward deviant behavior are produced by discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility. Rather, our findings seem to suggest lower delinquency under conditions where aspirations might be least accessible.

The lack of support for Merton's thesis may, at least in part, be produced by the methodology used in this study. More valid measurements of anomic conditions are needed. At best, the discrepancy measures used in this study can be interpreted as no more than symptoms of anomic conditions and not as valid objectification of anomic situations. On the other hand, these findings also suggest a need for further refinement and operationalization of anomic theory, for the empirical support seems to be questionable when measured with the existing techniques.

Our analysis of the relationship between anomia and delinquent behavior presents a somewhat different picture of the relationship of anomie to delinquency than our measures of discrepancies suggest. Here we find both utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquency significantly and positively related to anomia among Anglo American youth. However, this relationship did not hold true among Spanish American youth. Among Spanish youth no significant relationship was found between anomia and

delinquency rates. Among Anglo youth the relationship was at a low level of correlation but consistently in the direction hypothesized, suggesting that delinquency may be, in part, a function of anomia. Our data suggests that anomia as a subjective aspect of anomic situations is more predictable of both utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquency among persons most under the influence of the dominant American culture than it is among subgroups. This trend has also been suggested by previous research, especially research among the Spanish American people of the southwest United States.

Our analysis does not support the criticism that anomic theory explains utilitarian delinquency better than it does nonutilitarian delinquency. When anomia is used as an index of anomic conditions, both types of delinquency are correlated to subjective anomie at a moderate level of correlation. When discrepancies are used as indices of anomie little relation is found with either type of delinquent behavior.

These findings do indicate the need for more research aimed at identifying the dynamics that produce anomia as a subjective response. Our data does not find much support for the Mertonian thesis that anomie is a class-linked phenomena. Nor do our findings suggest that delinquency is a function of limited opportunity. These data do indicate a fairly close tie between anomia and delinquency, however, we are provided in this research with little

evidence as to the source or cause of either. Hence, our data seems to signal a need for further exploration of these concepts.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this investigation has been to measure the relation of social class to anomie and delinquent behavior with the hope that some light might be shed on two important theoretical issues. The first issue involved the investigation of the extent of the empirical support of Merton's thesis that the unequal distribution of opportunity to reach culturally prescribed success goals leads to greater anomic strains and pressures toward deviant behavior in the lower strata of society. Secondly, this inquiry has sought to investigate the criticism that anomic theory is not adequate to explain most juvenile delinquency which has often been viewed as nonutilitarian in nature.

This inquiry found little support for the view that anomie and delinquent behavior are class linked phenomena. Our analysis did imply greater discrepancies between aspirations and their accessibility in the lower strata than among the relatively higher classes. However, our analysis did indicate that the lower strata students in this sample were not greatly more inclined to feel that opportunities to reach their goals were limited than was true of the higher strata. Nor did our analysis indicate significantly higher frequency of anomia in the lower strata. Similarly, neither utilitarian nor nonutilitarian

delinquency were found to be significantly greater in the lower strata. This general lack of relationship between these variables was fairly consistent among all sex-ethnic subgroups despite the fact that high success goals and values seemed to characterize all subgroups.

In turn, neither anomia nor delinquent behavior was found to be significantly related to our discrepancy measurements. In general, neither discrepancies between student's aspirations and background status, nor discrepancies between aspirations and expectations were found to be related to either anomia or delinquency rates. In the few cases where a significant relationship did appear between these variables, the direction of the relationship was exactly opposite to what one would expect on the basis of Merton's thesis. Thus, our analysis offers no support for the assumption that anomie and pressures toward deviant behavior are functions of a disjunction between aspirations and structurally limited avenues to reach these goals. In fact, the tendency or trend revealed by our analysis suggests that anomia and delinquency are more common among students which may be experiencing the least disjunction between these two socio-cultural factors.

