1972

Alienation, Anomia and Youth: Selected Correlates.

Jerome Vernon Smith

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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SELECTED CORRELATES

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The Department of Sociology

by
J. Vernon Smith
B.A., Louisiana State University, 1964
M.A., Mississippi State University, 1965
May, 1972
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I have been here twenty-nine years and have experienced many things. What I am now is the result of these experiences. To acknowledge a few is to slight many. No entry on this page could express my love for some, my respect for others and my dislike for a few. So I say simply, thank you very much everybody.
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ABSTRACT

Robert Merton describes anomie as disjunction between access to institutionalized means for achievement of culturally defined goals. Anomie, as such, is a structural concept. Individual or societal reaction to anomie may facilitate goal achievement through substitution of a different, often deviant, normative system or involve alienation or estrangement from the normative or cultural structure of the society. Much concern has been expressed for the growing alienation of American youth. Explication of this relationship was achieved in a study of 3,200 Louisiana High School seniors. Commitment to cultural goals was operationalized in terms of responses to a six item scale designed to measure materialistic orientation. The higher the materialistic orientation the greater the commitment to cultural success goals. Access to institutional means was operationalized in terms of responses to a form of the question, "how much education do you expect to achieve." The higher the educational expectations, the greater the perceived access to institutionalized means for goal achievement. The five item Srole Anomia Scale was used as an indicator of the individual's feeling of despair and disenchchantment. It should be noted that while an anomic situation does facilitate development of feelings of anomia, there is no causal or sequential relationship existing, by definition, between them. Further, a person can experience high feelings of anomia without necessarily experiencing feelings of estrangement characteristic of alienation.
It was determined that: 1) There is a direct relationship between commitment to cultural goals (CCG) and feelings of anomia (A) such that, the higher CCG, the higher A, and the lower CCG, the lower A; and, 2) There is an inverse relationship between perceived access to institutionalized means (PAM) and feelings of anomia (A), such that, the higher PAM, the lower A, and the lower PAM, the higher A. These relationships were maintained given introduction of the variables grade point average, race, residence, and socio-economic status. Students characterized by being white, possessing a high grade point average, urban residence and high socio-economic status demonstrated lower feelings of anomia than students not possessing these qualities.

It would appear that perceived access to means is of greater import than commitment to cultural goals in development of feelings of anomia. Perceived access to means for goal achievement, whatever the level of goal achievement or the nature of the goal, is of greater import in development of feelings of despair than are the goals themselves. This represents a significant change in the cultural dimension of social organization. Specifically, in this mass society the individual has turned from commitment to universally defined cultural goals to commitment to more personal goals.
CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Nisbet (1953:10) aptly describes what he considered to be the identity of twentieth-century man:

If in Renaissance thought it was the myth of reasonable man which predominated; if in the eighteenth century it was natural man; and, in the nineteenth century, economic or political man, it is by no means unlikely that for our own age it is alienated or maladjusted man who will appear to later historians as the key to twentieth-century thought.

If the key to twentieth-century thought is alienated or maladjusted man, then to understand twentieth-century thought and behavior it is necessary to understand the concept of alienation. The responsibility of social scientists to develop and give meaning to the concept is implicit in the formulation that the concept of alienation is not a hypothesis but rather a perspective (Nisbet, 1953:15).

The validity of the above statement is seen in the fact that alienation has become a conceptual tool for virtually any kind of analysis. Alienation is the cause of ethnic prejudice (Adorno, et al., 1950), it is the result of and the creator of distrust (Merton, 1946:143), it is characteristic of bureaucratic organization and role specialization (Olsen, 1965:200) located in impersonal mass society and is prevalent in rural farms (Dickinson, 1970:32; Alleger, 1966b), rural non-farms (Photiadis, 1969:247) and small towns (Vidich and Bensman, 1958). It is located in the ghetto (Bullough, 1967) and is found among intellectuals (Hajda, 1961:759). It is the direct result of structural variables (Merton, 1968) and the direct result of personality variables (McClosky and Schaar, 1965:17).
The tremendous amount of literature available in popularized editions for the general public attests the attractiveness of the concept of alienation for all members of American society. The result of this popularity has been the proliferation of works dealing with the sources, causes, results and correlates of alienation. Measures of the concept have been developed, tested and retested, yet it is still said that attempts at its measurement "lead to fruitless questions of validity, for feelings are not objective and are not quantifiable" (Park, 1969:148).

Despite the numerous meanings attached to the term alienation, confusion in its application and disregard for its theoretical ramifications, its place in contemporary culture is fixed. Given this, efforts made at clarification of the concept are justified. In development of their multi-dimensional orientation to alienation research, Neal and Rettig (1963:61-62) suggest three criteria to serve as guidelines for such research:

1. That each alienation construct have a single, identifiable referent; (2) that researchers operationalize their concepts and assume responsibility for showing the congruence of their concepts with their empirical referents; and (3) that the alienation constructs be related empirically to either their generative social conditions or their social consequences.

This examination of the concept of alienation is in keeping with the guidelines suggested by Neal and Rettig, and hopefully will contribute to the understanding and application of this term.

The Problem

Marvin Scott (1965), in elaborating on the social conditions leading to alienation, suggests that all socially meaningful behavior
consists of values, norms, organization of roles and situational facilities. He (Scott, 1965:241) states:

From a sociological point of view, then, the sources of alienation are to be found in the lack of a) commitment to values, b) conformity to norms, c) responsibility in roles, and d) control of facilities. Consistent with this perspective, one can speak of alienation from values, norms, roles and facilities.

The psychological states, variants, or manifestations of alienation have been outlined in a classic work by Melvin Seeman (1959). They are powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement.

Present interpretations of the concept tend to conceive alienation as multi-dimensional in nature. The result has been the development of numerous scales to measure the degree of alienation from a given source or development of scales for simple verification of the existence of alienation. Given formulation of the theoretical bases of alienation and procedures for investigation, researchers have examined the social and cultural correlates of alienated societies, alienated groups and alienated individuals.

Perhaps no literature reference to alienation has been greater than that found in the studies of the alienation of the hippie subculture or counter-culture. Yablonsky (1968:320) states:

The hippie movement's posture of total rejection places it in a unique position as an American social movement. Most small and even powerful social movements in America have been geared to modify only part of the social structure. The Townsend Plan Movement, for example, was essentially related to a greater distribution of the wealth to older people. The civil-rights movement essentially has had the objective of acquiring equal civil rights for all people regardless of race or creed. Even the most militant
"black power" advocates live their daily lives American style. The new left and other campus political activist groups had and have limited political goals. The labor movement sought a particular kind of arrangement and relationship to management. Unlike these efforts at partial changes in the society, the hippie phenomenon, although fetal and relatively powerless, emerges as the first American social movement that totally rejects the American social system. (Emphasis Yablonsky's.)

In explanation of the above, Yablonsky (1968:332) suggests that dropping out is caused by:

(a) Anomie—a condition, in this case, where the goals and values of American society are rejected, and the norms are no longer binding; (b) a sense of human alienation from the plastic bureaucracy of American society; and (c) a reaction-formation and rejection of the hypocrisy of America's basic social institutions of the family, government, religion, the economic system and education.

Dropping out however, is not to be confused with passive acceptance of the integrity of the dominant culture. Zurcher (1971) suggests that, as a social movement, one of the most salient characteristics of the counter-culture may be its orientation toward and for social change. The implications of this position are seen in the following Los Angeles Times article.

HIPPIE CHALLENGES MARIJUANA LAW
IN SUPERIOR COURT TRIAL

A hippie leader who threatens to smoke a marijuana cigarette in court went on trial Monday, charged with possession of marijuana. Bearded, long-haired Gridley Wright, 33, a one-time stock-broker, told newsmen prior to the beginning of the trial:

"If they find me guilty, and give me some cop-out sentence like a suspended sentence or probation, I'll light up a joint right there in court."

Fifty supporters followed Wright to the eighth-floor Hall of Justice courtroom of Superior Judge Mark Brandler, and as many as could crowded into the courtroom.
Wright, a Yale graduate and when last employed a deputy probation officer, asked for and was granted permission to act as his own attorney.

He sat before the bench at the counsel table dressed in a tattered denim jacket and levis. Before him was what he called his law book. It was a small copy of the New Testament.

He said he would ask prospective jurors only one question: "Do you believe in God?"...

Many of his followers trooped behind him to the Hall of Justice.

Their clothes, gypsy bright and of obvious rummage shop stripe, marked them apart from the somberly clad Hall of Justice regulars.

The men were long-haired, and many wore picturesque beards. Most of the women seemed innocent of hair-styling, make-up and some of rudimentary underwear. One woman nursed a 2-month old baby in the back row of court as the court session began.

Children—who seemed to have no last names—sat quietly in the courtroom with them. In the hallway outside other hippies squatted, childlike, against the walls.

Examination of the alienation of youth in general and the hippy subculture in general has been theoretically and conceptually inadequate. The purpose of the writer of this dissertation is clarification of the concept alienation and determination of the degree of and correlates with alienation possessed by a group of youths, i.e., high school seniors in Louisiana. Of primary concern is appropriateness of the term alienation in describing the attitudes, values and behavior of individuals reputed to be alienated.

The analysis was performed in accordance with the guidelines established by Neil and Rettig (1963:61-62).

In stating that the first guideline for alienation research was that each alienation construct have a single identifiable reference, Neil and Rettig acknowledge the many sources posited as the causes of alienation. Implicit in this acknowledgment is
that the nature of the experienced alienation be specified. Merton (1968:176) illustrates this point in that:

High rates of departure from institutional requirements are seen as the result of culturally induced, deep motivations which cannot be satisfied among those social strata with limited access to opportunity. The culture and the social structure operate at cross purposes.

This disjunction is operationalized by Merton (1968:216) as anomie, i.e.,

A breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them.

It has been suggested that the response to anomie is alienation described as anomia (cf. Dickerson, 1970). In the study done, limited access to culturally defined goals is defined in terms of the educational level one expects to achieve. Commitment to cultural goals is defined in terms of commitment to a materialistic orientation. The Srole Anomia Scale is utilized to measure the individual reaction to anomie. This scale is described by Merton (1968:219) as "a bigging toward a standarized measure of anomie, as perceived and experienced by individuals in a group or community." Operational specification of concepts meets the second guideline established for alienation research.

The third guideline established for alienation research is met in specification of the social conditions conducive to development of feelings of anomia.
Summary

The mood of twentieth-century man has been described as alienated. One group characterized by this phenomena is youth. Given the prevalence of alienated related research, many theories have been advanced relative to its meaning, dimensions, causes and consequences. This research was done in an attempt to demonstrate the need for conceptual clarification of the terms alienation and anomie, and to indicate the social characteristics of individuals experiencing feelings of anomia.
CHAPTER II
THE MEANINGS OF ALIENATION

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

In indicating that an individual is alienated, it is implied that he is alienated from something. This is implicit in the historical development of the word and is true of contemporary usage.

The Latin origin of "alienation" is alienatio. This noun derives its meaning from the verb alienare (to make something another's, to take away, remove). Alienare, in turn derives from alienus (meaning "other" as an adjective or "another" as a noun). (Klein, 1966.)

First systematic use of the concept is attributed to Hegel in his Phenomenology of the Spirit. However, this is not the first reference to alienation by far. Separation from God is found in Ephesians 4:18 when Paul says to the Gentiles, "they are darkened in their understanding, alienated from the life of God because of the ignorance that is in them due to their hardness of heart."

Also prior to Hegel, Rousseau, as representative of the social contract theorist, suggests that it is only in surrendering one's self and not merely certain rights to the community that the social contract is complete. Rousseau (1947:256) states:

It must be clearly understood that the clauses (of the contract) can be reduced, in the last analysis, to one only, to wit, the complete alienation by each associate member to the community of all his rights.

Hegel, in inheriting a theology that enabled him to conceive world history in terms leading back to the Lutheran tradition,
posed a distinction between the internal spirit and external objects. Consciousness for Hegel refers to self consciousness as the "self" perceives only itself. Objects that appear to exist outside consciousness are only expressions of consciousness. Consciousness, in realizing its self, feels alienated from all objects. There is no cognizable object beyond consciousness and man is alienated from all else (Alvineri, 1969). The conception of alienation held by Hegel is referred to by Langslet (1963:3-17) as "ontological-ethical" in that alienation is a constitutive element in all human existence. Alienation as such is omnipresent, existing independent of the social conditions which distinguish a given society.

Marx took issue with the philosophical idealism of the above approach and attacked Hegel for identifying alienation with the existence, as such, of objects. For Marx alienation resides in or is found in a concrete relationship, between man and his products. To validate this conceptual change, Marx utilizes the methodology of Feuerbach. For Feuerbach those attributes characterizing God are the attributes found to be lacking in man--alienated man is God (Alvineri, 1969:11). Theology alienated man in order to identify him with the alienated being. The characteristics of God become something that is not a part of man--God is alienated man. Distinguishing between man or what man is and that which is not man, Marx,
...distinguishes between objectification, the premise of material existence, and alienation, a state of consciousness resulting from a specific method of relationship between man and objects (Alvineri, 1969:98).

In sum, Marx rejected Hegel's identification of objects with alienation, removed Feuerbach's idea that God is alienated man from the religious sphere, and provided an historical character to the concept alienation. Utilizing the "transformational criticism" of Feuerbach, alienation ceased to be inherent in man's being in the world for Marx and became a characteristic of his existence in a particular historical period; a result of the existing relations in production (Tucker, 1967:85-86).

Sociological and Psychological Definitions

Marx formulated his concept and presented them in the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. Rejecting the metaphysical philosophies of Hegel and Feuerbach, Marx held that alienation should be approached within the institutional context of the economy. Four types of alienation were seen to develop from the work situation: alienation from the process of work, alienation from the products of work, alienation of the worker from himself, and alienation of the worker from others. As developed, alienation became a subjective reaction to an objective societal condition.

Generic man as a "species being" is seen to have his essential being in labor, but his essence is at the same time taken away from him, i.e., alienated by a world which is (standing on its head), a world in which the worker becomes all the poorer the more wealth he produces. (Lichtheim, 1968:265.)
Marx's conclusion was that human self-estrangement is rooted in industrial society and dehumanization is related not to the division of labor as such but rather to the historic form it has taken under capitalism.

While agreeing with Marx that alienation is a mental state, contemporary writers (cf. Scott, 1965; Israel, 1971; Seeman, 1959) have rejected his economic determinism in the search for the several social conditions leading to alienation. These writers, further, differ from Marx in the view that alienation is a psychological state of the individual operationalized as the presence of certain attitudes and feelings of which the alienated is aware (Clark, 1959: 849; Simmons, 1956: 457). Forsaken in this approach is the thought that it is possible, if not common, for an individual, in being alienated, not to be aware of his alienation. The question of the inner nature of man or the essence of man does not arise.

Thus, given the existence of a psychological state termed alienation, two approaches for its study have evolved. The distinction between a sociological and psychological approach has roots in the change in thinking experienced by Marx after 1844. The young Marx, in "celebrating the humanism of man", concerned himself with the effect of man's estrangement from his work on man's being. The older Marx, or post 1844, was concerned more with social processes and he emphasized a mode of production--capitalism and its influence on many.

In the sociological approach emphasis is on the study of estranging processes, while the psychological approach places
Disturbances of the balanced states of societal organisms can be caused, for instance, by behavior deviating from social norms. Therefore lasting "harmonious" conditions cannot be achieved unless individuals exhibit conforming behavior (Israel, 1971: 12).

However, just as balance states in society can be disrupted by demands made by individuals, harmony can be disturbed in individuals by demands by society. The social structure may inhibit achievement of individual goals. This latter position is the one developed by the young Marx in the Paris Manuscripts (Israel, 1971: 13).

If a given theory of alienation assumes that it is the individual that is striving to achieve certain goals but is prevented by the demands of society, then the theory is individual oriented with emphasis placed on social change in order for the individual to achieve his objectives or desires. If the theory, however, sees societal equilibrium being disrupted by the deviating acts of individuals in the society preventing conformity, then the theory is society oriented with emphasis placed on individual social adjustment.

A reasonable assumption is the individual-oriented theories build upon liberal or humanistic values, whereas...society-oriented hypotheses..., with their notions of social balance and equilibrium, are hypothesized to rest upon conservative values (Israel, 1971: 13).

In providing perspectives for examining alienation, a third scheme must be considered in addition to society and individual oriented in order to insure theoretical closure. In the distribution of scarce resources, groups develop in the form of vested
interest antagonists. As such, conflict exists between groups within society. Such a position is taken by the post 1844 Marx and more recently by C.W. Mills (1959).

It can be said in sum that beyond agreement that alienation is a psychological state of an individual, it is difficult to generalize relative to the many conceptualizations contained in the literature. While some of the phenomena related to alienation may conceivably be related in that, although writers are not referring to the same manifestation or cause of alienation, they are referring to a multi-dimensional syndrome; some phenomena are totally unrelated to each other if not mutually exclusive. Others, in essence, seemingly label somewhat random phenomena as alienation, which, by definition, is otherwise.

Alienation and Others

One type of alienation experienced by the worker is, according to Marx, alienation from others. For Marx this meant lack of respect for others and a willingness to exploit others. Contemporary literature includes a development of the concept which is qualitatively different from that intended by Marx. Middleton (1963:974) conceives of loneliness as a type of alienation from others that is manifested by an agreement with the statement, "I often feel lonely". McClosky and Schaar (1965:30) take the position that a person is alienated if he feels unhappy about a lack of what he considers to be meaningful relations with others. The feelings experienced result from an absence rather than a loss of closeness. Of
relevance here is a distinction based on intent of the individual in that one's isolation or loneliness may be of his own choosing. For alienation, the loneliness or isolation must not be one of choice and the individual cannot be said, in sensing absence, to be happy about it.

