

THE PHENOMENON OF ANOMIE IN THE CONTEXT OF MARGINALITY

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Abstract

It's difficult to imagine any social community without marginal phenomena – marginal groups, people, social roles, displays of marginal consciousness and behavior. In every society individuals, social and ethnic groups and social strata act as bearers of marginal qualities. In other words, marginality is a social-cultural and social-psychological phenomenon, which has always been an indivisible part of different historical societies of various social types. In this sense, the study of the phenomenon of anomie, considered in the context of marginality, is especially important. The importance of problems of anomic identities increases especially in transforming societies, where in the result of political, economic, social and cultural reconstructions once-stable social structures are changed. Their elements – the social institutes, social groups and individuals appear in intermediate and transitional situations. In a sense, anomie becomes one of the main characteristics of marginality in transforming societies.

A transforming society where the tempo of social mobility is high, by its nature, creates a favourable environment for the intensive displays of anomic happenings. In the transitional society and evident index of the problems of social-psychological anomic and cultural-marginal identities is the exhibition of the phenomenon of

parallelism: on the one hand old institutes and the values and relations exclusive to them continue to work mechanically, and on the other hand, new social institutes and interpersonal relations, stipulated by transformation processes, begin to work. Irrespective of their will and wish with objective reasons people appear in the intersection of two realities, two different social-cultural worlds, and under the influence of new realities they develop an ambiguous behaviour towards everything around. The created situations make people get into unknown relations and roles. In this psychological process, the old and new realities begin to unite, coexisting in parallel, which underlies the formation of double social attitudes and marginalization of behavior.

Keywords and phrases: anomie, marginality, behaviour, social relations system, identity, transforming society.

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Համառոտագիր

Դժվար է պատկերացնել որևէ սոցիալական միջավայր առանց մարզինալ երևույթների, առանց մարզինալ խմբերի և մարզինալ մարդկանց, առանց մարզինալ սոցիալական դերերի, մարզինալ գիտակցության և վարքի դրսևորման: Յուրաքանչյուր հասարակությունում անհատները, սոցիալական, էթնիկ խմբերը և սոցիալական շերտերը կարող են հանդես գալ որպես մարզինալ որակների կրողներ: Այլ կերպ ասած, մարզինալությունը սոցիալ-մշակութային և սոցիալ-հոգեբանական երևույթ է, որը միշտ եղել է տարբեր պատմական հասարակությունների, տարբեր սոցիալական տիպերի անբաժանելի մասը: Այս առումով հատկապես կարևոր է մարզինալության համատեքստում դիտարկվող անոմիայի ֆենոմենի ուսումնասիրությունը: Անոմիկ ինքնությունների խնդիրների կարևորությունը, հատկապես հոգեբանական տեսանկյունից, մեծանում է հատկապես փոխակերպվող հասարակություններում, որտեղ քաղաքական, տնտեսական, սոցիալական և մշակութային վերակառուցումների արդյունքում երբեմնի կայուն սոցիալական կառույցները ձևափոխվում են:

Դրանց տարրերը՝ սոցիալական ինստիտուտները, սոցիալական խմբերն ու անհատները, հայտնվում են միջանկյալ, անցումային իրավիճակում: Որոշ իմաստով անոմիան դառնում է մարգինալության հիմնական բնութագրիչներից մեկը փոխակերպվող հասարակության մեջ:

