

## ALIENATION, ANOMIE AND TRADITIONAL POWERLESSNESS

E. L. Zammit

For many centuries the Maltese people were powerless in determining their national, political and economic matters. Powerlessness here refers to a social condition which is beyond the control of certain actors whose lives are determined by it in important respects. This "national powerlessness" was psychologically compensated by a high emotional investment in "local" institutions which, in a sense, provided the people with alternative sources of power and prestige. To an extent, these "safety valve" institutions distracted the people's attentions from national struggles for control in vital areas which were beyond their reach.(1)

In this context, the objective powerlessness is also accompanied by a subjective, normative acceptance of that condition. This does not exclude some dormant, cultural aspirations for control even in the national areas. In fact, such aspirations emerging from whatever source may gain popularity during periods of unrest due to unusual economic deprivation or manifest political repression.(2) For the most part, however, there are few, if any, signs of a challenge to the existing national power structure. On the contrary, the prevailing interactions between the dominant and subordinate actors tend towards an apparent authority rather than a power relationship.(3)

In these historical circumstances, one can detect approximations to the conditions typified by Marx under the concept of "alienation", and by Durkheim under the concept of "anomie". One can, in other words, understand these conditions and the responses they evoked better by reference to these two classic sociological concepts. In this paper, therefore, these twin concepts are first briefly considered in turn with reference to the "national powerlessness". These considerations provide the setting for a subsequent outline of the main traditional responses or adaptations to the same conditions.

### Applicability of Alienation and Anomie

The concepts of alienation as depicted by Marx and that of anomie as depicted by Durkheim are not exclusively confined to the circumstances which prevail under advanced capitalism. Indeed, such circumstances have also been regarded by Marx as being indirectly conducive to the emergence of an active class consciousness and ultimately culminating in an ideal classless society. Moreover, Marx did not assume that these developments

would necessarily follow everywhere a similar course. He recognized that developments are always dictated by the historical factors which prevail in each society. In Britain itself, for instance, although being the first country to industrialize, Marx argued that the historical time-span between the decline of feudalism and the development of industrialism has enabled the emergence of a "compromise" political system which could contain the anticipated developments.

A review of evidence from recent Maltese social history (4) actually manifests many of the empirical conditions which approximate those described by Marx and other sociologists under the concept of alienation. The relevant aspect of alienation, that of "powerlessness", is related to certain historical circumstances - notably the presence of successive colonialist powers which have, until recently, governed Malta.(5)

The application of the alienation concept to empirical situations and its relevance to an understanding of contemporary societies is no easy task. For though the current usage of this concept is largely derived from Marx, the diversity of its interpretations makes a coherent view of this concept elusive. Writers such as Feuer, for instance, complain that it has been devalued in such a way as to become equated with an experience of frustration of any "basic emotional desire".(6)

In a bold attempt, Fischer has recently suggested that: "Alienation is the state in which the actor fails to perceive a positive interdependence between himself and social relationships or other objectifications".(7) He rightly argues that the original meanings of alienation (in Hegel and Feuerbach) referred to the separation from the individual of something that once formed part of him. Marx's description of the worker's relation to the product of his labour - despite several ambiguities - is consistent with this view.(8) The difficulty arises with Marx's introduction of the "essential human nature" from which men are said to be violated through the capitalist system of production. This raises several philosophical questions which cannot be answered through empirical investigations.(9) On the other hand, the concept of "externalization" or "objectification" refers simply to man's actions upon nature through which he "creates entities (physical, social and cultural) distinguishable from him - or herself which embody (represent objectively) this action and, thereby, the actor's subjectivity."(10) The alienated situation, refers to a subjective state of powerlessness based on a lack of perceived causality between the subject and his object.(11)

The key issue, therefore, is one of control, or lack of it, of one's objectifications. It refers to a two way influence: both the perceived effect of one's actions upon one's physical and social environment and vice-versa. In other words, it refers to a lack of perceived interdependence.