Success values and high aspirations were also found to be negatively related to both anomia and delinquent behavior. Anomie and deviant behavior, therefore, appear to be more of an influence in determining the goals a person will pursue rather than the results of high

aspiration as Durkheim has suggested, or a product of discrepancies between goals and means to reach these goals as Merton has suggested. Hence, our analysis does not find a great deal of support for Merton's theory of anomie as a class-linked phenomena, at least, among high school students.

Turning to the second objective, our analysis found little support for the contention that delinquent behavior is related to a disjunction between aspirations. However, our analysis did find a moderate relationship between anomia and both utilitarian and nonutilitarian delinquency. This suggests that, even though discrepancies do not explain anomic responses, there is a relationship between deviancy and a sense of frustration, futility and meaninglessness, which are inherent in the measurement of anomia. Our data, however, do not provide any clues as to the source of this social psychological syndrome measured by the anomia scales.

The positive relationship between anomia and delinquent behavior held true at all socio-economic levels, although the degree of relationship was much lower among Spanish American youth. Hence, we conclude from our analysis that anomia is related to juvenile deviancy among Anglo American youth and to a lesser extent among Spanish American youth, and that anomia is equally predictive of utilitarian and nonutilitarian

delinquency. In this sense, there is some support for anomie theory as an explanation of deviant behavior, but little support for the assumption that anomie is a function of discrepancies between aspirations and means, or that anomie is a class linked phenomena.

There are, however, certain limitations to this research which should be noted that may caution not to set aside anomie theory too quickly as an explanation of deviant behavior. In the first place, it is important to note that anomie theory, as formulated by Merton, seems to concentrate primarily on the lower strata where the greatest barriers to success are experienced. Our sample was drawn from upper division students at the high school level. Since normal school drop out rates may be expected in the five high schools embraced by this inquiry, it stands to reason that young people to which this theory may be most clearly directed are excluded from the sample by the normal process of school withdrawal. In other words, students that see their opportunities to success through educational channels most limited may have already withdrawn from school by the eleventh year.

Secondly, as we have noted earlier, the very fact that these students are not confronted with immediate decisions which will influence their future life chances may mean that the overall optimism of these students are, in part, fantasy. The fact that they have not encountered frustrations and failures in their strivings

for success to the same degree that an older individual who has experienced the actual competition and struggle for success may, in part, be related to the general belief among these students that the American class structure is open, and that avenues to success are available to persons of all socio-economic backgrounds.

Both of these limitations may serve to nullify the support for Merton's formulation of anomic theory in this study, which of course, signals the need for research that goes beyond the narrow confines of this inquiry. However, within the scope of this research, our analysis raises some substantial evidence which places in question the validity of anomic theory as a social class linked explanation of juvenile delinquency.

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Several issues have been raised in this study which call for further research. These issues have been noted in the above analysis and will be summarized in this section.

Our analysis found fairly high frequencies of anomia responses at all socio-economic status, as well as, a moderate relationship between anomia and delinquent behavior. Our data, however, did not explain the source of the social psychological responses referred to as anomia. More work needs to be directed toward the investigation of the nature and origin of anomia and alienation among high school youth, and its relationship to deviant behavior.

Secondly, we have noted the need to expand the empirical test of Merton's theory beyond the narrow limits of the universe used in this sample. More attention should be directed toward youth who have withdrawn from school by the late years of high school, and toward older youth who are more immediately involved in the struggle for success-goals.

Thirdly, we have noted a need to refine the conceptualization of anomic conditions by more clearly identifying the nature of youthful ambitions and the pressures of their life produced by the peer influences and general dynamics of youth culture. Our analysis suggests that the sources of anomia are, no doubt, to be found in a much wider conceptual framework than is offered by Merton's formulation.

Fourthly, our survey indicates the crucial need for development of more sophisticated measurements of anomic conditions. As yet, existing techniques offer no more than a symptomatic measurement of anomic conditions. No reliable or valid means of operationalizing anomic conditions either objectively or subjectively have been developed. In the present study, several measurements of anomie have been attempted, but the extent to which these measurements actually constitute an epistemic link between the world of experience and the realm of thought, without destroying the true theoretical meaning, is somewhat open to question. Before a valid measurement of assumptions underlying Merton's thesis can be accomplished, empirical

techniques must be developed. It is, perhaps, in the realm of operationalization of anomie that this inquiry is weakest.