Փոխակերպող հասարակությունում, որտեղ սոցիալական շարժունակության տեմպը բարձր է իր բնույթով, բարենպաստ միջավայր է ստեղծվում անոմիկ իրադարձությունների ինտենսիվ զարգացման համար: Անցումային հասարակության մեջ ինչպես սոցիալ-հոգեբանական անոմիկայի, այնպես էլ մշակութային-մարգինալ ինքնության խնդիրների ակնհայտ ցուցանիշը զուգահեռության երևույթի դրսևորումն է: Մի կողմից հին ինստիտուտները և դրանցից սերվող արժեքներն ու հարաբերությունները շարունակվում են գործել, իսկ մյուս կողմից, նոր սոցիալական ինստիտուտները և միջանձնային հարաբերությունները, որոնք նախատեսված են վերափոխման գործընթացներով, նույնպես սկսում են աշխատել: Անկախ նրանց կամքից և ցանկությունից՝ օբյեկտիվ պատճառներով, մարդիկ հայտնվում են երկու իրողությունների խաչմերուկում, երկու տարբեր սոցիալ-մշակութային աշխարհներում, և նոր իրողությունների ազդեցության տակ նրանք հաճախ դրսևորում են երկիմաստ վարքագիծ: Ստեղծված իրավիճակները ստիպում են մարդկանց ձևավորել անկայուն հարաբերություններ և սոցիալական դերեր: Այդ հոգեբանական գործընթացը սկսում է համատեղել զուգահեռ համախմբված հին և նոր իրողությունները, ինչը հիմք է հանդիսանում երկակի սոցիալական դիրքորոշումների ձևավորման և վարքագծի մարգինալացման համար:

Բանալի բառեր և բառակապակցություններ. անոմիա, մարգինալություն, վարքագիծ, սոցիալական հարաբերությունների համակարգ, ինքնություն, փոխակերպվող հասարակություն:

ФЕНОМЕН АНОМИИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ МАРГИНАЛЬНОСТИ

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Аннотация

Трудно представить любую социальную среду без маргинальных явлений, без маргинальных групп и маргинальных людей, без маргинальных социальных ролей, проявления маргинального сознания и поведения. В каждом обществе носителем маргинальных качеств могут выступать индивиды, социальные и этнические группы и социальные слои. Иными словами, маргинальность – это социокультурный и социально-психологический феномен, который всегда был неделимой частью разных исторических обществ, разных социальных типов. В этом смысле особенно важно изучение феномена аномии, который рассматривается в контексте маргинальности. Значение проблем аномических идентичностей, особенно с психологической точки зрения, возрастает особенно в переходных обществах, где в результате политических, экономических, социальных и культурных перестроек некогда устойчивые социальные структуры трансформируются. Их элементы - социальные институты, социальные группы и индивиды оказываются в промежуточном, переходном положении. В некотором смысле аномия становится одной из основных характеристик маргинальности в переходном обществе.

Трансформирующее общество, где темп социальной мобильности высок благодаря своей природе, создается благоприятная среда для интенсивных проявлений аномических событий. В переходном обществе явным признаком проявления проблем как социально-психологической аномии, так и культурно-маргинальной идентичности становится явления параллелизма. С одной стороны,

старые институты и производные от них ценности и отношения продолжают действовать, а с другой стороны, также начинают работать новые социальные институты и межличностные отношения, предусмотренные процессами трансформации. По объективным причинам, независимо от их воли и желания, люди оказываются на пересечении двух реальностей, двух разных социальных культурных миров, а под влиянием новых реалий они развивают неоднозначное поведение по отношению ко всему. Создавшиеся ситуации приводят к формированию неустойчивых отношений и социальных ролей. В этом психологическом процессе начинают объединяться старые и новые реалии, сосуществующие параллельно, что лежит в основе формирования двойных социальных установок и маргинализации поведения.

Ключевые слова и словосочетания: аномия, маргинальность, поведение, система социальных отношений, идентичность, переходное общество

Introduction

Within the literature on the studies of the phenomenon of marginality different types of marginality are usually differentiated: ecological (geographical), social, economic, cultural, political, religious, ideological, existential, etc., which are involved in the following large groups according to their essence and functions:

- a) **structural (social) marginality**
- b) **cultural (ethnic-cultural) marginality**
- c) **marginality of social groups**

There is no common definition of marginality in professional psychological or anthropological literature. According to Popova, what is meant by the term usually is relatively stable happenings which occur in the margin of different cultures, social communities, interactions of structures, in the result of which some part of the social subjects appear out of margins [14, p.62].

