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THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SCALE TO MEASURE PSYCHOLOGICAL ANOMIE.

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ment. On the other hand, as will be evident from subsequent references, periodic concern has been expressed in a need for increased awareness of, and investigation of, the interrelation of counseling psychology and sociology.

The Interrelation of Psychology and Sociology

If individual development is disrupted by the environmental press, it certainly makes relevant the investigation of social and psychological anomie and their relation. Strangely enough most of the research on the interrelation of psychological and sociological factors in anomie has been done by sociologists, possibly because of a false division between the professions, or possibly due to a neglect on the part of psychologists. In fact, there appears to have developed a dominant trend in recent years for sociologists to carry out psychological research (28). The individual has been more often the unit of analysis than the group. Also, the major variables have often been psychological traits.

As far back as 1954, the Committee on Definition of Counseling Psychology, composed of Harold B. Pepinsky, Chairman, Edward S. Bordin, Milton E. Hahn, Donald E. Super, and C. Gilbert Wrenn, recognized the importance of the client's social milieu. This committee proposed that counseling psychology was approaching a state of balance in contributions to (1) the development of the client's realistic acceptance of his motivations and self-attitudes, (2) the client's achievement of a reasonable harmony with his social, economic, and vocational environment, and (3) society's acceptance of the reality and implications of individual differences (135).
5. **Anomie and religion.**—As part of his study of the relationship of anomie to social isolation as measured by participation in certain formal groups, Bell (7) found no differences in anomie between frequent and infrequent church attenders at regular religious services, when neighborhood economic status was held constant. However, as Vernon (122) has pointed out, Bell's criteria of church attendance is only a partial indicator of adherence to religion. According to Vernon, an individual is orthodox to the extent that institutional norms find expression in his behavior. Thus defined, orthodoxy would include two types of behavior: (1) overt behavior such as attendance at church meetings and (2) covert behavior such as the acceptance of church dogma. As already indicated, Bell used only the overt criterion in relating anomie to religion.

Other research evidence seems contradictory. For instance, Reimanis and Davol (90) found no significant relation between anomie and religious affiliation. Yet, Meier and Bell's data (70) indicates that non-Protestants have less opportunity in general than Protestants to achieve their life goals and are consequently more anomie. Especially is this true of Catholics, a point which is at variance with DeGrazia's position regarding the merit of a stable belief system. The critical point here appears to be the degree of rigidity of the belief system and its consequent effect on the ability of the individual to adjust to the demands of a changing society.

Elsewhere, Putney and Middleton (86) have declared that religious ideology is not a major determinant nor a resultant of anomie. To the contrary, Keedy (54) maintains that modern religion is a factor
in social and personal adjustment and in ethnocentrism. His procedure was to administer a questionnaire to 138 middle-class Protestant male and female undergraduates in a small liberal arts college in the "Bible Belt" of the South. This questionnaire included the Srole scale items, five authoritarianism items, ten ethnocentrism items, and ten religious orthodoxy items. His general findings were that Srole's anomie is a correlate of religious orthodoxy but is not an independent correlate of ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. Religious orthodoxy and authoritarianism were found to be independent correlates of ethnocentrism. Keedy concludes that the religious orthodoxy correlation to anomie supports the contention that modern religion is not entirely supportive or integrative in its social functions.

6. Anomie and the differential access to achievement of life goals. —As previously alluded to, Meier and Bell (70), analyzed data from the San Francisco Study of Social Participation wherein they sampled four census tracts and administered the Srole anomie scale to a group of subjects. One of these investigators' chief conclusion was that Srole's scale is for the most part simply a measure of despair, that is, utter hopelessness and discouragement. They then concluded that anomie results when individuals lack access to means for the achievement of life goals. The lack of opportunity to achieve life goals, these researchers feel, results mainly from the individual's position in the social structure as determined by numerous factors. They hold that the following indicators of life chances precede in time and cause anomie. A multidimensional Index
of Access to Means for the Achievement of Life Goals was constructed using these variables.

  Socioeconomic status (as indicated by occupation, income, and education)

  Class identification (as indicated by Centers' subjective self placement questions)

  Social isolation (as measured by participation in formal and informal groups)

  Religious belief (as indicated by preference for the Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish faiths)

  Social mobility (as suggested by occupational mobility)

  Marital status

  Age

  In one study or another most of these variables have been found to be related to anomie. On the other hand, it seems appropriate to point out the fact that except for age, all of the above could be a consequence of anomie.

  7. Anomie and attitudes toward cultural norms and values.—A study of the relationship between anomie and semantic differential ratings of various culturally defined concepts has been made by Reimanis (89). He administered the Srole scale and a semantic differential instrument involving twenty-six adjectives and their polar opposites to 100 Veterans Administration domiciliary patients. He found a difference in attitudes toward various cultural values and social structures between people low and high on anomie. For instance, the highly anomie person was more positive toward War and Sin and more
negative toward such things as medicine, family life, section leader, America, birth, leadership, my mother, and United Nations, than the low anomie individuals.

In interpreting these findings, Reimanis feels that support is offered to the theoretical view that with increasing anomie individuals increase in their rejection of cultural norms and values. He feels that from an individual's answers to Srole scale items, one may be able to predict his attitude toward various cultural values and norms, thus offering validating data to that scale.

On a practical level, Reimanis suggests that the results may help one in understanding the resistance of highly anomie individuals to rehabilitation programs. Furthermore, since anomie is rampant among a domiciliary population and tends to increase with length of stay in such a setting, careful attention should be given to locating the cause and effect of anomie veterans and attempts should be made to modify their attitude structure. Another implication is that attempts should be made at every level to maintain and establish exciting new social contacts for hospitalized veterans through letters, intermember activities, and community-member activities.

Concerning future research, Reimanis sees a need for projects to throw light on the cause, effect, and change of anomie in a domiciliary population. He suggests that studies can be made on how to effect change in anomie attitudes. In fact, the feasibility of using programmed learning and film presentation techniques to effect such change is now under study at the Bath, New York, Research Psychology unit.
Research on Anomie Not Employing the Srole Scale

Over the past several pages a review of the empirical research done with the Srole scale has been given. A number of other studies have been done not using the Srole scale, either because of its limitations or because some other indicator of anomie seemed more feasible. The fact that no standard measure of anomie has been employed in all research studies and that contradictory findings have often emerged in research using the Srole scale seems to argue for the need of a more comprehensive, valid, and reliable measure of the anomie variable. It seems that the studies mentioned in connection with the following areas of anomie would have been more meaningful if some standard, objective measure of personal anomie had been used.

1. Anomie, occupation, status, and suicide. -- In an attempt to test his ideas concerning suicide previously alluded to in the review of theoretical literature, Powell (83) made a study of 426 residents of Tulsa County, Oklahoma, who were over age 14 and who had committed suicide between 1937-1956.

Among his preliminary findings, Powell discovered that the annual rate of suicide for the adult white male is four times as high as that of the female and ten times that of the negro male. For females, the zenith comes between 35-44 and declines. Among men, the rate steadily increases to age 65 which is its peak.

Overall, the greatest strain seemed to derive from lack of occupation. Over the past twenty years, the retired had a suicide rate of 89.0, almost five times that of the adult male population and twice that of all males in the same age group. Among workers,
the average annual rate per 100,000 in terms of percentage was found to be distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labor</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional-managerial</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled (operatives)</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers (craftsmen)</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales clerical</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interpreting his findings, Powell holds that suicide is an ultimate expression of accumulated self-contempt. Both guilt and self-contempt, he feels, are rooted in anomie which results in the inability to act, that is, impotence. Like Fromm (40), he maintains that whether turned inward on the self or outward on the world, destructiveness is the outcome of an unlived life.

A further interpretation is that suicide in the elderly male is connected primarily with the loss of occupational status. Retirement in our society amounts to a virtual excommunication. To be without work is to live without purpose.

Also, Powell advances the notion that the determining factor in the distribution of suicide by occupation is the relationship between the self and the success ideology.

From a methodological standpoint, Gibbs and Martin (43) have criticized Powell's study on the basis that there is no measure of the independent variable in the study. There are only differences in suicide rates and their attribution to one cause or another. These critics feel that the validity of the explanation that a high suicide rate is due to anomie (resulting from dissociation and involvement) remains in question until some measure of the independent
variable is devised—a point which is certainly apropos to the present writer's research effort.

2. **Anomie and achievement motivation.**—In 1954, James (51) maintained that "observation of the behavioral consequences of the anomic situations produced by deculturation...seems to be the logical point at which personality studies should begin" among the Wisconsin Chippewa.

More recently, in a study of personality development within cultural disorganization, Kerckhoff (57) has used the TAT to differentiate the need for achievement (hereafter termed n Ach) between two socio-cultural groups, that is, White and Indian children in grades 5–8 in schools in or on a Chippewa reservation in Wisconsin. Kerckhoff hypothesized that Chippewa children would display less n Ach than white children, due to the fact that the Chippewa, a semi-nomadic loosely organized tribe in pre-white times almost lost their original culture upon contact with whites. Since then they have had little formal community organization, social control, status, or wealth—essentially an anomic condition. The hypothesis is based on the assumption that the kind of social context in which a child is reared should determine the degree to which the n Ach becomes a part of his personality.

The main findings in this study were that Whites express more n Ach than the Indians, that within the Indian group those with mixed or ambivalent group identifications indicate the least n Ach, and that both groups of older children show more n Ach than younger children. Thus, stronger achievement motivation was found to be
associated with greater maturity, majority group status, and strong identification with the majority group by members of the minority group.

Kerckhoff concludes that "...populations in which a stable normative structure is lacking will not produce individual personalities with high levels of n Ach and...within such populations those individuals who have been least successful in defining a consistent self-image vis a vis a major population segment will be least likely to develop high levels of n Ach."

3. Anomie, self-image of competence, and peer relations.—In a doctoral dissertation study done under the direction of Dr. Marie Jahoda, Leckie (62) has sought to test whether three aspects of personality (self-image, values, and peer relations) vary systematically with each other. Only a few aspects of each variable were selected for study, that is, a sense of personal competence (self-image), acceptance or rejection by the group (peer relations), and anomie in Durkheim's sense (values).

Results of Leckie's experiment included the following: (1) Girls with a high score in self-image of competence were low in anomie, and conversely. (2) The hypothesis was not sustained that girls with a low score in anomie would be overchosen and under-rejected by their peers; and that those with a high score will be underchosen and overrejected. (3) The hypothesis was not sustained that a high score in self-image of competence and a low score in anomie will be overchosen and under-rejected by their peers; and conversely, those with a low score in anomie would be underchosen and
over-rejected. (4) The hypothesis was not sustained that girls who score neither consistently high nor consistently low in self-image of competence, but who are low in anomie, will be more accepted and less rejected than girls from the same group who are high in anomie.

4. Anomie, illegitimacy, and cultural penetration.---Using an historical approach and statistical data on the prevalence of illegitimacy, Goode (45) has made an examination of the cultural conditions under which high illegitimacy occurs. This study suggests possible modifications in theories of assimilation, the destruction of social and cultural systems, and the relations between social and cultural integration. He found that cultural penetration is related to cultural and social anomie and to illegitimacy rates in Northwestern Europe, urbanizing Africa south of the Sahara, and the American South, especially among migrants and negroes. Although rates of illegitimacy in Europe are attributed to its rural subculture, Goode attributes illegitimacy rates in industrializing Africa and in the American South to "the destruction of both social and cultural systems of a group undergoing acculturation."

Goode reasons that since the family is the prime agency through which various institutional needs are met, and since legitimacy is one basic foundation of a stable family system, the existence of high illegitimacy rates indicates to a degree the integration of a given society or sub-culture, that is, the prevalence or non-prevalence of social disorganization or anomie. Further, since it is the community which maintains conformity to or deviation from legitimacy, lack of community integration means that illegitimacy goes unpunished and
unchecked. In other words, there is undoubtedly a correlation between low national and community rates of illegitimacy and the degree of national and community cultural and social integration or degree of anomie.

5. Anomie and ethical relativism.—Just recently, Putney and Middleton (87) have focused upon the question of whether or not those who embrace ethical relativism are more anomie than those who adhere to absolute ethical standards. These researchers discounted the use of the Srole scale on the basis that the manifest content of the items is more a measure of cynicism with regard to people, and pessimism with regard to social conditions and events. Further, they felt that Srole's scale is primarily a measure of interpersonal alienation whereas they were more interested in alienation from norms than from persons. They tend to follow Seeman's notion of isolation as alienation from cultural standards. In the absence of any generalized measure of anomie, Putney and Middleton utilized four indicators of normative alienation: (1) difficulty in evaluating one's own conduct or actions, (2) a sense of making too many exceptions to principles, (3) failure to live up to verbally accepted norms, and (4) a general rejection of norms reflecting total normative alienation.

By use of a questionnaire administered to 554 college students enrolled in social science classes in two state-supported institutions, one in Florida and one in California, relativists and absolutists were dichotomized and compared with regard to the responses to indexes of the above indicators of normative alienation. On these bases, they found that relativists do not appear to exhibit
More recently, Kenelly (56), pointing to the increasing signs of an emphasis on the situational determinants of behavior, has stated that there is an urgent need for counseling psychology and social psychology to "cross fertilize." Citing the inevitability of behavior control, he suggests that the counseling psychologist seek in social psychology some assistance with his theoretical and practical problems. He urges the counselor to become familiar with the contributions of social psychology and to be aware of their significance in counseling individuals.

When one examines the thinking of both early and later leaders in the area of guidance and counseling, one finds a vital concern for social issues which are apropos to the present investigation. The social ideas of certain pioneers in the guidance movement, namely, those of social reform, social gospel, social Darwinism, and social science, have been excellently viewed by Rockwell and Rothney (97). These authors indicate that social reform was advocated by Frank Parsons who believed in a philosophy of mutualism, a kind of gradual socialism. He was against private ownership by monopolies and what he considered to be the evils of competition (a major factor in the trend toward anomie, to be later discussed). He believed that the government should play a major role in causing changes in society.

Another early twentieth century pioneer in guidance, Jessie B. Davis, advanced a social gospel which expressed a concern with the effects upon the individual of the excesses of corporate wealth and with the formation of a socialist state.

Two other leaders in the guidance movement tended to support a form of social Darwinism. Anna Reed, of Seattle, in accepting the
a greater degree of anomie than absolutists. The data is consistent with the notion that relativism is as effective a basis for normative behavior as absolutism. Relativists were found to be less likely to accept ascetic norms which stem from an absolutist religious tradition, yet there remains a core of generally accepted social norms which govern both the relativist and the activist although the two groups do not necessarily organize their lives according to the same norms. Putney and Middleton conclude that among educated middle-class American young people, ethical absolutism does not seem essential to the efficacy of social norms.

The adherence of relativists to social norms is explained in terms of the internalization of norms through the socialization process and the desire for acceptance by others. Thus, the writers feel that their data give no evidence that educated middle class relativists are anomic, or are a threat to culture. However, they refuse to generalize their findings to lower class persons in the absence of additional evidence.

In summary, some positive correlates of anomie as determined in one way or another by empirical studies are as follows:

**Psychological correlates**

- **Prejudice**: Srole (116), Roberts and Rokeach (95),
  McDill (69), Kogan (60).
- **Authoritarianism**: Srole (116), Roberts and Rokeach (95),
  Kogan (60).
- **Dogmatism**: Roberts and Herrman (94).
- **Negative world view**: McDill (69).
Distrust for people and feelings of self-other alienation: McDill (69).

Readiness for desegregation: Tumin and Collins (120).

Low expectancy regarding income: Mizruchi (78).

Religious orthodoxy: Keedy (54).

Low need for achievement: Kerckhoff (57).

Low self-image of competence: Leckie (62).

Personal rejection of cultural norms and values: Reimanis (89).

Sociological correlates

Low socioeconomic status: Srole (116), Roberts and Rokeach (95), Tumin and Collins (120), Bell (7), Reimanis and Davol (90), Mizruchi (78).

Old age: Bell (93), Reimanis and Davol (90), Meier and Bell (70).

Downward mobility: Tumin and Collins (120).

Social isolation: Bell (7), Reimanis and Davol (90), Meier and Bell (70), Mizruchi (78), Rose (102).

Sociological correlates include low occupational level, little education, lack of social participation, lack of social affiliation, and few letters, visits, or friends.
Limited access to means for achievement: Meier and Bell (70).

High rate of suicide: Powell (83).

Confusion of Terms

In addition to the lack of consensus in theoretical literature with regard to the nature of anomie and the sometimes contradictory research findings, there also seems to have been a degree of confusion of the term anomie with other constructs. Two of these concepts, alienation and depression, will be taken as cases in point.

Anomie and Alienation

In the past and present literature there seems to be considerable confusion of the terms anomie and alienation. No attempt here will be made to wipe out that confusion. However, the following studies and articles will make obvious some of the semantic problems involved in the use of these constructs.

As a first instance, Clark (15), in admitting that alienation is a loosely defined construct, defines alienation as "the degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations. It is man's feeling of lack of means to eliminate the discrepancy between his definition of the role he is playing and the one he feels he should be playing." This sounds familiarly like the means-ends discrepancy which Merton sees as a vital factor in anomie. Parenthetically, Clark feels that in any study of alienation that local community, primary groups, or
volunteer associational activities may be a better referent than the phenomenon of "Society" as a whole.

Elsewhere, Nettler (81) has devised a seventeen-item scale of estrangement from society to measure feelings which he designates as alienation. He declares that his scale measures estrangement from "familism, the mass media and mass taste, current events, popular education, conventional religion and the telic view of life, nationalism, and the voting process." Withdrawal rather than hostility is measured. Certainly this description of alienation is unlike that of Clark's.

Although Nettler found that his scale correlated .309 with the Srole scale, he argues that they are not identical since the Srole scale most likely measures despair. In fact, Nettler clearly declares that the concepts of alienation and anomie should not "...be equated ...with personal disorganization defined as intrapersonal goallessness or lack of 'internal coherence.'" Instead their "bearing on emotional sickness must be independently investigated."

In an earlier general article on the alienation of modern man, Glazer (44) takes a position which appears to be at variance with Nettler's view of alienation. Glazer has seen a need to explain just how our society in its present form operates to burden its members with devastating psychological disabilities. Approached in this way, alienation is seen not as a description of specific symptoms but as an omnibus of psychological disturbances having a common root in modern social organization.
Taking a social-psychoanalytical point of view Seeman (107) has tried to clarify the meaning of alienation by describing what he feels are its five variants, namely, powerlessness, meaningless-
ness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement.

With regard to powerlessness, Seeman goes back to Karl Marx's description of the powerlessness of the worker whose prerogative and means of decision were preempted by rulers, separating him from ef-
fetive control of his economic destiny. This resulted in the degre-
dation of men into commodities, leading to the alienation of man from man. Seeman prefers to interpret powerlessness in terms of the expectancy that one's own behavior cannot determine outcomes. Fol-
lowing Rotter's idea of "internal versus external control reinforce-
ments" (52), he sees a need to consider the individual's sense of discrepancy between expectations for control and his desire for control. However, Seeman limits the concept of expectancies to the individual's sense of influence over socio-political events. All of this reminds one of DeGrazia's emphasis on the gradual awakening of the child to the limitations of his parents which sends him in search of a "ruler" to order the state of affairs.

Meaninglessness, according to Seeman, results when the indi-
vidual is unclear as to what he ought to believe, when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision making are not met. Under such circumstances a person cannot predict with confidence the con-
sequences of acting on a given belief. Thus, whereas powerlessness refers to the individual's inability to control outcome, meaninglessness refers to his inability to predict behavioral outcomes due to
uncertainty resulting from obscurity of rules and the absence of clear criteria for resolving ambiguities. At this point, Seeman's concept of alienation is practically identical to DeGrazia's concept of anomie as a function of the disruption of belief systems which leaves the individual confused with regard to the proper norms of behavior.

The normlessness variant of alienation Seeman seems to have taken from Durkheim's concept of anomie where social disorganization resulting from sudden economic losses or gains leads to the subjective feelings of uneasiness, separation from group standards, and pointlessness in the absence of no certain goals. However, Seeman feels that normlessness may be indicated by the high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals.

The isolation variant of alienation is synonymous with Merton's "rebellion." There is alienation from reigning goals and standards, a going outside the social structure to modify the social structure.

The self-estrangement variant is similar to Fromm's concept of alienation where the individual experiences himself as an alien. Just as men become estranged from others when they make an instrument of others, in time one may make an instrument of one's self and become estranged from it. There may be a loss of intrinsic meaning or value in work. According to Seeman, behaviors may depend upon anticipated future rewards, rewards lying outside the activity itself.

One group of writers at Whittier College (12) takes issue with Seeman's definition of alienation. Pointing to the ambiguity in the
categories that he proposes, they feel that relationships among the
categories and their points of articulation are not made clear. These
writers feel that alienation should be conceived as a process involving
three stages of development:

1) The predisposing stage. In this stage there are three
phases: powerlessness, meaninglessness, and normlessness, occurring
phenomenologically in that order. Frustrated with the inability to
cope with the problems posed in an interpersonal situation, the actor
sees his means-ends schema as meaningless and sees the normative
structure as no longer binding on him.

2) The stage of cultural disaffection. Having been let
down, the individual rejects relevant cultural norms. Here the actors
become affectively and cognitively isolated.

3) The stage of social isolation. In this stage the
actor either adapts to the situation by means which cut him off from
the group socially, or he is excommunicated from the group.

Seeman (108), in reply to his critics, maintains that viewing
alienation as a process that follows specific stages of development
"leaves too little room for historical circumstances, situational
pressure, or personality type in shaping the specific form or sequence
that alienation will take."

In a study of the social psychology of chronic illness (32),
Evans has investigated Seeman's basic alienation themes of powerless-
ness, normlessness, meaninglessness, and social isolation as concepts
important in understanding the chronic patient's reaction to the
highly regulated bureaucratized, and often impersonal, conditions of
hospital life. Evans takes the view that the role of the tuberculosis patient is a special instance of the specialist-layman, bureaucrat-customer, institution-client type of relationship which increasingly characterizes the social life of modern society.

The Srole and Nettler scales were found by Evans to be conceptually too general and diffuse for use as measures of alienation, either failing to make the necessary distinctions among the sub-dimensions of alienation or being situationally and contentually too specific. Therefore, Evans devised his own measures of powerlessness and normlessness. Several of the items from Evans' scales were incorporated in the experimental research instrument employed in the present doctoral research project. It is felt by the present writer that Evans was investigating two of the dimensions of anomie.

In general, Evans found that (1) the highly normless individual, who feels that disapproved means must be used to attain important goals, was described by the hospital staff as making a less adjustable response to hospitalization than the low normless individual. (2) The high normless individual reported less satisfaction with his hospital situation. (3) The powerlessness characterized individual who viewed significant life events as beyond his control or choice reported less satisfaction with his hospital situation than the low powerless individual. (4) In summary, the findings indicate that the individual's general orientation toward matters of normative regulation and personal control in society at large is an important factor in understanding the response he makes to the specific situation of hospital confinement.
In a study of alienation and the integration of student intellectuals at The Ohio State University (24), Dean employed sub-scales of powerlessness, normlessness (with purposelessness and conflict of directives sub-types differentiated), and social isolation as measures of alienation. He discounted the use of Srole's scale on the basis that one item in it relates to the political realm which was a dependent variable in his own study, and simply because Dean's conception of anomie has a different meaning from that of Srole.

One problem which troubled Dean was whether alienation is a general syndrome or whether its components are somewhat discrete. The fact that Dean's subscales intercorrelated from .41 to .67 indicated to him that they belong to the same general concept, yet he found enough independence among them to warrant treating them as independent variables.

In analyzing the results of his study, Dean found that alienation correlated negatively with social status as determined by education and income and with rural background. A low positive correlation was found with advancing age. The findings parallel Bell's findings that alienation accompanies increased age and decreased social status. Dean explains his findings by speculating that alienation may not be a personality trait but a situation-relevant variable. For instance, an individual may have a high alienation powerlessness score with regard to political activity but a low one with regard to religion. Incidentally, Srole's scale correlated .31 with Dean's normlessness sub-scale.
Anomie and Depression

Depression is another construct around which there is considerable confusion. One may feel that subjective anomie in some ways resembles depression. It does. Nevertheless, as the present writer conceptualizes the term, anomie is a far more inclusive term than depression, being related to specific social phenomena. Due to the voluminous amount of writing about depression no attempt will be made to examine exhaustively that construct, except in passing to refer to an article by Mendelson (71) which defines depression differently from anomie.

Objecting to the indiscriminate use of the term depression to embrace any form of mental illness where retardation, low self-esteem, emptiness, and sadness is outstanding, Mendelson holds that it would be more precise to restrict the diagnostic term, depression, to describe an affective state where prolonged grief, sadness, rage, and guilt are predominant. Since the term depression has come to refer to any number of affective states, the meaning of the term has remained unclear and ambiguous, giving rise to considerable diagnostic confusion. Part of the confusion concerning this amorphous term might be resolved by relating the general affective states to reactions to various social or situational conditions.

The considerable amount of confusion in attempts to define anomie and in the overlapping in terminology has necessitated the defining of the term from the present writer's own perspective. This will be done in Chapter III.
prevailing concepts of business and business ethics in a free enterprise system, seemed to feel that the system was more important than people. She sought to instill business standards and principles in the educational system. For instance, she recommended a stiff competition among pupils. In guidance services which she developed, an individual's worth was judged by his acceptability by employers. Rather than espousing a correction of the evils of the competitive system, she promoted the idea of adjusting the individual to the demands of society. In New York, Eli Weaver also seemed content to work within the existing social framework. He looked upon guidance as a means of making students aware of employer expectations so that they could prepare themselves accordingly. Thus, the views of these two persons seem consistent with the doctrine of Social Darwinism whose major thesis was that existing social forms are best because through the process of natural selection they have survived the fires of competition. This being true, the educational system should prepare students for the fight for survival and for the competitive world by teaching self-dependence and adjustment to the existing system. Counselors would guide individuals toward conformity with existing mores and expectancies of superiors, while urging them to fight for advanced status in the competitive arena.

Finally in suggesting a scientific approach, David Hill in New Orleans, while noting the importance of the individual's learning to adapt himself to changing conditions within the prevailing society, advocated a study of those changes. He felt that by controlling the environment, man could control the direction of social evolution.
The Measurement of Anomie: Attempts and Needs

As previously mentioned, the most used scale to measure anomie has been the one devised by Srole. This scale while perhaps adequate as a quick measure of Srole's personal concept of anomie appears to fall short in several respects: (1) The inclusion of only five items seems a limiting factor. If a respondent because of his own unique frame of reference reads meaning into an item which Srole did not intend and has no other opportunity to respond to similar but differently worded item, then his response may be misleading. (2) There is no evidence that Srole's scale was subjected to any recognized scale construction procedure. (3) Not included in the Srole scale are items relating to the conflict in belief systems dilemma emphasized by DeGrazia nor items relating to the means-ends problem considered crucial by Merton. In other words, considering the many facets of anomie mentioned in the theoretical literature, Srole's scale fails to include many hypothesized dimensions of anomie. (4) Davol and Reimanis (36) have found that when the Srole scale alone is administered to groups that a strong acquiescent response set tends to spuriously raise the anomie score unless precautionary measures are taken.