The uniqueness of science as a search for truth lies in its efforts to establish epistemic correlations between the world of thought and the world of experience. The crucial factor in the development of an adequate science of deviant behavior is to concentrate more on verifying the basic assumptions underlying our theoretical systems by establishing these links. This can be done only by development of proper empirical processes that are clearly related to the logically derived concepts. It is quite apparent that the development of anomic theory has seriously suffered from failure to develop these necessary epistemic links. For this reason, we believe that the empirical investigation of anomic theory through the development of better techniques of measuring crucial variables should receive greater attention in preference to continued logical elaboration without proper verification.

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APPENDIX

The question underlying the analysis in the present study are only one part of a larger study. The items used in this study are listed below. The numbers refer to the item number in the original questionnaire.

1. Your sex is:

_____	Male
_____	Female

2. Where do you live?

_____	on a farm
_____	open country, but
_____	not a farm
_____	town (under 2500)
_____	city

7. What is your father's occupation?

8. What is your mother's occupation?
Housewife _____
Other _____
(Please be specific)

9. How many years of school have your parents completed?
_____ Mother _____ Father

14. What is your family's national origin?

	Mother's Family	Father's Family
Japanese	_____	_____
German	_____	_____
English	_____	_____
Mexican	_____	_____
Latin American	_____	_____
Italian	_____	_____
Scandinavian	_____	_____
Spanish	_____	_____
Indian	_____	_____
Other - please specify	_____	_____

31. Check the following list of acts that you have participated in within the last 12 months. If you have not committed such an act check "never".

	Frequently	More than once	Once	Never
1. Stealing (petty theft)	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Stealing (money, property)	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Destruction of property	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Petting, Sexual Intercourse	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Disrespect toward teachers	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Fighting	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Truancy	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Physical violence against teachers	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. Using profane or obscene language	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. Using narcotics	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. Drinking intoxicants	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. Joyriding	_____	_____	_____	_____
13. Burglary	_____	_____	_____	_____
14. Forged checks	_____	_____	_____	_____
15. Receiving stolen property	_____	_____	_____	_____
16. Car theft	_____	_____	_____	_____
17. Glue sniffing	_____	_____	_____	_____
18. Shoplifting	_____	_____	_____	_____
19. Gas Siphoning	_____	_____	_____	_____
20. Other, specify:	_____	_____	_____	_____

58. In selecting a job, which of the following would be most important?

- a. a job where you could afford a nicer house
 b. a job where all workers are treated the same
 c. a job where the latest scientific methods are used
 d. a job where you could use your talents to maximum advantage

59. In judging a neighbor, which of the following is most important?
- one who is looked up to in the community because of what he has done
 - one who relies on the latest scientific developments
 - the beauty and comfort of his home
 - a man who always stands up for what he thinks is right
60. In raising children, which of the following is most important to teach them?
- the importance of science
 - to seek to excell in some activity
 - the advantage of hard work
 - the importance of constructive use of their time
61. The most successful man is one who:
- stays out of debt
 - takes lots of money
 - possesses material comforts
 - works hard
62. In being a member of an organization the most important thing to be is:
- a leader
 - a hard working member
 - free to express your own opinions
 - certain that you belong to the group
63. In raising children, which of the following is most important?
- provide them with a good education
 - provide them with all the things they want
 - protect them from the problems of life as long as possible
 - give them careful religious training in your faith
64. A truly good person is one who:
- cares for his parents
 - is practical and efficient
 - stays with things that are tried and true
 - has made great contributions to mankind

