

Social Anomie in Transformation and Well- Established Countries: Comparative Evidence from the European Social Survey

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Motivation/assumption of this study

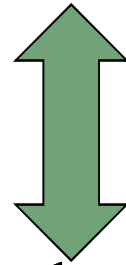
**Russian case: high
permanent level of anomie**

**European case: low
permanent level of anomie**



Russian case

- High permanent level of anomie



- Highly-centralized and extra-bureaucratized state



Why it is important to study anomie

- Anomie as an outcome of systemic social transformation, fast and radical change of the main elements of social system: social stratification; social institutions (economy, politics, government, constitution, law enforcement, education, and etc.); and values



Theory of anomie: classic studies

- Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893); *Suicide*, (1897):
 - The lack of norms
- Merton, *Social Structure and Anomie* (1938) and others (strain theory or means-ends theory):
 - Ambivalence in norms: strong orientation on material well-being vs. shortage of the legitimate means to achieve success

There is the Durkheimian understanding of the anomie in this presentation



Definition of social anomie

- *Uncertainty* in social norms, social roles, people's behavior, structure of any sector and situation in any sector of society and society in a whole

Anomie means lack of some norms and institutions, lack of understanding what is going on at the personal, institutional and societal levels



Performance of anomie

- “A state of ethical normlessness or deregulation, pertaining either to an individual or a society. This lack of normative regulation leaves individuals without adequate ethical guidance as to their conduct and undercuts social integration” (Morrison, 2001, p.10).
- People behave by their own as per specific situation and their personal attitudes and do not take into account such societal constraints as laws and moral code.



Positive and negative consequences of social anomie

Positive consequences:

- ❑ Window of opportunities
- ❑ High level of flexibility
- ❑ Opportunities for creativity and social innovation

Negative consequences:

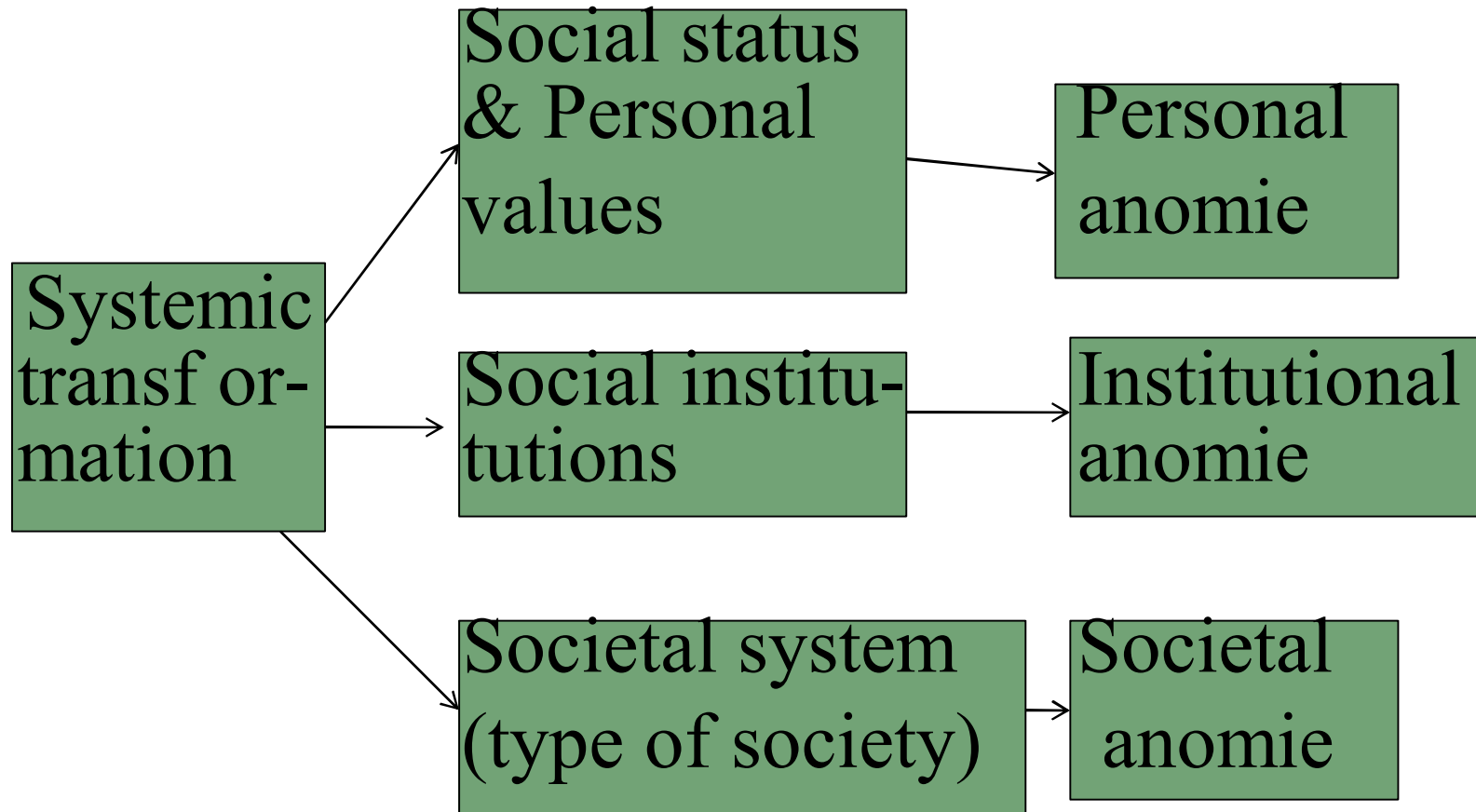
- ❑ High level of shadow activities
- ❑ Cynicism and lack of moral code
- ❑ High level of deviant behavior



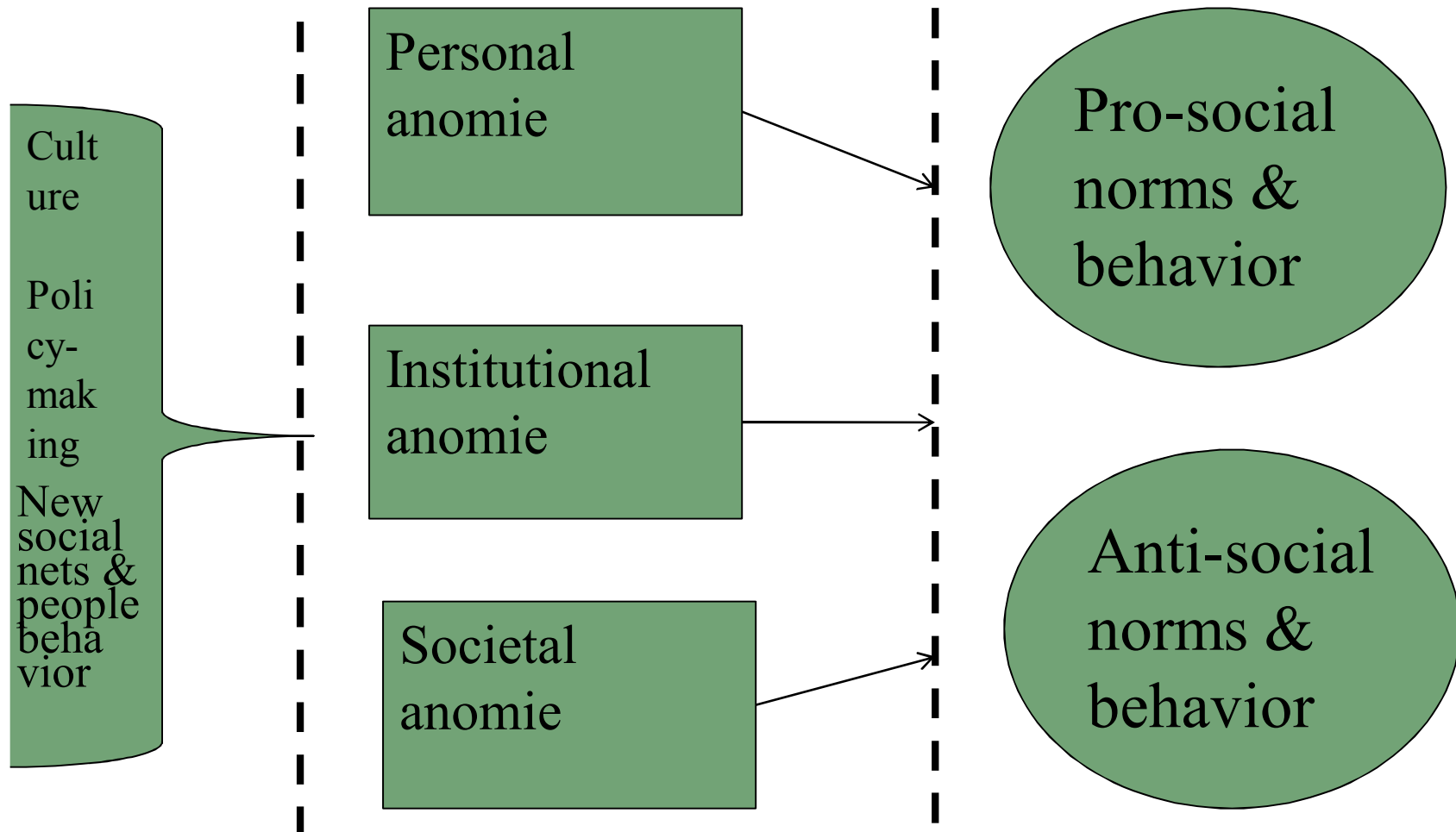
Social anomie: three levels

- ❑ At the individual level: uncertainty in values and individual behavior
- ❑ At the institutional level: the lack of many appropriate institutions and the lack of knowledge about appropriate sectors of society: politics, education, etc.
- ❑ At the societal level: lack of understanding what model of society is in operation (socialism, capitalism, etc.), about national goals and interests

Social anomie in systemic transformation: three levels



Overcoming of social anomie





Problem of measurement: three approaches in the literature

- ❑ Indirect macro-indicators
- ❑ Indicators describing consequences of anomie, i.e. anti-social attitudes and behaviors
- ❑ Gap between “is” and “ought” in various realms.



Indirect macro-indicators

- Theory of institutional anomie (IAT):
Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994. *Crime and the American Dream*; Passas, Agnew, Wakenhut and others;
- IAT: overemphasis on economic goals, coupled with a devaluation of society's non-economic institutions (family, education, polity) would result in high level of anomie and high crime rates

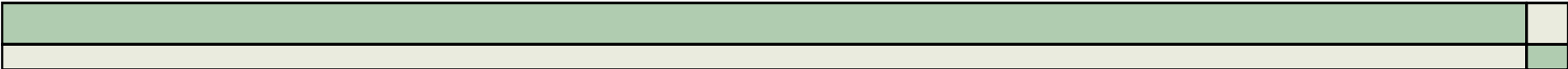


Indirect macro-indicators - 2

- Indirect measure of the level of anomie (Bjerregaard and Cochran, 2008. Want Amid Plenty: Developing and Testing a Cross-National Measure of Anomie: GDP, Gini coef.; Economic freedom index -Heritage foundation)
- Emphasis on crime rates

Indicators describing consequences of anomie

- “Respondents in each nation are asked to answer the questions as follows: Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between: a) claiming government benefits which you are not entitled to; b) avoiding a fare on public transport; c) cheating on tax if you have the chance; d) buying something you knew was stolen; e) someone accepting a bribe in the course of their duties” (Zhao & Cao, 2010, p.1217).



Gap between “is” and “ought” in various realms

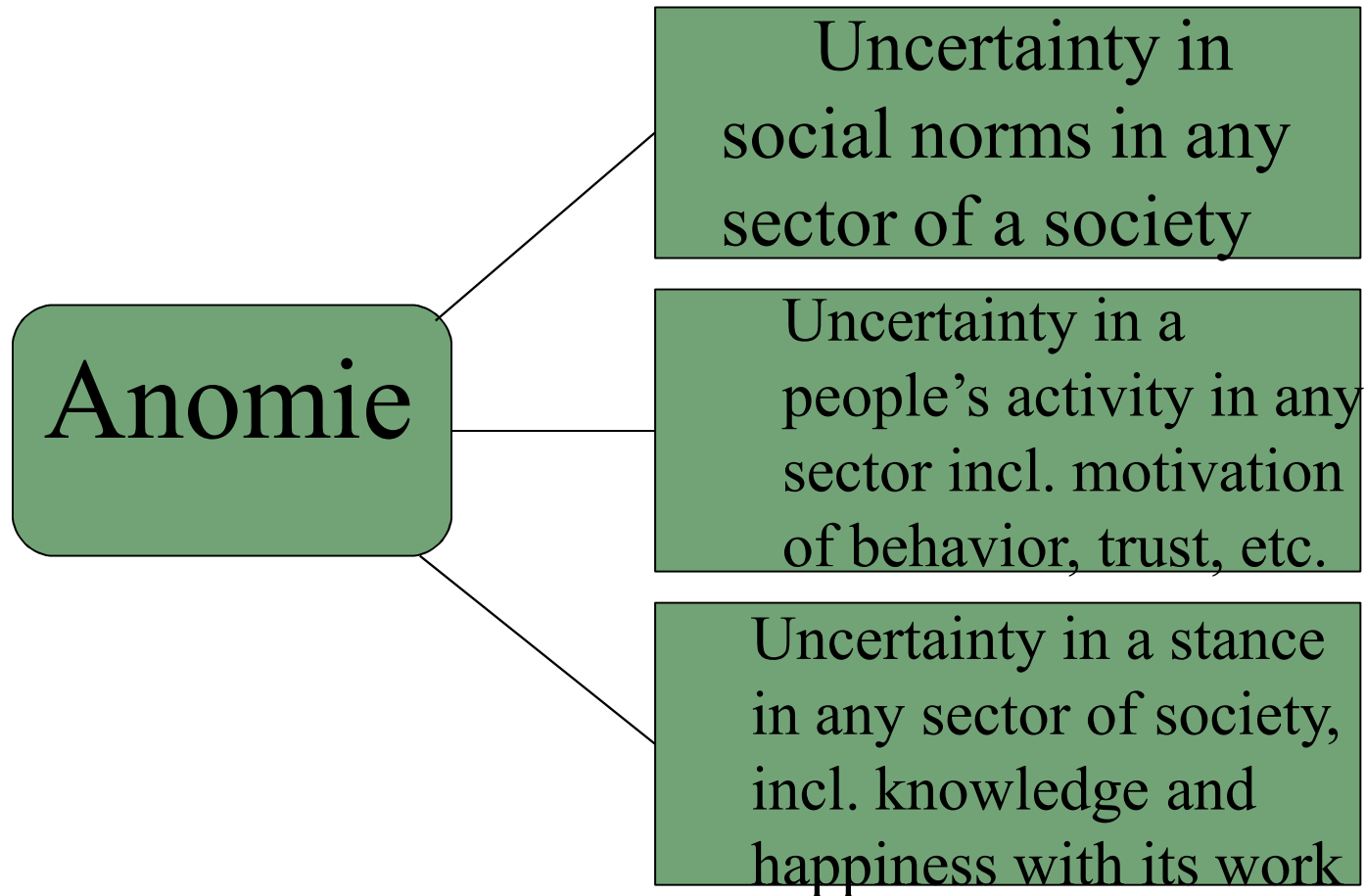
- Measuring this gap in education, size of family, efforts, working conditions, length of service and responsibility by means of the survey with the appropriate questions to adult population in various countries including transformation states (Arts, Hermkens & Van Wijk, 1995).