Davol and Reimanis have extended the Srole scale by adding five equivalent items scored in the opposite direction. This has pretty well solved the acquiescent response set problem but their scale is still subject to the other limitations of the Srole scale previously mentioned.
Putney and Middleton (87) have taken a positive step toward measuring anomie as alienation from cultural norms by using indexes such as indecisiveness to indicate the degree of subjective confusion attendant to a felt conflict in directives, something Srole fails to do. Yet, the merits of Srole’s scale are absent in the one used by Putney and Snell.

The determination of anomie by the use of non-psychological variables, such as the number of letters sent and received and the number of visitors, involves many tenuous assumptions. Often lacking is the person’s subjective reaction to these phenomena and the unknown variables surrounding them. For instance, the use of rates of illegitimacy as a measure of social normlessness or anomie doesn’t take into consideration such sub-cultural mores as common law marriages. Further, in an anomic society, persons may not be anomic. By the same token, an individual may be anomic in a relatively eunomio society. The fact is that anomie tends to arise out of the interplay of both social and personality factors.

From this writer’s viewpoint, the measures of alienation fall short for the simple reason that few people seem to agree on what constitutes alienation. The term anomie clearly is not synonymous with the concept of alienation as it is usually employed, although as previously mentioned several of the variants of alienation appear to be aspects of anomie. Scales of alienation also fail to include many of the theorized elements of anomie.

The present writer feels that a comprehensive measure of anomie needs to be constructed which will tap many different facets.
of the phenomenon. Also, an analysis of the nature of anomie and its consistency needs to be made. Specifically what is needed is a test of psychological anomie which intimately relates subjective feeling to situational aspects in society. A description of such an attempt follows in the next chapter.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

As indicated in the last chapter, an increasing number of empirical studies of anomie have been conducted, mainly from a sociological viewpoint. In most of these studies the five-item Srole scale has been used as the sole measure of anomie. However, several writers (25, 43, 126) and researchers (24, 32, 70, 87, 90) have either seen the need for an adequate measure of anomie, have noted limitations to the Srole scale, or have found the Srole scale inadequate for their research purposes. While working as a psychology trainee at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio, the present writer continually noted the presence of anomie symptoms among a large number of veterans. Upon considering means by which to assess improvement in anomic attitudes as a function of counseling, the writer was unable to find an instrument to measure the anomie variable which had been constructed according to a generally accepted statistical procedure of scale construction. To construct such a measure, therefore, became the object of this doctoral dissertation. At the same time, it was felt that, if dimensions of this relatively new construct could be delineated and common elements ascertained, the meaningfulness of anomie as a psychological construct could be determined.
Definition of Psychological Anomie

To begin with, a careful review was made of the theoretical literature and empirical studies of anomie in order to define the construct under consideration. As is evident from a reading of the summary of viewpoints of anomie as set forth in Chapter II of this paper, the construct has been so variously defined that a brief comprehensive definition of the concept is nearly impossible. Therefore, the present researcher found it expedient to arrive at his own conception of the construct in terms of several hypothesized psychological dimensions. These dimensions, when logically fitted together in a pattern so as to reflect an individual's subjective feelings or reactions to certain social conditions, may be said to constitute a psycho-social definition of anomie.

Upon a review of relevant literature the experimenter arrived at the following conception of psycho-social anomie which will be described in terms of eight broad dimensions which in some cases are broken down into sub-dimensions.

I. There is a means-end, value or belief conflict, in society which is reflected on a subjective level in the individual.

A. There is the perception of a conflict between the culturally determined goals of life and the means to reaching them. Certain cultural demands or expectations are accompanied by a social structure wherein the means to achieve these goals either do not exist, are unaccessible, are not approved, or are unclear or ambiguous.
B. There is a feeling that the values of society are disintegrating and that inconsistencies and contradictions exist in prevailing belief systems.

C. The individual is frustrated by diametrically opposed values or beliefs which coexist in his own mind. There may exist a conflict between thought and action, resulting in a state of indecisiveness regarding appropriate modes of behavior.

II. As a consequence of radical or progressive changes in the social, economic, or political order, there exists an unstable state of affairs in society. Society is perceived as disorganized and lacking in stability.

III. Because of an unstable social structure, one perceives that his personal situation is worsening and that there is little prospect for improvement in the future.

A. What has been accomplished is being lost. There is a feeling that one's own personal world is crumbling or disintegrating.

B. The present deteriorating conditions make the future uncertain and unpredictable, and leave one with a pessimistic outlook with regard to what lies ahead.

IV. By himself the individual feels that there is little he can do to improve his personal situation and that no outside help can be obtained to change matters.

A. The individual, limited by his inability to overcome environmental hindrances such as social class,
automation, the power of "big business," and political machines, feels that he is helplessly in the clutch of circumstance or situation.

B. External control by fate is considered causal when the sources of thwarted aspiration are unknown. In view of the wide gulf between effort and reward, the individual feels helpless.

C. People in general cannot be depended upon for help and cooperation.

D. Persons in authority, or rulers, are unconcerned with the plight of the common man and cannot be counted on for assistance.

V. In an impersonal, changing, competitive society where common values do not always exist, the individual feels isolated, alone, and alienated from his fellowman.

VI. Either in the past or present, love, understanding, and acceptance have not been forthcoming from one's own family. Childhood identification with a dependable parental source of directives has been lacking.

VII. Confronted by the confusion in his perceived world of reality and by his own inability to change matters, the individual feels disconsolate. Frustrated by his inability to achieve rewarding experiences, either vocationally or interpersonally, the individual feels that life is lacking in meaning and purpose and is no longer considered worth living.
VIII. Stymied by the exigencies of the prevailing state of affairs, there exists in the individual the potential for different modes of response.

A. There may be an inclination on the part of the individual to abandon or scale down his aspirations and to conform ritualistically to the status quo.

B. The individual may possess the predisposition for socially aberrant behavior in the form of subtle or open rebellion against the existing circumstances.

C. The person may abandon the conventional goals and means of society and escape from the field by removing himself from the cares of the everyday world.

D. The individual's frustration and feelings of estrangement may take the form of feelings of prejudice against minority groups.

Construction of Psychological Anomie Scale

The concept of anomie having been defined, a method for measuring it remained to be devised. The experimenter decided upon a self-description paper and pencil test employing a Likert type scale whereon the respondent could indicate the extent of his feeling with regard to each test item. For several reasons, this approach was taken rather than attempting to construct a projective type instrument. First, a pencil and paper test is usually easier to administer, score, standardize, and interpret than a projective test. Secondly, items may be structured to elicit reactions to specific social phenomena or situations. Thirdly, the direct approach of simply asking an
individual how he feels with regard to certain issues may be more expeditious than taking the circuitous route of indirect measurement (55). Lastly, the task of isolating the different aspects of anomie and noting their relationship and commonality seemed to be more readily accomplished by the grouping and comparing of explicitly stated items.

The general statistical procedure settled upon was to inter-correlate the items in each subtest, omit undesirable items, inter-correlate all the revised subtest totals and subject them to a revised Wherry-Winer factor analysis routine. In employing this method one begins by hypothesizing the existence of several related dimensions of a construct and developing a subtest to measure such dimension. The general procedure is to begin with a large pool of items for each subtest. These items are then reduced in number by judge agreement and correlational methods until finally certain item clusters are evident.

As indicated in the foregoing description of psycho-social anomie (hereinafter to be referred to simply as anomie), eight general dimensions were hypothesized. However, since there are different variations or aspects to each broad dimension, each sub-aspect was taken as a separate dimension making a total of seventeen subtests. These were identified as follows:

1. Feeling that there is a conflict between life goals and the means to their attainment.

2. Feeling that belief systems in society are in conflict.
3. Feeling that one's personal beliefs or values contradict each other.

4. Feeling that one's environment is disorganized or unstable.

5. Feeling of personal decline or that one's own personal world is disintegrating.

6. Feeling that the future is uncertain.

7. Feeling of personal incompetence to overcome existing circumstances.

8. Feeling that one is in the clutch of fate.


10. Feeling that persons in authority are unconcerned and unwilling to help.

11. Feeling of isolation, alienation, or estrangement from one's fellowman.

12. Feeling of a lack of love and acceptance by one's family.

13. Feeling of frustrated despair, that life has no meaning.

14. Feeling that it is best to conform.

15. Feeling that one should rebel.

16. Feeling that one should escape.

17. Feeling that one should direct one's hostile feelings toward minority groups.

In these subtests one may see the commonly agreed upon aspects of anomie, the subjective feelings of the individual with regard to the social demands which are inconsistent with existing means, the
Perhaps chief among current leaders in guidance in delineating the role of culture in the shaping of modern man is Carroll Miller in his book *Foundations of Guidance* (77). In citing the need for a "broader view" among counselors, he cites the need for the latter to understand the broad developments of the American heritage and our contemporary social setting. Referring to guidance as a "coat of many colors," Miller goes on to declare that the individual cannot exist apart from his social matrix. And, in order to understand the student or counselee, the counselor must try to see the overall picture of the forces operating in contemporary society.

Using an historical approach, Miller shows how the American way of life has developed from varied and sometimes contradictory elements. He recognizes conflicts between a basic core of democratic values and a lesser constellation of existential or practical values, and within the basic values. Especially pronounced is the conflict between beliefs in equality and in a status hierarchy. The American tradition is marked by ambivalence. Social change producing stress has been brought about largely by industrialization. The shift from rural to urban living, followed by the development of barriers in groups, has made easy interpersonal relations between individuals less possible. The virtues of individualism, competition, and hard work are no longer effective ethics. The strain of continued middle-class mobility and the sustained frontier forward look are beginning to take a toll. In a constantly changing society, the individual's transition from one culture to another may be a tearing emotional experience.
incongruity of beliefs and values in society, the lack of social
cohesion, the lack of predictability in society, the impersonalization
of a non-supportive society, the segmentation and isolation of peoples
in society, the lack of common values and interpersonal relationships
to give meaning and purpose to one's life, and the lack of differential means by which differing individuals may achieve the fulfillment of their own unique needs.

A multiple approach was taken to the matter of item con-
struction. First, the experimenter searched among previously con-
structed tests for appropriate items. A few items were located in
this manner, almost all of which had to be modified in some fashion.
Secondly, the experimenter himself after considerable reflection com-
posed a large number of additional items. Next, a number of "brain-
storming" sessions were held with patients at the Veterans Admini-
stration Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio, and with psychology trainees
who were in training at that institution. The general procedure in
the latter case was for the examiner to briefly explain one dimension
at a time and read several typical item examples. Persons cooperating
in the project were asked to think of other ways of expressing the
same feeling. Eventually, a pool of 562 items was developed.

For the first 13 subtests 239 items were constructed for which
an affirmative response would indicate anomie. (Hereafter these items
will be called anomie items.) Another 239 conceptually opposite items
were included to which an affirmative response would suggest the op-
posite of anomie, a feeling that all is well, a feeling of integration
and stability. (Hereafter these items will be referred to as nomie
items.) These items were written in opposite directions in order to avoid response set. The last four subtests had 84 items, bringing the grand total to 562. These items were written in one direction only, that is, in such a manner that a positive response indicated anomie. This was due to the fact that conceptually opposite items were difficult to find.

By a method of obtaining judge agreement on the degree of appropriateness of items, the 562 items were reduced to 20 items for each of the 17 subtests, or a total of 340 items. The items were reduced in number by this method in order to eliminate weak items which would not add to the test reliability and in order to have tests of comparable and abbreviated length. The general procedure here was to give a list of the 562 items, together with written instructions on how to judge the goodness of items (Appendix I), to each of four judges (including the writer) all of whom were advanced graduate students in counseling psychology at The Ohio State University.

An investigation of the degree of agreement among judges revealed that for the 340 items retained by the experimenter all four of the judges agreed on the importance of 187 items (55 percent of the items), three of the judges agreed on 94 items (28 percent of the items), two of the judges agreed on 53 items (16 percent of the items), and only one judge agreed on six items (1 percent of the items). The agreement of the four judges was used as the basis for inclusion of most items in the preliminary scale. However, in a few instances the writer at his own discretion found it expedient to include items which
he felt were especially appropriate for measuring a particular
dimension. For all but the last four subtests there were 10 anomie
and 10 nomie items. There remained 20 anomie items in each of the
last four subtests.

Many items were included in the scale so that the hypothesized
dimensions could be determined by factor analysis. The inclusion of
a considerable number of items in each subtest would also require
respondents to reply several times to essentially the same idea,
thus supplying additional data with regard to the pervasiveness and
consistency of their responses.

In setting up the items in the preliminary anomie scale, the
anomie and nomie items from the different subtests were widely inter-
spersed as a precautionary measure against response set. Also in-
cluded were the five Srole scale items, to be used for a check of
concurrent validity. Each item was followed by a five-point scale
such as follows whereon the subject could indicate his answer by
encircling an X above the appropriate response category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree very much</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Very undecided</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree very much</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stencils were then cut and a number of tests run off for a pre-
liminary study.

**Pilot Study**

The first draft of the anomie scale (hereinafter called the
Preliminary Anomie Scale) was first administered to a number of
patients at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio.
Only those subjects were tested whom staff personnel considered to be coherent and in good contact. The purpose of this pilot study was to identify items which were unclear and needed to be rewritten, to check on respondents' understanding of the instructions, and to determine in a general manner whether the test would discriminate between anomic and nomio patients who were judged as such prior to testing.

In order to secure subjects for the pilot study, nurses and nurses' aids in each of three buildings were given a set of instructions (Appendix II). These included an open ward building, a closed ward building, and another open ward building populated by older patients. Five judges were secured for each of two buildings, and two judges for the other building. The staff personnel were instructed to list the names of the ten patients whom they felt best fitted a stated description of an anomic person and ten names of patients whom they felt least fitted that description. The five patients in each building whom judges most often agreed were anomic and the five patients who were most frequently considered least anomic were taken as subjects. Because nurses' aids were assigned to different sections of each building, they usually did not know the same patients. Nurses also faced the dilemma of knowing only a few patients intimately enough to make adequate judgments; therefore it was difficult to come to any unanimity of agreement. In some cases the judges were newly employed or recently transferred from another building and did not know the patients very well. As a result only nine of the 30 patients chosen for testing were agreed
on by as many as two judges. The other 21 were selected by only one judge. None of the patients designated as anomic were selected by any judge as nomic, and vice versa.

Parenthetically, this experience led the experimenter to realize the difficulty which would be encountered in trying to validate a test in terms of judge agreement concerning patient attitudes, especially in a two thousand-bed, understaffed hospital. It seems that if such studies are to be made, they will best be made in a setting where there is a small enough staff-patient ratio for several staff judges to be intimately in contact with the same patients over an extended period of time.

During the testing period, the subjects were carefully proctored. They were told in advance that they were participating in a public opinion survey for research purposes. The newness of the scale was mentioned to them and they were encouraged to inform the proctors concerning any words or items which they could not understand.

Of the 30 patients tested, 24 completed the testing in adequate fashion. Six patients were dropped either because of inability to read or understand instructions or for obviously not taking the project seriously.

Several values were derived from the pilot study. A number of item wording difficulties and a few points of unclarity in instructions, as well as limitations to the wording in the five-category scale, were noted. Also, cursory statistical analysis showed that the test differentiated fairly well among the respondents. Scores on the total test ranged from 1140 to 689, a range of 461 points. The
mean score for the subjects prejudged as anomic was 944, while the mean score for the prejudged non-anomics was 884. If the middle value 3, assigned to the "Very undecided" category, is multiplied by 340 (the number of items), a person would need a total score of above 1020 to rank on the anomic side on the scale.

On the Srole scale, total scores ranged from 19 to 6, a range of 13. The subjects prejudged as anomic received a mean total score of 14 while the prejudged nomics had a mean score of 12. On this test, a person would have to score above 15 to be considered anomic. That is, he would need an average score of 3 on the 5 items.

Among the subjects prejudged as anomic, 20 percent did in fact turn out to be anomic as determined by their test scores. As for the prejudged nomics, 86 percent scored as nomic on their tests. Since there are no doubt more nomics than anomics, there was probably a better chance that nomics would be judged as such. However, if some of the limitations were eliminated which have already been pointed out with regard to the adequacy of judges in this pilot study, a much better agreement between judge opinion and test score results would probably follow.

Only slight changes were made in the instructions and in the item wording of the revised preliminary anomie scale (hereinafter called the Experimental Anomie Scale). The one major change was in the wording of the 5-point scale. A careful examination of individual responses in the first scale administration revealed that respondents very rarely used the extreme Agree very much and Disagree very much categories. They either simply agreed, were undecided, or
merely disagreed. Apparently after agreeing or disagreeing, the respondents may have felt that modifying their responses further was meaningless. They may have felt, "how can I agree more than I agree?" Or, the single words "agree" and "disagree," being centrally located may have been easier to read and mark than taking an extreme position.

As a consequence of the foregoing finding the response scale was modified as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely agree</td>
<td>Slightly agree</td>
<td>Very undecided</td>
<td>Slightly disagree</td>
<td>Definitely disagree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Later results have proved the superiority of this type of scale. On the second test administration respondents showed a much stronger tendency to use the extreme categories, producing a better spread in scores.

Instructions for taking the Experimental Anomie Test and the items grouped according to subtest may be found in Appendix III. The number in parenthesis after each item indicates its numerical order on the test. Of course, in the experimental test, each item was followed by the type of 5-category scale found in the instructions. Incidentally, the asterisk in front of some items indicates that these items were eventually deleted by statistical analysis of test results. The items are numbered in the same order as those reported in the table of item weights.

A guide to the items according to subtest groupings, including the Srole scale items, is given in Appendix IV. In the latter appendix, each anomie item is listed above the related nomie item which is essentially its conceptual opposite.
Experimental Procedure

Subjects

Patients at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio, served as subjects for research with the experimental anomie scale. The Chillicothe institution is a neuropsychiatric hospital, housing approximately two thousand mental patients of various types. Patients from four buildings were omitted from the study. These buildings either housed acutely psychotic or physically ill persons, or patients who as member-employees were not readily accessible for testing.

The experimenter knew from the pilot study that more than one-fifth of those patients who would take the test would probably not respond adequately. Therefore it was decided to test one-third more patients than actually were wanted in order to allow for drop-out. It was determined that if 9 percent of the 1734 available patients were tested, that this would result in 156 persons being tested. Allowing for a 30 percent drop-out, this would leave a few over one hundred patients who would perhaps be able to respond adequately. Therefore, the experimenter settled on testing 9 percent of the patients in each of 11 buildings, thus securing a sample that would be representative of the overall population of the hospital—within the limits now defined.

In order to obtain a representative sampling, the experimenter, from a listing of all patients in each building, determined what number represented 9 percent. For instance, in a building of one hundred patients, every eleventh person was chosen for testing, or
9 percent. By the same method another 9 percent were selected as alternates. A list of the names of the first choices and names of alternates was given to the head nurse in each building and/or ward, with instructions to rule out the names of persons on the first list whom they felt were mentally deficient, out of contact, or unable to read or rationally respond to the test items. The nurses were then to take names from the alternate list, in the order listed, to replace those who were eliminated in the first consideration.

In spite of the foregoing screening procedure, a larger number of tests had to be voided than had been previously anticipated, necessitating going beyond the 9 percent sampling in several instances in order to secure the desired number of adequate responses. In all 187 patients were tested in order to obtain one hundred adequately completed tests. The 87 voided tests were accounted for in this manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons Voided</th>
<th>Number Voided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No variance in response, a definite response set</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to comprehend directions and to respond sensibly</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to finish or incomplete paper</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to read</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusal to take test</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observed not marking test seriously</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual difficulty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the percentage of patients tested in each building varied somewhat, outstanding variations occurred only in buildings 4 and 8. In building 4, 18 percent of the patients were tested but only 4 percent of the building population completed the test; in building 8, 8 percent were tested but only a 2 percent building sampling was attained. In the former case, building 4 (a closed
ward) patients tended to be quite mentally regressed, while in the latter instance the advanced age of building 8 patients proved to be a limiting factor.

The one hundred persons whose test responses were finally taken for statistical treatment may be said to be representative of those patients at the Veteran's Administration Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio, who are rational enough to sensibly respond to a lengthy paper-and-pencil test. These patients carried a primary admission diagnosis as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagnosis</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schizophrenia reaction, paranoid</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schizophrenia reaction, undifferentiated</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schizophrenia reaction, residual</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schizophrenia reaction, hebephrenic</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schizophrenia reaction, catatonic</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schizophrenia reaction, schizo, affective</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic brain syndrome</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive aggressive personality</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholism</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manic depressive</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental deficiency with behavior reaction</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety reaction</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate personality</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychophysiologic gastrointestinal reaction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean age was 42.1, with a range from 24 years, 8 months to 73 years, 1 month. The mean number of years of school completed was 10.3, ranging from 3 to 16 years. Considering marital status, 19 were married, 59 were single, 16 were divorced, 4 were separated, and 2 were widowed. Whites numbered 88 and Negroes 12. In religious preference there were 71 Protestants, 27 Catholics, 1 Jew, and 1 unaffiliated. The mean number of years of hospitalization (current hospitalization) was 6.9, ranging from 1 month to 36 years. With regard to former main occupation, when categorized according to the
Miller suggests that at the point where "the individual is suspended between old and new worlds, with the old crumbling and the new not yet established," the need for support and guidance becomes obvious. The public school which does much to promote social mobility, and probably contributes to the breaking down of values of ethnic groups, should give understanding and support to students caught in the horns of cultural conflict. The counselor, as a part of the educational enterprise, is caught up in this responsibility. In this connection, Miller holds that the appropriate area of functioning of guidance lies between primary concern with subjective states on the one hand and primary concern with external social conditions on the other.

Many current writers are contending that culturally derived values are inescapably a part of the counseling picture. Gardner Murphy (79) in discussing the cultural context of guidance contends that a knowledge of human behavior and of the ways of one's own cultural group is more important for the counselor than the technical craft skills which he acquires. He holds that only a grasp of the full interpersonal context makes any person dealing with individuals on a personal basis very useful. Furthermore, Murphy suggests that an individual adapts not to a task, but to a social context. And since the counselor is a part of the social context, he cannot help conveying directly or indirectly to every client his own perceptions and the perspective in which his own life is lived.

A number of counseling psychologists are promoting the idea of situational therapy or environmental manipulation. For instance,
Dictionary of Occupational Titles classification scheme, the patient occupations were found to be 9 professional and managerial; 14 clerical and sales; 6 service; 7 agriculture, forestry, fishery; 18 skilled; 10 semi-skilled; 33 unskilled; and 3 never employed.

Test Administration and Scoring

The testing was begun in late September, 1961, and extended into early October of that year. In all, the testing was completed in approximately a three-week period.

Tests were administered to patients in small groups of 10 to 15 so that they could be carefully proctored, the size of the group depending upon the number of proctors available. Most of the testing was done by the experimenter. However, some help was obtained from psychology trainees at the hospital who were briefed in advance on the proctoring method.

Test instructions were read aloud to the subjects while they read silently. They were then encouraged to ask questions about any part which they failed to understand. Continual rounds of the testing room were made by the experimenter to answer questions, to check on the subjects' ability to respond appropriately, and to ascertain cases where persons were obviously not reading and responding with care.

As indicated earlier, respondents indicated the degree of their feeling with regard to each item on the experimental anomie scale by encircling an X at some place along a 5-point scale such as the one below. In scoring each response, integral values of 1 to 5 were assigned to the category scale. The direction of weighing the
Definitely agree  Slightly agree  Very undecided  Slightly disagree  Definitely disagree

response to an item was determined a priori from knowledge of its content, the heavier weight being assigned to that end of the scale indicative of anomie. For instance, a definitely agree response on an anomie item would be weighed 5. In the case of non-anomie item, a 5 would be assigned to a definitely disagree response. In this fashion, all 340 items in the various tests were scored.

Next, each subject's item responses were grouped according to subtests and summated. A total anomie score was not computed at this time since it was not necessary to the statistical procedure to be followed. Identifying data and all test responses were then coded and entered on large numerical computation sheets. In turn this information was punched on IBM cards.

Statistical Procedure

The first statistical procedure was to intercorrelate the items in each of the 17 subtests. The data cards were programmed for this procedure and the function was performed by the 709 computer at the Numerical Computation Laboratory at The Ohio State University. In turn the intercorrelations of the items in each subtest were set up in matrix form, there being seventeen 20 by 20 matrices (one for each subtest) and a total of thirty-four hundred inter-item correlations.
Next, the intercorrelations of items in each subtest were carefully scrutinized. Items in each subtest which tended to correlate very low or negatively with the other items in that subtest were eliminated.

Having omitted several items for each subtest, each subtest total score for each individual was retotaled. This was done for each subtest for each subject. Subsequently, these seventeen hundred revised subtest totals were punched on IBM data cards and the 17 subtests were intercorrelated by the 709 computer.

Next, a revised Wherry-Winer factor analysis method, described in detail elsewhere (124, 125), was applied to the data. A chief virtue of this method is that it eliminates the rotation problem. The data is factored directly from the correlation matrix.

First, the matrix of subtest intercorrelations and the matrix of residuals were factored and the factor loadings were determined. In turn a Wherry Doolittle test selection procedure was undertaken. This method selects tests in a battery analytically and adds them one at a time until a maximum multiple correlation is obtained. Beta weights for each of the chosen tests for each factor were obtained by a method of back solution.

Subsequently, each test item was correlated with the revised subtest totals and the resulting matrix was multiplied by the matrix of beta weights to obtain weights for the various items. From scrutiny of highly weighted items in each factor, the various factors were named.
The item weights (Appendix V) will be used by the experimenter as a basis for selecting the most discriminating items for each factor. The items will constitute a shortened version of the Experimental Anomie Scale which may be used in subsequent research.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results of the methodological procedures as explained in the last chapter will be given and a discussion will be undertaken of their implications, both theoretically and in terms of future research possibilities.

Findings

Upon examining the intercorrelations of items in each subtest, it was determined that 86 items which correlated negatively or at a low level would be discarded. The items eliminated were as follows.

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86
While this shortened each subtest (the shortest, that is number 17, now being 10 items long), an adequate number of related items remained for each subtest. With the poor items omitted, each test remained relatively "pure," that is, the items in each test seemed to be measuring essentially the same or related phenomena. However, whether or not the dimensions represented in the different subtests were related remained to be seen.

Observation of the matrix of intercorrelations of revised subtest totals (Table 1) readily revealed a relatively high correlation among all the subtests with the possible exception of two, that is, 14 and 17. Obviously, there appeared a unity among the various hypothesized dimensions of psychological anomie. However, in the case of subtest 14, the tendency toward conformity subtest tended to correlate much lower with the other subtests than did any other subtest. The tendency toward prejudice subtest, 17, correlated at the next lowest level with the other dimensions.