65. In selecting a job, which of the following would be most important?
- a job which relies on methods which are tried and true
 - a job which places merit on hard work
 - a job where you will be judged on your individual merits
 - a job where you could live according to your religious beliefs
66. In judging a neighbor, which of the following is most important?
- that he is not too different from others
 - how much of a family man he is
 - how practical his ideas are
 - how hard he works
67. Which is the most important source of information about raising children?
- child psychologist
 - minister, priest, or rabbi (according to his own faith)
 - your own parents
 - strictly your own judgment
68. The most successful person is one who:
- is a good parent
 - treats all persons the same
 - lives by the traditions of his community
 - is not too different from others
69. In becoming a member one should choose an organization which:
- is accepted by your family
 - is respected by your friends
 - gives no one special consideration because of race, creed, family or individual differences
 - honors your religious beliefs
70. In raising children, which of the following is most important to teach them?
- respect for parents
 - to accept our traditions
 - to treat everyone equally
 - not to be too different from others

71. The truly good person is one who:
- is not unduly influenced by others
 - quits while he is ahead
 - lives a devoted religious life
 - treats everyone the same in spite of race, religious or individual differences
72. In selecting a job, which of the following would be most important?
- a job where you could be near your parental family
 - permanence of the job
 - opportunity for advancement
 - that your friends would consider it a better job
73. In judging a neighbor, which of the following is most important?
- a man who stays with traditional ways most of the time
 - a man who conducts his personal affairs with the least risk possible
 - a man who treats all others equally
 - a man who has a strong religious faith
74. In raising children, which of the following is most important to teach them?
- not to take unnecessary risks
 - always to stand up for what they think is right
 - to enjoy comforts to their fullest
 - to believe in God
75. The most successful person is one who:
- does the best with what he has
 - stands up for what he thinks is right
 - keeps up with the latest scientific developments
 - has a deep religious faith
76. In becoming a member one should choose an organization which:
- stays with programs that are tried and true
 - has an efficient and practical program
 - keeps you informed on the latest scientific developments
 - emphasizes leisure and comfort

77. A truly good person is one who:
- expresses confidence in the scientific achievements of his day
 - is not too different from his group
 - appreciates and enjoys the comforts of an easier life
 - works hard
78. In raising children, which of the following is most important to teach them?
- the value of thrifty use of time and money
 - not to treat individual persons differently because of individual differences
 - to work hard
 - that the opinions of friends are good guides for behavior.

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

87. Do you plan to graduate from high school?
- yes
 no
88. If you were free to choose would you like to continue your education beyond high school?

yes
 no

IF YES, in what manner?

- Junior college
 Four year college
 Technical training school
 Trade school
 Other, specify: _____

89. Do you actually plan to continue your education beyond high school?

yes
 no

IF YES, in what way?

- Junior college
 Four year college
 Technical training school
 Trade school
 Other, specify: _____

90. How do you stand scholastically when compared with the other students in your class?

Upper 1/3
 Middle 1/3
 Lower 1/3

91. If you were completely free to choose, what occupation would you like to follow? _____

92. What occupation do you actually plan to follow? _____

93. How much education would your parents like you to have?

<input type="checkbox"/> Finish high school	<input type="checkbox"/> Technical training school
<input type="checkbox"/> Junior college	<input type="checkbox"/> Trade school
<input type="checkbox"/> Four year college	<input type="checkbox"/> Professional training, (Doctor)

94. What vocation would your parents like you to go into?

ANOMIA

Encircle the answer that best describes your attitude toward these statements.

1. It does no good to talk to teachers when a student is in danger of getting a low grade.
SA-A-U-D-SD
2. A teenager should live for today, because it does him no good to worry about the future.
SA-A-U-D-SD
3. There are practically no adults who help the teenager with his problems these days.
SA-A-U-D-SD
4. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
SA-A-U-D-SD
5. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
SA-A-U-D-SD
6. Often, a teenager is forced to do things he would not do if it were left up to him.
SA-A-U-D-SD
7. In this city, it is not important how much you know, but who you know.
SA-A-U-D-SD
8. Hard work is not enough to get ahead; it's all a matter of luck.
SA-A-U-D-SD
9. A person should always obey the law, even though it means failure to achieve one's goals.
SA-A-U-D-SD
10. Everyone has an equal opportunity to achieve success.
SA-A-U-D-SD