Imperfections of these three approaches

- ❑ **The first** is allowing to measure economic pressures ignoring subjective aspect of anomie.
- ❑ **The second** captures human attitudes but begets to mixture of anomie and its consequences, and we cannot analyze impact of anomie on a deviant behavior if indicators of that behavior already included into dependent variable.
- ❑ **The third** provides opportunity to study normative gap in human mind but it is sensitive to respondent's aspirations and satisfactions: higher aspirations led to higher level of anomie even all other variables still unchanged.

Social anomie in this study: operationalization





Indicators of social anomie in this study: direct measure

- Lack of certain answers: Don't know, refuse, missing
 - Came from the study: Meulemann, Heiner (2004). Enforced Secularization - Spontaneous Revival? Religious Belief, Unbelief, Uncertainty and Indifference in East and West European Countries 1991-1998. *European Sociological Review* Volume 20, Number 1, February, pp. 47-61
- Group of questions describing any social element (for example - certain institution, system of values) from various points of view



Working hypotheses

- There is the higher level of anomie in the transformation countries in compare with the other European states
- Minimum level of anomie is in the Northern Europe (Scandinavia)



Indicators of social anomie in this study: direct measure

- ❑ Lack of certain answers: Don't know, refuse, missing
- ❑ Group of questions describing any social element (for example - certain institution, system of values) from various points of view

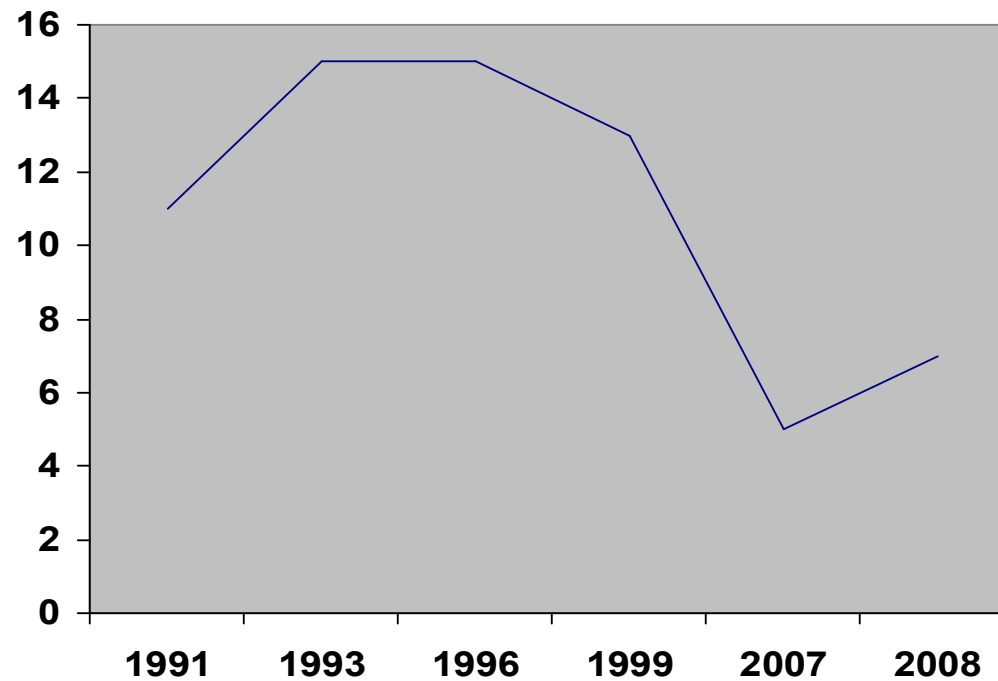


Sources of data in this study

- European social survey – biennial survey of values, political efficacy, etc. conducted in near 30 European and nearby countries since 2002. Onwards data of 2006 and 2008 surveys will be used. The sample of the last survey was near 55 thousand adults.
- Some long-term trends from public opinion studies, Levada-centr, Russia

Anomie in Russia, beginning of 1990s until 2008, Levada-center, Source: Russian National Sociological Archive, Personal feeling of freedom

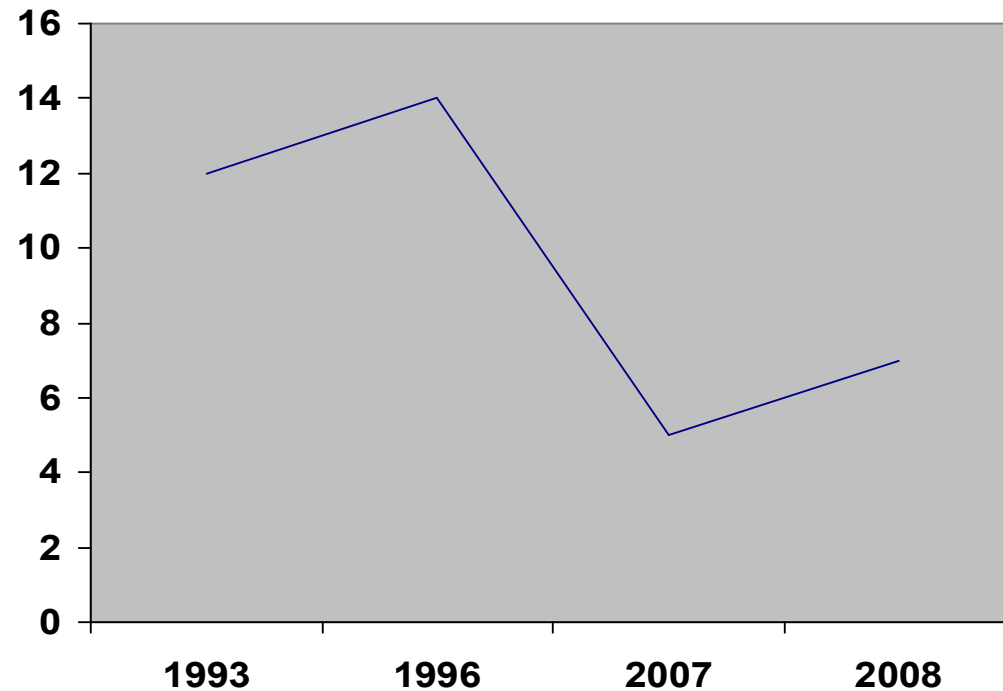
Percentage of answers "don't know"



— Personal feeling of freedom in the Russian society

**Anomie in Russia, beginning of 1990s until 2008,
Levada-center, Source: Russian National Sociological
Archive, Respondent social position**

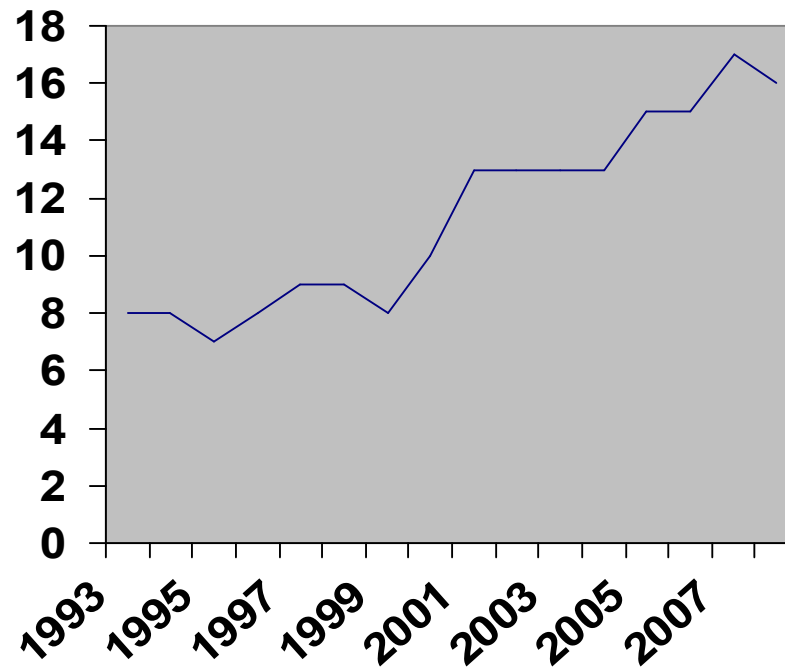
Percentage of answers "don't know"



— Happiness with current respondent's social position

**Anomie in Russia, beginning of 1990s until 2008,
Levada-center, Source: Russian National Sociological
Archive, Political situation in the country**

Percentage of answers "don't know"

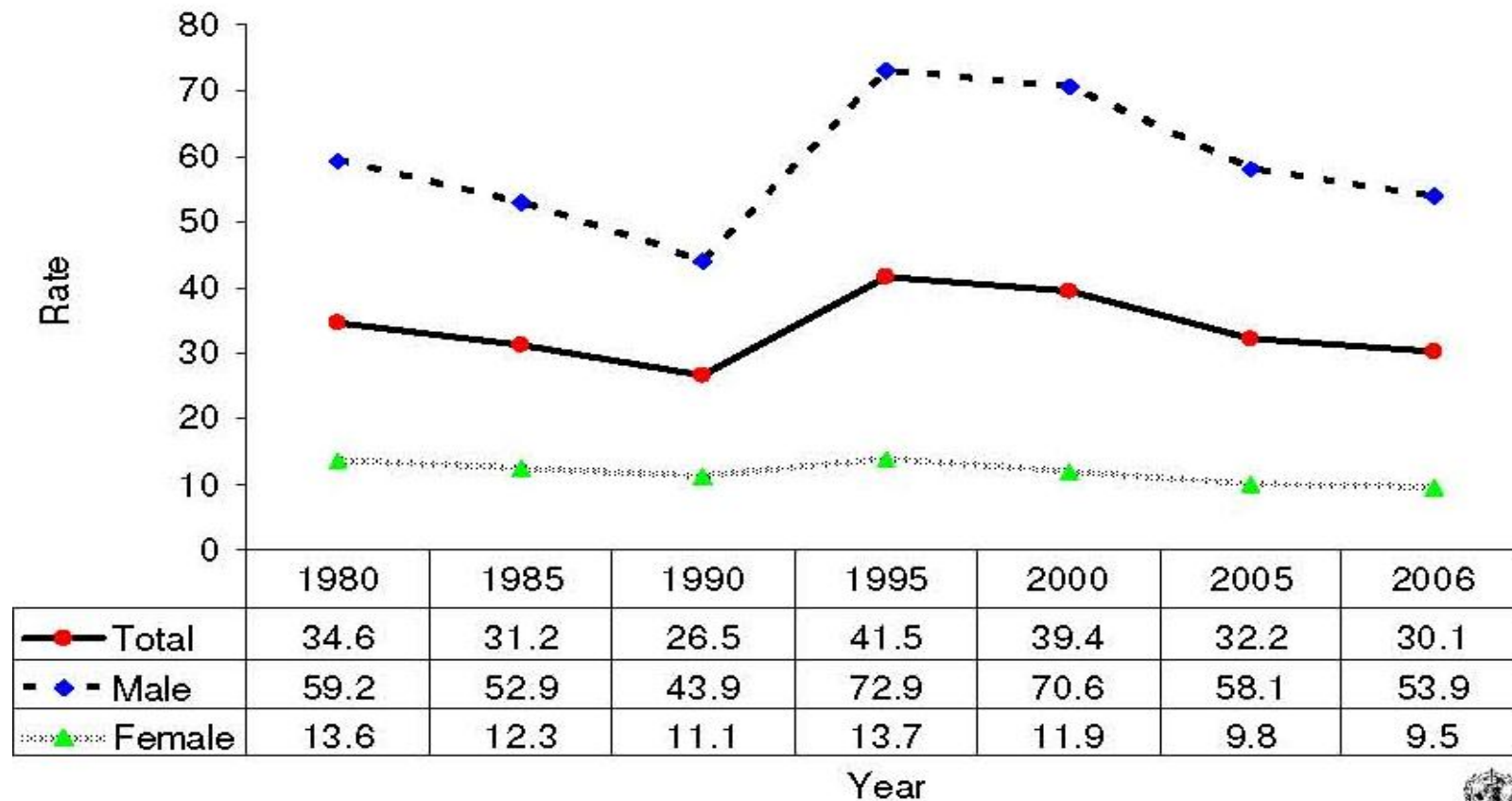


— Opinion on political situation: favorable or tension

Suicide rates (per 100,000), by gender, Russian Federation, 1980-2006.

Source: International Health Organization, 2009

Suicide rates (per 100,000), by gender, Russian Federation, 1980-2006.