Distinguished from alienation from others defined in terms of loneliness is alienation resulting from perceived differences in attitudes, values, and views held by one's self and others (Hajda, 1961:762). While the former refers to a feeling of lack of close interpersonal relations with others and a resulting discomfort, the latter is characterized as "the feeling of difference from others which results from the perception of a difference between their views, interests, and tastes and one's own (Schacht, 1970:158).

A third form of "alienation from others" is suggested by Aiken and Hage (1966:497) and is the result of dissatisfaction in interpersonal relations. Crudely measured by a Yes or No response to the question of satisfaction with one's associates, this type of attempt at conceptualization does not allow for the possibility that one previously had satisfying relations with others or to a sense of solidarity based on shared tastes and values despite dissatisfaction.

The Marxian conception of alienation from others centers on a form of antagonism not contained in the above cited works. The alienation of the worker and his product has consequences such that man is alienated from other men.
Thus the alienation from other men of which Marx speaks is to be understood as involving a complete absence of fellow feeling, an estimation of others as of no more positive significance than that of menas to personal ends, and an antagonism based on a feeling of rivalry and the anticipation of attempted counter-exploitation. It is grounded in a self-centeredness which attends only to private advance, and in a self-conception which excludes any idea of sociality (Schacht,1970:96).

Feeling unhappy about what one considers to be a lack of meaningful relations with others relates not to a loss but to an absence. In other words, perceived differences between one's self and others on the basis of values held relates not to the alienness of the views themselves but rather to a sense of exclusion. Dissatisfaction in immediate interpersonal relations with others does not exclude development of satisfying relations in the past.

For Marx, as indicated, alienation is total. One is estranged from others in general. The above cited authors do not preclude a sense of belongingness or satisfaction with others. Also, noteworthy is the absence of the feeling that others are simply a means to an end. Obviously, then, the complete estrangement from others contained in Marxian thought is not found in contemporary sociological literature. In fact, the few sociologists treating alienation as relations between the individual and others manifest diversity and inconsistency in that the term, as used by most of them, does not specify one single phenomena or a class of related phenomena but rather a number of unrelated classes of phenomena.
Alienation and Work

In the discussion by Marx of alienation from work, emphasis is on spontaneity and self development and direction. One's productive activity has as its only end the expression of the individual's personality. Alienation, then, for Marx develops when one's labor becomes a market commodity to be bought and sold without reference to the integrity of the individual and precludes by definition self-expression and realization on the part of the individual.

Aiken and Hage (1966:497) treat alienation from work not in terms of the nature of the product but rather on the basis of satisfaction with one's professional status. This is grossly dissimilar from the propositions posited by Marx. For Aiken and Hage one is alienated if he is dissatisfied with his position, regardless of the nature of the work. Recalling that for Marx it was not necessary for one to be cognizant of his alienation, one could be very pleased and satisfied with the position but alienated from his labor to the degree that his work was not an expression of his inner being but rather an act to be traded to others for certain goods. Work was an act accomplished not for its own sake but rather as a means to an end.

More closely akin to Marx's thought are those conceptualizations operationalized in the form of statements referring to implicit or intrinsic pride or meaning in one's work. Middleton suggests that a person is alienated from his work if he agrees with the statements, "I don't really enjoy most of the work that I do, but
I feel that I must do it in order to have other things that I need and want" (1963:974). The measure of work alienation consists of the degree to which one fails to find his work self-rewarding and works merely for the salary (Miller, 1967; Seeman, 1967).

Also akin to Marx in conceptualizing alienation from work but in a more general fashion than Middleton, Miller and Seeman is Robert Blauner in his work Alienation and Freedom. Blauner (1964: 15) defines alienation as follows:

Alienation exists when workers are unable to control their immediate work processes, to develop a sense of purpose and function which connects their jobs to the overall organization of production, to belong to integrated industrial communities, and when they fail to become involved in the activity of work as a mode of personal self-expression.

Blauner, thus speaks of absence of personal control over one's product as meaninglessness, which is defined as an inability to relate one's task to the finished product, an absence of interpersonal relations, and a failure to find self-expression in one's work.

Disregarding the lack of similarity between the conceptualizations of Marx and Aiken and Hage, the writers discussed in this section have in common an idea of conscious dissatisfaction in the work situation. Again, one should note the lack of agreement in conceptualization and operationalization of the concept. Specifically, reference is made not to a multi-dimensional phenomena but rather to two unique phenomena: "job dissatisfaction, the feeling that one's work is not intrinsically satisfying and, dissatisfaction with the
degree to which one's work is self-directed, meaningful to one's self expression* (Schacht, 1970:164).

If an underlying theme can be said to exist in the above exposition it must relate to the meaninglessness of one's task. Even here, however, there is little similarity in what different scholars see. Middleton, Seeman and Miller all require that a task have intrinsic meaning in and of itself for alienation to be avoided. Blauner, on the other hand, suggests that alienation can be avoided if one perceives the contribution of one's task to the finished product.

Alienation and Events

In elaborating on the several conceptualizations of "alienation and others" and "alienation and work" it has been specifically indicated that such distinctions do not necessarily imply existence of a multi-dimensional phenomena. Rather, it is suggested that the phenomena in question are unrelated. In much the same fashion it is posited that an underlying theme of meaninglessness exists in the literature concerned with alienation and work, it is suggested a similar theme, powerlessness, can be said to exist in the literature dealing with alienation and events. It is again specifically noted that this is not to mean that alienation is a multidimensional phenomena consisting of, for example, meaninglessness and powerlessness. While the multidimensional nature of the concept alienation will be treated presently, consideration of its multi-dimensional nature must be distinct from the present discussion.
In examining the relationship between alienation and events, contemporary sociologists use Marx as their point of departure in expanding beyond the dominance of the product over the individual to social, economic and political events. An initial distinction must be made between a feeling of powerlessness and a feeling of the wrongness of powerlessness. Seeman (1959:784) posits the former when he states:

This variant of alienation (powerlessness) can be conceived as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcome, or reinforcements, he seeks.

A similar position is taken by Middleton in soliciting responses to the statement, "there is not much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face today" (1963:973) and by Neal and Rettig (1963:608) in suggesting that their powerlessness scale refers "to the expectance for control over the outcome of political and economic events." Specifically, it is the sense of powerlessness itself rather than any related feelings that are the defining characteristics of alienation as conceived by these writers.

For others, however, emphasis is placed not on the feeling of powerlessness itself but rather development of related attitudes. Thompson and Horton (1960:191) view political alienation as "...a reaction to perceived relative inability to influence or control one's destiny." Levin (1960:vii) requires that one be angry and resentful about any perceived powerlessness. Clark (1959:849) operationally defines alienation as the "discrepancy between the
power a man believes he has and what he believes he should have. McDill and Ridley (1962) posit not anger as a reaction to perceived powerlessness but rather distrust of political leaders and political apathy.

In the preceding section titled "alienation and work" meaninglessness was implicitly defined as the inability to perceive meaning in one's task and how it relates to the finished product. In essence, given alienation from one's work, there is no meaning in life to be understood. This is distinct from meaninglessness resulting from an inability to understand events. In the former the situation is characterized as having no meaning to be understood. In the latter there is meaning but the individual is unable to grasp it. Schacht (1970:169) suggests that "such alienation might better be characterized in terms of 'incomprehensibility'." This, incomprehensibility, is clearly distinguishable from powerlessness. The inability to understand the forces affecting one and the inability to control these forces are two different things. In any event, Seeman (1959:786) conceptualizes incomprehensibility as meaninglessness and refers "to a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made" and Middleton (1963:973) solicits responses to the statement "things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on." This conception of alienation is exemplified by Kris and Leites (1950:283):

Individuals in the mass societies of the twentieth century are to an ever-increasing extent involved in public affairs;
it becomes increasingly difficult to ignore them. But "ordinary" individuals have ever less the feeling that they can understand or influence the very events upon which their life and happiness is known to depend.

It should be noted that the conceptualization of alienation as incomprehensibility departs greatly from the formulations of Marx. An inability to understand events, an inability to control events and an absence of meaning in events are different phenomena. For Marx there was no question that he understood the economic laws but they were "alien" to him due to their insensitivity to the needs of the worker. The incomprehensibility of events was never open to question.

The meaninglessness of events was treated by Levin (1960) in a fashion different from those discussed above. Alienation conceptualized as meaninglessness is defined by Levin (1960:62) as meaninglessness of choices. It is one thing to understand why certain political candidates are nominated by the various political parties and something else to feel that a real choice between the candidates exists. If a choice is felt to exist but it is further felt that one is unable to influence the outcome, powerlessness is said to affect. If however, no real choice is felt to exist, meaninglessness, as defined by Levin, exists. Again, any similarity between this conceptualization of alienation and that posited by Marx is largely coincidental.

Alienation, Culture and Society

In accepting alienation in Marxian terms, as loss through estrangement in explicating alienation from society and culture,
modern sociologists, paradoxically, come closest to the conceptualization posited by Marx and at the same time furtherest away from his notions. In dealing with alienation as powerlessness and meaninglessness in the various contexts discussed above, writers frequently use the term political alienation to refer to alienation in work, with others and with reference to political and economic events. Such use, when it does in fact concern itself with loss and estrangement, finds its roots in Marx (Schacht, 1970:176). In discussing alienation from culture and society, however, examination of the phenomena, as it relates to social alienation and alienation from society, must acknowledge Hegel as its precursor (Schacht, 1970:176). Specifically, Hegel's exposition on alienation in relation to the separation of the individual from the social substance. As noted in previous sections, simple implementation of the term alienation does not result necessarily in its proper definitional use.

Improper use of the term alienation is perhaps no more true than in discussions of alienation from popular culture. No one is more representative of this than Gwynn Nettler (1957) in his work "A Measure of Alienation". An alienated person is defined as "one who has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward, his society and the culture it carries" (Nettler, 1957:672). This promise, however, for the development of a measure of alienation as defined above is not fulfilled. For, in fact, examination of questions used to test for alienation demonstrates that Nettler is referring not
to estrangement from one's society and culture but rather 
estrangement from popular culture. The items in his scale are as 
follows:

1. Do you vote in national elections? (Or would you if of 
voting age?)
2. Do you enjoy TV?
3. What do you think of the new model American automobiles?
4. Do you read Reader's Digest?
5. Were you interested in the recent national election?
6. Do you think children are generally a nuisance to their 
parents?
7. Are you interested in having children? (Or would you be at 
the right age?)
8. Do you like to participate in church activities?
9. Do national spectator-sports (football, baseball) 
interest you?
10. Do you think most married people lead trapped (frustrated) 
lives?
11. Do you think you could just as easily live in another 
society--past or present?
12. Do you think most politicians are sincerely interested in 
the public welfare, or are they more interested in 
themselves?
13. Do you think religion is mostly myth or mostly truth?
14. "Life, as most men live it, is meaningless." Do you agree?
15. For yourself, assuming you could carry out your decision 
or do things over again, do you think a single life or 
mapped life would be the most satisfactory?
16. Do you believe human life is an expression of a divine 
purpose?
17. "Most people live lives of quiet desperation." Do you 
agree?

That writers attempting to relate alienation to culture and 
society are in fact generally referring to popular norms and 
expectations is demonstrated by Goffman (1957:49):

If we take conjoint spontaneous involvement in a topic of 
conversation as a point of reference, we shall find that 
alienation from it is common indeed. Conjoint involvement 
appears to be a fragile thing, with standard points of 
weakness and decay, a precarious unsteady state that is 
likely at any time to lead the individual into some form 
of alienation. Since we are dealing with obligatory 
involve, forms of alienation will constitute misbehavior 
of a kind that can be called misinvolvement.
Further support to this thesis is provided by Seeman (1959). Seeman observes that examination of alienation and the intellectual is in terms of "detachment of the intellectual from popular cultural standards" (1959:788). A measure of cultural estrangement is provided by Middleton (1963:974) in the statement "I am not much interested in the TV programs, movies, or magazines that most people seem to like." Schacht (1970:177) observes that individuals who are alienated from society and culture in the present sense do not feel unhappy and often take pride in their alienation. It may well be that alienation from popular culture is in fact a form of alienation from others but in any event it is not alienation from culture and society.

The distinction to be made between popular culture and the fundamental societal values of a society is appropriately made by Keniston (1965:79):

Standards of taste and cultivation are of course part of this surrounding environment, but more important are those usually implicit and unexamined assumptions about the nature of life, man, society, history and the universe which are simply taken for granted by most members of a society.

It can be seen, Keniston reserves the term alienation for those who freely choose to make an explicit rejection of what he, the individual, perceives as the dominant values or norms of society. In a similar fashion Merton's "true aliens" (1968:207) have rejected what Merton considers to be the basic value in contemporary America, i.e., endless accumulation of wealth and its resultant prestige. Further, Parsons (1951:234) refers to "the more generalized alienation from the value-patterns involved in
the role-expectations" which define adulthood or membership in a given society. "Not sharing the common frame of values, they can be included as members of the society...only in a fictional sense" (Merton, 1968:207).

While several of Nettler's items can be said to relate to core values of American society, a dislike for Reader's Digest, football, baseball and new automobiles does not render one "in the society but not of it" (Merton, 1968:207) because, in the Parsonian sense, for example, these are not the basis for adulthood in America.

Alienation and Norms

A part of the social substance, distinguished from popular culture, from which one can be alienated are the behavioral norms of the society. That such norms are in part different from basic societal values is best exemplified by Merton (1968:186-187):

Among the several elements of societal and cultural structures, two are of immediate importance. These are analytically separable although they merge in concrete situations. The first consists of defined goals, purposes and interests, held out as legitimate objectives for all... They are the things "worth striving for."

A second element of the cultural structure defines, regulates and controls the acceptable modes of reaching out for these goals. Every social group invariably couples its cultural objectives with regulations, rooted in the mores or institutions, of allowable procedures for moving toward these objectives.

More succinctly, Keniston refers to "the common social expectations about the kind of behavior that is proper, appropriate and legal" (1965:466). It follows, then that one can reject and thus be alienated from, not only the fundamental values of one's
society but also certain of the behavioral norms. Rejection of behavioral norms is termed by Putney and Middleton (1962:433) as "normative alienation".

The classical exposition which was concerned with alienation from norms is that provided by Durkheim (1951). His thoughts were based on the position that social facts should be treated as things that are explained by other social facts and are mechanistically determined. Specifically, "he focused on the way in which various social conditions lead to 'overweening ambition' and how, in turn, unlimited aspirations ultimately produce a breakdown in regulatory norms" (Cloward,1959:165). From this it was postulated that the "social factors influencing the rate of suicide are revealed by the correlation of suicide rates with group affiliations and with important processes" (Barnes,1966:215). As such, the idea of anomie is the counterpart of social solidarity (Martindale,1960:88).

Merton extends the theory of anomie in two principal ways. He explicitly identifies types of anomic or malintegrated societies by focussing upon the relationship between cultural goals and norms. And, by directing attention to patterned differentials in the access to success-goals by legitimate means, he shows how the social structure exerts a strain upon the cultural structure, leading in turn to anomie or normlessness (Cloward,1959:166-167).

Whereas Durkheim was concerned with normlessness in the sense that one is not aware of the norms structuring behavior in a given situation, contemporary sociologists are more concerned with rejection per se of societal norms. To the degree that writers consider such rejection of norms, by definition, normlessness, the term is used properly. An individual may reject the prevailing societal norms while acting in accordance with other norms. A person having internalized
a given set of norms, may on occasion violate these norms. Normlessness is not to be located in the rejection of norms but in the absence of norms. One may be alienated from certain societal norms and not be characterized by normlessness if other norms can be said to govern his behavior. As such, while one can speak of alienation from norms, it is incorrect to speak of normlessness. There is not an absence of norms but rather a rejection of norms. While an absence of norms may occur, it is not implicit in, for example, Merton's formulation.

Several writers have defined alienation as normlessness and subsequently incorrectly treated it as rejection of societal norms. Dwight Dean (1960:775) speaks of incorporating into one's personality conflicting norms. While he may consider such conflict of norms a type of normlessness, it is beyond the comprehension of this writer how adherence to norms which conflict is synonymous with normlessness. Further, Seeman (1959:787) speaks of persons for whom "there is high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals." Neal and Rettig (1963:605) in suggesting that normlessness is but one dimension of alienation, define the type as "socially approved alternatives are viewed as relatively ineffective, and the consequent necessity of unapproved behavior in goal attainment is emphasized." The incorrectness of any feeling that development of the conceptualizations have been theoretically fruitless in seen in the analysis of deviant behavior examined in terms of variations in access to success goals by illegitimate means (cf. Cloward:1959).
More closely akin to alienation defined as normlessness and Durkheim's normlessness is McClosky and Schaar's anomie. They state: "The anomic (person) feels literally de-moralized; for him, the norms governing behavior are weak, ambiguous, and remote" (McClosky and Schaar, 1965:19). MacIver defines anomie as:

The state of mind of one who has been pulled up by his moral roots... The anomic man has become spiritually sterile, responsive only to himself, responsible to no one. He lives on the thin line of sensation between no future and no past (1950:84).

DeGrazia, in an obvious extension of Durkheim, defines anomie as:

The disintegrated state of a society that possesses no body of common values or morals which effectively govern conduct... The study of anomie is the study of the ideological factors that weaken or destroy the bonds of allegiance which make the political community (1948:xii).