This notion of alienation underlines the need for empirical investigations among the "objects" of alienation. These empirical conditions need to be specified and their impact on individuals properly assessed (12) as one's cognitions usually depend on both personal and environmental factors. "One can, therefore, choose to investigate the question of which situations generate alienation across a variety of people...and/or what sorts of individual traits or histories generate a predisposition to be alienated across a variety of situations." (13)

If the alienation concept as used both by Marx and by subsequent writers is based on a philosophical image of man in society as his "human", "normal" and "natural" condition (14), this is equally true of anomie. Marx's image of man was different indeed from that of his contemporary, Durkheim. Yet many contemporary sociologists incorporate Durkheim's anomie concept as a special variation of Marx's alienation concept or vice-versa. To an extent both men were interpreting the same social phenomena. As Fox says: "the work behaviours referred to by Durkheim as anomic are those seen by Marx as alienated". (15) Both saw a transformation in power and authority relations as a necessary precondition for solution to the problem created by the division of labour in industrial society. For Marx property ownership was the basis of class exploitation. Coercive power and unequal opportunities brought about the inevitable collapse of class structure. Yet as Lukes points out: "Alienation, in Marxist thinking, is, in part, what characterizes precisely those states of the individual and conditions of society which Durkheim sees as the solution to anomie". Durkheim, of course, has in mind the condition of the "unregulated man who needs rules to live by, limits to his desires, 'circumscribed tasks' to perform and 'limited horizons' for his thoughts". (16) Both men, no doubt, were referring to particular social situations and roles. But, ultimately, they held very different views of the relationship between the individual and society. Durkheim saw human nature as essentially in need of moral limits and self discipline - for man's desires are potentially limitless and insatiable. (17)

Due to the paradoxical complexity of social life both tendencies can be simultaneously detected in actual situations so that Marx's and Durkheim's prescriptions can be considered applicable to it. Even more than individuals do societies sometimes manifest the symptoms of a split personality. Lukes clearly accepts this when he states that Marx and Durkheim have "identified features which may be said to characterize any conceivable society". Consequently, alienation and anomie are concepts which can be applied to social situations at different levels of generality. The researcher ought to look for specific instances and processes which contribute towards alienation and anomie.

One factor contributing towards an anomic situation in Malta is the breakdown of the traditional framework of authority. This framework has been severely shaken by the periodic economic and political upheavals since the last century. Such processes have

to be considered within the general context of colonialism. Similarly, alienation in Malta is not the concomitant of the advancement of capitalist society or a high level of rationality in industrial organizations. Its symptom has rather been a national feeling of traditional powerlessness to control the economic and political fortunes of most individuals in this society. Clearly, the causes of alienation and anomie are to be sought at different levels of abstraction. Thus the structure of authority in the home, the school, and at work is interlinked with the authority structure in the church, the political party and eventually to the more general aspects of cultural and structural processes. The notion of powerlessness is directly related to both alienation and anomie, since power relations between subordinates and superordinates - as opposed to authority relations - refer to the absence of legitimate norms governing behaviour. Even in those cases where some form of legitimacy may be secured through the use of manipulative techniques the situation can still be analysed as essentially one of potential powerlessness. In a fundamental sense, therefore, powerlessness is a form of normlessness or anomie. Similarly, powerlessness, as a lack of a sense of control, efficacy, is one of the central aspects of alienation. However, as both concepts refer to typical situations, actual societies may correspond to halfway positions along alienation and anomie scales. As Lukes says: "Some alienation must exist wherever there are reified social relations, socially given roles and norms; while anomie must exist wherever hierarchies disintegrate and social control is weakened".(18)

Durkheim's depiction of "fatalism" merits consideration in view of its relevance to Malta. In a sense this state may have as much in common with alienation as with anomie. Durkheim describes it as a result of "excessive regulation" where "futures (are) pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline".(19) These rules are binding on the external behaviour of individuals. However, it is not so much the content of norms which characterizes fatalism. It is rather, the "source of regulatory power for norms" that identifies this state. Typically, fatalism ensues when "the effective regulatory power of common rules is anchored in a power external to the social aggregate as a whole and to each individual in it - vested, for example, in the captor".(20) Dohrenwerd contrasts fatalism with both egoism and altruism as in these latter cases the norms are internalized by the individuals concerned. However, as has been pointed out earlier, whether such a difference is significant or not depends on what bases such a legitimacy has been secured. There are various means at the "captor's" disposal by which he can secure the semblance of full legitimacy - at least for a limited period of time. At the root of one's acceptance there may be a general ideological orientation to legitimize the prevailing power structure or the division of labour as a whole and one's place in it - "thus manifesting no alienated or anomic behaviour".(21) However, many observers have noted an increasing challenge to such convictions in modern societies.