More often the term refers to marginal social groups. In Olshanski's opinion, "The notion of marginality means collection of features of social subgroup representatives' consciousness and behavior that are not able to integrate into large referent communities due to these or those circumstances" [13, p. 121-128].

Notions of marginality and anomie

In researchers' opinion no mono-semantic comprehension of the notion of **marginality** is stipulated by the following circumstances.

- a) The concept is used by different sciences (philosophy, sociology, social psychology, cultural anthropology, politology, economics, etc.) in different meanings or from different points of view.
- b) The concept is used in different meanings, denoting different types of marginality.

- c) The vagueness (uncertainty) of the meaning of the concept makes it difficult to present the main phenomenon in the context of socio-cultural processes.
- d) The concept of marginality is in the basis of the meaning of anomie as it refers to the similar processes and human behavior patterns.

Not without reason, some researchers consider the notion “marginal person” as “sociological fiction.” Other researchers think that marginality is such a general concept that it hardly excludes anything, thus it must be used very carefully and only after its criteria have been defined. We see the same problem in the scientific research on the phenomenon of anomie. In sociological literature, two approaches to the study of marginality are distinguished. In the first approach the concept of marginality is comprehended as the state (condition) of the social groups and individuals during structural changes (transformations) in the society (changes in social statuses, when the group or the individual appears between two groups or structures). The second approach pictures marginality as a characteristic of social groups that are in marginal condition.

The phenomenon of anomie is generally closer to the first meaning – as the state (condition) of the social groups and individuals during the process of structural changes (transformations) in the society. Anomic phenomena become more expressive in the conditions of a transformational society, when socio-psychological polarization is observed.

The principles of the study of anomie are adjusted by sociological and ethnographic or socio-cultural methods, which gives the whole research an interdisciplinary character [5, p.1086-1088].

Comments on anomie as the feature of marginality refer to the outsiders, especially those who are in the bottom of life: the tramps, lumpen, unemployed, criminal elements and groups that are not included in social structures. In the Soviet period, when the analyses of social happenings were being carried out from the position of autocratic Marxist philosophy and methodology, marginality was mainly considered a phenomenon typical of capitalist countries. Considered marginal were those social groups that “don’t take part in production process, don’t perform social functions, don’t have social status and survive at the expense of means gained either by passing over the accepted norms or granted from the social funds by the wealthy classes for the sake of political stability.” In this case, we deal with the functional side of marginality.

Anomie may mean “a lack of integration or mutual adjustment of the functions stemming from industrial crises, from conflicts between labor and capital, and from specialization of science”, “lack of norms or regulation”, or a profligacy, normlessness and social deregulation. Even in the Durkheimian perspective, anomie may be considered an ambiguous and, to a certain extent, contradictory concept. It is in this context that this paper seeks to offer a contribution to the discussion of the classic

concept of anomie, trying to expose the complex meaning of anomie in the context of marginality [8, p.689-691].

Parsons and Merton attempt to connect marginality with crime and other negative occurrences of social life. Following them, Sadkov thinks that such a phenomenon as marginality, undoubtedly, is one of the reasons for crime and anomie. The close interconnection between marginality and anomie is beyond doubt and completely definite. In this case we refer more to the qualitative characteristics than the quantitative index of the degree of interconnection /interrelation of the happenings mentioned above, the statistic (correlative and functional) dependence [15, p. 43-47]. As mentioned by Nickel, the dominance of the economy in market societies leads to power imbalances in the institutional order, described as an institutional imbalance. In a transforming society where the institutional structure is skewed in favor of the economy, non-economic institutions are weakened and can no longer fulfill their function to control and regulate social behavior, consequently leading to anomie and crime. This is accompanied by a cultural ethos that overemphasizes achievement, individualism, and monetary fetishism and the universal sharing and acceptance of this cultural ethos: the so-called “American Dream” ethos. It describes the inherent anomic potential of transforming market societies arising from an economization of the institutional (institutional imbalance) and cultural structure, and resulting in anomic context of marginality [7].