Analysis of social anomie, ESS

3 indicators: percentage of uncertain answers in three realms:

- Politics
- Social integration
- Values



Analysis of social anomie (ESS data): logic

- ❑ Computing of 3 indicators of social anomie
- ❑ Analysis of data as per each indicator (by country)
- ❑ Computing of integral index of social anomie and analysis by country
- ❑ Classification by 3 indicators
- ❑ Study of links between social anomie and some other issues



Politics

Three groups of question (27 questions):

- ❑ Various political activities
- ❑ Trust in various political institutions
- ❑ Happiness with the way democracy works in country and quality of governance



Social integration

Two groups of question (10 questions):

- ❑ Social connections and loneliness
- ❑ Victimization and fear of criminality



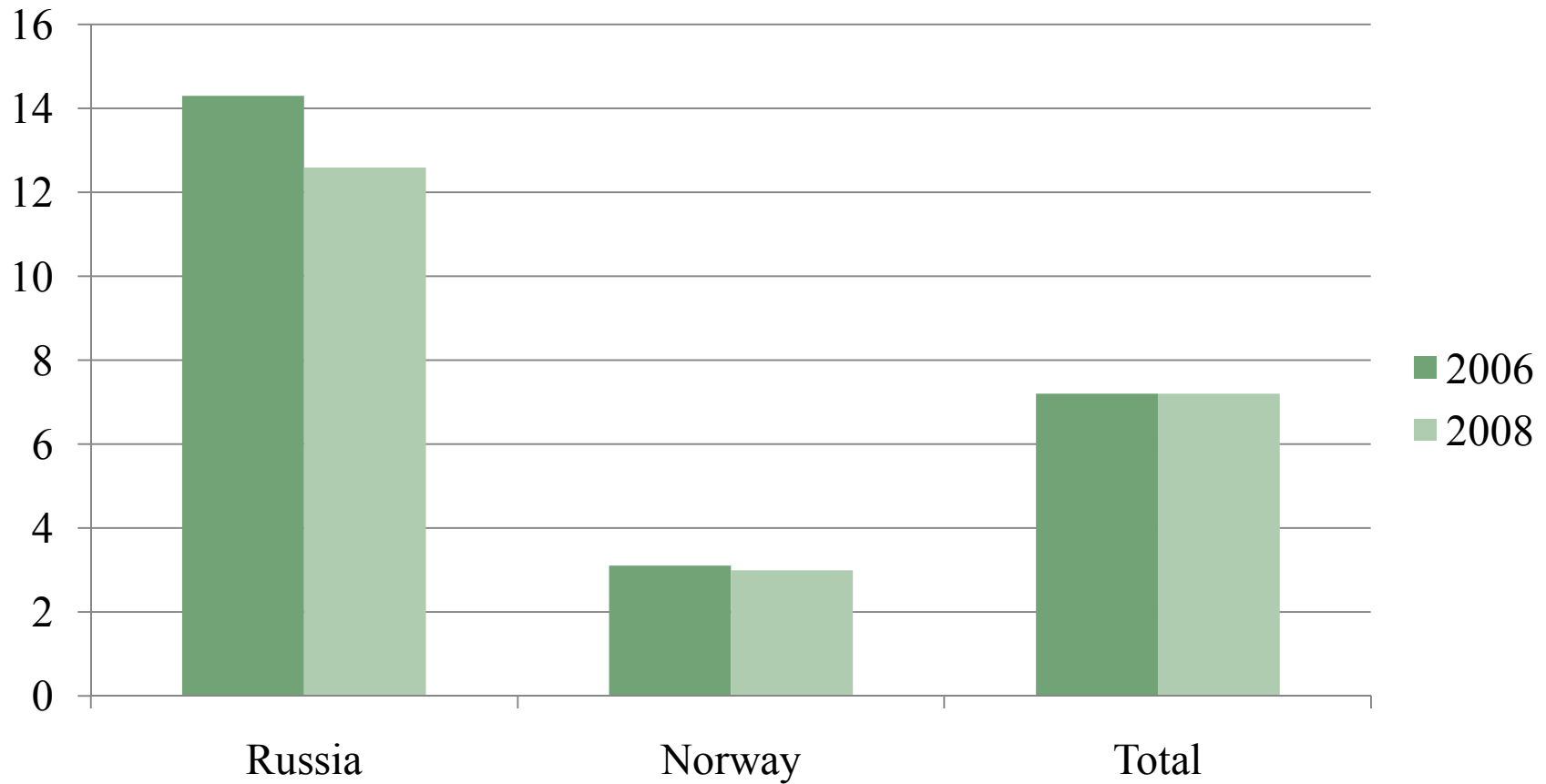
Values

Seven groups of question (33 questions) including values of:

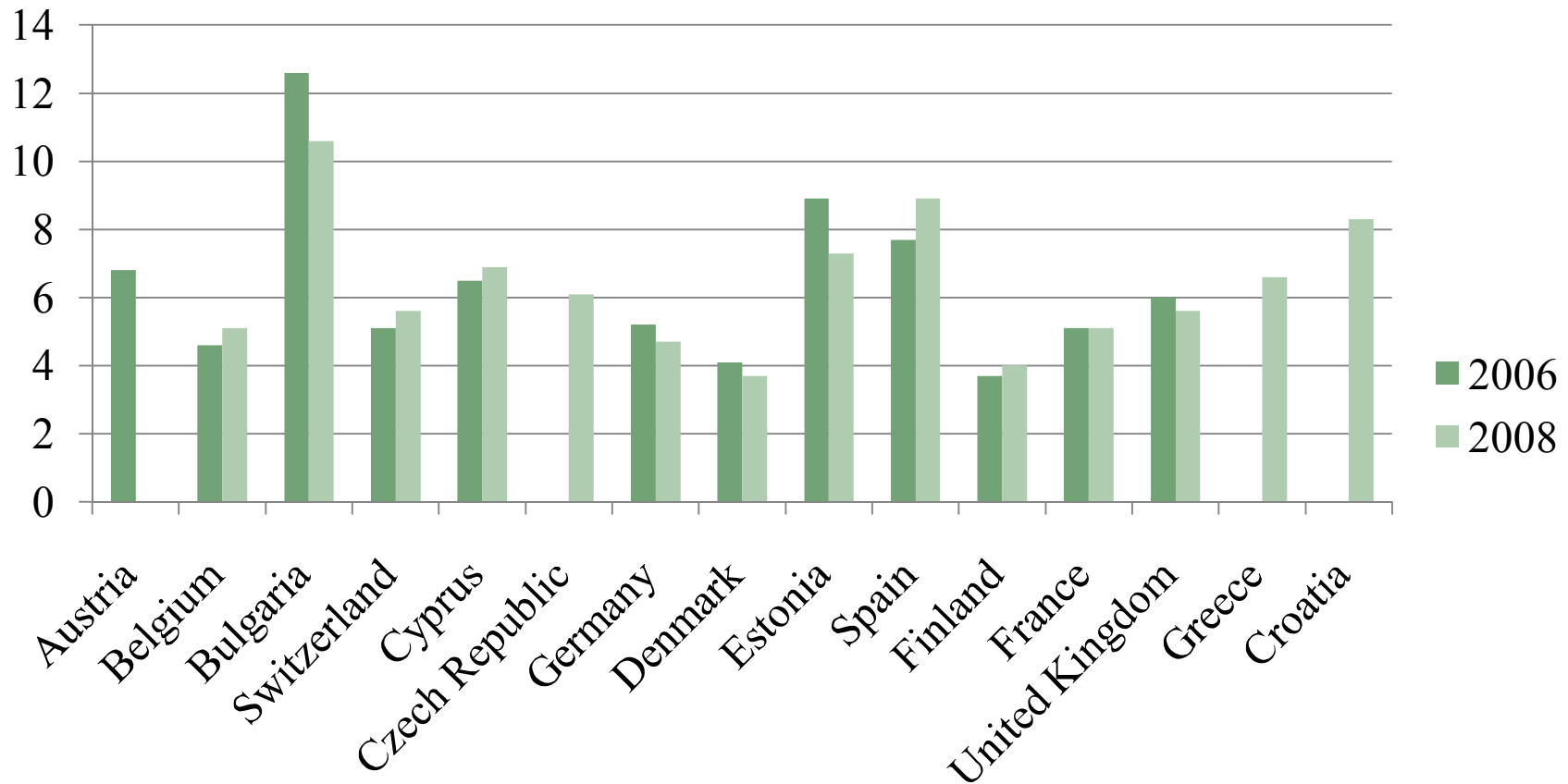
- Freedom and autonomy
- Personal achievements, creativeness and trying new things
- Tolerance (to immigrants, gays, etc.)
- Safety and consent to give away of smth. for safety
- Equality and equal opportunities
- Prosperity and hedonism
- Living in comfortable social setting

Anomie, politics: max/min.

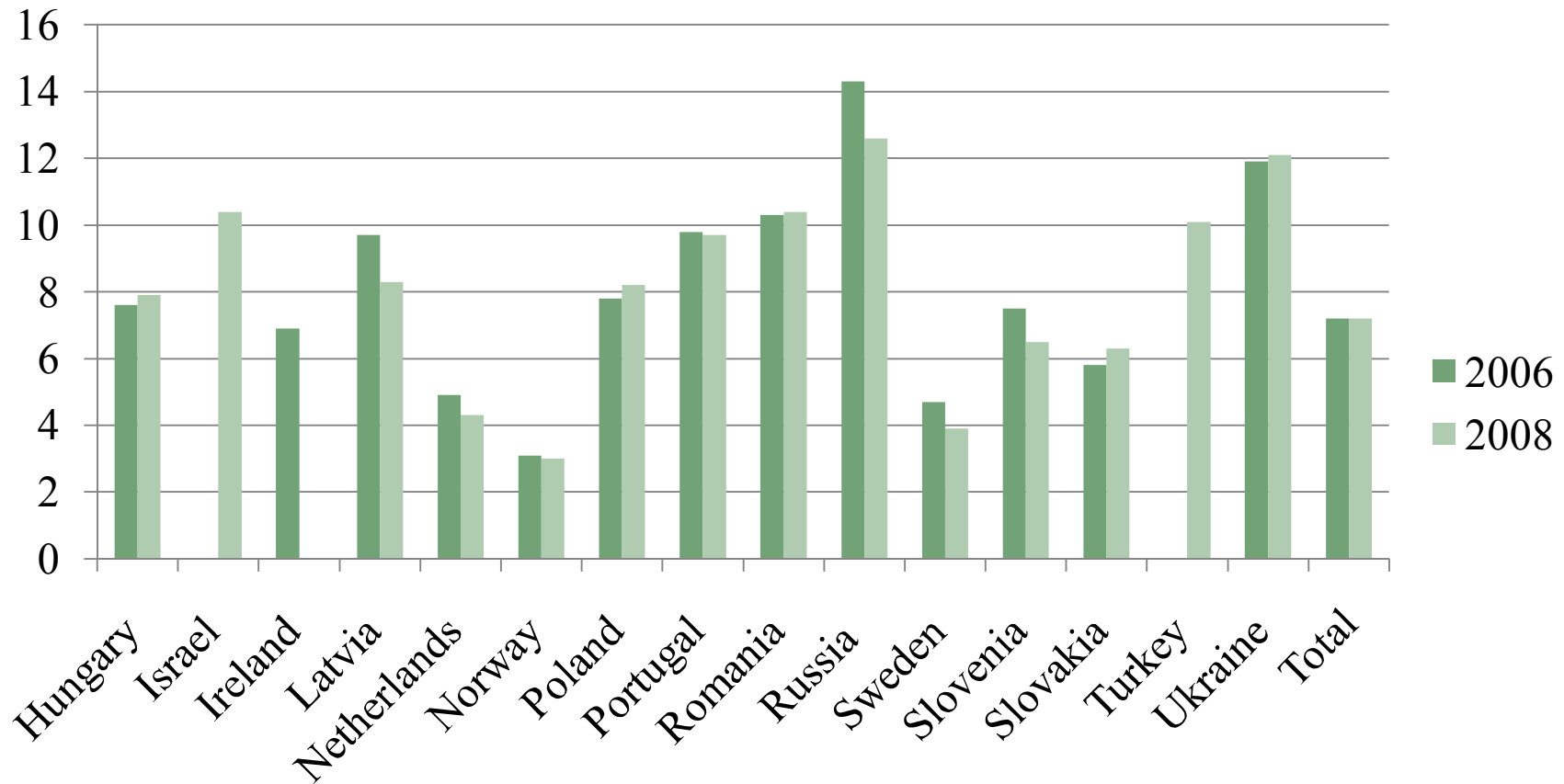
Hereinafter presented statistically significant differences (sign. < 0.05)