It is imperative that the reader be aware of an implicit distinction made by DeGrazia and posited by McClosky and Schaar as follows:

Virtually all of (the work with anomie) has employed a single explanatory model for the analysis of anomie: a specified social-cultural condition gives rise to specified feelings in individuals which in turn result in specified behaviors. No writer known to us has specifically explored the relations between anomie and various dimensions of personality. Nor has anyone tried to assess the contributions various psychological states may make to anomie (1965:14, 17).

In sum, specifically, certain psychological states, in addition to or in place of structural variables, can cause alienation in general and normlessness in particular.
Alienation as a Multidimensional Concept

Alienation was originally conceived by Marx as a psychological reaction to the economic structure. Changing conceptualizations of alienation have over time resulted in the thought that alienation has different dimensions and is the result of different objective conditions. The first theoretical work of this nature was by Seeman (1959) who posited five major dimensions of alienation. These are: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. To these Seeman (1971) has added cultural estrangement.

Olsen has indicated that analysis of the attitudes attributed to alienated individuals has centered on the cognitive versus the affective components of the attitudes. In this vein he posits that Seeman has stressed "the cognitive side by describing alienation in terms of expectations or probabilities held by the individual concerning the outcomes of his actions" (Olsen, 1969:289).

Implicit in Seeman's work is the idea that each variant of alienation has a unique origin, cause or source corresponding to the respective attitude. More recently several writers have specified the separate and unique origins of the different dimensions of alienation. Scott (1965) treats alienation as being a number of mental states and indicates that he is concerned with determining the social conditions that bring about said mental states. Specifically, action is any behavior that has meaning attached. Meaning is achieved through specification of rules. Describing
meaningful behavior as the source of alienation, Scott (1965:240, 241) articulates the components of meaningful behavior and the corresponding mental state:

First, there is some ultimate goal, which we can call a value, that the individual is striving for... Second, there is a notion of the proper means of obtaining that value... This component of meaningful action will be called norms, i.e., the rules and regulations by which the values are obtained. Third, there is an agent, or organization of agents, who perform the action... We can speak of this component as the role or organization of roles. Finally, there are the means by which the agent can perform his role. This component we label situational facilities. In sum, all socially meaningful behavior consists of values, norms, organization of roles, and situational facilities... From a sociological point of view, then, the sources of alienation are to be found in the lack of a) commitment to values, b) conformity to norms, c) responsibility in roles, and d) control of facilities.

Accepting the dimensions of alienation by Seeman, Scott concludes that the manifestations of alienation do not correspond to any single source (1965:241).

The Swedish sociologist Israel is seemingly unaware of the contribution by Scott in his discussion of alienation and social pressure. Israel (1971:229) states:

If one assumes that there exists a hierarchical relationship between values, norms, role-expectations, and definitions of the situation then these four phenomena can be ordered according to a cumulative model. This model may be presented in the following way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Alienation:</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Norms</th>
<th>Expectations</th>
<th>Definition of the Situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaninglessness</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normlessness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role or self-estrangement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidental alienation</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Alienation</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The difficulty in such conceptualizations is exemplified by Seeman in his discussion of isolation. The dimension of alienation may be a result of alienation or a cause of alienation but isolation, defined as rejection of popular culture, is not itself alienation. Despite the theoretical weaknesses of such conceptualizations it continues to be regarded as a major work in specification of dimensions of alienation (cf. Middleton, 1963).

Dealing less with theoretical models that posit multidimensionality than with scales designed for their measurement, several writers have made attempts at statistical verification of the multidimensionality of alienation. This has only served to intensify dispute concerning the content of the concept. In what will probably become a classic investigation, Neal and Rettig (1963:599) pose the question: "Is there a generalized dimension underlying the alternative meanings of alienation? Or, is the problem one of making alienation referents more specific?" Gaining insight from Seeman, Neal and Rettig developed empirical measures of the powerlessness and normlessness dimensions. In combination with Srole's Anomia Scale (Srole, 1956) and Seeman's status-orientation scale, the statements were administered to 1,094 subjects drawn randomly from the Columbus, Ohio City Directory. Principle factor analysis of the responses resulted in creation of nine orthogonal factors. While a certain correlation was found to exist between several of the factors, the authors conclude "the findings support the hypothesized independence of the various alienation measures... Powerless-
ness, normlessness, and Srole's anomia scale emerge as separate and unrelated dimensions" (1963:605).

In a similar analysis Struening and Richardson (1965) question the work of Seeman and others for the seeming listing of attitude statements indicative of the dimensions of alienation on the basis of face validity only. Specifically, they note while examination of the degree of association among selected combinations of alienation measures has been accomplished, the degree of redundancy among the scales and the complete patterns of relations among them is not known.

We believe that multiple factor-analysis and other multivariate scaling procedures, applied to the responses of rationally selected subjects and to carefully selected samples of item variables, will produce the most comprehensive and parsimonious measurement models.

Accordingly, in an attempt to determine the attitudes underlying responses to statements judged to measure alienation, anomia, and authoritarianism, responses to 68 statements by a heterogeneous sample of 422 respondents were correlated to form a 68 X 68 product-moment correlation matrix. Ten factors were extracted and it was determined that the items generally had a high factor loading on only one factor and a low or zero loading on the remaining factors. In explicating their findings, the authors were concerned with nine factors: alienation via rejection, authoritarianism, trust and optimism, authoritarian family orientation, perceived purposelessness, conventionality, religious orthodoxy, self-determinism, and emotional distance. Correlations among the factor scores showed the
existence of several general alienation syndromes. Srole's Anomia Scale maintained its unidimensionality with the five items heavily loaded on the alienation via rejection factor. The Srole scale, generally considered to be a measure of despair, was found to contain a strong component of cynicism and distrust bordering on suspicion previously considered aspects of authoritarianism. Authoritarianism was broken into four psychologically "meaningful and positively related dimensions" centered around:

...Obedience to and respect for authority, improvement of one's social position, careful planning, family loyalty, and the value of attending religious services and working hard—the conventional middle-class, and particularly lower middle-class, ideology (Struening and Richardson, 1965:771).

In response to a methodological criticism by Cartwright (1965) and following the work of Struening and Richardson (1965), Neal and Rettig (1967) in a re-examination of their data determined that the separability of alienation constructs through factor analytic techniques was in fact possible but that additional second order group factors exist. They conclude that "results denoting both uni- and multi-dimensionality are not contradictory if they derive from variant orders of abstraction" (Neal and Rettig, 1967:54).

While such statistical analyses are needed for verification of the multi-dimensional models of such researchers as Seeman (1959), Davids (1955), Hajda (1961), Nettler (1957) and Dean (1961), even more critical problems with alienation studies exist. Specifically, 1) the proliferation of works treating alienation as one general
syndrome without proper theoretical justification for such treat-
ment, and 2) accepting the multi-dimensionality of the concept but
dealing with only one variant or at best two without reference to
the relative frequency of different types of alienation in the
population or of their differential association with various causal
factors (Middleton, 1963:973).

Conclusion

The mere use of the term alienation does not necessarily mean
that alienation has in fact occurred. The work "alienation" refers
to "estrangement from something." The suffix "ation" implies not
only the existence of some sort of "alienness" but also that a
process of "becoming alien" has occurred. In toto, the word
alienation suggests both a process of becoming and a condition of
being estranged from something. Clearly, many of the conceptional-
izations reviewed in this chapter do not meet this definitional
criterion. Seeman's reference to normlessness as "high expectancy
that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given
goals" (1959:787) is incorrect if normlessness is considered to be
a dimension of alienation. There is not even an implicit "aliena-
tion from something".

Meeting of the definitional criterion of the word alienation
does not necessarily result in appropriate use of the concept.
Nettler has defined an alienated person as one who is estranged
from his society and the culture it carries (1957:672). Examination
of his scale items demonstrates that the referent is not basic cultural values, as he would imply, but, rather, popular culture.

The various general contexts in which alienation has been used has prompted Schacht (1970:160) to comment:

Its employment by some writers in a certain general context seems to lead others to follow suit; but the tendency to do so is not powerful enough to produce uniformity in the employment of the term. On the contrary, different writers tend to use it in different ways, resulting in a proliferation of conceptions of alienation. The writers in question, however, seem to be unaware of this result. Indeed, one gets the impression that they think they are all discussing the same thing.

Relative to this, Neal and Rettig (1967:62-63) state:

To say the least, such opposing conceptualizations of alienation make for serious communication problems as well as for conceptual and methodological difficulties in theory construction.

The difficulty is that given different alienation referents and given different consequences of alienation, it is difficult if not impossible to incorporate the various conceptualizations delineated without losing the distinctiveness between them. To maintain such distinctiveness, however, prevents achieving "an abstract concept tying together common elements derivable from the lower-order structure" (Neal and Rettig, 1967:60).

Given agreement among writers that the term alienation refers to a subjective process of estrangement from something and given identification of objective referents, the scope of the application of the term is reduced. The result, however, is merely the establishment of formal structural similarity between the
various alienation conceptualizations and not the establishment of interconnectedness between the phenomena.

In conclusion, the question of the multidimensional nature of alienation remains open.

Summary

Although first systematic use of the concept alienation is attributed to Hegel in his *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, earlier reference is found in Ephesians 4:18 and in the work of the contrast theorist Rousseau. Marx rejected Hegel's identification of objects with alienation and provided an historical interpretation to the concept of alienation. As developed in his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* alienation became a subjective reaction to an objective societal condition.

While agreeing with Marx that alienation is a mental state, contemporary writers have rejected his economic determinism in search for the several social conditions leading to alienation. Also forsaken is the thought that it is possible, if not common, for an individual, in being alienated, not to be aware of his alienation.

The contemporary distinction between a sociological and psychological approach to the study of alienation has roots in the change experienced by Marx after 1844. The young Marx concerned himself with the affect of man's estrangement from his work on man's being, while the older Marx (post 1844) is concerned more with social processes as he emphasizes a mode of production—capitalism.
contemporary usage, a sociological approach places emphasis on causes of alienation and the process of alienation while a psychological approach places emphasis on the results of alienation or the psychological states characterizing a state of being alienated.

A further distinction is made on the basis of the relationship between the individual and society. A theory of alienation is individual oriented if demands of society prevent achievement of certain goals on the part of the individual. If societal equilibrium is, however, disrupted due to the deviating acts of individuals in the society, then the theory is society oriented.

Alienation by definition refers to estrangement from something. Those things from which an individual can be alienated have been outlined as other human beings, the work situation, events in the society, cultural values and social norms.

Changing conceptualizations of alienation have over time resulted in the thought that alienation has different dimensions and is the result of different objective conditions. The first theoretical work of this nature was by Seeman (1959) who posited five major dimensions of alienation. Dealing less with theoretical models that posit multi-dimensionality than with scales designed for their measurement, several writers have made attempts at statistical verification of the multi-dimensional nature of alienation. Despite these attempts, several important problems exist in alienation research: inadequate specification of the
alienation referent; inadequate measurement of the psychological consequences of the alienation process; and, inability to incorporate the various alienation conceptualizations under one theoretical model such that the distinctiveness between the conceptualizations is maintained.
CHAPTER III
CLARIFICATION OF THE CONCEPT ANOMIE
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Cultural Structural Disjunction as a Source of Alienation

Alienation as estrangement from something is a psychological phenomena representing the individual's subjective reaction to a situation. While the appropriateness of treating alienation as a multi-dimensional concept is questionable, it is apparent that within the general parameter of "estrangement from something" there exists several general sources from which one can be estranged.

There exist several psychological reactions to the source of the alienation. In explicating the relationship between alienation and the social factors facilitating its development, perhaps no writer has been more influential than Robert K. Merton. In making the distinction between institutionalized means for achievement of culturally defined goals, Merton indicates that disjunction between the two is followed by one of five possible modes of adaptation. All are referred to as anomie. The types are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Goals</th>
<th>Institutionalized Means</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritualism</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Retreatism</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rebellion</td>
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</table>

In comprehending the utility of such a conceptualization it is important to note "these categories refer to role behavior in specific types of situations, not to personality." They are types
of more or less enduring responses, not types of personality organization" (Merton, 1968:194). Martindale (1960:476) suggests that Merton generally extends Durkheim's idea of anomie in an attempt "to discover how some social structures exert definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming behavior (Merton, 1968:186). Merton (1968:216) reformulates anomie as:

A breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them.

As conceptualized by Merton, the various types of disjunction are viewed as sources of deviant behavior (Merton, 1968:195). As such the label "conformity" refers to the modal pattern of adaptation to the relationship between goals and means rather than to an intrinsically "proper" reaction. While all five types of reactions are generically labelled anomie, it is usual to treat anomie as normlessness (Rose, 1966:29) or, within the model presented by Merton, innovation. This is in keeping with the emphasis established by Merton:

We shall be primarily concerned with economic activity in the broad sense of the production, exchange, distribution and consumption of goods and services in our competitive society, where wealth has taken on a highly symbolic cast (Merton, 1968:194-195).

For purposes of simplifying the problem monetary success was taken as the major cultural goal, although there are, of course, alternative goals (Merton, 1968:211).
Continuing satisfactions must derive from sheer participation in a competitive order as well as from eclipsing one’s competitors if the order itself is to be sustained (Merton, 1968:188).

(However), the social structure strains the cultural values, making action in accord with them readily possible for those occupying certain statuses within the society and difficult or impossible for others. The social structure acts as a barrier or as an open door to the acting out of cultural mandates. When the cultural and social structure are mal-integrated, the first calling for behavior and attitudes which the second precludes, there is a strain toward the breakdown of the norms, toward normlessness (Merton, 1968: 216-217).

Given the inability of persons to achieve the culturally prescribed goals of American society due to differential access to the institutionalized means for achieving them, the result is the development of norms for their achievement. In a classic work, Cloward (1959) relates Sutherland’s differential association with subcultural norms and Merton’s pressures toward deviant behavior and develops an explanation of why anomie results in deviancy. While Cloward concentrates on behavior reaction to the social structure, others have been concerned with the psychological reaction to the anomic situation. Such a reaction has been termed anomia. Operationally defined as individual rather than social anomie (Rose, 1966:30), anomia refers to the psychological reaction of the individual to a state of normlessness when the means are inadequate for achievement of goals. This distinction between anomie and anomia links limited access to means with not just deviant behavior but with a psychological reaction on the part of the individual.
Rose (1966:34-35), in explicating the relationship between the objective anomie and the subjective anomia, states:

The attraction of Merton's hypothesis is not so much the cultural/structure opposition...as it is...the development of frustration due to blockage. The cultural/structural hypothesis, though developed some time beforehand is, however, surely a special case of relative deprivation, and the deviation-producing phenomena is the development of frustration within the framework of relative deprivation.

Merton (1968:219) in elaborating on measures of anomie refers to objective measures which are variables characterizing areas of "relative normlessness and social instability" and subjective measures which are individual attitudes associated with anomic conditions. Merton (1968:219) indicated that the then unpublished work by Srole represents "a beginning toward a standardized measure of anomie, as perceived and experienced by individuals in a group or community."

The Srole Anomia Scale (Srole, 1956) has been both utilized and criticized widely as a measure of an individual's reaction to a state of normlessness. Anomia is referred to by Srole (1956) as "social mal-integration" which is operationalized as "suffering from psychi isolation" which refers to interpersonal alienation, alienation from self and others. While basic Mertonian thought would suggest that a measure of individual response to a state of normlessness would be a measure of normlessness on the part of the individual, this is not the case. It is suggested that the Srole Anomia Scale is in fact a measure of despair (Meier and Bell, 1959;
Nettler, 1965; Middleton, 1963; and Rushing, 1971) and, as such, is indicative of retreatism rather than normlessness (Clinard, 1964:35).

Specifically, the Srole items and an interpretation of each are as follows (Alleger, 1966a:7):

1. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

   Abdication of future life goals; retrogression from attained goals.

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

   Deflation or loss of internalized social norms and values.

3. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

   Perception of social order as essentially fickle and unpredictable.

4. There days a person doesn't really know on whom he can count.

   Immediate personal relationships no longer predictive or supportive.

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

   Individual's sense that community leaders are detached from and indifferent to his needs.

Rose (1966:40) in a summary statement posits that the Srole Anomia Scale consists of the following components:

Feelings that authority no longer cares for the individual's needs; seeing the social order as futile and unpredictable; feelings that everything is getting worse; and an alienation from norms making life seem meaningless.
Significant modifications of the scale have been accomplished by Mizruchi (1964:161-162). The result of such modification has been development of interchangeable scale items (Mizruchi,1964:162) and refutation of the criticism that the Srole Scale is a measure of acquiescence (Carr,1971). It is imperative to note that Srole does not consider the scale to be a measure of anomie, a social phenomena, and that Mizruchi stresses repeatedly that "Srole's scale is used here as an index (emphasis Mizruchi's) to social structural strain and not as a means for the understanding of personality dynamics" (Mizruchi,1964:56). Further, Rose (1966:40) states that "actually Srole's scale seems to be associated with class differences, and, if it means anything, seems to show that there is more general discontent as one goes down the class scale." (See also, Srole, 1956a; Roberts and Rokeach,1956; Srole,1956b; Bell,1957; and, Meir and Bell,1959).

While Rose (1966:40) goes on to suggest that the relationship between Srole's Anomia Scale and Merton's anomie is unclear, he does give support to such relationship in light of Merton's statement that the "strain toward anomie does not operate evenly throughout the society (Merton,1968:211).