Unlike the sociological approach, the philosophical comprehension of the phenomenon of anomie is, in a way, still a work in progress.

In the second half of the 20th century the postmodernist direction formed within German philosophy, which holds a realized position thus standing in contrast to the discourse of the ruling classic philosophy. Postmodernists present the notions of marginal self-subject, ego-person, individual type, marginal consciousness, anomic behavior, distance, and anomic existence. In the role of the anomic person appears the revolutionary, the madman, the magician, the art critic, the homosexual, the schizophrenic, in other words all those who consistently discredit the law, structure, logic, religion, morality, common sense, i.e. everything that may become a means of oppression. When presenting the notion of “marginal person,” Park considered the marginal person to be the result of intercultural processes. Such type of person appears at the time and in the place where new social communities appear in racial and cultural conflicts. The marginal or anomic person finds himself in the middle of two cultural worlds. The “moral and psychological” indignation that is the result of cultural intercourse is displayed more absolutely in the psychology of a marginal person and lies in the basis of the anomie phenomenon.

In his book *The Marginal Man* developing Park’s views, Stonequist considers the marginal man as a social individual that is involved in the cultural conflict. Such a person is on the border of two cultures but doesn’t belong to either of them. The marginal individual’s split personality is stipulated (conditioned) by the social, racial, and/or ethnic contradictions existing in the given society. Stonequist views the

marginal person as a key-personality in the cultural interrelations, who, ambitious to unite with dominant reference social groups, communicates with elements of cultural values and accepts the criteria working in the culture. This feature of marginality differs from the essential meaning of anomie because the anomie phenomenon cumulates only the negative features of the marginal person. As a result, a marginal person or a "cultural hybrid" is developed that appears in the marginal situation: on the one hand he is on the edge of the dominant group that considers him alien, on the other hand he is on the border of his old group that considers the person who left them "a traitor." Unlike Park, Stonequist pays attention to the negative consequences of the marginality process [9, p. 202-207]. In other words, we can define negative expressions of marginality as anomic features of social behaviour and of the socialization process of the person.

Park and Stonequist's ideas of a marginal person became the basis for new comments on anomie, and for new theoretical and experimental research. In this regard, it is worth paying attention to the American researcher Mancini's approach in which he not only compares the sociological and socio-psychological sides of the studies of different types of marginality, but also uses psychological tenets of the adaptation theory which can explain the concept of anomie. To explain the phenomenon of anomie he presents the notion "essential/processual" [6, p.27-34].

According to this concept, it becomes possible to clarify the features of the definition of anomie associated with marginality. Among them are:

- feeling of insecurity
- disorientation
- significance of the social situation in the process of identification
- ignorance of socially significant norms of behavior or their distortion.

As was mentioned, the problems of cultural marginal identities have a universal nature, i.e. it's typical of both stable and transitional/transforming societies. There are stipulating preconditions for the appearance of marginality in stable societies as well. In this sense, the issues of cultural marginal identities that accompany every social transformation are the social functions of the society, as it is impossible to imagine a society in which no changes take place [1, pp. 91-116]. But in comparatively stable societies there is a regulated net of social relations that provides a high degree of people's social-cultural consolidation and cooperation which excludes both anomic and marginal patterns of behaviour. In such cases people feel that they are organic parts of the whole. For example, in the former Soviet Union existed a united social-political and moral-psychological field, the values of which had a common character. The majority of the Soviet people didn't on the whole feel isolated or cut off from the society: the dominating part of the population was engaged in the acting social-economic structures, in different spheres of working activities.