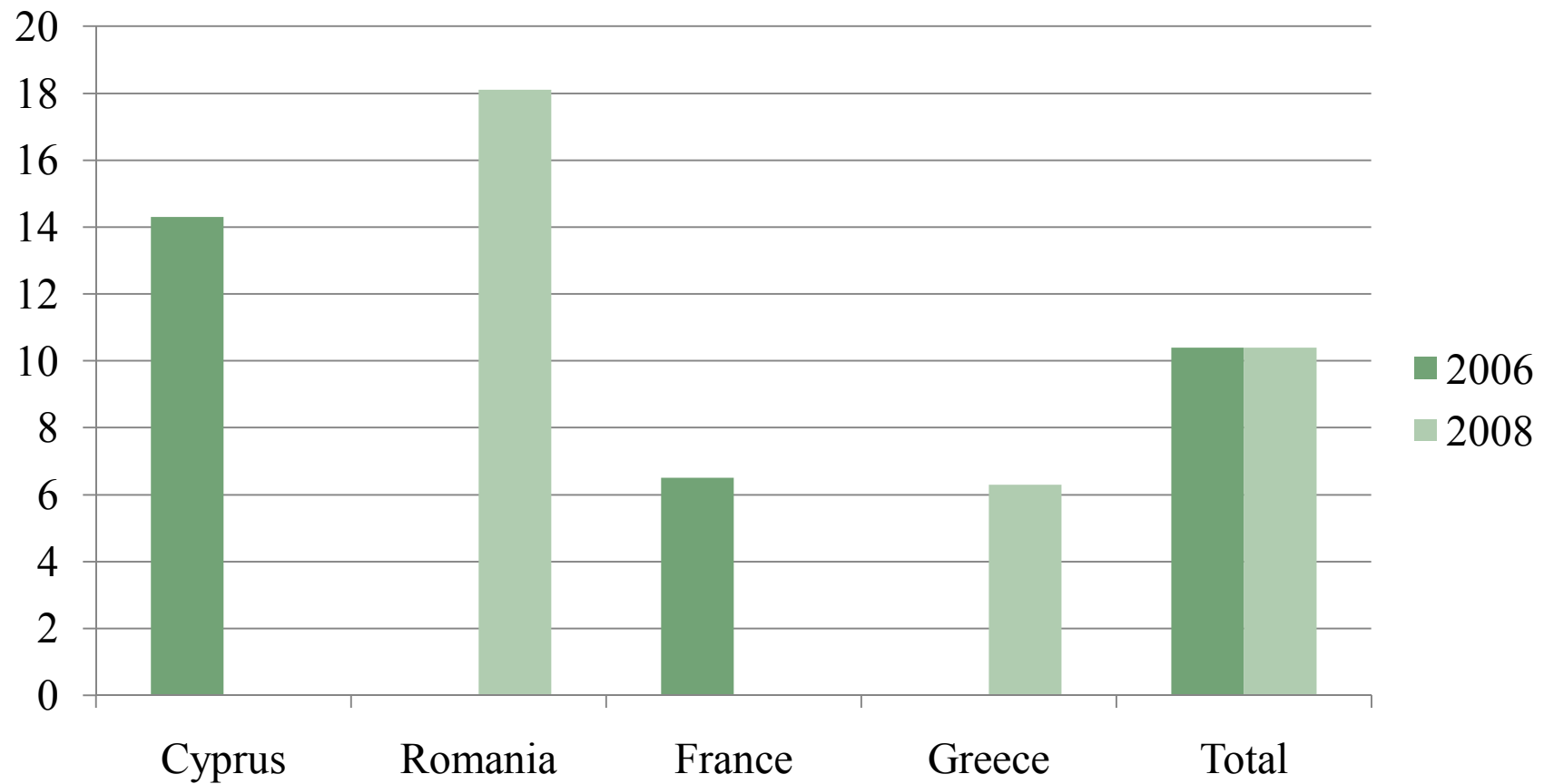
Anomie, politics - 1



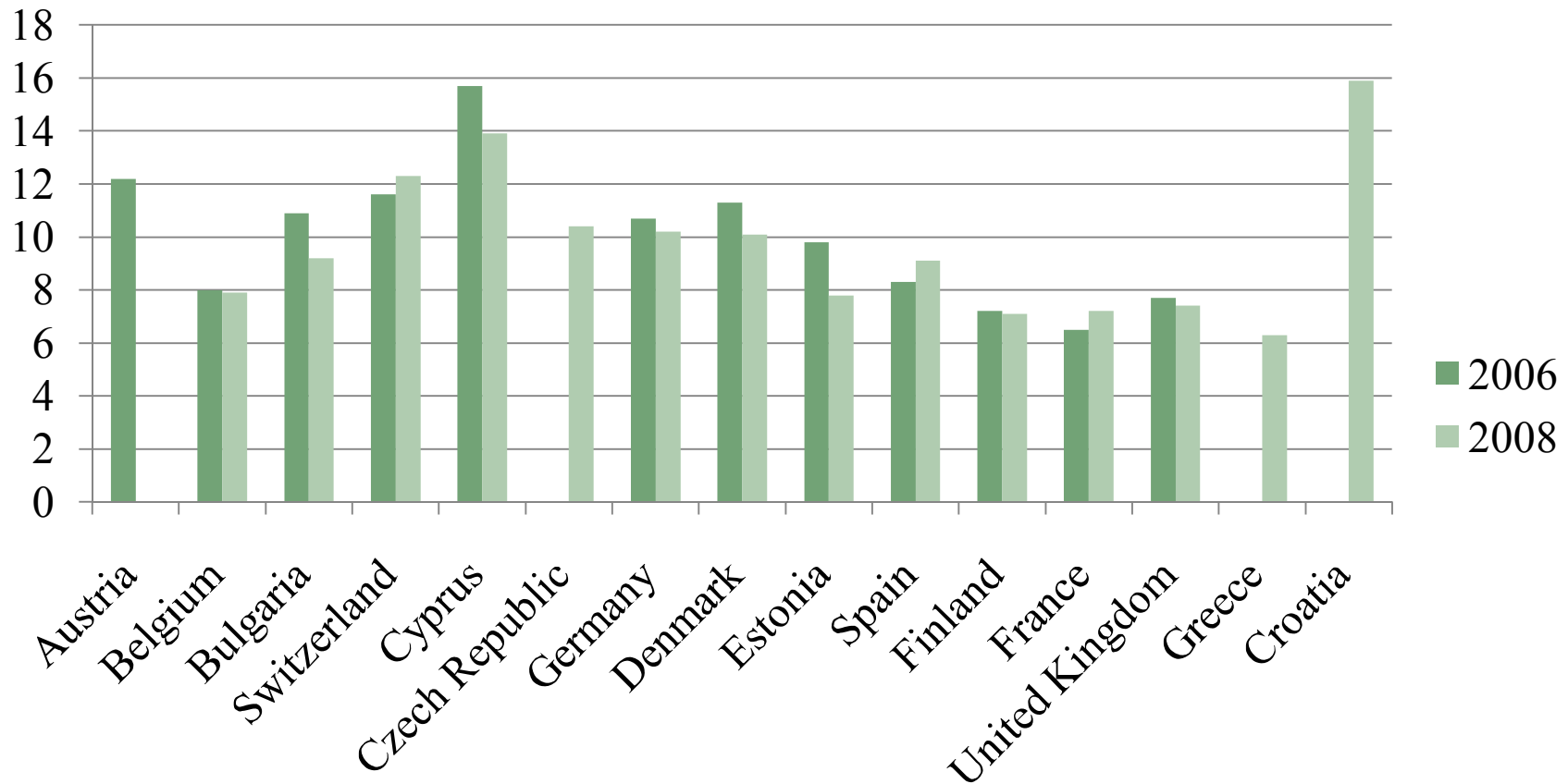
Anomie, politics - 2



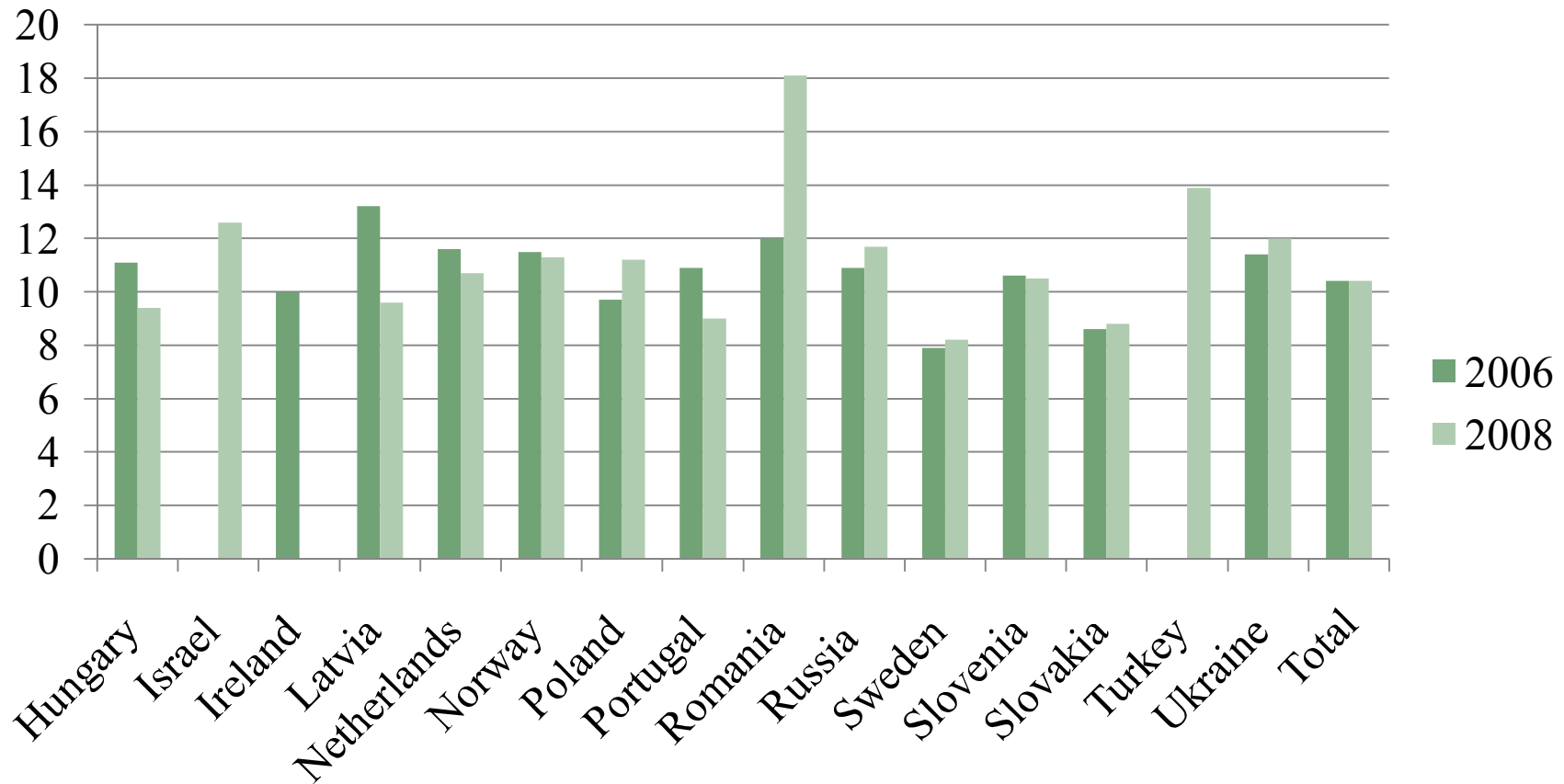
Anomie, social integration: max/min



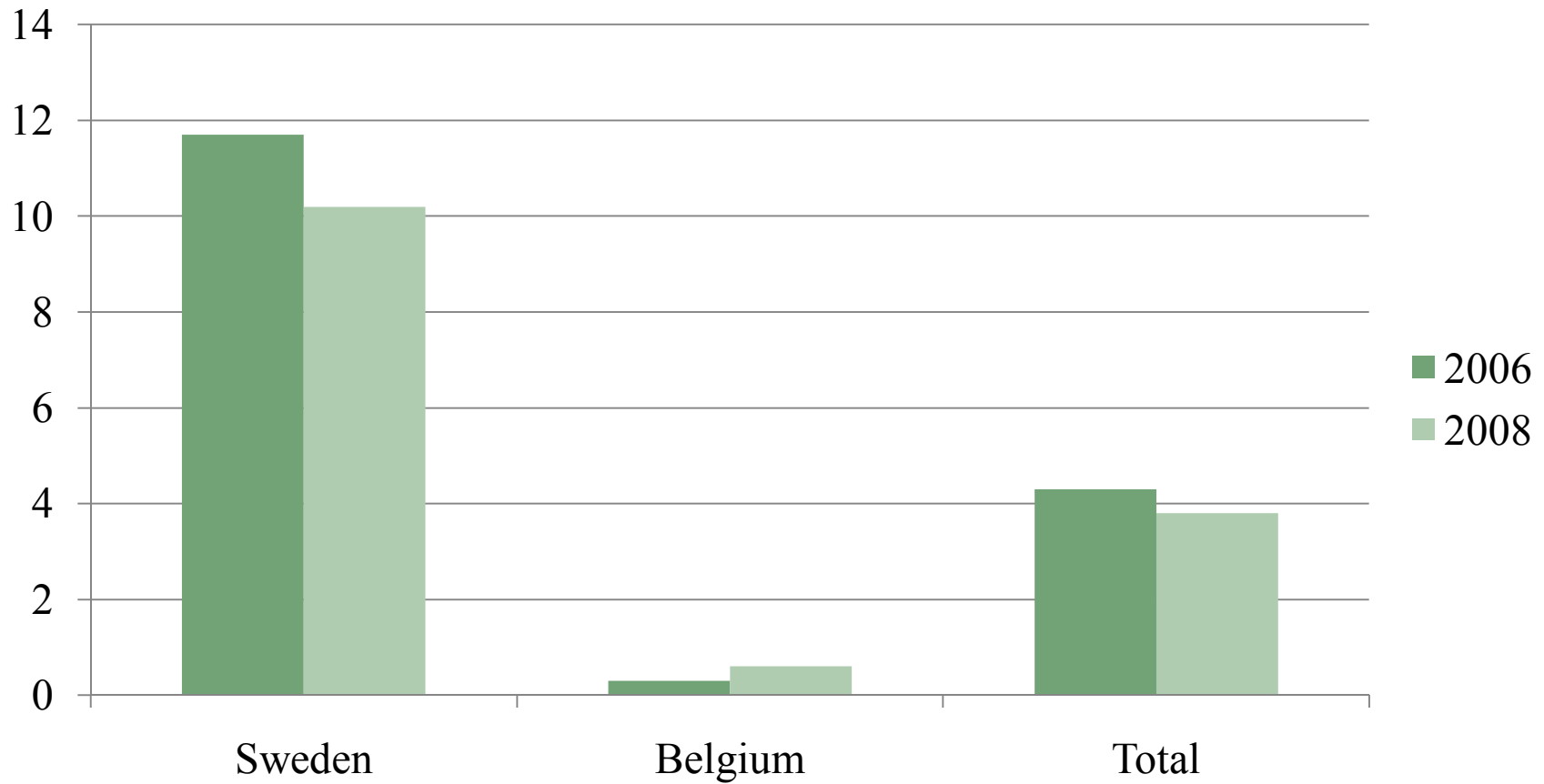
Anomie, social integration - 1



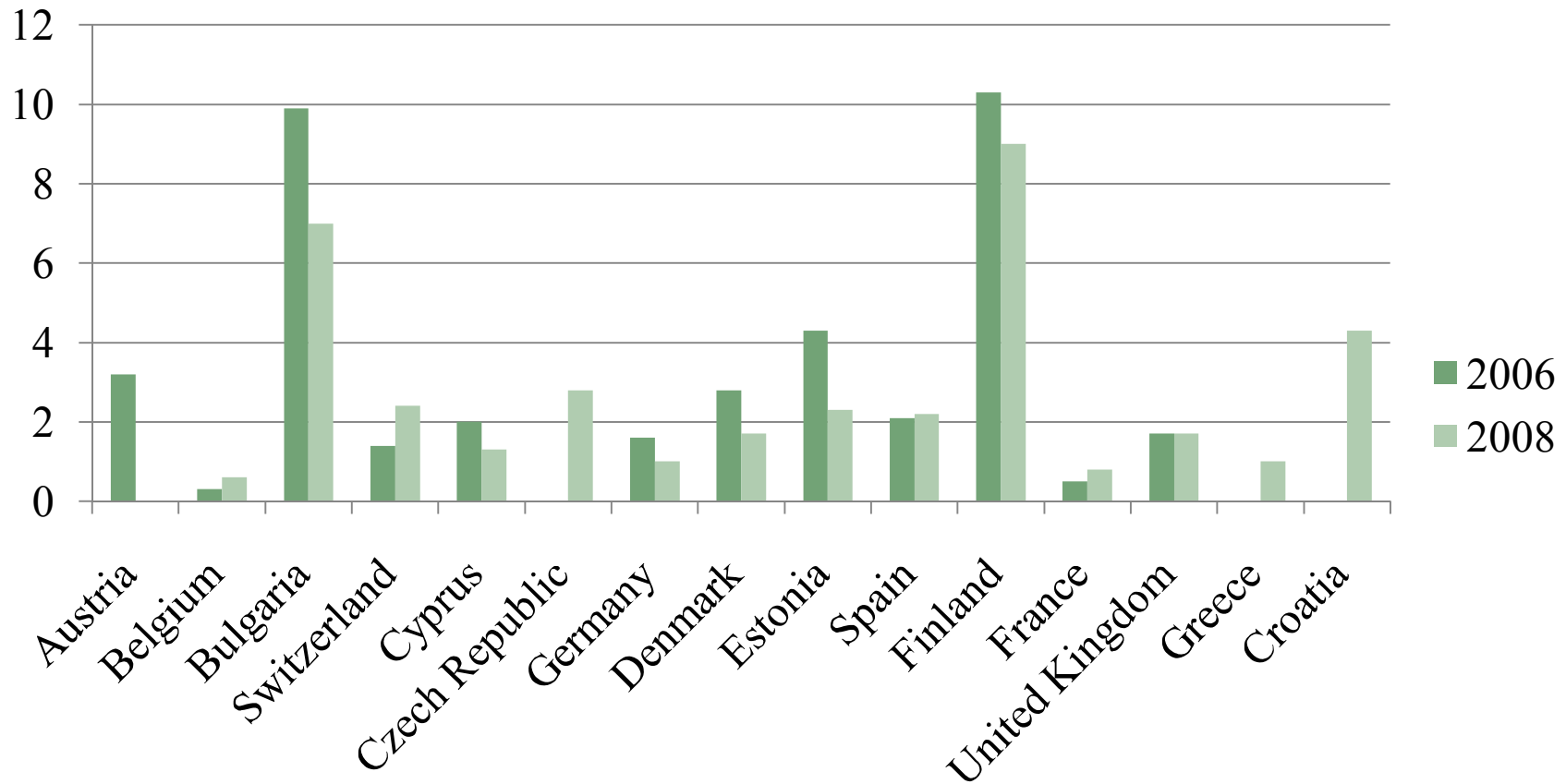
Anomie, social integration - 2



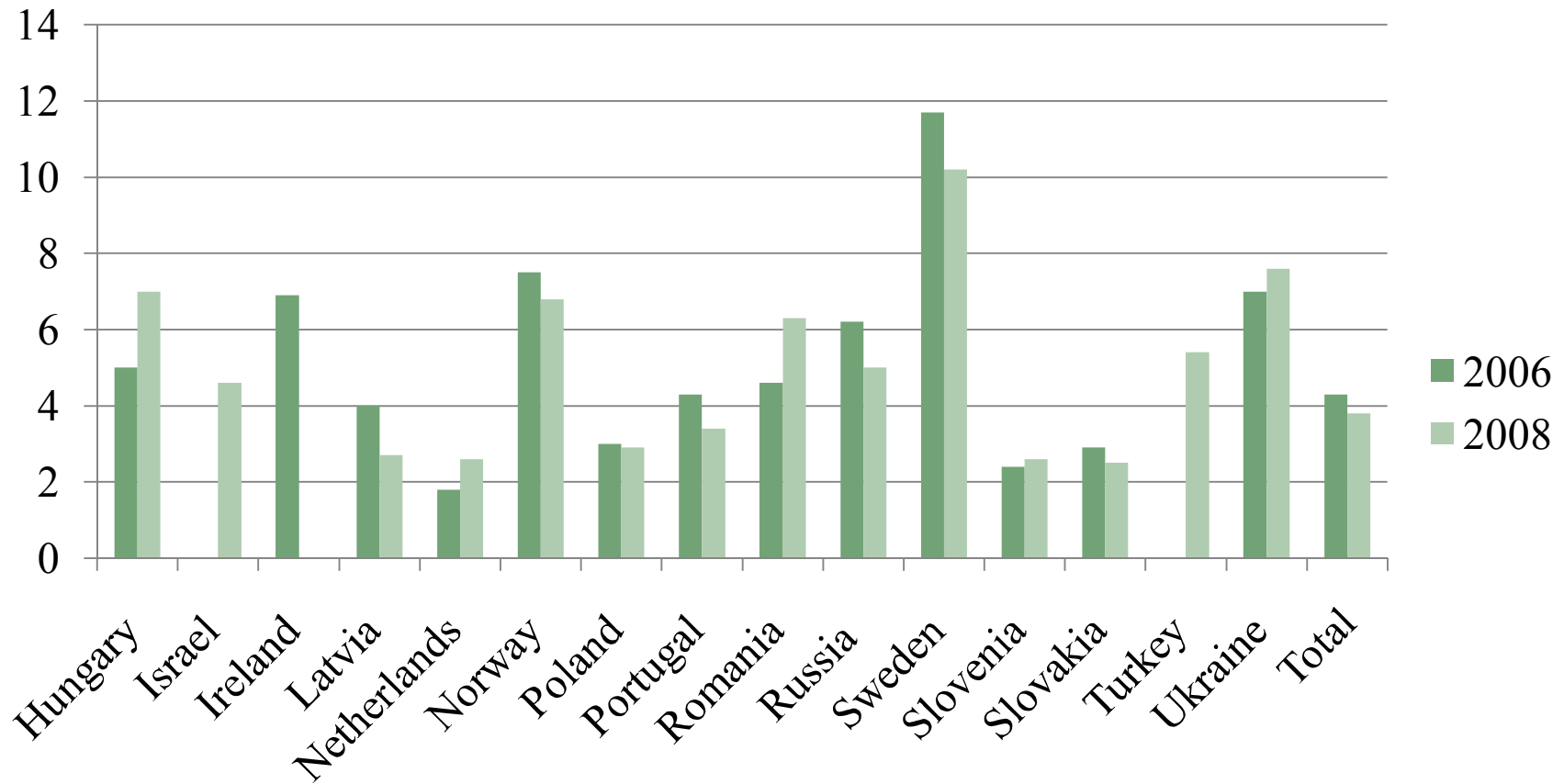
Anomie, values: max/min



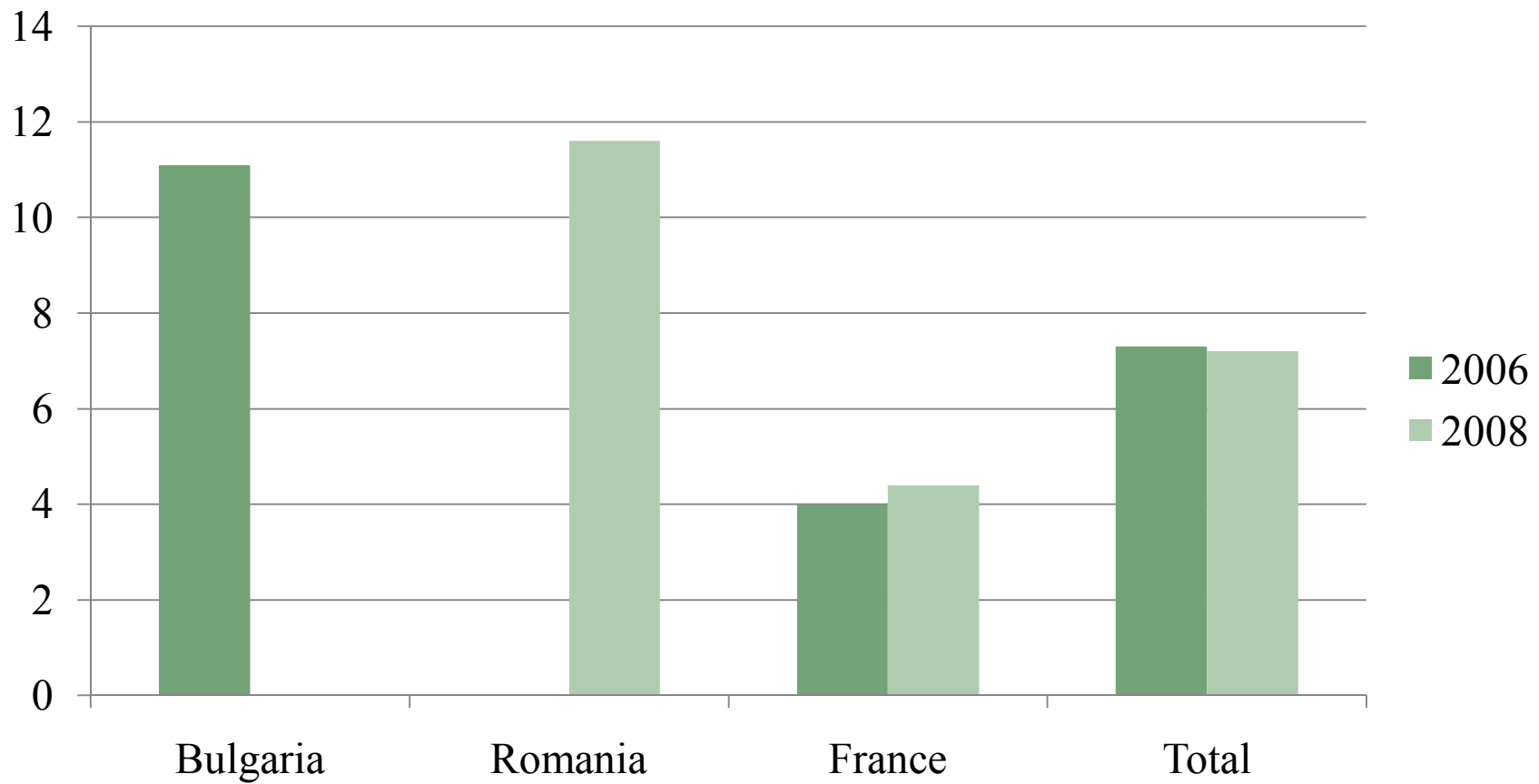
Anomie, values - 1



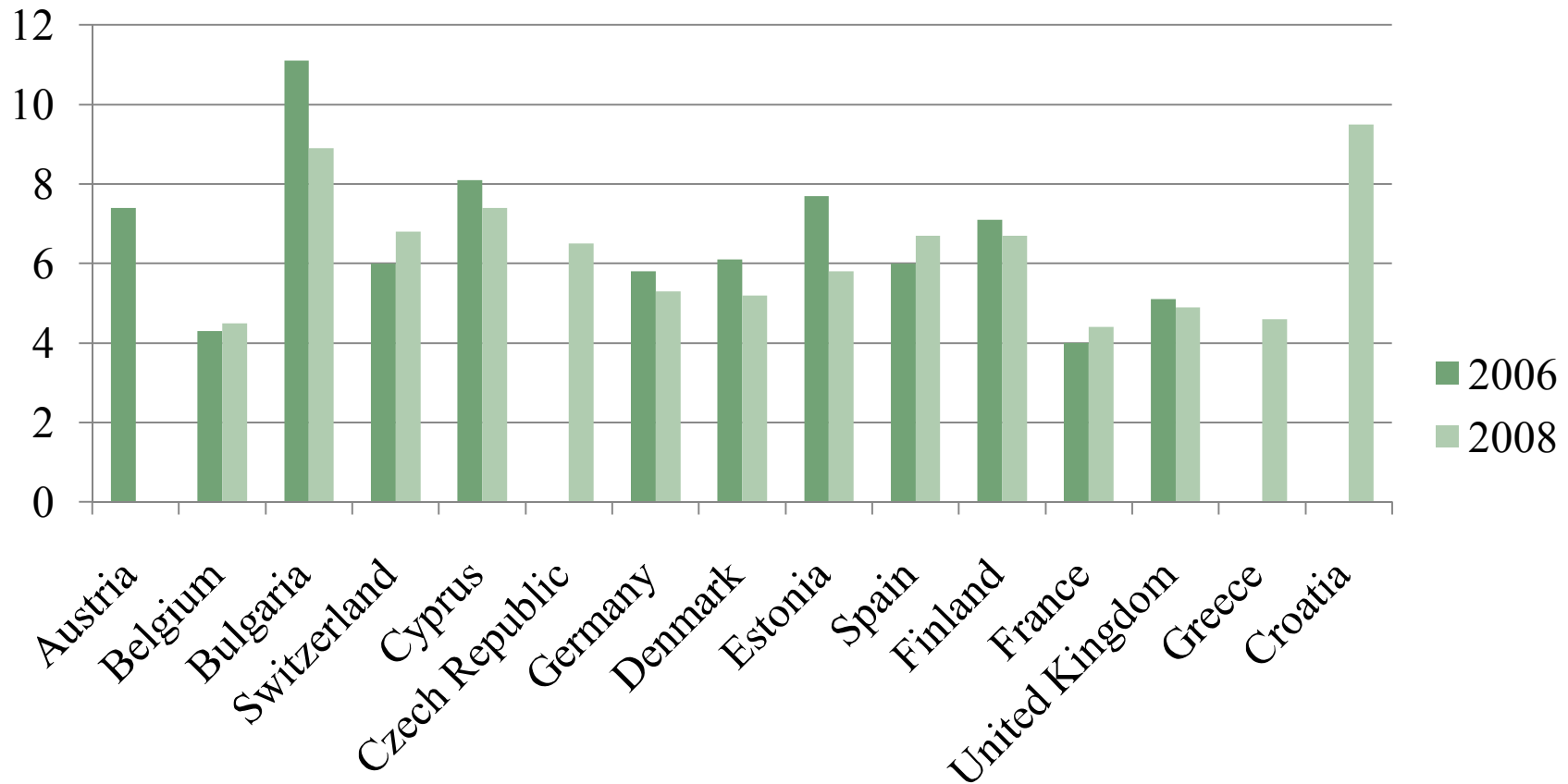
Anomie, values - 2



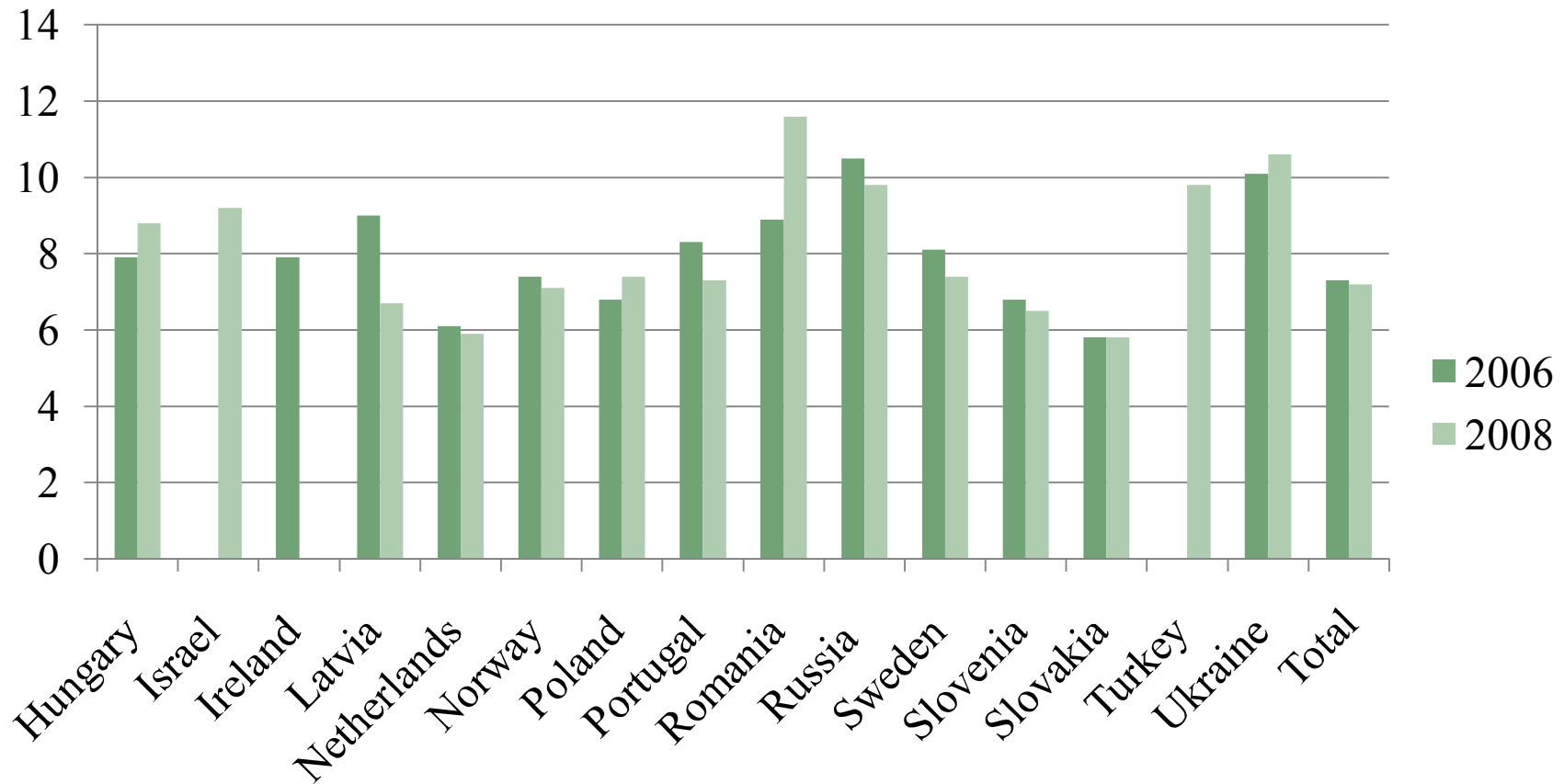
Anomie, integral: max/min



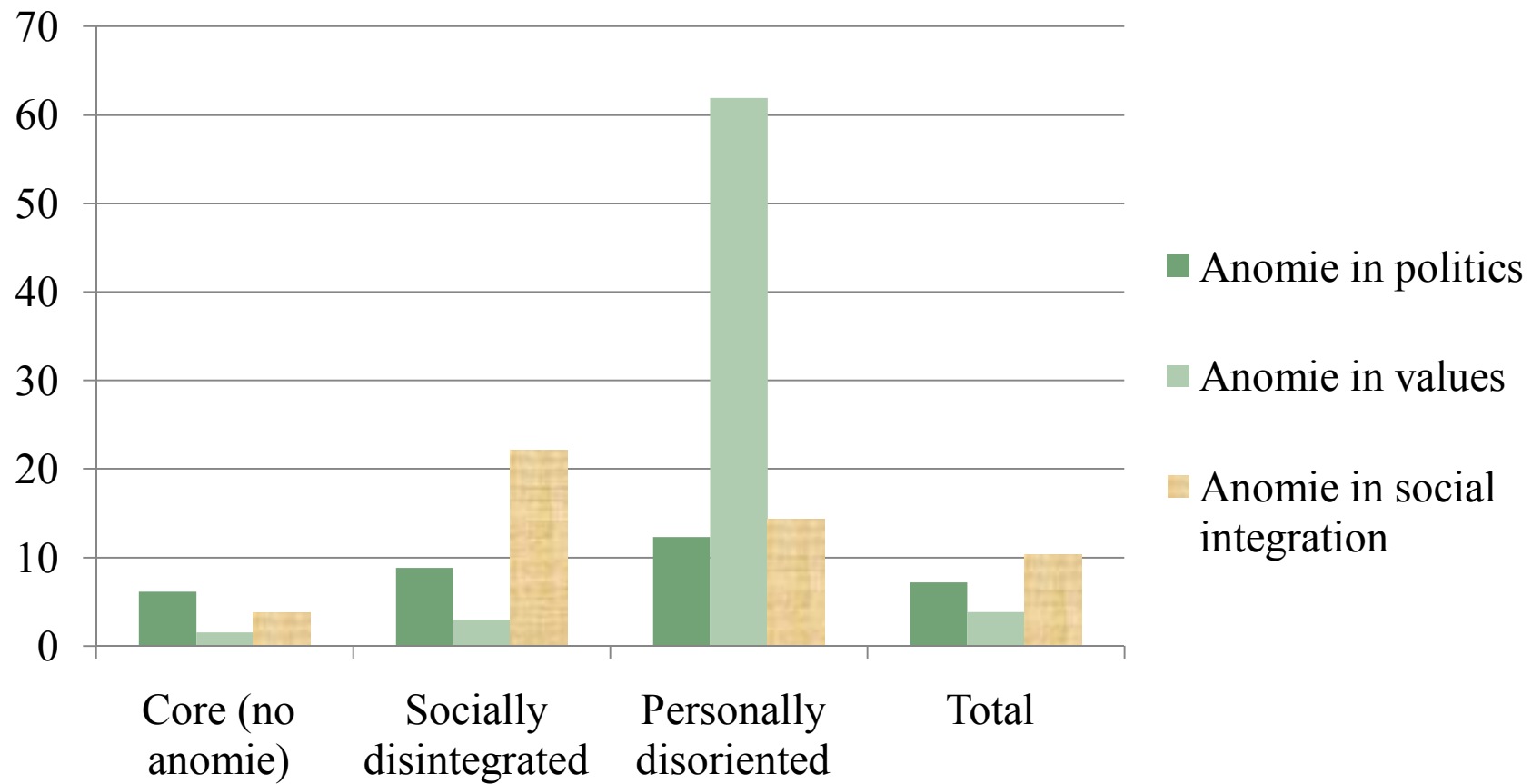
Anomie, integral - 1