Clearly therefore, Marx's and Durkheim's theories have much in common and can be regarded as complementary. Several sociologists have made attempts to organize the articulation of these concepts within a common framework. One influential attempt has been that of Seeman (22) who has singled out five alternative meanings of alienation (and anomie) as found in common usage. These are: Powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement. Of these, the ones that are of principal concern here are powerlessness and normlessness.

In Durkheim's view, social disorders, like class conflict and the "debasement of human nature", are not the necessary outcomes of the industrial division of labour but of inadequate normative regulation and an inadequate social organization.(23) One version of normlessness which operates in Malta is the situation described by Merton where there is "a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve given goals".(24) There is an incongruence between the culturally prescribed goals and the institutionalized norms for their attainment. The typical responses to this situation are either conformist or deviant - depending partly upon one's location in the social structure. In the Malta case, I argue that there is a widespread conformity or, at least, compliance among the local population based on the deeply ingrained conviction of the traditional powerlessness. This, however, does not preclude the possibility of "deviant" individual adaptations beneath this apparent compliance. In other words, such compliance ultimately depends on the acknowledgement of a superior power and so it enables one to disregard the official norms whenever a loophole is detected. Even more significantly, a set of unofficial (or local) norms might coexist with the official (or national) ones which limit their efficacy in particular cases. This is usually done through resort to techniques like conflicting interpretations, and emphasis on the individual aspects of particular cases, appeals to the common good, efficiency, traditions and so on. The resultant situation can be one of normative dualism. Such an anomic case leads to low predictability of behaviour. It also leads to "the loss of commonly held standards to individualism or instrumental, manipulative attitudes".(25)

Undoubtedly, it can be argued that the Maltese traditional responses or adaptations are also related to factors like economic instability, overpopulation and environmental limitations. Moreover, social institutions like patronage, paternalism, religion and traditional rivalries also exert a relatively autonomous influence on social life. Many factors usually contribute towards a certain social pattern of behaviour. It is the task of the sociologist to assess - through empirical analysis - the relative impact of such factors and to single out those whose contribution has been of major significance. In Malta's case it is argued that powerlessness is directly related to traditional colonialism and that the overall situation can be described as being both alienated and anomic. However, due to the complexity of social life, it can be assumed that most of the factors listed above are also somehow inter-related.(26)

One striking feature about the relationship between the various colonial administrations who governed Malta throughout the ages and the local people was the social distance which set them apart from each other. Paradoxically in spite of the continuous presence of foreign power holders, the Maltese, in a sense, led their own lives in their own way. Therefore, the situation which has emerged is characterized by an acute separation between national and local spheres of activity. The national sphere has been monopolised by the foreign government officials while the local is almost exclusively regarded as the Maltese domain. The general feeling of powerlessness, therefore, was not total. It applied mainly to national political and economic issues.

A modified version of Merton's anomie paradigm offers a useful guide to an understanding of the typical Maltese adaptations to what they regarded as an endemic powerlessness at the national level. These Maltese adaptations are compliance with paternalism, individual manipulation, localism - retreatism and political activism. These adaptations or responses will now be briefly considered in turn. One should note, however, that as typical categories, their pure form serves mainly for analytical purposes. In actual situations there are likely to be found variations combining several categories as well as manifesting various levels of intensity. In addition, the part played by other variables such as personality factors and historical circumstances should also be taken into account. A total analysis must account for such factors as well - though that would be beyond the limits of this essay.

#### Compliance with Paternalism

In a recent article Hopper and Weyman have shown that although people tend to feel relatively deprived "about economic and status goals under certain structural conditions, they are only likely to maintain these feelings if they do not respond to them in such a way as to eliminate this structural source and/or reduce the feelings".(27) Therefore people do not simply resign themselves to a lifetime of relative deprivation. They respond in the form of "instrumental adjustments".(28)

There are three possible types of compliant or conformist responses. The first type consists of the full acceptance of one's (static) position by one who can comfortably fulfil all the expectations related to it.(29) The second type also entails a positive disposition towards society and its institutions. It is typical of a person who manages to raise his social position in spite of the obstacles which stand in his way. Though new obstacles may accompany every step, he never feels deprived as he can muster effective resources. The third type of conformist is one who, faced with impossible obstacles in satisfying his aspirations, reacts by lowering his goals to a more realistic level - at least temporarily. This is the psychological phenomenon of "cognitive dissonance".