Review of Literature-Anomie

Robin Williams (1951:53-57) referring to conflict situations in general, indicates that the "cultural goal-institutionalized means" conceptualization of Merton is only one type of anomie.
(1961:557) not only posits that anomie is not the same as the absence of norms but it is not even lack of clarity of norms. He proceeds to speak of ambivalence toward norms but is unclear as to whether this means conflicting norms or reaction by the individual against accepted norms. Bierstedt questions the interpretation of anomie as normlessness and states "a situation of complete normlessness or anomie, would be intolerable, and no normless or anomic society could long endure" (Bierstedt, 1957:177). In a highly insightful review of relevant literature through 1964, Clinard summarizes the criticisms of the Mertonian thesis (1964:55-56):

There is a common tendency in sociology to accept intriguing and well formulated theories in advance of adequate empirical support through research or the incorporation of other relevant conceptual frameworks. This has been true of the relation of anomie to deviant behavior. Despite reformulations there have been a number of specific objections to this theory: (1) It is claimed that the theory conceives of an atomistic and individualistic actor who selects adaptations to the social system, and in so doing fails to stress the importance of interactions with others, who serve as reference groups for the actor. The actions of significant others affect the response and adaptation of the actor. (2) The deviant act is seen as an abrupt change from the strain of anomie to deviance, rather than as an event which has been built up through the interactional process. (3) Many deviant acts can be explained as part of role expectations rather than disjunctions between goals and means. (4) The dichotomy of cultural goals and institutional means, basic to anomie theory, may be so artificial as to have little meaning, since both are so linked in reality. (5) It is difficult to identify a set of values or cultural goals which could be considered universal in most modern, complex, industrial societies. The ends sought grow out of multivalue claims made on individuals participating in diverse groups. (6) The concept of anomie best explains deviant behavior in societies where status is achieved; a different explanation may be needed where status is ascribed. (7) There is little doubt that deviant behavior is disproportionately more common in the lower class as the theory of anomie maintains. More studies of the incidence and prevalence of deviant be-
behavior are needed before what is assumed by theory can be stated in fact. (8) Even if it is assumed that there is a higher rate of deviation in the lower class, there is the further question of why the bulk of the lower class uses conformity to achieve prescribed goals. (9) The theory stresses the importance of position in the social structure and ability to reach cultural goals. Such factors as subcultures, urbanization, and especially, the role of group or collective adaptations are not normally taken into account. Short has pointed out in his paper that among lower class gang boys, middle class values are appreciated, but status is linked with more immediate contexts (being a male or a member of a gain) and immediate on going processes rather than ultimate ends. (10) At the level of social control an important theoretical problem in explaining deviation is how deviant behavior originates and how certain deviations lead to symbolic reorganization at the level of self-regarding attitudes and roles while others do not. The societal elements isolating and reacting to deviants are largely disregarded. (11) Finally, the adaptation of retreatism has been challenged, particularly as an explanation of drug addiction, as lacking precision and as an over-simplification of the process of self-evaluation.

In a more positive vein, Rose (1966:31) specifies the conditions under which anomie is said to affect:

The intention is clearly that there needs to be such a degree of legitimacy loss that one must face up to the possibility of behavior change; the types of norms involved are of considerable importance (in that) it may be that the norms...limit the range of uncertainty; Norms should...be interpreted...in terms of a complex of norms covering a range of behavior; the legitimacy loss must lead to a degree of unhappiness.

Rose continues in suggesting that anomie as developed by Merton has been "debased" through imprecise definition and failure in specifying clearly what it means. Specifically, "anomie...is a loss of norm legitimacy sufficient to cause avoidance behavior" (Rose, 1966:31). Such legitimacy loss is the result of societal restrictions in access to culturally defined goals and results in a deep-seated
feeling of frustration on the part of individuals experiencing such legitimacy loss (Rose, 1966:36).

Given the influence of the Mertonian formulation relative to the American cultural goal of success, the pattern has been to operationally define the discrepancy between cultural goals and institutionalized means in terms of discrepancy between occupational and educational expectations and aspirations and measure the individual reaction to such a discrepancy by the Srole Anomia Scale.

In an examination of opportunity as a predictor of adolescents' alienation (defined as powerlessness and anomia) and deviation proneness, Han (1971:400) proceeds from the following assumptions:

1. The structural variables provide unequal distribution of opportunity.
2. This arrangement of opportunity affects the vulnerability to attitudinal and/or behavioral deviation.
3. Therefore, the structural variables "determine" attitudinal and/or behavioral deviation.

Han (1971:400) goes on to state:

It is reasoned that...two types of barriers in access to means of success are associated with the way in which one takes a certain attitude toward society. Those who are keenly aware of limited opportunity tend to blame external source, i.e., the "system:. The tendency to take a negative attitude toward the system may provide a propensity toward either withdrawal from or aggressive striking back at the system. On the other hand, those adolescents who find their ability limited are prone to place blame on internal sources, i.e., their personal inadequacy. It is further reasoned that those adolescents who are keenly cognizant of the limitations in external arrangement of opportunity but are not aware of any personal inadequacy in the pursuit of success-goals are more likely to attribute their frustrations (or the causes of the frustrations) to external sources.
Perceived low opportunity was measured on the basis of responses to the following three statements (Han, 1971:401-402):

1. Sometimes I feel I shall be handicapped in the competition of getting ahead because of my family background.
2. In these days it is hard for a young man like me to get ahead fast unless he is from a financially well-off family.
3. It seems to be true that when a man is born, the opportunity for success is already in the cards and so I often feel that I might be deprived of the opportunity.

Perceived low ability was assessed in terms of responses to the single statement "even though some people encourage me to become successful in the future, I often feel that I am not able and smart enough to become so" (Han, 1971:402). Powerlessness was defined as "a lack of confidence in one's ability to control socio-political events" and measured by eight of Neil and Rettig's (1963) factor analyzed items. Srole's (1956) Anomia Scale was used without change to measure anomia. The following hypotheses were examined (Han, 1971:400-401):

The influence of perceived low opportunity upon powerlessness is more pronounced among those youths who have a high perceived low ability than among those with a low perceived low ability.

Among rural high school seniors the perception of limited opportunity makes an independent contribution to the variations in powerlessness, anomia, and deviation-proneness.

The influence of perceived low opportunity upon anomia and deviation-proneness is more pronounced among those with a low perceived low ability than among those with a high perceived low ability.

The variations in the degree of perceived low opportunity and perceived low ability have different effects on the dependent variables depending on the levels of socio-economic status of origin.
Han found that powerlessness and anomia were strongly associated with perceived low opportunity more so among lower-class than middle class adolescents. Further, given perceived low ability, the influence of perceived low opportunity on powerlessness was pronounced. Of particular interest is the finding that adolescents who are aware of external obstacles in achievement of success goals have a greater tendency to feel anomic than those who view personal failure as the result of personal inadequacies. Also, all variables except perceived low ability were significantly related to socio-economic status of origin. In conclusion, Han (1971:407-408) states:

The multivariate analysis used in this paper clearly indicated that perceived low opportunity is a more "interpretative-intervening" variable than a "specifying" variable while socio-economic status of origin is a more "specifying" variable than an "explaining away" factor as far as alienation is accounted for. This finding is viewed to be basically in line with the tradition of the symbolic interactionism.

This conclusion is supported by the finding that participation in the Watts Riot and alienated feelings could not be explained solely by structural variables (Ransford, 1968).

Blocker and Chesson (1971) accept the definition provided by Han (1971) and posit that the structural variable lower class is conducive to feelings of anomia among adolescents given the "symbolic" condition of high aspirations and high perceived low opportunity.

Perception of limited opportunity is measured by responses to the following statements (Blocker and Chesson, 1971:22-23):

(1) A guy like me has a pretty good chance of going to a regular four-year college and even post-college work if he
plans. (2) Sometimes I feel I shall be handicapped in the competition of getting ahead because of my family background. (3) In these days, it is hard for a young man to get ahead fast unless he is from a financially well-off family. (4) It seems to be true that when a man is born the opportunity for success is already in the cards, and so I often feel that I might be deprived of the opportunity.

Beyond indication that ideal wish is distinct from real wish and is not bound by reality, no indication of measurement of level of aspiration is given. The dependent variable anomia is measured by the Srole Anomia Scale. Hypotheses tested were (Blocker and Chesson, 1971:7):

Among those adolescents who have a high wish level, those who have a high perception of limited opportunity are more likely to exhibit a high degree of anomia than those who have a low perception of limited opportunity.

Among those adolescents who have a high wish level, those who have a high perception of limited opportunity are more likely to exhibit a high perception of illegitimate expediency than those who have a low perception of limited opportunity.

Both of the above associations will be more pronounced among the lower- or blue-collar class subjects than the other classes.

It was determined that individuals characterized by a low wish level and high perception of limited opportunity were more anomic regardless of social class. Further, perceived access to institutionalized means for goal attainment was a better predictor of anomia than was the goal itself (Blocker and Chesson, 1971).

Given the emphasis by Han and Blocker and Chesson on the greater value of access to means than the goal as a predictor of anomia, it is interesting in passing to note Blocker and Chesson's inclusion that given perceived low opportunity, lower class and
rural youth with low aspirational levels show a greater tendency for anomia than those with high aspirational levels.

The objective of the research done by Rushing (1971) was to determine if there were class and ethnic differences in the nature of the disjunction between educational aspirations and perceived opportunity for achievement for children by parents that were Anglo-Americans, bilingual Mexican-Americans and non-English-speaking Mexican-Americans. It was concluded that:

The relationship between aspiration-perceived opportunity disjunction and normlessness transcends class levels but may be specific to a culture which emphasizes an open-class ideology. Hence it is the cultural interpretation given to aspiration-perceived opportunity disjunction rather than disjunction per se that may be crucial in normlessness (Rushing, 1971:857).

Beyond the above reported findings, the judgment by Rushing that the Srole Anomia Scale is a measure of despair rather than normlessness is of interest. It is, however, an inappropriate measure of the psychological reaction by the individual to the disjunction posited by Merton. Accordingly, Rushing (1971:861) developed his own scale for the measurement of normlessness:

Is a person justified in doing almost anything if the reward is high enough?

Some people say you have to do things that are wrong in order to get ahead in the world today. What do you think?

Would you say that the main reason people obey the law is the punishment that comes if they are caught?

Some people say that to be a success it is usually necessary to be dishonest. Do you think this is true?

In your opinion, should people obey the law no matter how much it interferes with their personal ambitions?
In your opinion, is the honest life the best regardless of the hardships it may cause?

Rushing provides support for Merton's position that there is greater prevalence of normlessness in the lower class but demonstrates that such prevalence is culture bound to the open-class system of American society (1971:866).

It is not blocked opportunity per se that is important but the way blocked opportunity is interpreted, and that such interpretations will differ depending upon one's cultural background.

While Han, Rushing and Blocker and Chesson concern themselves with the individual's perceptions, their primary interest is in structural relationships between means and ends. The work of Seeman and others places greater emphasis on the psychological reaction of the individual and its implication for learning.

Alienation and Learning

Melvin Seeman in a number of works has concerned himself with the psychological dimensions of alienation. Although Seeman (1959) was the first to suggest a multidimensional nature for alienation, he has treated alienation primarily as perceived powerlessness on the part of individuals.

Seeman (1962) administered a powerlessness scale to a group of patients in a tuberculosis hospital. In addition, the patients completed a test dealing with the disease itself, i.e., the nature of the disease, its treatment, how it was contracted and its communicativeness. Those who demonstrated the highest feelings of powerlessness knew the least about the disease. This research did
not answer the question did the patients know less about tuberculosis because they felt powerless or they felt powerless because they knew little about the disease? This question was answered in a controlled learning situation—a reformatory.

Utilizing a scale consisting of forty fixed-response statements aimed at measuring a respondent's generalized expectations of control of events in such areas as making friends, war and politics, occupational success, school achievement, etc., Seeman (1963) was to determine the sense of powerlessness held by eighty-five prisoners in a reformatory. Each prisoner was placed in a learning situation such that he came in contact with information concerning three areas: the immediate reformatory situation, achieving successful parole, and long range prospects for a non-criminal future. It was found that inmates scoring low on the alienation measure had superior abilities in retaining parole related information. Given the implications of this information for personal control over events it was concluded that powerlessness affects control related learning. This relationship was unaffected by social background, intelligence, or criminal history. It should be noted that Seeman's apparent unidimensional approach to the concept of alienation (1963) resulted in an accusation of reductionism being levelled against him (Coleman, 1964; Mouledous and Mouledous, 1964).

In the third of three statements on the subject of powerlessness and learning, Seeman examined the male work force in Malmo, Sweden (1966). It was found that there exists a relationship between
a sense of powerlessness and knowledge of things such as the workings of the government, the incumbent office holders, and dynamics of political change. Given the non-institutional nature of the setting he was able to go beyond simple demographic variables in examining the relationship and determine that the unorganized workers had the greater feelings of powerlessness and less information than members of organized labor groups. Also, of the members of the organized labor groups, the officials manifested the smallest amount of powerlessness and the greatest amount of political knowledge. This finding supports earlier work by Neal and Seeman (1964) in which they state:

Members of work-related organizations are generally lower in powerlessness than non-members; this difference is sustained under appropriate controls for socio-economic status and mobility. The clearest associations between non-membership and powerlessness are found among mobility-minded workers (1964:216).

In a still later work, Seeman (1967a) expresses surprise at the buffering effect of organizational membership on perceived powerlessness of workers. He (Seeman, 1967a:284) states that the finding is not due to methodological error. His finding is even more interesting given the research of Aiken and Hage (1966). They conclude "both alienation from work and alienation from expressive relations (are) more prominent in highly centralized and formalized organizations (Aiken and Hage, 1966:497). The explanation for this difference in the affect of organizational membership on alienation is indicative of the difficulty in alienation research.
Aiken and Hage developed their own measures of alienation from expressive relations and alienation from work.

Further, while Seeman (Neal and Seeman, 1964:225) defined alienation as powerlessness and related the occurrence of powerlessness to membership or non-membership in work organizations, he found that alienation defined as anomia (despair) was not associated with membership.

Several studies have demonstrated a marked difference between adults and children in attitudes and learning patterns (Jawanda, 1968; Zahn, 1967; Zahn, 1969). Zahn (1969) concludes that adults with strong feelings of powerlessness have greater difficulty learning control-relevant information. It is suggested that educational programs aimed at altering behavior is more difficult with adults than children due to the greater difficulty experienced by adults in adopting new roles (Zahn, 1969:91). The implication is that it is more difficult to alter feelings of alienated adults than it is to alter feelings of alienated youth. This is supported by Feldman (1971) who indicates that adolescents experience role discontinuities more so than adults and that normative integration is associated not with group size or social class but rather with sex, age, and conformity to perceived peer group expectations.

In support of this, Jackson (1965) suggests that persons who feel that they have little impact on the fortunes that befall them develop feelings of alienation that are directed at the learning situation in adult education classes. The more alienated a person
is, the greater the tendency to minimize school values and to generally close one's mind against education. Dickerson (1970) found that farmers with high alienation scores avoided personal contacts with Agricultural Extension workers and tended not to benefit from the educational programs unless the program was of an impersonal nature.

**Alienation and Demographic Characteristics**

Perhaps the most distinguishing differences between an alienated and non-alienated population is on the basis of the variables residence and race. To a lesser degree socio-economic status explicates the relationship between a structural source of alienation and the perceived feeling of alienation, however defined.

Various conceptualizations have been worked out to differentiate between the rural and urban environments. Perhaps the most fertile concepts have been those of Ferdinand Tonnies. The core of Tonnies' system lies in the doctrine of human relationships or social entities. This doctrine is based on the distinction between the two fundamental concepts Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. These represent ideal type concepts and as such are most correctly used in describing or analyzing social systems in the form of an adjective, i.e., Gemeinschaft-like or Gesellschaft-like. The contribution of Tonnies is not the mere construction of two apparently antithetic concepts but the clear conceptual differentiation of two fundamental patterns, representing opposite potentialities of concrete social formations. On the basis of these potentialities, Tonnies makes a distinction
between those relationships which have grown naturally out of sympathetic sentiments and those that have developed for a definite purpose. Becker and Boskoff (1966:19) state:

As interpreted by Tonnies, human association reflects varying manifestations of two analytically distinctive social bonds: those of community (Gemeinschaft) and those of society (Gesellschaft). Gemeinschaft is based on sentimental attitudes and feelings of intimacy that in turn develop in situations of prolonged social contact or consanguinity. In such relations, which are said to be created and continued by the will of the participants, the emphasis is on consensus, on tradition, and on the relationship as an end rather than as an instrument for attaining specific objectives. By contrast, Gesellschaft relationships grow out of the specific rational objectives of the participants, so that intimacy is replaced by formality, sentiment by calculation and contract, and relative permanency of association by the phenomena of expediency and limited participation.

An interpretation of this processual change from a gemeinschaft-like society is provided by Taylor and Jones (1964) in the development of their concept "urbanized social organization."

Empirical support for this position is provided by Killian and Grigg (1967:661):

Of the many variables which might be related to anomia, (urbanism has) been especially emphasized in recent studies of social structure and anomia. Although deductive arguments that the allegedly anomic urban milieu is reflected in individual anomia have the respectability of age, recent empirical studies have cast doubt upon these arguments.
In a comparative study of three New York communities selected to represent points on a hypothetical continuum from rural to urban, Mizruchi (1969:246-247) states:

Malaise is more likely to characterize selected segments in the rural community. Certain segments of the population in these communities appear particularly more likely to be anomie than others. ...It may be that the malaise is associated with the larger social structure rather than with the social situation of the person. Thus, those who are more involved and those who are most likely to be concerned with the future (the younger respondents) are more sensitive to the general societal currents which reflect the rapid transformation from the rural to an urban society.

This interpretation is supported by Plotiadis in one of several studies in rural Appalachia (1969:247):

Alienation, at least among businessmen, is associated with smaller community size and further, that although part of this alienation is due to dysfunctions of the economic system, the remainder is due to dysfunctions of other aspects of the community and most probably the social system.