In transitional societies the volume, contents, qualities and spheres where marginality is displayed change. The turn of the majority into a marginal mass creates a qualitatively new situation of the social reality because this situation correlates with

anomic forms of society's social structure. In Starikov's assessment, in the social structure of the post-communal society all social groups are particularly marginalized in the result of which the differences between a marginal and a non-marginal are wiped out. According to him, marginality is the result of mobility of the society's social structure, the result of the state of uncertainty. This point of view is arguable because marginality is simply identified with mobility, with transition. Though marginality supposes the presence of mobility, not every mobility is marginality yet [17, pp. 87-96].

In any case, the problems of social-psychological anomic and cultural-marginal identities as a phenomenon have a large inclusion in the transforming society. If marginality obtains a massive nature, its values and orientations also penetrate into the consciousness of such people who still maintain their status in social structures.

In transforming societies, political and economic changes are accompanied by changes of social-psychological character. These changes including comprehending values anew, devaluation of world-view positions, transformation of stereotypes, searches for the meaning of life, breaking off social relations, decline of morality, changes in social status, position and role behaviour. As a result, most people face a crisis of social identification which is expressed by the person's laws of the positive comprehension of his social belonging [2, pp. 7-14].

In the transitional society there exists another peculiarity of the development of the problems of social-psychological anomic and cultural-marginal identities. This peculiarity is the fact that in consequence of social mobility (both vertical and horizontal) the border between the marginal and non-marginal, anomic and non-anomic becomes unsteady, time and distance between them disappear or the opportunity to change from a non-marginal into a marginal increases, as well as from a non-anomic into an anomic. We can also observe that there is mingling of the borders between social strata and groups, and a rise of intermediate groups that are difficult to be identified. The social stratification processes bring forth essential changes in people's social status, creating new conditions for their social mobility.

Another peculiarity of the problems of socio-psychological anomic and cultural-marginal identities in the transitional society is that alongside the traditional marginal groups at the edge of social structures appear new marginal people who have higher education, professional top qualification, a developed system of requirements, great social expectations and political activity.

One shouldn't think that anomie is displayed on one line and in proportion. If we specify several levels of anomie (macro, micro and the behaviour of the person towards certain situations) and take into consideration the context of time and distance, we can mention that disproportion and contradiction can be noticed in the development of anomie on each level.

Uncertainty, hesitation, pessimism, aggression, alarm, and fear become the social-psychological "diseases" of people living in the transitional society. The sense of social-psychological dissatisfaction becomes more dominant. Depressive state, low

spirits, uncertainty about the future, failure of expectations, depression, frustrations, stresses and conflicts, nihilistic attitude towards any idea and reality, determination of turning to adventurous utilitarian time-serving activities – this is the incomplete social-psychological picture of the people living in the transitional society.

Meanwhile, within the society, alongside traditional marginal groups develop new marginal (structural) social groups of a different type, which hold an edge, an anomic position towards the “centre” or the social norms. If such people more or less adapt to their state, a marginal consciousness develops together with the values and orientations typical of it. Marginal groups and people change their system of values, social orientations and the ways of adaptation. In the result of mingling of marginal groups with anomic behaviour arise subcultures and anticultures that can develop under conditions of transitional society. Various marginal ideologies spring up which pay attention to such subjects as death, war, tragedy, conflicts, disasters, the apocalypses, social and psychological deviations, mysticism, sexual freedom, etc [4, pp. 167-182].

Those marginal groups, in which impoverished and lumpen people are included, obtain certain features. They gradually lose working inducement and morality, and develop consumer psychology. Work stops being a need. If there still remain any objective orientations, they are directly connected only with consumption, with finding material means. The expanding consumption that is no longer connected to working functions obtains a desperate, disorganised character. The lumpenized marginal or anomic person gradually goes to the “bottom of life,” loses all his social ties. The ties with the former working collective, friends and family members are fully cut off. The marginal person is looking for people like himself in order to create a new social environment. Some of the psycho-social peculiarities typical of this group are economic and political passivity and the realized conviction that the state and society must meet their needs. Such marginal people choose the negative model of adaptation, the peculiar features of which are engagement in temporary jobs, occasional earnings, using different ways of begging, living at other people’s expense, etc. The marginal people (especially frauds, members of criminal groups, etc.) who only meet their needs at others’ expense, especially by violence, murder, or other illegal actions, choose another model of negative or anomic adaptation as the model of social parasitism. The strategy of social behaviour chosen by them is accompanied by destructive consequences [3, pp. 44-52].