All these forms of compliance, however, are seldom completely successful in the long term. Eventually people seek alternative or subsidiary adaptations. Some persons may, of course, opt for these alternatives without even trying to conform. More often, in the Maltese situation, they are likely to seek an adjustment to their deprivations in partially conformist and partially "divergent" terms simultaneously. The latter responses, of course, "diverge" from those upheld by the official power holders. These "divergencies" may be explicit or implicit and individual or collective.

The forms of "instrumental adjustment" are here associated with alienated and anomic powerlessness. Ultimately it is the "sociologist who decides what constitutes the objective nature of the (alienative) situation he studies".(30) The aim of instrumental adjustment is mainly to reduce or eliminate the psychological feelings created by the depriving situation.

### Individual Manipulation (31)

This refers to behaviour which is formally regarded as illegitimate but informally recognized as inevitable due to the special circumstances prevailing. This justification is expressed as "the only way out" or "everyone does so". Justification is usually sought on the grounds of vague or specialized norms. Such behaviour is not, of course, carried out openly but in private and acknowledged only in confidence. The most widespread manifestation of this type of adaptation in Malta is the patronage institution. It is traditionally believed that if one wants to obtain any prized objective, merit alone is insufficient. It is also necessary to have patrons interceding on one's behalf. Various attempts which have been made in recent years to end this practice have met with some success. Undoubtedly the basis of patronage has changed in recent decades. The persistence of the widespread resort to patronage tends to undermine the legitimacy of the social structure. On the other hand, the widespread acknowledgment of this practice serves to enhance the self respect of those who fail in their bid for such objectives. Other instances of "individual manipulation" are indulgent attitudes to petty thefts and to various forms of customs evasion. One should also note that the informal nature of such a semi-legitimate innovation enables the pursuit of both economic and status goals.

### Localism - Retreatism

This term is being used to denote another traditional mode of adaptation characteristic of Maltese society. It includes a unique combination of the Mertonian categories of retreatism and ritualism. Like retreatism, it consists of a conditional withdrawal from "those social networks which approve the rational and systematic pursuit of long and short term ends and means.(32) It also includes a devaluation - followed by a new valuation - of

both oneself and one's goals. This process is aimed at restoring one's self-esteem on the basis of a reassessment in the light of the new criteria. Having withdrawn for example, from the active pursuit of the economic and status goals which are the criteria of success in the wider (or national) society, the retreatist transfers his aspirations to success within particular social contexts. Hence his adaptation is "socially patterned" and provides the individual with an alternative status and normative structure.(33) It involves "a mode of withdrawal from one situation into another".(34) In the present context the retreat from socio-economic goals and means is not total and negative but only partial and simply to a more narrowly confined boundary. Meanwhile, a certain minimum amount of positive orientation to the goals and norms of the wider national society is maintained. This mode of adaptation, therefore, combines certain elements of "ritualism" and "mechanism" with "conditional retreatism". According to Merton, ritualism refers to the phenomenon of over-conformity prevalent in large bureaucracies and work organisations. It implies the rejection of the goals but not the means. In the wider society, the ritualist is "particularly concerned with his place in the status and economic hierarchies".(35) At work, he complies with the power structure and so he can accept his role demands - including the differential rewards which accompany it.(36) On a subjective level he is concerned with his reputation for respectability, dependability, honour, hard work, tidiness and being manly (irgulija). In general, these characteristics are usually associated with the deferential, traditionalist worker,(37) and particularly with "middle class identifiers".(38) The influence of the local community on the workers' perspectives has been illustrated by various writers.(39)

Nevertheless, the overall importance of work in a person's life may be only limited. One's work aspirations may represent the minimum level to which one has become culturally and realistically accustomed to regard as normal expectations. Studies on job satisfaction in industry often show how workers may direct their aspirations and energies to those goals which are within their reach - mainly those of an instrumental nature. This is particularly the case where a long history of unemployment has generated a sense of insecurity.(40) Maltese localism resembles in some respects the "mechanistic" mode of adaptation described by Hopper and Weyman. The mechanist "takes a perfunctory interest in his obstructed situation because he attempts to opt out of it in favour of alternative goals and their contexts".(41) However, whereas the mechanist divests his work role of all emotional involvement, the Maltese localist retains a certain level of interest and legitimation in it. Rather than splitting "his identity in two" like the mechanist, it is social life itself which he regards as separated. On the one hand he accepts the national authority structure which regulates his work and other spheres of life, and on the other hand he fully participates in his local life which is the main domain of activities under his full control. In terms of the localist mode of adaptation it is possible to interpret some basic features of the