Subtests 14, 15, 16, and 17 are measures the way anomic persons may act out their feelings of anomie. In other words, these tests were designed to elicit responses which would indicate the individual's tendency to react in different ways to an anomic society. The present study indicates that when the individual is beset by social pressures and ambiguities that simply conforming to such circumstances is not characteristically used by those hospitalized individuals most affected in an anomic way, possibly because this does not solve the individual's psychological problem. The confusion, anxiety, and frustration cannot be tolerated. By noting the
correlations of the last four subtests with the first 13 subtests, one may see that the individual's first inclination after failing to succeed by tackling the problem headon is to retreat from the field (subtest 16), to find "peace" by some mode of action whereby he may avoid the conventional goals and means of society. His next most probable response (subtest 15) would seem to be pretty much opposite to the foregoing; he would feel like fighting back, rebelling, employing whatever subtle means possible, either dishonest or selfish, to keep pace with societal expectations. This is rather consistent with Merton's ideas regarding innovation. Following a tendency to rebel is a predisposition to employ some psychological mechanism such as projection, to give vent to one's feelings of frustration and hostility through prejudice (subtest 17) by attributing one's misfortune to others or by seeking to enhance one's own ego by suppressing minority groups. True conformity, one may reason, is exceedingly difficult when one attempts to simultaneously conform to incompatible goals and means.

Although the high correlation among the subtests suggested a unity among the hypothesized dimensions of psychological anomie, the question of the specificity of the dimensions or the extent to which they were measuring separate phenomena within the global anomie feeling remained to be clarified by a hierarchical factor solution.

When the matrix of subtest intercorrelations was factored, a general factor and three sub-general factors were extracted. Then, two more factors were extracted from the matrix of residuals. When the general factor was extracted (see Table 2) high general loadings
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INTERCORRELATIONS OF REVISED SUBTEST TOTALS AND RESIDUALS LEFT AFTER FIRST FACTORING PROCESS

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on all the subtests except 14 and 17 indicated that most of the anomie responses had a common element running through them. The total variance was explained in this manner: general factor, 57 per cent; factor I, 3 per cent; factor II, 5 per cent; factor III, 6 per cent; factor IV, 1 per cent; factor V, 3 per cent; and 25 per cent attributable to error variance and specific elements in each subtest. The average explainable variance, while not a very valid statistic, was as follows: general factor, 73 per cent; factor I, 4 per cent; factor II, 9 per cent; factor III, 8 per cent; factor IV, 2 per cent; and factor V, 4 per cent. The more meaningful percentages of explainable variance according to subtest and factor, together with the communality for each, may be found in Appendix VI.

Upon examining the item beta weights (Appendix V) which were obtained by multiplying the subtest beta weights (Table 3) by the item-subtest totals correlations, the factors were named.

Dominated by highly weighted items from subtests 5 and 13, the general factor was classified as a feeling of meaningfulness in the light of personal deterioration. Marked by indecisiveness, the individual feels that he is in a state of decline and all that is worth living for is slipping away. The absence of feelings of progress and worthwhileness dominates the general response set.

Factor I, the experimenter interpreted as a feeling of valuelessness, in the sense of value incongruity. Heavily represented by items from subtests 2, 4, and 10, this factor reflects the individual's perception of a disorganized environment wherein the standards for
Fletcher (33) maintains that the adjustment phase of rehabilitation "involves the total individual and his total environment." Consequently, the environment must be conducive to adaptation if adaptation is to take place. This being the case, it would seem incumbent upon the counseling psychologist to be thoroughly versed in the effects of differential social or environmental forces.

**Cultural Factors and Mental Illness**

Increasingly in recent years there has been a growing awareness of the role of cultural factors in mental illness. Eaton and Weil (31) in their book *Culture and Mental Disorders* introduce several questions which may take the form of research problems. "How much of our suicidal fears, individual and collective, and our illnesses can be ascribed to group ideals and group attitudes and group living techniques which we have developed? Does our culture support us or does it bear so heavily upon some of us that they break under it, renouncing us all, our culture and our concept of reality? Or is it, perhaps, the intrinsic contradictions and conflicting values of the culture, and not its burdensomeness, which cause the individual to lose touch with reality?"

Taking what they term an epidemiological approach, these writers have studied the Hutterite sect of North America, a people of European origin who believe in communal ownership and control of all property. Being orthodox Christians who expect the community to assume a great deal of responsibility for each member, the Hutterites follow a way of life which provides social security from the womb to
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behavior are contradictory and where authority figures as a source of
directives cannot be counted on to stabilize the rules and lend sup-
port. In support of DeGrazia's ideas, this factor suggests a value
chaos or normlessness where the basis for prediction and decision
making is lacking, resulting in personal feelings of aimlessness.
Strong support is given to the idea that a confusion in personal
values accompanies incongruities in belief systems in a society.
This condition is brought about by rapid change in an activistic,
materialistic, competitive society which gives lip service to the
injunction "love thy neighbor."

Factor II, with many highly weighted items from subtests 6
and 13, was named a feeling of hopelessness. In view of the indi-
vidual's feelings of personal decline and the improbability that the
state of affairs will improve in the future, life seems purposeless
and hopeless. This logically follows the existence of the state of
affairs found in other factors. The meaninglessness and lack of
sense in the present scheme of things gives no promise of leading to
a brighter tomorrow.

Factor III was described by the term powerlessness. With high
item weights in subtests 8, 10, and 16, this factor brings together
the components of envelopment. The person senses being controlled by
forces outside himself and experiences the reaction of flight which
Powell has so excellently described in his theory of suicide. In some
respects the failure of subtest 7 items on personal incompetence to
stand in strong relationship to the above components is rather puz-
zling. However, this may simply indicate that the individual does not
feel to blame for his anomic condition, but rather ascribes the cause
to forces "out there" over which he has no control. The psycho-social
relationship shows up strongly here.

Factor IV can be most clearly termed a feeling of aloneness.
Exceptionally represented by high item weights in subtests 9 and 12,
this factor denotes feelings of isolation, estrangement, and dis-
sociation from one's fellow-man. The person feels unloved and un-
wanted, and is devoid of feelings of belongingness. It appears that
alienation defined as being separated from other persons is a sub-
factor in the total anomie complex.

Factor V, extracted from the "dregs" of the residuals is dif-
 Cult to interpret. Especially evident are conformity and prejudice
tendencies from subtest 14 and 17 ites. There is both resignation
and a narrowing of one's cognitive field in order to exclude possible
threat or in order to broadly project one's frustration on some dis-
liked object. The experimenter feels that this is a type of closed-
mindedness.

Consisting of a big general factor and five sub-general factors,
psychological anomie seems to be constituted to a large degree by per-
sonal feelings of meaninglessness, valuelessness, hopelessness, power-
lessness, aloneness, and closed-mindedness.

**Final Proposed Scale**

From an analysis of the item weights the experimenter will
construct a shortened test of psychological anomie. This new scale
will consist of items which best describe each factor. Thus, a par-
simonious scale of psychological anomie designed to measure the general
factor and each independent factor will be available for future use.
This scale may be used in subsequent research regarding the identification of anomic persons, trends toward anomie, and correlates of anomie.

**Validity of Scale**

The important thinking and research which have already been generated by the concept of anomie have made it a challenging concept in psychology. The extent of correlation between the present scale and the Srole scale may be determined by reference to Table 4. The fact that the Srole items correlate fairly high with some of the subs-tests of the new scale was expected. This gives the present experimenter additional confidence in the research done with the Srole scale. Dr. Srole has made a positive contribution to social psychological research by the creation of his brief scale. However, although his scale has the advantage of brevity, it also is subject to the limitations of extreme brevity. Social anomie has many facets. Cognitively, as is shown by the results of factor analysis, psychological anomie seems reducible to a fewer number of psychological sets or components. Nevertheless, it seems more expedient to explore a larger number of items than Srole used in order to elicit psychological reaction to a broader range of social phenomena. Because the present scale is correlated with the Srole scale, some concurrent validity for the new scale may be claimed. Yet, while face validity seems evident, empirical validity still needs to be established to ascertain whether the scale does in fact measure what it purports to measure. Validation against some external criterion seems desirable, such as administering the scale to a group of persons and correlating
TABLE 4
INTERCORRELATIONS OF SROLE SCALE ITEMS AND TOTALS WITH REVISED SUBTEST TOTALS OF EXPERIMENTAL ANOMIE SCALE

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the results with the ratings of competent judges who are well ac-
quainted with the respondents' behaviors and feelings. The develop-
ment of a picture projection test or sentence completion test so
structured as to elicit responses indicative of anomie or nomie may
be possible. This may get around the possibility of a respondent's
attempt to distort the present scale in a given direction. The re-
sults of testing with such instruments could be correlated with
responses to the present scale.

Reliability of Scale

It may be said that the reliability of each subtest in the
present scale was probably improved by the procedure of intercorre-
lating the items in each subtest and omitting those which did not
correlate substantially with the other items in that subtest. In-
ternal consistency certainly seems obvious.

However, the consistency with which persons will respond over
time to this scale remains to be established. Test-retest reliability
may be determined by administering the instrument to a group of persons
and correlating their responses to their own responses to the same
items after a five or six-week interval.

On the other hand, the test could be split into comparable
halves according to item weights, and responses to the two halves
could be correlated to give a split-half reliability coefficient. By
application of the Spearman-Brown formula, an estimate of the effect
of lengthening or shortening the test upon the reliability coefficient
could be determined.
Since the writer has proposed a new shortened version of the Experimental Anomie Scale, one employing items with the highest beta weights, validity and reliability studies on the new scale need to be undertaken.

**Theoretical Implications and Suggestions for Research**

One of the criteria of a good theory is that it should have heuristic value, that is, it should be fruitful in promoting thought and research. In this paper a review has been made of various theories of anomie and of research studies done with and without the Srole scale. It is felt that the newly developed test by the writer more completely and reliably measures psychological anomie. Further research is needed to determine the significant correlates of this construct and to fit them together into a "nomological net" or comprehensive theoretical framework. Now that a new measure of psychological anomie has been developed many possibilities for further research and theorizing becomes evident.

1. A modified replication of some of the studies already cited could be undertaken. With this more complete instrument this approach may be especially worthwhile in those cases where findings have been contradictory or where no measure of the independent variable has been used.

2. On a practical level the new scale may be used in hospital settings to ascertain the prevalence of psychological anomie among patients in various buildings and wards and among patients with different diagnoses. Once a group of persons has been identified as anomie,
efforts could be made to design a treatment program aimed at modifying their attitude structure. This could include such methods as environment manipulation in the form of social activities to promote closer interpersonal relationships, educational therapy, group therapy, or individual counseling.

3. Many variables may be correlated with psychological anomie. On the following pages, some of those that are of particular interest to the present writer will be mentioned.

It seems that the crucial issue with regard to psychological anomie is the fact that not all persons who live in an anomic society or sub-society become personally disoriented. Some individuals are capable of withstanding the social pressures, ambiguities, and change without becoming psychologically anomie. The individual's internal psychological state is not necessarily a perfect reflection of his social environment. He is only affected by it. As Gordon Allport (3) maintains, personality is not just the subjective side of culture nor is it "a puppet at the mercy of changing situations." This is the "culturalistic fallacy." On the other hand, to hold that personality is a unit in isolation from the social environment is the "individualistic fallacy." Although the personality system or "inside structure" exists within the social system or "outside structure," Allport concludes that for most persons the changes within the personality are not proportional to changes in the culture or situation. The individual may retain a kind of "stubborn integrity" even in the face of change. As Allport declares:
Even under conditions of social anomie (dis-integration of values) the person manages to retain his personality system more or less intact. And yet beyond a certain point he cannot do so. In the present troubled era we have vivid proof that a person, however intense his efforts, cannot permanently withstand complete collapse of his social supports.

The critical point of inquiry, it seems, would be an investigation of the reasons why some persons living in an anomic environment become psychologically anomie while others under the same circumstances do not. Is it due to the nature of the "inside structure" of the persons involved? Is an individual's ability to withstand social disorganization due to certain beliefs or values which he holds? What is the role of one's religion, tolerance for ambiguity, self-concept, and education in decision making?

One of the chief emphases of such existential psychologists as Viktor Frankl (35) is that man has the unique freedom to choose an attitude toward the unfortunate vissitudes of life that impinge upon him and not be overwhelmed by them. Even in the face of the annihilation of one's self by death, one may find value or meaning in the experience by the attitude one takes toward it. Perhaps it is the attitude that one takes toward environmental chaos that prevents his becoming personally anomie. But what is the stuff of which these attitudes are made?

As far as is known to the present writer no substantial attempt has been made to equate psychological anomie with a person's moral values, life goals, philosophy of life, and self-concept. However, as seen earlier, Putney and Middleton (86, 87) have done sig-
the tomb. Although the findings of this study do not lend support to
the idea that a simple and relatively uncomplicated way of life pro-
vides virtual immunity from mental disorders, in the Hutterite Culture,
where many stresses were absent, the incidence of mental disorder ap-
peared as low or lower than any contemporary Euro-American group
within the Judaeo-Christian complex of cultures. Most members of the
sect showed a high level of personal adjustment even though they were
exposed to strong pressures for social change and assimilation brought
about by the "outside" world.

In the mid-1930's, Frank (34), speaking of society as the
patient, held that the American culture is sick, mentally disorganized,
and in need of treatment. Noting the decay of those ideas, conceptions,
and beliefs upon which social and individual lives are organized, he
proposed treating society. Contemporary individual and social mal-
adjustments, then, he saw as different symptoms of cultural disinte-
gration.

Speaking of the causes of the sickness of our society Frank
declared, "Our culture has no unanimity of individual or social aims,
no generally accepted sanctions, and no common patterns of ideas or
conduct. All our basic ideas, conceptions, and beliefs have been in
process of revision for the last three hundred years or more, begin-
ning with the displacement of the older notions of the universe and
man's place therein and going on now to the supersedure of the tra-
ditional animistic, voluntaristic concepts of human nature and conduct
and man's relation to his society."
significant research in the closely related areas of religious orthodoxy and ethical relativism. Also, to a limited extent Leckie (62) has dealt with the relation of anomie to self-image of competence.

Since the German school of Verstehendepychologie insists that the major consideration in personality dynamics is the individual's value system or Libensverfassung, it appears crucial that this important variable be related to psychological anomie.

One test which might be correlated with the writer's scale is the Ways of Living Test recently constructed by Dr. George Thompson of The Ohio State University and Dr. Eric Gardner of Syracuse University. It is a test of life philosophies and is a modification of an earlier instrument developed by Charles Morris of the University of Chicago. Each of the sixteen "Ways of Living" may yield scores by being rated on a seven point scale from "like least" to "like most." By a process of factor analysis, it has been determined that this test includes descriptions of several factors which need to be considered in order to understand the nature of psychological anomie. For instance, these factors include, among others, descriptions of (1) different orientations toward other people (ignore, join with, manipulate, etc.); (2) different balances between egocentric and socio-centric points of view (self-centered selfishness, balance, dedication to social service); and (3) different expectations about the future (optimistic, balance, pessimistic).

The test has already been checked for reliability but due to its newness predictive validity cannot be claimed. However, the instrument does appear to have high face validity and its close
resemblance to the more complicated "parent" instrument which has undergone extensive study lends credence to the assumption that this modified version will be no less valid.

The pressure of internally felt needs may be relevant to a person's becoming anomic. One may assume that the satisfaction of certain needs, particularly those involving relationships with fellow humans, is a significant factor in personal adjustment. What a person feels he "ought to" do may reflect certain values he holds, i.e., certain needs which he feels motivated to satisfy. In a disorganized anomie society such needs may be difficult to satisfy.

Employing Murray's constructs for classifying psychogenic needs, Thompson and Gardner have constructed the Telenomic Trends Test, an indirect measure of "ought to" values. It is a semi-projective approach that tries to get around some of the respondent's defenses. It is assumed that when the subject identifies a given behavior tendency as coming from the life of a happy-successful person, that he believes that this behavior tendency is consistent with how anybody ought to behave in order to be happy and successful in the culture he is using as his frame of reference. These "ought to" values are described in terms of behavior assumed to be motivated by different needs. How would a person who sees his culture as anomie respond on this test? By administering this instrument concurrently with the new scale of psychological anomie, relationships could be noted between anomie and such needs as affiliation, succorance, dominace, order, change, autonomy, endurance, exhibition, nurturance, achievement, deference, aggression, and interception.
Similarly, another research possibility would be to correlate the new anomie scale with what a person feels is wrong or sinful. In 1921 Pressey (85), upon seeing an urgent need for group comparison of the problems of emotional instability among mentally disturbed persons, developed a "cross out" test to investigate emotionality among mental patients. One of Pressey's subtests is a moral discrimination or ethical judgment test. Scores of the total things considered wrong and deviation scores may be obtained which indicate the degree to which the subject differs from others in what he considers wrong or sinful. The various tendencies of psychologically anomie persons to respond to their condition in different ways could be correlated with this subtest. A person who lives by rigid moral codes may be frustrated in achieving such goals in a highly competitive business society; or he may rise above his society and live according to his own standards and values.

Gardner and Thompson (42) has employed Skinner's concept of reflex reserve (112) in a study of morale among small groups. It is hypothesized that individuals have built up reflex reserves of pleasant and unpleasant associations in terms of their outlook on living. Respondents could be instructed to list all the pleasant things that make life worth living and then told to list all the unpleasant things that make life meaningless. It is probable that anomie persons will characteristically have a large response potential of unfavorable attitudes toward their immediate environment while nomie individuals will have a low reservoir of unfavorable reactions.
Another research approach would be to correlate the new anomie scale with a person's self-concept. Any of several instruments mentioned by Wylie (136) could be employed for this purpose. It is probable that there would be a substantial discrepancy score between the anomie person's perceived and ideal selves.

The relation of psychological anomie to tolerance for ambiguity may be ascertained by having a person respond to Gottschalk's Figures and comparing the results with his anomie score. It is probable that the anomie person would not be inclined to withhold closure. The Berkeley Public Opinion Questionnaire (POQ) could also be used in this connection.

The results of a person's responses to some sociometric measure of relatedness to others such as the Syracuse Social Relations Scale, or some derivation of a Moreno type device might be compared with that person's anomie score.

Some modification of Thompson's Who Cares Test could be made and a further check could be made on the aloneness or isolation aspect of psychological anomie.

**Anomie and the Counseling Situation: Ideas and Proposals**

One may conceptualize of the counseling situation as a sub-society wherein both client and counselor play roles and where role expectations exist (Robinson, 96). As a type of society it may be compared in some respects with the larger society. When speaking of society in the broader sense, it has been pointed out that a state of
anomie may exist where the norms are not known or are inconsistent or where the rules of conduct are ambiguous. The contradictions in social directives and between beliefs complicate the identification of appropriate roles. Perhaps one may think of an anomic counseling situation which is unstructured or normless. The clients who come to this "society" represent an unknown to the counselor. They bring with them differing expectations of the counselor's role which in one sense may be considered directives for the counselor and which the counselor may or may not deem expedient to follow. Not only does the counselor deal with persons who come from a society which is in flux, he simultaneously encounters individuals with transitory and paradoxical personality traits.

In this connection, Wrenn (133, 134) suggests that ambiguity is actually a way of life for the counselor and that the latter must come to accept the fact that there are few certainties and little structure for him. Accounting for this situation is the complexity of human beings, plus the critical factors of technological and social change.

This leads to the consideration that the counselor himself, as a participant in a changing occupational structure, must also be prepared to perform more and different roles as the situation demands it. Kinzer (58) foresightfully believes that "The educated person is mobile in his career... The changing technological scene is such that one must be very flexible... The broadly educated person is the only person who is truly adaptable." The "complete" counselor must be one with enough flexibility to keep pace with a changing world.
Support for these views may be found in a study by Brams (9). This investigator found tolerance for ambiguity as measured by the Berkeley Public Opinion Questionnaire to be highly related to effective communication in counseling.

If, indeed, Brams' findings hold generally, persons whose personality structure or cognitive set is such that they cannot tolerate change, that is, persons who may be predisposed toward becoming anomic, or who are beset by "simple" psychological anomie, may not be good candidates for the counseling profession. People would represent too much of an enigma for them.

An understanding of the personal internal characteristics which are relevant to a person's becoming anomic and of the outside forces which set the stage for its development seems critical in counselor education.

Danskin (22), referring to present day counseling as a "broken wheel," cogently admonishes counselors for neither considering all the forces that influence students nor focusing on those environmental forces which are their responsibility. His is a broad conception of the counseling psychologist's role, one that includes a consideration of the student's ecology, including an awareness of, and involvement in, the situational press of the student as these relate to the latter's needs.

From another standpoint, the study of psychological anomie needs to be undertaken before the goals of counseling can be clearly understood. Walker and Peiffer (123) point out in discussing "the ideal end products of counseling" that there is a danger in overly
emphasizing the psychological autonomy of the client as a goal of counseling. They caution that in stressing individual independence the counselee may develop social rootlessness, that is, anomie. On the other hand social goals and norms should be considered but not at the expense of the surrender of the self.

Thus, the implications for counseling psychology of an extended study of anomie may be found in the fact that (1) an adequate knowledge of psychological man cannot be had apart from an understanding of the "inner man" and social forces that impinge upon him, that (2) many of the client's emotional disturbances arise out of his involvement in a somewhat indeterminable cultural flux, and that (3) the counselor himself is affected both by a larger society with anomic elements and by a counseling situation which sometimes may itself be characterized as anomic. These many factors have important implications with regard to counseling theory and technique, the goals of counseling, and the selection and training of counselors.

Although the psychologically anomic person may feel frustrated, directionless, and socially estranged at a given time, the present writer does not believe that this condition is necessarily a hopeless one. No study of which the author is aware has been made concerning the constancy or change in psychological anomie. In a permissive atmosphere where, in relationship to another person or with a small group of persons he will feel accepted, the anomic individual may be able to "work through" his feelings verbally and thus become more able to effectively deal with them on a conceptual level.
A study could be undertaken of counseling effects on anomic persons, employing before and after checks with the new scale of the degree of their anomic feeling.

Justification for counseling with anomic persons in order to effect change may be found in the observation of several writers. Smith, Bruner, and White (114) have noted that all cognitive activity is characterized by striving or an "effort after meaning." Prescott Lecky (63) has similarly maintained that human personality is characterized by the individual's striving for unity. Rogers (99) feels that there is a positive growth trend inherent in all persons.

The author of this paper feels that the profession of counseling psychology must concern itself more in the future with the developmental determinants of psychological wholeness, especially the formation of attitudes and values which takes place in social interaction as a consequence of identification with role models and the internalization of cultural expectations. In brief, an understanding of such factors as social pressures and personal needs and belief systems seems prerequisite to positive action in the area of mental hygiene for "normal" individuals who are potentially anomic.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The term anomie whose roots can be traced back to the Greek was given prominence in the social sciences by Durkheim in the 1890's. Durkheim used the term as descriptive of a society which, because of radical changes in the social and economic order, had become dis-organized and devoid of stable norms. More recently, anomie has been employed as a descriptive term for the psychological reaction of persons to a disrupted society, wherein the lack of dependable or consistent standards for action and the absence of structure and support causes the individual to become confused, frustrated, and defeated by a seemingly chaotic, meaningless, and uncaring world.

The study of such a phenomenon seems particularly relevant to counseling psychologists. Many writers in recent years have been critical of a sharp division between psychology and sociology. In a time of rapid technological and social change and world crisis, it seems quite apropos to be concerned with the psychological effect on persons of such changes and uncertainties. Numerous psychologists have pointed out the role of contemporary social conditions in mental illness. Others have been aware of the effect of changing occupational structure on vocational planning and adjustment. In many ways, the recent adoption of the term anomie as a psychological construct seems to be consistent with the emphasis of existential psychologists.
on the meaninglessness and emptiness in the lives of persons, brought on as a function of a complex impersonal society.

The object of the present investigation was to review the relevant theoretical and empirical literature on social and psychological anomie, to arbitrarily define the construct on this basis, and to develop a test to measure it.

Viewed historically, anomie as a state of society was first dealt with by Émile Durkheim. He described anomie as a condition of normlessness or de-regulation in society brought on by sudden economic and technological changes. Abrupt changes in social position lead to a sense of personal disorientation and may result in suicide.

Robert Merton has been most concerned with the discrepancy between the success goals set by society for its members and the lack of approved means to attain those ends. He suggests that persons may adapt differentially to social anomie. Following Merton, Albert Cohen and Richard Cloward have emphasized the delinquency mode of adaptation.

In denouncing the evils of industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization, Karl Mannheim has advocated democratic planning and a unifying religion to combat social disintegration. Again, on the constructive side, Alex Comfort would counter the disruptive effects of centralization by transforming society through education.

Stressing the social-psychological aspects of anomie, Sebastian DeGrazia believes that social anomie is essentially the disruption of social belief-systems brought about by competitivism, activism, and rapid social and economic change. Without a stable source of directives or standards of conduct, the individual himself
In commenting on the increase in mental illness in America, Samler (104) has observed: "The conditions of life are in flux and the values that relate to them are subject to qualification and change....There is an extraordinary distance between the virtues we preach and our everyday practice....In everyday living we practice a rife competition with success in terms of respect accorded to those who win over our fellow men." To counter this state of affairs, Samler suggests that "We need to teach, as skillfully as we now teach long division, the means by which human beings can learn to understand themselves and the forces and stresses that operate upon them." Elsewhere (103) he adds, "We seek a society that will counter the trend of our times, destructiveness, alienation, loss of personal identity, in total a loss of the meaning of life."

The proposal that much mental disturbance is learned from society is recognized by another psychologist. Shoben (110), drawing from Adler, Rank, and Horney, emphasizes that "the human troubles germane to the counselor's interests are fundamentally products of social learning, representing orientation toward and methods of attacking the problems posed by social interaction and one's relationship to socially evaluated goals. The ways of life of concern in the counseling process are adaptive patterns of behavior...that have grown out of the individual's experience of his environment." To understand the development of these ways of life and how they may be modified, one needs knowledge not only of the principles of learning, but of conditions affecting learnings of the relationship between the forms
becomes disoriented and confused with regard to the values by which he lives. On the other hand, David Reisman considers the anomic person to be a sociopsychological misfit, a characterological non-conformist.

When seen largely as a psychological condition, personal anomie is considered by R. M. McIver to be marked by either purposelessness, aggression, or isolation. There is loss of the dynamic unity of personality which must be combated if a democracy is to survive. R. H. Brookes sees anomie as an occupational disease of the intellectual brought on by dissociation or a weakening of the individual's sense of social cohesion and a value-conflict from which there is no escape. Robin Williams portrays anomie in terms of unpredictability in interpersonal relations which leads to personal disorientation. Powell interprets anomie as personal feelings of meaninglessness resulting from the individual's dissociation from and envelopment by conceptual system of his society. Erich Fromm has been concerned with man's moral aloneness. Franz Alexander and Karen Horney decry the internal inconsistencies in social standards which lead to mental disorder. Alfred Adler's person who is lacking in social interest seems anomic, while Otto Rank's concept of separation anxiety in many ways describes the anomic person.