Vidich and Hensman note in Small Town in Mass Society (1958:314) that while the people of Springdale are unwilling to recognize the defeat of their values or the critical nature of their condition, they do in fact realize that not all is well in rural America. Lerner (1958) in The Passing of Traditional Society also notes the sensitivity of participants to general societal currents. In much the same fashion that urban life has been subjected to stresses and strains in a rural environment, rural life is being subjected to similar experiences in an urban environment.

In an attempt to explicate the relationship between residence and alienation, Killian and Grigg (1962) utilized urban and small-town white and black samples. They conclude that:
Merton's hypothesis that high anomia is associated with the existence of differences between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations appears to be more fruitful as a source of explanation of (these) findings than does a postulated relationship between urbanism and anomia.

Utilizing the Srole Anomia Scale, it was determined that among whites the level of education and not urban-rural residence accounted for differences in anomia. Among blacks it was determined that while no difference existed in the amount of anomia by residence, there was a greater proportion of rural blacks manifesting high anomia than urban blacks (Killian and Grigg, 1962:665). Among rural blacks the mere fact of being black accounted for feelings of anomia. This relationship was unaffected by education, occupation, and conception of social class. While Killian and Grigg found that the urban black is also alienated, it was determined that a smaller proportion of white collar blacks were more highly alienated than blue-collar blacks or the white-collar rural black. It is concluded that while blacks experience high feeling of anomia regardless of residence, the urban white-collar black stands the greatest possibility of experiencing anomia reduction (Killian and Grigg, 1962:665-666).

The greater importance of race over residence without reference to education is supported by Middleton (1963:976):

There is no significant educational difference among Negroes in the incidence of pessimism. The highly educated Negroes are almost as likely as the poorly educated to agree with the statement, "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse."
An explanation for the existence of alienation in both rural and urban environments is suggested by D.E. Alleger, rural sociologist and agricultural economist, in a series of papers published by the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In "A Southern Rural Paradox: Social Change and Despair" (1966a:5-8) he notes:

The one common element that pervades the region as a whole is urbanization. Its secular effects permeate the rural countryside so that no one can totally escape their impact. Perhaps our intellectual climate in this day of adventuring in space is not conducive to that sense of authoritative certainty which brings with it peace of mind and freedom from despair—a harmony which the rural people of America at one time seemed to possess, as history suggests.

Alleger attributes this to the destruction of the economic security associated with the operation of the family sized farm and the development of rural residential non-farming. His findings are all the more interesting because he found that high levels of education, better than average incomes, and superior levels of living tend to buffer the rural resident against development of feelings of alienation and anomie (Alleger, 1966a).

Han (1971) supports this position in his findings that rural adolescents' powerlessness, anomia and deviation-proneness is related to their perception of limited opportunity and limited ability. Bertrand goes further and suggests that the presence of alienation among rural poor is not the result of their economic status but rather is due to the influence of a more affluent urban society. Bertrand (1970:129-130) states:

The experience which low-income groups have with the greater more affluent society creates first a revolution of rising expectations within these groups. Then, if frustration in achieving expectations lasts long enough, anomie results.
Just as Bertrand posits the uniqueness of the rural resident, Alleger suggests that rural blacks are within the system but not of it (1966b:3):

Although he remains on the farm, his level of expectations continue to rise; yet, however promising the dawn of morning is in reality, his lack of faith in goal achievement in the morrow is his anomia.

Ireland (1967:3) posits that low income families, rural or urban, found in developed or underdeveloped areas, will experience feelings of alienation by definition of their economic status because the constant, fruitless struggle to combat the variables associated with low income leads to estrangement from society. In an examination of the relation between race and socio-economic status within an urban community Bullough (1967) found that blacks living in an integrated white suburban area expressed fewer feelings of alienation (scored lower on the anomia scale and felt less powerless) than blacks living in the more traditional ghetto. This relationship is clarified by Bell (1957) who shows that the economic characteristics of the neighborhood in which a person resides is more important than his own individual economic characteristics and concludes "anomie is inversely related to economic status" (Bell,1957:114). In conclusion, Dean (1961:757) provides that "alienation is not a personality trait but is a situation-relevant variable."

Summary

While the appropriateness of treating alienation as a multidimensional concept is questionable, it is apparent that within the general parameter of "estrangement from something" there exists
several general sources from which one can be estranged. Similarly, there exists several psychological reactions to the source of the alienation.

Robert K. Merton (1968:216) has defined anomia as:

A breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them.

Anomie is one source of alienation. The result of anomie is normlessness. Normlessness not in the Durkheimian sense of one being unaware of the norms structuring behavior but rather in the sense of rejecting societal norms. Normlessness as a dimension of alienation is not to be located in the rejection of norms but in the absence of norms. While an absence of norms may occur, it is not implicit in Merton's formulation. Anomia is the psychological reaction of the individual to a state of normlessness when the means are inadequate for achievement of goals. Specifically, Merton has stated that the Srole Anomia Scale is "a beginning toward a standardized measured of anomie, as perceived and experienced by individuals in a group or community (1968:219)."

Given the influence of the Mertonian formulation relative to the American cultural goal of success, the pattern has been to operationally define the discrepancy between cultural goals and institutionalized means in terms of discrepancy between occupational and educational expectations and aspirations and measure the individual reaction to such a discrepancy by the Srole Anomia Scale.
Studies have determined that the association between residence and anomia is inconclusive but that the presence of anomia is associated with socio-economic status and race. Perceived obstacles in the part of goal attainment is of greater import in the determination of anomia than is lack of ability.

Defining alienation as a sense of powerlessness, Seeman has demonstrated that persons manifesting a perceived inability to control their environment do not learn control relevant information.
CHAPTER IV
METHODOLOGY

Source of Data and Sample Design

The sampling method for selection of the segments in the universe studied can be described as proportionate, stratified, random cluster. Ackoff (1953:124-125) describes this procedure as:

1. Stratified proportionate: Select from every sampling unit at other than last stage a random sample proportionate to size of sampling unit. (Advantages): 1) Assures representativeness with respect to property which forms basis of classifying units; 2) Decreases chance of failing to include members of population because of classification process; 3) Characteristics of each stratum can be made. (Disadvantages): 1) Requires accurate information on proportion of population in each stratum; 2) If stratified lists are not available, it may be costly to prepare them.

2. Stratified cluster: Select clusters at random from every sampling unit. (Advantages): Reduces variability of plain cluster sampling. (Disadvantages): 1) Requires ability to assign each member of population uniquely to a cluster; 2) Since cluster properties may change, advantage of stratification may be reduced and make sample unusable for later research.

In Ackoff's (1953:99-100) terminology, the primary sampling units were stratified on the basis of residence (urban-rural), school type (parochial-public) and school size (large-small). It was determined that a large sample size was desirable (3,000). The secondary sampling units were schools within each stratum of the primary sampling units. The proportion of the universe of ultimate units (students) within each stratum was predetermined from enrollment figures obtained from Louisiana Department of Education officials. Secondary sampling units (schools) were selected at random from each stratum until the number of ultimate units selected
within each stratum equalled or exceeded the proportion of the population of all ultimate units. The final sample size was 3,245 Louisiana High School seniors.

Hypotheses:

The theoretical premise which provided the conceptual framework for this research is that limited access to the institutionalized means for achievement of culturally defined goals results in feelings of anomia. The following specific hypotheses were formulated:

Hypothesis 1: There is a direct relationship between commitment to cultural goals (CCG) and feelings of anomia (A), such that, the higher CCG, the higher A, and the lower CCG, the lower A.

Hypothesis 2: There is an inverse relationship between perceived access to institutionalized means (PAM) and feelings of anomia (A), such that, the higher PAM, the lower A, and the lower PAM, the higher A.

It is expected that a relationship exists between PAM and CCG, such that:

Hypothesis 3: The higher CCG and the lower PAM, the higher A. Conversely the lower CCG and the higher PAM, the lower A.

Of secondary consideration is explication of the relationship between PAM, CCG, and A.

Hypothesis 4: Non-white respondents will manifest higher feelings of A than white respondents.

Hypothesis 4a: Non-white respondents will manifest higher A than white respondents, regardless of the level of CCG.

Hypothesis 4b: Non-white respondents will manifest higher A than white respondents, regardless of the level of PAM.

Hypothesis 5: An inverse relationship exists between perceived personal ability (PPA) and A, such that, the higher PPA, the lower A, and the lower PPA, the higher A.
Hypothesis 5a: Respondents with high PPA and high PAM will manifest lower A than respondents with low PPA and low PAM.

Hypothesis 5b: Respondents with high PPA and low CCG will manifest lower A than respondents with low PPA and high CCG.

Hypothesis 6: An inverse relationship exists between socio-economic status and A, such that, the higher SES, the lower A and the lower SES the higher A.

Hypothesis 6a: Respondents with high SES and high PAM will manifest lower A than respondents with low SES and low PAM.

Hypothesis 6b: Respondents with high SES and low CCG will manifest lower A than respondents with low SES and high PAM.

Hypothesis 7: Feelings of anomia will not vary by residence.

Operationalization of Variables

Residence (RES): The variable residence was determined by the size and location of the respondent's home community. The categories are large urban (100,000 population or more), small urban (2,500 to 100,000 population), rural non-farm (residing in communities of less than 2,500 population or in the country but not on a farm), and rural farm (residing in the country on a farm).

Race: The variable race was dichotomized into white and non-white rather than white and black due to the presence of 12 respondents in the sample of other races.

Grade Point Average (GPA): Grade point average was determined on the basis of responses to the following question:

To the best of your knowledge, what final grade did you make in high school in the following courses: (Write a letter grade A, B, C, D, or F next to each course. If you have never taken a course write "Never Took" in the blank next to it).
The question was followed by an extensive list of high school level courses. The correlation between reported grade point average and actual grade point average was sufficient to justify use of reported grade point average rather than actual grade point average obtainable from the school guidance counselors (Picou, 1971: 68). Grade point average is utilized in this research as indicative of personal ability.

**Sex:** The variable sex was dichotomized into male and female.

**Father’s Education (FE):** Father’s education was utilized as the indicator of socio-economic status. It was determined by response to the following question: "What was the highest school grade completed by your father?" Possible responses were:

1. Did not go to school 13. Twelfth grade
2. First grade 14. Vocational-Technical School Graduate
3. Second grade 15. Some college, but did not graduate
4. Third grade 16. Graduated from college
5. Fourth grade 17. Graduated from college and has completed graduate work
6. Fifth grade 18. Graduate from college and has received a Master's Degree
7. Sixth grade 19. Has a graduate or professional degree (Ph.D, Doctor, Lawyer)
8. Seventh grade
9. Eighth grade
10. Ninth grade
11. Tenth grade
12. Eleventh grade

The desirability of additional indicators of socio-economic status is acknowledged. It was felt respondent's estimate of family income was unreliable. The variable father's occupation could not be used due computer limitations. Specifically, the statistic utilized for analysis required a greater amount of computer core storage than was available.
Student's Educational Expectations (SEE): Student's educational expectations were used specifically as the indicator of perceived access to institutionalized means but more generally as perception of the implications of limited access to means. A respondent with high educational expectations was viewed as having high perceived access to means. The alternatives available were the same as those for father's education. Students were asked:

Sometimes we are not able to achieve what we desire. Taking all the factors of your educational future into consideration, (personal abilities, opportunities, money available, etc.), how much education do you really expect to get?

Student's Materialistic Orientation (CCG): Student's materialistic orientation was used as the indicator of commitment to cultural goals. This variable was operationalized on the basis of responses to the following statements (Featherman,1971):

Listed below are some general statements about work. Circle the number that best corresponds with your attitudes about the statement:

1. It is extremely important for me to have a very high income. 1. Yes 2. No

2. I spend a lot of time thinking about how to improve my chances of getting ahead. 1. Yes 2. No

3. Getting money and material things out of life is very important to me. 1. Yes 2. No

4. It is important to me to own material things, such as a home, car, or clothing which are at least as good as those of my neighbors and friends. 1. Yes 2. No

5. I am anxious to be further ahead. 1. Yes 2. No

6. Getting ahead is one of the most important things in life to me. 1. Yes 2. No
A positive response (yes) was coded a value of one in the final analysis. A negative response was scored zero. Individual materialistic orientation scores were determined by adding the value received in responding to the six items. Materialistic orientation scores ranged from a low of zero to a high of six. The higher the score received, the higher the student was judged to be committed to cultural goals.

Anomia (A): The student's feelings of anomia was determined on the basis of responses to the items of the Srole Anomia Scale. Respondents were told:

Now we would like your opinion on a number of different things. Listed below are several statements. With each statement, some students agree and other students disagree. Please read each statement carefully and indicate by circling whether you agree or disagree:

a) In spite of what some people say, the condition of the average man is getting worse:
   4. Disagree  5. Strongly disagree

b) It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future:
   4. Disagree  5. Strongly disagree

c) Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself:
   4. Disagree  5. Strongly disagree

d) These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on:
   4. Disagree  5. Strongly disagree

e) There is little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man:
   4. Disagree  5. Strongly disagree
It has been demonstrated that the Srole items are unidimensional (Neil and Rettig:1967; Srole:1956; Roberts and Rokeach:1956). In the original work by Srole (1956), it was determined that the items would form a Guttman scale. This procedure has been replicated with only moderate success in that, only infrequently will the items form such a scale (cf. Nelson and Frost,1971). Torgerson (1958) indicates that in addition to a coefficient of reproducibility of at least .90, it is desirable to have at least ten items and that the pattern of errors should be random. The Guttman scale created from the responses had a coefficient of reproducibility of .873. Twenty-six of the possible thirty-two patterns were error patterns. Of 2,034 errors, 272 or 13.3% were located in one pattern. Given the fact that there were only five items in the scale it was decided that the criteria for the Guttman scale had not been met.

Responses to the five items were dichotomized. If a respondent strongly agreed, agreed or was undecided relative to a given item the response was given a value of one. If the response was strongly disagree or disagree, the value of zero was assigned. Dickerson (1970) indicates that it is not the degree of anomia experienced but rather the presence or absence of anomia that is of relevance. 95% of the respondents received a value of one on at least one of the items. Further, the total anomia score for each respondent was determined by summing the values assigned to the respondents. In this fashion, scores could range from a low of zero (low anomia) to a high of five (high anomia).
Setting alpha at .05 in a preliminary analysis, it was determined that treating anemia as a dichotomous variable or as a continuous variable did not alter the statistical relationship between level of anemia and the independent variables. It was judged, however, that the discrete levels represented by the scores 0-5 were sensitive to variations in other non-dichotomous, multi-category variables. For this reason it was decided to treat anemia as a continuous variable with scores ranging from 0-5 rather than as a dichotomous variable.

Method of Analysis

The method of analysis utilized in this research is least-squares analysis of variance. The specific procedure used is that developed by Harvey (1960) and described by Curry (1969:49) as having:

1. The ability to test effects of one independent variable on the dependent variables while holding the effects of other independent variables constant;
2. The power to warrant generalization of its results provided it has been applied to an adequate sample; and
3. The ability to produce unbiased estimates where unequal subclasses obtain in the data.

Other statistics were considered. The requirement of multiple-regression analysis that all variables be measured on at least an interval level was not met. Factor analysis was determined to be inappropriate given the desire for a test of significance between variables.
In addition to indicating the significance of the amount of variance in the dependent variable explained by the independent variables, the mean value of the dependent variable is provided for each cell of all contingency tables. By comparing this value with the overall mean of the dependent variable, it is possible to determine the direction of relationships.
CHAPTER V
ANALYSIS

Introduction

The amount of variance is a given dependent variable explained by a given independent variable is constant within a stated model. The significance of the relationship may vary, however, with introduction of additional independent variables due to the reduction in unexplained variance. For this reason, each relationship is tested separately.

There were originally 3,245 respondents in the sample. Of this number 3,190 completed the five anomia items. The mean anomia score for this group was determined to be 3.110. Further, a "no response" for a given item resulted in deletion of the respondent from the sample. This resulted in deletion of an additional 374 respondents. The mean anomia score for this group was worked out to be 3.167 while the mean score for the remaining 2,816 respondents was determined to be 3.102. On the basis of the T test, this difference was determined to be not significant and it was thus concluded that the sample was not biased through deletion of respondents not completing all the items utilized in the questionnaire. (See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire used).

Anomia and Commitment to Cultural Goals

Hypothesis: There is a direct relationship between commitment to cultural goals (CCG) and feelings of anomia (A), such that, the higher CCG, the higher A and the lower CCG, the lower A.

The least-squares mean for materialistic orientation is 35.351, which is significant at the .0001 level. These data are presented
in Table I. It can be seen in Table II that those respondents with a low materialistic orientation demonstrated a low anemia score. Given the differential in anemia score for those respondents with a materialistic orientation score of 0 or 1 and those with a score of 3 or higher, it appears that the degree of commitment to cultural goals is of less import than the presence of a commitment to cultural goals, in the development of feelings of anomia. Specifically, it is only in the relative absence of a commitment to the goal of monetary success that there is a relative absence of feelings
of anomia. It should be noted however, respondents with a CCG of 2 or 3 manifested anomia scores below the overall mean.

Anomia and Perceived Access to Means

Hypothesis: There is an inverse relationship between perceived access to means (PAM) and feelings of anomia (A), such that, the higher PAM, the lower A and the lower PAM, the higher A.