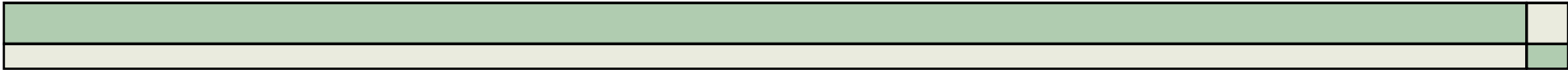


Anomie, integral - 2

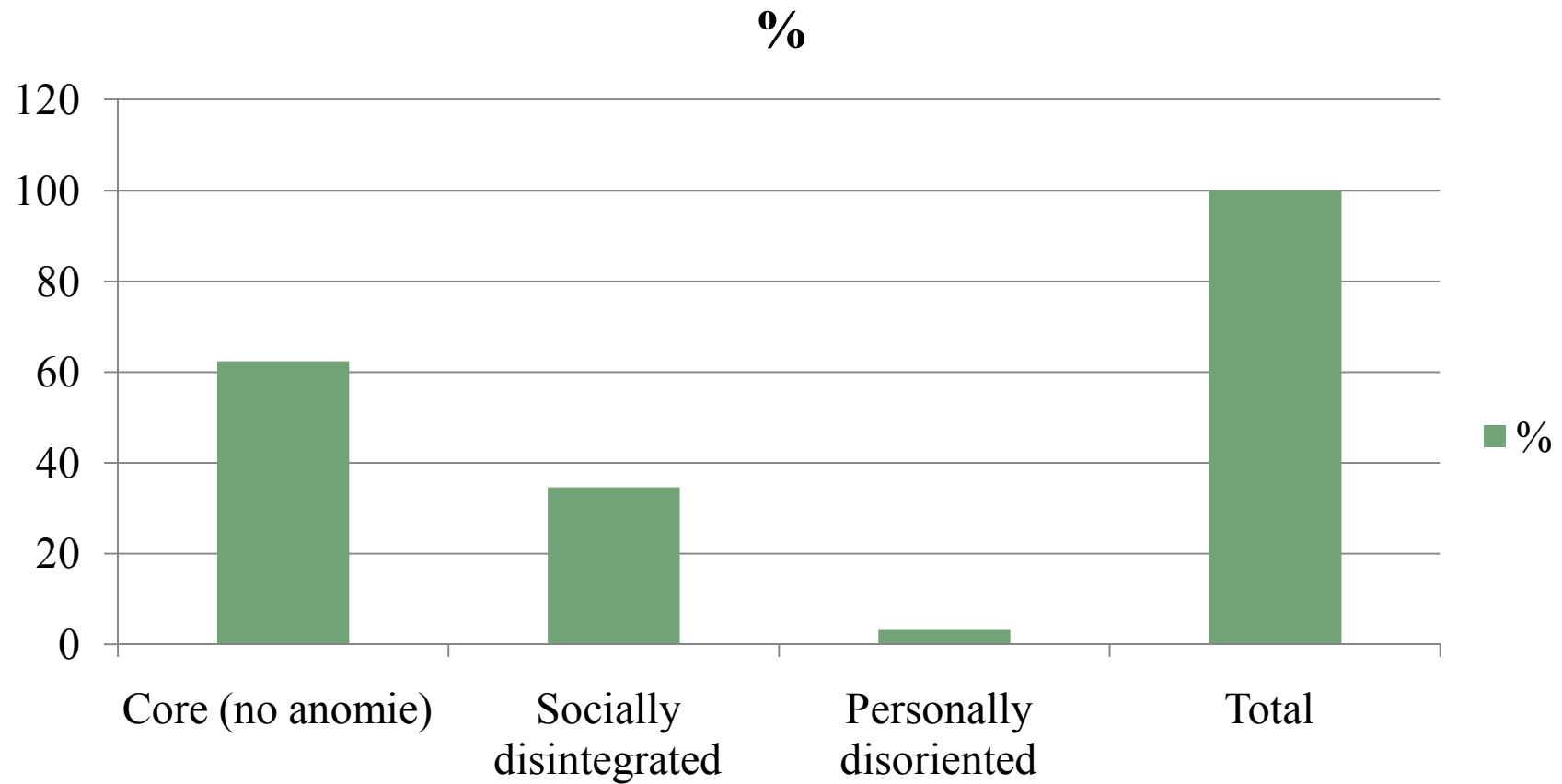


Anomie: types of people

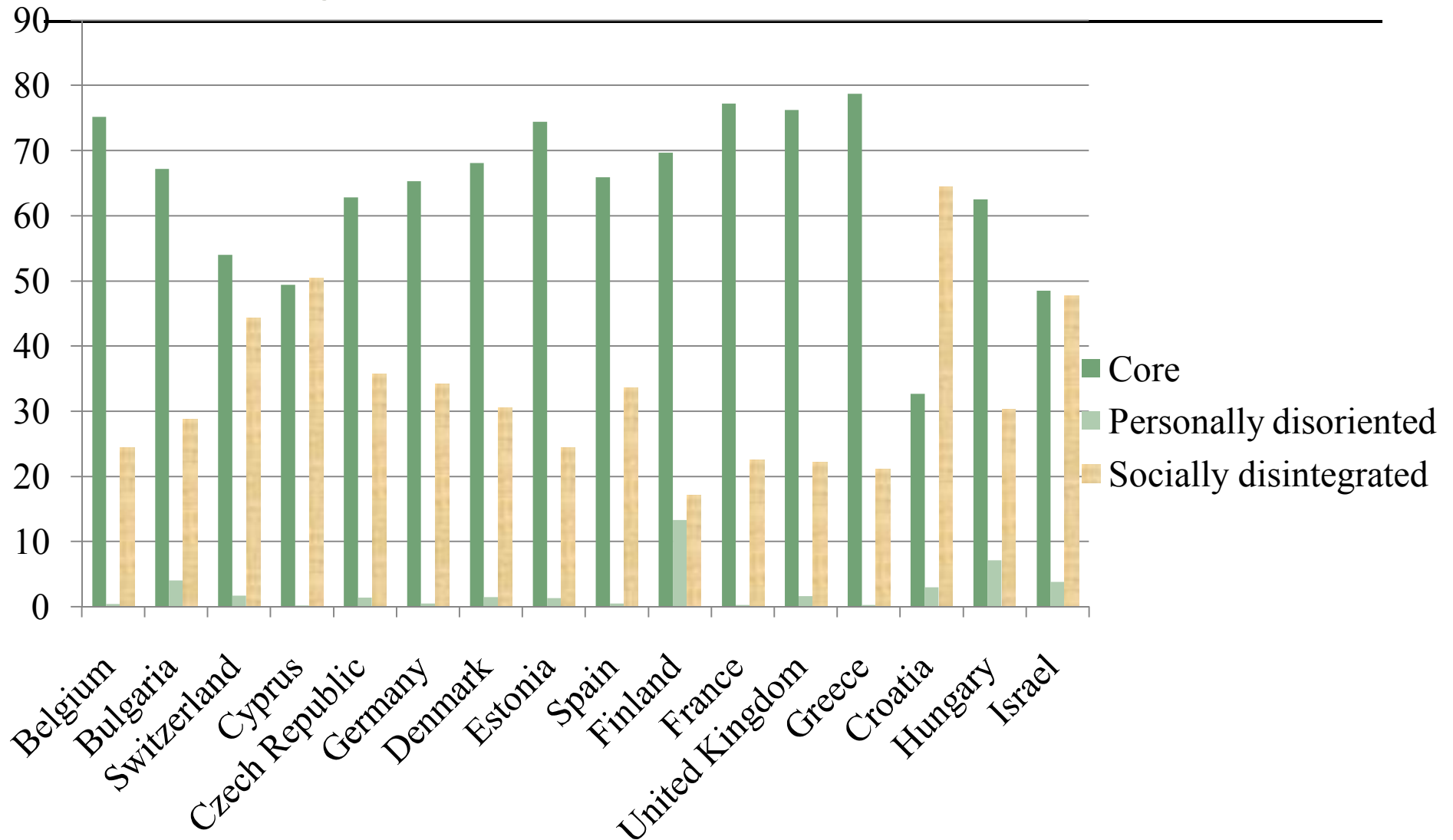




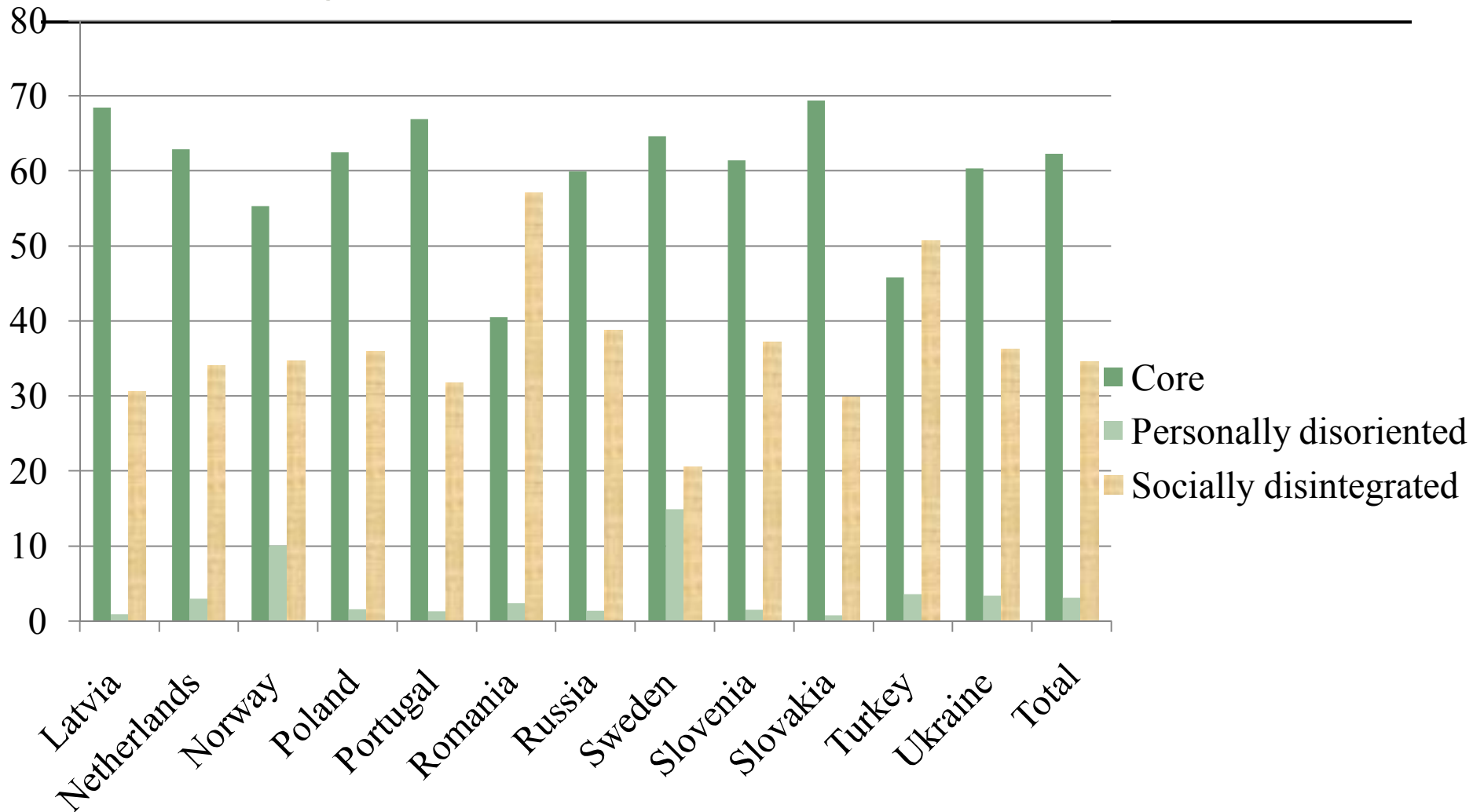
Anomie: percentage of each type



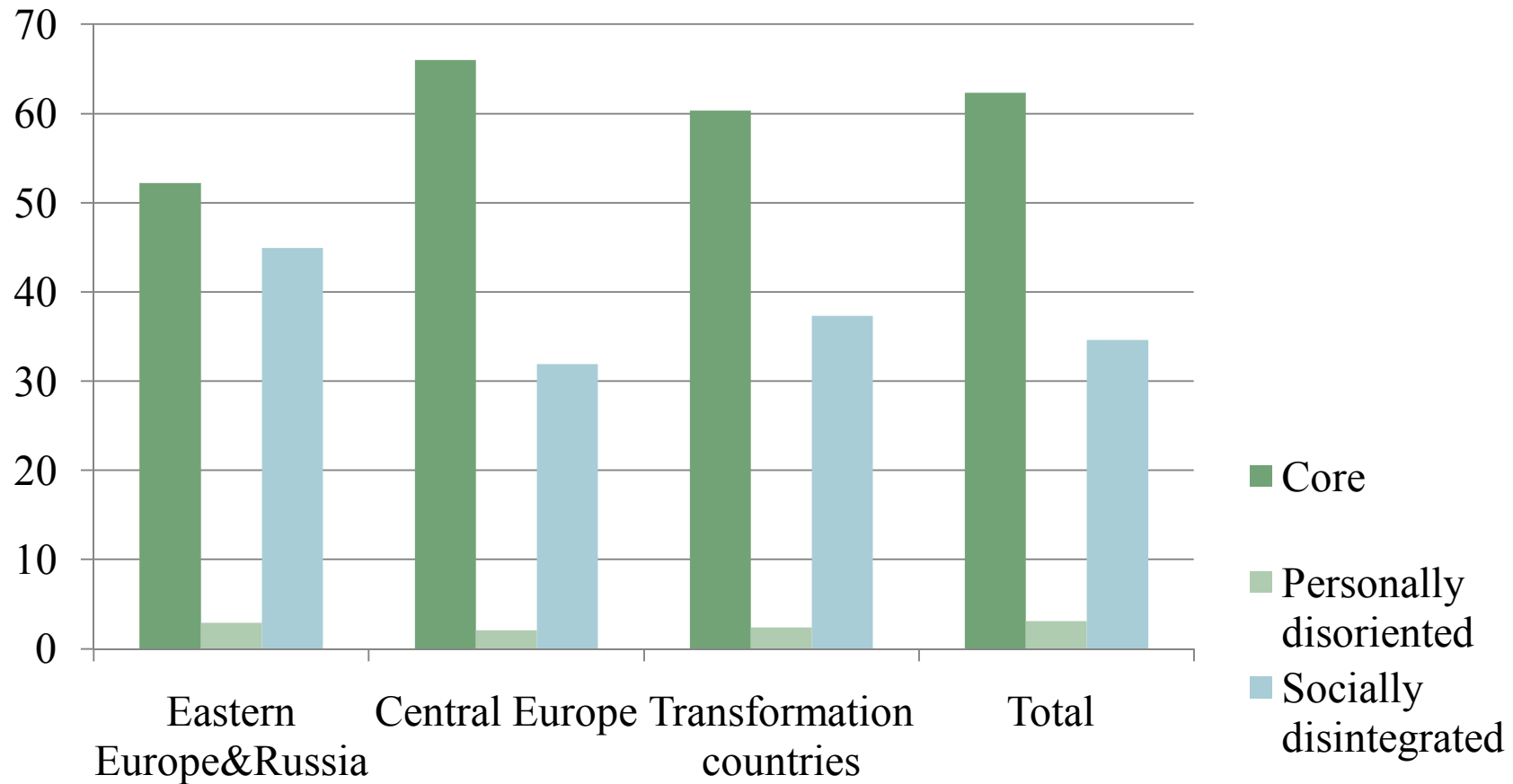
Anomie: types of people by country - 1



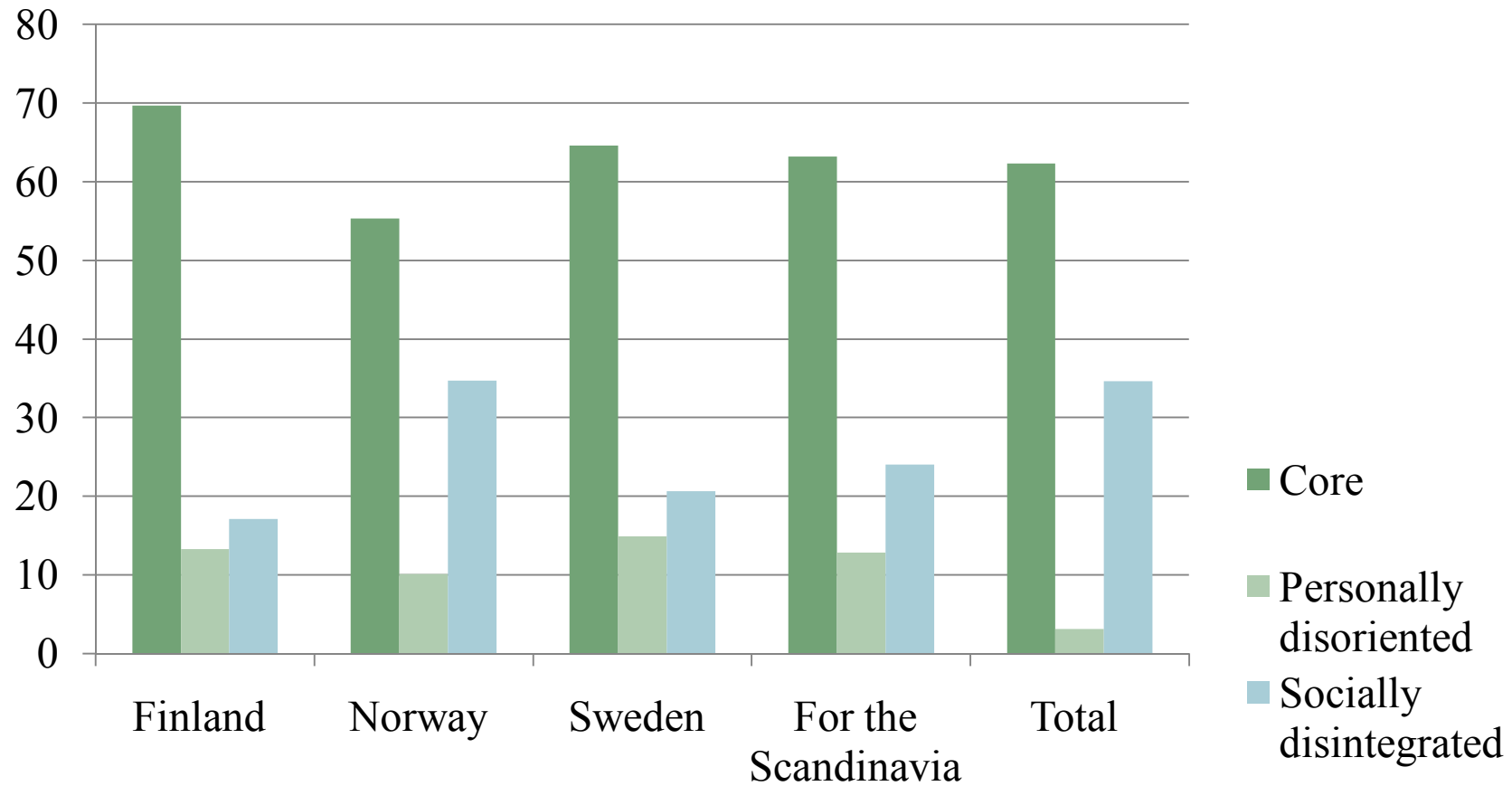
Anomie: types of people by country - 2



Anomie: transformation countries



Anomie: Scandinavia (excl. Denmark)





Relations between social anomie and other issues

Higher level of social anomie relates with:

- Lower level of education
- Lower level of income
- Youngest and oldest ages
- Lower level of trust, honesty and help
- Higher level of religious activity



Conclusions-1: about transformation countries

- There is the statistically significant variation in the level of anomie between transformation countries and well-established states
- There is the significant difference in the level of anomie between Eastern Europe (incl. Russia) – EE - and Central Europe (Czech Rep., Poland, others)
- There is no significant variation in anomie level between Central European transformation countries and other European states (excl EE)



Conclusions-2: about Russia

- ❑ Contradiction between highest level of anomie in politics and moderate level of anomie in other realms
- ❑ This contradiction can produce new systemic crisis in prospect if lack of changes in political system and governance because of anti-social political behavior
- ❑ Hypotheses about extra-high permanent level of anomie in Russia in compare with Europe didn't confirmed by data used



Conclusions-3: about Scandinavia

- There is the highest level of personal anomie in Scandinavia (excl Denmark) in compare with all other types of country
- Possible explanation: Society needs in certain level of anomie for development. And if extra-high regulation at the institutional & societal levels (Scandinavian case), there is the high anomie at the personal level as the society's anti-stagnant response. This is not the case for more liberal Denmark.