In the early 1950's the development by Leo Srole of a 5-item scale to measure social-psychological anomie set off a series of studies that have continued down to the present. A review of the studies using the Srole scale and of those not using it have suggested that a number of variables are related to anomie. The
sociological correlates include low socio-economic status, old age, downward social mobility, social isolation, limited access to means for achievement, and high rate of suicide. Included among the psychological correlates are authoritarianism, prejudice, dogmatism, negative world view, feelings of alienation from others, low expectancy regarding income, readiness for desegregation, low self-image of competence, and personal rejection of cultural norms and values.

Several factors, including (1) the lack of consensus in the theoretical literature concerning the nature of anomie, (2) the confusion of the term with such constructs as alienation and depression, (3) the disagreement in findings in several studies employing the Srole scale, and (4) a lack of confidence in the comprehensiveness of the Srole scale have led the present writer to formulate his own definition of psychological anomie and to design a scale to measure its hypothesized dimensions.

While working at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio, in the summer of 1961, the present writer developed a 340-item paper-and-pencil test of psychological anomie, containing 20 items in each of 17 subtests. Each item was followed by a five-category scale on which respondents could indicate their degree of agreement with regard to that item.

This scale was administered to 187 patients at the Chillicothe hospital. The one hundred persons whose completed tests were finally taken for statistical treatment may be said to be representative of those patients at the hospital who were rational and cooperative
enough to intelligently and conscientiously respond to a lengthy written test. These persons ranged in age from 24 to 73 years and varied in many respects.

The item responses of each subject were punched on IBM cards and intercorrelations between items in each subtest were obtained by use of a 709 computer. On the basis of these correlations a number of items from each subtest were omitted. Revised subtest totals were then correlated which served as the basis for a modified Wherry-Winer factor analysis procedure. By a method of hierarchical factor solution, a general factor and five sub-general factors were extracted from the matrix of revised subtest correlations and a subsequent table of residuals. By following a Wherry-Doolittle test selection procedure, the experimenter found that all 17 subtests would be retained. Beta weights for the subtests were obtained by back solution and item weights were secured by multiplying the matrix of item-subtest correlations by the matrix of beta weights for each factor. By observation of the highly weighted items, the experimenter named the various factors and selected items for a shortened form of test.

A relatively high correlation was found among all of the revised subtest totals with the exception of the tendency toward conformity and tendency toward prejudice tests. It appears that the anomic person is most inclined to retreatism, rebellion, prejudice, and conformity in that order.

The general factor running through most of the subtests was defined by the experimenter as a feeling of **meaninglessness**, that is,
a feeling that in the light of personal decline life is not worth living. Factor I was interpreted as a feeling of valuelessness, that the standards for behavior are contradictory and that authority figures as the source of directives are not to be depended on to bring order to the belief system chaos. Factor II, reflecting a pessimistic future outlook, was defined as hopelessness. Factor III, marked by retreat from social pressures which the individual feels are out of his control, was classified as a feeling of powerlessness. Factor IV was named a feeling of aloneness, a feeling of isolation from one's unconcerned fellowmen. Factor V, although difficult to name, seemed to reflect feelings of constriction and resignation, plus a narrowing of the perceptual field, adding up to a type of closed-mindedness.

Several uses seem obvious for the planned new scale of psychological anomie. On a practical level the new shortened scale may be used to identify anomic persons in institutional settings, the identification of which could lend to improved treatment procedures. Scores on this scale could be correlated with such variables as a person's values, needs, philosophy of life, religious beliefs, self-concept, and tolerance for ambiguity.

The impact of rapid changes in the contemporary social, economic, and occupational structures upon persons seeking counseling presents a challenge to psychologists and others concerned with improving the personal development of human beings to understand more about the dynamics of social and psychological anomie.
INSTRUCTIONS TO JUDGES FOR RATING ITEMS

On the following pages you will find described several dimensions of psychological anomie, each dimension being followed by a number of test items which ostensibly reflect that particular aspect of anomie. Accompanying the anomie items are a group of non-anomie items which, again, ostensibly reflect a feeling which is pretty much opposite to that of anomie. All of the items in the first 13 dimensions are paired, that is, for each dimension anomie item #1 and non-anomie or nomie item #1 are conceptual opposites, etc. In all, there are at least 10 pairs or 20 items for each of the first 13 dimensions and at least 20 items in each of the last four dimensions.

You are to read through the lists of items and for the first 13 dimensions determine the 10 pairs of items which you feel most adequately measure the described dimension. For dimensions 1-13 simply choose the 20 best items in each dimension. You may do this by simply circling (in pencil) the item numbers you would leave out. If there are any of the remaining items which you feel are inappropriate or poorly worded, place a check ( ) in the left margin beside them so that you may explain your objection to me. If you can think of a better way of wording any of the items please do so on a separate piece of paper. Also, if other items occur to you which would be better than the ones selected, please feel free to jot them down.
APPENDIX II

INSTRUCTIONS TO STAFF PERSONNEL FOR PILOT STUDY

Permission has been granted by the Research Committee to administer a simple paper-and-pencil test to a number of patients in this building. This test is intended to help determine certain feelings of these patients. The individuals who are to be tested must be coherent enough to read and respond to a number of short written statements and should not be known cases of brain damage. Your cooperation in the selection of patients for this testing program would be greatly appreciated.

In the spaces provided below, please list the names of the 10 persons on Building ___ that you think are most adequately described in the following paragraph. Please don't consult with other staff members about your selections.

This man has become confused, frustrated, and despondent because of his inability to succeed in life. He sees society and the modern world as so complex, inconsistent, competitive, and disorganized that he is unable to cope with things as they are. He no longer knows what to believe or which way to turn. He feels inadequate to help himself and doesn't feel that other persons are concerned enough with his welfare to assist him. Feeling isolated and alone, he feels rejected, even by his family. The likelihood is that he receives very few letters or visits. He sees his personal situation as rather hopeless,
the future as uncertain, and his life as lacking meaning. Considering his predicament there is a possibility that he may either become resigned to his fate, strike back by means not approved by society, seek retreat either psychologically or physically from his predicament, or blame others for his own misfortunes.

To the best of my knowledge the following patients best fit the foregoing description:

1. 6.
2. 7.
3. 8.
4. 9.
5. 10.

The patients whose feelings appear to be most opposite to the description are:

1. 6.
2. 7.
3. 8.
4. 9.
5. 10.

Indicate your position below by checking the appropriate square:

☐ Nurse

☐ Nurse's Aide
Name:..................................... Date:..............................

In order to better understand how patients here at the hospital feel about certain things, a study is being made involving the present test. On the following pages are listed a number of statements which express certain personal attitudes or feelings. Following each item is a scale such as this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Definitely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Definitely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Definitely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Definitely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Definitely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Definitely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For each statement circle only one X. Don't skip any statements. There are no right or wrong answers. You are simply to carefully read each statement and then indicate your reaction by circling one of the X's above the five possible answers. If you run into any word or statement you don't understand raise your hand and someone will come by to help you.

For practice, give your response to this statement:
Eighteen-year-old men should be allowed to vote.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Definitely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of adaptive behavior and the kinds of interpersonal events that produce them.

Similarly, Ganzhorn (41), following Reisman (91), Fromm (40), and Clinard (16), points to cultural factors as productive of various maladjustments. Feeling that the current culture may be producing a new kind of psychopath, she calls attention to the confusion in classification and treatment which has resulted from the lack of identification of the primary etiological factors in psychopathy.

The Relationship of Social Psychological Factors to Vocational Psychology

The relationship of social psychological factors to vocational adjustment becomes evident when one considers the implications of technological and social change. Again and again, counseling psychologists are being made aware of the impact of automation upon their clients, and consequently upon their own roles. Hart and Lifton (47), speaking of the second industrial revolution prompted by the increase in automation, call attention to the psychological effects that will come in its wake. Adults, as well as their children, will have their old habits disrupted and their established values changed. Work as a disciplining agent, a "force to enforce conformity, will probably be less of a controlling factor. The compulsion to work will have to be replaced by some other psychologically satisfying mechanism. Also, the problems arise of making meaningful the increased leisure, of resolving emotional tensions, and of combatting the corrosive effects of idleness on those whose primary source of satisfaction is work.

Further, these writers contend, we must learn to reconcile a technology that minimizes work with a morality that maximizes it.
Subtest 1 Items

Feeling that a conflict exists between life goals and the means to their attainment

1. There is so much to be done and no way to do it. (1)

2. Life is a rat race where more is expected of a man than he is able to accomplish. (26)

3. The road to success is filled with insurmountable obstacles. (51)

4. I can't achieve the standard of living that society expects of me because society won't allow me to do what is necessary to get ahead. (76)

5. The good things in life seem impossible to get. (101)

6. There are too many little things to keep a guy back today. (151)

7. Society makes unimportant rules that keep me from getting anywhere. (201)

8. Everybody is expected to be a success today but the rules for achieving success are not made clear. (251)

9. I've always wanted to work to provide my family with the better things of life, but it seems that somebody has always beat me out of the good jobs. (301)

10. No matter how hard I try, I still can't seem to accomplish what is expected of me. (326)

11. If I try, I can usually do what people want me to do. (20)

12. I usually find that I can keep up on the things that are expected of me. (45)

* Nowadays the blueprint to success is all mapped out. (70)

* Life is a race where great challenges are followed by great accomplishments. (120)

* There don't seem to be so many pesky rules holding me back as there used to be. (145)

13. Although many little things are always coming up to bother a fellow today, I can usually manage to handle them. (195)

14. Luckily, most people are able to get most of the good things in life today. (245)
15. Although there is much to be done, some way will be found to do it. (270)

16. With the freedom we have in our country, I can maintain the standard of living that society demands. (295)

17. Although the road to success is difficult, where there's a will there's a way to the top. (345)
Subtest 2 Items

Feeling that belief systems in society are in conflict

1. Today our nation's leaders don't know what they stand for as much as did the patriots in early American history. (8)

2. In these times people are so different in what they believe that talk about a world brotherhood is pretty useless. (58)

3. People are so mixed up today that they don't know which way to go. (108)

4. Nowadays there are so many conflicting philosophies that a person hardly knows what to believe. (126)

5. It seems that every time I turn around someone is telling me one thing but doing another. (158)

6. Society has so many different rules for different people, that it's hard to know what rules apply to me. (176)

7. It looks as if everybody I run into nowadays is uncertain about the best way that he can live his life. (208)

8. Nowadays it's hard to know what is right and what is wrong. (226)

9. I wish I were living in the old days when the world didn't change so fast. (258)

10. Nowadays, parents are so mixed up that they don't know how to tell their children what is right and what is wrong. (276)

11. As time has gone by, so many old ideas have fallen by the wayside that finding the right way to live is easier today. (16)

* A changing world is a good world. (37)

* Most people are pretty clear about the kind of life they ought to live. (87)

12. When people tell you they will do something nowadays you can usually depend on it. (137)

13. Most people appear to know what they want in life and are going after it. (187)

14. One advantage to living today is that most people are able to live by the same rules. (220)
15. Now that there are better means of transportation, it appears very probable that almost all men will come to agree with each other over important matters. (237)

16. The men who lead our government today are firm and unwavering in their convictions concerning what is good for the country. (287)

17. The way for a person to act seems clearer today. (312)

18. Nowadays, parents are more sure of their beliefs so that the present generation finds it easier to know what to believe. (337)
Subtest 3 Items

Feeling that one's personal beliefs or values contradict each other

1. I often find myself wavering between two different opinions. (41)
2. I frequently find that two of my thoughts are at war with each other. (91)
3. It bothers me because I am often torn between love and hate for members of my family. (116)
4. I used to know what was what, but now I don't know which way to turn. (141)
5. I don't know what to believe about religion any more. (191)
6. In trying to decide what is the right thing to do, I feel like I'm caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. (216)
7. The findings of science make me confused concerning many of the religious beliefs I have held. (241)
8. I often find that I think one thing but do another. (291)
9. Even when I let my conscience be my guide, I often feel guilty. (308)
   * Very often I wonder whether the things I do would be approved by my family. (316)
   * Most of the time I know what I believe and there's no two ways about it. (4)
   * For me, the right thing to do is as clear as the nose on your face. (29)
10. I can usually make an important decision on the spur of the moment without much previous thought. (54)
   * Over the years I have pretty well sized up the members of my family and have developed rather definite opinions of them. (79)
   * When I let my conscience be my guide, I seldom regret any of my actions. (129)
11. There's no question about it, I know the way that I should live. (166)
12. I feel that most of the things I do would make my family feel proud of me. (179)
* I seldom do anything that goes against what I believe. (266)

* As I see it, the findings of modern science tend to support my religious beliefs. (279)

* As I have grown older there has been less confusion in my mind concerning what to believe in the Bible. (329)
Subtest 4 Items

Feeling that one's environment is disorganized or unstable

* The way people are nowadays it's not safe to leave your house unlocked. (22)

1. It seems to me that people are acting more and more like animals. (35)

* With the rapid change in industry today most people live in fear of being replaced by a machine. (53)

2. Our country looks like it is going to the dogs. (84)

3. There has been such a breakdown in the morals of the American people that we are headed for destruction if we don't change. (99)

4. The American Society is disorganized and unstable. (119)

5. Things are so stirred up in the business world that it's not safe to start a business today. (132)

6. It seems that today rules are made to be broken. (168)

7. The large number of divorces today is an indication that family life in America is falling apart at the seams. (185)

8. With the great increase in crime and juvenile delinquency, it looks like the present generation of young people is getting completely out of control. (297)

9. The world is becoming more and more civilized. (11)

10. Our country is on an even keel. (63)

* The American people are joined together more today than they used to be. (105)

* The time seems right for a fellow to try to get started in a business of his own. (156)

* There seem to be more law abiding citizens today than there used to be. (205)

* It seems most probable that the relaxed divorce laws will result in more people finding a more suitable mate. (212)

11. With the group of young men coming along today our country will be in safe hands. (227)
12. In recent years more people have come to respect the rights of others. (254)

* When you get a job nowadays you can be rather certain that it will last. (303)

13. You can trust most people to live clean upright lives. (318)
Subtest 5 Items

Feeling of personal decline or that one's own personal world is disintegrating

1. The skills and talents that I used to have seem to be fading. (104)

2. I seem to be losing the love of my family and the respect of other people. (128)

3. No matter how hard you try you just end up back where you started. (172)

4. I seem to be getting nowhere fast. (182)

5. It seems that with every step I take forward that I slip two steps backward. (209)

6. I feel that the skids have been knocked out from under me. (233)

7. It's getting more difficult all the time to have a happy family. (272)

8. I feel that I'm losing everything I've gained in life. (280)

9. Everything worthwhile is slipping away. (306)

10. You just can't win for losing. (332)

11. I feel that I am winning the battle of life. (25)

12. More and more worthwhile things are coming my way every day. (34)

13. I have more to gain from living now. (75)

14. Nowadays a person is better able to have a satisfactory home life. (95)

15. I feel that I'm on a more solid footing now than in the past. (113)

16. Step by step, bit by bit, I'm making progress every day. (150)

* Everything is on the up and up. (162)

* Things are on the upswing. (200)

17. As time goes by I feel that my family and friends have become more concerned about me. (224)

18. Although I'm getting older I still feel that I have retained most of the skills and abilities that I have had. (250)
Subtest 6 Items

Feeling that the future is uncertain

1. The future is so uncertain that it's almost impossible to make serious plans. (15)
2. I don't see much hopes of amounting to anything in the future. (49)
3. The young people today have good reason to be confused about the future. (66)
4. There's nothing ahead for me so why try. (98)
5. As uncertain as the future appears, it doesn't pay to get married. (109)
6. The outlook in the world of work is so uncertain that it's almost impossible to know what job to prepare for. (152)
7. As I see it now, the future looks pretty empty for me. (196)
8. The confusion and disorder that exist today are probably signs that the end of the world is not far away. (219)
9. There is so much corruption in our government today that the time is not far away when law and justice will not exist. (244)
* Human nature being what it is, there will be war and conflict in the years ahead. (311)
10. The future has great things in store for me. (124)
* It seems probable that mankind has hundreds or thousands of years to solve the riddle of its existence. (139)
11. Our government and courts are being so strengthened today that in the years ahead people will have a better chance to be heard and to receive a square deal. (173)
* In the years to come, men will see the error of their ways and will beat their swords into plowshares and live in peace. (177)
12. If a man will work hard and study today, he can be pretty assured that a job will be open for him later. (207)
13. In the future a man will probably have a much better opportunity to provide for his family. (230)
And, in a society where we are beginning to recognize the rights and needs of the intellectually limited, we face a trend that rejects this valued goal since the least able are usually the ones whose jobs are first obliterated by the juggernaut of automation.

In light of the prospect of such changes, Hart and Lifton recognize a vital need for counselors to be knowledgeable in the many problem areas cited and to develop counseling tools to cope with such problems.

In a similar vein, Walter Reuther (92), while addressing members of the National Vocational Guidance Association at the annual meeting of the American Personnel and Guidance Association held in Detroit in 1957, challenged them to find answers to "the broader problems in the broader area," such as the problems connected with automation and its impact on human beings, both presently and in the future.

A change in role for personnel psychologists in the age of automation is foreseen by Winthrop (128). Changes in the professional activities of these specialists are anticipated to take place in three phases: (1) a phase of readaptation, (2) a phase of changeover, and (3) a phase of metamorphosis.

In looking at the social scene, Winthrop perceives that there has been an inevitable increase in anomie and alienation in American society as a function of "the restlessness, purposelessness, and lack of job satisfaction which most occupations not of a creative or policy making nature produce." The degree of anomie and alienation may be a function of the individual enterprise itself. The above conditions,
14. There is every reason to believe my efforts can result in a brighter tomorrow for me. (275)

15. A child today has a lot to look forward to. (299)

16. I feel that I will be able to amount to something in the years ahead. (325)

17. Since the future is predictable it is possible to plan ahead. (338)
Subtest 7 Items

Feeling of personal incompetence to overcome existing circumstances

1. Man is like a leaf tossed around on the stormy sea. (3)
2. My opinion just doesn't count. (30)
3. People are always pushing me around. (62)
4. No matter what I try something outside me always holds me back. (88)
5. If you're born with the odds against you, there's nothing you can do about it. (114)
6. Most people are victims of things which they cannot help. (138)
7. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over what happens to me. (178)
8. This world is run by a few people in power and there is not much that the little guy can do about it. (204)
9. I feel insecure and inadequate to meet the demands of everyday living. (236)
10. Now that machines have taken over so many jobs, most men are just like cogs in a wheel. (274)
   * I do not believe that luck and chance are very important in my life. (155)
   * Today people are able to take more pride in their work than they used to. (159)
11. The average citizen can have an influence on the way the government is run. (181)
   * I think I can handle most anything I might run into in life. (190)
   * People's misfortunes usually result from the mistakes they make. (217)
   * Even when the odds are against you, it's possible to come out on top by keeping at it. (234)
   * The only thing that holds me back is myself. (260)
   * I usually have the freedom to run my life as I please. (284)
   * The average man can make his voice heard above the noise of the crowd. (307)
12. Although man is afloat on a stormy sea, he is able to chart his own course. (333)
Subtest 8 Items

Feeling that one is in the clutches of fate

1. Frequently I feel that my destiny is determined by fate. (44)
2. It seems that whatever will be will be and there's little that any of us can do about it. (68)
3. Getting a good job depends mainly on being lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time. (123)
4. Sometimes I feel that I have little influence over the direction my life is taking. (174)
5. I have usually found that what is going to happen will happen no matter what I do. (198)
6. Most of the unhappy things in my life have been due to bad luck. (229)
7. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings. (262)
8. Getting promoted is really a matter of being a little luckier than the next guy. (294)
9. A person's future is largely a matter of what fate has in store for him. (321)
10. I don't do some things because I feel that luck is against me. (336)
   * There is really no such thing as luck. (21)
11. What will happen to me in the future will be largely a matter of my own choice. (50)
   * Promotions are usually earned through hard work and patience. (57)
12. Our lives are controlled more by conscious decisions that we make than by chance happenings. (82)
   * What happens to me is of my own doing. (102)
   * Rather than waiting for things to just happen, I have found that by making a definite decision that I can control whatever happens. (133)
Subtest 8 Items—(Continued)

* What people call "bad luck" usually results from the mistakes they make. (183)

* "I am the master of my fate; I am the captain of my soul." (213)

* Future events will be largely determined by the actions of men. (240)

13. Hard work, not luck, is what helps a man get a good job. (290)
Feeling that people in general cannot be relied on for help

* In this world every man has to chart his own course and paddle his own canoe. (19)

1. The way people are now you just don't know who you can depend on. (47)

2. Most people have so much trouble of their own that they aren't concerned about mine. (149)

3. People are too busy to help each other today. (164)
* In this world you have to solve your own problems. (223)
* The only way to get something done is to do it yourself. (249)

4. Most people love themselves rather than their neighbor. (268)

5. Nobody will help you out of the ditch today. (277)

6. In the business world, "It's dog eat dog," and "It's every man for himself." (302)

7. Most people just don't give a damn about others. (335)
* No matter what happens, someone always cares about you. (7)
* Most people are glad to see their business competitors doing well. (40)
* People almost always help an underdog. (71)

8. Today, most people appear to love their neighbors. (100)
* A good way to get a job done is to call on someone else for a helping hand. (110)

9. If we'd only let other people know our troubles they would be willing to help us out. (170)

10. Most people seem to have enough time to help their fellowman. (253)

11. In times of trouble most people will help you out. (310)
* It looks as if many people try to forget their own worries by going out of their way to help others. (315)

12. Many people are ready to give us guidance and support when we need it. (322)
Subtest 10 Items

Feeling that persons in authority are unconcerned and unwilling to help

1. Persons in authority lack an understanding of the common man. (23)
2. Those in power are unconcerned about the individual man. (39)
3. Leaders are more concerned with serving themselves than with serving others. (59)
4. Nobody cares about the little man any more. (78)
5. All that employers care about you is what they can get out of you. (112)
6. Employers don't keep in mind the welfare of their workers. (160)
7. More employers criticize you than praise you. (186)
8. Although many politicians make good sounding campaign promises to help relieve the problems of the common man, they are seldom carried out. (259)
9. Our government is so large today that the needs of the average man are ignored. (305)
10. It doesn't do any good to complain to government officials because they won't listen to you anyhow. (324)
* The "little man" is the center of attention today more than he used to be. (2)
* I have observed that most employers try their best to give their employees a fair share of the company's profits. (27)
* Leaders prefer to help others rather than helping themselves. (52)
11. Those men who are in power are concerned with assisting the individual man. (90)
12. People who are in charge seem to be aware of the feelings of persons under them. (121)
13. Most bosses will pat you on the back when you do a good job. (203)
14. From the actions of most employers, it is obvious that they want to give their workers a square deal. (257)
15. Most of our public officials are willing to help the common man if they are only notified of his problems. (263)

16. The Federal and State governments do a good job dealing with the problems of the average citizen. (271)

17. Our representatives in Congress are vitally concerned with passing laws that will help the common working man. (298)
Subtest 11 Items

Feeling of isolation, alienation, or estrangement from one's fellowman

1. The world we live in is a pretty lonesome place. (6)
2. I often feel lonely even when with other people. (31)
   * Every man is an island all by himself. (72)
3. You really can't get close to people any more. (94)
4. Some sort of wall seems to separate people today. (142)
5. I simply don't feel as if I really belong anywhere. (169)
6. I feel like an outcast in the family of mankind. (188)
7. People ignore my feelings and don't pay any attention to me. (222)
8. Nobody is on my side. (235)
9. Much of the time I have the feeling that no one really cares about me. (261)
10. No matter where I go, I can find people who are concerned over my welfare. (46)
11. I feel that some people are really pulling for me. (67)
12. When I hurt inside, most people are concerned about how I feel. (86)
13. In one sense, I feel that all men are my brothers. (106)
   * Any old place I hang my hat seems like home to me. (165)
   * The barriers that separate people seem to be disappearing today. (197)
   * People are closer to each other than they used to be. (210)
14. I feel that people understand each other more. (246)
   * I feel at home any place I am. (286)
15. With the increase in population, the world is getting more friendly. (344)
Feeling of a lack of love and acceptance by one's family

1. My parents felt that children were to be seen and not to be heard. (10)
2. I was never allowed to express my opinions when I was a child. (36)
3. My parents never really understood me. (56)
4. My parents never seemed to have time for me. (80)
5. There was little love and companionship in my family as compared to other homes. (115)
6. I never really felt that I was a part of the family when I was growing up. (146)
7. My family just hasn't tried to understand my condition. (193)
8. My family has neglected me. (264)
9. As I see it now I don't owe my family anything. (293)
10. My family life has been empty. (317)
    * My family has meant all the world to me. (13)
    * It would be difficult for me to repay my family for all the good things they've done for me. (61)
11. My family has stuck by me through thick and thin. (118)
12. My family has given me sympathy and understanding when I needed them the most. (143)
13. My parents felt that I was an important member of the family. (154)
14. Our family was drawn together by love. (192)
15. My parents devoted much time to me. (231)
16. My parents tried to understand me. (283)
17. My parents always listened to me. (320)
18. My parents welcomed my participation in family discussions. (330)
Subtest 13 Items

Feeling of frustrated despair, that life has no meaning

1. Considering the shape that our country and the world is in right now, it's not right to bring children into the world. (18)

2. I can see no purpose in getting up and facing the world each day. (32)

3. Life has no meaning for me any more. (64)

4. Little satisfaction can be derived from family life today. (74)

5. The way things are today a person can get no satisfaction from his work. (83)

6. Life has nothing to offer me today. (96)

7. Nothing seems to turn out right any more so why even try? (136)

8. There appears to be no rhyme nor reason to living today. (147)

9. It's hard to see that anything is worthwhile nowadays. (239)

10. My life has been barren and meaningless. (248)

11. The good things of life have filled my life and given it purpose. (14)

12. If a person looks around him he will find tasks to do which will give him satisfactions. (42)

* Everything will work out to the good in the end. (92)

13. Most men have a good reason for living. (130)

14. I feel that I'm getting something valuable out of living. (134)

15. Working on most jobs has given me a feeling of amounting to something. (163)

* The prospect of being with my family again makes life worthwhile. (214)

16. In most respects, life seems worthwhile. (267)

* Every morning I have a lot of "get up and go." (313)

17. Children born today have many worthwhile things awaiting them. (328)
taking their origin in leisure time activities of easy living, will continue to persist. Accordingly, there will be a substantial increase in these states among the elite groups of the highly automated units.

Under the foregoing conditions, Winthrop predicts that the personnel man will have an important function in developing a program of "preventive hygiene against the emotional and spiritual ills produced by the non-industrial sectors of society, and the corollary role of supportive hygiene for the individual's efforts to deal with these states once they color the employee's inner life....The personnel man will be the social therapist par excellence in the industrial situation....who...will have to familiarize himself with...the forces which create anomie and alienation in modern life."

Continuing in a discussion of the changing occupational structure, Wood (131), while pointing out the growing demand for highly trained personnel, shows that there is a narrowing of opportunities for unskilled workers, which is likely to increase in the next ten years as a result of the same technological, economic, and social factors. She suggests that the best approach to the problem is from the supply side, that is, through efforts to see that more boys and girls are qualified for more than unskilled jobs. The dropout problem must be dealt with more effectively if this objective is accomplished, which will undoubtedly entail more and better counseling during the early grades.