Maltese way of life. These include the traditional orientation to work on the one hand and the almost fanatical defensiveness of some local institutions - like the family and religion - on the other. The traditional orientation to work centres mainly around the instrumental aspects of income and security. Through work, the worker is enabled to direct his energies and ambitions elsewhere.(42)

Some modes of extreme retreatism, in the form of alcoholism, etc., are of course also present in Malta. The case of the London Maltese emigrants and the incidence of prostitution are notable examples.(43) Certain "other worldly" retreats - like the MUSEUM society whose members combine a "routinist" approach to work within a marked religious perspective - are more typical expressions of the Maltese way of life. Emigration, of course, is another form of conditional retreat which at one time had become institutionalized. However, as a potential threat to the maintenance of the social structure it has never been unequivocally accepted as a solution to the chronic problems of overpopulation and unemployment. Emigration - though widespread - was at best regarded as a necessary evil and is now rejected by local political leaders. It is equated with exile from the Maltese way of life. Thus the extent to which the Maltese social structure allows localism-retreatism is limited.

### Activism

The social structure may be viewed by some persons as only responsive to the direct use of power. The typical activist is one who mobilizes collective power in an open rebellion against the established power structure. This action is aimed at the substitution of the existing goals and norms by an alternative structure of goals which suits the rebel's own ideas and interests. The choice of timing, the manner and the media with which to conduct this rebellion may be entirely a matter of strategy and expedience. It can be argued that a sustained, low-key movement aimed at the introduction of radical changes in the social structure imperceptibly, can, over a long period of time, be as effective as a sudden, violent upheaval. In certain instances it might be the only option available. The success of such a strategy depends on the activities of a disciplined organization, at the disposal of an inspired leadership which avails itself of any opportunity for the pursuance of its goals. The ability to manipulate traditional values and institutions for its purpose can be a valuable asset. Frequently, the success of an activist movement depends on the convergence of a series of factors which stimulates various actors to join forces against a common enemy. However, a unifying ideology is an indispensable tool for sustained, collective action. The leader's inspiration and direction is essential for the coordination of efforts, definition of objectives, the maintenance of both internal and external communication networks and the maintenance of morale. In the Malta case it is argued that due to the other established forms of adaptation, the leader's role is crucial for the

emergence and development of a radical, activist movement. Once established such a movement acquires the characteristic of a community. As the rebel organization aims at the transformation of the established social structure, it needs to provide its members with normative support as a substitute for their withdrawal from their formal social commitments. Members seek support from the organization not only for the pursuit of rebel activities as such, but also for leisure and friendship outlets through their new social networks.(44)

Throughout Maltese history another form of activist reaction to the national, political powerlessness periodically emerged from traditionally elite sources. A long series of rebellions - dating back to the middle ages - broke out under the leadership of local elites against the foreign power holders of the time. These rebellions usually occurred during times of economic hardship for which the government of the day were held responsible. A measure of political autonomy, obtained as a result was not, however, held for long. The traditional elites - usually landowners, priests and professionals - who by virtue of their high socio-economic standing commanded the respect of most people, are one of the characteristic features of the Maltese social structure. Until the recent emergence of the Malta Labour Movement with its roots firmly embedded in the lower strata of the population, they were the only recognized spokesmen on behalf of the Maltese with the foreign administrators. It was from these sources, therefore, that active political leadership first emerged in recent history. During the 19th century, the local elites received much of their inspiration from the successive waves of Italian political refugees who settled in Malta and brought over with them demands for nationalism. They allied themselves with the Maltese elites against the British colonialist administration. The elitists' demands were ideologically backed by a conservative defence of the Maltese traditional way of life from foreign intrusions.