It is seen in Table III that the least-squares mean for student's educational expectations is 65.424. This mean is significant at the .0001 level. As can be seen in Table IV, an inverse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (SEE)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEE</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>392.542</td>
<td>65.424</td>
<td>34.635</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2810</td>
<td>5308.014</td>
<td>1.889</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

relationship exists between educational expectations and anomia score in that the lower the student's educational expectations, the greater the anomia score. Students with high perceived access to institutionalized means for achievement of goals do not develop feelings of anomia as high as students with low perceived access to institutionalized means.
TABLE IV

MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATION (SEE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Level of SEE</th>
<th>Mean Anomia Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>11th grade</td>
<td>3.730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>433</td>
<td>12th grade</td>
<td>3.635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>468</td>
<td>trade school</td>
<td>3.404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>some college</td>
<td>3.334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1058</td>
<td>college degree</td>
<td>2.886*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
<td>master's degree</td>
<td>2.638*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Ph.D. or professional degree</td>
<td>2.414*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean anomia score of 3.102

Anomia, Perceived Access to Means, and Commitment to Cultural Goals

Hypothesis: The higher CCG and the lower PAM, the higher A. Conversely, the lower CCG and the higher PAM, the lower A.

The data in Table V indicates that the least-squares mean for the interaction of materialistic orientation and student's educational expectations is 6.419. This mean is significant at the .0001 level. Table VI includes the mean anomia score and frequency of distribution by level of materialistic orientation and student's educational expectations.

TABLE V

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MATERIALISTIC ORIENTATION (MAT) AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (SEE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEE*MAT</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>231.101</td>
<td>6.419</td>
<td>3.263</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2780</td>
<td>5469.455</td>
<td>1.977</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As indicated, the interactional effect of materialistic orientation and student's educational expectations on respondent's feeling of anomia is significant. In addition, the hypothesis is supported by the direction of the relationships. Specifically:

1. Respondents with high materialistic orientation and low educational expectations manifested anomia scores above the overall mean of 3.102.

TABLE VI

MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY MATERIALISTIC ORIENTATION (MAT) AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (SEE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of SEE</th>
<th>Level of MAT</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11th grade</td>
<td>2.000</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th grade</td>
<td>3.332</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(44)</td>
<td>(64)</td>
<td>(59)</td>
<td>(81)</td>
<td>(70)</td>
<td>(93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade School</td>
<td>3.294</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(35)*</td>
<td>(62)</td>
<td>(99)*</td>
<td>(87)</td>
<td>(71)</td>
<td>(97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>3.211</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(36)*</td>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>(67)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>(65)</td>
<td>(84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Degree</td>
<td>2.318</td>
<td>(44)*</td>
<td>(95)*</td>
<td>(171)*</td>
<td>(184)*</td>
<td>(179)*</td>
<td>(166)</td>
<td>(219)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>1.556</td>
<td>(9)*</td>
<td>(28)*</td>
<td>(43)*</td>
<td>(60)*</td>
<td>(42)*</td>
<td>(47)*</td>
<td>(53)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D. or Professional Degree</td>
<td>2.714</td>
<td>(7)*</td>
<td>(14)*</td>
<td>(20)*</td>
<td>(34)*</td>
<td>(32)*</td>
<td>(26)*</td>
<td>(41)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean anomia score of 3.102

( ) Cell frequency
2. Respondents with high educational expectations and low materialistic orientation manifested anomia scores below the overall mean.

3. Additionally, respondents with high materialistic orientation and high educational expectations tended to manifest anomia scores below the overall mean, while respondents with low materialistic orientation and low educational expectations tended to manifest anomia scores above the overall mean.

Discussion

The major hypothesis is supported. In addition, respondents demonstrating a high commitment to the cultural goal of material success, that perceive themselves to have access to the institutionalized means of goal achievement, do not develop feelings of anomia as high as respondents with a high commitment that do not perceive themselves as having access to means. While low PAM and high CCG individually result in high feelings of anomia, perceived access to means is of greater import when both variables are taken into consideration.

Anomia and Race

Hypothesis: Non-white respondents will manifest higher feelings of anomia than white respondents.

The least-squares mean for race is shown in Table VII to be 102.891. This is significant at the .0001 level. It can be seen from the data presented in Table VIII that non-white respondents manifest an anomia score above the overall mean of 3.102, while whites manifest scores below the overall mean.
TABLE VII
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF RACE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>201.013</td>
<td>210.013</td>
<td>102.891</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2815</td>
<td>5499.543</td>
<td>1.954</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

TABLE VIII
MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY RACE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Mean Anomia Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>623</td>
<td>Non-White</td>
<td>3.604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2194</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>2.960*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean anomia score of 3.102

Anomia, Race and Commitment to Cultural Goals

Hypothesis: Non-white respondents will manifest higher A than white respondents, regardless of the level of CCG.

The least-squares mean for race and materialistic orientation is 8.409. This is significant at the .0006 level. This information is contained in Table IX. The direction of the relationship is shown in Table X. The previously determined pattern of a direction relationship between level of materialistic orientation and mean anomia score is maintained. The hypothesis is supported that non-whites manifest higher anomia scores than whites regardless of the level of CCG. It should be noted that whites manifest anomia scores above the overall mean only at relatively high levels of CCG. Non-
whites, in turn, fail to manifest such scores only at relatively low levels of CCG. This would suggest that non-whites tend to develop feelings of anomia independent of level of commitment to cultural goals, to a greater degree than whites.

### TABLE IX

**ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF RACE AND MATERIALISTIC ORIENTATION (MAT)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race*MAT</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50.455</td>
<td>4.409</td>
<td>4.182</td>
<td>.0006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2810</td>
<td>5650.101</td>
<td>2.011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE X

**MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY RACE AND MATERIALISTIC ORIENTATION (MAT)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Level of MAT</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>2.733</td>
<td>2.621</td>
<td>2.905</td>
<td>2.814</td>
<td>3.067</td>
<td>3.264</td>
<td>3.143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(116)*</td>
<td>(243)*</td>
<td>(379)*</td>
<td>(445)*</td>
<td>(372)*</td>
<td>(311)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(10)*</td>
<td>(26)*</td>
<td>(61)</td>
<td>(108)</td>
<td>(143)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean anomia score of 3.102

( ) Cell frequency

Anomia, Race and Perceived Access to Means

Hypothesis: Non-white respondents will manifest higher A than white respondents, regardless of the level of PAM.
It is shown in Table XI that the least-squares mean for race and students educational expectations is 68.781. This is significant at the .0001 level. As seen in Table XII, the hypothesis is supported. Non-whites manifest higher anomia scores than whites at every level of educational expectations except the eleventh grade. While the anomia score decreases for both racial groups as educational expectations increase, the difference between the scores for the two groups increases for each educational category as educational expectations increase. It would seem that whites more so than non-whites experience a reduction in anomia as perceived access to the means for goal achievement increases. As such, perceived access to means is of diminished import in explicating the relationship between race and anomia. In addition, it was determined that non-whites do not manifest anomia scores below the overall mean at any level of educational expectations.

Discussion

Race is a factor in explaining variation in anomia score. Specifically, whites demonstrate a lower anomia score than non-whites
TABLE XII

MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY RACE AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (SEE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of SEE</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Non-White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th grade</td>
<td>3.864</td>
<td>3.533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th grade</td>
<td>3.625</td>
<td>3.685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(360)</td>
<td>(73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade School</td>
<td>3.239</td>
<td>4.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(368)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>3.232</td>
<td>3.691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(284)</td>
<td>(81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>2.689</td>
<td>3.561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>(819)*</td>
<td>(239)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>2.426</td>
<td>3.247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(209)*</td>
<td>(73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D. or Professional Degree</td>
<td>2.159</td>
<td>3.214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(132)*</td>
<td>(42)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean of 3.102
( ) Cell frequency

at all levels of perceived access to means and at all levels of commitment to cultural goals. It would appear, however, that the relationship between being non-white and anomia and perceived access to means is due not to the level of access to means so much as it is due to the state of being black. This was not determined to be the situation in the comparison of findings relative to race and commitment to cultural goals. Specifically, the higher the level of commitment to cultural goals, the higher the anomia score, regardless of race.
Anomia and Perceived Personal Ability

Hypothesis: An inverse relationship exists between perceived personal ability and A, such that, the higher PPA, the lower A, and the lower PPA, the higher A.

The least-squares mean for grade point average is 65.120. This is a significant at the .0001 level. These data are presented in Table XIII. As can be seen in Table XIV, an inverse relationship exists between grade point average and mean anemia score, such that the lower the perceived personal ability the higher the anemia score. The converse was also determined to be true and the above hypothesis is supported.

**TABLE XIII**

**ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF GRADE POINT AVERAGE (GPA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>325.602</td>
<td>65.120</td>
<td>34.057</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2811</td>
<td>5374.954</td>
<td>1.912</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE XIV**

**MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY GRADE POINT AVERAGE (GPA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Grade Point Average</th>
<th>Mean Anomia Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>1.00-1.50</td>
<td>3.556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>1.51-1.99</td>
<td>3.442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>928</td>
<td>2.00-2.50</td>
<td>3.357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>636</td>
<td>2.51-2.99</td>
<td>3.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>596</td>
<td>3.00-3.50</td>
<td>2.859*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298</td>
<td>Above 3.50</td>
<td>2.356*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overal mean of 3.102*
Anemia, Perceived Personal Ability and Perceived Access to Means

Hypothesis: Respondents with high PPA and high PAM will manifest lower A than respondents with low PPA and low PAM.

The least-squares mean for grade point average and student's educational expectations is 11.638. This is significant at the .0001 level. These data are contained in Table XV. On the basis of the data shown in Table XVI the hypothesis is supported. It would appear that the anemia scores of respondents with low educational expectations is affected to a smaller degree by grade point average than are the anemia scores of respondents with high educational expectations. The previously indicated relationship

### TABLE XV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA*SEE</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>349.140</td>
<td>11.638</td>
<td>6.059</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2786</td>
<td>5351.416</td>
<td>1.912</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The previously indicated relationship between low perceived access to means and high anemia scores is seemingly unaffected by perceived high ability. It should be noted, however, that this finding could be a function of the small size of cell frequencies.
### TABLE XVI

**MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY GRADE POINT AVERAGE (GPA) AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (SEE)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of SEE</th>
<th>Grade Point Average</th>
<th>1.00-</th>
<th>1.50</th>
<th>2.00-</th>
<th>2.50</th>
<th>3.00</th>
<th>3.50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11th Grade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.000</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>4.333</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>3.667</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th Grade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.667</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>3.603</td>
<td>(73)</td>
<td>3.689</td>
<td>(180)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.103</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>3.500</td>
<td>(52)</td>
<td>3.410</td>
<td>(183)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.500</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>3.565</td>
<td>(147)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.091</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>3.370</td>
<td>(73)</td>
<td>3.158</td>
<td>(316)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>3.083</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>2.860</td>
<td>(57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D. or Professional Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.500</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>3.200</td>
<td>(50)</td>
<td>2.815</td>
<td>(27)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean of 3.102
( )Cell frequency

Anomia, Perceived Personal Ability and Commitment to Cultural Goals

The least squares mean for the interaction of grade point average and materialistic orientation is 5.296. This is significant at the .0001 level. These data are contained in Table XVII.

Examination of Table XVIII results in the conclusion that the overriding consideration in the relationship between grade point average, anomia and materialistic orientation is the variable grade point average.
average. Specifically, it has been demonstrated that students with a commitment to cultural goals manifest low anomia scores. While this pattern continues to be maintained, given introduction of the variable perceived ability, it is observed that respondents with low commitment to cultural goals and low perceived ability have anomia scores above the overall mean.

### TABLE XVII
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF GRADE POINT AVERAGE (GPA) AND MATERIALISTIC ORIENTATION (MAT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA*MAT</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>158.870</td>
<td>5.296</td>
<td>2.662</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2786</td>
<td>5541.686</td>
<td>1.989</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

Han (1971) and Blocker and Chesson (1971) have determined that persons with low perceived ability experience feelings of anomia less than persons with high perceived ability. The assumption is made by these writers that persons with low perceived ability, in attributing lack of success to themselves rather than to societal restrictions, would tend to manifest low anomia scores regardless of the level of commitment to cultural goals or level of perceived access to institutionalized means for goal achievement. It is suggested by this writer that a low grade point average is not
indicative of perceived low ability but, rather, is an additional indicator of perceived access to institutionalized means for goal achievement.

**TABLE XVIII**

**MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY GRADE POINT AVERAGE (GPA) AND MATERIALISTIC ORIENTATION (MAT)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GPA Level</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00-</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>3.000</td>
<td>3.667</td>
<td>4.000</td>
<td>3.385</td>
<td>3.391</td>
<td>3.690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(37)*</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00-</td>
<td>3.313</td>
<td>2.891</td>
<td>3.148</td>
<td>3.129</td>
<td>3.376</td>
<td>3.589</td>
<td>3.548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>(64)*</td>
<td>(115)</td>
<td>(140)</td>
<td>(178)</td>
<td>(180)</td>
<td>(219)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.51-</td>
<td>2.700</td>
<td>2.639</td>
<td>2.978</td>
<td>3.017</td>
<td>3.051</td>
<td>3.460</td>
<td>3.415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>(30)*</td>
<td>(58)*</td>
<td>(920)*</td>
<td>(117)*</td>
<td>(117)*</td>
<td>(87)</td>
<td>(135)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00-</td>
<td>2.542</td>
<td>2.485</td>
<td>2.720</td>
<td>2.579</td>
<td>2.968</td>
<td>2.951</td>
<td>3.427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>(24)*</td>
<td>(66)*</td>
<td>(93)*</td>
<td>(126)*</td>
<td>(95)*</td>
<td>(82)*</td>
<td>(110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td>2.136</td>
<td>1.925</td>
<td>2.411</td>
<td>2.322</td>
<td>2.194</td>
<td>2.800</td>
<td>2.400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>(22)*</td>
<td>(40)*</td>
<td>(56)*</td>
<td>(59)*</td>
<td>(36)*</td>
<td>(35)*</td>
<td>(50)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean of 3.102
( ) Cell frequency

Given the fact that one's grade point average is a summary of one's performance over several years of education, a student with a low grade point average should develop relatively early in his career the realization that, because of his low grade point average, he will have limited access to higher education as a means of attaining goals. The findings of this research suggest, counter to previous findings,
that the students in question blame not their own limited ability
but society for limiting, because of their grade point average, their
access to institutionalized means for goal achievement.

Anomia and Socio-Economic Status

Hypothesis: An inverse relationship exists between socio-

economic status and A, such that, the higher SES, the lower
A and the lower SES, the higher A.

The least-squares mean for father's education is 9.878. This
is significant at the .0001 level. These data are given in Table
XIX. The distribution of mean anomia scores by father's education
are presented in Table XX. Support is provided for the hypothesis
of an inverse relationship between anomia score and socio-economic
status.

| TABLE XIX |
| ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FATHER'S EDUCATION (FE) |
| Source | D.F. | Sum Square | Mean Square | F | Prob. |
| Total | 2816 | 5700.556 | | | |
| FE | 17 | 322.663 | 18.980 | 9.878 | .0001 |
| Error | 2799 | 5377.893 | 1.921 | |

Anomia, Socio-Economic Status and Perceived Access to Means

Hypothesis: Respondents with high SES and high PAM will
manifest lower A than respondents with low SES and low PAM.

The least-squares mean for the interaction of father's education
and student's educational expectation is 6.760. This is significant
at the .0001 level. These data are shown in Table XXI. It was
# TABLE XX

**MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY FATHER'S EDUCATION (FE)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Father's Education</th>
<th>Mean Anomia Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Did not go to school</td>
<td>3.308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1st grade</td>
<td>3.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>2nd grade</td>
<td>3.895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>3rd grade</td>
<td>3.573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>4th grade</td>
<td>3.543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>5th grade</td>
<td>3.531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>6th grade</td>
<td>3.301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>7th grade</td>
<td>3.413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>8th grade</td>
<td>3.404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>9th grade</td>
<td>3.529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>10th grade</td>
<td>3.284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>11th grade</td>
<td>3.081*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679</td>
<td>12th grade</td>
<td>3.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Trade School</td>
<td>2.914*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>2.898*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>College degree</td>
<td>2.459*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Master's degree</td>
<td>2.500*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Ph.D. or Professional degree</td>
<td>2.523*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean of 3.102

( ) Cell frequency

determined from the distribution of mean anomia scores in Table XXII that the hypothesis that respondents with low father's education and low educational expectations have high anomia scores is supported. Further, respondents with high father's education and high educational expectations have anomia scores below the overall mean of 3.102. Given the distribution of anomia scores of respondents with educational expectations of eleventh grade and professional, it is suggested that anomia scores of respondents with extremely high educational expectations or extremely low educational expectations are unaffected by father's education. Specifically, respondents with very high or very low perceived access to institutionalized means for goal
attainment are not affected by socio-economic status. A cautionary note is in order, however, because of the small frequency of some cells.