Wolfbein (130), going beyond Wood's pleas for training in diversified skills, anticipates that "More and more...education...will
Subtest 14 Items

Feeling that it is best to conform

* Since I don't know what else to do, I have to do what others do. (9)

1. I care what people think about me so much that I wouldn't do anything to go against their wishes. (28)

2. In order for us to do good work, our bosses should outline carefully what is to be done and exactly how to go about it. (48)

3. In order to get along in the world it's best to always follow orders and do exactly what people expect of you. (69)

4. Strict obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn. (85)

5. A good way to live is not to aim high and you won't be disappointed. (103)

6. I always felt that it was best never to question the judgment of my parents. (122)

* It doesn't pay to stick your neck out and complain about your salary. (140)

7. If you want to be liked, the best thing to do is to go along with the crowd. (157)

8. A good way to live is to do what is expected of you and not complain. (175)

* With things as they are today in the business world, it just doesn't pay to fight the system. (199)

9. When you're caught in a bind trying to satisfy different people, it's best to try to please both of them rather than risk disappointing either of them. (215).

10. In order to keep peace in the home, it's a good idea to try your best to do what the family expects you to do. (232)

* A man just has to be resigned to his fate. (252)

* The best way to live is to accept the world as it is and not knock yourself out trying to change it. (256)

11. A person's life is largely determined by what people expect him to do, so he might as well try not to disappoint them. (278)
Subtest 14 Items—(Continued)

* It's best to accept the fact that people are mixed up in their beliefs and not let it bother you. (285)

12. The good citizen is one who obeys his government and doesn't complain about how it is run. (304)

* People being as they are, it's no use trying to change them. (331)

* It's best to accept the rules of the business world and try to abide by them. (340)
Subtest 15 Items

Feeling that one should rebel

1. In order to be a success today a man has to fight for what he wants, even if he has to do things that sometimes hurt his conscience. (5)

* To be loyal to your organization means that you have to fight its competitors in anyway you can. (17)

2. It's hard to remain honest and get ahead in the world today. (33)

3. It's hard to make an honest living nowadays. (55)

4. In getting ahead today you sometimes must use foul means as well as fair ones. (73)

5. You have to be a schemer in business in order to make a profit. (89)

6. Sometimes it's all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it. (107)

7. To be a success, who you know is more important than what you do. (127)

* Society would be better off if people were allowed to behave more nearly as they please. (144)

8. In order to get ahead in today's world, a person can't worry too much about fair play. (161)

9. Although it may be unfortunate, if a person is going to be successful in business or politics, it is sometimes necessary to take advantage of people. (180)

10. The Golden Rule is all right, but if you always try to follow it in real life, people will take advantage of you. (194)

11. It may not be nice, but the fact is you will never get anywhere if you try to tell the truth all the time. (206)

12. If you're going to get ahead these days, you have to realize that rules are made to be broken. (225)

13. If you want to rise to the top today, you have to be willing to push people around. (243)
14. When your family is expecting a good living, you can't let them down no matter what you have to do to make a dollar. (265)

* The first law of survival is looking out for yourself. (296)

15. There are many foolish laws today to prevent a man from making a good living. (300)

* To win the game of life you sometimes have to make your own rules. (319)

* If you want to please your family, it sometimes is necessary to do things you don't think are right. (341)
Subtest 16 Items

Feeling that one should escape

1. I often feel as if it would be good to get away from it all. (12)
2. I would like to get away from the maddening competition of the world. (38)
3. I prefer to be foot-loose and fancy-free. (60)
4. A person has to shy away from making too many new friends because they expect too much of you. (77)
5. Doing things by oneself is better than doing them with others. (93)
6. I usually pass by people and don't speak unless they speak to me first. (111)
7. There have been many times when I would have been glad to get sick just so I could get away from the rush of the everyday world. (125)

* I would be happy living all alone in a cabin in the woods. (131)
8. When I work or play I usually like to do it by myself. (148)
9. Some people laugh at the old hermit, but his way of living might not be bad after all. (167)
10. When the going gets too rough on the job, the best thing to do is to quit and get away from it all. (189)
11. When you can't satisfy people, it's best to get as far away from them as possible. (211)
12. I would like a job that would take me away from the go-go-go of the business world. (228)
13. I can sympathize with men who like to escape from the world of reality by drinking. (247)
14. It would be good to be a child again, free from worry and fret. (269)
15. It would be enjoyable to live on a faraway island, away from the hurry and scurry of modern civilization. (273)

* When faced with making a hard decision between two different things, it's best to wait and simply let things work themselves out. (292)
16. I'd like to live in a world where I didn't have to compete with other people for a living. (314)

17. As hard as it is to get ahead in the world today, it's a wonder that there aren't more tramps and hobos. (323)

18. In many ways a bum's life is better than the life of the man who is striving to make a success in the world. (342)
Subtest 17 Items

Feeling that one should direct one's hostile feelings toward minority groups

* The beliefs of some people are so foolish that they should be denounced. (24)

* The best way to live is to always pick friends whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own. (43)

* I feel I should criticize people whose ideas are different from mine. (65)

* There are two kinds of people in the world; those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth. (81)

1. People of different races should not be allowed to own homes in the same neighborhood. (97)

* Our trouble with businessmen of other races is that they stick together and connive, so that other people don't have a fair chance in competition. (117)

2. People with strange religions should not be allowed to build churches in our good Christian communities. (135)

3. Women simply don't have the intelligence of men. (153)

4. To avoid trouble, things would be better off if people of different colors didn't mix. (171)

5. In view of the present national emergency, it is highly important to limit responsible government jobs to native, white, Christian Americans. (184)

6. Some races of men obviously are superior to others. (202)

* There are certain beliefs that all people should hold and those that don't deserve to be criticized. (221)

* The country would be better off if some of those college educated guys were shipped out. (238)

* It seems to me that almost all leaders have let power go to their heads. (261)

7. As far as I'm concerned, anybody who doesn't support the same political party that I do just doesn't know the issues. (282)

* The people of some countries seem to be natural born trouble makers. (288)
8. There are certain foreign people in our country who are mainly responsible for the crime we have. (309)

9. Since the large number of women working today takes up many of the best jobs that men used to have, businesses ought to stop hiring them. (327)

10. Most law enforcement officials can be bought off. (334)

* The way some people live I sometimes wonder if they are really human. (343)
Srole Scale Items

1. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on. (218)

2. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world the way things look for the future. (242)

3. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse. (255)

4. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself. (289)

5. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man. (339)

**Denotes items omitted following observation of subtest item intercorrelations.**

( ) Denotes position in Experimental Anomie Scale.
### APPENDIX IV

#### EXPERIMENTAL ANOMIE SCALE ITEMS GROUPED ACCORDING TO SUBTESTS

| Subtest 1 | Anomie items | 1 | 26 | 51 | 76 | 101 | 151 | 201 | 251 | 301 | 326 |
| Subtest 1 | Nomie items  | 270 | 120 | 345 | 295 | 245 | 195 | 145 | 70 | 45 | 20 |
| Subtest 2 | Anomie items | 8 | 58 | 108 | 126 | 158 | 176 | 208 | 226 | 258 | 276 |
| Subtest 2 | Nomie items | 287 | 237 | 187 | 16 | 137 | 220 | 87 | 312 | 37 | 337 |
| Subtest 3 | Anomie items | 41 | 91 | 116 | 141 | 191 | 216 | 241 | 291 | 308 | 316 |
| Subtest 3 | Nomie items | 54 | 4 | 79 | 166 | 329 | 29 | 279 | 266 | 129 | 179 |
| Subtest 4 | Anomie items | 22 | 35 | 53 | 84 | 99 | 119 | 132 | 168 | 185 | 297 |
| Subtest 4 | Nomie items | 254 | 11 | 303 | 63 | 318 | 105 | 156 | 205 | 212 | 227 |
| Subtest 5 | Anomie items | 104 | 128 | 172 | 182 | 209 | 233 | 272 | 280 | 306 | 332 |
| Subtest 5 | Nomie items | 250 | 224 | 200 | 162 | 150 | 113 | 95 | 75 | 34 | 25 |
| Subtest 6 | Anomie items | 15 | 49 | 66 | 98 | 109 | 152 | 196 | 219 | 244 | 311 |
| Subtest 6 | Nomie items | 338 | 325 | 299 | 275 | 230 | 207 | 124 | 139 | 173 | 177 |
| Subtest 7 | Anomie items | 3 | 30 | 62 | 88 | 114 | 138 | 178 | 204 | 236 | 274 |
| Subtest 7 | Nomie items | 333 | 307 | 284 | 260 | 234 | 217 | 155 | 181 | 190 | 159 |
| Subtest 8 | Anomie items | 44 | 68 | 123 | 174 | 198 | 229 | 262 | 294 | 321 | 336 |
| Subtest 8 | Nomie items | 213 | 240 | 290 | 183 | 133 | 102 | 82 | 57 | 50 | 21 |
| Subtest 9 | Anomie items | 19 | 47 | 149 | 164 | 223 | 249 | 268 | 277 | 302 | 335 |
| Subtest 9 | Nomie items | 322 | 310 | 315 | 253 | 170 | 110 | 100 | 71 | 40 | 7 |
have this prime function to perform: to help the young person understand the changes that are bound to occur in the relationships between what he learns and gets trained for and what he will be called upon to do during his working life." This inevitability calls for a breadth of training which will endow the person with flexibility, the maneuverability and adaptability he will urgently need to meet changing job needs in our economy—again under the impact of technological changes.

Clearly, then, technological and social change create crises for the client to resolve. Furthermore, the importance of psycho-social aspects of work have been stressed by a number of psychologists as well as sociologists. Samler (106) insists that occupational information needs to portray both Economic Man and Psychological Man. Economic considerations such as competitive conditions of training and education need to be taken in mind, and usually are. But urgently needed now is a knowledge of Psychological Man, that is, "...the worker's role, his ability to work at a task that is congruent with his identity, the exercise of his values and attitudes, ways of meeting anxiety, patterns of interaction with others, out-of-work style of life, and totally, the way in which his personality needs are met." The matter of personality needs as they relate to work is considered of critical importance by Caplow (13), Roe (98), and Super (118).

With regard to theory building, Samler believes that this task, based on the descriptive materials of cultural systems or sub-systems of the job, occupation, industry, plant, shop, and office, must involve the counseling psychologist as well as the social psychologist and sociologist. This is because the needs of the client and his counselor constitute a charter for such investigation.
<p>| Subtest 10 | Anomie items | 23 39 59 78 112 160 186 259 305 324 |
| Subtest 11 | Anomie items | 6 31 72 94 142 169 188 222 235 281 |
| Subtest 12 | Anomie items | 10 36 56 80 115 146 193 264 293 317 |
| Subtest 13 | Anomie items | 18 32 64 74 83 96 136 147 239 248 |
| Subtest 14 | Anomie items | 9 28 48 69 85 103 122 140 157 175 |
| Subtest 15 | Anomie items | 5 17 33 55 73 89 107 127 144 161 |
| Subtest 16 | Anomie items | 12 38 60 77 93 111 125 131 148 167 |
| Subtest 17 | Anomie items | 24 43 65 81 97 117 135 153 171 184 |
| Subtest items | 218 242 255 289 339 |</p>
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| 2   | .58 | .06 | .06 | .02 | .10 | -.04 |     | .42 | .12 | .02 | .09 | .13 | .06 |
| 3   | .54 | -.04 | .09 | .01 | .11 | -.02 |     | .30 | -.05 | .09 | .25 | .01 | -.04 |
| 4   | .52 | -.04 | .13 | .04 | -.07 | .16 |     | .64 | -.04 | .13 | .05 | -.03 | -.13 |
| 5   | .50 | -.05 | .13 | .11 | -.16 | .06 |     | .42 | .02 | .00 | .05 | .12 | .01 |
| 6   | .38 | -.03 | .05 | .14 | .00 | -.12 |     | .37 | -.08 | .06 | .25 | -.08 | .08 |
| 7   | .52 | -.09 | .10 | .09 | -.04 | .17 |     | .24 | -.06 | .08 | .16 | .09 | .08 |
| 8   | .32 | -.02 | -.14 | .15 | .11 | -.06 |     | .48 | -.07 | .05 | .28 | -.15 | .11 |
| 9   | .58 | -.02 | .08 | .01 | -.04 | -.05 |     | .31 | -.07 | .07 | .22 | .11 | .02 |
| 10  | .47 | -.09 | -.03 | .11 | .10 | .02 |     | .42 | -.14 | .03 | .13 | -.01 | -.08 |
| 11  | .38 | .11 | .11 | .07 | .00 | .03 |     | .45 | .06 | .11 | .09 | -.12 | .06 |
| 12  | .35 | -.05 | .14 | .16 | .01 | .00 |     | .32 | -.03 | .06 | .13 | -.04 | .05 |
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## APPENDIX VI

### COMMUNALITY AND PERCENTAGES OF EXPLAINABLE VARIANCE OF SUBTESTS

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The accessibility of occupational means to meet personal needs has been emphasized by Super (117) who declares that "without comprehensive studies of the interplay of various sociological and psychological factors, we cannot approach a clear understanding of the determinants of vocational choice and adjustment." Presumably, factors such as socio-economic status, intelligence, opportunity to make contacts, rejection of the father as a role model, and values, all play a part in causing adolescents to rise or drop to an occupational level other than that which would be expected on the basis of parental status. Thus, Super feels that an understanding of career patterns as a basis for vocational counseling is dependent upon a knowledge of the interaction of socio-economic factors and personal needs.

Similarly, Samler (105) finds it difficult to conceive of counseling related to psychological realities which does not take into account data such as social class, occupational expectations, roles, and related values.

In 1954 Smigel (113) suggested several ways in which occupational sociology may be of value to vocational counseling. Among these, occupational sociology offers vocational counseling another point of view or way of perceiving. Also, sociology, in presenting an overall picture of society, shows that "the individual and his vocation do not exist in a vacuum," and that changes in our continuously moving society affect the individual and his work. The counselor needs to know the relationship of the individual to the group and to the larger society, must recognize that society is in process, and must understand the relationship between why men work and societal demands.


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I, Thomas Morris Elmore, was born in Wilson, North Carolina, on December 28, 1926. I completed my secondary-school education at Belvoir High School, Greenville, North Carolina. The Bachelor of Arts degree was received from Wake Forest College where my major areas of study were English, Social Studies, and Education. After briefly teaching in the public school I earned the Master of Arts degree in Psychology from George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee. Subsequently, I served for two years as a counselor in the Counseling Center at the North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

While completing the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, I served as a research assistant to Dr. George G. Thompson, as a teaching assistant and assistant instructor under Dr. Francis P. Robinson, and as a teaching assistant for Dr. Emily Stogdill, all in the Department of Psychology. Periodically, I worked as a psychology trainee at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio.
More recently, Holland (49), in attempting to delineate a comprehensive theory of vocational choice, has emphasized the importance of the interaction of the individual's heredity and a variety of cultural and personal forces, including his social class, American culture, and significant others. In this connection he proposes an occupational environment classification.

**Approaches to Psychological Anomie**

In the early part of this chapter, primary attention has been given to the relationship of social problems to counseling psychology. Largely, social anomie has been discussed. However, the study of the effects of social anomie on the individual, that is, personal or psychological anomie, has been undertaken only in recent years. Currently two distinct approaches to the problem of psychological anomie seem to have developed, one from the standpoint of existential psychology and another following an empirical framework. In both instances, the individual is the focus of attention rather than "society." As the existentialists claim, both approaches are scientific, only the methodology being different.

**Anomie and Existential Psychology**

The recent adoption of the term anomie as a psychological construct may be viewed as part of the growing interest in the area of existential psychology (67). If one takes Davol and Reimanis' definition of psychological anomie as a referent (23), anomie may be construed as an individual's perception of the social order as lacking meaningfulness or usefulness, his withdrawal from society, or his
perception of constant conflict between the basic goals of life. According to this formulation, anomic feelings, whatever their origins, are not too far removed from the feelings of "loneliness," "emptiness," "vacuity," and "hollowness" which Rollo May feels characterize a substantial portion of our present society and which lead men to neurotic anxiety. This is a consequence of our society giving us no clear picture of "what we are and what we ought to be" (68).

Similarly, Maslow (66) holds valuelessness to be the prime disease of our time. By this he means the state variously described as amorality, rootlessness, emptiness, alienation, and hopelessness. It is the lack of something to believe in and to be devoted to.

Logically, it would follow that when an individual perceives the social order as lacking in meaningfulness, he may likewise come to feel that there is no meaning in his existence. Under such circumstances, it is likely that he may suffer from what Viktor Frankl (35, 121) terms "existential neurosis," the consequence being an overwhelming sense of hopelessness and despair. According to Frankl, a person is adjusted or maladjusted to the extent that he feels that there is some meaning in his life. He theorizes that meaning is primarily found in the achieving of certain tasks and in personal relationships with others. However, in an anomic society, the means to these ends are less easy to find.

Elsewhere, Blaine and MacArthur (6), after examining the emotional problems of youth, conclude that the word depression does not classically describe the feelings of emptiness, despair, and emotional withdrawal which characterize a segment of college students
today. These persons seem to have retired from the competitive arena, so to speak, with no inclination to return until love, encouragement, and something to make them feel adequate are furnished.

Again, Shaw (109) has examined three notions in conceptualizing different varieties of nonadaptive interaction, that is resourcefulness-anxiety, repression, and inhibitory deficit. Resourcefulness anxiety he defines as "the sense of helplessness that arises from inability, or felt inability to meet demands, responsibilities, or challenges presented by one's environment." This may vary from mild uncertainty to acute apprehension. To cope with the problem, Shaw suggests that appropriate counseling procedures include instruction in anxiety tolerance with planning of relearning experiences.

More explicitly, the acquisition of ability to handle pressures and challenges may diminish resourcefulness anxiety because of the relearning that occurs through facing challenges and contending with them. This process must be paced in accordance with the amount of anxiety which a particular individual can endure at a given stage. Shaw proposes paced experimentation with alternative modes of behavior as a means to enlarge the counselee's resources and reduce the resourcefulness anxiety which otherwise will place heavy limitations upon the individual's problem solving ability.

On every side, then, man may be seen as striving to extricate himself from the anxiety attendant to living in what is at least in some respects a pathological society. Considering the trends toward depersonalization already prevalent in large metropolitan cities as a consequence of the onrush of "civilization," it seems that the
"higher-level adjustment skills" anticipated by Robinson (96) may become more and more difficult for some persons to attain. For instance, the development of friendships as an aid in adjustment will be adversely affected. Thus, the study of anomie seems uniquely relevant to what is often called the predicament of modern man.

Empirical Approach to Anomie

As will be seen in Chapter II, for many years social anomie has been an object of theoretical concern for sociologists. Recently, however, as sociologists have sought to empirically validate social anomie theory, they have found it difficult to investigate "society" apart from examining the effects of "society" upon its own members. The chief instrument so far developed to measure anomie elicits individual responses indicative of psychological anomie. Therefore, in recent years anomie as a psychological condition, has increasingly gained the concern of psychologists who are keenly aware of the impact of social conditions and attitudes on the individual's state of mind. With this concern has come the recognition of the need for an instrument with which to empirically measure psychological anomie.

Need for Present Study and Its Objectives

One of the first steps needed in a study of anomie is to attempt a resolution of the many conflicting definitions of anomie; that is, there is a need to define this global construct more precisely. From a research point of view the mere definition of a concept still leaves something to be desired. There remains the need to develop instruments to measure this hypothesized entity. Experience
has shown that although theory sets scientists to thinking, the
systematized testing of the theory awaits the development of instru-
ments which measure the hypothesized variables.

In recognition of the above need, the present experimenter
has established for this study the following objectives:

1) An exhaustive review will be made of all the pertinent
literature using the term anomie and some other literature of a like
nature which does not specifically employ that word as a descriptive
term.

2) From this review, an attempt will be made to see points of
agreement and disagreement between the various theorists in order to
clarify the meaning of the term.

3) Finally, an effort will be made to develop an objective
measure of anomie and to study its nature. In so doing, it may be
determined whether or not anomie is a unitary construct which may
be useful to psychology.
CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF PROBLEM

The English word "anomy," descends from the Greek anomía, meaning lawlessness. According to The Oxford English Dictionary (80), the term is obsolete, having been out of practical use since the seventeenth century. At that time in the theological literature, the term referred to disobedience to the divine law of God. In the early 1890's, Émile Durkheim, the brilliant French sociologist, translated the Greek anomous (α, the negative prefix, plus nomous, the plural of laws or "no-laws") into the French l'anomie, signifying a state of lawlessness, unbridledness, unruliness, unregulatedness, or uncontrolability in society.

Specifically, the term anomie first made an important appearance in sociological and psychological literature in 1893 in Durkheim's De la division du travail social which has since been translated into English (29). Later, he used anomie as an explanatory concept in suicide in his classical work on that subject (30).

Survey of Theoretical Literature

In the early writing concerning anomie, the primary emphasis was on anomie as a state of society. Later, invariably both the disrupted social condition known as anomie and its psychological impact on the individual were recognized. More lately, the latter conception of anomie as a state of mind has led to increased speculation regarding
its nature and its correlates. In the following pages, the views of anomie held by a number of writers will be surveyed in terms of what appears to be their primary emphasis. Sequentially, anomie will be discussed, first as a sociological concept, secondly as a concept that can be applied to both society and to the reactions of its individual members, and finally as primarily a psychological condition grounded in social antecedents. Generally, the historical development and extension of the concept of anomie has followed the foregoing pattern. Nevertheless, some early writers were aware of the psychological effects of social anomie and many later sociologists have continued to use the term as descriptive of society. At the same time, writers with a psychological orientation have tended to emphasize the psychological state of mind of the individual as social forces impinge upon him.

Sociological Views of Anomie

Durkheim.—In general, for Émile Durkheim, the term anomie refers to the disintegration of common values within a society, reflected in feelings of anxiety, isolation, and purposelessness in the individuals constituting it. Because of the superficiality, the anonymity, and the transitory character of urban social relations, the individual may gain a certain degree of emancipation from the personal and emotional controls of the intimate group. Yet, at the same time, according to Durkheim, he may lose the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society. Essentially, this constitutes the state of anomie, or social void, to which Durkheim alludes (129). For Durk-
THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SCALE TO MEASURE

PSYCHOLOGICAL ANOMIE

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

By

THOMAS MORRIS ELMORE, B.A., A.M.

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The Ohio State University
1962

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of Psychology
heim, however, the term anomie referred to a state of society, a condition of normlessness, of de-regulation, where because of a suspension of rules there existed a moral vacuum (21).

In his day Durkheim observed that a sort of moral anarchy had enveloped large sectors of the French Republic, bringing about economic distress and social dislocation. His general thesis was that a painful social crisis, either in the form of an abrupt and unforeseen growth or diminution of persons' power and wealth, would disturb the regulative force of tradition, a prior condition in which behavior was normatively determined, and would tend to produce anomie.

Unavoidably, the matter of human aspirations is a factor in anomie. Durkheim believed that unlimited aspirations create a constant pressure for behavior that departs from social norms. Then, whenever there is a breakdown in the regulation of goals, man's aspirations may become unlimited and behavior may no longer be controlled by social norms.

As a basis for his explanation of anomie, Durkheim made a distinction between physical needs and moral or social needs. He viewed man's physical needs as being automatically regulated by his organic structure. However, nothing in his organic structure is capable of regulating social desires. He felt that if a person is to function without friction, his passions must first be limited. However, man's capacity for social gratification, wealth, power, and prestige is an "insatiable and bottomless abyss." Therefore, since the individual's organic structure is incapable of regulating these social desires, an outside agency, some force exterior to the indi-
vidual, must perform this function. The social order or ordre collectif, according to Durkheim, serves the function of keeping aspirations within bounds by defining and ordering the goals to which men should orient their behavior. Realistic achievement aspirations are most likely to exist in a stable society where persons in different social strata tend to be relatively content with their lot. On the other hand, if the collective order is disrupted, men's aspirations may soar beyond all possibilities of fulfillment.

Social disorganization resulting in unrestrained aspiration occurs in time of economic crisis such as a sudden depression, sudden prosperity, or rapid technological change. Abrupt changes in social position, accompanied by a sense of disorientation, tends to follow on the heels of economic upheaval. Then, when man's exaggerated aspirations are not matched by the possibilities of fulfillment, pressures toward deviant behavior are likely to develop. This is due to the fact that man's nature is to be eternally dissatisfied, to constantly advance toward infinite or receding goals, which puts a constant strain on the regulatory apparatus of society. Such a striving is seen as a sign of moral distinction which is approved by society. As a matter of fact, certain dispositions or goals become so imbred in the industrial society that they come to be viewed as normal. In any case, the state of anomie is heightened by man's desires being less disciplined precisely when they need more discipline.

In the case of economic depression Durkheim perceived that declassification occurs which suddenly casts certain individuals into
a lower state than the one to which they are accustomed. Immediately, such persons must reduce their requirements, restrain their needs, and learn greater self-control. Society is so structured that these people cannot instantaneously adjust to the new condition of life, to the reduced existence, which is forced upon them.

At the other extreme, in times of prosperity, the abruptness of upward changes in economic conditions may heighten aspirations beyond the possibility of realization and put a severe strain on the apparatus of social regulation.

Further, Durkheim saw the sphere of trade and industry to be in a chronic state of anomie. Rapid technological developments, together with the existence of unexploited markets which excite the imagination with visions of wealth, may produce a constant state of crisis and anomie.

Although, Durkheim dealt with the concept of anomie mostly as a social phenomena, he could not escape discussing anomie as a subjective state. In a social sense, Durkheim used the term solidarité to designate the perfect integration of a society with clear cut values which define the status of each of its members. Anomie is most often the disordered condition of a society that is possessed by a weak conscience collectif. He used the term malaise to describe Europe's collective consciousness prior to 1900. It was a moral sickness caused by breakdown or wearing away with time of previously existing cadres. The family unit had lost its cohesive force; religion as a unifying element had diminished in strength; and the political
parties no longer seemed to be a consolidating force. Anomie, then, existed where there were no shared rules or where goals were defined but the rules were not.

Durkheim felt that for a society to be stable the desires of its members must have upper and lower limits imposed and met by the community. When no body of common values or norms exist, a person feels lost since he knows neither his place in the community or the actions he should perform. Due to the confusion of his fellowman, such a person would be unable to determine what they value and would become disoriented.

Durkheim maintained that man's psychological constitution needs an object transcending itself. This object is not to be found in a weakly integrated society and consequently the individual who has too great a feeling for himself and his own values desires to be his own exclusive goal. But since such an objective cannot satisfy the person, he drags out indifferently an existence which henceforth seems meaningless to him. Thus, as DeGrazia (25) pointed out, Durkheim conceived of anomie in a subjective sense as (1) uneasiness and anxiety, (2) a feeling of isolation from group standards, accompanied by a feeling of separation from the group, and (3) a feeling of pointlessness when no certain goals are seen to exist.