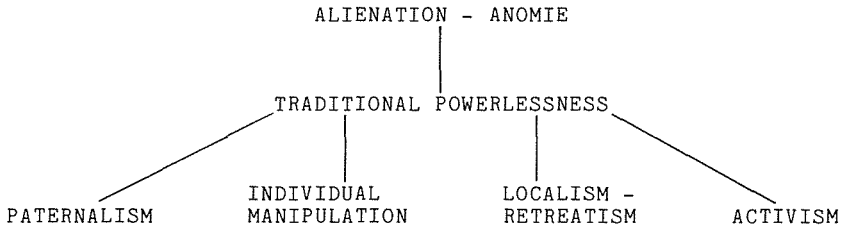
The demand for social reforms and subsequently for a radical transformation of that way of life was bound to emerge from a different source - namely the most powerless sectors of the population. The dynamics of these developments and their appeal among a population which was deeply embedded in a traditional outlook are beyond the limits of this paper.(45) These developments provided the main thrust for an effective challenge to the traditional pattern of authority relations and for the potential emergence of a new authority structure. These changes signalled a cultural change from a local to a national perspective.

To recapitulate, the main points made throughout this paper are now summarized below. An attempt has been made to interpret the Maltese "national powerlessness" in terms of the sociological concepts of alienation and anomie. Alienation here refers to an individual's perceived inefficacy concerning his objectifications - including his products and social relations. Rather than controlling these he becomes subjected to their control. Anomie here refers to social relations governed by a normative structure

which lacks the full legitimation of one of the main parties. The varying levels of normative legitimation among the Maltese population is partly a function of their differential locations in the social structure. In other words, some individuals have more efficient means at their disposal than others for the pursuit of cultural goals. These disparities become accentuated during periods of rapid change and economic upheaval such as those which characterized recent Maltese history. One concomitant of Maltese anomie is a structural dualism between national and local norms. This usage of the anomie concept owes more to Merton's usage rather than Durkheim's, from whom it originated.

The traditional Maltese condition of powerlessness is seen as being related to the combined alienation - anomie syndrome in the context of colonialism. Other objective factors - like the lack of environmental resources and over-population - contributed to this condition in varying degrees. However, the impact and direction of the environmental factors depends largely upon the perceptions and definitions which individuals make of their situation.

The Maltese traditional responses or adaptations to this situation are typified as: compliance with paternalism, individual manipulation, localism - retreatism and activism. These are enlisted in the following scheme:



Traces of each response can be found scattered throughout society in various combinations and degrees of intensity. However, one can identify situations where a particular mode of adaptation prevails. Thus the middle-class suburbanites are most likely to be compliant, the businessmen and other intermediaries tend to be manipulators, the rural traditionalists and most urban workers tend toward localism, whereas (some of) the urban working class tend toward activism - particularly of a reformist, and potentially radical, outlook.

Dr. E. L. Zammit is Senior Lecturer in Sociology, The University of Malta.

### Notes

1. These resemble what Mann (1973) p. 17, has called "displaced expressions of class consciousness".
2. Occasional outbursts in industrial relations sometimes come from the normally compliant workers. See T. Lane and K. Roberts (1971).
3. Fox (1971) pages 34 - 56.
4. Zammit (1981) pages 195 - 211.
5. Zammit (1979) pages 13 - 56.
6. Feuer (1962) p. 132.
7. Fischer (1976) pages 35 - 49.
8. McLellan (1971) p. 106.
9. Seeman (1972) pages 385 - 402.
10. Ibid. p. 41.
11. In Fischer's view, Marx's main contribution was that of introducing the alienation concept into sociology in terms of causation and control of concrete activities. Ibid p. 40.
12. Seeman (1972).
13. Fischer, op.cit. p. 44.
14. Lukes (1967).
15. Fox (1974) p. 232.
16. Ibid. p. 141.
17. Ibid. p. 143.
18. Lukes op.cit. p. 152.
19. Durkheim (1951) p. 276.
20. Dohrenwend (1959) pages 466 - 473.
21. Fox (1974) p. 236.
22. Seeman (1959).

23. A. Fox (1974) p. 231.
24. Merton (1968) p. 78.
25. M. Seeman (1959) p. 787.
26. M. Seeman, *Ibid*, believes that while the question of goals and means refers to major social and political issues, the same framework can apply even "to the smallest of social systems".
27. Hopper and Weyman (1975) pages 66 - 77.
28. "Instrumental adjustment" refers to the sense of personal struggle through which the individual tries to find some mode of behaviour which enables him either to change the situation or to make it bearable. *Ibid* p. 70. The "action" frame of reference enables the selection of various goals and means by individuals in the same society.
29. Perhaps the most notable Maltese expression of compliance is the traditional paternalism between superiors and subordinates in many social institutions with a hierarchical structure. These include religious, educational, familial, Governmental and industrial organizations.
30. Hopper and Weyman (1975) p. 76.
31. Note the distinction between "legitimate" and "illegitimate innovation" made by A. Cloward (1959). Here it is a case of "semi-legitimacy".
32. E. Hopper and A. Weyman, *op.cit.* p. 76.
33. This interpretation differs from the usual depiction of retreatism as a "privatized rather than a collective mode of adaptation". R. K. Merton, *op.cit.* p. 153 and A. Fox (1971) p. 82 - 83.
34. E. Hopper and A. Weyman, *op.cit.* p. 72.
35. *Ibid* p. 74.
36. For an analysis of the changing Maltese orientations to work, see: E. L. Zammit (1979) p. 197 - 253.
37. Lockwood (1966) pages 249 - 267.
38. Runciman (1973).
39. Blaumer (1974), Cannon (1967), Parkin (1967), Bonney (1975), Salaman (1974).
40. Cotgrove (1972).