Not accepting the new values and norms of the society and only willing to consume others’ wealth, the anomic man, being lumpenized and having chosen the path of crime, is psychologically ready for aggressive, destructive antisocial actions. Such marginal people are often involved in antisocial and antistate movements being used by different political forces.

Not identifying themselves with any non-marginal group, not accepting their norms the marginal people deprive themselves of the chance to fully participate in social-political life.

Being in the state of anomie, being unable or unwilling to find out the reasons for their marginal lives, not realising their own interests properly, the marginal people become political objects. The marginal no more has his own system of values, so he begins intensely imitating (mostly in a perverted way) the social and cultural norms that are more or less understandable to him.

Another anomic stratum are people having great social needs and expectations, higher education and top qualification, who aren't fully drawn out of social structures but can't realise their social expectations. Some of them not only adapt to marginal values but also transform them ideologically on the level of both everyday consciousness and theory.

They revolt, complain against "unjust society" and "police-state," criticise the reforms that take place, incite themselves pessimistically against changes, against authorities making those changes and against future in general.

In such a situation rival relations are established between the ego and the outer world, and from the position of a spontaneous, intense personality cult the man contradicts the society using a number of psychological mechanisms while defending himself.

Such marginal people obtain the features of anomic depressive symptoms such as:

- Low self-appraisal of the qualities that have highly subjective personal importance
- Self-condemnation and self-criticism. The marginal person first of all blames himself for his failure.
- Loss of confidence in his own forces, negative expectations, uncertainty while making important decisions, etc.

Such people develop a system of marginal values with such typical features as

- a) Intolerance of social institutes and people.
- b) Extreme forms of antinormal behaviour.
- c) Destructiveness.
- d) Personality cult, moral relativism, nihilism, irresponsibility.

Alongside changes in the orientations of values, marginal people's abilities of knowledge also change. The processes of attention, understanding, memorizing, forgetting, thinking, obtain quite a different direction which is stipulated by the nature of new requirements and new values.

The chaos ruling in the public life and impersonality assists the collapse of the individual's potential. The individuals who have lost self-confidence and orientation begin to search for a strong "we," ambitious to identify themselves with some group (movement, party) in order to gain psychological relaxation and certainty [17, pp. 105-111].

The marginal person alienates himself from the norms and values accepted by the society, rejects the existing social structures, encloses himself in his own sphere,

which is comprehended as the home of his life. He puts up with his marginal state and position, hides in the entrenchments of indifference, impersonality and passivity

If part of such marginal people avoids taking part in social-political processes, the other part does not, choosing the anomic and destructive variant of social behaviour. Atheistic orientation is mostly adopted by intellectual (cultural) marginal people, who voluntarily (voluntarily because in case they want, these intellectuals can return to their former status) contradict and challenge the society [12, pp. 319-358]. If such a marginal man displays activity, he is characterised by animosity, anarchism, extremism, intolerance and revenge. The key-problem of marginality is closely connected with adaptation [19, pp. 286-291].

Types of adaptation

In the relevant scientific literature three types of adaptation are differentiated:

- a) **Adaptation through reformation of environment.** In order to adapt the person is eager to reform the reality, to reconstruct it according to his ideas and ideals. Self-identification is part of the adaptation process. The man's activity can be directed towards utmost adaptation to the environment at the expense of his own and personal resources.
- b) **Adaptation through reformation of "ego."** When the individual feels that he is unable to reform the reality, he reforms himself.
- c) **Adaptation through "isolation," through "escape."** Feeling that he is unable to change either the reality or himself, the individual chooses the way of self-isolation.