As previously mentioned, anomie, as an important variable in the understanding of suicide, has been extensively examined by Durkheim in Le Suicide (30). Here, he isolated three etiological types of suicide: anomic, egoistic, and altruistic.
According to Durkheim, anomic suicide results when the disturbed equilibrium of society forces the individual to accept a lower state than that to which he has been accustomed, to restrain his needs, and to learn greater self-control. Since the means are not provided in society by which such individuals may instantaneously adjust to this new life, affected persons may find prospects so intolerable that they may be smitten with a "suffering which detaches them from a reduced existence before they have made a trial of it..." Thus, many persons are driven to suicide by frustration attendant to the collapse of exaggerated hopes, the failure of excessive ambitions, and the exasperation of being blocked from anticipated goals.

Egoistic suicide results from a lack of integration of the individual with other members of his society. There is excessive individuation where the individual excessively asserts himself.

Altruistic suicide results from an overintegration of the individual with society. Here the individual has no real interests of his own. He is rather trained to renunciation and unquestioned abnegation.

One writer (26) in an esoteric conceptual analysis of Durkheim's terms believes that the last two conditions, plus fatalism, have been neglected in subsequent writings and investigations.

In brief, Durkheim's major hypothesis was that suicide varies with the strength of the relational system with others in which the person is involved. That is, a major factor in suicide is a person's perception that his is not sympathetically accepted by his social group. Persons who are highly anomic would likely be characterized
by feelings of anonymity and loneliness and by isolation from meaningful interpersonal relationships.

In recent years, Talcott Parsons (82) has proposed that Durkheim's model for explaining anomic suicide via discrepancy between ends and means may be applied in explaining other aspects of conduct. That is, anomie may be a consequence of almost any change in the social system which upsets previously established definitions of the situation, or routines of life, or symbolic associations.

Furthermore, Parsons holds that the primary function of institutionalization is to help order different activities and social relationships into a coordinated system which minimizes social conflicts and which is manageable by the individual. Included in this ordered system should be a time schedule for activities with a legitimized priority scale and a common value system to help the individual in deciding between one obligation and another.

Over against full institutionalization is its polar antithesis, anomie, which is the absence of structured complementarity of the interaction process or a complete breakdown of the normative order. However, Parsons continues, anomie is a limiting concept which is never descriptive of a concrete social system. There are degrees of anomie just as there are degrees of institutionalization.

In passing it may be added that Durkheim turned to guild socialism or guild representation as a corrective for anomie.

Merton.— A second writer who has written widely concerning anomie is Robert K. Merton, an eminent contemporary sociologist. In 1938, Merton's original paper on anomie entitled Social Structure and
Anomie appeared in the *American Sociological Review* (73). A short time later the same paper was subsequently published elsewhere (127). In 1949, Merton's revision and extension of the above paper appeared in his new book *Social Theory and Social Structure*. The latter paper, in either its complete or modified form, may also be found in several other places (74, 75, 5, 6, 21).

Merton calls attention to the tendency in psychological and sociological theory in the first part of the twentieth century to attribute maladjustment to the lack of social control over man's imperious biological drives. The issue of man versus society had been raised many years before by Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (48). Later, Durkheim attributed anomie to society's failure to curb man's "inborn impulses." In the same era Freud expounded the thesis of the "renunciation of instinctual gradification" in his *Civilization and Its Discontents* (36) in which he stated, "Civilized society is perpetually menaced with disintegration through this primary hostility of men toward one another....Culture has to call up every possible reinforcement in order to erect barriers against the aggressive instinct of man..." And elsewhere (37) he declares "...there are present in all men destructive, and therefore anti-social and anti-cultural tendencies..."

Merton rejects this notion and makes a break with the biological drive theorists on the basis that the frequency of socially deviant behavior varies within different social structures and takes different shapes and patterns in them. In previous theory where the social order was considered a device for impulse management, nonconformity was
assumed to be a natural response. To the contrary, Merton shows how nonbiological conditions in certain phases of social structure induce either conformity or deviations.

Merton's central hypothesis is that aberrant behavior may be a symptom of the conflict between "culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations." In other words, a means-ends conflict arises when socially approved means such as hard work, thrift, and fair competitive practices in legitimate business are no longer sufficient to secure socially approved ends, usually success in monetary terms. In other words, regulatory norms do not necessarily coincide with the norms of expediency.

In setting forth the sociological concept of anomie and the emergence of deviant behavior in more detail, Merton begins his argument by distinguishing between two features of organized social life, the cultural structure and the social structure. The cultural structure is an organized set of normative values governing behavior, that is, goals and norms and the approved means of reaching these ends, which is common to members of a designated society or group. The social structure consists of organized patterns of social relationships in which members of the society or group are variously implicated, such as the division of people into social classes according to various criteria. The social structure is active, produces motivations, and creates dispositions to act. According to Merton, the culture and social structure may operate at cross purposes. The culture defines certain goals and regulates and controls acceptable modes for reaching those goals. At the same time, the choice of
expedients for striving toward cultural goals is limited by institutionalized norms via either prescription, proscription, preference, or permission. The crucial point is that the emphasis placed on certain cultural goals may vary independently of the emphasis upon institutionalized means or the regulation of means, leading to certain malintegrated states.

Continuing, Merton suggests that there may be two polar types of disjunction between cultural goals and socially structured opportunity. On one hand, there may develop a very heavy or virtually exclusive stress on the values of particular goals with little corresponding concern for the prescribed means for striving toward these goals. Or, at the other extreme, activities originally conceived as instrumental are transmuted into self contained practices, lacking any further objectives. Here, sheer conformity becomes the central value. Means become goals within themselves. Stable societies are found between these two extremes. Thus, in extending the concept of anomie, Merton maintains that anomie develops not simply because of a breakdown in the regulation of goals, but also because of a breakdown in the relationship between goals and the legitimate avenues of access to them. In brief, an imperfect coordination between the goals and means phases of the social structure may lead to anomie or cultural chaos because the basis for predictability and regularity of social behavior is lost. On the other hand, social stability exists where culturally prescribed goals or aspirations are balanced by socially approved means of achieving them.
With regard to goals, Merton places great stress on what he terms the success theme in American culture where the great emphasis upon monetary success is systematically inculcated and reinforced, where the striving for success is a socially-defined expectation. This expectation is considered not only appropriate for all, but incumbent on all. Furthermore, the idea is abroad that success or failure results wholly from personal qualities, and that he who fails has only himself to blame. This goal is held out to all classes of people without any corresponding emphasis on the legitimate avenues to achieve this success. Thus, the moral mandate to achieve success exerts a pressure to succeed by whatever means possible, be it fair means or foul. Demoralization or normlessness results when the necessity arises to employ any means to achieve the success goal. Norms become robbed of their power to regulate behavior and anomie ensues.

With regard to the "American Dream" of success, Merton holds that there have developed certain cultural prototypes of success, a process of disciplining people to maintain their unfulfilled aspirations. In this connection he delineates three cultural axioms:

1) All persons should strive for the same lofty goals since these are open to all. Psychologically, this is a sort of symbolic secondary reinforcement of incentive.

2) Present seeming failure is but a way station to ultimate success. This constitutes a curbing of the threatened extinction of a response through an associated stimulus.

3) Genuine failure consists only in the lessening or withdrawal of ambition. This may be viewed as increasing the motive
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strength to evoke continued responses despite the continued absence of reward.

All of this the present writer would term the Horatio Alger syndrome.

According to Merton, the degree to which persons internalize the emphasis on common success goals varies. Differentials may occur in the assimilation of success values according to such factors as age, sex, ethnic status, social class, competing values, and the belief that opportunity really exists.

What is needed is more data on socially patterned differentials between (1) exposure to the cultural goal and norms regulating behavior oriented toward that goal, (2) acceptance of the goal and norms and moral mandates and internalized values, (3) the relative accessibility to the goal, that is, life-chances in the opportunity structure, (4) the extent of discrepancy between the accepted goal 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 view of the foregoing state of affairs, Merton suggests five types of adaptive behavior or alternative responses which may result when cultural goals and means are in conflict.

1) Conformity. The conformist accepts both the cultural goals and institutionalized means as the culture defines them.

2) Innovation. The innovator accepts the goals but develops his own means. This response occurs when the cultural emphasis on the goal is assimilated without equal internalization of norms governing
ways to its attainment. This response seems most prevalent among the lower socio-economic class although it may be found in all levels of society. Innovation is likely to occur where, owing to their disadvantaged position in the group and to certain personality configurations, individuals may be subjected to undue strain and become more vulnerable to deviant behavior such as crime and delinquency. This view ties in with Cohen's observation (19) that delinquent gang behavior is a product of group solutions to status problems, needs, and frustrations among lower social class persons who live in a world of predominantly middle-class values and virtues.

3) Ritualism. The ritualist rejects the cultural obligation to get ahead while abiding compulsively by persisting norms. That is, he abandons or scales down lofty cultural goals of great pecuniary success and rapid social mobility to a point where aspirations may be satisfied within the context of accepted means. Lower middle class persons often respond in this fashion.

4) Retreatism. The retreatist is so frustrated with the conflict between culturally defined goals and means that he denies both. Being shut off from legitimate means by any of several limiting factors he finds that he cannot cope with the competitive order. Therefore, he rejects the means and abandons the quest for goals. By freeing himself from the conflict he misses both the frustrations attendant to striving and the social rewards. There is evidence of such phenomena as psychic passivity, withdrawal of affect, apathy, indifference, moral fatigue, anhedonia, and disenchantment. Examples include the tramp, the alcoholic, and the vagrant. Retreatism occurs in
response to acute anomie, involving an abrupt break in the familiar and accepted normative framework and in established social relations.

5) Rebellion. The rebel is alienated from both reigning goals and standards. He is a revolutionist who designs his own goals and means in an attempt to modify the existing social structure. The outcome may be the development of new norms.

Merton holds that the foregoing adaptations vary, depending on the individual's acceptance or rejection of cultural goals, and depending also on his adherence to or violation of norms. These adaptations are the consequences of two variables: (1) the relative extent of pressure and (2) values such as internalized prohibitions which govern the use of illegitimate means. Values limit the choice of deviant adaptations.

In the American success system, conformity is the dominant response. However, the value placed upon competitive success produces a strain toward deviant behavior. Only alternative goals-means schemes, such as a subcultural emphasis on non-monetary success goals seem capable of reducing the trend toward anomie.

While making an explicit separation of sociological anomie and psychological anomie, Merton points out that the latter is a counterpart, not a replacement, of the former. He is simply saying that anomie arises from a conflict between the goals a culture sets up and the means prescribed for their attainment. The incidence of the conflict varies differentially with various strata of society and different personality structures. To alleviate this conflict, persons may respond in many different ways.
Anomie as it relates to social disorganization and deviant behavior has recently been excellently discussed by Albert K. Cohen (76).

To begin with, Cohen observes that disorganization arises (1) when the situations that the participants confront cannot be defined as system events or when there is no clear definition of the possibilities of action, and (2) when participants are not motivated, when their values, interests, and aims are not integrated with the requirements for continuity of the interaction system. Thus, "In the absence of instructions, the situation and behavior it calls for from each participant cannot be defined." The result is a general state of anomie.

According to Cohen, anomie arises when an individual is confronted by a situation (1) where there are no relevant rules, (2) where there is vagueness or ambiguity of rules, or (3) where there is lack of consensus on which rules are relevant and on the interpretation of rules.

Conversely it follows that the control of anomie depends on (1) the existence and clarity of rules and (2) given the rules, the extent to which the system generates situations for which the rules provide definitions.

In expounding on the relation of anomie to class structure and delinquent behavior, Cohen conceives of delinquency as a mode of adaptation adopted by the individual to escape the conflict accompanying failure in the fact of cultural expectations. The degree of internalization of cultural goals and means together with the avail-
ability of the alternative goals and means determines the extent of the conflict and the type of adaptation.

In a critique of Merton's viewpoint, Cohen takes a look at Merton's position and notes several limitations to it. By way of review, Merton felt that crime and delinquency grow out of a contradiction between the culture and the social structure and between ends in the form of cultural values and means which the social structure provides for achieving them. In America, the ends are symbols of status based on the possession and display of economic goods. Yet, since goods are not available to everyone, a breakdown occurs in the pattern of complying with legal and social norms in order to obtain the desired objectives.

Cohen sees several limitations to this view. (1) It doesn't explain crime in societies where ascribed rather than achieved goals predominate. (2) It neglects to explain why the majority of people in our country do not go beyond institutionalized means to achieve goals. And (3) it fails to explain the non-utilitarian or even destructive nature of much delinquency. Considering these shortcomings in Merton's theory, Cohen favors Parson's complex classification of anomic or deviant behavior because it makes distinctions which are not possible with Merton's typology.

Parenthetically, Cohen makes one very unique observation. He holds that deviant behavior is organizing and conformity is disorganizing where there is a forced choice between unsanctioned behavior and organizational breakdown.
Richard Cloward (17) has recently ascertained that the theory of anomie has undergone two major phases of development down through the years, as exemplified in the work of Durkheim and Merton. Largely, the theory has focussed in the past on pressures toward deviant behavior arising from discrepancies between cultural goals and approved modes of access to them, that is, upon the variations in legitimate means. Now, Cloward proposes what he considers to be the third major phase in the theory of anomie, a phase having to do with variations in access to success-goals by illegitimate means. He feels that by taking into account differentials in access to success-goals both by legitimate and illegitimate means, the theory of anomie may be extended to include what have previously appeared to be unrelated theories of deviant behavior in criminology literature.

In phase one of the theory of anomie, Durkheim focussed on the way in which various social conditions lead to unlimited or inappropriate aspirations, which in turn ultimately produce a breakdown in regulatory norms. In other words, increase in aspiration develops without a change in the norms which govern their implementation. Under pressure, the norms are defiled and a state of normlessness almost invariably follows.

As mentioned earlier in the present paper, Merton extended the theory of anomie by stressing the disjunction between cultural goals and socially structured opportunity. Especially did he emphasize the differentials in the access of success-goals by legitimate means.
In establishing phase three of the theory of anomie, Cloward attempts to consolidate the two major sociological traditions of thought found in Durkheim and Merton with the cultural transmission and differential association tradition illustrated by Shaw, Sutherland, and McKay. He emphasizes the differentials in the availability of illegitimate means.

Following Durkheim, Cloward and Ohlin (18) point out that the crucial problem in an industrial society such as America's is to locate and train persons to occupy technical work roles. Roles are allocated more or less on the basis of merit and endowment rather than on the basis of social origins. Everyone is encouraged to find his "natural level" in the social order through the process of competition.

In order to motivate its members to strive, the industrial society defines common or universal success-goals as potentially accessible to all, regardless of race, creed, or socioeconomic position. This process by which societies seek to insure order may also produce the reverse effect of disorder. Cultural emphasis on unlimited success-goals produces a pervasive feeling of position discontent. While this leads men to compete for higher status and so contributes to the survival of the industrial order, it also produces an intense pressure toward deviant behavior.

Cloward and Ohlin advance the hypothesis that discrepancies between aspirations and legitimate chances of achievement increase as one descends in the class structure. Thus the pressure to engage in deviant behavior will be greatest in the lower levels of society.
They hypothesize that "pressures toward the formation of delinquent subcultures originate in marked discrepancies between culturally induced aspirations among lower class youth and the possibilities of achieving them by legitimate means."

Moreover, the exploration of nonconformist alternatives is a function of intense frustrations which the adolescent experiences, who having internalized the objectives of conventional goals, finds himself limited to legitimate avenues of access which he is not qualified to follow. The barriers to legitimate opportunity may be viewed as cultural and structural.

Cloward and Ohlin conclude that each individual occupies a position in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. Opportunities are limited and differentially available depending on the location of the person in the social structure.

Thus, the availability of means, legitimate or illegitimate, is controlled by the opportunity structure. By the word means, two things seem to be implied: (1) There are appropriate learning environments for acquisition of the values and skills associated with the performance of a particular role. (2) The individual has an opportunity to discharge the role once he has been prepared. Thus, the term subsumes both learning structures and opportunity structures.

Concerning the distribution of criminal behavior, Cloward makes several interesting observations:

1) If access to illegitimate means is uniformly distributed throughout the class structure, higher rates of innovating behavior would be expected in the lower classes than elsewhere.
2) If access varies inversely with class position, a correlation between pressures toward deviation and rate of deviance proposed by Merton would not hold.

3) If access varies directly with class position, comparative roles of illegitimate activity become difficult to forecast. The higher the class position the less the pressure to employ illegitimate means.

The concept of differential opportunity structures allows one to unite the theory of anomie to include the concept of differentials in access to legitimate means with the concept of differentials in access to illegitimate means.

Up to this point attention has been given to the views of sociological anomie held by several writers. Other prominent writers have dealt with what can obviously be termed social anomie without specifically using the term anomie. Among these are Karl Mannheim and Alex Comfort.

Mannheim.—Karl Mannheim, before his death in 1947, addressed himself to sociological study aimed at diagnosing the society of his time and contributing to the rational self-orientation of man in industrial society.

Mannheim has contended (65) that a combination of major social factors may result in disaster unless these forces are brought under control. Uncontrolled capitalism with its dynamic social and economic technology, its urbanization and mobilization of uprooted masses, its grades income pyramids, massive pressure movements, class struggles, and uneven developmental social and economic patterns was viewed quite
critically by Mannheim. Newly developed social techniques of control which possibly could be the answer to social disintegration, instead because of lack of co-ordination only serve to strengthen disintegra-tive forces. Subject to the evils of industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization, the lower strata may lose their stake in the social order, resulting in mass frustrations, apathy, and various compensatory mechanisms.

An anomic state develops where traditional values are challenged by new "rational" values which in turn conflict with each other, where there is great heterogeneity in society, or where conflicting values multiply with little opportunity for reconciliation between them or for gradual assimilation by society of any one ethic. In a shapeless society the baffled individual is forced to choose among various un-sanctioned values and actions. Yet, he has never been taught how to choose. The co-existence of different value systems within the society makes the individual doubt whatever belief-system he holds.

To combat the dilemma of his time, Mannheim advocated democratic planning which included planning for freedom, social and economic justice, cultural standards, gradual transformation and education for change. Along with his emphasis on social strategy and reform, Mannheim considered integration to be the central concept for social action which aims at reuniting such departmentalized spheres of life as politics, economics, work, and leisure. No society can survive, maintained Mannheim, unless basic values, institutions, and education are integrated with one another. Crucial to the imple-mentation of this plan is the development among individuals in society
construction given by psychology trainees and patients at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio. A small number of test items are perhaps duplicates or near duplicates of items found in other psychological tests. Since most of these items were suggested to me from memory by psychology trainees it is impossible for me to know their source. Nevertheless, to any "unknown" item contributor, I am obliged.

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of the ideal of a democratic personality marked by open-mindedness, readiness for cooperation, and adaptability to change.

Finally, Mannheim assigns to religion the task of ultimate integration of all human activities. To reintegrate man in society, a new type of religion must be devised which will both act as a social cement and help to standardize value judgments. Mannheim believed that "A social order can only maintain itself satisfactorily on the basis of a sound statement of belief that performs in a new way the role of old dogma....Certain things must remain exempt from doubt, even if only for a while."

According to Mannheim, the strategist for reform would seek to transform society without endangering its fundamental integration. While he tries to change society, he must maintain some stability and continuity. This is where the need for religion arises. In fact, certain unchanging aspects of the human mind seem to indicate the need for a transcendental religious foundation in society....Only through satisfaction of these deep-rooted aspirations (that there is a Purpose in what we are doing, and that there is a Personal Power to whom man can appeal) can man develop the sense of belonging in a world where he can find his place and where there is an order that supports him and dispels his anxieties.

By religion, Mannheim does not mean a particular creed or denomination, but a kind of binding together or unity of purpose among human beings under a common purpose. "Religion...means linking individual actions and responsibilities to a broader stream of common experience." In brief, a moral and religious interpretation of commonly experienced events must be encouraged through conscious guidance.
Comfort.—In his book *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State* (20), Alex Comfort emphasizes the role of centralization in asociality, a type of anomic reaction. Governmental and industrial centralization, he feels, has produced many detrimental changes in the status of the family and the security of the individual. Also, he believes that many antisocial individuals are manufactured in childhood in an authoritarian, coercive family society.

Yet, while stating that irrational and destructive emphases seem to predominate in society and at home today, Comfort sees evidence of "the dynamism and persistence of sociality, of individual impulses toward cooperation, integration, and social health." He also believes that the desire for approval and love are demonstrably a fundamental part of the make-up of individuals. Further, he deduces that many forms of delinquency are roundabout means of securing the type of approval which the individual desires.

To combat disruptive elements in society, Comfort suggests that one may by-pass the State and work directly on society, transforming it by education. (1) Measures can be taken to increase public awareness of the state of society and of the results of research into human social psychology. (2) Comfort also recommends the setting up of experiments in communal living. Experimental communities would serve as centers for research in social living. Here, the superiority of voluntary over coercive-institutional methods might be observed. (3) Specific pressure toward decentralization in industry and toward increased worker control would be encouraged. (4) Instruction in character formation in home and school would be promoted. Individual
psychiatry would also be undertaken to educate the individual concerning both the social and personal causes of deviant behavior. In brief, Comfort would encourage the "life-centered" cultural elements such as the impulse of love and spontaneity and would oppose the "power-centered" elements of coercion, authority, and guilt.

Socio-Psychological Views of Anomie

As already indicated the term anomie was used in sociology before being adopted by psychology and initially was a descriptive term for society, as it still is. Over the years, however, some writers have simultaneously discussed both social and personal anomie. Some of the most extensive explorations of both types of anomie will now be reviewed.


Essentially, DeGrazia's argument centers around the assumption that the political community is held together by belief-systems. He defines belief-systems as "the ensemble of beliefs which men hold concerning activities that presumably contribute to their common welfare... A belief system inevitably contains the ideas of people about their relationship to one another and to their rulers." These systems of belief, although transmitted culturally, are so rooted in the prolonged biological infirmity of the human organism, that as far as their universality is concerned, it is as though they were transmitted through the genes.
According to DeGrazia, disturbances in the transmission of belief-systems from generation to generation will as surely wreck a human community as will disturbances in the internal chemical balance of some insects throw their community into chaos. In short, a system of beliefs serves the function of keeping a community well knit and purposively organized. Religious and political beliefs make a group of people a community.

Concerning the status of belief systems in America today, DeGrazia is quite perturbed. He warns that "the great nations of the West neither bask in the sunlight of community nor shiver in the darkness of anarchy." Western man wanders somewhere in the twilight zone of "society," uneasy, distressed, and estranged from his fellows except when a crisis gives a feeling of community. The fabric of Western political and religious beliefs, he claims, is pierced and rent by the intrusion of ideologies which are neither fundamental nor universal. When the ideological structure is disrupted, the cohesive psychological function of beliefs disintegrates and anomie arises, a mental tension which may vary from intermittent apprehension to a severe anxiety fraught with terrifying images of a menacing world.

Beginning with the child, DeGrazia points out that there are four situations in a person's early life which may bring on anxiety: (1) the absence of attendants, (2) the withdrawal of affection by attendants, (3) the discovery of attendants' limitations, that God controls some things, and (4) the partial abandonment by attendants as in late adolescence.
In either case, the child may experience a separation anxiety, an initial terror of helplessness felt when isolated from the only sources of support. DeGrazia holds that each crisis commences with the child's system of beliefs and terminates with the acquisition of a new or revised set of beliefs. Beliefs define the proper way to obtain protective assurance and protection against the anxiety of separation. A system of beliefs acquires major psychological function for the child when he experiences shocks, such as the possibility of loss of loving care, which root the belief in the feeling of terror of the uncontrollable and the awe of the superhuman. Later, the nation may be seen by the growing child as a type of home, as an expanded home. The nation becomes a personified image of parent giving protection from the dangers of the world outside. Home as a place where a system of beliefs is known and followed, where one is free from separation anxiety, retains a unique sentiment which generalizes to the home country. When this happens, the discovery of the existence of law, of firm systems of belief, gives the person a feeling of security. In brief, DeGrazia is saying that separation anxiety is overcome by the adoption of a belief-system based on faith in the ability and willingness of a "ruler," either parent, God, political leader, or business leader, to control the environment if love and obedience are given in return. On the other hand, if obedience is not given, the "ruler" may be unwilling to give support.

In any case, since conflict within an ideology revolves around the ruler, deterioration of beliefs tends to follow the revelation that the reigning ruler is either unable or unwilling to
perform his commitments. When the ruler is dethroned and the environment is leaderless, the source of directives is done, order and rules disappear, and acute anomie ensues (acute anomie). If, on the other hand, conflicting belief systems are held, when an ideology is divided within itself, some directives must be disobeyed, and separation anxiety looms as a threat (simple anomie).

Anomie, then, is viewed by DeGrazia as a development process rooted in separation anxiety and the early practices of parents to socialize the child. The need for affection and help is learned very early in life from the cooperative community of home, then of nation.

Within a developmental framework, DeGrazia sets forth his theory of anomie. Declaring that no man can serve two masters, DeGrazia concludes that the major determinant of anomie is conflict between belief systems. He explains that each community has directives which regulate the environment. The directives refer to people's beliefs, the way people must act to avoid fear, anxiety, and trouble. They embody the community's ideas of good and bad. Violation of these injunctions becomes associated with immediate punishment, the withdrawal of affection, and separation anxiety. Conformity to these "thou shalt's" brings approval and security.

Co-existing with the moral directives in Western culture is the capitalistic competitive directive. DeGrazia feels that competition requires the reversal of the first ethic of Kant where man is the measure of all things. He feels that men should be treated as ends and not means.
In pointing out the physiocrat position which held sway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, DeGrazia shows that competition in its final working out was not supposed to be harmful to one's neighbor. The physiocrats, followers of the political and economic doctrines of Quesnay, an eighteenth century Frenchman, emphasized the supremacy of the natural order and powers of nature as the source of public wealth and national prosperity. Self-love, an early term for the competitive attitude, was supposed to be the best guide for social love. For instance, Bernard de Mandiville held that private vices may ultimately benefit society. Again, Adam Smith declared of the competitive person, "By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of society more effectively than when he intends to promote it."

The real impetus, however, came when Darwin's doctrine of biological evolution, of survival of the fittest, as expounded in The Origin of the Species, was taken over and applied in the economic sphere. The line of reasoning went something like this. Biological survival of the fittest is evident in nature. Nature was made by God, therefore it is good. Consequently competition in the natural order is God-ordained and is good. Ergo, competition among men in the economic realm, the striving to win out over one's fellowman, is part of the cosmic scheme of things. And furthermore, the victors in the struggle, because they have succeeded in a God-ordained plan, are the elite, worthy of respect and authority.

In contemporary democratic countries, however, where the Judeo-Christian ethic still prevails, the injunction "Love thy
neighbor" meets head-on with the instruction "Shove thy neighbor."
The result is basic belief system paradox.

In addition to being characterized by the competitive directive, modern Western culture is saturated with the directive of activism. This is the work directive whose history can be traced to the Reformation. The religions of the Reformation in sanctifying work held that work is the formula for salvation. For Martin Luther, work was a way of serving God. He felt that one can best serve God by doing the work of one's divinely assigned station in life. That is, man shows his faith by his work.