**TABLE XXI**

**ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (SEE) AND FATHER'S EDUCATION (FE)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEE*FE</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>689.556</td>
<td>6.760</td>
<td>3.661</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2714</td>
<td>5011.000</td>
<td>1.846</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE XXII**

**MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (SEE) AND FATHER'S EDUCATION (FE)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of SEE</th>
<th>11th Grade</th>
<th>12th Grade</th>
<th>Trade School</th>
<th>Some College</th>
<th>Master's Degree</th>
<th>Ph.D. or Profess.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did not go to school</td>
<td>3.571</td>
<td>3.444</td>
<td>2.375</td>
<td>3.667</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>3.333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(8)*</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Grade</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>3.571</td>
<td>2.333</td>
<td>5.000</td>
<td>3.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)*</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(3)*</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Grade</td>
<td>5.000</td>
<td>4.200</td>
<td>3.917</td>
<td>3.429</td>
<td>4.833</td>
<td>3.143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Grade</td>
<td>2.500</td>
<td>3.636</td>
<td>3.941</td>
<td>3.091</td>
<td>3.381</td>
<td>4.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)*</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(11)*</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Grade</td>
<td>3.830</td>
<td>3.357</td>
<td>3.933</td>
<td>3.304</td>
<td>4.250</td>
<td>3.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(2)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Grade</td>
<td>2.500</td>
<td>3.714</td>
<td>4.000</td>
<td>3.333</td>
<td>3.813</td>
<td>2.286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)*</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(7)*</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table Continued Next Page
TABLE XXII (Conti.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>6th</th>
<th>7th</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>9th</th>
<th>10th</th>
<th>11th</th>
<th>12th</th>
<th>Trade School</th>
<th>Same College</th>
<th>College Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.333</td>
<td>2.000</td>
<td>2.250</td>
<td>4.333</td>
<td>4.400</td>
<td>4.250</td>
<td>4.500</td>
<td>3.000</td>
<td>5.000</td>
<td>2.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(4)*</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
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<td>(19)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(35)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(81)</td>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.930</td>
<td>3.286</td>
<td>3.250</td>
<td>3.500</td>
<td>3.404</td>
<td>2.674</td>
<td>2.838</td>
<td>(43)*</td>
<td>(43)*</td>
<td>(32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(43)*</td>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>(52)</td>
<td>(95)</td>
<td>(253)</td>
<td>(61)*</td>
<td>(61)*</td>
<td>(32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.714</td>
<td>3.158</td>
<td>3.200</td>
<td>2.200</td>
<td>2.333</td>
<td>2.421</td>
<td>2.641</td>
<td>(10)*</td>
<td>(10)*</td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7)*</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(4)*</td>
<td>(12)*</td>
<td>(64)</td>
<td>(13)*</td>
<td>(13)*</td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.500</td>
<td>3.100</td>
<td>2.625</td>
<td>2.333</td>
<td>2.000</td>
<td>2.917</td>
<td>2.546</td>
<td>3.143</td>
<td>2.227</td>
<td>1.933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2)*</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(8)*</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)*</td>
<td>(12)*</td>
<td>(44)*</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(22)*</td>
<td>(30)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.447</td>
<td>2.641</td>
<td>2.641</td>
<td>2.077</td>
<td>2.849</td>
<td>2.222</td>
<td>2.444</td>
<td>2.000</td>
<td>2.296</td>
<td>1.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(38)*</td>
<td>(64)*</td>
<td>(64)*</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(33)*</td>
<td>(36)*</td>
<td>(27)*</td>
<td>(12)*</td>
<td>(12)*</td>
<td>(8)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overal mean of 3.102
( )Cell Frequency

Anomia, Socio-Economic Status and Commitment to Cultural Goals

Hypothesis: Respondents with high SES and low CCG will manifest lower A than respondents with low SES and low PAM.
The least-squares mean for materialistic orientation and father's education is 3.282. This is significant at the .0001 level. These data are contained in Table XXIII. The data in Table XXIV provides support for the hypothesis as presented. Respondents with a low father's education and high materialistic orientation manifested anomia scores above the overall mean more so than did respondents with a high father's education and high materialistic orientation. Also, given a low materialistic orientation, father's education does not affect the anomia score. Additionally, given high father's education, respondents manifested low anomia scores regardless of level of materialistic orientation.

**TABLE XXIII**

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MATERIALISTIC ORIENTATION (MAT) AND FATHER'S EDUCATION (FE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAT*SE</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>334.718</td>
<td>3.282</td>
<td>1.660</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2714</td>
<td>5365.838</td>
<td>1.977</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

The hypothesis that perceived access to means and socioeconomic status interact such that respondents with low SES and low perceived access to means manifest anomia scores above the overall mean anomia score is supported. The converse is also supported. Within the limitations established by small frequencies in certain
### Table XXIV

Mean anomia score by materialistic orientation (MAT) and father's education (FE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of FE</th>
<th>Level of MAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not go to school</td>
<td>3.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Grade</td>
<td>3.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Grade</td>
<td>3.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Grade</td>
<td>4.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Grade</td>
<td>2.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Grade</td>
<td>3.333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Grade</td>
<td>4.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Grade</td>
<td>3.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Grade</td>
<td>3.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Grade</td>
<td>1.333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Grade</td>
<td>2.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th Grade</td>
<td>3.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th Grade</td>
<td>(29)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table Continued Next Page
cells it is suggested that socio-economic status does not affect the anomia scores of respondents, given extremely high or extremely low perceived access to institutionalized means for goal achievement. Further, it is suggested that socio-economic status affects the relationship between commitment to cultural goals and feelings of anomia in several ways. Specifically, given low commitment to cultural goals, the respondents manifested anomia scores below the overall mean regardless of SES. Further, given high SES, the respondents manifested low anomia scores regardless of commitment to cultural goals. Obviously, respondents with high commitment to cultural goals are less inclined to develop feelings of anomia, given high SES.
Anomia and Residence

Hypothesis: Feelings of anomia will not vary by residence.

The least-squares mean for residence is 33.047. This is significant at the .0001 level. These data are presented in Table XXV. The hypothesis that residence is unrelated to feelings of anomia is rejected. Table XXVI contains the distribution of anomia scores by residence. It was hypothesized that no relationship existed between residence and level of anomia because of the inconclusive findings of research dealing with the topic. It can be seen in Table XXVI that residents of small towns and small cities

TABLE XXV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Square</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>132.189</td>
<td>33.047</td>
<td>16.689</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2812</td>
<td>5569.367</td>
<td>1.980</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XXVI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Type of Residence</th>
<th>Mean Anomia Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>794</td>
<td>Greater than 100,000 population</td>
<td>2.822*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1511</td>
<td>2,500-100,000 population</td>
<td>3.085*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>681</td>
<td>Rural Non-Farm</td>
<td>3.405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Rural Farm</td>
<td>3.267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean of 3.102
(2,500 to 100,000 population) manifested higher anomia scores than residents of large metropolitan areas (100,000 population) and that both groups manifested anomia scores below the overall mean of 3.102. Thus both rural non-farm and rural farm residents manifested scores above the overall mean.

Anomia, Residence, and Perceived Access to Means

The least-squares mean for residence and student's educational expectations is 18.367. This is significant at the .0001 level. These data are contained in Table XXVII. Table XXVIII contains the distribution of anomia scores by residence and student's educational expectations. The most striking aspect of the distribution of anomia

TABLE XXVII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Squares</th>
<th>Mean Squares</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES*SEE</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>440.805</td>
<td>18.367</td>
<td>9.750</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2792</td>
<td>5259.751</td>
<td>1.884</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

scores in Table XXVIII is the distribution of scores below the overall mean. Specifically, the relationship between student's educational expectations and anomia scores is unaffected by residence in that respondents with high educational expectations manifest anomia levels below the overall mean without respect to residence. This suggests that while there is a significant re-
relationship between anemia and residence, residence does not influence the relationship between perceived access to institution.

**TABLE XXVIII**

**MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY RESIDENCE (RES) AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (SEE)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of SEE</th>
<th>Type of Residence</th>
<th>Above 100,000</th>
<th>2,500-100,000</th>
<th>Rural Non-Farm</th>
<th>Rural Farm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11th Grade</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.000</td>
<td>3.500</td>
<td>3.615</td>
<td>4.167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th Grade</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.564</td>
<td>3.558</td>
<td>3.795</td>
<td>3.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(126)</td>
<td>(165)</td>
<td>(112)</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade School</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.049</td>
<td>3.432</td>
<td>3.664</td>
<td>3.568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(123)*</td>
<td>(186)</td>
<td>(122)</td>
<td>(37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.222</td>
<td>3.145</td>
<td>3.637</td>
<td>3.290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(81)</td>
<td>(140)</td>
<td>(113)</td>
<td>(31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.588</td>
<td>2.933</td>
<td>3.176</td>
<td>3.091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(323)*</td>
<td>(453)*</td>
<td>(227)</td>
<td>(55)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td>2214</td>
<td>2.777</td>
<td>2.923</td>
<td>2.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(84)*</td>
<td>(125)*</td>
<td>(52)*</td>
<td>(21)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D. or Professional Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.085</td>
<td>2.463</td>
<td>2.684</td>
<td>2.286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(47)*</td>
<td>(82)*</td>
<td>(38)*</td>
<td>(7)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean of 3.102
( ) Cell frequency

alized means for goal attainment and development of feelings of anomia. It should be noted that residence comparisons within each category of educational expectations does reveal a tendency for high anomia scores to be found in rural farm and rural non-farm areas rather than in urban areas.
Anomia, Residence, and Commitment to Cultural Goals

The least-squares mean for residence and materialistic orientation is 8.894. This is significant at the .0001 level. These data are presented in Table XXIX. The distribution of anomia scores by resident and materialistic orientation is contained in Table XXX. The relationship previously noted between high materialistic orientation and high anomia scores is apparently unaffected by residence. It should be noted however, that residence is a factor affecting the relationship between anomia scores and materialistic orientation, given less than extreme materialistic orientation.

Specifically, rural non-farm residents manifest higher anomia scores at all levels of MAT except level 0 and even then, it is exceeded by rural farm residents rather than by one of the metropolitan groups. It would appear the level of anomia experienced by rural residents in general and rural non-farm residents in particular is unaffected by the level of commitment to cultural goals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum Squares</th>
<th>Mean Squares</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>5700.556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES*MAT</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>213.393</td>
<td>8.894</td>
<td>4.524</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>2792</td>
<td>5487.163</td>
<td>1.965</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XXX

MEAN ANOMIA SCORE BY RESIDENCE (RES) AND MATERIALISTIC ORIENTATION (MAT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of MAT</th>
<th>Type of Residence</th>
<th>Above 100,000</th>
<th>2,500-100,000</th>
<th>Rural Non-Farm</th>
<th>Rural Farm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.550</td>
<td>2.620</td>
<td>3.238</td>
<td>3.714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(40)*</td>
<td>(51)*</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.714</td>
<td>2.467</td>
<td>2.722</td>
<td>2.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(91)*</td>
<td>(108)*</td>
<td>(36)*</td>
<td>(18)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.796</td>
<td>2.863</td>
<td>3.246</td>
<td>3.158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(157)*</td>
<td>(160)*</td>
<td>(69)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.474</td>
<td>3.094</td>
<td>3.257</td>
<td>3.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(171)*</td>
<td>(195)*</td>
<td>(105)</td>
<td>(35)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.893</td>
<td>3.026</td>
<td>3.549</td>
<td>3.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(131)*</td>
<td>(198)</td>
<td>(122)</td>
<td>(29)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.208</td>
<td>3.404</td>
<td>3.496</td>
<td>3.387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(96)</td>
<td>(204)</td>
<td>(123)</td>
<td>(31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.183</td>
<td>3.375</td>
<td>3.532</td>
<td>3.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(104)</td>
<td>(247)</td>
<td>(201)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Below overall mean of 3.102
( ) Cell frequency

Discussion

The relationships previously established between mean anomia score and perceived access to institutionalized means and between mean anomia score and commitment to cultural goals were, with one exception, not affected by the introduction of the residence variable. With reference to the latter relationship, the mere fact of residing in a rural non-farm setting was associated with anomia
scores higher than the overall mean anomia score of 3.102. With reference to the relationship between anomia score and perceived access to institutionalized means for goal achievement, rural non-farm residents manifested higher anomia scores than residents of other areas. Similarly, rural non-farm residents manifested higher anomia scores than residents of other areas, given introduction of the variable commitment to cultural goals.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Alienation, by definition, means a perceived sense of loss of something or estrangement from something. As such, the concept has often been utilized in characterizing the attitudes and behavior of American youth. Writers specifically have been concerned with the normlessness of American youth. It is implicit in this interpretation that the Durkheimian concept of anomie or a vague awareness of an absence of normative guidelines is the conceptual framework. This assumption is made by Yablonsky (1968) and Nettler (1957) who are representative of the social scientists who have used this approach, which is considered inappropriate by this writer. The inappropriateness in interpreting alienation in the sense of Durkheim's normlessness is inherent, given the operational definitions used for measuring alienation. In suggesting that some social scientists have misinterpreted alienation, it is not meant that this feeling does not exist in American society or among American youths. An attempt has been made in this study to clarify this point by providing empirical evidence to support the concept of anomie as a structural phenomena and of anomia as a psychological reaction to its occurrence.

The major findings of this research are as follows:

1. There is a direct relationship between the degree of one's commitment to the cultural goal of materialistic success (CCG) and the level of feelings of anomia.
2. There is an inverse relationship between the degree of one's perceived access to institutionalized means for goal achievement (PAM) and level of feelings of anomia.

3. The level of CCG and the level of PAM interact such that:
   a. Given high CCG and low PAM, the level of feelings of anomia is highest.
   b. Given low CCG and high PAM, the level of feelings of anomia is lowest.
   c. Given high CCG and high PAM, the level of feelings of anomia tended to be low (below the overall mean anomia score) but not as low as in "b" above.
   d. Given low CCG and low PAM, the level of feelings of anomia tended to be high (above the overall mean anomia score) but not as high as in "a" above.

It is the belief of this writer that these findings have implications for theory construction. Graphically:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High PAM</th>
<th>Low PAM</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High CCG</td>
<td>Low Anomia</td>
<td>High Anomia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low CCG</td>
<td>Low Anomia</td>
<td>High Anomia</td>
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</table>

Given high PAM or low PAM, the relationship presented in "2" above is maintained regardless of the level of CCG. Examining the level of CCG while holding PAM constant, however, reverses under certain conditions the relationship presented in "1" above. Specifically, the direct relationship between high CCG and high
anomia is maintained only when PAM is low. It is reversed when PAM is high. Further, the direct relationship between low CCG and high anomia is maintained only when PAM is low. It is reversed when PAM is high.

It is strongly suggested from this finding that in examination of the Mertonian thesis, PAM rather than CCG is the dominant factor in development of feelings of anomia. That this finding may be due to the methodology employed is acknowledged. PAM was defined in terms of educational expectations. Educational attainment is itself a cultural goal in American society. If the level of educational expectations is viewed as an indicator of CCG rather than PAM, the relationship between CCG and anomia is supported and the relationship between PAM and anomia is open to question. Pending further analysis utilizing a measure of PAM that specifically gauges access to means, only tentative conclusions can be reached relative to the methodological soundness of this finding.

Assuming validity of the findings of this research, several conclusions are suggested:

1. PAM is of greater import than CCG in development of feelings of anomia.

2. Given decreased importance of more traditional goal such as material success, it is suggested that more personalized individual goals exist. Further, given some level of commitment to a goal,
access to the means for goal achievement rather than level of commitment to the goal becomes the determining factor in development of the feelings of anomia.

Assuming the validity of the above, it may be hypothesized that development of feelings of alienation (defined as loss or estrangement) will be manifest in those individuals characterized by an absence of goal commitment. It follows from this that:

1. Respondents with low grade point averages perceive limited access to goals and, as such, experience high feelings of anomia.

2. Non-white respondents perceive limited access to goals and as such experience high feelings of anomia.

3. Respondents characterized by low socio-economic status perceive limited access to goals and as such experience high feelings of anomia.

4. Rural non-farm residents are characterized by an absence of goal commitment resulting from ambiguity of culturally defined personal goals and subsequent indecision concerning means for achievement of goals.

It is felt that the findings of this research hold obvious implications for further research.
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This set of questions is part of a study of high school students in the southern United States. The purpose of this study is to learn more about what students think about their future and what they plan to do after they leave high school.

**THIS IS NOT A TEST!** There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in finding out your opinions about some important matters. **No one in your school will ever see your answers.** Special safeguards have been set up to make sure that your replies will be kept strictly confidential.

We hope that you will cooperate to make this a good scientific study by answering all the questions as frankly and honestly as you can. We appreciate your help very much. If you have a problem in answering any question, or do not understand a question, please raise your hand and someone will assist you immediately. Please answer all questions, even if you have to guess!
1. How old were you on your last birthday? __________

2. Sex (Circle one number):  1. Male   2. Female

3. Where have you lived most of your life? (Circle one number):
   1. A large city (over 100,000)
   2. A small city (2,500 to 100,000)
   3. Town or village (under 2,500)
   4. In the country, but not on a farm
   5. On a farm

4. What is the name of the city, town, village or community you
   have lived most of your life? _______________________________

5. What is your religious preference? (Circle one number):
   1. Catholic
   2. Baptist
   3. Methodist
   4. Congregationalist
   5. Presbyterian
   6. Lutheran
   7. Episcopal
   8. Jewish
   9. Other (What? ____________________________)
   10. None

6. How often do you attend church services? (Circle one number):
   1. Every Sunday and frequently during the week
   2. Every Sunday
   3. Once or twice a month
   4. Only on special occasions, like Christmas and Easter
   5. Very seldom

7. What is your race? (Circle one number):
   1. Red
   2. Black
   3. White
   4. Yellow
   5. Other ________________________________

8. What is the marital status of your mother and father? (Circle
   one number):
   1. Both alive, living together
   2. Both alive, separated
   3. Both alive, divorced
   4. Father not living
   5. Mother not living
   6. Neither father nor mother living
9. How many children have your parents ever had? (Remember to include yourself, any brothers or sisters who may have left home by now, and who have died since birth): ______________

10. Where do you come in your family? That is, are you the eldest child (write 1), the third oldest (write 3), and so on ______.