A. Nalchadjyan specifies three groups of social-psychological adaptation:

- a) **normal adaptation**
- b) **deviant adaptation**
- c) **diagnostic adaptation.**

It should be noticed that especially in transitional periods the strife for power can be not only obvious but also disguised.

In transitional periods this type of adaptation occurs in different forms, in different people who become marginalized. Aggressiveness is the most wide-spread type. Under conditions of marginality the psychological protection mechanism of aggression is used more often.

Frustrations of social character underlie the beginning of aggressive behaviour. More over, aggressive behaviour is displayed not only obviously but also in secret, disguised forms. The marginal person directs his aggressiveness towards such people or objects that have nothing to do with his psychological frustration, i.e. the object of aggression is substituted by other objects. It occurs especially when the frustrated person is unable to direct his aggression straight towards the immediate frustrater, venting his spleen upon occasional people. He searches for "scape goats" to relax their

tension. One of the extreme forms of aggressive behaviour is revolt, which is connected not only with non-acceptance of the existing social-political realities, but also with their violent overturn [18, pp. 241-248].

Not taking into account the objective circumstances, the marginal person or groups among whom, as a rule, there are many young marginal people, try to destroy the social structures, to reform the reality by means of various antisocial, antinormal and terroristic actions.

Revolt is the form of the adventurous strategy typical of marginal people. Of the society having a common system of values and united reasons for behaviour, the revolting type of adaptation is not much characteristic while for transitional societies where anomie is a common state, the revolting, extremist form of involvement in the social relations is becoming a rather wide-spread social occurrence.

Though revolt is not a mass form of adaptation, it is a fact that marginal people, especially the youth, are noticed to demonstrate aggressive behaviour and tend towards violence. To be more accurate, they are psychologically ready to use violence although they can really help doing it. Under conditions of social and interethnic tension the opportunity of demonstrating aggression increases.

As L.Y. Gozman mentions, in such cases the person's readiness to use violence is not so important as his attitude towards those using violence [10, pp. 19-21].

In transitional periods the other types of adaptation, self-reformation and escape from the reality, also become wide-spread. If the man isn't able to change the reality or to adapt to the reality, the last variant is to change himself. "The man isn't able to change the world, but that is not suitable for him, and he changes the world in his mind." In this case the man may lose the feeling of his own personal value or the value of the world surrounding him.

In the transitional period one of the forms of demonstrating marginal consciousness and anomic behaviour is **the idealisation of the past**. Marginal people often turn to this mechanism of protection. It's more typical of people who passed the social phases in the former formation, becoming age-marginal people in the new one.

As a rule, old people reconcile themselves to their new roles and status, to the loss of traditional norm and values with great difficulty. It's especially difficult for them to bear the change of public opinion, the indifference that is forming towards them.

Unable to adapt to the new conditions the age-marginal people feel odd and useless.

Loneliness, isolation, the feeling of being odd, the low standard of living, create such bad stress situations that few are able to bear.

The marginal belonging to this group colours the social relations of the not far past, ascribes such virtues and qualities to the former social-political structure that didn't exist or existed partially [11, pp. 59-68].

The marginal man suffers from nostalgia. These people use such a mechanism of psychological protection as regression (psychological retreat). The stereotypes

typical of their life in the past become restored or more active in their consciousness. The psychological retreat is a form of escape from the reality which soothes the marginal people's psychological tension. Such people, as a rule, sympathise with the political forces that call for returning to the past, for restoring the old system.

Conclusion

Summarising what was said above, we can say that in the transitional society for the display of mass marginality there are favourable conditions which in the atmosphere of general anarchy can negatively influence the development of both the social life and the people's psychic health. The active and flexible social policy becomes very important to prevent such dangerous developments leading to phenomenon of anomie. Stabilization of social structure is the necessary condition to regulate and control the phenomenon of anomie, to overcome negative features of marginalization.

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