Another theologian of the same era, John Calvin, felt that work is an antidote for anxiety over salvation, for fears of damnation. Intense activity was seen as a way to make religious doubts disappear, to bring the conviction of God's grace.

Down through the years, the work directive has been perpetuated. Thomas Carlyle enjoined people to "work for the night cometh." John Wesley saw the fruit of works as the signs of salvation. For all of these writers, work was utilized as a protection against the anxiety of alienation from God.

In early America, Benjamin Franklin was noted for his sayings which condemned idleness and praised work a great virtue. More recently, as DeGrazia notes, Sinclair Lewis in Babbitt pictures Sammy the producer as "the frantic marathoner of life... sprinting out of his mother's womb, turning life into a race in which the only rules are fight for the rail, and elbow on the turn, and the only finish-line is death." The business world lives up to the root word "busy" in its state of being busy.
The confusion brought about by the conflict between moral and competitive principles, together with the pressure brought to bear on individuals by the ever present injunction to work, becomes the basis for the development of an anomic society and anomic individuals.

DeGrazia recognizes that anomie may be either simple or acute. Simple anomie may be brought about by a conflict in directives. Rules of conduct laid down in early childhood and engrained in the depths of conscience must later be broken in order to conform to the more immediate and tangible economic directives. The effect is intermittent apprehension. This is an unconscious element in the discontinuities of the cooperative versus competitive attitudes toward one's fellows. The substructure of beliefs which unobtrusively support the person on an often subconscious level is shaken. When there is confusion in the group because of a conflict between value systems, such as in America where moral and competitive ethics clash, feelings of uneasiness and a sense of separation from the group may develop.

With the belief systems confused and the basis of decision and action weakened, the individual develops a feeling of aimlessness, while at the same time the activist's values goad him onward. In such a state of interminable flux where uncertainty is the only certainty, when impersonalism exists in business and society, where there is constant change, one comes to question the very meaning of life itself. This question, according to Jung, is the most ordinary and frequent question which befuddles most persons who seek therapy (53).
In a like vein, Erich Fromm (38) observes that modern men are actively engaged in the pursuit of what they want while never questioning the premise of the activity, that they really know their true wants. He sees a pointlessness to much of human effort.

Similarly, Karen Horney (50) observes that competition and its potential hostilities between men bring about fears and diminished self esteem which result in individuals feeling isolated from the group. There exists in modern society a need for belongingness.

In summary then, DeGrazia in relating social conditions and personal reactions to them is saying that in a competitive society marked by activism, rapid change, and inconsistent directives, persons may be characterized as confused, anxious, uneasy, and uncertain. There are feelings of aimlessness or pointlessness, meaninglessness, and aloneness. DeGrazia calls this "simple anomie."

On the other hand, he points out that "acute anomie" exists where there is disappearance of order and rules, when the environment is leaderless. This is due to the fact that the leader is the source of directives. In essence, when persons perceive that they are no longer able to depend on persons in authority, a state of directionlessness besets them in the absence of directives or an available, dependable belief structure.

Thus, acute anomie occurs when there is a disintegration of values system. Acute anomie may be seen in adults on the death of a ruler, or when rulers are perceived as indifferent or uninterested in them, or can't be counted on. Economic developments such as depression, runaway inflation, labor conflicts, more unemployment and
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 1 INTRODUCTION .....................................</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance of Anomie to Counseling Psychology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approaches to Psychological Anomie</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II HISTORY OF PROBLEM ...............................</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey of Theoretical Literature</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey of Empirical Research</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusion of Terms</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Measurement of Anomie: Attempts and Needs</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III METHODOLOGY .....................................</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Psychological Anomie</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction of Psychological Anomie Scale</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Study</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental Procedure</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test Administration and Scoring</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical Procedure</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV RESULTS AND DISCUSSION .............................</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findings</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Proposed Scale</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validity of Scale</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability of Scale</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Implications and Suggestions for Research</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anomie and the Counseling Situation: Ideas and Proposals</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V SUMMARY ...........................................</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIXES</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUTOBIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
uncontrolled immigration with its attendant impression on the labor market may result in acute anomie. On the political front, defeat in war or political revolution may produce a similar disruption in the social order. Individually, personal value systems may disintegrate as a result of personal crisis.

According to DeGrazia, in order to adapt to the persistent low level tension of simple anomie, men need to find affection. There is a need to receive affection in human intercourse on the job and in life outside work. This need for affection in Western culture is reflected in the need for romantic love, the quest for intimacy in the home, and the pursuit of associates who will treat a person for what he is, not for what he achieves or possesses. This need is also evident in the need to join various types of organizations and to participate in group projects and is revealed in the use of such words as "togetherness" and "belongingness."

Simple anomie is also overcome by the prospect of, or fact of, war, which is accompanied by mounting nationalism with its affirmations of unity, brotherhood, and common defense. Brotherly affection may likewise come with the camaraderie of army life.

Adaptations to acute anomie may be more radical. One of these is mental disorder. DeGrazia points out that in schizophrenia, two sets of similar fantasies are discernible, world destruction and/or world reconstruction. In the former case the individual is aggressively striking back at the source of his conflict, whereas in the latter instance he may wish himself to power so that he can save the world from chaos. These are active responses to remove preying
anxiety. Passive response is evident in the hebephrenic who, per-
ceiving the world as hostile and himself as helpless, encapsulates
himself in a mental armor so that the stimuli of an anomic society
no longer impinge upon him.

Suicide is another response to acute anomie. The self-
destroying individual is desperately trying to free himself from
intolerable anxiety. Both mental disorder and suicide, then, not
to mention alcoholism and related defense or retreat mechanisms, are
viewed by DeGrazia as radical attempts to banish the image of a
menacing world and to procure a more indulgent orderly environment.

An important observation by DeGrazia at this point is that
if some idea of the anomic factor in mental disease or suicide is to
be obtained, a classification by precipitating factors rather than
by therapeutic categories should be attempted. The depression of the
late nineteen twenties and early thirties brought out a few attempts
to classify mental disorders in this fashion (72, 119).

Another adaptation to acute anomie may be found in mass move-
ments. Where men find their present and future painful, they may
search for new ideologies. A prime example is the movement of fascism
in Germany where a messianic ruler was sought by the German people to
lead them out of the wilderness of despair. Perhaps the best dramatic
expression of the latter movement can be found in Peter Drucker's
The End of Economic Man published in 1939 (27).

The despair of the masses is the key to the
understanding of fascism...despair caused by the
breakdown of the old order and the absence of a
new one...
Society ceases to be a community of individuals bound together by a common purpose, and becomes a chaotic hubbub of purposeless isolated nomads.

...The great depression proved that irrational and incalculable forces rule peacetime society: the threats of sudden permanent unemployment, of being thrown on the industrial scrap heap in one's prime or even before one has started to work. Against these forces the individual finds himself helpless, isolated, and atomized as against the forces of machine war...and like the forces of war, depression shows man as a senseless cog in a senselessly whirling machine which is beyond human understanding and which has ceased to serve any purpose but its own.

...The average individual cannot bear the utter atomization, the unreality and senselessness, the destruction of all order, of all society, of all rational individual existence through blind, incalculable, senseless forces created as the result of rationalization and mechanization.

As a corrective for anomie, DeGrazia suggests love. He feels that a human being must be welcomed into the world with love and must continue to receive love if he is to grow. To secure this love, religious and political beliefs must be left unouled. Love cannot follow its true course which is Justice where competition predominates as the guiding principle for the relation of man to man. Cooperation among individuals must be the ruling ethic, else the community and its members will perish.

DeGrazia sees no necessary connection between democracy and anomie, rather anomie is unrelated to any particular system of political beliefs. The central factor is that a clear and consistent belief-system should prevail wherein men regard each other as brothers. Competitive behavior would not cease to exist, rather it would be a normal part of striving in a context of love, brotherhood, and cooperation.
Reisman.—In his popular commentary on the contemporary scene, *The Lonely Crowd* (91), David Reisman has given his own unique view of anomie.

Speaking of the other-directed character, Reisman states that "the social character evoked by today's social structure, namely, the other-directed character, is a perfect replica of that social structure, called into being by its demands."

Continuing, Reisman divides society into three groups or universal types: the adjusted, the autonomous, and the anomic. These universal types are ideal types. People are simply characterized by the way in which one mode of adaptation predominates.

1) The adjusted are "the typical tradition-directed, inner-directed, and other directed—the people who respond in their character structure to the demands of their society or social class at its particular stage on the curve of population....The adjusted are those who reflect their society or their class within society, with the least distortion."

2) The autonomous are those who on the whole are capable of conforming to the behavioral norms of their society, but who are free to choose whether to conform or not.

3) The anomic is constitutionally and psychologically lacking in capacity to conform to or feel comfortable in, the roles a society demands. Reisman's use of the word anomic is virtually synonymous with "maladjusted," covering a wider range than ruleless or ungoverned as Durkheim used the word. He considers the anomic person to be a sociopsychological misfit, a characterological non-
conformist who is frequently neurotic and who outwardly conforms only at the expense of his mental health.

Further, Reisman is of the opinion that "anomics—ranging from overt outlaws to catatonic types who lack even a spark for living, let alone for rebellion—constitute a sizeable number in America." His view is based on the fact that a considerable number of persons interviewed for his study seemed anomic. Moreover, he adds, "It is usually not too difficult to explain why someone is anomic, since the tragedies and warpings of life, like germs, are omnipresent and any personal disaster can be traced back to its 'cause.'"

Psychological Views of Anomie

As can be seen, DeGrazia and Reisman, though dealing with the political community and social community respectively, still end up speaking of persons as being anomic. Other writers seem to put even more stress on the psychological component of anomie.

McIver.—In his classical work The Ramparts We Guard (64), R. M. McIver has set forth very forcefully his conception of anomie (or anomaly, as he prefers) as a psychological concept.

McIver does not accept what he feels is Merton's rather exclusive association of anomaly with capitalistic competitiveness, but views it as being more broadly responsive to (1) culture clash in modern society with its accompanying discrimination of group against group and (2) the violence of change, especially when the mobility and insecurity of modern man turns into disorientation under conditions of crisis or war.
Psychologically he believes that anomy results when "the detached ego of the group and the detached egoism of the individual undermine the free consensus..." Anomy, he views as "the fulfillment of the process of desocialization, the retreat of the individual into his own ego, the skeptical rejection of all social goals."

In speaking of the "descent to anomy," McIver emphasizes that anomy becomes most virulent in times of crisis and turbulent change. Although marked by the breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment of society, anomy is more than simple lawlessness.

Anomy signifies the state of mind of one who has been pulled up from his moral roots, 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 the anomic person there is a "cleavage between the real self and the projected self,...a total rejection of indoctrinated values..."

In brief, "anomy is a state of mind in which the individual's sense of social cohesion—the mainspring of morale—is broken or fatally wounded. In this detachment of the anomic individual from social obligation his whole personality is injured. He has lost the dynamic unity of personality."

Continuing, McIver delineates three psychological types of anomic individuals in which the above state of mind is revealed.

1) The purposeless have lost altogether any system of values that might give purpose and direction to their lives. Having lost the values to direct their course of behavior toward the future,
they abandon themselves to a present which is emptied of significance. Usually characterized by a sophisticated cynicism to rationalize their loss, they tend to live by the hour as sensationalists or materialists.

2) The **aggressive**, having lost intrinsic or socialized values turns to extrinsic values. He pursues means or power for its own sake instead of pursuing the ends beyond them. These persons tend to be "domineering, sadistic, ruthless, irascible, vain, inherently destructive." They live for self-centered future objectives.

3) The **isolated** and **insecure** are hopelessly disoriented. Having lost their former values, environment, connections, social place, and economic support, they are dissociated from their community.

Calling anomy "a disease of the civilized, not of the simpler peoples," McIver believes that it is brought about by the conditions of our civilization. He believes that the presence of anomy in modern society is evidenced in the spread of violently divisive doctrines that preach of authoritarianism, that appeal to men as de-individualized masses in motion rather than as human beings.

Concerning the great significance of anomy, McIver declares that the two greatest perils that threaten democracy are group anarchy and individual anomy. The problem of combating anomy in a democracy is to find a "bond of cohesiveness for the people as a whole."

Further, McIver feels that it is incumbent upon democracy to inspire a free system of congenial common values in order to hold the people
together. This is necessary to offset the many religious and moral codes that exist in our society.

Brookes.—One of the most thorough attempts to dissect anomie and its anatomy has been attempted by R. H. Brookes (10, 11). He hypothesizes two major variables accounting for anomie: (1) dissociation, the weakening of the individual's sense of social cohesion (the position of Mclver, Fromm, and Comfort), and (2) value-conflict (the position of Merton, DeGrazia, and Mannheim). His point of view is based on social conditions. Yet, eventually he comes around to viewing anomie as basically a "disease" of persons.

Dissociation, explains Brookes, is a feature of industrial society where impersonal organizations dwarf the individual, when men are herded together in cities, factories, and offices without knowing their neighbors and without a sense of belonging. In such an environment personal relationships are vitiated by the spirit of manipulation and instrumentality of capitalism until one regards even his own personality for sale.

Several different variations in value-conflict have been spotted by Brookes in the writings of Merton, Mannheim, and DeGrazia. Rightly he interprets Merton as believing that anomic behavior consists of alternative reactions to a situation in which the use of socially approved means fails to achieve the desired socially approved ends. The values of means and ends are inconsistent. Mannheim, however, emphasizes not so much the internal inconsistencies in a single value system as the coexistence of different value systems in the society. And from another standpoint, DeGrazia traces anomie
to the coexistence of conflicting value systems within the individual himself.

Brookes finds fault in most of the proposed cures for anomie. He rejects Fromm's idea of a planned economy where one may express himself through love and work, Comfort's plan to transform society by education, Mannheim's democratic planning, and DeGrazia's answer of love, faith, and obedience for an anthropomorphic entity.

Instead, Brookes is pessimistically resigned to another fate. He states,

Anomie is an occupational disease of the intellectual. In him the value-conflicts which elsewhere are muffled by tradition and rationalization, by inertia and impatience, become articulate. To him are revealed the hollowness of the common certainty, the irrelevance of the current controversy, the meaningless meandering of the line produced by the parallelogram of social forces. On him is imposed the burden of intellectual detachment.

Agreeing with de Maupassant that except for great disasters ordinary folk are quite satisfied, Brookes feels that intellectuals as a minority group are most subject to anomie. Feeling that neither Fromm nor Comfort have resolved the problem of the intellectual's anomie, Brookes concludes that there is no escape. He states that the intellectual must accept the discomfort of being "stuck with his bathwater," without feeling self-pity. He agrees with Arthur Koestler (59) that "Those who are under the curse of honesty to themselves must remain mangy lone wolves with nowhere to huddle for warmth."

Williams.—In his sociological interpretation of American society (126), Robin Williams has portrayed what he calls "a portrait
of anomie." His major emphasis is on unpredictability in interpersonal relations. When there are no recurrent social referents for behavior and in the absence of regularity in the behavior of others, the social ground is unstable and individual conduct cannot be organized. As Williams expresses it,

Rapid and important shifts in the social organization to which the individual is oriented—and especially in those specific groupings in which his basic role-involvements and sense of membership have previously been established—typically result in marked personal disorientation manifest in erratic behavior and evidences of affective disturbance.

Especially is this true when individuals are "repeatedly subjected to unpredicted variations in the structure of the social field that go beyond the zone of expectable instability established by past experience." If values central to a person's self-identity are involved in the dissolution of the social pattern, the shattering of stable social expectations may be catastrophic to his personality integration.

On a macroscopic level, anomie may be analyzed in the form of breakdowns in the wider normative definitions. This is the point that Merton deals with in his stress upon the conflict between cultural goals and institutionalized means.

On the other hand, according to Williams, anomie may be viewed at the concrete level of its impact upon specific persons in a subculture or particular situation. That is, anomie may be conceptualized in terms of the regularities one encounters in the behavior of a relatively small circle of persons in basic units of person-to-person interaction.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Intercorrelations of revised subtest totals and residuals left after first factoring</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Factor loadings of anomie subtests</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Subtest beta weights</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Intercorrelations of Srole scale items and totals with revised subtest totals of experimental anomie scale</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another contribution of Williams is in his differentiating between anomie as a social condition and anomie as a psychological state. He states that anomie as a social condition must be defined independently of the psychological states which are thought to accompany normlessness or normative conflict. His argument is that conflicting norms between conflicting cultural orientations do not necessarily result in anomie. The conflict either may not register on the population, or may be resolved in some wider belief-value complex; or differing orientations may be insulated between non-interacting groups.

In setting up a model of anomie, Williams suggests that conflict as a cultural fact may be taken as the independent variable and the behavioral outcome as the dependent variable, and the psychological state of individuals as the intervening variable. Williams' basic model can thus be diagramed as follows:

Normative situation → psychological state → behavior item
(independent variable) (intervening variable) (dependent variable)

As for research considerations, Williams indicates that the problem is to show how a defined normative structure is associated with or followed by certain patterns of conduct (or a lack of pattern) and then to relate the two via psychological variables. The procedure is to (1) establish the existence of a widely accepted norm, (2) establish indications of the intensity of responses, and (3) build up both indices in terms of specific pieces of behavior.

Powell. Significantly, in conceptualizing in terms of self theory and in speaking of a suicidal frame of mind as a function of the individual's perception of meaninglessness in his life, E. H.
Powell (83) bridges the gap between sociology and psychology. In an attempt to redefine anomie, Powell has observed that suicide is not randomly distributed throughout the population. Studies show that there is an ecological component in suicide. For instance, suicide rates are lower in rural than in urban areas. Suicide rates are abnormally high in central business districts and in the skid-row zone of transition and in wealthier sections than in low income areas. Thus, the central thesis of the sociological approach to the study of suicide is that the nature and incidence of suicide varies with social status, that is with any position in any social system. At the same time, one's role is a function of his status.

Powell's position is that the roles one plays become incorporated into the structure of the self. Status is the embodiment and concretization of the conceptual system, a term roughly equivalent to common value system, but suggesting cognitive as well as moral elements in human action. It is a framework of categories through which the culture defines reality. According to Powell, "the institutional order or status system is founded on a conceptual framework and defines for the individual the ideal ends or goals of action."

Powell's theory is that when the ends of action become contradictory, inaccessible, or insignificant, a condition of anomie arises. Characterized by a general loss of orientation and accompanied by feelings of "emptiness" and apathy, anomie, according to Powell, can be simply conceived of as meaninglessness. Moreover, anomie is both a social condition and a psychic state.
Following George H. Mead's conception of the self where the self is both an "I," a subject or actor, and a "me," an object or incorporated social role or complex of roles, Powell insists that meaning is not given by a conceptual scheme as such, but rather emerges in action.

The self creates meaning by its active encounter with the world. When dissociated from a conceptual framework, communication breaks down and the self cannot validate its existence as a "me." On the other hand, if totally enveloped by the norms of the culture the self cannot act as an "I," but, instead mechanically reacts to a rigidly structured "me."

Erich Fromm (39) calls this the "pathology of normalcy," where the individual suffers a defect of spontaneity. The person experiences himself as "the person he is supposed to be rather than the person he is." In either case, the self is rendered impotent—unable to act—and this engenders the meaninglessness of anomie.

On the basis of his conceptualizing, Powell concludes that anomie is a crucial factor in the etiology of suicide, that behind the many manifestations of the act of self destruction there is a common sociological ground, that is, anomie. His basic postulate and hypothesis is as follows: Self destruction is rooted in social conditions. Occupation provides function and determines the individual's social status which is an index to his conceptual system. The conceptual system is the source of anomie, which is the primary variable in suicide. Therefore, suicide is correlated with occupation.

Powell concludes his theorizing by explaining anomie in terms of two phenomena, dissociation and envelopment. His thinking with
regard to anomie as dissociation follows these general lines. The suicidal laborer is a man in retreat from the world. Lacking ambition, he lives a hand to mouth existence. Not having internalized the success ideology and having no subculture of his own, this person without dominant long-range goals becomes increasingly the victim of whim and egoistic impulse. He is an "I" without a "me"—a desocialized personality. Devoid of a coherent conceptual structure, the individual cannot sufficiently organize his world so he can act effectively within it. The unknown which cannot be integrated into a conceptual system is a source of fear which in turn produces flight or aggression. Incapacitated by fear, the suicide either sinks into apathy or strikes impulsively at the world. Having exhausted his resources for coming to terms with a threatening chaos, the individual annihilates the world by killing the self.

Speaking of anomie as envelopment, Powell perceives that in the professional-managerial type, the self is completely enveloped by the success ideology. This is an institutionalized anomie, that is, meaninglessness arising from normative regulation itself. The individual cannot sufficiently detach himself from the prevailing institutional order to gain an objective view of it or himself. Enveloped by the culture he is not free. He seems to have no life of his own, no inner coherence.

Anomie, then, is the inability of the self to reconstruct its own ends from the concepts presented to it by the culture. It is not the destruction of ends or the quest for infinitely receding goals. According to Powell, "action is not only a matter of fitting means to
ends but of selecting ends, and selection presupposes critical analysis." Whenever the person lives by the unexamined directives of the culture, he may develop a sense of being totally controlled by forces outside himself. In essence, he feels that he is not really living at all. Soon, the boredom of "not living" grows into a general loss of spontaneity that culminates in the inner deadness which precedes the physical death of suicide.

In brief, both the self's dissociation from and envelopment by the conceptual system of the culture render the individual impotent and thus give rise to self-contempt which in extreme cases eventuates in suicide. Reactions of flight or aggression may accompany the fear generated by confronting uncomprehended chaos. Or, a defect of spontaneity may result from unexamined commitment to the prevailing conceptual framework.

A negative reaction to Powell's theorizing has come from Cary-Lundberg (14). This writer has taken issue with Powell's assertion that "anomie can be simply conceived as meaninglessness." She defers to Durkheim to maintain that "anomie, definitely defined as a 'state' of disorder, or disruption in the social collectivity, needs no 'common denominator' and can by no scientific canon" be simply conceived as meaninglessness.

Continuing, this writer holds that there can be no common sociological ground for self-destruction. Rather, as Durkheim held, there may be three possible grounds, egoism, altruism, and anomie. Appealing to authority, Cary-Lundberg reminds Powell that Durkheim defined anomie as a "regular and specific factor in suicides in our
modern societies." It is only one type of suicide and is distinguishable from the others. Furthermore, Cary-Lundberg claims that impotence is extraneous to anomie and that anomie by its very nature can never be enveloping.

Powell, in a rejoinder to Cary-Lundberg's criticism of his research based theorizing (84), still maintains that there is a necessity to redefine anomie. He pointedly asserts that "it is not the external fact of 'deregulation' but the internal experience of chaos which is instrumental in the process of self destruction."

Thus, some larger concept is necessary to suggest the way in which social forces (either disorder or the opposite) are translated into individual despair. He uses the term meaninglessness as a synonym for anomie to depict the suicidal frame of mind and at the same time points to the objective conditions of its origin.

Meaning, Powell explains, is not social, but societal. Following Mead, he agrees that meaning is an emergent generated in the social act. When the self is powerless to act, that is, impotent, meaninglessness or anomie follows. This impotence may derive from a dissociation from the conceptual system of the culture when the person is unable to respond to or understand the acts of others so that his actions become meaningless. Complete involvement in the social system may terminate in the same paralysis of the self, reducing the "actor" to a passive "re-actor." From both conditions there results emptiness, exhaustion, and spiritual defeat, the symptoms usually ascribed to anomie.
In response to Cary-Lundberg's argument from Durkheim's position, Powell counters by stating that egoistic, altruistic, and anomie suicides are not entities but phases of a single process. He appeals to McIver who described "anomy...as an extreme form of egoism...the retreat of the individual into his own ego..."

Without specifically using the term psychological anomie, a number of psychologists and psychiatrists have been vitally concerned with what is the same or related phenomena. Prominent among these writers are Erich Fromm, Franz Alexander, Karen Horney, Alfred Adler, and Otto Rank.

Fromm.—Erich Fromm, in his Escape from Freedom (38) presents his variation of psychological anomie without specifically using that term. His general thesis is that until the Renaissance man was not fully aware of himself as an individual but rather felt himself an organic part of a natural whole, as having a part but not playing a part. When the idea of the free, self-determining individual developed, man's feeling of unity with other men and the world of nature withered away. Thus, there has developed in man a "moral aloneness." Says Fromm, "To feel completely alone and isolated leads to mental disintegration just as physical starvation leads to death....This lack of relatedness to values, symbols, and patterns we may call moral aloneness..."

Fromm then couples anxiety and powerlessness to man's isolation. The growth of human freedom, he feels, has many merits. "On the other hand this growing individuation means growing isolation, insecurity, and thereby growing doubt concerning one's role
in that universe, the meaning of one's life, and with all that a
growing feeling of one's own powerlessness and insignificance as an
individual." Purposelessness, moreover, he considers as a moral
vacuum that has a tendency to be filled by deviant, submissive, or
conforming behavior.

After pointing up the subordination of the individual as a
means of economic ends in modern society, Fromm goes on to object
that mechanized work and machine-made leisure fail to satisfy man's
basic needs, such as "his striving to live, to expand and to express
the potentialities that have developed in him in the process of
historical evolution." In reality, man has achieved negative freedom,
freedom from tyranny, superstition, and tradition, but has not yet
gained positive freedom, freedom to realize spontaneously his capaci­
ties. Having thus become an insignificant cog in the indifferent
machine of monopolistic capitalism, he feels isolated, powerless, and
dissatisfied.

To combat his sense of anxiety which stems from his moral
aloneness and his lack of a sense of direction, claims Fromm, man
must discover a way of life which both affirms his individuality and
relates him to nature, and which seems meaningful to him. "There is
only one meaning to life: the act of living itself," says Fromm. And
the spontaneous expression of oneself takes the form of love and work.
Love is the spontaneous affirmation of others. Work is the creation
in which man becomes one with nature.
Only in a planned economy in which the whole nation has rationally mastered the economic and social forces can the individual share responsibility and use creative intelligence in his work.

In evaluating Fromm's position, Brookes (47) makes two cogent observations: (1) Fromm's proposal that love and work will make man become spontaneous is actually no remedy since only the spontaneous can love and work in the first place. (2) Fromm doesn't explain why planning should foster spontaneity, nor how many can retain their individuality in a planned economy.

Alexander.— In an examination of the irrational forces in social life, Franz Alexander (2) declares that the conflict between ambition and dependence in American neurotics outweighs all other problems of their human relationships.

Furthermore, in his look at our age of unreason, Alexander sees a culturally determined internal inconsistency in our social standards. Especially obvious is the traditional one-sided worship of individual success in a complex interdependent society and the exaggerated emphasis on independence in times of great insecurity. The prestige attached to independent achievement on one hand and the longing for security, love, and belonging to somebody or some group on the other, are two poles between which many therapy patients are torn in a futile struggle.