11. What was the highest school grade completed by your father? (Circle one number):
   1. Did not go to school  13. Twelfth grade
   2. First grade  14. Completed Vocational-Technical school graduate
   3. Second grade  15. Some college, but did not graduate
   4. Third grade  16. Graduated from college
   5. Fourth grade  17. Graduated from college and has completed graduate work
   6. Fifth grade  18. Graduated from college and has received a master's degree
   7. Sixth grade  19. Has a graduate or professional degree. (Ph.D., Doctor, Lawyer)
   8. Seventh grade
   9. Eighth grade
   10. Ninth grade
   11. Tenth grade
   12. Eleventh grade

12. What was the highest school grade completed by your mother? (Write one number from the list in Question 11): __________

13. What is your father's occupation? (Write your answer in the following box. Give the specific job. For example say carpenter, not construction worker. This question refers to his present job if your father is employed or his last job if your father is unemployed):

   ANSWER: ____________________________________________

   a.) Is or was your father (circle one number):

   1. self-employed  2. employed by someone else

   b.) What kind of place does your father work in (for example teacher in high school or college, etc., or laborer in chemical plant or sawmill or construction, etc.):

   __________________________________________

14. What is the approximate yearly income of your family?

   ANSWER: ____________________________________________
15. What is your mother's occupation? (Write your answer in the following box. Give specific job. If your mother does not work, write housewife).

ANSWER:_______________________________________________

a.) Is or was your mother (circle one number):

1. self-employed  2. employed by someone else

b.) What kind of place does your mother work in (for example teacher in high school or college, or laborer in chemical plant or sawmill or construction, etc.):

_______________________________________________

16. Now we would like some information about your occupational future. We all have ideas about jobs we would like to have if we were completely free to choose our own occupation. We would like to know what job you would like to have if you could choose any job in the world? In other words, what is your dream job? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work for the government", say "President of the United States" or Senator". Write your answer in the box below).

ANSWER:_______________________________________________

a.) For this job, would you be (circle one number):

1. self-employed  2. employed by someone else

b.) What kind of place would this job be in?___________

17. Now we would like to know what job you desire and will attempt to attain as a lifetime job? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job).

ANSWER:_______________________________________________

a.) For this job, would you be (circle one number):

1. self-employed  2. employed by someone else

b.) What kind of place would this job be in?___________
18. Sometimes we are not able to do what we desire. Taking all the facts of your job future into consideration including your own personal ability and the opportunities you really think you have, what job do you really expect to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job).

ANSWER:_______________________________________________

a.) For this job, would you be (circle one number):

1. self-employed  2. employed by someone else

b.) What kind of place would this job be in?_____________

19. In order to get the job you listed in question 18, do you think you will have to leave your present community? (Circle one number):

1. Yes  2. No

a.) If yes, circle one below:

1. I will probably have to leave my present place of residence
2. I will probably have to leave my present parish
3. I will probably have to leave Louisiana

20. Concerning Question No. 17, the teachers I have had in high school have: (Circle one number):

1. Strongly discouraged me about working in this job
2. Discouraged me about working in this job
3. Encouraged me to work in this job
4. Strongly encouraged me to work in this job
5. Have not influenced me one way or the other about this job

21. Concerning Question No. 17, my parents have: (Circle one number):

1. Strongly discouraged me about working in this job
2. Discouraged me about working in this job
3. Encouraged me to work in this job
4. Strongly encouraged me to work in this job
5. Have not influenced me one way or the other about this job
22. Concerning Question 17, my friends have: (Circle one number):

1. Strongly discouraged me about working in this job
2. Discouraged me about working in this job
3. Encouraged me to work in this job
4. Strongly encouraged me to work in this job
5. Have not influenced me one way or the other about this job

23. Concerning Question No. 17, my high school guidance counselor has: (Circle one number):

1. Strongly discouraged me about working in this job
2. Discouraged me about working in this job
3. Encouraged me to work in this job
4. Strongly encouraged me to work in this job
5. Have not influenced me one way or the other about this job
6. This school has no official high school guidance counselor

24. How much education would you desire to have if you were completely free to get any amount you wanted? (See Box A and write one number from it in the blank below):

25. How much education do you desire and will actively attempt to get? (See Box A and write one number from it in the blank below):

26. Sometimes we are not able to achieve what we desire. Taking all the factors of your educational future into consideration, (personal abilities, opportunities, money available, etc.), how much education do you really expect to get? (See Box A and write one number from it in the blank below):

BOX A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Did not go to school</th>
<th>12. Eleventh grade</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. First grade</td>
<td>13. Twelfth grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Third grade</td>
<td>15. Some college but do not plan to graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fourth grade</td>
<td>16. Graduate from college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fifth grade</td>
<td>17. Graduate from college and complete graduate work (M.A. Degree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sixth grade</td>
<td>18. Obtain a graduate or professional degree (Ph.D., Doctor, Lawyer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Seventh grade</td>
<td></td>
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<td>9. Eighth grade</td>
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<td>10. Ninth grade</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Tenth grade</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
27. In general, my parents have (circle one number):

1. STRONGLY DISCOURAGED me from going to college
2. DISCOURAGED me from going to college
3. ENCOURAGED me to go to college
4. STRONGLY ENCOURAGED me to go to college
5. HAVE NOT INFLUENCED me one way or the other concerning going to college

28. In general, the teachers I have had in high school (circle one number):

1. STRONGLY DISCOURAGED me from going to college
2. DISCOURAGED me from going to college
3. ENCOURAGED me to go to college
4. STRONGLY ENCOURAGED me to go to college
5. HAVE NOT INFLUENCED me one way or the other concerning going to college

29. In general, my friends have (circle one number):

1. STRONGLY DISCOURAGED me from going to college
2. DISCOURAGED me from going to college
3. ENCOURAGED me to go to college
4. STRONGLY ENCOURAGED me to go to college
5. HAVE NOT INFLUENCED me one way or the other concerning going to college

30. In general, my high school guidance counselor has: (Circle one number):

1. STRONGLY DISCOURAGED me from going to college
2. DISCOURAGE me from going to college
3. ENCOURAGED me to go to college
4. STRONGLY ENCOURAGED me to go to college
5. HAVE NOT INFLUENCED me one way or the other concerning going to college
6. At my high school there is no official high school guidance counselor

31. Most of my close friends are (circle one number):

1. Going to college
2. Not going to college, probably going to work
3. Going into military service
32. To the best of your knowledge, what final grade did you make in high school in the following courses: (Write a letter grade A, B, C, D or F next to each course. If you have never taken a course write "Never Took" in the blank next to it):

1. English (Last course)____ 11. Latin_____________
2. History (Last course)____ 12. Ind. Arts_________
3. Algebra_______________ 13. Ind. Arts (Mechanical
4. Trigonometry___________ Drawing)___________
5. Geometry_______________ 14. Home Eco._________
6. Chemistry_______________ 15. Bookkeeping_______
8. French______________ 17. Civics______________
9. German______________ 18. Geography_________
10. Spanish_______________

33. How much effect do you think each of the following things will have in keeping you from getting the job you desire?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not</th>
<th>At All</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Much</td>
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<tr>
<td>Much</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>At All</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4 3 2 1

Not enough money to go to technical school or college

4 3 2 1

The schools I have gone to

4 3 2 1

Lack of parents' interest

4 3 2 1

Racial discrimination

4 3 2 1

Don't want to move

4 3 2 1

Good jobs are getting to scarce in the United States

4 3 2 1

Lack of good job opportunities in or near my community

4 3 2 1

No technical school or college nearby

4 3 2 1

Don't know enough about the opportunities that exist

4 3 2 1

Not smart enough

4 3 2 1

I do not know the "right" people

4 3 2 1

I will not try hard enough
34. Do you participate in high school athletics? (Circle one number):

1. Yes  2. No *If yes, what sport or sports? (List)

a.) If yes, have you ever lettered in a varsity sport in high school? (Circle one number):

1. Yes  2. No *What sport or sports? (list):

b.) Have you ever made all-district, all-area or all-state in a varsity sport in high school? (Circle one number):

1. Yes  2. No *If yes, what sport or sports? (list):

35. Generally over the past 5-8 years, have your parents stressed or emphasized that you should try to come out on top in sports, games, school and the like? (Circle one number):

1. Yes, they have stressed it a lot
2. Yes, they have stressed it somewhat
3. No, they seldom mention this
4. They haven't said one way or the other
5. No, they would rather I try not to do things better than other people

36. Generally over the past 5-8 years, how often have your parents praised or rewarded you when you did something well? (Circle one number):

1. hardly at all
2. sometimes
3. fairly often
4. very often
5. almost every time

37. Generally over the past 5-8 years, have your parents stressed that you take pride in the things you have done well? (Circle one number):

1. almost never
2. very seldom
3. once in a while
4. frequently
5. very often
38. Generally over the past 5-8 years, have your parents stressed or emphasized your being able to do things by yourself, like buying your own clothes, going places by yourself, etc.?

1. almost never
2. very seldom
3. once in a while
4. frequently
5. very often

39. Listed below are some general statements about work. Circle the number that best corresponds with your attitude about the statement:

1. It is extremely important for me to have a very high income: 1. Yes 2. No

2. I spend a lot of time thinking about how to improve my chances of getting ahead: 1. Yes 2. No

3. Getting money and material things out of life is very important to me: 1. Yes 2. No

4. It is important to me to own material things, such as a home, car, or clothing which are at least as good as those of my neighbors and friends: 1. Yes 2. No

5. I am anxious to get further ahead: 1. Yes 2. No

6. Getting ahead is one of the most important things in life to me: 1. Yes 2. No

40. Listed below are a number of statements concerning attitudes you may hold. FOR EACH QUESTION CIRCLE THE ONE ANSWER YOU FEEL BEST DESCRIBES YOUR OPINION:

1. I prefer:
   a. working with others
   b. working by myself

2. I prefer jobs:
   a. that I might not be able to do
   b. which I'm sure I can do

3. I would rather learn:
   a. fun games
   b. games where I would learn something

4. I prefer a game:
   a. where I'm better than anyone else
   b. where everyone is about the same
5. I would rather:
   a. wait one or two years and have my parents buy me one
      buy present
   b. have them buy me several smaller presents over the
      same period of time

6. I would rather:
   a. play a team game
   b. play against just one other person

7. When I am sick, I would rather:
   a. rest and relax
   b. try to do my homework

8. I:
   a. like giving reports before the class
   b. don't like giving reports before the class

9. Before class tests I am:
   a. often nervous
   b. hardly ever nervous

10. When I am playing in a game or sport I am:
    a. more interested in having fun than with winning
    b. more interested in winning

11. When I am sure I can do a job:
    a. I enjoy doing it more
    b. I become bored

12. When I play a game:
    a. I hate to lose
    b. I love to win

13. After Summer vacation, I am:
    a. glad to get back to school
    b. not glad to get back to school

14. I talk in class:
    a. less than other students
    b. more than other students

15. I enjoy sports more when I play against:
    a. one other player
    b. several other players

16. If I were getting better from a serious illness, I
    would like to:
    a. spend my time learning to do something
    b. relax
46. Generally over the past 5-8 years or so, have your parents stressed or emphasized that you should try to do things better than other students? (Circle one number):

1. Yes, they have stressed it a lot
2. Yes, they have stressed it somewhat
3. No, they seldom mention this
4. They haven't said one way or the other
5. No, they would rather I try not to do things better than other people

47. Listed below are a number of general statements about work. Circle the number that corresponds with your attitude about the statement:

1. Getting the job that I desire is my most important goal:
   1. agree 2. disagree

2. In order to get the job I desire I would be willing to attend college for a number of years:
   1. agree 2. disagree

3. In order to get the job I desire I would be willing to postpone marriage for a number of years:
   1. agree 2. disagree

4. In order to get the job I desire I would be willing to give up having leisure time:
   1. agree 2. disagree

5. In order to get the job I desire I would be willing to move from my home town:
   1. agree 2. disagree

6. Getting the occupation I desire is important, but there are many other things in life that are more important:
   1. agree 2. disagree

48. Do you want to get married someday? (Circle one number):
   1. yes 2. no 3. already married

   a.) If you answered yes to the above question, or you are already married answer the following questions:

   1) At what age would you like to get married (or at what age were you married)?

   2) How many children would you like to have?

   3) How many children do you expect to have?

   4) How many children do you think are ideal for the average American couple?
Question No. 41 Cont'd.

17. I like playing a game when I am:
   a. as good as my playmate
   b. much better than my playmate

18. I would prefer classes in which:
   a. the students were all as good as one another
   at the work
   b. I was better than almost all the others

19. When I do things to help at home, I prefer to:
   a. do usual things I know I can do
   b. do things that are hard and I'm not sure I can do

20. I would choose as work-partners:
   a. other children who do well in school
   b. other children who are friendly

42. Now we would like your opinions on a number of different things. Listed below are several statements. With each statement, some students agree and other students disagree. Please read each statement carefully and indicate by circling one letter whether you agree or disagree:

   a.) In spite of what some people say, the condition of the average man is getting worse:

      1. strongly agree  2. agree  3. undecided
      4. disagree  5. strongly disagree

   b.) Its hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future:

      1. strongly agree  2. agree  3. undecided
      4. disagree  5. strongly disagree

   c.) Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself:

      1. strongly agree  2. agree  3. undecided
      4. disagree  5. strongly disagree

   d.) These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on:

      1. strongly agree  2. agree  3. undecided
      4. disagree  5. strongly disagree

   e.) There is little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the
Question No. 42 Cont'd.

average man:

1. strongly agree  2. agree  3. undecided
4. disagree  5. strongly disagree

43. In general, how are most decisions between you and your parents made? (Circle one number):

1. My parents usually don't care what I do
2. I usually can do what I want regardless of what my parents think
3. I usually can make my own decisions, but my parents would like for me to consider their own opinions
4. My opinions are usually as important as my parents in deciding what I should do
5. I have considerable opportunity to make my own decisions but my parents usually have the final word
6. My parents listen to me, but usually they make the decisions
7. My parents usually tell me what to do

44. Would you say that in your home it has been just about taken for granted that you will continue your education after you get out of high school? (Circle one number):

1. Yes  2. No  3. Do not know

45. Indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements by circling the appropriate number:

a.) What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents:
   1. agree  2. no opinion  3. disagree

b.) Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough will power:
   1. agree  2. no opinion  3. disagree

c.) A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk:
   1. agree  2. no opinion  3. disagree

d.) People sometimes say that an insult to your honor should be forgotten. Do you agree or disagree with that?
   1. agree  2. no opinion  3. disagree
49. Of the kind of places listed below, in which one would you most desire to live for the rest of your life? (Circle one number):

1. In a large city
2. In a medium city
3. In a small city
4. In a town or village
5. In the country, but not on a farm
6. On a farm

50. If you circled a number between 1 and 4, give the name of the place and the state in which you would most like to live (e.g. Chicago, Illinois or Mamou, Louisiana)

51. If you circled 5 or 6, give the state in which you desire to live, and the parish or county if you know it.

52. From the kind of places listed in Question No. 49, what type of place do you really expect to live most of your life? (Place the number of this type of place in the following box):

53. If you expect to live in a village, town or city, give the name of the place and its state:

54. If you expect to live in the country or on a farm, give the name of the state and the county or parish if you know it:

55. How do you feel about U.S. involvement in the Vietman War? (Circle the number that describes your feeling):
   1. strongly agree  2. agree  3. no opinion  4. disagree  5. strongly disagree

56. How do you feel about PROTESTS AGAINST the War? (Circle the item that describes your feeling):
   1. I think anti-war protest should continue by any means effective, including violence
   2. I think anti-war protests should continue as long as they are non-violent
   3. I think all anti-war protests are unpatriotic and authorities should be allowed to stop them anytime they start
   4. I have no opinion concerning anti-war protests

57. If you agree with anti-war protests, would you personally participate in one? (If your answer to question 56 was 3 or 4, go on to the next question):

1. Yes, even a violent one
2. Yes, provided it is non-violent
3. No
58. How do you feel about demonstrations **for** the war? (Circle the item that describes your feelings):

1. I think pro-war demonstrations are right, even if they get violent
2. I think pro-war demonstrations are right, as long as they are non-violent
3. I think pro-war demonstrations should not be allowed under any circumstances
4. I have no opinion concerning pro-war demonstrations

59. If you agree with pro-war demonstrations, would you personally participate in one? (If your answer to question 58 was 3 or 4 go on to the next question):

1. Yes, even a violent one
2. Yes, provided it is non-violent
3. No

60. What do you think should be done about Vietnam? (Circle one number):

1. Work toward an all out military victory in Vietnam
2. Continue President Nixon's policy of gradual withdrawal
3. Continue gradual withdrawal but at a faster pace
4. Immediately pull all U.S. military forces out of Vietnam
5. No opinion

61. What do your parents feel about U.S. involvement in Vietnam? They: (Circle one number):

1. strongly agree  2. agree  3. have no opinion
4. disagree  5. strongly disagree
6. I don't know how my parents feel about Vietnam
As we mentioned before, your answers to these questions are strictly confidential. No information about particular persons will be given to your school or anyone else. However, we will need your name and address so that we can locate and contact you several years from now. Please give us the following information!

**PLEASE PRINT**

(a) **Your Present Address**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First name</th>
<th>Middle Initial</th>
<th>Last Name</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Street address

City or Town  County  State

Telephone No.

(b) Name and Address of relative or friend (living at a different address from the one you gave above) who will always know where you are living if you should move in the next few years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First name</th>
<th>Middle Initial</th>
<th>Last Name</th>
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Street address

City or Town  County  State

Telephone No.
VITA

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: J. Vernon Smith

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: Alienation, Anomia and Youth: Selected Correlates

Approved:

[Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

Max Goodrich
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signature]
[Signature]
[Signature]

Date of Examination:

April 21, 1972