41. E. Hopper and A. Weyman, op.cit. p. 75.
42. The pragmatic mode of adaptation presented here resembles the model of "pragmatic acceptance of dominant values" prevalent among the working classes in liberal democracies proposed by M. Mann (1970).
43. Dench (1975) and Zammit (1970).

## References

- Blaumer, R. (1974) "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society". In Class Status and Power (R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset eds.), London, Routledge, pp. 473 - 487.
- Bonney, N. (1975) "Work and Ghetto Culture", British Journal of Sociology Vol. 26 pp. 435 - 447.
- Cannon, T. E. (1967) "Ideology and Occupational Community", Sociology Vol. 1 pp. 165 - 185.
- Cloward, A. (1959) Note the distinction between "legitimate" and "illegitimate innovation", American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 pp. 164 - 176.
- Cotgrove, S. (1972) "Alienation and Automation", British Journal of Sociology Vol. 23 pp. 437 - 451.
- Dench, G. (1975) Maltese in London, London, Routledge.
- Dohrenwend, B. P. (1959) "Egoism, Altruism, Anomie and Fatalism: A Conceptual Analysis of Durkheim's Types", American Sociological Review Vol. 24 pp. 466 - 473.
- Durkheim, E. (1951) Suicide, New York, Free Press.
- Feuer, L. (1962) "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept", New Politics.
- Fischer, C. S. (1976) "Alienation: trying to bridge the chasm", British Journal of Sociology.
- Fox, A. (1971) A Sociology of Work in Industry, London, Collier Macmillan.
- Fox, A. (1974) Beyond Contract - Work, Power and Trust Relations, London, Faber.
- Hopper, E. and Weyman, A. (1975) "Modes of Conformity and Adjustment to Feelings of Relative Deprivation", British Journal of Sociology, Vol 26.
- Lane, T. and Roberts, K. (1971) Strike at Pilkington's, Suffolk, Fontana.
- Lockwood, D. (1966) "Sources of variations in Working Class Images of Society", Sociological Review, Vol 14, pp. 249 - 267.
- Lukes, S. (1967) "Alienation and Anomie". In Philosophy, Politics and Society, (P. Laslett and W. G. Runciman eds.), Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 134 - 156.
- Mann, M. (1973) Consciousness and Action among the Western Working Class, London, Macmillan.

- McLellan, D. (1971) Marx's Grundrisse, London, Macmillan.
- Merton, R. K. (1968) Social Theory and Social Structure, New York, Free Press.
- Parkin, F. (1967) "Working Class Conservatives", British Journal of Sociology, Vol 18 pp. 287 - 299.
- Runciman, W. G. (1973) "Embourgeoisement, Self-Rated Class and Party Preference", Paper presented at the 1973 Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association.
- Salaman, G. (1964) Community and Occupation, Cambridge University Press.
- Seeman, M. (1959) "On the Meaning of Alienation", American Sociological Review, Vol 24 p. 783 - 791.
- Seeman, M. (1972) "The Signals of '68 - Alienation in Pre-Crisis France", American Sociological Review, Vol 37 pp. 385 - 402.
- Zammit, E. L. (1970) The Behaviour Patterns of Maltese Migrants to London, Oxford University M. Litt. Thesis 1970.
- Zammit, E. L. (1979) Maltese Perceptions of Power, Work and Class Structure, Oxford University D. Phil. Thesis.
- Zammit, E. L. (1981) "Aspects of British Colonial Policies and Maltese Patterns of Behaviour", Hyphen, Vol 11 (5) pp. 195 - 211.