In Alexander's own colorful words, his patients are seen "as engaged in a Marathon race, their eager faces distorted by strain.... Panting and perspiring, they run and never arrive....They all would like to belong to each other because they all feel desperately alone--
chasing on a never-ending chase. They do not dare to stop until the rest stop lest they lose all their self-respect, because they know only one value—that of running for its own sake."

Hence, Alexander seems to capture the mood of anomie, the inordinate search for success, the striving for independence at the expense of estrangement from one's fellowman, the endless meaningless activism, and the conflict between values, together with the longing for love and belonging.

Horney.—The role of social contradictions as a cause of neurosis has been expounded by Karney Horney in her The Neurotic Personality of Our Times (50). She has claimed that in every neurosis there are contradictory tendencies which the neurotic is unable to reconcile. Certain contradictions may underlie typical neurotic conflicts.

First, there is the contradiction between competition and success on the one hand and brotherly love and humility on the other. It is frequently a matter of having to choose between getting ahead in life economically or socially and developing close interpersonal ties with others. Regardless of the individual's decision, he loses and with the loss may come feelings akin to psychological anomie. A prime example of this form of contradiction is the contrast between the standards of Christianity and the success imperative.

A second contradiction is the stimulation toward a constantly higher material standard of living versus the practical denial of high standards for many people. The stimulation of needs by advertisements accompanied by the concomitant raising of goals and levels
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The establishment of relatedness to one's fellows requires that the individual share with them a common social faith. Loyalty to a system of values, symbols, and standards is the basic obligation of "the tie that binds..." Without deep-rooted loyalties men do not cohere; although they may physically be neighbors, they are isolated in spirit one from another, and in consequence insecure and afraid.

The individual thus isolated lacks the comfortable assurance of personal worth, of purpose, and of power that give life its meaning and zest. In the absence of relatedness to some system of socially defined values, he has no standards by which to gauge the significance of his role in the scheme of things, or even the value of life itself. Without some stable points of reference, some spiritual landmarks, the sense of continuity is lost...If unity is lost, continuity is also lost, thus completely detaching the individual from all socialized goals and intensifying his sense of aloneness, of purposelessness, and of powerlessness. A breakdown of this nature in the individual's sense of attachment to society has been termed anomy or anomie (132).

—Margaret Mary Wood

Since the time of Durkheim some seventy years ago, sociologists have been concerned with a state of society termed anomie. While various interpretations of this concept will be exhaustively explored in Chapter II, briefly, sociological anomie refers to a disorganized, ambiguous, inconsistent state of affairs in society, differentially brought about by rapid or radical changes in the social or economic order, or by internal discontinuities. In recent years, the word
of aspiration, when the actual fulfillment of needs is restricted by circumstance, may cause an individual to perceive that he is not keeping pace in the attainment of certain life objectives when actually such is not the case.

Finally, a contradiction may exist between the alleged freedom of the individual and all his factual limitations on his behavior. This may cause the individual to feel that the discrepancy is not reconciliable.

Adler.—In many respects, anomie can be likened to Alfred Adler's "lack of social interest." According to Adler (1) social interest is the criterion of mental health, the essential condition of all social and psychological adjustment. Through social interest the striving of the individual for perfection is directed to the socially useful side. Such persons "consider themselves a part of the whole, are at home on this earth and in this mankind." On the other hand, lack of social interest leads to self-centered striving on the socially useless side. This person "lives as though he were in enemy country."

Asnbacher (4) has done an excellent job of relating anomie to lack of social interest. He goes back to Durkheim to point out that anomie is a function of the disruption of social solidarity as a consequence of the division of labor in modern industrial society. According to Durkheim the division of labor is "the essential condition of social solidarity."

In this connection, Adler speaks of the interrelation of the division of labor and social interest. The German word for social interest which Adler used is gemeinschaftsgefühl, which is often
translated as "sense of human solidarity." The meaning of the term is similar to the line from John Donne, "I am involved in all mankind." It denotes a sense of identification or oneness with all of mankind.

Adler's description of failures in life as the outcome of lack of social interest bears a striking similarity to both McIver's and Reisman's descriptions of the anomic person. Also, Reisman's autonomous person seems quite synonymous to the mentally healthy person whom Adler sees as courageous, striving, and self-reliant.

On the other hand, Adler differs from some sociologists in regard to the cause of anomie. While appreciating the importance of environment and heredity, he postulated the emerging creative power of the individual as the ultimate determiner of mental disorder. In other words, he sees anomie as basically a psychological condition.

Rank.—Finally, as already expounded upon in the discussion of DeGrazia's views concerning separation anxiety, some of the characteristics of the anomic person are decidedly similar to some of Otto Rank's ideas concerning the individual's anxiety attendant to separation from the mother at birth. According to Rank, this early anxiety experience is the prototype of later danger situations which occur throughout the person's development (88).

In the past few pages, it has been shown that many psychologists and psychiatrists have noted a type of psychological maladjustment in their clients which they attribute to social conditions. None of these, however, go much beyond citing social forces as the cause of neurotic development. They somehow fail to point out
whether the anomie of society merely results in traditional categories of maladjustment or whether an anomic society brings about a specific psychological state in some individuals which in some respects is unique. In other words, may one speak of an anomic individual just as one may speak of a paranoid individual?

Survey of Empirical Research

Up until the middle of the twentieth century, most of the writing concerning anomie was of a theoretical nature. No instrument to measure anomie had been developed until the early 1950's when Leo Srole constructed a scale which has since prompted considerable research. In the following pages the Srole scale will be described and the research studies which have employed this measure will be reviewed according to area of investigation. Subsequently, anomie studies not using the Srole scale will be covered.

Research Employing the Srole Scale

In the early 1950's in a study of corollaries of social integration, Leo Srole, in order to prevent response set, on a test he was using, threw in five diversionary items to test Durkheim's hypothesis of anomie. The results of this study were made known by Srole at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1951 and have since appeared in a more complete form (116). As seen by Srole, the Durkheim hypothesis centered around two antinomic Greek terms: (1) eunomia, a well ordered condition in a society or state, and (2) anomia, the opposite of eunomia. Srole considers these two terms to refer to the continuum of variations in the "integratedness"
of different social systems or sub-systems. Thus, eunomia-anomia is used to denote a socio-psychological continuum ranging from a generalized pervasive sense of "self-to-others belongingness" at one extreme to a "self-to-others alienation" on the other. Srole's five-item scale was designed to measure the relative degree of social dysfunction or disorganization, group alienation, and demoralization in an individual.

Srole admits that his formulation of the anomie concept is broader than that of Durkheim. In reality, the Srole scale is a reflection of Srole's unique version of the concept. The Srole items as found in Appendix IV have constituted the primary measure of psycho-social anomie in most of the empirical research that has been done in the area. Srole's items measure a person's perception of the degree to which the person feels (a) that he is losing or retrogressing from previously attained goals, (b) that life is no longer worth living due to the loss of the meaning of goals and internalized group norms, (c) that due to the unstable social order the future is unpredictable, (d) that no help can be obtained from others because immediate personal relationships are non-supportive, and (e) that community leaders are detached from and indifferent to the person's needs. The research employing the Srole scale will now be classified and reviewed according to the variables with which anomie is compared.

1. Anomie, authoritarianism, and prejudice.—Srole's earliest investigation of anomie was undertaken in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1950 (116). His objective was to study the impact on bus drivers
of Anti-Defamation League card advertisements in public transit vehicles. Instruments used included a shortened five-item version of the California Authoritarian F scale to measure social distance, projective type pictorial stimuli to elicit spontaneous comments revealing attitudes toward minority groups, and the five anomie items already alluded to. These measures were administered to 401 white, Christian, native born bus drivers in Springfield to test the hypothesis that anomie in individuals is associated with a rejective orientation toward outgroups in general and minority groups in particular. Among his findings are these: (1) Anomie and authoritarianism were equally and substantially related to prejudice. (2) Anomie and authoritarianism were found to be positively related at a significant level, but anomie was more strongly related to prejudice than to authoritarianism. (3) When authoritarianism was held constant, the relationship between anomie and prejudice remained significant. However, with anomie held constant, authoritarianism was found to be no longer significantly related to the social distance attitudes. (4) Social status (as indicated by education combined with the occupation of the head of the household) was slightly related to prejudice, intermediately related to authoritarianism, and most highly related to anomie. (5) When the effects of status were controlled, the size of the correlations among the variables tested were practically identical in the middle social stratum. However, the correlations between anomie and prejudice were appreciably higher in the two extreme social strata. (6) With the effects of both authoritarianism and status controlled, the original relationships between
anomie and prejudice was relatively unaffected in a status strata. However, when the effects of anomie and status were controlled, the original relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice approached zero in the low status stratum and was considerably reduced in the middle and higher status strata. However, at a college level, authoritarianism instead of anomie or status, was independently related to prejudice.

Srole's conclusion was that authoritarianism is not related to prejudice independently of psycho-social factors measured by the anomie scale. Furthermore, authoritarianism and prejudice "appear to stand in different relationships to each other within different education-status groups in the population." He also concluded that "the California study's finding may in some measure be spurious, i.e., may be accounted for by the high correlation between authoritarianism and the anomie factor, which factor in turn is significantly and independently correlated with our social distance scores."

Srole's early study and the creation of a brief measure of anomie touched off a series of replication studies which continue down to the present. The first attempted replication of Srole's study was undertaken by Roberts and Rokeach (95). Unfortunately, these investigators based their critique of Srole's study on the findings which the latter had revealed in his professional meeting paper, which, due to the bounds of expediency, omitted a detailed methodological explanation of his procedure. These writers justified their replication on the basis of several criticisms of Srole's investigation: (1) The sample was limited to bus drivers; (2) no
correlations were computed among the variables considered, nor were tests for significant differences made; (3) the major conclusion that authoritarianism is not related to prejudice independently of anomie was based on seventeen cases; (4) and education was the only measure of class status.

The findings of Roberts and Rokeach were based on the responses of 86 male and female adult, white, non-Jewish, native American residents of Lansing, Michigan, all of whom were interviewed in their homes. Income rather than education was taken as a measure of status. These researchers found that authoritarianism and anomie were about equally related to prejudice, as found by Srole. However, contrary to Srole, they found authoritarianism to be substantially related to prejudice independently of anomie. In fact, authoritarianism correlated highest with prejudice (.57) with anomie held constant than were anomie and prejudice (.37) with authoritarianism isolated. Status, whether measured by income or education or both had a negligible effect on the relationships among anomie, authoritarianism, and prejudice. In fact, anomie with education held constant was not related to socio-economic level. Thus, since both authoritarianism and anomie were found to be independently related to prejudice, anomie was not found to be a function of status.

Roberts and Rokeach conclude that anomie is an important correlate of prejudice. Nevertheless, it is not a more important correlate of prejudice than the authoritarian character structure. Also, unlike Srole, this study suggests that authoritarianism rather than anomie may be a better predictor of prejudice.
Subsequently, in calling Roberts and Rokeach to task, Srole (115) has heatedly asserted that incorrect inferences were made from his Springfield investigation and on the basis of several technical points he has categorically denied that these experimenters actually replicated his study. More lately, in responding to Srole, Rokeach has retorted that if Srole's findings and conclusions do lead to valid generalizations, such validity should stand despite minor methodological differences (101).

In an attempt to further clarify the relationship among anomie, authoritarianism, and prejudice, McDill (69) has recently undertaken a replication of the Srole and Roberts-Rokeach studies. He administered three scales consisting of the five Srole scale items, five authoritarianism items, and seven items from the California ethnocentrism scale to 266 white, non-Jewish male and female adults whose names were drawn from census tracts. Tetrachoric correlations were computed between all relevant variables.

Correlation analysis revealed that (1) in contradiction to both earlier studies, authoritarianism and anomie are equally important in accounting for intolerant attitudes toward minority groups. (2) Consistent with Roberts and Rokeach, social status as measured by income, education, or both has no appreciable effects on the relationships between either authoritarianism and prejudice or between anomie and prejudice. (3) The correlation between authoritarianism and prejudice with anomie controlled is practically identical to the correlation between anomie and prejudice with authoritarianism controlled. (4) The first and second order partial correlations between authori-
tarianism and prejudice and between anomie and prejudice are quite similar. These findings suggested a common psychological dimension underlying the three scales.

Factor analysis confirmed the foregoing hypothesis, with one factor which McDill termed a **Negative Weltanschauung**, or "dim world view," accounting for 45 percent of the total variance and 75 percent of the common variance of the items comprising the three scales. High loadings in the Srole scale stems seemed to reflect a feeling of "self-to-others alienation," a lack of interpersonal integration. This is the perspective of being overwhelmed by threatening forces beyond one's personal control. High loadings in the authoritarianism scale imply that the way to live and be supported in this threatening world is through obedience to authority figures and through conventionalism and rigid adherence to the status quo. The prejudice items also reflected the above misanthropic perspective. At the same time, high negative loadings of education in this factor indicate a definite relationship between the socio-cultural environment to which one has been exposed and one's general social prospective.

Three other factors were also named by McDill: (1) middle class eunomia (self-to-others belongingness), a middle class version of optimism, social belongingness, and racial prejudice; (2) anti-authoritarianism pessimism, which has overtones of distrust for people, especially people in authority and which suggests that the world is seen as somewhat cruel and capricious; and (3) middle class marital morality which carries a proscription against ethnic heterogamy and premarital sexual relations.
Upon reflection, McDill concluded that his findings raise doubts about the validity of Srole's conclusion that although both the authoritarianism and anomie scales are unidimensional, they nevertheless measure two discrete continua.

At least three other studies have been undertaken which contribute further evidence concerning the relationship of anomie to social status and prejudice. Tumin and Collins (120) have made a study of readiness for desegregation among 287 white adults over age 18 who were members of the labor force in Guilford County, North Carolina. They used five sets of questions to measure segregationism, Srole's items to measure anomie, and change in occupations of the respondents further as a measure of mobility. In the latter instance, respondents were divided into four mobility categories based on a two-way occupational status classification:

1. High stationaries (high status sons of high status fathers)
2. Upward mobiles (high status sons of low status fathers)
3. Downward mobiles (low status sons of high status fathers)
4. Low stationaries (low status sons of low status fathers)

Tumin and Collins came up with the following results: (1) The higher the social status, the lower the anomie; the lower the anomie, the higher the readiness for desegregation. The higher the anomie the greater the resistance to desegregation. (2) Mobility as a variable is weaker in its effects as a differentiator of attitudes than in status alone. (3) With regard to attitudes toward desegregation, the rank order of readiness for desegregation is (a) high status,
anomie has also been used as a psychological concept to stand for the individual's subjective reaction to a disrupted society.

Whether referring to a state of society or to a state of mind, anomie, as a global concept, has been variously defined. Empirical research has purported to add to the construct validity of the term, but as will be seen there is some question concerning the adequacy of existing instruments for comprehensively measuring the many facets of the concept which appear in the theoretical literature. Furthermore, it will be shown that the construct merits the strict attention of psychologists who are concerned with the dilemma of modern man and who want to deal with those conditions which constrict man's freedom and happiness and which inhibit the development of his creative potential.

**Relevance of Anomie to Counseling Psychology**

The profession of counseling psychology, since its inception over a decade ago, has addressed itself to the task of the personal development of human beings. Thoroughly research oriented, counseling psychologists have made significant advances in the investigation of such areas as individual and group counseling, vocational development, study skills, and environmental manipulation. Affecting all of these, inevitably, are certain general and situational social forces. However, with the possible exception of research on occupational sociology and social interaction within the interview, few investigations have appeared in such professional journals as the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* and the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* which relate the dynamics of individual development to the individual's social environ-
two generations; (b) high status, one generation (father high and son low); (c) low status, one generation; and (d) low status, two generations. (4) With regard to anomie, the experience of upward mobility did not seem to be as influential as the experience of two generations of high status; and the experience of downward mobility did not seem as destructive of social morale as the experience of two generations of low status. In brief, decreasing readiness for desegregation and increasing anomie followed the listed order of the foregoing mobility categories. The two mobile groups combined did not differ significantly from the stationary groups in readiness for desegregation. The two high-status sons groups showed more readiness for desegregation than the two low-status sons groups. Therefore, status position did seem to be related both to readiness for desegregation and to anomie.

Simpson (ill), in a critique of the Tumin-Collins study, disagrees that anomie is the explanatory factor accounting for the seeming relationship between status-position and mobility type to readiness for desegregation. He points out that the rank order of the four mobility groups in anomie and in readiness for desegregation is the same as their rank order in education and income. That is, education and income appear to be as strongly related to readiness for desegregation as are anomie and occupational status position. The education and income variables need to be held constant. Furthermore, Simpson argues that no measure of mobility is made apart from present status. He feels that the data do not measure mobility per se.
Kogan (60), in examining the correlates of attitudes toward old people, found a relationship between prejudice and anomie. Highly anomie college students were significantly more negatively disposed toward old people than students whose scores on the Srole scale indicated low anomie.

Recently, Rhodes (93) has made a comparative study of the F-scale and the Srole scale as predictors of prejudice. These two scales together with a questionnaire were given to 1027 high school seniors in eight high schools in Tennessee. On a technical level, he found that neither scale enabled him to meet the assumptions which parametric statistics require. Therefore, he used the chi square method to test zero order correlation and employed a non-parametric partialing method which approximates the parametric method of multiple correlation. Rhodes' study led to the following findings and inferences: (1) There was a definite but imperfect relationship between the F-scale and the Srole scale, or between what he terms authoritarianism and alienation. (2) This relationship was due to high correlations among specific items which are similar in wording or to F-scale items which measure submissiveness. (3) A test of spuriousness indicated that this relationship is more or less independent of a number of variables which presumably indicate position in the social structure, including two indices of socioeconomic status (education of father and occupational level of family), an index of peer group participation (organizational participation), and religious affiliation. (4) Anomie (alienation) seems to contribute something to authoritarianism above and beyond what status contributes. Rhodes
suggests that change in status rather than status per se may be the crucial variable. (5) Item analysis suggested that self-subjugation F-scale items are more related to the breakdown of immediate personal relationships, but that most of the F-scale items are more likely to be associated with retrogression from goals and futility of life. This lends credence to the hypothesis that authoritarianism and perceived downward mobility are related.

One other study contributing data to the degree of relationship between anomie, authoritarianism, and ethnocentrism has been conducted by Keedy (54). His findings are at variance with Srole's contention that anomie is a determinant of ethnocentrism and that anomie and authoritarianism are not significantly correlated.

2. Anomie and dogmatism. — The construct of dogmatism has generally been defined by Rokeach (100) as a form of general authoritarianism. It refers to a relatively closed organization of beliefs and disbeliefs about reality. These beliefs and disbeliefs are organized around a central set of beliefs about absolute authority which provides a framework for intolerance and qualified tolerance towards others. Roberts and Herrman (94) have conducted a study of the relationship between dogmatism, time perspective, and anomie. Their method was to compare 26 high and 29 low dogmatism subjects with respect to certainty concerning their (1) predictions of the future, (2) willingness to wager chips on the outcome of a gambling situation and the amount of time needed to decide how many chips to wager, and (3) scores on the Srole anomie scale. These experimenters found no significant mean differences between the two groups, except
that high dogmatics were significantly more anomic than the low
dogmatics. High dogmatics went to extremes on many of the tasks
significantly more often than low dogmatics. The authors' hypothesis
was supported that high dogmatics tend to have inbalanced rather than
future-oriented time perspectives, compared to low dogmatics. Con-
sidering their greater anomie, the high dogmatics appeared to be
disturbed in regard to both the present and future.

3. Anomie, social isolation, and class structure.—Wendell
Bell (7) was one of the first persons to relate personal anomie as
measured by the Srole scale to economic status as measured by oc-
cupation and education and to social isolation as determined by
frequency of participation in neighborhood, kin, work, and friend-
ship groups. His subjects were men of at least 21 years of age from
four different neighborhoods in San Francisco. Bell, like Srole,
found anomie to be inversely related to economic status (both
neighborhood and individual) and directly to social isolation as
determined by lack of informal and formal group participation. He
also found a positive relationship between anomie and age. Thus,
Bell's findings seem to call into question Merton's hypothesis that
the discrepancy between desired ends and inaccessibility of the means
for achieving these ends leads to greater anomie in lower-class seg-
ments of the population. On the other hand, his study does support
Merton's contention that anomie is to be found differentially in dif-
erent segments of the society. The negative relation between anomie
and social participation would also appear to support the hypothesis
that anomie and Adler's lack of social interest are related. Bell
concluded that Srole had isolated an important variable with his scale. He also felt that since the hypotheses of his study were based on the theory giving rise to the anomie scale and since they were verified, that construct validity was indicated for Srole's scale.

Reimanis and Davol (90), following Bell, investigated what demographic and psychological factors seemed to determine anomie as measured by the Srole scale in a Veterans Administration domiciliary population. The Srole scale and a ten-item scale measuring desire for social affiliation were verbally administered to one hundred domiciliary patients whose mean age was over sixty. This was done at the close of an interview wherein various personal data were obtained. Results clearly revealed a high anomie level among the patients; that is, anomie was positively related to age. Significantly related to anomie at the .05 level of confidence were chief occupation before domiciliary admission, the father's chief occupation, and residential history during the last five years. That is, persons whose own previous occupation had been unskilled or lower, whose fathers were in the unskilled or lower occupational category, or who came from low socio-economic residential backgrounds tended to be anomic. Related to high anomie in order of intensity were lack of social affiliation, low education, few close friends or relatives, lack of social participation, old age, few letters per week, many years in the domiciliary and few visits. The first five were significant at the .05 level. However, age per se and actual social participation were not related to anomie with other variables controlled.
Neither was there a significant relationship between anomie and religious affiliation, marital history, or present income.

From these data, Reimanis and Davol concluded that the chief correlates of low anomie are a friendly and familiar society, motivation toward social interest, and background indicators of social interest. Their finding that past and present socio-economic status is related to anomie supports Merton's contention that anomie should be observable in individuals who have attempted but failed to achieve culturally defined goals. Like Srole and Roberts-Rokeach, a high negative relationship was found between anomie and education. Bell's conclusion is not supported that age and formal and informal group participation as such are highly correlated with anomie. Of more importance are factors related to the aging process and the motives behind social participation. In all, a combination of variables correlated .679, accounting for almost half of the variance of the anomie score.

As will be indicated later, Meier and Bell (70) from a framework of "life chances" show a series of relationships among anomie, social isolation, class identification, and age.

In a doctoral dissertation done at Purdue University, Mizruchi (78) sought to determine the relation of anomie to social isolation and the extent of anomie in persons in small versus large communities. As instruments, he used the Srole Scale as an index of social psychological anomie, Hollingshead's two factor Index of Social Position as an index of social class, and Chaplin's Social Participation Scale as an index of participation in formally organized
volunteer associations. On the objective side, anomie and social class were found to be clearly associated, supporting Merton's theory. Here, social class as measured by the Hollingshead index was determined by occupation and education weighed in a seven to four manner. Mizruchi feels that the discrepancy between the findings of Srole and Rokeach may be due to the fact that they used different measures of class. Further, no association between income and anomie was found in those population segments whose education attainment is below college level. It is expectations regarding income, the principal means of achieving success, not income alone, which play a significant role in persons becoming anomie. Persons who have attended college have greater income expectations, and when the latter are not realized, a greater tendency toward anomie results.

Other findings were that from a subjective viewpoint anomie was found to be inversely related to class identification, thus supporting Meier and Bell. Sex and anomie were found not associated. Urbanism and anomie were not found to be necessarily related.

In support of Bell's findings, Mizruchi found a marked and significant inverse association between formal social participation and anomie. However, this study fails to support Bell's finding that this relationship is not uniform throughout the class structure, especially in higher classes.

With sex controlled (Bell used only men) formal social participation and anomie are uniformly associated. Finally, in support of Bell, the relation between informal social participation and anomie
were found to be more closely related in the low economic status groups than in the high economic status groups.

In a discussion of his findings, Mizruchi points out that although his data reveal a relationship between class and anomie, they do not provide a full test of Merton's theory since he has assumed (as have other studies) no differences in the life goals of subjects. Moreover, there is no explanation of why or in what way anomie is significantly related to class and social participation. However, it would seem that since social class is inversely associated with formal social participation that participation in formal associations prevents demoralization through interaction and serves as a buffer against social psychological anomie. The fact that the number of formal social affiliations is less for lower class persons may have something to do with the anomie found among this group.

In a study of migrants to Minneapolis, Rose (102) tested the hypothesis that nonparticipants are anomic, that "...the greater the extent to which a person participates in organized activity, the greater is his opportunity to internalize the meanings and values which constitute the culture." In general there was confirmation of the hypothesis that a person's degree of anomie as reflected in Srole's questions is positively related to the extent to which his social participation has been limited. Rose makes the pertinent observation that since "...anomie is a matter of degree in a heterogeneous population, it is appropriate to speak of anomic individuals rather than solely of an anomic society."
Although not specifically dealing with the concept of anomie, Kohn and Clausen (61) have conducted a related study in which they found a definite relationship between mental disease and social isolation (rejection by one's peers).

4. Anomie and urbanism.—At least three studies have included findings on the relationship between personal anomie and urbanism. They have led to essentially the same conclusions. Meier and Bell (70), for instance, found anomie not necessarily confined to the city dweller or to urban societies. In fact, these experimenters posit that in the future more despair may occur in the densely settled "undeveloped areas." Similarly, Mizruchi (78) found urbanism and anomie to be not necessarily associated. He points out that the concern with the presumed effects of urbanism in social pathology is not supported by research.

Greer and Kube (46) have investigated the assumption that modern urban life is conducive to anomie, that as a man loses his primary group ties in the neighborhood, family, and community, he ceases to be identified with the social whole and becomes less controlled by the norms of his society.

The Srole scale was administered to urbanites in four Los Angeles, California, urban communities, that is, Hollywood, Silver Lake, Eagle Rock, and Temple City. Differences in the percentage of anomies were not found to be significant. Although there were variations in the percentage of the non-anomies, the percentage of "anomies" was very low in each area.
There was no significant difference between respondents with North European and non-North European nationality background. No significant difference in anomic responses were found between the employed and unemployed except for the women in Hollywood where those who were working were significantly less likely to be anomic. This suggests that the neighborhood is better adapted to the needs of the employed woman than to the housewife. When the sample was divided by the occupational class of the head of the household non-anomic responses were higher in each area for the "white collar" group than for the "blue collar" households. Each area, anomic tended to decrease as educational level went up. Strikingly, for the combined sample 20 per cent of those with grammar school education were found to be anomic, 10 per cent of those with some high school were anomic, and only 4 per cent of those with some college were anomic. Non-anomic responses also increased as income increased, at statistically significant levels.

In summary, Greer and Kube conclude that anomic or non-anomic attitudes do not seem to vary consistently with the character of the urban neighborhood as measured by the Shevky-Bell index of urbanization. Rather, they do vary consistently and significantly with each of the conventional measures of socio-economic status, for the sample combined and for each area separately. For this type of population anomie seems mostly the result of social class and perhaps economic frustration. These investigators feel that anomie is not necessarily a function of urban living. Instead, a person's style of life varied widely even at the same social, economic, and family levels. Urbanism is more nearly ways of life than a way of life.