Appendix: initial data for diagrams (slides 45-71)



Politics - 1

27 questions:

- TV watching, news/politics/current affairs on average weekday
- Radio listening, news/politics/current affairs on average weekday
- Newspaper reading, politics/current affairs on average weekday
- How interested in politics
- Politics too complicated to understand
- Making mind up about political issues
- Trust in country's parliament
- Trust in the legal system
- Trust in the police
- Trust in politicians
- Trust in political parties
- Trust in the European Parliament
- Trust in the United Nations



Politics - 2

- Voted last national election
- Contacted politician or government official last 12 months
- Worked in political party or action group last 12 months
- Worked in another organization or association last 12 months
- Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months
- Signed petition last 12 months
- Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months



Politics - 3

- Boycotted certain products last 12 months
- Feel closer to a particular party than all other parties
- How close to party
- Member of political party
- Placement on left right scale
- How satisfied with the national government
- How satisfied with the way democracy works in country



Social integration

10 questions

- How often socially meet with friends, relatives or colleagues
- Anyone to discuss intimate and personal matters with
- Take part in social activities compared to others of same age
- Respondent or household member victim of burglary/assault last 5 years
- Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark
- How often worry about your home being burgled
- Worry about home burgled has effect on quality of life
- How often worry about becoming a victim of violent crime
- Worry about becoming victim of violent crime has effect on quality of life
- Borrow money to make ends meet, difficult or easy



Values - 1

33 Questions

- Government should reduce differences in income levels
- Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish
- Ban political parties that wish overthrow democracy
- Modern science can be relied on to solve environmental problems
- Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority
- Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group from majority
- Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe
- Immigration bad or good for country's economy
- Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants
- Immigrants make country worse or better place to live
- Terrorist suspect in prison until police satisfied



Values - 2

- Torture in country never justified even to prevent terrorist attack
- Important to think new ideas and being creative
- Important to be rich, have money and expensive things
- Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities
- Important to show abilities and be admired
- Important to live in secure and safe surroundings
- Important to try new and different things in life
- Important to do what is told and follow rules
- Important to understand different people
- Important to be humble and modest, not draw attention
- Important to have a good time



Values - 3

- Important to make own decisions and be free
- Important to help people and care for others well-being
- Important to be successful and that people recognise achievements
- Important that government is strong and ensures safety
- Important to seek adventures and have an exiting life
- Important to behave properly
- Important to get respect from others
- Important to be loyal to friends and devote to people close
- Important to care for nature and environment
- Important to follow traditions and customs
- Important to seek fun and things that give pleasure

Anomie, politics - 1

	2006	2008
Austria	6,8	
Belgium	4,6	5,1
Bulgaria	12,6	10,6
Switzerland	5,1	5,6
Cyprus	6,5	6,9
Czech Republic		6,1
Germany	5,2	4,7
Denmark	4,1	3,7
Estonia	8,9	7,3
Spain	7,7	8,9
Finland	3,7	4,0
France	5,1	5,1
United Kingdom	6,0	5,6
Greece		6,6
Croatia		8,3

Anomie, politics - 2

Hungary	7,6	7,9
Israel		10,4
Ireland	6,9	
Latvia	9,7	8,3
Netherlands	4,9	4,3
Norway	3,1	3,0
Poland	7,8	8,2
Portugal	9,8	9,7
Romania	10,3	10,4
Russia	14,3	12,6
Sweden	4,7	3,9
Slovenia	7,5	6,5
Slovakia	5,8	6,3
Turkey		10,1
Ukraine	11,9	12,1
Total	7,2	7,2

Anomie, social integration - 1

	2006	2008
Austria	12,2	
Belgium	8,0	7,9
Bulgaria	10,9	9,2
Switzerland	11,6	12,3
Cyprus	15,7	13,9
Czech Republic		10,4
Germany	10,7	10,2
Denmark	11,3	10,1
Estonia	9,8	7,8
Spain	8,3	9,1
Finland	7,2	7,1
France	6,5	7,2
United Kingdom	7,7	7,4
Greece		6,3
Croatia		15,9

Anomie, social integration - 2

Hungary	11,1	9,4
Israel		12,6
Ireland	10,0	
Latvia	13,2	9,6
Netherlands	11,6	10,7
Norway	11,5	11,3
Poland	9,7	11,2
Portugal	10,9	9,0
Romania	12,0	18,1
Russian Federation	10,9	11,7
Sweden	7,9	8,2
Slovenia	10,6	10,5
Slovakia	8,6	8,8
Turkey		13,9
Ukraine	11,4	12,0
Total	10,4	10,4

Anomie, values - 1

	2006	2008
Austria	3,2	
Belgium	,3	,6
Bulgaria	9,9	7,0
Switzerland	1,4	2,4
Cyprus	2,0	1,3
Czech Republic		2,8
Germany	1,6	1
Denmark	2,8	1,7
Estonia	4,3	2,3
Spain	2,1	2,2
Finland	10,3	9,0
France	,5	,8
United Kingdom	1,7	1,7
Greece		1,0
Croatia		4,3

Anomie, values - 2

Hungary	5,0	7,0
Israel		4,6
Ireland	6,9	
Latvia	4,0	2,7
Netherlands	1,8	2,6
Norway	7,5	6,8
Poland	3,0	2,9
Portugal	4,3	3,4
Romania	4,6	6,3
Russian Federation	6,2	5,0
Sweden	11,7	10,2
Slovenia	2,4	2,6
Slovakia	2,9	2,5
Turkey		5,4
Ukraine	7,0	7,6
Total	4,3	3,8

Anomie, values - 1

	2006	2008
Austria	3,2	
Belgium	,3	,6
Bulgaria	9,9	7,0
Switzerland	1,4	2,4
Cyprus	2,0	1,3
Czech Republic		2,8
Germany	1,6	1
Denmark	2,8	1,7
Estonia	4,3	2,3
Spain	2,1	2,2
Finland	10,3	9,0
France	,5	,8
United Kingdom	1,7	1,7
Greece		1,0
Croatia		4,3

Anomie, values - 2

Hungary	5,0	7,0
Israel		4,6
Ireland	6,9	
Latvia	4,0	2,7
Netherlands	1,8	2,6
Norway	7,5	6,8
Poland	3,0	2,9
Portugal	4,3	3,4
Romania	4,6	6,3
Russian Federation	6,2	5,0
Sweden	11,7	10,2
Slovenia	2,4	2,6
Slovakia	2,9	2,5
Turkey		5,4
Ukraine	7,0	7,6
Total	4,3	3,8

Anomie, integral - 1

	2006	2008
Austria	7,4	
Belgium	4,3	4,5
Bulgaria	11,1	8,9
Switzerland	6,0	6,8
Cyprus	8,1	7,4
Czech Republic		6,5
Germany	5,8	5,3
Denmark	6,1	5,2
Estonia	7,7	5,8
Spain	6,0	6,7
Finland	7,1	6,7
France	4,0	4,4
United Kingdom	5,1	4,9
Greece		4,6
Croatia		9,5

Anomie , integral - 2

Hungary	7,9	8,8
Israel		9,2
Ireland	7,9	
Latvia	9,0	6,7
Netherlands	6,1	5,9
Norway	7,4	7,1
Poland	6,8	7,4
Portugal	8,3	7,3
Romania	8,9	11,6
Russian Federation	10,5	9,8
Sweden	8,1	7,4
Slovenia	6,8	6,5
Slovakia	5,8	5,8
Turkey		9,8
Ukraine	10,1	10,6
Total	7,3	7,2

Anomie: types of people

Types	% of every type	Anomie			
		Politics	Values	Social integration	Integral
Core (no anomie)	62,3	6,1	1,5	3,8	3,8
Socially disintegrated	34,6	8,8	3,0	22,1	11,3
Personally disoriented	3,1	12,3	61,9	14,3	29,5
Total	100	7,2	3,8	10,4	7,2

Anomie types in countries - 1

Country	Anomie: types			Total
	Core	Socially disintegrated	Personally disoriented	
Belgium	75,2	24,4	,4	100,0%
Bulgaria	67,2	28,8	4,0	100,0%
Switzerland	54,0	44,3	1,7	100,0%
Cyprus	49,4	50,5	,2	100,0%
Czech Republic	62,8	35,8	1,4	100,0%
Germany	65,3	34,2	,5	100,0%
Denmark	68,1	30,5	1,5	100,0%
Estonia	74,4	24,4	1,3	100,0%
Spain	65,9	33,7	,5	100,0%
Finland	69,7	17,1	13,3	100,0%
France	77,2	22,5	,3	100,0%
United Kingdom	76,2	22,2	1,6	100,0%
Greece	78,7	21,1	,3	100,0%
Croatia	32,7	64,4	3,0	100,0%

Anomie types in countries - 2

Country	Anomie: types			Total
	Core	Socially disintegrated	Personally disoriented	
Hungary	62,5	30,4	7,1	100,0%
Israel	48,5	47,7	3,8	100,0%
Latvia	68,4	30,7	,9	100,0%
Netherlands	62,9	34,1	3,0	100,0%
Norway	55,3	34,7	10,1	100,0%
Poland	62,5	36,0	1,6	100,0%
Portugal	66,9	31,8	1,3	100,0%
Romania	40,5	57,1	2,4	100,0%
Russian Federation	59,9	38,8	1,4	100,0%
Sweden	64,6	20,6	14,9	100,0%
Slovenia	61,4	37,2	1,5	100,0%
Slovakia	69,4	29,9	,8	100,0%
Turkey	45,8	50,7	3,6	100,0%
Ukraine	60,3	36,3	3,4	100,0%
Total	62,3	34,6	3,1	100,0%

Anomie types in transformation countries

	Anomie: types			Total	Anomie: integral
	Core	Socially disintegrated	Personally disoriented		
Bulgaria	67,2	28,8	4,0	100,0%	8,9%
Croatia	32,7	64,4	3,0	100,0%	9,5 %
Romania	40,5	57,1	2,4	100,0 %	11,6 %
Russian Federation	59,9	38,8	1,4	100,0%	9,8 %
Ukraine	60,3	36,3	3,4	100,0%	10,6 %
Czech Republic	62,8	35,8	1,4	100,0 %	6,5 %
Estonia	74,4	24,4	1,3	100,0%	5,8 %
Hungary	62,5	30,4	7,1	100,0%	8,8 %
Latvia	68,4	30,7	,9	100,0 %	6,7 %
Poland	62,5	36,0	1,6	100,0%	7,4 %
Slovenia	61,4	37,2	1,5	100,0%	6,5 %
Slovakia	69,4	29,9	,8	100,0 %	5,8 %
For the EE & Russia	52,2	44,9	2,9	100,0%	10,1%
For the Central Europe	66,0	31,9	2,1	100,0%	6,8%
For all transformation countries	60,3	37,3	2,4	100,0 %	8,9%
Total	62,3	34,6	3,1	100,0%	7,2%

Anomie types in Scandinavia

	Anomie: types			Total
	Core	Socially disintegrated	Personally disoriented	
Finland	69,7	17,1	13,3	100,0%
Norway	55,3	34,7	10,1	100,0%
Sweden	64,6	20,6	14,9	100,0%
For the Scandinavia	63,2	24,0	12,8	100,0%
Total	62,3	34,6	3,1	100,0%

Anomie, trust, honesty, help: correlation

		Anomie, integral	Most people can be trusted	Most people try to take advantage of you	Most of the time people helpful
Anomie, integral	Pearson coef.	1	-,054(**)	-,058(**)	-,046(**)
	Sig.		,000	,000	,000
	N		55887	55471	55735
Most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	Pearson coef.		1	,627(**)	,546(**)
	Sig.			,000	,000
	N			55366	55616
Most people try to take advantage of you, or try to be fair	Pearson coef.			1	,573(**)
	Sign.				,000
	N				55259
Most of the time people helpful or mostly looking out for themselves	Pearson coef.				1
	Sig.				
	N				55735

Social anomie and level of education

Highest level of education	Anomie, integral	N
Not completed primary education	12,6	1632
Primary or first stage of basic	9,1	6876
Lower secondary or second stage of basic	7,8	10833
Upper secondary	6,7	19753
Post secondary, non-tertiary	6,6	4013
First stage of tertiary	5,7	12229
Second stage of tertiary	5,6	601
Total	7,2	55937

Social anomie and religious activity

How often attend religious services apart from special occasions	Anomie, integral	N
Every day	10,0	891
More than once a week	8,1	1500
Once a week	7,5	6308
At least once a month	7,0	5851
Only on special holy days	6,7	12816
Less often	6,8	11091
Never	7,2	17107
Total	7,2	55564

Social anomie and belonging to the age group

Which age group belonging to	Anomie, integral	N
A – youngest	9,3	2758
B	7,3	5815
C	6,7	7624
D	6,3	8657
E	6,3	12328
F	6,5	6648
G	7,1	5922
H	8,7	3559
J - oldest	12,0	1487
Total	7,2	54798

Social anomie and feeling about household income

Feeling about household's income nowadays	Anomie, integral	N
Living comfortably on present income	6,0	13445
Coping on present income	6,7	24102
Difficult on present income	7,8	12394
Very difficult on present income	9,4	5512
Total	7,2	55452

Overcoming of anomie: Development of paternalistic values.

Source: Levada-centr

What would be the relations between people and the state?	1990	1997	2007	2008	2009
People have to agree to any sacrifices for the sake of the state	7	6	4	5	7
State has to provide more care for people	57	68	80	82	79
People have to be more active and to provide care by their own	25	18	13	12	12
Don't know	11	8	3	1	2